ERUDITIO – EDUCATIO

3/2017
(Volume / Jahrgang 12.)

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STUDIES / AUFSÄTZE

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Hungarian Social Pedagogical Narratives

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Abstract

Criticism about the school system leaving the premodern era mixed expectations of modernization and special post-modern challenges even in the early years of the twentieth century (only to have this crammed mix become even more dramatic from the turn of the twentieth century history). Endre Ady, the progressive poet and publicist of the early twentieth century, referring to his school experiences in one of his poems, wrote: 'Perish, shackled schools!'. And this contained both the first emergence of educational reform efforts, and the deschooling commands of Illich. The interpretations and development demands typically moved in three directions.

There are movements of comprehensive school reform and revolution, thriving for the image of a 'new' school, with numerous 'new schools' getting into focus throughout Europe[2]. The creators of the new school image answered the challenge with functional change: in most cases, different versions of the system of 'expanding' functions (Freinet 1972; Kerschensteiner 1912; Gáspár 1977; Mihály and Lorand 1983) were representative, but the shrinking school-functions were also a particular kind of 'renewal' response (Mihály 1980).

There are movements that believed the school system to be ontologically obsolete (or even inherently harmful), and this is the movement that came up with the vision of 'deschooling humanity', as Illich put it (Illich 1971; Holt 1971).

The practice – and the following doctrine – established the synthesis of the two endeavours, with Hegel's concept, so to speak: 'preserved through eliminating' the school system; changing it in a way it hardly resembles its ancient form (ecole de la Rue, city as school – Feran 1977; Bárdossy, Kovácsné and Tratnyek 1993 –). In other respects, the emerging adult education targeting 'students' of heterogeneous age definitely draws a different picture of schools as well – in no small part because of its direct relationship with the world outside the school system.

Our paper focuses on analysing the correlations among the three types of response – both in theory and practice. We propose that besides traditional educational philosophy, education history and school research approaches, new discourses are required to explore the nuances of this phenomenon and a new approach is necessary to address the problems arising from the nature of the school system.

Key words: school based pedagogy, social pedagogy, narratives

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[2] Reform pedagogy and innovative school movements are the answers of Euro-Atlantic type of cultures, urbanized, modern societies of the twentieth century to apparent social crises. Historical analysis of these movements in international scientific literature is rather divided. For a short period of time, they basically entailed 'revolutionary' movements promoting changes in lifestyle as well, be it a political/social movement or a life reform movement promoting the exodus. During the 'Soviet Thermidor', assessment changed, even those innovations that showed the most social sensitivity were seen as the faithful incubator of the children of the bourgeoisie. The 'leftist' conservatism met the 'rightist' in New School criticism and 1986 brought a fundamental turning point and integration of assessment when these aspirations have taken shape as alternatives in the name of postmodern pluralism (Snyders 1973; Sáska 2009; Vincze 1981).

The research problem in a historical context

It was common for the reform movements that imagined and built the *new school* after the turn of the twentieth century, to endow (or want to endow) the school with several new functions, besides the traditional 'acquisition of certified knowledge' – or the modernized knowledge-transfer. In other words, these ideas have driven (or would have driven) all the socially relevant activities – in a more or less 'pedagogically tamed' version – back into the community space called school, from which they originally emerged (Gáspár 1977). A typical direction of the expansion – both in historical and synchronous description – was activity schools; 'school republics' and 'school states' and their simulations, built on the school-city system model (Trencsényi, 1994b); models that integrated wider cultural and educational functions into schools themselves (community school, complex 'educational centres', called Community Centres (ÁMK i.e., 'Általános Művelődési Központ' in Hungarian, meaning General Cultural Centres)); and sometimes the combinations of these (Trencsényi 2012). Therefore, it is not a coincidence that the advocates of these reforms, revolutions and changes talk about a 'new' school image[3].

Parallel to this, the other intent is the humanization of educational space, or the creation of a humanizing counterpoint. This kind of thinking always questioned the raison d'żtre of authority-based education, or at least its primacy. It was rather based on the child's interests, meaning both the realization of autonomy and aspects of social integration (Nohl 2000). At the same time, it was also the criticism of schools, challenging the hegemony of the school system in terms of adequate socialization in modern society. According to this social pedagogy mentality, the authority structure of the family and school will not, and cannot, provide answer to dozens of issues affecting adolescents. The *recreational space* (Nagy 2013) and the juvenile (including adolescent) lifestyles prevailing in its subsystems will be different from school because the roles are formed depending on the spontaneous – or manipulated, but seemingly spontaneous (in the words of Vilmos Csányi, who talks about education in an evolutionary sense, 'despotic') – formation of the community, experiencing the possible liberation from authority (Csányi 2011).

The objection is legitimate that the recreational space historically existed in the premodern era before the age of schooling as well. The 'degree of freedom' of childhood and adolescence in this period was by no means the same as in the modern era, or in today's post-modern age. Traditions, habits, holidays and the routine of weekdays, the rituals and liturgies heavily determined, and made the little free time left for independent decisions and playing strictly functional. The school gradually ensnared the entire, developing individual, (aside from a few exceptions) excluded, basically delegitimized the group factors and real (not

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[3] It was presented elsewhere (Nagy & Trencsényi 2012) that the 'new' attribute of reform pedagogy included both a new scientific image of society and children and several new features of this society (and of the children, adolescents and young adults living in it), and – at least to the same degree – the cult of the 'New' influenced somewhat by modernity still in harmony with the late artistic avant-garde approach (Trencsényi 1993).

hypocritically declared) community aspects. Because of this endeavour, the 'extracurricular' recreational space got a new meaning – primarily a symbolical meaning of autonomy aspirations[4].

Extracurricular approaches do not surpass but provide a counterpoint to schools providing the benefits of a variety of socialization models in freely chosen authority-free situations[5]. Their keywords are person-centred, development-oriented, resource-centred (and not problem-centred) approach as well as the equal recognition of recreational and social space, and the service orientation that derives from this (Nagy, Bodor, Domokos and Schád 2014). Their pedagogical characteristics are: customer focused and open-ended meaning that concepts like these do not have predetermined contents, methods or forms, they are created by the participants. The pedagogically authorized person does not exercise effective control over the processes, thus does not fill the role of a traditional teacher. These educational activities are well-defined but have 'incomplete' definitions, since they indicate an ever-changing and developing practice. Unlike school pedagogy, these activities do not have agenda-like targets; the methodology of non-formal learning achieves openness (both spatially and in terms of future planning) exactly by eliminating those agendas.

The innovations of the social pedagogical approach can be summarized as follows:

- Child-centred, activation-oriented attitude.
- It marks out progressive pedagogical concepts as its goals: *compensatory, based on freedom and collaboration,* promotes children's rights and the values of individual education (Fóti 2009).
- It undertakes to ensure the desired quality of peer interactions: such as creating social and community situations, student participation, self-governance and the presence of peer mediators.
- It requires social contact: personal approach applies to both the treatment of and increased attention towards children, and it is apparent in acceptance, inclusion and tolerance alike.
- It develops new cooperation with the parental home, local and professional environments, child welfare systems, professionals and institutions (Mihály 1999; Bodony 2014; Makai 2007, 2013)[6].

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[4] Tamás Barcsi forces this issue in his social and cultural history study (2012).

[5] 'Why is it particularly relevant to talk about it as a *combination of roles*? We live in a pluralist democracy, with all its contradictions! There is no superior state to distribute the roles in the name of heteronomous morality. While earlier, an institutional system tried to cover the roles of children and adolescents, today there is no institution that could appropriate and nationalize them! It used to be the state or even earlier the church that sat on the top of hierarchy; *if children did not work as pioneers, they got a 3 as a behaviour grade, if they studied in music school and went to the cultural review; they represented the pioneering team, even though they did not acquire those skills there. If they broke into the grocery store, they got punished for it in school. School ordinance prescribed whether they could be in public spaces after 8 in the evening or not.* Today, values and roles are not interdependent or dependent on authority. The legitimate answer to the lack of structure can only be to support every role in the integration into social structure.' (Makai 2007, 321).

[6] Even though the latter only looks at this phenomenon from the perspective of child welfare, it draws important conclusions in terms of this study on the concept of children and teenagers existing in several different social roles. The main characteristics of these adolescents are the following: in most cases, they have families, as the definition of 'not raised in the family' does not rule out the existence

By the implementation of these principles in schools, the dominance of the subject – lesson – school year – class – mark structure is disrupted: integrated, complex subjects are created (called epocha), Forest Schools, the array of project tasks, flexible lesson plans transform the school time, mixed-age learning groups are organized for the purpose of social learning, formative assessments (mostly text reviews) become practice.

The fundamental question is, did the above principles as social constructs only influence intellectual thinking about the school as an institution – as utopian visions –, or did they have a lasting or even irreversible effect on the actual operation of the mainstream school system? We see the reality between these two alternatives: there are periods when these effects are noticeable in schools but these periods (unique innovations, school movements or even enlightened educational policy aspirations) are bound to be short-lived, the power of restoration is stronger and the reasons for that can be well differentiated and analysed. Among the reasons, we can find the traditional, often described inertia of the educational institution and pedagogical culture (Golnhofer and Nahalka, 1992), and the insistence of the guardians of 'the great bastions' (Takács 1987) on preserving their (humble) control over the more and more 'impertinent, pesky kids' (Csányi 2011). Parental society also often expects and supports the traditional school system that teaches obedience, gives tasks to students and provides mobility opportunities in return[7]. The analysis of macro-social situations leads to this conclusion as well. New, revolutionary powers see reform education principles as a short term ally (basically driven by the goals to create their own, new social elite and middle class) – from the Hungarian Soviet Republic and Soviet Russia to Hungary after World War II – but in the end their consolidation supported rearrangement. It must be noted that these revolutionary powers were usually states lacking resources and reform educational schools are costlier than their traditional counterparts.

The answers of reform education experiments from the discourse of cultural anthropology

Professional literature expressly about education – apart from some Greek text fragments (Trencsényi-Waldapfel 2003), and Quintilianus – usually starts with 'exhortations' on the family education of highborn, regal and noble children (for ex-

of said families, does not mean they grow up entirely without their families. These adolescents are the frequent visitors of a wide spectrum of the system of recreational institutions (cinemas, discos, dance halls, sports, malls, etc.), consumers and creators of culture (they surf the web, chat, listen to music, play videogames, read, watch television, write poems, they support sports teams, etc.); they have civil communities, community roles (friend, boy scout, pioneer, peer helper, member of amateur art groups, churches or even sects and marginal groups). Adolescents can take on income-producing roles as well (in the form of student jobs, 'legal' and 'illegal' casual jobs and incomes, student loans, various social welfare benefits) and they can become savvy or dragged-into participants of mass demonstrations and movements.

[7] An example of this is when in Csetény (one of the poorest small villages of Northern Hungary inhabited by Roma people), young school managers tried to introduce the pedagogical model of Rogers to the small local school, which resulted in protests by Roma parents, demanding 'a school for »peasants«, an ordinary school' (Kereszty & Pólya 2002). Likewise, the young Roma researcher Péter Bogdán fears the schooling of Roma children, in light of the hegemony of alternative pedagogical methodologies (2011).

ample King Saint Stephen's Admonitions to His Son, Emeric; or the literary works of Erasmus of Rotterdam and other Renaissance authors), where the monarch teaches his son, his heir the behaviour fit for royalty[8]. Strictly speaking, it was the development of public schooling (Trencsényi 2007) that created the professional language and literary background for educational sciences which involves school and later 'non-school' pedagogical processes in its discourse. As psychology assisted pedagogy with *better*, more efficient, humane and more adaptive school operations (Rapos, Gaskó, Kálmán and Mészáros 2011), the sociological approach provided a harsh criticism of the school system, up to the point of describing or even demanding deschooling as a real process (Dutton 1976; Sentient, 2003). After all of these, the entry of the 'discourse of cultural anthropology' to the educational science mentality is only a bonus. To quote the 'evolutionary' school theory of Vilmos Csányi (2011), the function and reason of sending those 'pesky kids' to school is not even knowledge transfer (which is more and more in need of institutionalization), but to 'learn democracy'.

There are optimistic, reformer answers (as well) in these mentalities. The answers of reform pedagogy follow three principles:

- Schools can be reformed – both from the inside or the outside; however, in our argument it is not a pivotal issue.
- The main aspect of the reform (process) is mostly humanization, differentiation, emancipation and achieving student participation[9].
- All of this can be described by the tools supporting reconsideration

The idealist schools of the first heroes of reform pedagogy (Cecil Reddy, Montessori, Steiner, Dewey, Sándor Karácsony etc.) were born along these lines, but mostly due to cataclysms of the outside world – economic crises, world wars, dictatorships, etc. – they 'grew cold' or at least shrank to a realistic scale. Most of the initiators of the 'second era', followers of the pioneers and users of their work (Petersen, Korczak, Freinet, Domokosné, Sztehlo, Mérei and Kardos – the founders of NÉKOSZ pedagogy), did not primarily preach world-saving and world-conquering reforms, only tried to claim space for their own aspirations – with greater or lesser vehemence and varying results. Especially around 1968, demands of 'alternative pedagogical principles' became the motto of 'space for us' movements (Trencsényi 1993; Bodonyi 2014), thus these 'islands' – international school funding companies, communes, etc. – were able to persist where the principles of reforms could prevail. However, these remained islands. The citizen pipe dream, namely the one putting the school of the bourgeois society as the claimed medium of meritocracy in the place of the privilege-based emergence, soon dissolved. The school system – following the open or hidden message of the state exercising power over schools and the church(es) under its influence (Nagy 1992) – still legitimized social differences as a difference between acquired knowledge forms (Lóránd 1980; Ferge 1976). Moreover, the school system – as most sociol-

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[8] We should not forget about the parody of this, either - a good example of this is Rabelais' novel about educating the giant princes (Gargantua and Pantagruel).

[9] In other words, *person-centred* (Rogers 1959, 2005; Klein 2007, Vastagh 2015) or summarizing all the differentiating markers: *adaptive* (Rapos, Gaskó, Kálmán & Mészáros 2011).

ogists of the twentieth century stated – not only did not manage to dampen disparities but amplified them due to its covert curriculum, middle class mode of operation and 'class-based' knowledge included in overt curriculum (Bourdieu 1971, 2008; Lóránd 1980; Ferge 1976)[10].

All in all, it is only possible to be mobilized through more schooling. Firstly, time spent in schooling means more time spent in comfort and being exposed to less danger (anecdotes from black African teachers often reveal that this way they can save children from extremely exploitative child labour and sometimes even from the savannah wildlife); and it is a fact that children can learn new behaviour patterns from each other in the spontaneous interculturalism of school social life. Finally, the legitimate knowledge students will grow to possess and use should not be underestimated, as it is essential in social communication (language code, health and lifestyle skills, citizens' action, specific professional expertise, etc.), and this will earn them their certification, which is indispensable in modern society. Worldwide education sociological data shows that higher education leads to better opportunities in life (Radó 2007; Delors 1997), and this experience legitimized schools for a long time, especially amongst the lower middle-class with a chance of mobility[11].

Until school-assisted mobility exists and is perceived by society, the resistance against schooling is manageable both in case of the more 'prominent', feeling safe in their future; and those who realistically see their future as hopeless. As the 'school-friendly' lower middle-class is thinning, thanks to polarization, schools begin to lose their social prestige. At the 'top' of society, there is no need for the supporting power of school anymore as education can be 'purchased' and in more than one case, knowledge sources at home far outweigh those in public schools. And what is more important, there is nowhere to be mobilized as the 'place' is already provided. The school's system of rules and hierarchy are a nuisance, parents are challenging school authority and withdraw their children from school. And the school is 'happy' to be liberated from them as nuisances (Golnhofer, Nahalka 2001; Trencsényi 2001, 2011)[12].

The school basically becomes a social institution, 'simply' a warming place, eatery, a place of psychological care, leisure centre; or in worse cases, a guarded ghetto for children of deprived social groups. Logically, these students are not the favourites of the school and the teachers and as their hopes and chances are dwindling, so do they withdraw from schools (or do not even enrol in the first

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[10] In this sense, schools speak the argot of 'educated citizens' or they serve the creative technocratic ideals.

[11] We can often perceive that teachers like these children more, as they are obedient, they can be tasked with different tasks, they 'take the hint' (Pőcze 1987; Golnhofer & Nahalka 2001; Trencsényi 2001, 2014b). It is no coincidence that the school-building movements of Luther, Comenius, János Apáczai Csere (aiming for 'social progress') and later labour movements kept the demand for schooling, access for good schools on the agenda (Vág 1971). Quoting another great poet of the twentieth century, Attila József, three things are necessary: 'Stone houses, *schools*, wells'. (Flóra, Már két milliárd…) In another approach, Zsigmond Remenyik spoke of schools as much-needed institutions in his poem (Templom és iskola, Church and school), in the protection of the diaspora identity of minorities. Behold another argument for the ideological nature of preserving the institution of schools.

[12] It is true that during reconstruction cycles and the organization of new elites, importance of the socializing role of schools pops up, from time to time (Forray & Hegedűs 1989).

place), the 'truancy' phenomenon reappears from time to time. The school-mediated knowledge is useless to them, often completely alien to their subculture.

Nevertheless, like the thought of 'the place of a child is with family', even the reformers did not question that there 'has to be a place' – between family and other subsystems of society – which serves the purpose of this ideological *betweenness*. The question accompanies the history of school: With what foundations, methods and forms should it be accomplished? The answers received critical attention in interpreting the phenomena of postmodernity, as new generations have a great demand for access to these 'intellectual and mental warming places' in urbanized and globalized conditions as well. They need to experience peer relations in an organized way, supported by expertise; the foundation of their motivation and basic learning skills; the integration of their family values and literacy to other families' values and literacy. In light of this, schools (school ideologies) responded in several ways (Mihály 2005):

- They started to promote their own supremacy, giving bad reputation to not school-mediated values, not promoting competition and cooperation, but professional isolation. This concept saw the television, the Internet, and sometimes even the family as an opponent. Their common argument was: only the school can show the right path. In the shadow of this, 'constricted school', students always created their own empire (Mihály 1999) with an 'under the desk revolution' (Karácsony, 1948), from W. Golding's *Lord of the Flies* and the 'Putty society' (Gittegylet, the mock society children founded in Ferenc Molnár's famous novel, *A pál utcai fiúk*), to *Second Life* and *World of Warcraft.*

- They tried to restrict the more and more diverse extracurricular socialization services, influence their operations, the students' access to them (i.e. tying certain services to study results), in an attempt to win back 'disloyal' parents, for which the ideological foundations were: schools are, after all, the most effective in conveying social norms. This version is, however, rejected by somewhat advanced bourgeois democracy and it is generally acknowledged that schooling and the student status is only one of the roles of youth, it does not cover the full spectrum of an individual: the recreational space is an opportunity to interrupt the totalization processes 'self-generated' by schools as mentioned by Mihály (1999). This school model often takes the 'poverty of cultural stimulus' of the target groups of society and the deinstitutionalized state of settlements as a legitimating argument; drawing in activities and communities that would function 'normally' in a modern environment, assimilating them as an answer to disadvantaged situations (while retaining the right of selection).

- They acknowledged and were even 'happy' about modern relay systems, local communities and the (institutional or non-formal) environment that provides, in some way, legitimate social values and literacy, looking for intensive cooperation and partnership; they did not seek domination (open school system). These school models brought into focus an element of the 'outside world': they organized school around *work* as a cohesive element (activity schools being one of the strongest educational reform trends); or tried to establish rights to have a say in the entirety of life activities (after the model of school city-systems, in

the form of *school republics*). They tried – one way or another – to include leisure time, community experience, democracy and even public ownership; or to focus on culture in a broader sense (non-formal culture creation, cultural consumption), instead of – or besides – school centred education. In this model, where the scope of institutional users is multigenerational, serves multiple roles, the traditional student role can be preserved through elimination – as the creators of the ÁMK thought (Vészi 1980; Eszik 1996; Jeney 1986; Mihály 1999; Trencsényi I. 2015)[13]. Community school experiments could provide an answer – perhaps synthesizing all of the above – to restoring the relationship between society and the alienated schools, especially in the optimistic mode of 'permanent education' in Europe (Dave 1976; Mihály 1978; Delors 1997)[14]. The basic principles of these schools are to have the 'layman' institutional users taking their share in 'exercising power' and the use of services, like the actual founders, the parents in Waldorf schools, but even Hungarian General Cultural Centres wanted to follow the same principles[15]. In the model of community schools, a third key principle is for 'non-professionals' to appear in the role of the teacher as well (local Roma woodworker in Ságújfalu, the 'tale tree' of Tiszafüred, an agricultural engineer father in Pesterzsébet, etc. (Lőrinczi 1992; Trencsényi I. 2015)). This 'extended' school 'squared' is almost not a school anymore! The movement described above answered the issues of deschooling by preserving the eliminated school, thus providing a positive response to school critics, such as Holt, Reimer and Illich.

Experiences all show 'reschooling', even with models most different from the traditional school system: this was proven by the big Hungarian ÁMK re-

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[13] Another alternative of historical movements is actually the typical structuring of the world of schools. Both the *settlement* (Nagy, Nizák & Vercseg 2014), and the *city as school, ecole de la rue* type solutions are pointing to this direction. But the most prominent in this process is the legitimacy of the 'third sector', the autonomous youth groups. There are approaches that provide support for schools (settling back to their original functions), through amplifying this environment. Our example for this is the Polish *Szkola szrodowiszkowa* (environmental school) or more so the French *ZEP*s (Trencsényi, 1987), places where schooling has been given priority and where – contrary to the name – the environment of the school was amplified in order to prevent schools from reproduce inequalities.

[14] In the models of organically established school systems (especially in Scandinavian countries and the USA), it was not the more or less enlightened, absolutist state that initiated the building of the school network or exercised control over the process but the new local communities, religious or secular self-organizations, seeking knowledge not obtainable in family socialization. In its wake, there are alternative learning venues in existence in Denmark, parallel to the 'official' school system. In addition to folk high schools, they also include the *ungdomskole* intended for endangered youth groups (Trencsényi 1994a).

[15] The Hungarian teaching profession gained an insight into the primary sources of community schools from Csaba Lőrinczi (1992), a history teacher who emigrated to Canada in 1956. With the coordination of the Soros-foundation, there were several pilot-programs in the '90s, with considerable financial support. Earlier Lajos Jeney, a school architect gaining his experience from international sources and János Vészi, a cultural historian got to the idea of integrated communal-cultural-educational centres in an organic way, by contrasting the somewhat idealized image of agora, synagogue, the medieval marketplace with the jaded institution specification of modernization. This became the model of the *General Cultural Centre*. Many innovators, researchers, developers and cultural managers have joined this movement, even though during the socialist state, the bureaucracy never gave them enough breath and the regime change swept them away, set ownership barriers before them and the re-centralized state-owned schools can no longer enter the service of local communities.

search (Eszik, Fóti, Pőcze, Somorjai, Trencsényi 1990; Pőzcze & Trencsényi 1987). The parents of Waldorf schooled children often complained about the teaching staff reclaiming power over the school (in the name of efficiency). Even Vekerdy himself gave an account of the pitfalls of nationalization (2011). These 'school islands' could mostly exist barely tolerated or even persecuted by the establishments of the time, their existence also hindered by the organizational nature of school systems, aspiring for homogenization. It was a typical phenomenon for the outstanding teacher personalities[16] who created and operated these schools (see above for the 'heroes' and their followers) to only be able to keep these institutions running as long as they were personally present as an active, cohesive force (Trencsényi 2011).

So the question arises: why did these schools that tried to model the entirety of life – or at least a part of it – not spread; why did they remain spatial and temporal inclusions in the history of schooling? Is it possible that these elements have not been incorporated into the pedagogical mainstream because they were functional only as specific, isolated cases, especially with humane central figures and masters but not as system-level principles[17]? Maybe these inclusion-like examples only have an ephemeral lifespan because they only have personal and not institutional guarantees for their existence?

The 'stories' of reform pedagogy mostly consist of heroic beginnings, consolidated operations and (mostly tragic) destructions. Waldorf schools get swept away by fascism, Jena-Plan schools are made impossible by the strictness of East Germany, Makarenko gets dismissed (and then cynically appropriated) by Stalinism, Janusz Korczak becomes smoke and ashes with the rest of his students in Treblinka, national colleges are being closed, the New School of Domokosné, the Boy's town (created for the adolescents who became outcasts during the war), and the Gaudiopolisz (created from children's homes in the capital by Gábor Sztehlo Lutheran pastor, patterned after Father Flanagan's Boy's Town in America, established 100 years ago) were devoured by the so called "socialist" school system, supporting conservative pedagogy. Ferenc Loránd, the 'Hungarian Makarenko' of the 1960s leaves his successful reform school, Kertész Street, later failing in the experiment of a boarding school on Róbert Károly Boulevard in 1979, the 'international children's year'; while the school experiment of László Gáspár, the other big, late socialist experimenter gets rendered impossible. Törökbálint becomes the new scene of political games concerning education after the death of 'pater familias', the ÁMKs (Általános Művelődési Központok, i.e., General Cultural Centers) vanish after the nationalization of schools, etc. Furthermore, if we look beyond the actual political and cultural context in this short list and regard the ontological

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[16] We do not deny that, in that time and place, all of this was both for the most noble educational intentions, and achieved the most notable pedagogical results. Besides, these models – at least in their ideology – were predominantly not the conquests of the 'totalitarian state', their ideologies were closer to some kind of social commitment, mostly to help the non-institutionalized, impoverished local communities (although sometimes hinting at a kind of 'affectionate violence', under the paternalism of helping), often against the state or the social mainstream.

[17] Cf. the revolutionary school typology of Ottó Mihály, which gets engrossed by the state after its success (1999).

explanations, it will be easier to understand the silent or loud breakdowns (Kahn 1992; Makai 1996)[18].

Is it inevitable that these examples will remain in the guilty conscience of the collective memory of the profession only as admirable utopias? Is it possible that the answer to the 'postmodern challenge' – even in the regions that are disadvantaged or stalled in development – is not the open school system, but to acknowledge or even develop and facilitate the meaning of the 'third socialization space' (the actually free leisure time) and to reimagine the functions of schools among these conditions? If the radical transformation of the school system is facing difficulties and meanwhile, the 'third socialization space' (Nagy 2013) is more efficient in the competition dictated by dynamic markets, in prestige and in behaviour-shaping effect, then it would be worthwhile for the support policy to focus more on the latter. This way, schools would not be seen as a representation of the school system's exclusivity but the means to create checks and balances via pedagogical means to ensure cooperation and peaceful coexistence in this complex, ever-changing system. In our opinion, they could successfully fill in their 'secondary socialization' role by taking up mediator duties (Csoma 1983).

Nevertheless, this provides some answer to the challenge of lifelong learning as well: since this school model is no longer the school of children and adolescents, but that of a 'learning society'. This desirable inter-generational learning experience could drastically change the culture of the children's school system as well, since the 'school desk' of adults is not the same as the one with which pupils used to displease their teacher in *Tanár úr kérem*, the satirical school novel of Frigyes Karinthy in the beginning of the twentieth century. Servicing their learning methods could be the most important engine of innovation for school culture.

Yes to schools? Socialization functions

Calling Csányi's 'evolutionary' approach to our aid, the function of 'mass education' in this accelerating 'modernization' can be defined as 'wearing in' new generations, as a socialization challenge. This 'wearing in' includes stronger 'interference' in the lives of school children's families and not a 'selfless' support in accordance with an educational ideology. This intention is the explanation for the necessary expansion of the impact and scope of activity connected to schools. This is joined by – especially in these parts of the world – the concepts of 'dual education', where schools represent the more 'scientific', 'efficient', 'better', etc. education, compared to the more 'conservative', 'subcultural' and 'poorer' family and environmental education. There is always a group of society that does not see this intervention as aggression and is not worried about the totalitarian incorporation of children's privacy; mostly this is what legitimizes the 'expansion' of schools (the institutionalized mediation of school-based knowledge). Actually, these groups are the ones who legitimize the state that performs this task (sometimes by paradoxically incorporating

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[18] On the topic of this ordeal of fluctuating odds, see the book of László Trencsényi, titled *A maratoni sereg* (The Army of Marathon, 2011). In this analysis, a reason for relapse and failure could always be found for the past half decade; based on this trend, it is important to examine the ontological necessities of failures.

the humanistic alternative institutions that represent philanthropy, love for children and other ethical values). A state like this can be conservative and counter-revolutionary but also modernizing and revolutionary as well. Think about the legislative powers that established Ratio Educationis or the 'revolutionary' states establishing the so-called communist regimes, strongly socialized before they had taken power (e.g. Nékosz)[19] and after the takeover, they seized control of the curriculum and operation of schools. Historical experience points out that these 'intrusions' do not achieve great success, their contra-productivity is proven time and time again by the various little revolts and breakout attempts[20].

On the other hand, the meaning of schools as secondary socialization spaces reflect the fact that they were 'created' as a way to learn social behaviour beyond blood relations and natural communities. Children grown out of the 'heart-felt' love relations of a family and the world of overarching care and acceptance can integrate into the community and later the society, through this medium. Still critical pedagogy prevailing in postmodernity denies this socialization order of modernity, considering the given (and in fact, all-time) society and societal relations unworthy of integration. A more 'mellow' definition of integration has been created because even revolutionists will say hello, eat their soup with a spoon, they won't jump from a moving tram, they wear undergarments, sit on chairs and sleep in beds, they don't bump into people on the street – or if they do, they know what to expect –, they bury their dead and greet their new-born, etc. Besides, the concept of families being these comforting nests since the beginning is rather uncritical as we know that in different eras it was not really the truth, the transition between particular primary and secondary socialization spaces was quite colourful in different cultures. However, it is true that a whole different set of rules, norms and relations can be learned in educational institutions and these are necessary for both the individual and society itself as a 'training ground'.

The question is, what is the historical, cultural anthropological reason behind the fact that the school system 'grew to love' this social duty so much, it noticeably has a hard time letting go of children and adolescents (or as Csányi put it, the 'pesky kid')? There are various ideologies for this situation. These range from the primitive argument of 'If you leave school and something happens to you, I will get arrested', to the actual protection and interests of children. Since the 'outside world' is bad, threatening and dangerous – let kids be kids (to put it badly, 'infantilize' them as long as we can). *Nota bene*, so they will have an even harder time 'integrating' into

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[19] Moreover, they even operated 'counter-schools', for which there are examples going back to the time of Hussites (Földes 1964).

[20] The metaphor created by Sándor Karácsony, the 'under the desk revolution' (1948), classics of fiction and modern cinema bring up this topic time and time again. This is confirmed by the doctoral dissertation of Balázs Almássy (2016), which is based on the careers of the great generations of poets and authors of Nyugat ('West', an important Hungarian literary journal of the twentieth century) – Kosztolányi, Babits, Juhász, Móricz and others –, and the fate of their heroes through rising and failing. The 'school' of Ottlik (Szekszárdi, 1991) and the critical realist 'new wave' of Hungary in the '60s yielded several novels about this insurgence: *Sárfényes* by Márta Gergely, *Szent János fejevétele* by Lajos Galambos, *Bekötőút* by Antal Végh, *Iskolavár* by Gábor Czakó. We can mention movie classics like the *Dead Poets Society*, the drama *If...*, or *The Strawberry Statement,* or the Hungarian film *Szevasz, Vera* by Herskó, *Pókfoci* by János Rózsa, *Jutalmazás* by Dárday, *Sípoló macskakő* by Gyula Gulyás or even the whole educational work of the Balázs Béla Studio in the '70s.

the world of work, family founding, citizenship, and formerly the compulsory military service, after leaving school. We can say that the school creates – either with good intentions or out of (instinctive or conscious) professional self-defence – an 'in-between' socialization space, a set of norms, behavioural, learning and knowledge culture that can only be enforced within the school system[21]. The primary explanation deduces the nature of schools from the specialities of the school system and the increasingly independent system of values its staff represents. Pedagogues are an expert in this (or at least they think they are), they can retain their power in this environment – both over children and their parents –, so they establish and develop this world[22]. But the new generations, the 'angry young men' of the mid-twentieth century are not interested in this 'bright future' anymore[23]. They created their ideals in the present by maximizing leisure time in every way possible (summer camps, truancy, etc.) and by their own, different 'exoduses'. Does the state (with support from families) operate these schools with ever increasing compulsory education to 'curb' these adolescents? And teachers, parents and state officials all curse this ugly consumerism for leading youngsters towards false values and false prophets by offering deceitful pleasures.

No to school? The inadequacy of the previous answers

This anti-market coalition is not really working as schools do not seem to be the best place to 'domesticate' the teenage gangs that inevitably come into being in urban environments. So based on traditional social pedagogy foundations, youth work is being developed, movements and organizations are created with different degrees of independence from schools (P. Miklós 1997; Trencsényi 1997, 2000) and in close collaboration with special education and social work culture, emerges the institutionalized childcare and flourishes children's culture[24]: children's book

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[21] An explanation to this phenomenon is usually that the pedagogue of modern society never leaves the classroom, only changes his/her location, from sitting at school desks to professorship, standing behind the teacher's desk…

[22] It also makes a difference for the children whether the virtual and real 'strongholds' of the school system surround them as prison bars (which were described by critic and publicist Géza Takács as 'bulky'; Takács 1987) or it surrounds them as the fabled 'golden cage' of István Benedek (1964); even though these are the two sides of the same cultural function.

[23] It is commonplace that the ideal 'freedom society' (as every ideology based on freedom) is imagined in the 'future' by the big dreamers. Schools, as '*windows to the future*' (Rozsnyainé 1961; Makarenko 1979), are not depictions of the specific social relations of that age but the representations of the ideals of different groups, part of the 'bright, planned future' that will – as we now know – *never be realized.*

[24] In the structuring of this phenomenon, the scope of products, works and activities designed for, with and by children (sometimes to serve the pleasures of adults as well), is clearly distinguishable (Bús 2013; Trencsényi 2014a). Furthermore, tuition and the direct educational intentions gradually begin to fade – in no small part due to real market need but also taking on 'alternative' attitudes and mentality about children. It was the 'existing socialism' that drove (or truly stuffed) back pedagogy, and the world of children between the walls to restore the literary ideals of a 'bad' child improving through punishment. The pedagogical and cultural 'loosening' of the '70s was necessary for the child-image of modern pedagogies in children's culture to recover. Similar phenomena can be detected in the history of student theatre and amateur artistic movements in general. They eventually became independent from the tutelage of schools – as part of the freedom struggles of young generations (Trencsényi 2012, 2013).

publishing, children's media, theater and movies, exhibitions, etc. Youth culture requires bigger and bigger space, with the world of youth clubs that can barely be domesticated anymore (Diósi 1983; Diósi & Köles 1983; Földiák 1977; Török 1987)[25]. Zinnecker, and in Hungary, Gábor Kálmán (2006) calls the transition from provisional adolescence to school adolescence, experiencing their own youth culture, the paradigm shift of youth[26]; until the youth of summer camps[27] become the youth of festivals (and today's world of Z generation screenagers).

In this case, the school system finds itself in yet another new situation. They must take into account the lack of competence, moreover the lack of social request for coordinating all of this: the paternalistic state would tuck it into the school, and in case of a somewhat freer society which does not have any resource, it must yield to the desire for freedom of families, young people and children or the rules of the market. On the other hand, the pedagogical responsibility – the need for an 'overall personality', 'holistic personality', etc. identified by psychology – determines the task at hand, not to treat the student only as a learning and exam-writing machine. On top of this lies the diversity of life paths in the information society, the learning methods of screenagers, the divergence of leisure learning situations and the revolutionary methods of gamification (Nagy 2013; Fazekas & Nagy 2016). This task requires teachers to take on a new role and the school system to become more open to respect the autonomy of the participants and to go into these relationships as equals (referring to youth offices, clubs, youth centres, etc.). This is where the paradox of the postmodern school system lies. New models became necessary or schools will disappear from the system of social institutions…

So the issue arises again that the answer to the 'postmodern challenge' – even in the regions that are disadvantaged or stalled in development – might not be the open school system but to acknowledge or even develop and facilitate the meaning of the 'third socialization space' (the actual free leisure time), and to reimagine the functions of schools among these conditions. It is obvious that the elimination of the school system is not a task on the agenda just yet, as it is kept more or less on the surface by complex interest associations. For a useful and legitimate survival, the consensus of both the rightful target groups (children and adolescents, students and not only their parents) and their partners (including the representatives of the leisure space and local governments, as well as government officials and organizations) is required where each have their own dreams, desires, ideas, intentions, traditions, perspectives and culture.

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[25] Osborne's famous drama, *Angry young men*, or even Woodstock, can be seen as a symbol of the new world of youth, for which, autonomy aspirations from the 'corrupt' values and relations of parents were a primary goal.

[26] It is the same with the dance house movement, which became a Hungaricum in its own ideology as well: the neo-folklorist 'revival' is in the framework of alternative youth lifestyle (Bodor 2000).

[27] The mass organizations and movements in the first half of the twentieth century all created their own unique, almost formal learning spaces and opportunities (e.g., drills in Scouting, leadership training, religious groups, etc.). Freed from state tutelage, these movements are usually reduced to small, alternative 'sects' (P. Miklós 1997; Trencsényi 1997).

The point of a renewed social pedagogy discourse[28]

To be able to interpret the models of 'extended schools' and 'pedagogically facilitated youth recreation' – a coherent but somewhat alternative model in answer to school disorders –, we have to step out of the traditional pedagogical discourse. For this, a new definition of social pedagogy[29] is available as a twenty-first century interpretation[30] which regards social pedagogy as an interdisciplinary branch of science that is a reflection of helping, developing and facilitating social activities that are, in some sense, freed from the requirements and norms of the school system. There is a foothold in social pedagogy for social help, youth research, child and youth protection, the informal or non-formal world of children, adolescents and youth in general and their social culture[31]. In this sense, social pedagogy is both an integrative subdiscipline of pedagogy (harmonized discourse between related disciplines – sociology, social work, politology, etc.), and is discretely separated from the traditional subdisciplines of pedagogy, based on the nineteenth century scientific theory but reflecting on those as well.

While the school system is historically a top-down structure (as written before, it began as an institution for the elite, those in power, to evolve into an institution available for every social group), social pedagogy developed bottom-up (Giesecke 2000), as it was first created for the lagging part of society and evolved to be available for everyone. While previously the primary task of social pedagogy was to work with the marginalized sections of society and the physically, mentally or socially disabled or vulnerable (Schlieper 2000), like relief and penitentiaries; nowadays it became a service available for the full social spectrum. For traditional clients, social pedagogy will remain 'hard social pedagogy', for the other youngsters, it will have a 'soft' variant (as mental health and ventilation is important even for those who do not face class-based, sociocultural or mental challenges). Social pedagogy will not only be a 'first aid', it will become the 'immanent characteristic of the whole education' (Schlieper 2000), community education by the community. For this reason, the primary task of modern social pedagogy is to coordinate: education takes place in a community, in a web of social relationships (which school pedagogy often seems to forget about) but at the same time, the 'processes' happen in the personal space of an autonomous, independent person (Schlieper 2000).

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[28] We cannot agree with the views of Zsuzsa Ferge, professor of Hungarian sociology and social work, (explained, among others, in a private letter sent to the authors of this article in 2016), who sees participants of the socio-educational discourse as the 'hackers' of social work theory. Professional historical and educational background might provide a basis for such an interpretation but this very study itself seeks to gather integrating elements under the banner of this concept.

[29] The definition of social pedagogy itself is the acknowledgement of education being a community process and not just the relations between adult and child/teenager 'bound together' by institutional hierarchy (Natorp 2000). Its development can be attributed mostly to the fact that schools could not make up for the family and social changes between the premodern and modern age and that pedagogical individualism got an almost exclusive place in the science of education (Niemeyer 2000).

[30] Traditional historical interpretation is based mainly on German professional literature but can also be found in French interpretations of animators, as well as in new Russian professional literature.

[31] Including the culture, history, impact and operation of traditional and new mediating technologies, institutions, school institutions (kindergarten, dormitories, etc.) and other organizations taking part in the socialization of young generations.

It is not possible to fulfil every socialization task in a single institution, therefore socialization can only be interpreted in the context of pedagogically designed institutions and these have to determine their pedagogical functions (Giesecke 2000). Furthermore, the didactical design of educational space can become contingent in postmodernity; only parts of it (and even only parts of school education) can be planned and projected. This interpretation specifically implies the existence of beyond-school educational spaces. This way, social pedagogy can become equal partners with planned educational spaces, because – everyone being more or less vulnerable in Beckian society – its expanded client base has a need for social learning to be recognized in addition to school-based cognitive learning. A choice biography (Gábor 2006) formulated the task of social pedagogy in the twenty-first century, where the most important goal of youth and the process of growing up is to reconcile supporting the diversity of autonomous lives and integration into society (cf. National Youth Strategy 2009), in order to maintain the continuity of career without greater breaks.

This paradigm[32] provides new, important approaches primarily for educational theory and philosophy and it also has relevance in learning theory – in context of non-formal, informal learning and andragogy. From the praxis side – taking into account the enrichment and mainly postmodern challenges of the social practice – making a new integrative educational science discipline is justified, as well as exploring its characteristics and a systematic summary of its research methodology. Social pedagogy in this new interpretation (Nagy 2016) aspires to show those areas whose professional creed and research focus includes pedagogical phenomena both exploring new fields, functions or communities and are beyond the limits of the traditional family- and school-centred pedagogy. In this interpretation – much like educational sociology – education is the 'issue' and social research is a tool, its goals to put educational issues in context of a social relations system. However, social pedagogy is not only an integrated concept of specific practices but can be distinctly separated from educational sociology as a particular discipline of educational science research. While educational sociology concerns itself with the sociological context, causes and consequences and indicators of pedagogical phenomena; social pedagogy looks towards the methods and operations of practices, that – either with the methodology of sociology or several related disciplines – can fit into the range of the helping, developing and facilitating activities mentioned above. Thus, social pedagogy does not refer to the sociology of education but the sociological context of pedagogy: the phenomena regarded as the 'death' of childhood and features of school adolescence and the whole prolonged adolescence; which interpretations transform the fundamentally sociological-educational discourse into a drama of educational sciences as well.

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[32] A different approach is the phenomenon of *home schooling*, not covered in this article. Do parents who draw their kids out of schools find the performance of schools as secondary socialization spaces poor or too much? It is a typical middle-class phenomenon where marginalized social groups 'solve' the issue through the reproduction of 'truancy', while higher class families typically 'purchase' (or make the state purchase for them) the more exclusive schooling opportunities, where their children can receive proper, fair treatment fitting their educational values. Do these families see this as a more appropriate way to avoid the (self-serving, more and more pointless) 'eight years' war' going on in schools? (Benyovszky 2013).

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On the History of the Deportation of Germans in Southern Hungary (1946–1947)

Péter Miklós

Abstract

In 1946, the German population was evacuated from Csanád County (now in the border of Csongrád County and Békés County, Hungary). The depopulation of Germans was supported by British, American and Soviet powers, too and in Hungary the Soviet invaders controlled the process. Three villages (Almáskamarás, Kübekháza, Újszentiván) and four thousand seven hundred men were involved in the relocation of Csanád County. The sources of the study include the documents of Hungarian National Archives, Csongrád County Archives, and primarily the reports of the deputy of Csanád County. Not only the story of the event, but also personal histories emerge from these papers and it seems that there was no real conflict between the local Germans and the Hungarians, there was only a fueled conflict for political reasons. In the summer of 1946, there was peaceful coexistence between nations in Csanád County and throughout the Southern Region.

Key words: Central-Europe after WW2, deportation of Germans, minority policy in Hungary after 1945

Out of the German, Serb, Romanian, and Slovak nationalities of present-day Southern Hungary and the former Csanád County (comprising of the southern part of today's Békés County and the south-eastern part of what is Csongrád County today), the Germans and the Slovaks were affected by the population exchanges that followed the Second World War Apart from the significant German population of Elek and Alsókamarás (Elek went under Békés County administration in the spring of 1946), the smaller German populations of Kübekháza and Újszentiván were also deported during the course of 1946. (Erdmann, 1990) In 1947, most of the Slovaks in Pitvaros, Csanádalberti and Ambrózfalva moved to Czechoslovakia and the relocated Hungarians from the Felvidék were settled in their place. (Miklós 2008)

The Serbs in Csanád County acquired a unique role after 1946: they were regarded by the occupying Soviets as political allies and thus were supported. The South Slavic section of the Anti-Fascist Front of Slavs in Hungary held their May 1946 convention in Baja. The Serb inhabitants of Csanád County (Battonya, Magyarcsanád, Szőreg, Deszk and Újszentiván) were represented by Koszta Sevics, Száva Sztárcevics, Sztefán Neducsics, Dragutin Neducsics, and Jován Putnik from Újszentiván. Their list was sent by Ödön Pásint on 25 July 1946 to Endre Páll, viceispán of Csanád and ministerial commissioner of nationality issues. (Nóvé 2012) Pásint's notes included the following: "Regarding also the Yugoslavian-Hungarian cooperation, I strongly emphasize that the ethno-political situation of the South Slavs in Hungary must be satisfactory and adequate in all aspects. Therefore, I am confidentially informing the hon. vice-ispán about the listed persons, along with

their appointment and function, so that the hon. vice-ispán could make any comments and remarks in the matter." (MNL CSML CSVAI EI, box 1. 5/1946.)

In 1946–1947, many Germans in the Csanád region applied for the Hungarian-ization of their names at the Ministry of Interior. Perhaps their intention was to express their Hungarian identity (i.e. their belonging to the Hungarian nation), but it is also possible that such symbolic acts were an attempt to avoid their deportation – and the hardships and uncertainty it would involve. For example, Elek school teacher Mrs Katalin Sarlós née Mahler changed her maiden name to Molnár, as granted by the Ministry of Interior on 13 June 1945. (MNL CSML CSVAI ÁI, box 37. 3146/1946.) This case supports József Banner's remark in his paper on the German given names in Elek village: "Adopting Hungarian names had begun after the First World War, but until 1945 it had been sporadic among educated bourgeois residents (mainly clerks and state officials). Mass Hungarian-ization of family names came after 1945, though some name changes also occurred after the deportations and even in recent times." (Banner 1973, 211)

In July of 1945, a group of Slovaks in Ambrózfalva informed the local national committee about their intention to move to Slovakia. The committee forwarded their wish to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which released the following statement in September 1945, communicated by minister János Gyöngyösi.

"The Hungarian government finds it necessary to state that it would never initiate such a population exchange or relocation on its own, and would sanction it only based on international agreements. Such a concept would never be initiated by the Hungarian government, as it is neither humane nor democratic to wrench an ethnic group from the place they were born, where their ancestors toiled, where their established themselves with a lifetime of labour. However, the government should be willing to consider the idea if there was orientation among the Slovaks in Hungary intending to renounce their century-old relations of coexistence with the Hungarians." (MNL CSML CSNBI ÁI, box 3. 224/1945.)

The minister's statement was surely drafted with a good diplomatic approach. On the one hand, it claims that the Hungarian government would not initiate the population exchange and translocation. Note that this was a time when Hungarians faced institutionalized persecution in almost every neighbouring country. By the turn of 1944–45 in Yugoslavia, there were full-fledged pogroms against the Hungarians in Délvidék, resulting in more than ten thousand casualties. In Czechoslovakia, the presidential decrees of Edvard Beneš condemned the Hungarians of Felvidék to be banished (to the territory of the Hungarian state) or relocated within the state (mainly in the place of the already deported Germans). Though the Romanian statute on nationalities was announced as early as February 1945, it was never put to practice, Hungarians were negatively discriminated in Romania, and certain small-scale anti-Hungarian incidents also happened.

On the other hand, Gyöngyösi's communication also reveals a perspective of Realpolitik, admitting that a prospective international treaty would sway the Hungarian government in favour of population exchange. Two experiences formed the basis of this idea. One was the following: the Hungarian government knew that the Czechoslovakian rule intends to get rid of the Hungarians not only in theory (e.g. in the government programme in Kassa) but in practice as well. The other one was that Gyöngyösi,

as the minister of foreign affairs, was aware of the fact that the political orientation of the Hungarian state, including its diplomatic intentions, was determined by the occupying Soviet Union's international political interests. These interests included the ethnic-national issues in Central Europe as well, the "solution" of which was a question of logistics (of train wagons) for Stalin. The relocation of Germans in the region was the minimum of this solution, sanctioned even by American and British diplomacy.

Despite the above remarks, the Hungarian cabinet finding "neither humane nor democratic to wrench an ethnic group from the place they were born, where their ancestors toiled" could have been a fine principle. Unfortunately, this was no more than a nice-sounding phrase of diplomacy.

To ensure provisions for miners (a highlighted economic interest), the national committee of Csanád County ordered stockpiling for the town and village committees. The committee of Kübekháza (also affected by the relocations) stockpiled 370 kg of corn, 120 kg of potato and 30 kg flour. However, the collecting and the accompanying report was hindered by the process of German translocations. As István Bodó, chairman of the local national committee wrote in his 8 May 1946 letter to the county national committee: "I must apologize for not reporting the stockpiling results on time, because the process of the German translocation consumed all our time." (MNL CSML CSNBI ÁI, box 4. 399/146.)

The chairman of the Social-Democrats in Almáskamarás was József Schreirer (of German origins, by the way); his report was discussed by the Csanád County national committee on their session of 12 July 1945. According to the report, "during the deportation of the Swabs, the Russian took people who were positively leftist but of Swab ethnicity, while there are still Volksbund members in the village. The national committee is petitioned to take measures, so that the deported leftist citizens could be exchanged with the Volskbund members in the village." (MNL CSML CSNBI ÁI, box 4. session records, 12 July 1945, 2.) The county national committee ordered the local committee to draft a list of those "still in the village, despite their pro-German sympathies", with the purpose of forwarding to the ministry of the exterior. (MNL CSML CSNBI ÁI, box 4. session records, 12 July 1945, 2–3.) The national committee in Almáskamarás listed those "Volksbund-members who were transported to Mezőhegyes and Russia from the village, and those presently in Almáskamarás […] who, if translocated to Russia, could be exchanged with Swabs of Hungarian identity who had already been deported". (MNL CSML CSNBI ÁI, box 4. session records, 2 August 1945, 1.) However, the list of names did not allow the committee to distinguish between the "Hungarian-identity" and "German-identity" Germans already deported to the Soviet Union, so they asked the national committee in Almáskamarás to list those persons who "could be transported back from the Soviet Union" (MNL CSML CSNBI ÁI, box 4. session records, 2 August 1945, 1.)

Effective from 1 March 1946, German-populated Elek went under the administration of Békés County, instead of Csanád. Therefore, the village lost its district centre status and became a simple village in the Gyula district, while the Mezőkovácsháza disctrict in Csanád grew enormous with the settlements once belonging to the Elek district. Though they had argued for belonging to Békés County, now its leaders and citizens wished to get back in Csanád. (MNL CSML CSKBI, box 4. 57/1947. 13–14.)

Vice-ispán Endre Páll handed in his April report to the county administrative committee on 8 May 1946, in which he also addressed the deportation of Germans: they were translocated from Almáskamarás during the course of April.

"During the month, the German-speaking population of Almáskamarás were relocated. Deportation and resettlement was not carried out by local administration, but by various committees of the common welfare offices. Two or three committees were operating simultaneously in the village. Of course, the populace were unable to differentiate among them and their actual or assumed complaints did not address the relevant committee for the case. Consequently, most of these were never resolved. Due to the annexing of Elek village, three villages in our county were subjected to the deportation of Germans. Újszentiván and Kübekháza are due in May and I hope that the procedure will be carried out with more care and better protection of the national property than it was done in Almáskamarás. Here most of the poultry and beehives perished for lack of tending to them. A larger part of the newly arrived resettled people gathered any off-inventory valuables and left. Some entered the closed-down houses by force and made off with the taken items through the gardens. The hon. ispán, as soon as he learned of these events, called the police to prevent further pillage. Accompanied by my deputy, he visited the site in person to restore order. Further damages can only be prevented by moving in sober and hardworking people." (MNL CSML CSKBI. box 4. 57/1947. 17.)

In the report's section about the agricultural and crop production aspects, Endre Páll pointed out the economic dimension of the translocations. "In the village of Almáskamarás, the springtime agricultural works could not be completed because of the deportation of the German-speaking population. It is a great question whether the newcomers will be able to finish the remaining work." (MNL CSML CSKBI, box 4. 57/1947. 21.)

In his May report dated 31 May 1946, Ender Páll gave details on the related events in Újszentiván and Kübekháza. His experiences here were almost identical with what he found a month before in Almáskamarás.

"During May, the Germans in Torontál were also relocated. There were larger groups of Germans in Újszentiván and Kübekháza villages as well, while only a few families were involved in the village of Szőreg.

To carry out the relocation, 320 people arrived at Újszentiván and finished the task in five days. Unfortunately, the residents lost their self-control, treating the belongings of the deported almost as spoils of war and causing great damages to national property. There were complaints about the deportation committees as well, which were forwarded to the appropriate offices.

The deportation of the German populace was followed by resettlement in the vacant houses and estates. This was done by the village land request committees, with the cooperation of the county property management council. I have received complaints in this matter as well, so I found it necessary to assess the reality of the complaints in person. There were articles about the resettlements in the daily newspapers in Szeged, too. At any rate, the county property management council is able to investigate the valid complaints and give property only to those who deserve it." (MNL CSML CSKBI, box 4. 57/1947. 23.)

The vice-ispán's report shows that the deportation of the Germans happened

during an important period of agricultural work, just before the summer harvest, posing the problem whether the newcomers would arrive in necessary numbers and whether they will be able to carry out the usual due works. The weather did not favour the farmers of Újszentiván, either; according to the report of the county financial office, the June of 1946 brought much rain and ice hails that damaged the crops. In the vicinity of Újszentiván, corn and tobacco suffered 10-15% damages on 200 acres. (MNL CSML CSKBI, box 4. 62/1947. 16.)

It is worth noting that in his May report dated 12 June 1946, vice Colonel István Lénárt, head of the Csanád county police department did not mention anything about that there had been any political or security incidents during the deportation of the Germans. Concurring with the deportations but independently from those, there were anti-Semitic developments in the county. In Földeák and Mezőkovácsa, Jews returning from the extermination camps and deportation were insulted due to the propagation of libels, while anti-Semitic pamphlets appeared in Makó, featuring the symbols of the leftist coalition parties (the Hungarian Communist Party, the Social-Democrat Party and the National Peasant Party). On 31 May, the synagogue of the Orthodox Israelite community went up in flames. (MNL CSML CSKBI, box 4. 60/1947. 22.)

According to the county deputy captain's report from one month later, though, the fire "seemed to be of criminal origin" but was in fact "a case of neglect". (MNL CSML CSKBI box 4. 60/1947. 24.) In his work titled *The Last Libels*, János Pelle concludes that it was probably provocation against the smallholders carried out by the local police who were influenced by Communists (a provocation that did not succeed). (Pelle 1995, 167–184)

In his December 1946 report (dated December 31, 1946), vice-ispán Endre Páll informed the administrative committee that the inter-department committee monitoring the finances of villages and towns examined the conditions at the site during the end of November and early December. The officials assessed that the expenses of twenty-one settlements in Csanád exceeded their income; a state aid of more than 190 000 Forints was appointed to support them.

As the vice-ispán wrote, "it certainly must not be forgotten that those villages where great numbers of Slovaks registered for relocation are unable to cover their expenses; colonist villages Újszentiván, Kübekháza and Almáskamarás are in a similar predicament, where the settlers in the place of the deported Germans are presently not yet able to pay taxes." (MNL CSML CSKBI, box 4. 57/1947. 69–70.)

Aurél Hencz, school inspector in Csanád County dated his January report 12 February 1946, informing the county principals and the administrative committee about the situation of schools. He explained that pupils of every ethnicity are granted their right to native-language reading, and he also gave details on the ethnic schools of the county.

"In five Serbian E.[astern] O.[rthodox] schools there has been and will be Serbian-language education: in Battonya, Deszk, Magyarcsanád, Szőreg and Újszentiván. Education is in Romanian, as before, in the Romanian E.[astern] O.[rthodox] school in Magyarcsanád. Teaching is in Hebrew in the Hebrew association school that was opened in this school year in Deszk. There will be Slovakian-language education in the following public schools: the state school in Ambrózfalva, Luth[eran]

school in Csanádalberti, state school in Pitvaros, state school in Megyesegyháza, village school in Nagykopáncsi and state public school 1 in Pusztaottlaka; in many of these schools a Slovakian faculty is to be organized. Romanian faculties need to be set up in the state schools of Battonya, Elek, Elek-lőkösháza 1, and Pusztaottlaka 2 and 3." (MNL CSML CSKBI, box 4. 61/1947. 2.) At this time, at least partially German-language schools no longer operated in the county. (Tóth 1998, 56. and 193.)

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Memory Cultures and History Education
- How do memory cultures influence history teaching?

Markus Furrer – Peter Gautschi[33]

Abstract

How do different societies remember and recount the Cold War in their history teaching in times of lasting insecurity of national identity? Due to its global dimension the conflict constitutes part of 'shared history' today. Everybody was involved in it. Nevertheless, the Cold War is remembered and recounted differently in each society and each country. Subsequently, the question arises as to what extent such specific and concrete recounts have a character which creates commonality or whether it rather divides Europe and the world again. It seems clear that the epoch of the Cold War can only be recounted as a global, multi-linear and in many ways politically, culturally as well as economically and socially intertwined history and thus appears in the form of narratives. How do these narratives sound to us? What widespread images of the Cold War are there?

Key words: memory cultures, history teaching, historical cultural objectivation

Remembering and recounting the Cold War in history teaching

Memory cultures have an effect on history teaching. This influence, which the people involved are often not aware of, takes place in different ways, for example by the fact that historical cultural objectivations (Pandel 2013, 164) are dealt with in history teaching or that learners and teachers bring in their memories.

This, for example, becomes obvious in the history double lesson "Switzerland's Attitude in the Cold War"[34]: The class is given an introduction into the era of the Cold War in Switzerland by means of a film clip and a reading from the textbook. Then the teacher asks a guiding question about Switzerland's attitude in the Cold War and launches a fifty minute task-based teaching unit. The students work in pairs, each with a laptop, dealing with six materials on individual aspects of the topic. The teacher circulates from group to group and explains the tasks and materials to them in individual talks, for example the "Civil Defense Booklet"[35] which is a guidebook on the civil defense of the country issued in 1969 by the Federal Council. This publication at the time handed out for free to all households was intended to strengthen the resistance of the people and secure Switzerland's independence.

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[33] This study was originally published as an introduction to the book Furrer, Markus – Gautschi, Peter (eds.): Remembering and recounting the Cold War. Commonly Shared History? Wochenschau Wissenschaft, Schwalbach, 2017, pp. 11–22. ISBN 978-3-7344-0429-0

[34] See Lesson dossier on a history double lesson from Switzerland in 2015, in: Furrer – Gautschi 2017, 189–203.

[35] See Schweizerisches Bundesarchiv: https://www.bar.admin.ch/bar/de/home/service-publikationen/publikationen/geschichte-aktuell/geistige-landesverteidigung-im-kalten-krieg--das--zivilverteidig.html and the publication: http://www.rhetorik.ch/Aktuell/11/05_08/zivilverteidigung1969.pdf (29 June 2016).

56:30	Lm	Selina, may I briefly? (The teacher takes the Civil Defense Booklet and leafs through it.) That is this ominous booklet in which there are many tips about emergency supply, civil protection and many more issues. Also "First Aid" is in there, which is really ok.
		Then there is a special chapter "Second Form of War" at the back of the booklet. This "Second Form" is then explained here, and always after the same pattern: On the left it always says what the enemy intends. And on the right it says what we have to do against it. It says nowhere who the enemy is, but, of course, this is clear to everybody.
		Here for example: The enemy surrounds Switzerland! Then there is a command for this agent named Adolf Wühler. What a name! His name is 'Wühler (ransacker)' and he ransacks society. And his first name is then even 'Adolf'.
58:25	Lm	Here we can see a command this Adolf received from his headquarters, namely… and so on. Then here there are, so to speak, the guidelines as to how to behave in order to oppose the enemy.
		And here in this presentation you can see how the enemy tries to infiltrate Switzerland. That reaches down to the lowest cells of society.
		The enemy, Adolf Wühler, for example, becomes a member of a club and tries - after practicing gymnastics – when having a beer - to convince his gymnastic companions about communism, for example. However, nowhere it is said that Wühler is a communist. Always there is talk of the enemy.
		At the time, when I served in the military, it was clear to everybody who the enemy was. And we always practiced on the basis of the same scenario. One put a map of Switzerland on the wall. On there an arrow was drawn bold and dark which over Lake Constance pointed into Switzerland. There it said: "Airborne enemy troops followed by tank units penetrate Switzerland". The enemy always came from the East, and the enemy was always marked in red. It was not imaginable any different. And nobody had to explain to us why. It was like that.
59:50	Sm6	Ok.
59:55	Lm	It was also obvious that it wasn't Liechtenstein that attacked Switzerland, but…well and that was in fact the enemy image. That is only a little example now, but it is enough to show that it always worked according to the same pattern. We go into the hedgehog position, curl up and present the spine. (The teacher continues to circulate.)

By the teacher sharing the memories of his own period of military service during that time in an illustrative way and also when dealing with the topic "Switzerland's Attitude in the Cold War", he adds a very special 'tinge'. This tinge is different from teacher to teacher when treating the same topic "Switzerland's Attitude in the Cold War", from place of school to place of school, from country to country. Therein teaching cultures, memory cultures and, of course, also individual and collective views of history are mirrored. It is also the task of history didactics, here understood as a science concerned with investigating, theorizing on and staging the way of how people and societies deal with history and memories (Gautschi 2003, 50), to describe, to analyze and to interpret such moldings of memory cultures.

How this could in fact happen is still largely unknown. It was thus a welcome challenge for us at the Center of History Education and Memory Cultures that the State Secretariat for Education, Research and Innovation made it possible for us to, in a first step, explore practices of memory culture and cultural meditation in comparative international studies:

– What is the relationship between history and memory when it comes to historical teaching and learning?
– What perceptions, interpretations and images mark national historical narratives and history textbooks?
– How do teachers convey their own memories and memory cultures in history teaching?
– What effect do contextual references of memory culture have on history teaching, and how is the latter marked by it?

The Cold War lent itself as a topic against the background of which the questions raised can be investigated particularly well because as a most recent era it is still very present in the memory culture in different countries. Or in other words: Where history still smolders (Barbara Tuchmann, 1964), fire does not lack. (Furrer 2013, 32; Schwarz 2003, 11) Thus, the above-mentioned general questions appeared to be especially exciting to us when looked at concretely:

– Where and how do memories about the Cold War spanning the time from the 1990s to the present arise in history teaching?
– In what way do teachers remember events from the Cold War, how do they today recount the Cold War?
– How is the Cold War presented in history textbooks?

The fact that the Cold War is a central topic in history teaching in different countries became also clear to us in the project "Teaching the Cold War – Memory Practices in the Classroom" which we were able to conduct under the leadership of Barbara Christophe together with the research group Educational History and History Education of the university of Umeċ / Schweden and the Georg Eckert Institute in Braunschweig/Germany.[36] In textbooks, curricula and also scientific treatises the Cold War stands for an epoch that covers the time period from 1945/47 to 1989/91and also constitutes part of the historical canon. Even if no

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[36] For further details cf. the website of the project: http://www.gei.de/abteilungen/schulbuch-als-medium/geschichte/teaching-the-cold-war.html (28 June 2016).

exact starting and end date can be fixed with any certainty, yet contours can be put: Bernd Stöver for example talks of a path into the Cold War between 1917 and 1945, of an escalating total conflict in the years 1945 to 1947 resulting in a division of the world. The Cold War was officially declared to have ended in the 1990s. (Stöver 2007, 467)

Early on politicians, diplomats and also historians were aware that the confrontation between the rivaling super powers after the Second World War was caused by different reasons and were also rooted in classical cultural-geographic preconditions besides the ideological ones. As in the 19th century England and Russia, or also France and Russia, were opponents in a cultural-geographic sense, with the outbreak of the First, and then especially the Second World War, the United States followed in the footsteps of England, and Russia transformed into the Soviet Union. The opposing blocs were thus the extreme expression of an ideological and cultural-geographic alloy. The confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union would presumably also have taken place without any ideological dispute. (Diner 1999, 57) As a characteristic cipher the term 'Cold War', coined by the American journalist Herbert Swope in 1946, rapidly found its way into the West as well as East and stood for this diffuse threat situation and its characteristic of the alloy. (Stöver 2007, 11–15)

How can the Cold War be characterized?

How can the conflict be characterized, and to what degree is the term 'Cold War' suitable as a designation for the era which finds its way into textbooks?

Used as a bracket term, the term includes economic, cultural and not least social-political phenomena. Used in that way the term implies more than a geopolitical conflict. Most different developments amalgamate with each other in the common reference framework of an epoch. In relevant history handbooks, history textbooks or also publications on the history of the second half of the 20th Century you find references to plenty of topics such as the economic boom and the mass consumer society, decolonization, the cultural and social change or for example the crises in the 1970s. All of them are put in relation to the Cold War. The Cold War now had a decisive effect on the epoch beyond the geopolitical contradictions and thus had a bracket function that needed to be clarified.[37]

Whereas the historian Wilfried Loth rather recognizes an aggregate state in the East-West conflict which has emerged in different dosages, Bernd Stöver puts emphasis on the epochal dimension of the conflict. He focuses on the dominant and all-embracing ideological confrontation which, at all levels, had its impact on society, economy, culture and sports as well as on science and education and not least on international politics. Both the ideological constructs in East and West understood themselves as drafts of the absolute new order which explains the all-embracing threat perception and the total utilization of all resources and areas of life. Because of the nuclear stalemate the conflict was carried out on substitute fields until one of the two powers of the conflict failed to exert its influence. Such substi-

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[37] A selection: Greiner 2016; Eugster – Marti 2015; Van Dijk – Gray – Savranskaya – Suri – Zhai 2008; Vowinckel – Payk – Lindenberger 2012.

tute fields at the same time opened up political leeway to other powers, amongst others the People's Republic of China, and also made the conflict not simply appear as bipolar. (Stöver 2007, 461)

In the West the conflict went along with a virulent anti-communism whose roots lie in the 19th Century and which marked the inter-war period as anti-Bolshevism. At times this reached grotesque proportions in the Western states of the inter-war period. Enemy and stereotype images could not only be found with the opposing power but also within one's own societies. Anti-communism assumed an important stabilizing inner-societal function. At the same time the West was faced with a mobilization dictatorship of the USSR. Even if in the historiography on the Cold War, not least in connection with the question concerning the guilt for the conflict, the high security needs of the USSR are brought to the forefront, a diffused and hardly graspable threat potential was emanating from that country.[38]

The ideological contrast in the Cold War gained broad contemporary attention. The 'obligation for modernization' was also a 'norm without alternative'. The world could (almost) only be divided up into a Western-democratic and an Eastern-socialist one. For both sides modernization theories in the era of ideologies (Karl Dietrich Bracher) constituted a common denominator and basis. Viewed from the inside, the Cold War and the anti-capitalism and anti-communism resulting from it had an internal integrating effect on the societies, as a world view which distinguished the society from a demonized external and internal enemy. Enemy images boomed. A monolithic ideological belief was prevalent. (Bracher 2001, 24)

Seen as a global conflict, the Cold War with its inner-societal tensions had a national and regional effect. The conflict was global from the beginning alone already because of the exertion of territorial dominance and control of regions outside Europe with the Truman Doctrine in 1947 and the Two-World Theory by Shdanov. In 1949, as a consequence of the proclamation of the People's Republic of China, a third of the world population lived in a communist social system and with the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961 the conflict took an almost exclusive place in the 'Third World'. Whereas the term of the Cold War proved to be an accurate picture in Europe, a great number of bloody proxy wars were then triggered in the non-European world in which – as in the case of the Vietnam War – the super powers could also happen to get involved directly.

Why are the memory cultures so strongly marked by the Cold War?

The reason why the Cold War had such a deep effect on societies and why it was a nationally determining factor lies in the strongly ideologizing component. Due to its global dimension the Cold War is nowadays part of 'shared history'. Everybody was involved. However, each society and each nation has different memories. This is not simply a question of the former Western/Eastern bloc borders; it happens at a collective as well as an individual level. Inevitably, almost every individual became a contemporary witness at the end of this global conflict almost lasting over two

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[38] See also Van Dongen – Roulin – Scott-Smith 2014; and Greiner 2014.

generations. How do societies remember the immediate prehistory to their present in times of profound uncertainty about their own identity? We notice that the United States has taken care of the fact that dozens of official sites of remembrance were included in the prestigious list of the National Register of Historic Places. In Russia such sites of remembrance seem lacking because the Russian collective memory of the Cold War is to a much stronger extent focused on the loss of its former role as a super power. The memories in the reunified Germany are complex. And in former Western neutral small states like Switzerland they are rather vague.

Thus, in the area of memory cultures, differences become not only apparent between the West and the East but practically between all national states and their societies as well as within these states themselves, which was the reason why the topic lent itself particularly well for our questions concerning historical didactics and memory cultures. Germany's remembrance of the Cold War is marked by the division into East and West with, however, having totally different societal and political reference points in both the parts. The GDR, like the other Eastern people's republics, was part of the communist system and a Soviet satellite. Whereas a liberal democracy came into existence in the West and, on the basis of the economic boom and social market economy, the West German society developed a feeling of having changed from the losing side to the winning side; the Eastern society went through another phase of dictatorship. The communist social system was, however, not only a dictatorship but was also committed to the idea of equality and turned out to mobilize the masses. A weakness as well as a reason for its later collapse was not least rooted in this fact, namely that this promise could be kept less and less over the post-war decades and the system subsequently lost credibility and support in wide circles of the population.

The Cold War, which away from the epicenters in the East and the West also certainly had its 'hot' phases, was thus not entirely a military-diplomatic conflict. The bloc confrontation taking shape along ideological conflict lines, accompanied by a constant threat discourse, also marked the field of culture considerably. The Cold War as a war of culture defied already existing concepts of society, concepts of everyday life, media cultures as well as art, religion and philosophy and shaped them profoundly. All this has a coining effect on the remembrance.

Memory cultures about the Cold War are characterized by a broad societal emotionalization. It lifted the confrontation out of the heights of the reason of state and made it a conflict lying between but also within societies. The Soviet Union as well as the United States and other Western states promoted ideologies as a way of missionizing their citizens; ideologies were perceived as a role model for the world from large parts of the respective society. Due to the inherent plebiscitary character of democracies, in particular Western democracies tended to adopt widespread emotionalization and hysteria. (Hobsbawm 1998: 206) From a historical-scientific perspective three significant effects can be determined: First, it put a cover over all those rivalries and conflicts which had marked world politics before the Second World War. Second, it froze the international situation and thus stabilized the relatively unstable and highly provisional state of the post-war order. And third, it furnished the world with an enormous amount of weapons, which still has its effect on the post-phase of the Cold War. (Hobsbawm 1998, 319–321)

The end of the Cold War also had far-reaching effects, namely that the pillars having so far supported the international architecture and structures of the inner political systems in fact collapsed. What remained was a shaky and in many places collapsing world. (Hobsbawm 1998, 322)

In what way do history and remembrance about the Cold War differ?

Historiography about the Cold War as well as the respective memory cultures were and still have been part of the scientific discussion since the beginning of the conflict. The earliest perception from the Western perspective is referred to as 'traditional school'. It focuses on the threat caused by the Marxist Leninist claim to the world revolution. Its symmetrical counterpart can be found in the Soviet reproach of imperialism directed against the U.S. foreign policy. A so-called 'revisionist view' following in the West from the 1960s on was oriented towards the Marxist Leninist interpretation and criticized the 'traditional school'. It interpreted the Soviet expansion policy in the first place as striving and acting with the purpose of securing the existing state of things. The 'post-revisionist approach' emerging from the 1970s on sought to bridge both the preceding concepts of interpretation and recognized the problematic issues of how to write history and how to deal with memory cultures as regards perception and communication problems of the antagonistic powers. All three interpretations remained time-related partial explanations, and ideological position references were manifested by them. Historical research has always been and will always be faced with current political developments. (Stöver 2007, 16–18) The 'post-revisionist view' fitted into an era of international as well as German-German détente policy, but like the others simply blanked out that the Cold War contained many elements of a classic power conflict. The ideological contrast between the East and the West spawned numerous ideas which, for example, resulted in a theory of convergence, which means a rapprochement between the capitalist and socialist system. Only the end of the Cold War opened the retrospective view onto the fight of two global systems of order basically excluding each other.

Like other historical epochs the history of the Cold War not only continues to be written but also to be rewritten. As an epoch-determining phase preceding the present and recent contemporary history there arise relevant references from a perspective concerning the science of history as well as the memory cultures which, however, need to be differentiated in a reflected way. History is a science, and remembrance is an individual and social process through which past events are reanimated and imagined from the present perspective each time and under current needs. (Gautschi – Häller – Furrer 2014, 10–11) Whereas the former is oriented towards the rational criteria of reasonability and inter-subjectivation, the latter is an expression of a subjective and also collective recollection of real or imagined past events. The aim of such kind of remembrance lies less in the reconstruction of the most exact picture possible of past events but rather in the construction of a self-image which serves to produce meaning and identity. Within the framework of scientific discussions concerning memory cultures as well as of

discourses new entrances to the past are opened up, or dug up so to speak. Thereby at times new things upsetting us are brought to light, but undesired things consciously also concealed and blanked out. Dealing with the past is not only different from country to country, as is shown on the example of the Cold War, but it is also subject to change over time. (Gautschi – Häller – Furrer 2014, 8)

Looking back onto the Cold War is not only a matter amongst historians themselves but it is strongly characterized by discourses concerning memory cultures. This phenomenon appears to be typical of dealing with contemporary history. (Nützenadel – Schieder 2004, 7–24) On the example of the Cold War different aspects stand out in particular: A level of fierce historic-political discourses and debates become apparent which can easily be politicized. Especially in states which look back onto a communist 'people's democratic' past it is a difficult matter for people to come to terms with the domestic political past of their own dictatorship. Taboos as well as defamations go along with it.

Where coming to terms with the past is not impeded by blanking it out, the politics of history shadows of the past become visible. In South America, for example, looking back onto the period of the military dictatorships and the colonels' regimes which at a transnational level took violent and brutal action against opposition members. Exactly because the Cold War is still prevalent in diverse forms and is yet over, it also assumes an important place in memory culture. It became a weighty cipher for current politics of history. By the 1990s, the end was declared in a prominent way and since then there have been warnings against a revival.

Historians further deal with the 'heritage of the Cold War' and bring up the question as to how the structures laid down and consolidated at the time still continue to have an effect on society, politics and economy. For Bernd Greiner the Cold War is in fact also a historical epoch which left lasting marks which survive in the deep structures of political and social life. For this reason the Cold War ranks among the unique periods he says. (Greiner 2013, 9)

The post-Cold-War phase of almost thirty years is itself characterized by different phases of looking back and remembering: After the optimistic 1990s marked by hope for peace in an era of rule of law, from the mid-2000s on an era followed in which the post-war order broke apart and new rivalries and global crises opened up a new view of the Cold War. As contrast to it – at least for the northern hemisphere the Cold War virtually proved to be a time of peace – even if under a constant threat of violence. (Rödder 2015, 345)

Consequently, the question arises as to how the Cold War can be told nowadays and what narratives exist at the different levels – in comparison between different nations and societies but also individually. To what extent do such narratives create a sense of togetherness or do they rather divide the world anew? What we know already now is that the epoch of the Cold War can only be recounted as a global, multi-linear and in many ways politically, culturally as well as economically and socially intertwined history and thus appears in the form of narratives. (Stöver 2007, 27) How do these narratives sound to us? What widespread images of the Cold War are there?

How can history teaching about the Cold War be characterized?

Its interrelation with the cultural memory is typical of contemporary historical themes, as is also the case with the Cold War. (Furrer 2013, 30) The aspect of memory (individual as well as collective) is particularly pronounced in contemporary history as it is the history of those who live at the time (as Hans Rothfels puts it, see Rothfels 1953: 1-8) who can also lodge an objection and opposition. What is more, in the sense of Jörg Baberowski it can be said that the subjects of historians only exist by taking effect in the memory. What is not remembered does consequently not exist. Thus, the past does not come into existence until we relate to it. And we can also only relate to it if we remember and share this memory with others. (Baberowski 2005, 159)

History teaching and also textbooks are strongly anchored in the context of the culture of memory. This does not come as a surprise since substantial impulses from historical research have influence on history teaching, and yet history teaching is exposed to influential and formative education policy powers and is in fact legitimated neither by knowledge transfer nor by competence promotion nor scientific propaedeutics but by social identity formation and the stabilization of the society.

Thus, international comparative observations of the Cold War in history teaching is, first of all, very interesting for the reason that this epoch provides the perspective of shared history as well as one of divided history. A second additional factor is that the Cold War as an era of the most recent past with its structures has a strong effect on our present, but, at the same time, it appears different to us, even absolutely strange.

Consequently, the themes concerning the Cold War have great potential for historical learning as demonstrated with the following points:

- For learners the relationship between history and memory becomes particularly visible and comprehensible exemplified by this epoch.
- If we talk of the ideological and cultural-geographic alloy of the conflict, the Cold War proves to be a 'didactic play' of a multi-causal conflict which also took place within society and happened at all levels ranging from politics to the economy and culture and even to the individual everyday life.
- The mechanisms and effects of forming stereotypes and adhering to enemy images can well be understood on the basis of these themes and vividly demonstrate what great suffering was caused by them … but also how strongly they are inherent in societies.
- The Cold War is a *commonly* shared history, even if it is remembered in different ways by each nation. Transnational connections are obvious. For the purpose of historical learning, different positions and standpoints of the conflict events can well be determined and thus highlight their multi-perspectivity.

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A Cold War Border Zone – Komárom / Komárno

Barnabás Vajda

Abstract

The paper is an evaluation of a historical research which deals with the state border regime between the towns *Komárno* and *Komárom* from the 1950s to the 2000s. The main aim of the research is to analyse the influence of the physical and virtual/mental state border on people's behaviour and mentality. As a background to this study, it has to be added that in years 2007–2009, and again in 2014–2015, two waves of research, regarding the cultural memory of the state border zone in Komárom and Komárno, were done.[39]

Key words: project by the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute, oral history interviews in Komárno (Slovakia) / Komárom (Hungary), remembering the Cold War, deliberate suppression of memory

What is the speciality of the Komárom / Komárno Case?

Both towns are situated on the bank of the River Danube. *Komárom* is situated in Hungary on the southern bank, while *Komárno* is situated on the northern bank; this latter town used to be a part of Czecho/Slovakia until 1993, today it belongs to Slovakia.[40] Slovakian Komárno is bigger both in its physical area and its number of inhabitants than Hungarian Komárom: *Komárno* is situated on 102 square kilometres and has 35 729 inhabitants; while *Komárom* is situated on 70 square kilometres and has 19 729 inhabitants. (All data from 2011.)

As to the ethnic composition, in both towns there have been ethnic Hungarians living ever since. Until 1918 there was one single town, called Komárom, situated in the north-western part of the Hungarian Kingdom. As one of the losers of the World War I, Hungary lost all its territories north of the River Danube. So after 1918 (under the terms of the Versailles/Trianon Peace Treaty) the northern half of Komárom became a part of the newly created Czechoslovakia. Yet, the ethnic composition of these towns is remarkable. According to the last censuses (2011), the inhabitants of the Hungarian *Komárom* are practically entirely Hungarians; while the inhabitants of the Slovakian *Komárno* are 65% Hungarians and 35% Slovaks. This means that both *Komárom* and *Komárno* still have a dominantly Hungarian population. However, the people living here had been severely isolated from each other by different kinds of state borders for nearly a century, commencing with an entirely sealed off state border (by the Soviet Army in 1945/1946) through a semi-

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[39] The first research was done in cooperation with the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute, Vienna within the framework project The 'Long European Post War Period' in Communicative Memories and (Trans)National Public Spheres; the second research, smaller in scale, was done by my team at the History Department of J. Selye University. Both researches consisted of two main types of sources: (i) face-to-face oral history interviews conducted during a field research with the inhabitants of both towns; and (ii) archival materials form local, regional and state archives, regarding the border regime during the Cold War period.

[40] For details regarding the terminology of the names Komárom [a Hungarian term] and Komárno [a Slovak term] see Bottoni 2008, 27.

permeable border in the 1970s and 1980s, ending up in a 'totally free border zone' after Hungary and Slovakia joined the Schengen Area.

What did the Cold War isolation mean to the local people, and what has the re-gained freedom meant to them? How have different types of state border systems affected their everyday life and mentality? And finally, does the recent 'state border without checking' regime automatically mean free contacts between the local peo-ple? These were the main questions our two researches were seeking answers to.

At the actual standing point of the research, we have come to two main conclu-sions. The first is that the state border at the *Komárom / Komárno* checkpoint caused much harm to the local peoples' notion of unity. Different forms of strict bor-der regime (in certain times in a very rough form, indeed) caused that during the Cold War period these two towns had lived a very separate life, as if they had never lived a 'mutual life' prior to 1918. In this respect, the *Komárom / Komárno* case is pretty much similar to the West Berlin / East Berlin story, despite the fact that the border line here was not a part of the 'real' Iron Curtain, since it was stretching out between two 'friendly socialist states'. Yet, more than half of our interviewees spoke about their own experiences which were comparable to the darkest stories that hap-pened at the Iron Curtain.[41] The second conclusion rises from the first one. In our interviews we found that the state border without border guards and customs officers does not automatically mean that people feel themselves 'closer to each other'. In other words in many ways people still feel 'far from each other'. In a longer term it means that local councils in both towns will have to go a long way to create a living environment where the people of both Komárom and Komárno will feel united.[42]

We understand that there had been or still have been many 'separated' or 'twin' towns in Europe. Just a few examples from these: Gmünd (Austria) – České Ve-lenice (Czech Republic, former Czechoslovak Socialist Republic); Kapikule/Edirne (Turkey) – Kapitan Andreevo/Svilengrad (Bulgaria) – Orestiada (Greece); Gorizia (Italy) – Nova Goricia (Slovenia, former Yugoslavia); Narva (Estonia, former Soviet Union) – Ivangorod (Russia, former Soviet Union); Cerbére (France) – Port-Bou (Spain); Calais (France) – Dover (Great-Britain) etc. Naturally every case is slightly different. However, there are only two situations which are really comparable to the *Komárom / Komárno* case, and these are the cases of Salonta (Romania) and Méhkerék (Hungary), as well as Görlitz (Germany, former German Democratic Re-public) and Zgorzelec (Poland). Though both are comparable to the *Komárom / Komárno* in a sense that they were towns situated between two communist states, however their ethnic composition is less compact than in *Komárom / Komárno*.[43]

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[41] According to the latest research by the Ústav pamäti národa, altogether there were at least 42 people killed on the Slovak state border with Austria.

[42] This process has already started in a form of several contemporary economic, cultural, etc. projects, from which I would like to point out to the plan of a new road-bridge above the Danube (scheduled to be ready early 2019), and the joint webpage of the two towns [http://www.komarom.hu/index2.html] 24 January 2016

[43] To my best knowledge, I can mention the following state-border-researches on international scale: (i) Helga Schultz, Katarzyna Stkołosa and Dagmara Jajeśniak-Quast have done similar research as we did; see for instance Twin towns on the borders as laboratories of European integration. Frank-furter Institute für Transformationsstudien, Discussion paper 4/2002 written by them. (ii) A research group led by Klaus-Jürgen Hermanik and Eduard Staudinger at the Historical Institute in Graz, Austria.

We can conclude that *Komárno and Komárom* are particularly interesting places if we do a research into the effects of either the historical or the current border regime on peoples' mentality. It is a spot where more than three levels of relations can be examined: (i) border relations between two states (as an overall perspective); (ii) relations between Hungarians and Hungarians on both side of the state border, 'separated' from each other (inter-Hungarian perspective); and (iii) relations of Slovaks (living in Komárno) with two 'types' of Hungarians, i.e. with Hungarians from Hungary, and with ethnic Hungarians living in the Slovakian Komárno. So basically both towns are a unique urban environment and are very suitable spots where historical Hungarian and Slovak relations, including border and inter-ethnical relations can be examined very well.

In my understanding, there are four major historical issues that should be carefully examined in the *Komárom / Komárno* case. The first is the state border regime between Hungary and Czecho/Slovakia, including the forms and limits of the state border (e.g. smuggling), and the phenomenon of the 'fake' Iron Curtain. Secondly, Hungarian–Czecho/Slovak national-ethnical relations based on and reflected in a series of oral history interviews in *Komárno and Komárom*. Thirdly, the international cooperation of communist authorities at the *Komárno and Komárom* border checkpoints. Fourthly, local lieux de memoires also deserve attention in the context of the coexistence of Hungarians and Slovaks in the town, incl. the image of 'the other side'; 'official' historical monuments in the town; present day conflicts right on or over the state border line, etc.

It would be worth analysing the phenomenon of the 'lack of knowledge about the neighbour'. It means that neighbouring communities in *Komárom and Komárno*, who have lived freely next to each other for 20 years now (even if in two countries) do not know each other, and they lack even the most basic information about each other. For example, our interviewees in Hungarian Komárom simply did not know that there are some 12 000 Slovaks live in Komárno; they thought that exclusively Hungarians live there. Some historians, such as Csaba Zahorán think that the 'lack of knowledge about the neighbour' was created during the communist era, when between 1945 and 1989 the contacts between these two towns (also between the two states) were strictly limited and over-politicised.

Last but not least, it seems that Komárno as the biggest *urban* place where ethnic Hungarians compactly live in Slovakia might be an interesting spot for researchers.[44] Unfortunately, in this study it is not possible to write in details about all these research directions. Therefore, in this paper, I would like to deal mostly with the phenomenon of how the state border regime between the two states (Czecho/Slovakia and Hungary) and the two towns (Komárno and Komárom) has evolved commencing from the post-World War II period until today. In my paper, I

(iii) A Border Project called EastborderNetled run at the Humboldt University Berlin. (iv) The Ashgate Research Companion to Border Studies. Ed. by Doris Wastl-Walter, Universitu of Bern, Switzerland.

[44] I have to mention here our scientific programme with a group of distinguished Japanese and Slovak scientists, namely with Susumu Nagayo, Osamu Ieda, Tatsuya Nakazawa, Yuko Kambara, Tadaki Iio, Štefan Šutaj, Dušan Kováč, Gabriela Dudeková, László Szarka, and the series of four international workshops "Transboundary symbiosis over the Danube – EU integration between Slovakia and Hungary from a local perspective", we have conducted together in Komárno and Japan in 2012, 2014, 2015 and 2016.

would like to focus on the pre-1989 situation, especially on the 1960s and 1970s, which was the period of the Hungarian–Czecho/Slovak mutual state border relations when the toughest (sometimes even cruel) border regime was over, and both countries focused on harmonic and peaceful coexistence. It was also a time dominated by vivid economic relations and lively cross-border cooperation.

How has the state border regime between Czecho/Slovakia – Hungary, and Komárno – Komárom evolved?

The Hungarian–Czecho/Slovak mutual state border relations have to be understood as part of the Cold War overall internation relations. In other words, they have to be understood as part of the Cold War situation on the one hand, and as part of the inter-communist bloc relations on the other.

As it was beautifully described by Péter Becsik and Stefano Bottoni, the state border in *Komárno/Komárom* between Hungary and Czechoslovakia was practically sealed off in the period of 1946 to 1960. During this period, crossing the border was almost completely prohibited for local people, therefore the state border was an impermeable obstacle for the locals of the two towns for some 15 years. It is no surprise that during our oral history interviews we heard the most horrible border stories from the 1950s.

Our interviewees told us stories about families torn apart from each other, literally trying to shout over to the other side above the dark waters of the River Danube. It was very typical for the Hungarian – Czecho/Slovak inter-block relations that these shoutings were considered as crime in both countries, and e.g. in Komárno the water of the river was swept with huge reflectors at night. In other cases, people, or livestock, or food was driven across the 200-300 metre wide border zone over the frozen water at night by sledges. The fact that not only elderly people but young ones could recall these events proves that these stories had strongly settled in local people's minds and hearts.

The local border regime in the 1960s and the 1970s was influenced by two major factors. One was a significant intention on both sides to improve mutual inter-state relations that were spoilt and hibernated immediately after World War II due to the violent actions of the Czecho/Slovak government against Hungarians living in Czecho/Slovakia. The other major factor was the 'discovery' of Hungarians living in Czecho/Slovakia. The latter issue was not a general tendency in János Kádár's foreign policy, for building connections to the Hungarians living beyond the state borders of Hungary was not a political line which János Kádár was fond of. But *Komárno and Komárom* were a special case; here the national as well as urban links were so tight that reaching over to the 'other side' of the river Danube was inevitable.

The Komárom / Komárno river harbour

Harbours on the Danube have been situated on both sides of the river, but the one in Komárno was older and bigger. It has long been an international waterway carrying mostly commercial ships from Germany through Austria, Slovakia, Hungary, to Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria and to the Black Sea, i.e. the Soviet Union. At the same time, the *Komárom / Komárno* river harbour was a suitable place for

smuggling. The list of goods and items commonly smuggled in all directions is very long. It commences with gold and hard currencies of the time, continuing with everyday consumer goods and food of different kind, ending up with human persons who tried to 'smuggle' themselves.

Ships coming from Austria, heading to Yugoslavia were welcomed with particular interest not only by the locals, especially the local workers who participated in packing in and out of the ships, but also by the authorities of all kinds. It has to be noted that the *Komárno/Komárom* harbour was an important place where valuable intelligence information changed hands. Ships coming from Austria carried not only consumer goods completely missing from the communist markets, but also valuable information for secret services, and in the local harbours all ships had to be controlled/surveyed, except for the ones under Soviet flag.[45]

We have some delicate sources regarding the 'Komárom harbour of a prominent operative importance' which prove that secret service agents dispatched to *Komárno/Komárom* made different businesses with ship-crew of different nationalities crossing Austria, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, etc. For instance, sources reveal a story of a lady, marked as 'VM' who was a Hungarian 'network person', i.e. closely cooperating with the Hungarian secret services. She was born in Czecho/Slovakia, later moved to Hungary, and worked in a small cafe in Komárom. Here she was making a rich illegal business with shipmen, selling cigarettes and buying gadget wristwatches. This all was done deliberately to camouflage her official network person identity.

Archival sources regarding *Komárom / Komárno* tell us basically two things. One is the phenomenon of smuggling that took place in the local river harbour, and the other is an extensive international cooperation of communist secret services, including counter espionage services. E.g. the Department of Foreign Relations of the Hungarian Ministry of Interior documented the following report from 1963: 'At the very beginning of this year [*1963*], the Rumanian secret service had asked us for help. They have their own officer stationed in Komárno who needs some help form the Hungarian authorities. This Securitate officer works under the coverage of the Navrom agency [*a Romanian ship firm*]'. As the document further states: 'The Romanian officer who works in Komárno, sends operative materials to Bucharest from time to time through the Czecho/Slovak state security services, and via this way he receives orders, and commands from the Romanian authorities.' Colonel Lajos Karasz had approved the operation on February 4, 1963.[46]

Smuggling in *Komárno/Komárom* operated in all possible directions. Some sources tell us stories about the greed of the Czecho/Slovak customs officers. The typical method of corruption was that Czecho/Slovak customs officers, while checking a ship, were offered some gift for being indulgent/forbearing while doing the customs control in return. This procedure was so widespread and reached such a big scale on the Komárno side that it upset the Hungarian authorities:

'This corrupt behaviour of the Czecho/Slovak customs officers became very

[45] Open Society Archives Budapest. HU-OSA-300-8-13 RFE/RL Research Institute Publication Department East Europe Box 2, 1960 Feb, pp. 22-27.

[46] Állambiztonsgi Szolgálatok Történeti Leváltára, Budapest. O-dosszé, 12021 – Komáromi MÁV 1963.

destructive for our customs officers. [...] When we objected at the head of the customs in Komárno, they had chosen a different way. They use their own personal cars to help Yugoslavs to smuggle in goods to Hungary. This unacceptable behaviour of the Czecho/Slovak customs staff is tolerated by the head of the station, what is more, Arendas [*Marek Árendás*] himself is involved in the trafficking, and he regularly receives different gifts. Our counter espionage service has information about the most well-known officers, among others Karoly Behil [...], Zoltán Danics and Mátyás Szabados. It can be observed – says the report furthermore – that a young Czecho/Slovak customs officers can buy a personal car and can build a house within a year, despite having an official salary of some 1600 Kčs.'[47]

Beyond the palpable tension between the customs officers on the Hungarian and the Czecho/Slovak side, it is worth noting that the Hungarian report calls the Czecho/Slovak customs personnel by their Hungarian names since they knew that many of the customs officers in Komárno were native Hungarians born in Czecho/Slovakia.

More and more tourists = more and more problems

During the 1960s, we can observe a significant increase in the number of visitors crossing the Czecho/Slovak border in *Komárno/Komárom*. From Stefano Bottoni's figures we know that years from 1958 to 1968 were those when the Hungarian–Czecho/Slovak border connections reached their first peak time. Within this period, and especially between 1962 and 1966 we can observe a sudden increase when some two million passengers (one million in each direction) crossed the Hungarian–Czecho/Slovak border. Specifically, in Komárno in 1963 some 15,000 persons crossed the border from Czecho/Slovakia. The vast majority of the passengers travelling through the Komárno checkpoint were citizens of the Czecho/Slovak Socialist Republic and Hungary. Most of them came directly from the Komárno County, and in 95% of the cases their destination was Hungary. They mostly travelled collectively by buses, less typically individually by train or by car. According to the official figures of the Komárno customs office, the two peaktimes for these visits in 1963 were in the period from March to August, then again from October to December. Local authorities also registered a strong increase in the number of passengers travelling by motor vehicles. E.g. in 1962, some 4717 cars and 4504 motorcycles crossed the Komárno/Komárom checkpoint, and within one year this number increased to 15 993 as far as personal cars were involved. (See Bottoni 2011, 148–151)

It needs to be noted that local political authorities were able to react to the new situation rather quickly. Backed by a central government declaration from early 1963, in which Prague stressed and aimed at the strong increase of tourism incomes throughout Czecho/Slovakia, the Czecho/Slovak government literally stated that 'this aim is especially important to reach in the counties [*okresy*] near the borderlands'.

In early 1964, the National Committee of the Komárno County (*in Slovak*:

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[47] Állambiztonsgi Szolgálatok Történeti Leváltára, Budapest. 3.1.2, M–41473 Kékduna tmb. dossziéja.

Okresný národný výbor, ONV) made several steps to improve the tourist facilities right in the town as well as in the county. The department of commerce (Odbor obchodu ONV.), headed by František Bartoš made bold plans to increase the quantity of the tourist facilities. It was indeed a grand plan not easy to fulfil because the local authority knew that the situation in the field of tourism was far from sufficient. E.g. on the Slovak side of the border, in Komárno there was only one hotel, Hotel Europa with the capacity of some 100 beds. In 1963, there were 27 566 visitors accommodated in this hotel, mostly Czecho/Slovak citizens, and only some 6% of them (1777 people) were citizens of other countries. There were neither enough nor sufficient catering facilities, cafes, wine bars, etc. It was for the first time in this development plan of the National Committee when and where the idea of a restaurant right in the border zone, 'next to the dormitories of the border guards' was raised.[48]

The National Committee of the Komárno County (*abbr.* NC), the political authority of the Komárno County soon realised that the task assigned by Prague is too big. The Plenum of the NC had a lengthy discussion over the plans in order to increase basic and additional tourist facilities, accommodation as well as catering. This was the very first time in the history of the NC as the main political decision-making body of the county, when it had to face the problem of raising money for such a purpose. Since the central budget was very limited, it was the NC who had to find money for making the main road wider, for cleaning the streets continuously (for the only main road from and to the border checkpoint lead right through the town centre), for maintaining the town parks, and for creating fast food facilities, etc. The members of the plenum of NC realised by sheer horror that if not them than no one else would create more car parks, or more cafes, or information placards that were needed to welcome foreign tourists. Also it was necessary to organize some German language training for the personnel involved in this enterprise.[49]

A simple task for a town situated on the state border with a friendly country, the task to create a decent environment for passengers travelling by, made serious complications in people's life. This was the reason why the head of the local department of commerce often complained that it is unable to provide e.g. more beer in the shops, for the brewery was simply not able to produce more, and Hungarian travellers yearning for 'Czech' bottled beer bought more than they were expected to buy.

We also find written records of debates, or sometimes even quarrels of the members of the NC of the Komárno County, about the 'insufficient quantity, and insufficient quality of the tourist facilities'. E.g. the NC on June 3, 1966 had a long session over tourism. Here, while the NC of the County was evaluating the latest winter season, and was preparing for the forthcoming summer tourist season, a usual competency fight had broken out. On the one hand it was the head of the department of commerce, Zdeněk Kročák, who urged the building of a car-camping near the

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[48] Štátny okresný archív, pobočka Komárno. Fond Mestský národný výbor v Komárne. Zápisnice Rady ONV Komárno. ,,Zpráva o rozvoji cestovného ruchu…'' 17 January 1964.

[49] Štátny okresný archív, pobočka Komárno. Fond Mestský národný výbor v Komárne. Zápisnice Rady ONV Komárno z 26. mája 1966. ,,Zpráva a vyhodnotení zimného trhu…''

town. Suddenly, however, a battle over the budget broke out, since the establishment and development of car-camping facilities in Czecho/Slovakia was assigned to the Sväzarm, the Alliance for Cooperation with the Army. Of course, the quarrel was all about money: someone simply had to find some 350 000 Kčs in its budget to set up a decent car-camping facility.[50]

A New Checkpoint Building

As a consequence of these positive developments, between 1964 and 1966, a new customs office building was built between *Komárno/Komárom* on the Czecho/Slovak bridgehead. According to the plans, it cost well over 15 million Kčs, a rather substantial sum for an architecturally modest socreal building of some 200 square metres. According to the written explanation, 'the traffic [*through the Komárno/Komárom checkpoint*] is already very heavy and it will surely increase', so the passport and the customs personnel need a 'decent place to work in, including a staff room, money exchange office, common rooms', etc. Since until then the staff worked under the open air, 'from now on, the passport and customs control of the automobiles will take place under a high roof'.[51]

The project of the new checkpoint building also included some limited improvement of the road infrastructure to and from the checkpoint, plus a restaurant designed practically right on the borderline. It seems that the authorities of the town were influential enough to achieve their earlier plan from 1963, and were able to persuade representatives of the customs that Komárno needed a restaurant right in the border zone. The plan became reality in the 1970s when the Restaurant Pokol ['Hell'] was built on the Slovak side, just a few metres from the checkpoint.

Relations not as bright as they might seem...

The development of the mutual Hungarian-Czecho/Slovak border relations were indeed promising, and the story of the Restaurant Hell might sound humorous. Nevertheless, these all positive events were in a very sharp contrast with the official and absolutely not public line set for the Czecho/Slovak border guards.

From the 1970s, we have some confidential or secret documents regarding the general safety procedures of the Komárno border checkpoint. Within the Organization matters, the guidelines assume the occurrence of some emergency situations. The papers literally assume the possible impact of 'weapons of mass destruction' as well as the possibility of 'temporary stay of people in contagious environment'. Therefore the guidelines order all personnel of the checkpoint to undergo an 'organization-operational military training', including 'getting familiar with the long term usage of protective equipment, such as gas masks, rubber gloves, etc.' Though Komárno was situated on the border with a friendly, what is more an allied country, interestingly enough these documents which were meant 'for all per-

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[50] Štátny okresný archív, pobočka Komárno. Fond Mestský národný výbor v Komárne. Zápisnice Rady ONV Komárno z 3 June 1966.

[51] Štátny okresný archív, pobočka Komárno. Fond Colnic Komárno. Sprievodná zpráva k štúdii Colnica Komárno z 6. septembra 1966, also some papers of Krajského plánovacieho úradu vo veci Colnice Komárno.

sonnel of the checkpoint', in their general principles did not much differ from the safety procedures implemented on the real Iron Curtain border. In the letter sent to Komárno from Prague on December 8, 1978, the Central Customs Office in Prague called for 'a constant vigilance […] especially among the young generations'. On behalf of the Ministry of Foreign Trade (Ministerstvo zahraničního obchodu), dr. Zdeněk Vejvoda, Head of the Defence Department of the Central Customs Office (vedúci útvaru obrany Ústřední celní správa, *ÚCS*) called for attention, and warned customs officers throughout the country to be continuously prepared for 'anti-chemical warfare […] and gradually reach the target to be able to wear gas masks without pause for six hours'. 'It is also very important ' – Vejvoda writes on – that training has to be focused on practical activities regarding the liquidation works in areas attacked by atomic or chemical weapons'.[52]

To conclude: increasing tourism meant disturbing new turns in the everyday life of Komárno. In an economic environment where free market was unknown, and where private enterprise was forbidden, and where the state budget was pretty limited – increasing local tourism was a really ambitious plan. The situation was secretly aggravated by the Czecho/Slovak secret services which in the context of the Cold War ordered local border checkpoints to get prepared for open military conflict even with the closest allies, and thus undermining the basic norms of mutual trust.

The positive development at the *Komárno/Komárom* checkpoint lasted roughly until 1967. The process was slowed down due to the great flood of 1965 in South West Slovakia, the biggest water flooding of the area ever. During defensive and recovery works, the Army of the Peoples' Republic of Hungary (PRH) was keen to help. This help was warmly thanked in a letter written by the County Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia (Okresný výbor Komunistickej strany Slovenska) to the Ministry of the National Defence and the Ministry of Interior of Hungary on 14 July 1965. In this letter, the Slovak political authorities of the region thanked 'for the help of the Armed forces of the PRH for their friendly international help during the flood in 1965'.[53]

Again in 1968, it was the political crisis in Czecho/Slovakia that hindered the further development of the *Komárno/Komárom* connection, since the border became an important military point for the invading Soviet Army. It is necessary to note that the Soviet Army was physically present prior to 1968 in both towns Komárno/Komárom, using the massive fortifications of the 18 Century huge fortress stretching over on both sides of the River Dabube. During the days of the international crisis in August 1968, the access through the *Komárno/Komárom* border checkpoint was completely halted. The bridge was sealed off by guards of the Red Army, and the local railroad and the railway bridge was accessible only for their units too.

It is interesting to notice in the sources the kind of discussions that took place in Komárno over the critical days of August 1968. Not if there were no political fights over who was loyal and who was not in those critical days; of course, there

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[52] Štátny okresný archív, pobočka Komárno. Fond Colnic Komárno. ,,Hlavní úkoly CO v celní správe na rok 1979. Tajné" zo dňa 8. decembra 1978.

[53] Štátny okresný archív, pobočka Komárno. Fond Mestský národný výbor v Komárne. Zápisnice Pléna ONV Komárno z 14. júla 1965. ,,Vážení súdruhovia…"

were. But the main point for the local decision makers was the physical damage caused by the Soviet troops which crossed the border by heavy tanks, damaging the railway and the railway bridge too (the only such one on the Danube within 80 kilometres), also on the drawbridge leading to the town centre. The total harm was estimated to cca 56 milion Kčs. It took four years, until the end of 1972 all damages were repaired.[54]

In the ripe years of the Kádár era, and in the context of an international thawing process, the two towns had found their way to each other. The border was pretty much open. It was open for the family reunions as well as for the purposes of 'consumer communism', for shopping 'on the other side' was very tempting for the inhabitants of both towns. The border was open for simple weekend visits, e.g. many Hungarians living in Slovakia visited football matches in Budapest.

One very peculiar feature of the *Komárno/Komárom* connections was the presence of the Soviet troops on both sides of the border. Since they were there, *Komárno/Komárom* was a 'privileged' place where all political, social, or cultural activities were marked by the presence of the representatives of the Soviet Army. The Soviet presence was the reason that the two towns were forced to cooperate under the umbrella of the Soviet type of internationalism. From 1968 on, practically all public celebrations could be held in 'international spirit', and under the 'auspices' of the Soviet commanders. The representatives of the Soviet Army, either in a form of a high-ranking officer or in a form of a wind ensemble, had to be invited to all public events. From the mid-1970s, the Soviet anthem was also routinely played on both sides of the border. On one hand, this was more and more obligatory, routine and dull. But local patriotic Hungarians on both sides secretly enjoyed it because it was at least some practical way to 'meet the fellow Hungarians from the other side'.

While shopping and entertainment tourism were a limited way of consumer rituals, the border was open for nearly unlimited smuggling. Quietly in the shadow of the obligatory political routine meetings, the throwing border meant a thriving black market in and around *Komárno/Komárom*. The years of the 1970s were the peak time of local illegal trafficking. There were at least three official *Komárno/Komárom* checkpoints – in the harbour, on the surface road, and on the railway station – where illegal exchange of western luxury spirits and cigarettes and gadgets like wristwatches attracted the attention of harbour or railway workers as well as customs officers. Indeed, there was an official state border but there were people who were privileged to overcome it. A selected 'sect' from local political management, customs officers but also ordinary workers who quietly created an invisible state border. It was an open secret that *Komárno/Komárom* was a place of unlimited smuggling: everybody knew it, commencing with ordinary people who fearfully crossed the checkpoint ending with the secret services of several countries.

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[54] Štátny okresný archív, pobočka Komárno. Fond Mestský národný výbor v Komárne. Zápisnice Pléna ONV Komárno z 26. júna 1968, alebo z 6. septembra 1968.

Conclusions

Our research has attracted some light to the East – West division during the Cold War. As Berthold Molden stated it: "Peoples of Eastern Europe are described as victims of Communism, innocent of repressions and economic stagnation. Hence, they were seen as European brothers and sisters who had fallen under the yoke of Bolshevist dictatorship, but who were really progressive and friendly people whose suffering had to be pitied." (Molden 2008, 38) The account being quoted bellow suggests a similar situation, from the viewpoint of a 'victim' who used to be a conscript border guard at the Hungarian – Czechoslovak river border: "From the Austrian [*shipmen*] we only got… gifts. We went on board of their ship to search… Yeah, for we had to search or to handle the passports. There was an Austrian crew of six men, so you can imagine how 'difficult' it was to handle six passports, one had just put a stamp into them, and then you came off the ship. It wasn't necessary to examine the ship, but indeed we had to do it. And then they told as not to go anywhere… Where in the hell would we go on board of an Austrian ship? They gave us… some…, some minor presents…, small ones but it meant very much to us in those times. […] You got a Fa soap in 1981. You got some friendly words in Hungarian because they spoke some Hungarian. Or… a packet of Marlboro cigarettes […] Now looking back, I remember a ship called Melk, and it was visible on the captain that he felt… deep sorry for us. I don't exactly know in what way he felt sorry… but he did. He shook his head that it is not true what we want from them. He didn't even understand it." Yet, on the other side, when in 1989 free and democratic world came back to the lives of the *Komárom / Komárno* people, and even after the border checkpoints were dismantled in 2012, people in both towns still have serious problems to establish vivid relations with 'the other side'.

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The History of the Standardization
of the English Language

Szilvia Juhos

Abstract

The aim of the paper is to give an overview of some periods of the history of the English language with regard to the process of standardization. The first part discusses the nature and characteristics of the process of standardization. It deals with the notion of standard variety, questions the legitimacy and existence of a standard language. The paper tries to describe the definition of standard in language fields. It also reports on what linguistics names as a standard and what can be the part of the standard in language. The second part investigates standardization processes from a historical viewpoint. It examines the stages of standardization processes and provides a couple of hypotheses about the topic. It points out some practical steps of standardization during history, mainly according to the Middle English period.

Key words: standardization, standard variety, history of English

In every English speaking country, there is an official variety of the English, which is called the Standard Variety. The other varieties spoken by native or non- native speakers can be called non-standard or substandard varieties. These varieties in some cases are illogical or incorrect in their grammar rules and usage. (O' Grady 1996, 546)

Standardization can be defined as a process, and this activity is always in progress. From this point of view, standard variety is some kind of idealized uniform, the highest level of a language. Even more, these varieties are fixed, not changeable and their exact function does not fit into a speaker's usage. In other words, linguistic standardization can be described as a doctrine of correctness in language. The aim of standardization is to prevent linguistic changes. (Milroy 2000, 11)

Standardization tends to reduce variations in languages. It selects and codifies among dialects. The most important feature of this kind of process is that it selects one linguistic feature from a couple of dialects. In this case, standardization observes and mixes dialects from a wide range. This activity is a natural process, which is followed by prescriptivism[55] and conversely. The result of the process of standardization is a standard, which is typologically very unusual, goes against the natural paths of the language, and the usage of it is very difficult. (Hope 2000, 53)

The characteristics of language standardization can be divided into three groups. The first form of standardization is based on social agreement. The result of this compromise is a widely accepted variety, which is valued more than the others. The second approach is manifested in the written forms of language. One of the simplest ways of determining the grammatically correct criteria of a language is to write down and demonstrate through literary works. The third is the

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[55] Linguistic prescriptivism is a cultural, ideological phenomenon, which influences the language externally. It is mainly done by the users of the language.

inhibition of the changes in language. Nonetheless these mutations in some cases are able to plug in slowly to the standard if they become widespread and accepted in public media and literature (Milroy 2000, 15). In developed areas, where the English language is present in everyday use, there is one variety of the language, and it is the Standard variety, which is used by the government and the media. It is used in education, and it is the main or only used written language. The Standard variant is a fixed language, with less uncertainty than the others. The prescriptivist grammarians are the codifiers of the standard variety, the patterns which do not fit into the standard can be declared as incorrect or improper. (O' Grady 1996, 541)

The appearance and rise of Standard English is as old as the appearance of written language. Therefore, the history of standardization can be researched through texts written in the era of Middle English or Early Modern English. This researching process examines standardization and Standard English from a diachronic point of view. This definition can be drafted in some points:

The influence of standardization is creating a language which is usable for communicating information, and doing it over a long period of time

Standard language is " created " through its use for administrative purposes, by people who have political power

Standard language spreads from administrative functions, and in this case standard language means the language of prestigious people

These points show that standardization in spelling is affected by written sources of early English texts. Due to the fact that spelling is independent from meaning, it is easy to adopt an almost invariant standard in spelling from early genres, like texts of law. (Rissanen 2000, 17)

The phrase of standard language equalling prestige language has many deceptions. At first standard language tends to be the highest form of the language, but it is not a direct product of the language of a higher status group. Standard variety can be influenced by higher prestige forms due to the fact that the aim of standardization is to create a language that can be widespread and accepted. The misunderstandings about this phrase lead us to a conclusion, that people coming from a higher social status may speak the standard, but in lower classes the population may be more effected by non-standard varieties. These inaccuracies present us the structures of varieties as separate entities. (Milroy 2000, 26)

The ideological basement of standardization is given by the forming of European nationalism, when the language started to be the symbol of national pride and the cohesion inside of national unity. This can be described as the historicisation[56] of the language. One of the effects of historicisation is the idea that the purest English is OE[57]. The external influences on the language and the nowadays well-known dialects are degenerations. On the other hand, the history of English is the history of the speech of educated people. The written sources from the OE period give us an overview of a language variety of a very thin layer of speakers. Thus, what we call Standard English is the result of the historicization

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[56] Late stage of establishing the legitimacy of the standard form of a language.

[57] Old English: 450–1150

of the development of the English language, but it follows that this is not the full history of English. (Milroy 2000, 17)

There is another idea, the SAD[58] hypothesis, which may determinate the nature of the standard in a bad way. This hypothesis claims that one dialect evolved into the present standard form of the English language, and this was the dialect of East Midland in the ME[59] period. The problem with this is that there is historical evidence that Standard English contains a couple of attributes. The evolution of languages does not follow the evolution of biological creatures. The structures of dialects can be mixed, recombined and there are no boundaries between languages 'genes'. (Hope 2000, 50)

In the eighteenth century there was a need to establish language academies based on French[60] and Italian[61] samples. The aim of the English institution would have been the establishment of the standardization of the language and stop the changes in it. The idea of the academia was never realized and the work of standardization and codifying was done by lexicographers and grammarians.

The most popular lexicographer that time was Dr. Samuel Johnson. One of his purposes to publish a dictionary was to stop the degeneration of the English language. His publication, *A Dictionary of the English* (1755) was not a simple list and explanation of English words, but a weapon against the decay of the language. (Jackson 2002, 39)

In the second half of the eighteenth century, the process of standardization was a prescriptive device accepted by grammar constructers. In this movement, the social and political motivation had a strong influence. The members of these movements took the bases for their prescribed rules mainly from the periodical The Spectator.[62] The reason was that this printed press was very popular that time. It was read by a wide range of British people; even its cultural authority made it an important reading for many middle-class English men and women. It was necessary for them to choose prestigious texts to historically confirm their ideas about an ideal Standard variant. Printed press often plays a big role in the transmission of linguistic behaviour. The by-product of this action is that some patterns (not accepted in the Standard before) are being used by a group of people, for example the readers of a periodical. The result of this transmission is standardization itself, the patterns and behaviour are becoming accepted. The opposite of this action is when language transmission has no influence on language behaviour, and standardization becomes an ideologically formed process with constructive purposes. (Fitzmaurice 2000, 196)

The idea of purifying the English language was very popular in literature, too. Jonathan Swift[63] did not approve the dismissing of vowels in words. For example, we can see it in the abbreviation of reputation to rep or in the wrong use of verbs

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[58] Single ancestor-dialect

[59] Middle English: 1150–1500

[60] Académie francaise, 1635

[61] Accademia della Crusca, 1582

[62] *The Spectator* is a weekly British conservative magazine. It was first published on 6 July 1828, making it the oldest continuously published magazine in the English language.

[63] Popular writer in the 18th century, his most famous work is Gulliver's Travels

of 'can't' for 'cannot'.[64] He summarized and expressed his thoughts about imperfections in language in a pamphlet addressed to Lord High Treasurer.[65] Many contemporary writers such as J. Swift tried to identify the causes of the decay of the English language. J. Swift believed that the uneducated office men and bookless poets helped the language to degenerate. Nowadays, linguists are more conforming. Their task is to describe the varieties of the English language in different fields and not to dictate the correct usage. A century after Swift, there was another purist writer, Jacob Grimm[66] who declared that the purest form of his language was 600 years ago in the Gothic age.[67] (O' Grady 1996, 12)

After 1755, the publication of Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary*, grammarians became interested in the fixing of the rules of the English language. They tried to create some kind of written standard through spelling books, grammar books and other self-teaching materials. In England, there was no official sanction aiming to purify the English language; the activity of teachers and scholars was a kind of initiative for it. (Fitzmaurice 2000, 196) Another enthusiastic grammarian was Robert Lowth[68], who in 1762 published his manual entitled *A Short Introduction to English Grammar.* Lowth argued that beside everyday spoken and written English, many eminent authors make huge errors in their works. He showed that even such a great writer as Pope[69] makes mistakes in his language. Lowth enumerates many examples to confirm his argument. It is a fact that this work was an important part of the process of standardization throughout 250 years. This book gave the bases of many grammar books later and it showed the right direction in language learning for many pupils.

However, maybe unfortunately, linguistics today is convinced that there is no such thing as a perfect variety of the English language, there is no kind of grammar which is superior to others, maybe at the age of Robert Lowth there was. (O' Grady 1996, 13)

By switching to the present of the English language we can declare that the initiatives for fixing a standard were never successful. English language continuously changes; adapts itself into patterns, words and structures from other languages and dialects. There are a lot of standards worldwide, and a lot of national standards of cultures. There is not any authority whose task would be to fix or arrange standard grammar, spelling and phonetic structure. Every English speaking nation has its own rules of its some kind of standard, and even these standards are supported by their own dictionaries, grammar and style sheets. A big challenge for English language and for other languages of the world is that the close relationship between a certain language and the adherent culture, identity, nation begins to weaken. The English language and the languages of the world have to adapt to the forces of globalization. (Graddol 1997, 6)

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[64] E.g. he's -> he is

[65] 'A Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Tongue', 1712. Feb. 22nd

[66] Famous for his folktales

[67] altdeutchen

[68] Later the Bishop of London

[69] Alexander Pope was an English poet in the 18th century. Famous for satirical poems and the translation of Homer.

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Selected Quantitative Characteristics of Syntactic Structures in Contemporary Theoretical Scientific Texts Written in Czech

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Abstract

The paper describes a selection of quantitative characteristics distinguishing the predicate in contemporary Czech theoretical scientific style. Our analysis of selected quantitative characteristics of the given sentence member aims to substantiate or refute differences among present-day theoretical scientific texts of various orientations. In order to achieve our targets, the research was based on a corpus of monological texts representing contemporary scientific communication written in Czech. The corpus thus includes team and authorial monographs, thematically divided into five fields recognised by the Czech Science Foundation (hereinafter GAČR). The completed frequential analyses support our claim that contemporary Czech theoretically scientific discourse avoids complicated sentence structures or complicated compound sentences, employing lucid and clearly organised syntax instead. The scientific information is condensed into longer simple sentences and shorter compound sentences, showing preference of not very complex, concise, often formalised expression. The styling of scientific texts into longer simple sentences and shorter compound sentences is typical of all researched groups of fields and is reflected in succintness, coherence and general tendency to economy of expression resulting from the natural ambition to communicate the content in the most comprehensible way. Contemporary Czech theoretical scientific discourse conveys the specific content in a succint, coherent, formalised and isolated manner. The analyses of selected quantitative characteristics of syntactic structure did not evidence in the corpus of professional communication written in contemporary Czech prominent processes of linguistic differentiation between individual groups of fields. More distinctive disproportions were documented in the group of technical fields with mathematics in contrast with other fields. Mathematical discourse is typified, most distinctly in the whole corpus of differentiated texts, by concise and coherent expression.

Key words: style, linguistics, theoretical and scientific discourse, sentence, compound sentence, humanities and social sciences

The paper describes a selection of quantitative characteristics distinguishing the predicate in contemporary Czech theoretical scientific style. It was prompted by the contention that "the sentence structure in professional style shows considerable variations reflecting authorial individuality as well as the orientation and character of the thematically relevant scientific field" (Krčmová 2008, 216). Although in professional communication "many sentence features may be stylistically less conspicuous" (Těšitelová 1985, 99), compared e.g. to vocabulary, they do appear in professional style yet with lower intensity. Our analysis of selected quantitative characteristics of the given sentence member aims to substantiate or refute differences among present-day theoretically scientific texts of various orientations.

Through describing selected syntactic features within the corpus of contemporary theoretically scientific discourse, the paper's objective is to specify the processes of (linguistic) differentiation, namely the divergence of increasingly specialised fields (Kraus 1994, 15). We intend to identify "professional" (Daneš 1997, 74) differences among selected scientific fields as one of the factors affecting divergences in the development of contemporary scientific usage. The process of differentiation is now perceived as one of the most prominent aspects of contemporary inclinations of Czech professional style.

The stylistic features of theoretical scientific discourse comprise well-prepared, properly formulated, relatively complete, precise and clear public utterances, where the conceptual component prevails. Typically, in professional stylisation the emotional aspect of communication is suppressed. The innovative way of expression helps to deliver the knowledge and the relevant references more succinctly. Lacking aesthetic and persuasive functions, professional discourse rather strives for cognitive goals. The stylistically and emotionally neutral choice of expressions corresponds to Standard Czech usage, which in professional texts tends to be bookish.[70] The variability and specific quality of fairly diverse cognitive involvement naturally reflect the heterogeneity of scientific communication while conveying information in different human pursuits. The paper is focused on theoretically scientific style directed at the presentation of new knowledge, highly elaborate in form and content, and presuming a professional (erudite) recipient.

In order to achieve our targets, the research was based on a corpus of monological texts representing contemporary scientific communication written in Czech. The corpus thus includes team and authorial monographs, thematically divided into five fields recognised by the Czech Science Foundation (hereinafter GAČR) as: (1) technical sciences; (2) sciences of inanimate nature; (3) medical and biological sciences; (4) humanities and social sciences; (5) agricultural and biological-environmental sciences[71]. The terms "contemporary scientific communication - contemporary professional discourse" denote Czech monological scientific discourse produced in approximately the last ten years. Our preferred choice was team monographs where the influence of subjective stylistic factors is presumably reduced. The differentiation criterion based on horizontal classification was expected to produce a deliberately variegated text sample enabling us to substantiate or refute the contentions long shared by both the lay public and professionals, namely, that the examined specified targets of Czech written monological scientific utterances should (can) differ in particular fields, and further, that the most striking differences can be anticipated between sciences and "humanities".

The chosen monographs include theoretical, specialised or even scholarly texts. Since a scholarly text is not strictly delimited and easy to define, the term *vědecký/é* is used in compliance with the Czech Science Foundation nomenclature to differentiate particular fields. When the ambiguous terms (*technical) sciences; scholarly (style); scientific (communication / discourse/ text;* etc. are used in a text, their vagueness is within the context of professional style reduced

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[70] The description is based on the concept of professional style (Krčmová 2008, 208–215).

[71] Particular mongraphs are hereinafter designated by abbreviations mentioned in the bibliography.

and replaced by such terms as *(technical) sciences; theoretically professional (style); theoretically professional (communication /discourse /text).* The researched materials comprise 12 monographs divided into five groups of thematically related fields consisting of 24,000 words in total. In the sample, each monograph is represented by an extract consisting of 2,000 words, divided into two parts – a 1,000-word extract from the first chapter and a 1,000-word extract from the third concluding chapter. Partial samples were excerpted separately and subsequently averaged out to the final value, first for the given monograph and then for a particular group of fields. The described procedure was chosen to minimise the impact of such stylistic factors as the authorial subject and the specific quality of a particular chapter, e.g. the first/ last chapter, with the aim of gaining the most representative sample for the syntactic structure analysis of each team monograph. The sentence is simply conceived as a unit with "a certain morphosyntactic structure and a semantic structure" (Karlík 2016); the compound sentence is denoted as "a syntactic combination of two finite sentences" (ibidem). In this paper, the measured length of a simple sentence, a complex sentence, and a single sentence in a compound sentence is the length from period to period; the unit is a word as a graphic entity.

The most frequently used quantitative parameter of the sentence being its length, our research focuses on an analysis and mutual comparison of the length between the simple sentence and the compound sentence. The linear dimension as a basic quantitative parameter of the sentence is affected by a number of factors. The sentence length reflects, for example, the linguistic system potentialities; the theme and its content; the concrete norms of a particular field of science. It can also be influenced by individual (authorial) stylistic peculiarities and textual composition. The shortest simple sentences in the corpus were found in technical fields with mathematics (11.39 words); followed by medical and biological fields (15.26 words); sciences of inanimate nature (16.13 words); social sciences and humanities (18.61 words); agricultural and environmental fields (18.96 words). The longest compound sentences appear in social sciences and humanities (18.84 words); and in agricultural and biological-environmental fields (30.72 words). As for the length of simple and compound sentences, individual groups of fields followed in the same order. The shortest simple sentence and the shortest compound sentence was excerpted in technical fields with mathematics; in medical and biological fields; by contrast, the longest simple sentence and the longest compound sentence are documented in social sciences and humanities; and in agricultural and biological-environmental fields. There is mutual correspondence between quantitative values of the simple sentence and the compound sentence. In other words, the findings for the simple sentence are statistically corroborated also for the compound sentence.

In the defined groups of fields, the collected data on the average length of simple and compound sentences reveal similarities, i.e. not only in the groups of fields with similar content, but even, for example, in the opposed "sciences" and "humanities". The differences are barely noticeable and in this quantitative characteristic fail to corroborate the processes of differentiation among the delimited groups of fields. In view of variability and inhomogeneity of the examined units, particularly

in compound sentences, the homogeneous results across the researched groups of fields are interesting findings confirming in this partial parameter long-term stability of theoretical scientific style. Major differences are found only in technical fields, including mathematics, featuring shorter simple sentences and shorter compound sentences as well. The absolutely shortest simple and compound sentences in the corpus occur in the monograph written in mathematical sciences, where the average compound sentence length is only slightly greater than the average simple sentence length in the whole corpus of scientific texts. In mathematics, its high degree of abstraction and the ensuing necessity to employ symbolic notations results from the highest conciseness and coherence of expression. The mathematical text has an unambiguously formal structure, consisting, as a rule, of an axiom; a definition; a proof formed by a sentence, a lemma and a consequence; and further of also notes and an example. The average length is not reached by simple and compound sentences in the monograph produced in information and communication technologies. In contrast, the longest simple and compound sentences appear in the monographs produced in social sciences and humanities as well as in agricultural and biological-environmental fields. The average length of simple sentences in these groups of fields is greater than the average compound sentence length in the monograph written in mathematical sciences. The longest simple and compound sentences in the corpus are found in the monograph produced in art history from social sciences and humanities, where the length of simple sentences is enhanced more than in other groups of fields by secondary sentence elements and parentheses. Infrequent digressiveness of the text is, together with higher incidence of secondary elements, reflected in more complex structure of this text, compared to the other monographs in the corpus.

The data on the length of simple and compound sentences is slightly distorted by the fact that frequency analysis is based on the linear sentence dimension consisting of grammatical words. So as to express relations and meanings or to elucidate facts, professional communication does not employ solely linguistic means but also graphical devices or scientific language. Quantitative analyses in this paper do not comprise units of artificial systems of signs and concrete data, such as formulas, marks or symbols with the greatest incidence in technical fields and mathematics. These "linguistic devices of science" (Čechová, 2003, 188) constitute the basic textual line implicitly considered comprehensible to the recipient.

A comparison between the lengths of simple sentences and compound sentences reveals that the simple sentence length makes up almost 2/3 of the compound sentence length. Within this parameter, the groups of fields show only minimal differences – in technical fields with mathematics, the simple sentence length corresponds to 72.55 % of the compound sentence length; in social sciences and humanities, the ratio is 64.53 %; in the sciences of inanimate nature, it is 61.8 %; in agricultural and biological-environmental fields it is 61.72 %; in medical and biological fields it is 58.92 %. The ratio between the simple sentence length and the compound sentence length was the highest of all groups of fields in technical fields with mathematics, that is, the fields featuring both the shortest simple sentence excerpts and the shortest compound sentence excerpts. In technical fields with mathematics, compound sentences are the least elaborate, yet efficient

and noticeably the shortest, in the whole corpus. The opposite of them, in this respect, are social sciences and humanities, as well as agricultural and biological-environmental fields containing both the longest simple and compound sentences. Though, the differences are small. Simple compound structures consisting of short units concurrent with parcelling information into longer simple sentences are typical of all groups of fields and are not related to the textual content orientation.

In all groups of fields, compound sentences slightly prevail over single sentences. The highest ratio between simple and compound sentences is found in technical fields with mathematics, its lowest incidence is in agricultural and biological-environmental fields. The greatest incidence of simple sentences is in technical sciences with mathematics (25.3), whereas their lowest incidence is evidenced in medical and biological fields (8). The absolutely highest occurrence of compound sentences in the corpus of scientific texts is found in the monograph produced in mathematical fields (35.4), the absolutely lowest frequency is in the monograph from biological fields (7). Different from the other fields in the corpus are monographs written in physical sciences from the group of sciences of inanimate nature and a monograph produced in forestry science, where the ratio is reversed (26 SS – 23.5 CS and 29 SS – 25.5 CS).

Although both monographs are distinguished by the final averages with small prevalence of simple sentences over compound sentences, the calculated values for both team monographs always exceed only in one of the examined samples. In the first case, it is the second sample, namely chapter twelve (*Kvantitativní odhad srážek z distančních měření*) against chapter one (*Meteorologické procesy a jevy*). The second monograph shows a distinct prevalence of simple sentences in the first chapter (*Přírodní rezervace Polom*), while the fifth excerpted chapter features the reverse (*Zobecnění poznatků*). In both cases, the inquiry reveals a regular recurrence of a higher proportion of simple sentences to compound sentences in more practically oriented chapters of the monograph. This is corroborated by examples of partial dominance of the simple sentence over the compound sentence even in other monographs, written namely in physical sciences from the scrutinised technical fields with mathematics, and in meteorological sciences, i.e. agricultural and biological-environmental sciences, where the simple sentence slightly prevails in the second sample, i.e. in the first case, in chapters seven (*Křemíková nanofotonika*), in contrast to the first chapter (*Luminescence neuspořádaných polovodičů*), and in the second case, in chapter six (*Zásoby uhlíku ve vegetaci České republiky a modelová uhlíková bilance krajiny*), as compared to the first chapter (*Globální změna uhlíku a klimatu*).

The quantitative characteristics of Czech as used in the latter half of the twentieth century (Těšitelová 1980, 1985) showed that various texts written in one functional style have "different values" (Těšitelová 1985, 172) of this parameter and that the ratio of simple and compound sentences "does not belong in Czech to the marks of functional style", rather being the manifestation of "individual authorial style" (ibidem 127). Our excerpts of the corpus of present-day scientific texts lead to the conclusion that within theoretically scientific style, the author is a minimally functioning stylistic factor. A more structured utterance and the need to express the context through mutual relations is accompanied by a generally conceived

theme and a higher degree of abstraction, whereas a more specified theme, tending to divide the text into simple sentences and to more independent communication, increases the simple sentence proportion in the text. However, the relation between the generalness or concreteness of the theme and the proportion of the simple and compound sentences do not concern the length of a single sentence in the compound sentence and the compound sentence as a whole, which in no way deviate from average values.

The prevailing occurrence in the corpus of scientific texts means compound sentences consisting of two clauses. In all groups of fields, the proportion of two-clause compound sentences is almost seventy percent of all compound sentences. With the increasing sentence length, their representation in the text decreases. The prevalence of two-clause compound sentences reinforces the tendency of professional discourse towards economy of expression, to succint and concise style and it is symptomatic of all groups of fields. Two-clause compound sentences are the highest occurrence in monographs written in technical fields and, within this group of fields, in mathematical sciences. The proportion of compound sentences formed by three or more clauses is similar in all groups, around twenty percent. Most three-clause compound sentences are found in medical and biological fields and in sciences of inanimate nature, their highest incidence at all is in the monograph produced in medical sciences. The proportion of four-clauses compound sentences is roughly four 4 – 8%, their highest incidence is in the sciences of inanimate nature. The incidence of compound sentences comprising five or more clauses is insignificant; they are not found in monographs written in physical sciences; geological sciences; medical and forestry sciences. The only exception is social sciences and humanities where the occurrence of five-clause compound sentences is almost 8%.

In all groups of fields, hypotactic compound sentences prevail over paratactic compound sentences. The greatest differences in their frequency are in technical fields with mathematics (H 78.72%; P 21.28 %); followed by sciences of inanimate nature (H 66%; P 34 %); agricultural and biological-environmental sciences (H 63.2 %; P 36.8 %); social sciences and humanities (H 56.3 %; P 42.7 %); and medical and biological fields (H 53.7 %; P 46.3 %). The absolutely highest incidence of hypotactic compound sentences is in monographs written in information sciences and technical fields (91 %); in geological sciences (78.2 %) and mathematical sciences. By contrast, texts with the lowest share of hypotaxis, where the proportion of hypotactic and paratactic relations is balanced, are found in monographs produced in art history (56.4 %); further in medical fields (50 %); and in forestry (47 %). The prevalence of hypotaxis is most noticeable in technical fields with mathematics. Though, a higher incidence of hypotactic compound sentences does not burden the text with formal intricacy. Prevailing in monographs are compound sentences with one, maximally two, hypotactic clauses. The relationship between presented facts is not described in a complicated way; symptomatic is the intent to convey logical, mostly causal relations, accurately, clearly and unambiguously. Paratactic compound sentences show the highest frequency in social sciences and humanities as well as in medical and biological fields. A higher occurrence of parataxis reveals the authorial endeavour to enhance stylisation and to present

more facts through adding paratactic information. The proportion of hypotaxis and parataxis most prominently reflects the antinomy of "humanities" and "sciences".

In hypotactic compound sentences, the highest incidence is recorded for attributive clauses, mostly in sciences of inanimate nature, and in social sciences and humanities. The absolutely highest frequency of attributive clauses is found in the monograph written in art history from the field of social sciences and humanities. In the whole corpus, it is only the monograph produced in mathematical sciences, where attributive clauses do not prevail, but the most frequent incidence registered by adverbial clauses, followed by object clauses. They are succeeded by adverbial clauses and object clauses; in technical fields, they appear in the reverse order, which means, object clauses and adverbial clauses in succession. Surprising as the incidence of adverbial clauses may be, their lower occurrence can be explained by using lexical means instead.

The greater proportion of simple sentences and the prevalence of shorter, mostly two-clause, compound sentences symptomatically distinguish the sentence structure of the scientific text, yet its prevailingly notional character impairs its connectivity. The textual coherence of professional discourse is chiefly generated by the unifying theme and the lexical stereotype of connectors. Typical of the contemporary scientific text is limited variability in the choice of connectors and minimal differences between the explored groups of fields. While the frequency and concrete representation of relative pronouns and adverbs were almost identical, there can be some differences in the use of conjunctions. Specifically, the incidence of relative pronouns in technical fields with mathematics was 26.7; in sciences of inanimate nature, it was 27; in medical and biological fields 30; in social sciences and humanities, 26.5; and in agricultural and environmental fields, 22.3. Relative adverbs, which are less frequent, feature more noticeable differences, although there are less distinct dissimilarities between individual groups of fields: in technical fields with mathematics, the incidence is 8.6; in sciences of inanimate nature, it is 14.5; in medical and biological fields, 2.5; in social sciences and humanities, 6; and in agricultural and environmental fields, 5.3.

Our excerpts corroborated a limited range of conjunctions used in contemporary scientific discourse. The greatest occurrence of various conjunctions was found in medical and biological fields (6.75); followed by technical fields with mathematics (5.6); agricultural and biological-environmental fields (5.3); social sciences and humanities (5). And sciences of inanimate nature (5). Represented in all groups of fields is the pronounced dominance of coordinating conjunctions over subordinating conjunctions, which is not surprising, because the former, unlike the latter, coordinate not only sentences but also sentence members, for example in itemisation. As a means of explicitly factual expression, homogeneous sentence members are used to present details or to variate information conveyed earlier. Their larger occurrence can be regarded as a persuasive device, for it decreases the information satiety and factuality of the text and reduces the exigence of the recipient's perceptive abilities. The highest representation of coordinating conjunctions was recorded in social sciences and humanities (102); in agricultural and environmental fields (95.7); further, in sciences of inanimate nature (91.5); in medical and biological sciences (85); and in technical fields with

mathematics (59.3). The only exception is technical sciences with mathematics with the prevalence of subordinating conjunctions (44). Subordinating conjunctions show the following order of representation: medical and biological fields (21.5); agricultural and biological-environmental fields (14.3); social sciences and humanities (13); and sciences of inanimate nature (10). The highest representation of subordinating conjunctions is recorded in technical fields with mathematics (8); followed by medical and biological fields (4.5); sciences of inanimate nature (3.5); agricultural and biological-environmental fields (3.3); and social sciences and humanities (2). The range of coordinating conjunctions is comparable in all groups of fields – medical and biological fields (6.75); technical fields with mathematics (5.6); agricultural and biological-environmental fields (5.3); social sciences and humanities (5); sciences of inanimate nature (4.5). Only technical fields with mathematics reveal different values in the frequency of conjunctions, the other fields show comparable data.

The completed frequential analyses support our claim that contemporary Czech theoretical scientific discourse avoids complicated sentence structures or complicated compound sentences, employing lucid and clearly organised syntax instead. The scientific information is condensed into longer simple sentences and shorter compound sentences, showing preference of not very complex, concise, often formalised expression. The contention that, in scientific texts, "we can find relatively greatest incidence of compound sentences consisting of four or more sentences" (Těšitelová 1985, 130) and that, in the syntactic construction of theoretically scientific texts reflecting the complexity of "the hierarchizing of ideas and relations ", we can expect texts featuring the most intricate sentence and compound sentence structure, i.e. a higher incidence of longer sentences and elaborate compound sentences, was not corroborated by the selected samples of contemporary scientific texts. The quantitative characteristics confirmed the universal inclination of the syntactic structure of professional discourse towards the economy of expression. The styling of scientific texts into longer simple sentences and shorter compound sentences is typical of all researched groups of fields and is reflected in succintness, coherence and general tendency to economy of expression resulting from the natural ambition to communicate the content in the most comprehensible way. The emphasis on conceptuality weakens the inter-sentence relationship as individual abstractions become independent. Contemporary Czech theoretically scientific discourse conveys the specific content in a succint, coherent, formalised and isolated manner.

The analyses of selected quantitative characteristics of syntactic structure did not evidence in the corpus of professional communication written in contemporary Czech prominent processes of linguistic differentiation between individual groups of fields. Monographs representing particular fields revealed differences among the examined aspects, though no substantial discord. Traditional conceptions of the syntactic complexity of scientific discourse featuring long sentences and compound sentences impacted by complicated textual content were not corroborated by the analyses in present-day theoretically scientific communication. More distinctive disproportions were documented in the group of technical fields with mathematics in contrast with other fields. The text written in mathematical sciences

shows the strongest propensity to produce independent statements and to isolate individual facts. It is a strictly formalist structure, with the highest proportion of simple and compound sentences, where simple sentences approach compound sentences in length, with the prevalence of hypotaxis. Mathematical discourse is typified, most distinctly in the whole corpus of differentiated texts, by concise and coherent expression. The opposition of "sciences" and "humanities" showed to be less prominent; it was more obvious in the different ratio of simple and compound sentence incidence and in a higher representation of paratactic compound sentences, with a greater proportion coordinating conjunctions. Social sciences and humanities may differ from the other groups of fields in a selection of quantitative characteristics of sentence structure, but not so significantly as in lexis or phraseology (Schacherl 2016, 2017). The professional discourse there is more tolerant of longer sentences, or potentially of more intricate sentence structure. From the other groups of fields they differ in a stronger inclination to stylise the expression of scientific content. The primary cognitive function of scientific discourse enabling better understanding of the communicated subject is in social sciences and humanities supplemented by greater, and mainly more original stylistic ambition of the author.

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Qualitative Forschung in der ungarischen Erziehungswissenschaft zwischen 2000 und 2010

Kálmán Sántha

Qualitative Research in Hungarian Educational Science between 2000 and 2010

Abstract

The major objective of the study is to explore the evolution and current state of qualitative pedagogical research methodology in Hungary. The study overviews articles of four pedagogical journals – Iskolakultúra, Új Pedagógiai Szemle, Magyar Pedagógia and Pedagógusképzés – which had been published between 2000 and 2010. The analysis is part of our venture to systematize Hungarian qualitative pedagogical research methodology.

Key words: Qualitative Research, Pedagogical Journals, Education

Schlüsselworte: Qualitative Forschung, Zeitschriften, Erziehungswissenschaft

1. Einleitung

Die Entwicklungsgeschichte der qualitativen Forschung in der ungarischen Erziehungswissenschaft lässt sich zweckmäßig analysieren, indem die relevanten Momente der qualitativen Forschung aus der Vergangenheit hervorgehoben werden. Ich untersuche deshalb kurz deren gegenwärtige Kultur, Theorie und Methodik. In der Studie werden die Inhalte der Artikel, die 2000 bis 2010 in vier pädagogischen Zeitschriften erschienen sind, in Bezug auf die qualitative Forschungsmethodik in den Mittelpunkt gestellt (hier muss ich anmerken, dass es in Ungarn keine pädagogische Zeitschrift gibt, die nur auf qualitativer Forschungsmethodik basierende Studien publiziert).

Ich wählte die schon jahrzehntelang existierenden Zeitschriften aus, weil die ersten qualitativen Studien hier erschienen sind (siehe Szabolcs 1999), sie waren bei der Entfaltung der pädagogischen qualitativen Untersuchungen in Ungarn bedeutend. Demzufolge fokussierte ich auf vier Zeitschriften, *Iskolakultúra* (www.iskolakultura.hu), *Új Pedagógiai Szemle* (www.folyoiratok.ofi.hu), *Magyar Pedagógia* (www.magyarpedagogia.hu) und *Pedagógusképzés.* Die interdisziplinäre Rundschau Educatio (www.folyoiratok.ofi.hu), die auch über eine jahrzehntelange Geschichte verfügt, wurde in diese Studie nicht aufgenommen, weil sie die gesellschaftlichen Zusammenhänge im Unterricht grundsätzlich aus soziologischem Aspekt, auf quantitativen Forschungen basierend untersucht. Die in den letzten Jahren gegründeten zwei pädagogischen Zeitschriften bekamen hier auch keinen Platz. Képzés és Gyakorlat (www.trainingandpractice.hu) erschien nach 2000 mit kürzeren Pausen, Hungarian Educational Research Journal (http://hera.org.hu/herj/folyoirat/) startete im Jahre 2011, und konnte so bei den Anfängen der Entfaltung qualitativer Untersuchungen nicht anwesend

sein. Da sich diese Zeitschriften nicht von Publikationen auf der Basis der qualitativen Forschungsmethodik fernhalten, könnten sie in späteren Studien auch untersucht werden.

Es ist auch zu begründen, warum ich eben die Untersuchung von Zeitschriften ausgewählt habe, obwohl die Bücher, die Forschungsprojekte, die Kurse auch nützliche Informationen zum Thema darbieten könnten. Mein Ziel war es, die Forschung einzugrenzen, so könnte das Problem detaillierter erörtert werden, und somit kann man in den Studien den theoretischen und praktischen Aspekten der qualitativen pädagogischen Forschungsmethodik detaillierter folgen (siehe darüber die Erörterung zu den Ergebnissen und dem methodischen Hintergrund).

Bei der Bestimmung der untersuchten Zeitspanne habe ich die Tatsache in Betracht gezogen, dass die Schriften von Éva Szabolcs (Szabolcs 1999, 2001) nach der Meinung von vielen, als die ersten bedeutenden Beiträge zur qualitativen Pädagogikforschung in Ungarn gelten, sie trugen der Entfaltung und Verbreitung der qualitativen Forschung in Ungarn wesentlich bei. Die vorliegende Studie ergänzt und setzt die Ergebnisse von Sántha (2009) fort.

2. Anfänge, aktuelle Lage und zukünftige Pläne der qualitativen pädagogischen Forschungsmethodik in Ungarn

Seit der zweiten Hälfte der 90er Jahre trat die qualitative pädagogische Forschung vor allem durch Darstellung von qualitativen Methoden und durch Techniken der Erforschung von Ansichten bzw. der Denkweise von Pädagogen und Lehramtstudierenden ins Rampenlicht. Heutzutage erscheinen immer mehr Studien, die die qualitativen forschungsmethodischen Grundprinzipien vertreten, es gibt immer mehr PhD-Studentinnen und Studenten, die qualitative Techniken und einen kombinierten quantitativ-qualitativen Methodenapparat verwenden. Langsam entstehen auch Forschungswerkstätte und Gruppen, die für eine Intensivierung der qualitativen Profiluntersuchungen in der Erziehungswissenschaft plädieren.

Aus der breiten Palette der qualitativen Forschungsmethode bevorzugen ungarische Forscherinnen und Forscher zur Zeit noch mehrheitlich das Interview, das Fokusgruppeninterview, die Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse, die teilnehmende Beobachtung, das Tagebuch, die kognitive Karte (Concept Map), die Stimulated Recall und die Metapher. Die Grounded Theory ist bekannt, so wie auch die computerunterstützte Analyse, die aber noch nicht verbreitet ist. Auch für die praktische Verwendung von qualitativen Methoden gibt es Beispiele: die kognitive Karte und das Metaphernetz werden in der Pädagogenbildung als mögliche Methoden verwendet.

In der Tabelle 1 stelle ich die wichtigsten Stationen der Entwicklung der ungarischen qualitativen pädagogischen Forschungskultur dar.

Tabelle 1: Historische Phasen

Epoche	Entwicklung der qualitativen pädagogischen Forschungsmethoden in Ungarn
Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts, Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts	Anfänge und Wegfindung. Beschreibungen. Problematisierung
1960-er,1970-er Jahre und Anfang der 1980-er Jahre	Quantitative pädagogische Forschungen
Ca. 1985-1990	Verwendung der qualitativen Technik in der Pädagogenforschung (Falus 1985); Etnomethodologische Ansichten in der Pädagogik (Szokolszky 1986)
1990-er Jahre	Einige qualitativ methodische Studien erscheinen (E. Szabó 1997; Szabolcs 1999)
Anfang der 2000-er Jahre	Immer mehr Fachliteratur erscheint. Kampf für Konsolidation. Die Verwendung verschiedener qualitativen Techniken in der Praxis.
Heute und die Zukunft	Der Ausbau der qualitativen Fachliteratur, die Stärkung des methodischen Apparats, die Verbreitung der computerunterstützten Datenanalyse, die Erscheinung von quantitativ-qualitativ kombinierten Untersuchungen (Mixed Methods)

3. Methodischer Hintergrund der Untersuchung

Die Inhaltsverarbeitung von Texten führte ich mit einer mehrstufigen Inhaltsanalyse nach Logik der Deduktion und Induktion durch. Als erster Schritt (nach Logik der Deduktion) strebte ich der Formulierung größerer Kategorien an, in denen die qualitativen Studien der untersuchten Zeitschriften eingereiht werden können. Diese Kategorien sollte ich so gestalten, dass dadurch sowohl gründlich strukturierte als auch weniger exakt formulierte Schriften erfasst werden könnten. Ich trennte die sich mit dem theoretischen Hintergrund beschäftigenden Studien, die Verwendung der Methoden darstellenden Schriften und die Rezensionen voneinander. So untersuchte ich insgesamt 65 Artikel, die in den Zeitschriften wie folgt erschienen:

- 2001: eine Studie in Magyar Pedagógia
- 2002: fünf Studien in Iskolakultúra
- 2003: zehn Studien, neun in Iskolakultúra und eine in Új Pedagógiai Szemle
- 2004: fünf Studien, zwei in Iskolakultúra, eine in Új Pedagógiai Szemle und zwei in Pedagógusképzés
- 2005: fünf Studien, eine in Iskolakultúra, zwei in Magyar Pedagógia und zwei in Pedagógusképzés
- 2006: vier Studien, zwei in Iskolakultúra und zwei in Új Pedagógiai Szemle
- 2007: sechs Studien, zwei in Iskolakultúra, drei in Új Pedagógiai Szemle, und eine in Pedagógusképzés

- 2008: dreizehn Studien: eine in Iskolakultúra, neun in Új Pedagógiai Szemle und drei in Pedagógusképzés
- 2009: vierzehn Studien: elf in Iskolakultúra und drei in Pedagógusképzés
- 2010: eine in Iskolakultúra und eine in Magyar Pedagógia.

Studien, die nur ansatzweise die qualitative Annäherung und/oder eine unscharf umrissene methodische Vorgehensweise aufweisen, wurden absichtlich außer Acht gelassen.

Von der Anzahl der Studien lässt sich leicht ablesen, dass es während der letzten Jahre immer mehr Studien zum Thema qualitative Forschungsmethodik erschienen.

Im nächsten Schritt suchte ich nach Logik der Induktion in den Studien Standpunkte, mit deren Hilfe ich in die Studien Unterkategorien formulieren konnte. Dazu sollte ich die Studien, die sich mit dem theoretischen Hintergrund der Untersuchungen befassen, in fünf Unterkategorien gruppieren (Studien, die den philosophischen Hintergrund der qualitativen Forschung darstellen; Texte, die Anwendbarkeit der Methoden behandeln; Artikel, die methodologische Prinzipien behandeln; Studien, die die Probleme der vielfältigen Annäherungsmöglichkeiten der Untersuchungen thematisieren; Studien, die die Prinzipien und Struktur der qualitativen Forschung behandeln). Bei den Studien, die die Anwendung der Methoden analysierten, benutzte ich drei Unterkategorien (Forschungen, die eine qualitative Technik verwenden; Studien, die eine qualitativ-qualitative Methodenkombination darstellen und Studien, die eine qualitativ-quantitative Methodenkombination verwenden). Bei der Kategorie „Methodenanwendung" wollte ich auf die folgenden Fragen eine Antwort bekommen: Könnten sich die Studien der Methodenlehre mit den Fragen der Stichprobe und des Stichprobenverfahrens auseinandersetzen? Wird es in den Studien über die methodischen Forderungen und die Datenverarbeitungen diskutiert? Wie wird die Rolle der qualitativ ethischen Modellen eingeschätzt? Was könnte in den Studien über die Verallgemeinerung gedacht werden? Die Kategorisierung von Rezensionen hielt ich nicht für gerechtfertigt, da diese Gattung neben der inhaltlichen Zusammenfassung auch kritische Gedanken darstellt. Als letzter Schritt wollte ich die Ergebnisse deuten bzw. erklären, wobei ich nicht unbedingt die Quantifikation für wichtig hielt (siehe später bei der Erörterung der Ergebnisse).

Die Zuordnung inhaltlicher Elemente zu den Kategorien (Vorgang der Kodierung) kontrollierte ich mit Hilfe von Intrakodierung (siehe Dafinoiu   Lungu 2003). Das heißt, ich füllte die Kategorien nach einigen Tagen wieder mit Inhaltselementen, um die Unsicherheiten, Ungenauigkeiten zu vermeiden. Die Zuordnung inhaltlicher Elemente stimmte in den beiden Fällen 100-prozentig überein. Ich meine, es kann eine selbstverständliche Beziehung zwischen den Texten der untersuchten Studien und den bestimmten Kategorien festgestellt werden, deshalb sah ich die Interkodierung, also den Einzug einer weiteren Person in die Kategorisierung der inhaltlichen Elemente nicht gerechtfertigt.

Im Weiteren untersuche ich die inhaltlichen Elemente der qualitativen Studien in den ausgewählten pädagogischen Zeitschriften.

4. Die Ergebnisse der Untersuchung

4.1. Studien zum theoretischen Hintergrund qualitativer Untersuchungen

Wie im Kapitel zur Methodik schon vorgestellt, rangiere ich die Veröffentlichungen in diesem Themenkreis in fünf Kategorien:

- Studien, die den philosophischen Hintergrund der qualitativen Forschung darstellen
- Texte, die die Anwendbarkeit der Methoden behandeln
- Artikel, die methodologische Prinzipien behandeln
- Studien, die die Probleme der vielfältigen Annäherungsmöglichkeiten der Untersuchungen thematisieren
- Studien, die die Prinzipien und die Struktur der qualitativen Forschung behandeln.

Tabelle 2 zeigt die Elemente dieser Kategorien in den einzelnen Zeitschriften.

Tabelle 2: Studien zu den theoretischen Grundlagen

Die Kategorien der theoretischen Studien, Zahl der bezüglichen Artikel					
	Philoso-phischer Hintergrund	Anwend-barkeit der Methoden	Methodolo-gische Prinzipien	Pluralisti-sche Annäherungen	Prinzipien, Struktur
Iskola-kultúra	6	1	2	2	0
Új Pedagógiai Szemle	0	0	0	5	2
Magyar Pedagógia	0	0	0	0	0
Pedagógus-képzés	0	0	0	0	0

Die Studien der Zeitschrift Iskolakultúra, die den philosophischen Hintergrund bearbeiten, thematisieren die Bedeutung und Verwendung der Hermeneutik in der Pädagogik (Ballér 2002; Fenyö 2002; Kiss 2002; Zrinszky 2002). Nahalka (2003) informiert uns über die Problematik der Erforschung von Erziehungsprinzipien, Szabolcs (2004) gibt uns Einblick in das wechselseitige Verhältnis von Erkenntnistheorie und Pädagogik.
Vámos (2003a) untersucht die Spezifika der Metapher als qualitative Forschungstechnik. Diese Studie gehört zur Kategorie der theoretischen Bezüge, geht auf die Verwendung der Methoden ein.
In Bezug auf die methodologischen Prinzipien erscheint ein kritischer Punkt der qualitativen Forschung im Mittelpunkt. Mezei (2006) zeigt detailliert die Schritte der Validation im Interview, Sántha (2007a) gibt ein umfas-

sendes Bild über die Interpretationsweise der methodologischen Kriterien und beleuchtet die Rolle des qualitativen Kriterienkatalogs.

In der Kategorie der vielfältigen Annäherungsweisen der qualitativen Forschung soll Marton (2004) besondere Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt werden, da die Vorstellung der Lesson Study-Technik auch für die Vertreter der qualitativen Forschung viele nützliche Grundelemente und Lehren bringt. Publikationen zu „Prinzipien und Aufbau" gibt es keine.

Derselben Logik der Analyse folgend kann festgestellt werden, dass die Zeitschrift Új Pedagógiai Szemle über den philosophischen Ansatz des theoretischen Hintergrundes keine Studien enthält, während die Kategorie der vielfältigen Annäherung qualitativer Untersuchungen sogar durch fünf Studien vertreten ist.

Ähnlich wie Martons Studie, können die Schriften von Havas (2004, 2008) über die Aktionsforschung und deren praktische Verwendung, sowie Studien von Gordon Győri (2007) zur Unterrichtsforschung auch aus qualitativer Perspektive interpretiert werden. Sántha (2007b) erweitert die Palette qualitativer Untersuchungen durch Darstellung von Untersuchungen ohne Eingriff. Im logischen Rahmensystem der Untersuchung hat auch die Studie von Réti Varga (2008) einen Platz, da die Autoren die Rolle der qualitativen Forschungsmethoden in der Untersuchung von Unterrichtsprozessen im Rahmen eines kurzen Kapitels schildern und auch die Bedeutung der Aktionsforschung betonen.

Der Problematik der Struktur von Untersuchungen sind Studien von Sántha (2006b, 2008b) gewidmet. Die erste behandelt die Hypothese und die Ausgangsfragen in den qualitativen Untersuchungen, Argumente und Gegenargumente werden in Bezug auf das Thema formuliert, die zweite Studie analysiert den logischen Hintergrund der Abduktion. In der Zeitschrift Iskolakultúra untersucht Sántha (2010) die potentiellen Beziehungen zwischen Triangulation und MTMM-matrix.

4.2. Studien zur Analyse von Verwendung qualitativer Methoden

In diesem Themenkreis bildete ich drei Kategorien:

- Forschungen, die eine qualitative Technik verwenden
- Studien, die eine qualitativ-qualitative Methodenkombination darstellen
- Studien, die eine qualitativ-quantitative Methodenkombination verwenden.

Die Tabelle 3 zeigt die Methoden oder Methodenkombinationen in den jeweiligen Zeitschriften.

Tabelle 3: Qualitative Methoden und Methodenkombinationen

	Qualitative Technik	Qualitativ-qualitative Methodenkombination	Qualitativ-quantitative Methodenkombination
Iskolakultúra	Interview (Golnhofer 2003; Lénárd 2003; Petriné 2003; Rapos 2003; Réthyné 2003; Sőrés 2009; Vámos 2003b) Kognitive Karte (Szivák 2003) Tagebuch (Huszár 2005) Reflektives Tagebuch (Hercz Sántha 2009; Monoriné 2009) Unterrichtsbeobachtung (Dombi – Nikolov – Ottó Öveges 2009) (Quantitative Bearbeitung) Ursprungsuntersuchung (Zergollern-Miletic Horváth 2009) (die Untersuchung baut auf Inhaltsanalyse)	Videoaufnahme und Beobachtung (Rex 2006) Interview und Fragebogen (Fokusgruppe) (Fülöp 2009) Interview und Tagebuch (Feldarbeit) (Pais-Horváth 2009) Interview, Oral History (Kolosai 2009) Fallstudie und Biographie-Interview (Virág 2009)	Interview und Fragebogen (Galántai Csizér 2009; Kende 2009)
Új Pedagógiai Szemle	Interview (Fokusgruppe) (Mit Ton- und Videoaufnahme) (Kontráné Kormos 2008) Archeologische Diskursanalyse (die Untersuchung baut auf Inhaltsanalyse, vereinzelt weist einen quantitativen Charakter auf) (Pálfi 2008)	Interview und Unterrichtsbeobachtung (Mezei 2008) Interview (Fokusgruppe) und Tiefinterview (Vilmányi – Hetesi – Veres 2008) (qualitative Vorstudie als Vorbereitung der quantitativen Untersuchung)	Fragebogen - Metapher-Fragen (Pénzes 2008) (die Methodenkombination ist fragwürdig aber die Anwesenheit von Metaphern ist wichtig für die qualitative Analyse Fragebogen und halbstrukturiertes Interview (die Bearbeitung von Interviews ist quantitativ, die Inhaltsanalyse ist stark qualitativ) (Békési 2008)
Magyar Pedagógia	Interview (Bereczky Fejes 2010; Kormos CSIZÉR 2005) Metapher (Vámos 2001)	Interview und lautes Denken (Kelemen – Csíkos Szteklács 2005) (qualitative Methoden, vielseitige quantitative Datenbearbeitung)	

Pedagógusképzés	Interview (Fokus-gruppe) (Mogyorósi 2007) Reflektives Protokoll (Hegedűs 2008) Reflektives Tagebuch (Sántha 2008c) Stimulated Recall (Újváriné 2009) Fotointerview (Kopp Juhász-Ollerényi – Birkás Csík 2009)	Stimulated Recall und kognitive Karte (Sántha 2004) Kognitive Karte, Metapher und teil-nehmende Beobachtung (Dudás 2005)	Fragebogen, Interview, kognitive Karte, Metapher und Stimulated Recall (Köcséné 2004) Fragebogen, Interview und teilnehmende Beobachtung (Niemi 2005)

Aufgrund der Tabelle 3 kann man bestimmen, wie oft bestimmte Techniken in den Studien erscheinen, die die qualitativen Methoden aufweisen. Einerseits zeigen diese Daten die Häufigkeit der einzelnen Methoden und Techniken, andererseits charakterisieren sie diese Forschungen   obwohl auch die qualitative Methode die Selektion verwendet   ihre Techniken sind nicht auf allen Forschungsgebieten verwendbar. Die häufigste Technik ist das Interview (19 Studien), dann folgt die teilnehmende Beobachtung z.B. Unterrichtsbeobachtung (5 Studien). Metapher, kognitive Karte (strukturiert und unstrukturiert) und Fokusgruppeninterview kommen jeweils in vier Studien vor. Stimulated Recall und reflektives Tagebuch kommen dreimal vor, Arbeitsprotokoll zweimal, lautes Denken, Tiefinterview, reflektives Tagebuch, Oral History, Fotointerview und archäologische Diskursanalyse kommen jeweils einmal vor. Ich muss anmerken, dass die Techniken reflektives Tagebuch bzw. Arbeitsprotokoll sich voneinander nicht unbedingt unterscheiden, trotzdem können sie verschiedenen Forschungszielen dienen. Bei der Gruppierung habe ich den Begriffsgebrauch der AutorInnen beachtet.

Während der Kriterienanalyse bekamen wir über die Kultur der Methodik ein vielseitiges Bild. Die Fragen der Stichproben hatten in den Studien verschiedene Gewichtungen, die Strategien der Auswahlverfahren bekamen wenig Aufmerksamkeit, sie erschienen oft gar nicht explizit. Die Musteranzahl und die Verallgemeinerbarkeit sind miteinander verknüpft, und die Studien haben dies auch beachtet.

Die großflächigen qualitativen Untersuchungen haben sogar allgemeingültige Schlussfolgerungen formuliert, die wiederum viele neue Fragen generieren können.

Die Ergebnisse der Unterkategorien   Entsprechung der methodologischen Forderungen   werfen auch Probleme zum Weiterdenken auf. Dieser Themenkreis fordert von den ForscherInnen Konsens und Konsequenz, da sie sich entscheiden müssen, ob sie nach der freien Richtung arbeiten, oder eine konsequent aufgebaute Untersuchung durchführen sollten.

Um die Komplexität des Problems zu bestätigen, beschäftigt sich Mezei (2008) in seiner Studie mit den während des Interviews verwendeten Validierungsverfahren, des Weiteren wirft die Arbeit von Zergollern-Miletic   Horváth (2009) das Bedürfnis nach der Anwendung der Triangulation und nach Verstärkung der Zuverlässigkeit auf. Mit ähnlicher Gründlichkeit geht Kolosai (2009) und Monoriné (2009) bei der Datenanalyse vor, sie besprechen detailliert die Entwicklung der

Kodierung und der Kategorien, letztere verwendet sogar das ATLAS.ti Programm und integriert die Abduktion in die Praxis der qualitativen Forschung. Die Untersuchung von Hercz – Sántha (2009) über die pädagogische Architektur wendet den qualitativen Kriterienkatalog an.

Die Erscheinung der Ethik zu untersuchen ist auch aufschlussreich. Bei den pädagogischen Untersuchungen besonders im Falle der qualitativen ist die ethische Verantwortung der Forscherin/des Forschers notwendigerweise von Anfang an vorhanden, da wir auf die Wirkung der untersuchten Erscheinungen und Personen Rücksicht nehmen müssen. Bei den Studien bekamen die Freiwilligkeit und die Anonymität unter den ethischen Prinzipien eine wichtige Rolle, obwohl die besondere Aufmerksamkeit der speziellen qualitativen Modelle die echte qualitative Umgebung für die Untersuchung abgeben könnte.

4.3. Die Rezensionen

Mit der Hilfe der Rezensionen bezüglich auf die qualitative Forschung könnten die aktuellen Ergebnisse der internationalen Fachliteratur und der ungarischen Forschung in das pädagogische Bewusstsein eingeprägt werden.

Im analysierten Zeitraum erschienen zwei Kritiken in den Studien von Sántha (2006c, 2008a) über die Bücher von zwei ausländischen Forschern, Jennifer Mason und Jo Reichertz. Das Buch von Jennifer Mason behandelt die Grundelemente der qualitativen Forschung, während sich Jo Reichertz mit der Rolle der Abduktion bei den qualitativen Untersuchungen beschäftigt. Das Buch von Éva Szabolcs über die Einführung in die qualitativen Methoden – erschienen 2001 – wurde von Nikolov (2002), das Buch von Kálmán Sántha über die Charakteristik der qualitativen Stichprobenverfahren – erschienen 2006 – von Dobó (2007) und von Trentinné (2008) rezensiert. Die Reihe der Rezensionen wird durch das Schreiben von Dobó über das Buch von Kálmán Sántha zu den Grundsätzen von qualitativer Forschungsmethodik bzw. die auf Englisch verfasste Arbeit von Zoltán Dörnyei über qualitative, quantitative und kombinierte Methodik bereichert. Ádám (2003) verfasste eine Rezension über die Bänder der Reihe Forschungsmethodische Kleinbibliothek, und so analysierte sie unter anderem das Band von Éva Szabolcs.

5. Zusammenfassung

Die Forschung gibt Informationen über die Situation der ungarischen qualitativen erziehungswissenschaftlichen Forschung, und über den Entwicklungsstand der Kultur der Methodik und des theoretischen Hintergrundes. Ich hoffe, dass die aufgedeckten Probleme für das nächste Jahrzehnt als Wegweiser dienen, da mit der Entwicklung der Wissenschaft und der Technik neue Methoden, Mitteln auch in den qualitativen Forschungen erscheinen können, die die Berücksichtigung der Methodenfragen notwendig machen. Das internationale Beispiel beachtend, muss ein ethischer Kodex der qualitativen Untersuchungen in der qualitativen Forschung erstellt werden, des Weiteren ist die Stärkung des Prozesses von computerunterstützter Datenanalyse notwendig. Hier ist ein langsamer Fortschritt in den letzten Jahren zu beobachten, da ein Teil der Untersuchungen, die PhD-Dissertationen unter anderem auf die Vorteile von ATLAS.ti, MAXQDA oder von NVivo basieren.

Es wäre zweckvoll, ein interdisziplinäres (fachübergreifendes) Forum zu gestalten, wo die ForscherInnen, die unter anderem qualitative Untersuchungen auf verschiedenen Wissenschaftsgebieten durchführen, über ihre Erfahrungen diskutieren können. Diese Übersicht sollte die ForscherInnen auch motivieren, ihre Tätigkeit durch Selbstreflexion noch wirkungsvoller zu gestalten.

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Medienkompetenz im Fremdsprachenunterricht

Anikó Zsigmond

Media Literacy in Foreign Language Teaching

Abstract

The paper describes the media consumption of the youth and adults with the aim of justifying the importance and the need for media competence. The paper does not discuss how the media can be used in language teaching, instead, it assumes the hypothesis that the proper development of media competence can result in creative teaching modes and methods, which can make the teaching process amusing and successful, so that language education can be shaped to be more interesting and students can accomplish projects, which may count as a useful preparation for their future profession. Such a project can be the Photo story.

Key words: media consumption, media competence, creative teaching modes

Schlüsselwörter: Fremdsprachenunterricht, Medienkompetenz, Fotostory

1. Einleitung

Die Rolle der Medien im Unterricht wurde schon oft genug betont. Im Unterricht wird die Technologie verwendet, die neuesten Geräte werden eingesetzt, seit dem Internet stehen zahlreiche Materialien zur Verfügung, wir sehen Filme, hören Hörtexte, drucken Texte aus. Interaktive Tafel, E-learning, WBT (web-based learning) sind solche neuen Begriffe, die alle zeigen, dass eine neue Epoche der digitalen Lehr- und Lernmethoden in den letzten Jahrzehnten im Unterricht ihren Anfang genommen hat. Die moderne Informationsgesellschaft verändert langsam die neue Lehrerrolle und die traditionellen Methoden des Fremdsprachenunterrichts. In den letzten Zeiten haben große Veränderungen mit dem Eintritt der digitalen Medien im Unterricht stattgefunden. Die Lernmethoden der Schüler haben sich verändert, weil sie sich in der Welt der digitalen Medien zu Hause fühlen und andere Erwartungen an das Lernen und das Lehren als die Schüler von früheren Zeiten haben. Auch die Werkzeugpalette des Lehrers ist mit den modernen technischen Mitteln bunter geworden, deren Benutzung den Unterricht vielseitiger gestalten kann und positiv auf die Motiviertheit der Schüler auswirken kann. Mit den digitalen Medien hat der Lehrer die Möglichkeit, seine Rolle in der Stunde zu verändern und zum Beispiel statt Frontalarbeit mit kooperativen Lehrmethoden und abwechslungsreichen Sozialformen zu arbeiten, in denen er nicht mehr der Leiter, sondern der Helfer des Lernprozesses ist, der das Lernen organisiert und koordiniert.

Die Lehrkräfte versuchen mit dieser großen Auswahl von digitalen Medien möglichst kritisch und reflexiv umzugehen und diese Tatsache weist schon über eine einfache Medienbenutzung hinaus. Die Medienbenutzung besitzt nämlich mit diesen Aspekten wie Kritik und Reflexivität ein gemeinsames Feld mit der Medienpädagogik. Ein grundsätzlicher Begriff der Medienpädagogik ist die Medienkompetenz, was den Gegenstand dieses Beitrages bildet.

Im Beitrag wird zunächst die Medienbenutzung der Jugendlichen und Erwachsenen beschrieben, um die Wichtigkeit und Notwendigkeit der Medienkompetenz heute zu begründen. Der Beitrag beschäftigt sich nicht damit, wie Medien im Sprachunterricht eingesetzt werden können, sondern geht von der Hypothese aus, dass die angemessene Entwicklung der Medienkompetenz verschiedene kreative Formen und Methoden des Medieneinsatzes zur Folge haben kann, die den Sprachunterricht amüsant und erfolgreich machen können, so dass der Unterricht interessanter gestaltet werden kann und die Schüler eine Art Projektarbeit leisten, was später als eine nützliche Vorbereitung auf ihre Berufstätigkeit gelten kann. Laut Baacke erweitern wir die Dimension der Medienkompetenz und versuchen im Fremdsprachenunterricht alle Dimensionen einzusetzen und dann kommen wir zu einer Form der Projektarbeit: das ist nämlich die Fotostory. Seit den 1990er Jahren hat Dieter Baackes Definition von Medienkompetenz besondere Bedeutung erlangt. Dieter Baacke gliederte den Begriff in vier Dimensionen: Medienkritik, Medienkunde, Mediennutzung und Mediengestaltung (Baacke 1997, 98).

Im Zusammenhang mit der fördernden Wirkung der Medien im Fremdsprachenunterricht können zunächst folgende hypothetische Aussagen formuliert werden. Der Einsatz von Medien hat eine motivierende Wirkung auf den Lerner, ein positives Erlebnis wird durch Projektarbeit hervorgerufen, nicht nur die sprachliche, sondern auch die soziele Kompetenz werden entwickelt. Die Schüler mit schwächeren sprachlichen Fähigkeiten können leichter in die Arbeit einbezogen werden. Sie fühlen sich als echte Mitglieder der Gruppe und nehmen nicht nur an der Bearbeitung der Aufgabe teil, sondern auch an dem Erfolg. Dies hat eine positive Wirkung auf ihre Persönlichkeit und Selbstbewertung. Da sich die Fantasie und die Kreativität der Schüler während des Projekts entfalten können, werden die Lerner mutiger und kooperativer, und ihr Selbstvertrauen wächst. Der Lehrer wird zu einem Partner im Lernprozess und so wird die Zusammenarbeit leichter. Die Medienkompetenz der Schüler wird auch entwickelt, sie werden fähig, die durch die verschiedenen Medien vermittelten Informationen und deren Hintergrund kritisch und reflexiv zu deuten.

2. Medien im Alltag
2.1 Kinder und Jugendliche im Medienzeitalter

Der lebenslange Gebrauch von digitalen Technologien wie MP4-Player, iPhones, Smartphones und Tablet-PCs sind charakteristisch für die neue, junge Generation. Technische Medien sind für sie enorm wichtig, weil sie in einer digitalen Welt aufwachsen. Sie konfrontieren sich schon im frühen Alter mit diesen technischen Mitteln, so verläuft ihre Entwicklung anders als die der Kinder der früheren Generationen. Öffentliche Netzwerke haben eine große Bedeutung für sie. In der Grundschule schon ein Handy zu besitzen ist beinahe ein Standard und auch ein Smartphone oder ein iPod gehört zum Repertoire. In fast jedem Haushalt gibt es einen eigenen Computer, die glücklicheren Schüler haben auch ein Nootbook. Mit Skype und Facebook kennen sie sich einwandfrei aus. Mit Freunden sprechen sie über Facebook und Twitter, aber sie treffen sich weniger persönlich. Was mit ihnen passiert, wird sofort gepostet, geliked, kommentiert, aber in den meisten Fällen nur auf digitale Weise und kaum persönlich. Mit Smartphones wird Musik gehört,

Filme gesehen, Fotos gemacht, mit Freunden kommuniziert. In der Informatikstunde lernen die Schüler Textverarbeitungsprogramme. Viele Schulbücher werden durch online-Materialien aus Internet ergänzt, die dem Lehrer oder dem Schüler im und außerhalb des Unterrichts zur Verfügung stehen. Großer Wert wird auf die Medienkompetenz gelegt, die Grundlagen werden in der Schule erworben, die weiterführenden Schritte dann später selbst oder durch Freunde. Die Verwendung von Medien im Unterricht beeinflusst auch die klassische Beziehung des Lehrers und des Schülers. In der Stunde wird der Lehrer nicht mehr der einzige Informations- und Wissensvermittler. Er steuert den Schüler bei der Suche nach entsprechenden Informationsquellen. Bei Computeraufgaben kann der Schüler kreativ und selbstständig arbeiten und seine Allgemeinbildung erweitern. Neben der Übergabe des Fachwissens gehört es zu den Aufgaben des Lehrers, den Schülern bei der Vermittlung von Lernstrategien zu helfen.

2.2. Erwachsene im Medienzeitalter

Berufstätige Erwachsene, die weniger mit Computer, Internet und Netzwerken sozialisiert und ausgebildet worden sind, sollen heute mit den neuesten Formen der medialen Kommunikation Schritt halten. Im Berufsalltag ist der Computer ein Arbeitsmittel, durch das die Prozesse des Berufsalltags ablaufen. Kontakte mit Kollegen, Kunden werden gepflegt, Daten fixiert, Geschäfts- und Produktionsprozesse gesteuert. Mit Hilfe von Medien inszeniert man sich selbst, die beruflichen Auftritte bedürfen Medieneinsatzes. Auf Vorstellungsgespräche wird vorbereitet, die Kommunikation und die Soft Kills (persönlichen Kompetenzen) der Mitarbeiter werden in Trainings gefördert, PowerPoint-Präsentationen werden erstellt. Je kreativer, vielseitiger man sich inszeniert, desto besser wird man beachtet. Die mündliche, persönliche Kommunikation wird im Berufsleben mit Formen der medialen Kommunikation also ergänzt, so ist auch da die Medienkompetenz eine berechtigte Erwartung. Es geht nicht nur um mündliche Vorträge, es geht um eine transparente Darstellung des eigenen Anteils im Job.

3. Medienpädagogik
3.1 Medium und Medienkompetenz

Medium wird als ein Bestandteil zwischenmenschlicher Kommunikation verstanden: „Es handelt sich bei den Medien um Mittel zur Formulierung von Gedanken, Gefühlen, Inhalten sowie von Erfahrungen über die Welt" (Hickethier 2003, 19).

Unter Medienkompetenz verstehen wir die „Fähigkeit, sich aktiv an der Medienkommunikation zu beteiligen, also Medien wie Telefon und Chat zu nutzen, Medien wie das WWW zu beherrschen und Medien grundsätzlich und kreativ gestalterisch als Instrumente von Identitätsbildung und Selbstverwirklichung einzusetzen" (Faulstich 2004, 231).

Im Bezug der Medienpädagogik können wir über den Begriff „Medienrezeption" sprechen, die in der Fachliteratur auf folgender Weise erklärt wird:

„Medienrezeption ist kein passiver Empfang von Medienbotschaften, sondern aktive Aneignung von der Selektion bis zur Verarbeitung. An die Stelle der Frage:

Was tun die Medien mit den Menschen? ist in der Medienwissenschaft die Frage getreten: Was tun die Menschen mit den Medien?" (Faulstich 2004, 225).

Hickethier befasst sich auch mit dem Begriff der Medienrezeption und kommt zum folgenden Schluss:

„Die Medienangebote werden als *stimuli* für den Rezipienten verstanden und erzeugen bei diesem eine Wirkung, erzeugen einen *response*. Die Botschaft des Kommunikators bildet sich direkt in den Köpfen der Rezipienten ab und strukturiert deren Bewusstsein. Der Rezipient wird eher als ein passiv Ertragender gedacht. Empirische Untersuchungen ergaben jedoch, dass sich die Rezeption sehr viel komplexer gestaltet." (Hickethier 2003, 175)

Bei Fotostory-Projekt sind die Schüler die Rezipienten, die Users, die an der Rezeption aktiv teilnehmen müssen. Bei dem User ist die Eigenaktivität höher als zum Beispiel bei Lesern, denn sie lesen, schreiben und hören gleichzeitig und schauen auch zu.

Medienkompetenz bezeichnet nach Dieter Baacke die Fähigkeit, Medien und die durch Medien vermittelten Inhalte den eigenen Zielen und Bedürfnissen entsprechend effektiv nutzen zu können. Die Medienkompetenz umfasst deshalb mehrere Fähigkeiten:

1. Medien (Bücher, Zeitschriften, Internet, Hörfunk, Fernsehen etc.) kennen und nutzen können
2. sich in der Medienwelt orientieren können
3. an medial vermittelten Kommunikationen teilnehmen können
4. eine kritische Distanz zu Medien halten
5. selbst kreativ in der Medienwelt tätig werden.

Parallel zur Medienkompetenz kann noch die digitale Kompetenz erwähnt werden, die auf eine selbstsichere, kritische und moralische Verwendung von digitalen Inhalten in menschlichen Beziehungen, der Kommunikation und in der Freizeit verweist. Diese Kompetenz gründet sich auf die Anerkennung, die Bewertung, die Verlagerung, die Verfertigung, die Vorstellung der Informationen und auf die kommunikative Zusammenarbeit im Internet.

Im Fremdsprachenunterricht ist ein „turn" von Print-Texten zu visuellen Texten in Verbindung mit den neuesten Medien beobachtbar. Bilder, Illustrationen, Filme galten lange schon als Lernhilfe. Im Fremdsprachenunterricht wurde vorwiegend berücksichtigt, dass Sprachverstehen erheblich von der visuellen Wahrnemung des Sprachenbenutzers abhängt. Es ist eine Tatsache, dass die visuelle Wahrnehmung eine zentrale Bedeutung für die individuelle Sprechfähigkeit und Sprechlust hat (Schwertdtfeger). Aspekte der nonverbalen Kommunikation sowie die Beachtung von Musik und Visuellem verhelfen zur sprachhandelnden Imitation.

Medienkompetenz im Fremdsprachenunterricht ist ein Schritt zur „schülerorientierten Demokratisierung des Lernens". Das bedeutet, dass das Internet als multimediale Integrationsplattform, ein Mitmach-Hybridmedium aufgefasst wird, die Lehrerzentrierung durch aktive Teilnahme der Lernenden mit Einbeziehung von produktiven und kreativen Verfahrensweisen und Kompetenzentwicklungen abgelöst wird. Medienkompetenz weist auf die Tendenz „lebenslanges Lernen" hin, was vom modernen Menschen erwartet wird.

3.2 Computer im Fremdsprachenunterricht

Computer ist das Basismedium für weitere Netzwerke und das Internet. Wie jede Unterrichtsmethode hat die Computerbenutzung sowohl Vorteile, als auch Nachteile, noch dazu auch Gefahren, worauf wir im Unterricht achten müssen. Eine angemessene Computerbenutzung im Unterricht ist gar nicht schädlich, aber der Lehrer hat eine große Verantwortung bei der Entwicklung der entsprechenden digitalen Kompetenz der Schüler.

Die Kapazität, die Geschwindigkeit und die Vielseitigkeit des Computers erleichtern die Arbeit der Lehrer, weil er die bisher benutzten Werkzeuge vertreten kann, zum Beispiel den Fernseher, das Radio, die Stereoanlage, bunte Fotos, fremdsprachliche Zeitungsartikel. Alle von diesen Dingen sind mit dem Computer zu ersetzen. Er bietet die Möglichkeit zum interaktiven Lernen, wobei der Schüler aktiv mitarbeitet. Er ist sehr schnell und flexibel und kann sich an das Tempo und den Lernstil der Schüler anpassen.

Die Arbeit mit dem Computer hat auch eine starke Wirkung auf die Arbeit des Lehrers. Da der Computer in der gleichen Zeit auf mehreren Kanälen Informationen vermitteln kann, macht seine Benutzung einerseits die Unterrichtsstunde abwechslungsreicher, und andererseits hilft bei der Einbeziehung der schwächeren Schüler in den Lernprozess. Unter den Informationskanälen bekommen die Visualisierung, die geschriebenen und gehörten Texte eine wichtigere Rolle. Die Bewegungseffekte, bunte Fotos und Bilder, die Kurzfilme und die bunte Palette der Möglichkeiten machen die Unterrichtsstunde intensiv, aktiv und erhöhen die fachliche Motivation der Schüler.

Neben den vielen positiven Vorteilen müssen wir auch die Gefahren des Computers beachten. Da er sehr viele Informationen bietet, kann sich der Schüler leicht verirren, und die Informationen führen die Schüler nicht in die passende Richtung. Der Lehrer bekommt also eine wichtige Rolle dabei, die Arbeit der Lerner zu leiten und zu koordinieren.

Die große Menge der Informationen kann leicht zu der Überlastung der Lerner führen, was der Lehrer vermeiden sollte.

Das traditionale Lernen kann den Schülern neben dem Lernen mit dem Computer leicht langweilig werden. Die Visualisierung beeindruckt die Kinder leicht, weil die Bilder attraktiver sind als die sprachlichen Zeichen und Wörter.

In der Stunde mit Computerverwendung darf nicht die Interaktion zwischen dem Schüler und der Maschine am wichtigsten sein, sondern die Computerarbeit muss eine Ergänzung in der Stunde, ein Mittel zur Verwirklichung der Ziele sein.

Der Lehrer hat die Aufgabe, die entsprechende Umgebung für das richtige Lernen zu sichern, in der der Schüler aktiv mitarbeiten kann. Der Computer soll ein Vermittlungsmittel sein, mit dessen Hilfe die Lehrer die Aufgaben und die Übungen den Schülern zeigen können. Der Computer ist wegen seiner Vielseitigkeit und Komplexität sehr attraktiv, aber das ist gar nicht genug zum erfolgreichen und effektiven Unterricht. Man muss den Schülern dabei helfen, dass sich ihre Gewohnheiten – was die Medienverwendung anbelangt – richtig ausbilden und auf dieser Weise sollen die Schüler über eine kritische Kompetenz, einen kritischen Gesichtspunkt verfügen, die ihre Beziehung zu den Medien bestimmen. Im Unterricht

braucht der Lehrer nicht nur Verantwortungsgefühl, sondern gründliche psycholo-gische, pädagogische und medienpädagogische Kenntnisse.

Also auch der Einsatz von Techniken im Bereich von Informatik und Kommuni-kation stellt ein Gebiet dar, das viele Verknüpfungsmöglichkeiten mit der Entwick-lung der Sprachkompetenz in der Fremdsprache aufweist. Der kreative Einsatz von vorhandenen Medien im Fremdsprachenunterricht kann zu einem erfolgreichen Spracherwerb führen.

4. Fotostory
4.1 Begriffserklärung

Bei der digitalen Fotostory werden die Kinder und die Jugendlichen selbst zu Re-gisseuren und Schauspielern und stellen ihre eigene Geschichte dar. Eine Foto-story ist die visuelle Inszenierung eines Themas mit Hilfe der digitalen Technologie. Mit Bildern, Fotos, Texten in Form mit Überschriften oder Sprechblasen, Ton oder Musik werden Diashows erstellt und Geschichten inszeniert. Mit solchen Themen, wie Jahreszeiten, Schule, Tiere und Tagesablauf, erleben die Schüler mit der Fo-tostory die digitalen Medien von ihrer kreativen Seite und nahezu alle Themen aus dem Unterricht, dem Schul- und Lebensalltag.

Themen aus dem Unterricht oder Lebensalltag von Kindern und Jugendlichen werden nicht nur besprochen, sondern auch mit der Fotostory live erlebt. Die Narration wird mit Inszenierung ergänzt, Geschichten werden erfunden, erzählt und präsentiert. Am Computer werden die Fotos in die richtige Reihenfolge ge-bracht, Tafelbilder werden zustande gebracht, mit Sprechblasen, Text, und Musik versehen und zu einer Präsentation fertig gestellt. Die Schüler können auch ver-schiedene Effekte hinzufügen oder mit gesprochenem Text oder Musik arbeiten.

Diese Medienproduktionen machen nicht nur Spaß, sondern erhöhen die praktische Medienkompetenz der Schüler und fördern eine intensive Auseinan-dersetzung mit dem jeweiligen Thema. Fotostories sind ein kostengünstiger und einfacher, jedoch kreativer Einsatz im Unterricht. Das in diesem Projekt verwandte Programm – PowerPoint – ist den Schülern und Schülerinnen groß-teils aus den Informatikstunden bereits bekannt. Auch der Umgang mit einer Digitalkamera ist für sie bekannt. Aber auch ein Fotoshow-Programm kann leicht erlernt werden.

Das Ziel des Projekts ist die Entwicklung der Fähigkeit, selbst erfundene Geschichten sowohl sprachlich als auch gestalterisch umzusetzen. Auch der technische Umgang mit der Digitalkamera und das Bearbeiten von selbst er-stellten Bildern mit dem Computer sollen erlernt oder vorhandene Kenntnisse vertieft werden.

Im Rahmen einer Projektarbeit im Fremdsprachenunterricht setzen die Schü-ler die Fremdsprache als Mittel ein, um ein gemeinsames Ziel zu erreichen, be-ziehungsweise sie sollen zusammen arbeiten, um ein gemeinsames Produkt zu erstellen. Die Projektarbeit trägt außerdem zur Erziehung zum autonomen Lernen bei, was eine unerlässliche Voraussetzung des lebenslangen Lernens ist.

4.2 Projektablauf

Das Projekt wird in den folgenden Schritten verwirklicht:
– Themenwahl und Gruppenbildung
– Drehbuch
– Fotoaufnahmen und Auswahl von Bildern
– Bildbearbeitung
– Erstellung der Fotostories
– Präsentation.

Die Organisation und die Verwirklichung des Projekts benötigen etwa drei Wochen, weil die Schülerinnen und Schüler nur nach dem Unterricht an dem Projekt arbeiten sollen, und man muss sich auch an ihren Stundenplan und ihre Nachmittagsbeschäftigungen anpassen. Während des Projekts kann man Erfahrungen sammeln, wie sich die Einstellung der Schüler zum Lernen verändert, wenn sie für ein gemeinsames Ziel mit Hilfe von technischen Mitteln, im Rahmen einer nicht gewöhnlichen Lernsituation ein selbständiges Projekt verwirklichen können und dabei auch ihre Fantasie und Kreativität benutzen.

Man kann beobachten, welcher Schüler an welchem Arbeitsbereich teilnehmen möchte und wo er den größten Erfolg erreichen kann. Der Lehrer kann bei der Organisation des kooperativen Lernens und bei der Entwicklung der sprachlichen Kompetenzen erfolgreicher sein.

5. Kompetenzentwicklung

Der Begriff Kompetenz wird im Sprachenlernen als Summe aller sprachlichen Fähigkeiten betrachtet, die ein Muttersprachler besitzt.

In diesem Sinne können wir die Kompetenz als ein komplexes System von solchen Kenntnissen, Fähigkeiten, Fertigkeiten und Personenzeichen verstehen, die den Menschen fähig und kompetent macht, sich in verschiedenen Situationen bei der Lösung von zusammengesetzten und lebensnahen Aufgaben erfolgreich zu verhalten.

5.1 Entwicklung der digitalen Kompetenz

Die digitale Kompetenz ist die Fertigkeit der Anwendung von gesellschaftlichen Informationstechnologien. Die digitale Fertigkeit umfasst die Vorstellung, das Verstehen und die Sammlung, Aufarbeitung, Deutung von Informationen. Die digitale Kompetenz appelliert an Innovation und Kreativität.

In einem Projekt wird die Medienkompetenz der Schüler dadurch entwickelt und verfeinert, dass die Schülerinnen und Schüler den technischen Umgang mit der Digitalkamera beherrschen sollen und die Fotos auf dem Computer speichern und bearbeiten sollen. Daneben sollen sie die ausgewählten Bilder mit Sprechblasen und weiteren Effekten und Elementen versehen und vertexten. Zur Verwirklichung der Ziele brauchen sie die Grundkenntnisse im Programm Power Point bzw. auf einer weiterführenden Ebene Fotoshow-Programme zu erlernen und anzuwenden.

Im Mittelpunkt des Unterrichtsprojekts stehen neben den fremdsprachlichen Zielen   der selbstständige Umgang der Schülerinnen und Schüler mit der Digitalkamera und die Bildbearbeitung am Computer. Diese kreative, handlungsorientierte Gruppenarbeit erfordert viel Organisationsgeschick, aber ist für die Teenager und Jugendlichen besonders motivierend.

5.2 Entwicklung der sozialen Kompetenz

Dieses Projekt dient im großen Maße zur Entwicklung der sozialen Kompetenz. Die soziale Kompetenz ist eine solche Fertigkeit, die die Menschen fähig macht, sich in den verschiedenen Situationen sozial entsprechend verhalten zu können. Diese Kompetenz hilft bei der Herausbildung der zwischenpersönlichen Beziehungen, wobei die eigenen Interessen nicht geschädigt werden. Bei dem Begriff der sozialen Kompetenz geht es um die Verfügung über mehrere soziale Fertigkeiten. Die sozialen Fertigkeiten machen den Menschen fähig, in sozialen Interaktionen sein Ziel so zu erreichen, dass die Gesellschaft es annehmen kann.

Zur Verwirklichung des Projekts werden kleine Gruppen gebildet und es wird kooperative Mitarbeit erfordert. Die Schülerinnen und Schüler dürfen sich entscheiden, mit wem sie gerne arbeiten würden. Während der Arbeit müssen sie mehrmals Entscheidungen treffen, den Willen der anderen Mitglieder akzeptieren, und sich an die Arbeitsbedingungen anpassen. Die Entscheidungen erforden auch Verantwortungsbewusstsein für die Arbeit des einzelnen Menschen und auch für die Arbeit der Gruppe als Mitglied. Bei dem Projekt verlaufen verschiedene Interaktionen, verschiedene Arbeitsteile parallel, und auf diese Weise wird die Zusammenarbeit der Mitglieder gefördert. Jedes Mitglied der Gruppe hängt von den anderen Mitgliedern ab und für das gemeinsame Ziel werden sie erlernen, wie sie in der Gruppe erfolgreich mitarbeiten können. Das Ergebnis und den Erfolg des Projekts teilen auch alle Mitglieder und alle Werte und Erlebnisse in der Arbeit werden eine positive Wirkung haben.

Die Schüler müssen die Arbeitsaufträge verteilen und die Arbeitsphasen gemeinsam organisieren. Das optimale Nutzen von spezifischen Fähigkeiten innerhalb des Teams wird für die einzelnen Gruppen charakteristisch. Zum Schluss wird die Arbeit in der Gruppe reflektiert, die Ergebnisse werden thematisiert.

Die Sozialkompetenz wird eigentlich dadurch entwickelt, dass die Schülerinnen und Schüler konstruktiv in der Gruppe agieren und kommunizieren, und sich gegenseitig respektieren sollen. Daneben sollen sie auch eigene Meinungen äußern und vertreten können.

5.3 Entwicklung von fremdsprachlichen Kompetenzen

Sprachkompetenz umfasst die vier klassischen Grundfertigkeiten Hören, Sprechen, Schreiben und Lesen, die Fähigkeit zur Interaktion mit anderen. Dazu gehören auch Kenntnisse über die grammatischen Strukturen und die Lexik. Die Entwicklung von fremdsprachlichen Kompetenzen ist eine Grundaufgabe aller Schultypen.

Nach Roche bekommt der Lerner diese Kompetenzen „in Form von Fertigkeiten" (Roche 2001, 192). „Die meisten Rahmenbestimmungen, Lehrpläne, Lehrwerke und Tests sind nach den vier klassischen Fertigkeiten strukturiert", schreibt Roche. Diese Grundfertigkeiten haben in den verschiedenen Unterrichtsmethoden unterschiedliche Rollen bekommen. In der Praxis kommen sie fast immer in Kombination vor. (Roche 2001,192)

Der Ungarische Nationale Grundlehrplan nennt mehrere Ziele und Anforderungen, die die Schülerinnen und Schüler im verschiedenen Lebensalter auf verschiedenen Sprachniveaus erreichen müssen. Dieses Ziel ist im Einklang mit dem Gemeinsamen Europäischen Referenzrahmen. (Vgl. Morvai 2008)

„Das wichtigste Ziel des Fremdsprachenunterrichts ist es, die kommunikative Kompetenz der Fremdsprachenlerner zu fundieren und kontinuierlich zu entwickeln." (Kuti/Morvai 2008, 8)

Das oberste Ziel ist es heutzutage, dass immer mehr Mitglieder der Bevölkerung Fremdsprachen beherrschen. Die Sprachlerner sollten Ausländern und ihrer Kultur gegenüber offen sein. Alle Sprachlerner benötigen positive Einstellung und Motivation zum erfolgreichen Sprachenlernen, die auch zum lebenslangen Lernen grundlegend sind. Sie sollten die wichtigsten Lernstrategien des Fremdsprachenlernens kennen lernen, um ihre sprachlichen Kenntnisse zu entwickeln und um später autonome Lerner zu werden (vgl. Kuti/Morvai 2008).

Die wichtigsten Ziele des Fremdsprachenunterrichts sind die folgenden:

– eine positive Einstellung und eine ständige Motivation auszubilden,

– eine spielerische Atmosphäre herzustellen,

– mit spezifischen Sozialformen und Aufgabentypen zu arbeiten

– und eine Fremdsprache auf dem Niveau A2 zu beherrschen.
  (Kuti/Morvai 2008, 11)

6. Fazit

Es ist gar keine leichte Aufgabe, eine ständige Motivation bei den Schülern zu erreichen, aber mit vielen guten Erlebnissen, interessanten Programmen und Projekten ist der Lehrer auf dem richtigen Weg, seine Ziele zu erreichen. Daneben darf man nicht vergessen, dass die Grundschulgeneration noch nicht weit von der Kindheit ist. Sie spielen immer noch sehr gerne, und lernen leichter in einer lockeren Umgebung. Für sie bedeuten die technischen Mittel in erster Linie Unterhaltung und Spiel, deshalb haben die Informationstechnologien, wie der Computer, die Kamera, das Handy und die interaktive Tafel auch in der Schule eine motivierende Wirkung.

Mit der Idee der Fotostories ist ein möglicher und neuer Zugang zur Methodologie im Fremdsprachenunterricht erfasst worden, was bei einem erfolgreichen Einsatz neben viel Spaß auch Erfolgserlebnis und Effizienz zur Folge haben kann.

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Der universale Aspekt der Hermeneutik und die Idee der philologischen Hermeneutik

Karl Vajda

The universal Aspect of Hermeneutics and the Idea of Philological Hermeneutics

Abstract

The paper intends to outline the development of Peter Szondi's understanding of literature. It focuses on the following question: Facing the crisis of the subject/object dichotomy in the Paris structuralism of the late sixties, which concept of hermeneutics or reception aesthetics counts for him as a comparatist, as a possible substitute for, or through which conceptual change in hermeneutics or reception aesthetics does he think it is possible to overcome the dichotomy that was made the basis of philiological epistemology by the speculative idealism?

Key words: understanding of literature, hermeneutics, epistemology, reception aesthetics, uncertainty principle between the production-centered and the reception aesthetical approach, literary ontology

Schlüsselworte: Literaturtheorie, Poetologie, Hermeneutik, Ontologie, Epistemologie, Rezeptionsästhetik, Unschärferelation zwischen produktions- und rezeptionsästhetischer Sicht

Folgender Gedankengang versteht sich weniger als ein systematisches Abschreiten von Peter Szondis keineswegs gradlinigem Weg zu einer literarischen Hermeneutik, denn vielmehr als ein Nachsinnen über hermeneutisch und literaturtheoretisch wesentliche Dilemmata, die den Neophilologen und Komparatisten Szondi in die Enge getrieben und zugleich dazu bewogen haben, über den eigenen oder sogar der ganzen Philologie Schatten zu springen. Insofern werden wir uns also mit Schattenhaftem, mitunter Aporischem auseinandersetzen und uns ersten und letzten Fragen der Hermeneutik stellen müssen. Jeder damit einhergehenden Verunsicherung zum Trotz gewinnt dieses Unterfangen aus dem Umstand doch eine gewisse Gewissheit, dass Szondi zweifelsohne einer der recht wenigen Literaturwissenschaftler war, die sich mit fachkundigem Ernst um eine hermeneutische Durchleuchtung der Literaturtheorie bemüht haben. Mehr noch: auf das Ende seines Lebensweges hin häufen sich die Anzeichen dafür, dass er mit dem Gedanken umging, der philosophischen, der juristischen und der theologischen eine philologische Hermeneutik an die Seite zu stellen. Da er stets von einer Warte der modernen Philologie aus Hermeneutik betrieben hat, werden wir zu Beginn dieser Schrift nicht umhin können, in aller gebotenen Kürze den Grundriss des Theoriegeländes jener Philologie abzustecken, die Szondi als mehr oder weniger fertiges, an ihn vermachtes Anwesen zu verwalten und zu bestellen suchte. Dies erweist sich vor allem deshalb als unumgänglicher erster Schritt, weil Peter Szondi zeitlebens einer bestimmten Art literaturtheoretischen Denkens verpflichtet war, die den Schatten, über den Szondi hin und wieder sprang, nicht unerheblich in die Breite zog.

Die Philologie ist eine der ältesten wissenschaftlichen Disziplinen. Nahezu zwei Jahrtausende lang die zuverlässigste Magd der Theologie und der Philo-

sophie. Sie beruht auf Grundlagen, die noch Aristoteles in seiner Abhandlung *De arte poetica* gelegt hat. Dieser sowohl deskriptiven wie auch präskriptiven Grundlegung der Literaturtheorie[72] zufolge ist die Dichtung ποιητική, d. h. ›Dichtkunst‹, eine produktive Betätigung menschlichen Gestaltungswillens, weshalb sich die dahinter verborgenen Fachkenntnisse als Beweise einer praktisch orientierten Fachverständigkeit, griechisch gesprochen und gedacht: einer φρόνησις, am Erzeugnis der Dichtkunst als ihrem objektiven Endergebnis in aller Deutlichkeit abnehmen lassen. Die Dichtkunst stellt ja Aristoteles zufolge wie andere Handwerke, die sogenannten τέχναι, auch, sehr wohl etwas her. Da es ihm zufolge auch im Falle der Dichtung um eine Kunst geht, ist das von der Poesie Hervorgebrachte ein Kunstwerk. Die Dichtung scheint geradehin ihre ganze Faktizität von diesem Erzeugnis her zu besitzen. Ganz in diesem Sinne schwebt Peter Szondi kurz vor seinem Tod eine kritische Hermeneutik des literarischen Kunstwerks (vgl. dazu auch Apel 2007, 111) vor, „deren Stoffverbundenheit sich gerade in der Klärung der Kriterien ausdrückt, welche die Bestimmung des Textes dem Verstehen an die Hand gibt." (Szondi 1975, 185) Unter Stoff und Materie wird bei Szondi allerdings stets der literarische Text als solcher verstanden (Szondi 1975, 12), also nicht wie bei den Vertretern des Strukturalismus der ausgehender 1960er Jahre (vgl. etwa Chvatík 1981, 87 und 91 sowie Kristeva 1972, 244) die korpuskulären Aufbauelemente desselben. Das Kunstwerk erscheint in der Sichtweise der Poetologie als eine uns objektiv vorliegende Tatsache, ja als Faktum, nämlich als ein *Arte factum*. Es ist zudem etwas Geschriebenes, ein Schriftstück. Zwar kann der poetologischen Literaturtheorie ganz gewiss ein Tunnelblick bescheinigt werden, da sie sich dem Phänomen der Mündlichkeit epischer und lyrischer Literatur weitgehend verschließt, allerdings kann sie sich selbst nach einer noch so unerbittlichen Konfrontierung mit der Erscheinung mündlicher Dichtung in ihrer Verlegenheit immerhin auf die Möglichkeit der medialen Fixierbarkeit oral überlieferter Literatur berufen und damit die forschende Frage wieder in eine technische Blickbahn zwingen, durch welche die hylemorphische Sichtweise der Poetologie wieder die Oberhand gewinnen kann. Der Neophilologie, wie sie auch Szondi geläufig war, gilt im Wesentlichen dasjenige als Literatur, ja sogar als Dichtung, was in dem handwerklich-produktiven Prozess dichterischen Schaffens (ποίησις) hergestellt und als Vollendetes, ja als das in seine vollkommene Vollendung entlassene Kunstding der literarischen Öffentlichkeit überreicht worden ist, d. h. uns allen in schriftlicher Form schwarz auf weiß vorliegt.

Der Dichter gilt für diese poetologische Tradition als Erzeuger (*Poet, Urheber*) und Hersteller (*Schriftsteller*). Er setzt sich ins Zeug, indem er Hand ans Werk legt.

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[72] „Poetik ist die Lehre von der Dichtung oder aber die Lehre von der Dichtkunst, was nicht ganz dasselbe bedeutet. Denn während die Lehre von der Dichtung eher eine Theorie der Poesie darstellt, eine Anschauung also, wenn man der Etymologie folgen will, dessen, was Dichtung ist, stellt die Lehre von der Dichtkunst eine Lehre von der poetischen Technik dar, eine Kunde davon, wie Dichtung zu verfertigen sei. Beide Seiten, die philosophische und die technische, dürfen im Grund nicht auseinandergerissen werden. Lange bilden sie ein Ganzes; die Abstraktion von der Praxis hatte zur Aufgabe, in die Praxis einzuführen. Die Poetik des Aristoteles ist beides in einem? eine Antwort auf die Frage, was Dichtung sei, und eine Anleitung, wie ein Epos, ein Drama am Besten zu machen waren." Szondi 1976, 13.

Das Schreiben ist ja sein Handwerk. Szondi scheint sich zwar einer gewissen Verlagerung des Mittelpunkts philologischer Auslegung von dem Autor und somit von der *intentio auctoris* auf das Werk und in eins damit auf die *intentio operis* bewusst zu sein,[73] dies hindert ihn aber in konkreter Auslegung selten daran, den Autor zur entscheidenden Schnittstelle hermeneutischer Sinnsuche zu machen und somit dem Rezipienten vorzuziehen.

Das literarische Kunstwerk gelangt in dieser produktionsästhetischen Betrachtungsweise als eine materielle Substanz in den Blick. Der Poet, der Schöpfer, der Verse-, Dramen- und Eposmacher verhält sich bei der Verrichtung, und d. h. nunmehr bei der Herstellung seines Werks, wie andere Handwerker auch: Er überwindet den Widerstand des Rohstoffes (ὕλη, vgl. vor allem Gadamer 2000, 148), entledigt das in Entstehung begriffene Werk überflüssiger Stoffreste und entläßt so seine Gestalt (μορφή) in ihre Vollendetheit (siehe hierzu vor allem das Standbildbeispiel des Aristoteles: Aristoteles, 1029a 2–6). Er setzt dabei je nach Bedarf Teile und Stoffe hinein, wie etwa der Baumeister Tore in ein Haus baut oder Säulen in einem Tempel errichtet (Aristoteles, 1453b 11–14).

Das literarische Kunstwerk ist ein kunstvoll hergestelltes Gewirk teils von Handlungen, deren Knoten man schürzt und löst (vgl. Aristoteles, 1456b 10), wie etwa ein Weber einen Teppich, teils aber das Gewebe gut getroffener Worte, gewandt verwobener sprachlicher Elemente (λέξις, vgl. Aristoteles, 1450a 14 f. und 1458a 19–35). Cicero gibt in diesem Sinne zu, seine Briefe enthielten zwar gewöhnliche Worten des Alltags, sie sind aus ihnen gleichsam gewoben („Epistolas vero cotidianis verbis textere solemus." Cicero, 9 21 [24], 1). Und was bei Cicero noch durch ein Tätigkeitswort ausgedrückt wird, rückt bei Quintilian schon als Grundbegriff, ja vielleicht schon als tote Metapher und somit als Kunstwort, ja als *Terminus technicus* einer τέχνη, in den Mittelpunkt wissenschaftlicher Reflexion. Der rhetorischen Auffassung des Quintilian zufolge bestimmt sich nämlich der Wert eines Ausdrucks nach seiner Stelle innerhalb des Wortgewebes oder mit seiner inzwischen fest eingebürgerten und toten Metapher gesprochen, innerhalb des Textes („*in textu*", Quintilian, 9 4:13).

Eine ganze Reihe wichtiger Begriffe der gängigen Literaturwissenschaft wie *Text*, *Motiv*, *Stoff*, *Erzählfaden* oder -*strang* wären ohne diese technizistische Grundlegung der Philologie durch Aristoteles und seine Handwerksanalogie wohl kaum denkbar. Zur mehr oder weniger unbekümmerten Verwendung metaphorischer Fachtermini bedarf es wiederum der unerschütterlichen Überzeugung, das konkret Literarische sei nichts anderes als ein Kunstwerk, dem amorphen Zustand des noch nicht Formuliert-Seins entrissen und in eine bestimmte Form gebracht, aus dem nahezu unendlich weichen Stoff der Sprache durch das Handgeschick des Dichters geflochten (siehe zu diesen Fragen vor allem Scheid und Svenbro 2003, 17 f.; 161 f. und Wagner-Hasel 2006, 15 ff.).

Aus diesem metaphysisch-poetologischen Verständnis der Dichtung und aus der ihm zugrundeliegenden Handwerksanalogie erwächst der Literaturwissenschaft jedoch nicht nur ein technonomisches Selbstverständnis, sondern auch

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[73] „Wollte man eine terrible simplification wagen, so könnte man sagen, daß das Ziel der Auslegung im 18. Jh. die Kenntnis der im Werk abgehandelten Sache, im 19. die Kenntnis des Autors, im 20. die Kenntnis des Werks ist." Szondi 1975, 111.

der Zwang, das literarische Geschehen in zwei zeitlich unterschiedliche und wesentlich verschiedene Bewandtnis- und Ereignisstrukturen zu trennen, nämlich in Produktion und Rezeption. Allerdings besteht zwischen dieses beiden Sichtweisen eine sonderbare Unschärferelation. Die Literaturwissenschaft wendet sich entweder der Morphologie der Werkstruktur und der daran angeblich abnehmbaren Poetizität zu, aber die dabei ermittelte und poetisch beabsichtigte wirkungsästhetische Potenz kann sie dann am Rezeptionsvorgang nicht überprüfen und somit weder verifizieren noch falsifizieren, oder aber sie wendet sich gleich dem Rezeptionsvorgang zu, dann kann sie allerdings über den Zusammenhang zwischen Werk und Wirkung nichts ermitteln, denn sobald sich der Literaturwissenschaftler der Werkstruktur zuwendet, um sie auf das konkrete Moment des Rezeptionsvorganges zu beziehen, muss er das literarische Werk ästhetisch wahrnehmen, folglich selbst ein Rezipient sein. Dann allerdings verfällt er jener Wirkung, er geht in dem Wirbel jener Kräfte auf, die er doch forschend untersuchen sollte. Niemand kann zur selben Zeit an der Rezeption beteiligt sein und seine neutrale, zu nichts gedrängte, beobachtende Außenposition als Analytiker derselben Rezeption bewahren (Gombrich 1967, 200). Das einzige Bindeglied zwischen Produktions- und Rezeptionsästhetik scheint somit das in beiden Phänomenalstrukturen als identische Grundlage (Vorlage) gesetzte literarische Kunstwerk, kurzum der Text, das literarische Faktum, das *Arte factum* zu sein.

Daher versteht sich der Philologe in Szondis nicht gerade unbewegter Zeit in mehr oder minder treuer Gefolgschaft des spekulativen Idealismus als ein erkennendes außerliterarisches Subjekt gegenüber einem zu erkennenden literarischen Objekt. Die Gesamtheit aller von ihm zu erkennenden Objekte machen jene Literatur aus, der die Philologie mit ihrem wissenschaftlichen Instrumentarium an den Leib, denn in metaphorischer Wörtlichkeit an das Textkorpus rücken will. Der Erfolg der Literaturwissenschaft misst sich nachgerade daran, inwiefern es gelingt, die Erkenntnis des literarischen Kunstwerks der Subjektivität der konkreten Erkenntnissituation zu entreißen und auf die ideale Ebene wissenschaftlicher Objektivität zu erheben. Nicht dem Besonderen, sondern allein dem Allgemeinen gilt ja seit den Tagen der Griechischen Klassik das ganze Interesse der Wissenschaften. Im Mittelpunkt der wissenschaftlichen Bemühungen der Philologie steht somit das seit Quintilian mit der toten Metapher des Textes als Gewirk oder Gewebe bezeichnete literarische Kunstwerk, an dem sich die Wirkungen der Dichtung entfalten und in den Augenschein forschender Untersuchung genommen werden sollen. Die poetologische Literaturtheorie gibt sich somit ihrem Wesen nach als ein interdisziplinäres Forschungsfeld in Erfahrung. Sie liegt im unterminierten Niemandsland entlang der Frontlinie zwischen semantischer Statik und ästhetischer Wirkungsmechanik. Dabei sind die verfeindeten Lager alles nur nicht ebenbürtig. Die Exegetik bedient sich zielsicherer schwerer Feldhaubitze einer mehr als zweitausend Jahre alten Auslegungskunst, während sich die Wirkungsästhetik auf den Wagemut ihrer leicht bewaffneten Kavallerie und auf deren Husarenstücke verlassen muss.

Zahlreich sind die Stellen, die nahelegen oder gar unter Beweis stellen, dass Peter Szondi ursprünglich aus dem Lager der Auslegungskunst kommt und nicht nur zu Beginn seiner wissenschaftlichen Laufbahn sowohl die Annahme der gegenständlich-sachlichen Objektivität literarischer Kunstwerke und die objektive Ge-

gebenheit ihres statischen Sinnkonstruktes geteilt hat, mithin dem Konzept einer von uns soeben nur in aller Milde karikierten Produktionsästhetik verpflichtet war.

Wir heben unter den disziplinär verbindlichen Grundsätzen der poetologischen Literaturtheorie nur die Subjekt-Objekt-Dichotomie hervor. Obwohl die Gegenüberstellung eines erkennenden Subjekts und eines zu erkennenden Objekts eigentlich schon seit dem Scheitern des Schererschen Positivismus, mithin seit der Generation des bei Szondi erstaunlich oft zitierten Emil Ermatinger obsolet geworden und seit der hermeneutischen Wende der Humaniora und womöglich noch augenfälliger nach dem Aufkommen des Dekonstruktivismus zu reinem Widerspruch an sich erstarrt ist, nennt Szondi den Vorgang des Rückzugs des lyrischen Ichs in einer seiner im Übrigen exzellenten Hölderlininterpretationen schlichtweg Objektivierung, was deutlich macht, dass er das Subjekt mit dem Ich, also letztendlich mit dem Selbstbewusstsein des Erkennenden identifiziert (Szondi 1975, 342). Die Objektivität des Gegenstandes scheint Szondi zwar nicht problemlos, aber immerhin gegeben. Dem philologischen Wissen ist, schreibt er in seinem kurzen Traktat *Über philologische Erkenntnis*, die Gegenwart des Kunstwerks vorgegeben. Während die Geschichtswissenschaft ihren Gegenstand, das vergangene Geschehen, aus der Ferne der Zeiten in die Gegenwart des Wissens hereinholen müsse und könne, sei dem philologischen Wissen immer schon die Gegenwart des Kunstwerks vorgegeben, an dem es sich stets von neuem zu bewähren habe. Allerdings sei diese Bewährung nicht zu verwechseln mit jener Überprüfung des Gewußten, auf die keine Wissenschaft verzichten könne. Dem philologischen Wissen sei vielmehr ein dynamisches Moment eigen, vor allem, weil es nur in der fortwährenden Konfrontation mit dem Text, in der ununterbrochenen Zurückführung des Wissens auf Erkenntnis, auf das Verstehen des dichterischen Wortes bestehen könne (Szondi 1967, 11). Szondi ist sich zwar der Unmittelbarkeit der Gegenwart von Literatur bewusst. Auch weiß er sehr wohl, dass von dieser Gegenwart eine Herausforderung ausgeht und sich der Philologe gegenüber der Dichtung in ihrer unmittelbaren Gegenwärtigkeit zu bewahren hat. Allerdings kommt ihm die Unmittelbarkeit der Dichtung ganz im Sinne der herkömmlichen Poetologie nicht nur als eine permanent gegenwärtige, sondern zugleich als eine gegenständliche Präsenz vor. Das Dichterische scheint ihm als Text und daher in gewisser Sachlichkeit vorzuliegen. Genau an diesem Punkt erwächst für Szondi aus der Begegnung mit der philosophischen Hermeneutik eine der größten Herausforderungen seines geistigen Werdegangs.

Die Anfechtung, der die Philologie gerade von der ontologisch fundierten Hermeneutik seit der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts ausgesetzt ist, erwächst aus der Einsicht, sowohl die Subjekt-Objekt-Dichotomie wie auch die Vorstellung eines in seiner Objektivität und Sachlichkeit gesicherten textuellen Gegenstandes für immer fahren lassen zu müssen. Die Fundamentalontologie Heideggers erbrachte ja den eindeutigen Erweis dafür, dass sich das Verstehen nicht erst in bewussten Akten menschlicher Erkenntnis vollzieht, noch einer auf das zu Erkennende gerichteten besonderen Bemühung menschlichen Intellekts entspringt. Heidegger hat vielmehr unter Beweis gestellt, dass das Verstehen ein Grundzug menschlichen Seins überhaupt ist, so dass das im Verstehen Gekonnte nie ein konkretes Etwas ist, sondern das Existieren als solches schlechthin (Heidegger 1986, 143). *Intelligo, ergo sum*. *Sum, ergo intelligo*. Das Verstehen ist in

beiden Fällen keine Zugabe einer Tätigkeit, die zwar erfolgt, aber auch unterbleiben könnte. Es ist keine akzidentelle Begleiterscheinung meines Seins, sondern eine seiner Konstituenten. Ja, menschliche Existenz zeitigt sich im Verstehen, in dem der Mensch die Herausforderungen des Daseins besteht. Entrückt gleichwohl das Verstehen, ähnlich wie bei dem späten Heidegger die Sprache, in jene Unvordenklichkeit des Seins, in die es ontologisch existenziell gehört, so erwächst daraus der Zwang, auch die Auslegung von Grund auf neu zu verorten.

Diesem Problem des ontologischen Vorrangs von Verstehen vor jedweder Auslegung begegnet auch Peter Szondi. Er verweist darauf, dass das Kommentieren und die kunstvolle Interpretation der Literaturwissenschaft zwar sehr wohl das Verständnis hermetischer Lyrik fundieren oder gar vertiefen könne, dass die besagte Lyrik als hermetisch auch schon ohne Auslegung und Kommentar verstanden ist, bleibt davon gleichwohl unberührt, muss es ja auch, sonst täte man dem hermetischen Gedicht als solchem Gewalt an: „Das zeigt besonders deutlich der Extremfall des hermetischen Gedichts. Interpretationen sind hier Schlüssel. Aber es kann nicht ihre Aufgabe sein, dem Gedicht dessen entschlüsseltes Bild an die Seite zu stellen. Denn obwohl auch das hermetische Gedicht verstanden werden will und ohne Schlüssel oft nicht verstanden werden kann, muß es doch in der Entschlüsselung als verschlüsseltes verstanden werden, weil es nur als solches das Gedicht ist, das es ist." (Szondi 1967, 11. f.) Dieser Gedankengang von Peter Szondi bedarf einer ontologischen Ergänzung. Wenn das hermeneutische Gedicht erst in seinem Verstanden-sein als verhüllende Dichtung sein kann, was es ist, nämlich ein besonderer Auslegungen und tiefgründiger Kommentare harrendes und sonst schwer zugängliches Gedicht, dann muss es bereits vor der Auslegung und dem Kommentar als Hermetisches verstanden sein. Erst dieses Verstehen führt ja zu der Handbewegung, mit der man Auslegung und Kommentar heranzieht. Das Verstehen geht der Verständigung über das Verstandene voraus. Selbst also noch in der Erfahrung so genannter dunkler Stellen gibt sich menschliches Verstehen als ein Es-als-Schwerverständlich-schon-Verstanden-haben zu erkennen. Auslegung und Interpretation, kurzum die vermittelnde Verständigung über Fragliches gründet ontologisch ebenso im Verstehen (Heidegger 1986, 148), wie das Existieren selbst.

Wenn man Literatur liest oder erlebt, dann versteht man sich schon darauf, Literatur zu lesen und zu erleben, in der Lektüre oder in dem dramatischen Geschehen gemäß der Bestimmung jedweder Literatur aufzugehen. Daraus folgt auch, dass man auf die Hermeneutik nicht mehr als eine besondere Kunstlehre schauen kann. Sie ist nicht länger jene ergebene Dienerin, die im Rang einer Hilfswissenschaft Philosophie, Theologie, Jurisprudenz und Philologie auf ihrem beschwerlichen Weg zum besseren Verständnis schwieriger Stellen begleitet, um ihnen bei etwaigen Interpretationsnöten beizuspringen und auszuhelfen. Hermeneutik ist für den frühen Heidegger „die einheitliche Weise des Einsatzes, Ansatzes, Zugehens, Befragen und Explizierens der Faktizität" (Heidegger 1995, 9), d. h. des eigensten Seins in seiner Jeweiligkeit, mithin Ontologie (Heidegger 1995, S. 7). Die Hermeneutik der Faktizität des Daseins (des Menschen) führt folglich zur Erkenntnis, dass der berühmte und von der Auslegungslehre der frühen Neuzeit bereits beschriebene hermeneutische Zirkel kein Denkfehler ist, sondern „der Ausdruck der existenzialen Vor Struktur des Daseins selbst" (Heidegger 1986, 153). Wer versteht,

bemerkt dazu Gadamer, ist „schon immer einbezogen in ein Geschehen, durch das sich Sinnvolles geltend macht" (Gadamer 1986, 494).

Szondi erkennt zwar die philologische Relevanz des hermeneutischen Zirkels durchaus an, er führt sie allerdings in der Tradition von Dilthey nicht auf ontologische, sondern in einer wissenschaftstheoretischen Argumentation auf epistemologische Besonderheiten der Philologie zurück: „Der philologische Beweis ist also auf Verständnis in ganz anderer Weise angewiesen als etwa der mathematische. Denn nicht bloß die Beweisführung muß verstanden werden. Sondern auch der Beweischarakter des Faktischen wird erst von der Interpretation enthüllt, während umgekehrt das Faktische der Interpretation den Weg weist. Diese Interdependenz von Beweis und Erkenntnis ist eine Erscheinungsform des hermeneutischen Zirkels." (Szondi 1967, 24)

Wegen der Interdependenz von Erkennendem und Erkanntem und des Vorrangs des ersteren oder ontologisch gewendet, weil der Mensch durch die bloße Existenz schon immer in ein Geschehen von Sinngebung und Sinnvernehmung geworfen ist, stellt sich die Frage nach der Gegenständlichkeit der Literatur und nach der Unterscheidbarkeit eines erkennenden Subjekts und eines zu erkennenden Objekts. Dass sich beide nun in Frage stehenden Leitvorstellungen der abkünftigen poetologisch ausgerichteten Literaturtheorie infolge der metaphysisch-technizistischen Grundlegung der Philologie als Wissenschaft von der Dichtung *qua* Dichtkunst nachgerade erzwingen und somit ihre Geltung gänzlich davon abhängt, ob wir der Handwerksanalogie recht und stattgeben, bedarf keiner weiteren Ausführungen. Umso erstaunlicher ist es, wenn sich der junge Szondi, der angehende Literaturwissenschaftler, der sich 1954 ausgerechnet mit einer gattungstheoretisch ausgerichteten Dissertation promoviert, mithin der Aristotelischen Poetologie mit Leib und Seele verschrieben ist, in seiner *Theorie des modernen Dramas* zu einer Formulierung hinreißen lässt, die den metaphysischen Rahmen jedweder Poetologie sprengt: „Das Drama ist absolut. Um reiner Bezug, das heißt: dramatisch sein zu können, muß es von allem ihm Äußerlichen abgelöst sein. Es kennt nichts außer sich. Das Drama ist absolut. Um reiner Bezug, das heißt: dramatisch sein zu können, muß es von allem ihm Äußerlichen abgelöst sein. Es kennt nichts außer sich. Der Dramatiker ist im Drama abwesend. Er spricht nicht, er hat Aussprache gestiftet. [...] Die im Drama gesprochenen Worte [...] werden aus der Situation heraus gesprochen [...]; keineswegs dürfen sie als vom Autor herrührend aufgenommen werden." (Szondi 1964, 15) Dem jungen Peter Szondi zufolge ist inszenierte, d. h. geschehende Literatur absolut. Sie ist nicht an ihren Schöpfer gebunden. Im Gegenteil, sie entfaltet sich erst in der Aufnahme, in dem Prozess der Rezeption. Wenn es dem gleichwohl so ist, dann ist die Begegnung mit geschehender Literatur eine Absolution. Dichtung ist somit als Befreiung, ja als Erlösung gedacht. Erlösung und Befreiung sind Geschehen, die den Befreiten in seine Freiheit entlässt, ihn frei sein lässt. Gemäß der Szondischen These von der Absolutheit der Literatur ist Freiheit kein Zustand und noch weniger eine Eigenschaft. Freiheit ist vielmehr der Modus des Seins dessen, dem Literatur geschieht. Ontologisch gesprochen, fasst der junge Szondi Literatur als eine spezifische Seinsweise des Menschen in den Blick.

Der Satz, Dichtung ist absolut, besagt ontologisch, dass Dichtung eine spezi-

fische Seinsweise des Menschen ist. Diese Seinsweise erlöst und befreit. Dies beschwört einen uralten, dem Gattungstheoretiker Szondi durchaus geläufigen Grundsatz des Aristoteles herauf. In einer technischen Analogie mit der Heilkunde seiner Zeit und wohl auch in Erinnerung an den Beruf seines Vaters sagt Aristoteles über die Dichtung, sie bezwecke Erlösung. Er denkt diese Erlösung halbwegs medizinisch, halbwegs psychologisch. Deshalb bedient er sich des Fachausdrucks κάθαρσις. *Katharsis* bedeutet die Erlösung von jenen zwei Wirkungen, die die dramatische Dichtung als Kunst hervorruft, nämlich von Furcht und Mitleid. Diese beiden Erregungen menschlichen Gemüts weisen in einen Zusammenhang literarischer Identifikation, der bei Szondi, in einer hermeneutisch fundierten Auslegung Celanscher Lyrik, schwer ins Gewicht fallen soll und worauf wir deshalb später noch zu sprechen kommen. Der große Unterschied zwischen dem Szondischen Diktum der Absolutheit der Dichtung und der Katharsis-Lehre des Aristoteles besteht zweifelsohne darin, dass bei Szondi die Absolution nicht erst am Ende eines wirkungsmechanischen Vorganges einsetzt, um ihn im Endzweck der Dichtkunst aufzuheben und in die metaphysische Teleologie der Technizität poetologisch verstandener Dichtung einzubinden. Bei dem jungen Szondi ist die Absolutheit der Dichtung und das Geschehen ihrer Absolution in der Rezeption von Anfang an ein unvordenkliches Begleitphänomen jedweder Begegnung mit der Literatur als solcher. Der Szondische Satz besagt, dass sich derjenige, dem Literatur widerfährt, in einem reinen Bezug vorfindet. Er ist von allem Äußerlichen und Außerliterarischen losgelöst und dem schlechthinigen literarischen Geschehen überantwortet. Die Ausschließlichkeit der Eingeschlossenheit ins literarische Geschehen, über die Szondi als absolute Dichtung spricht, veräußert alles nicht Literarische und verinnerlicht alles, was literarisch ist. Ohne sich der Terminologie der Hermeneutik existentieller Faktizität zu bedienen, begibt sich der junge Szondi in erstaunliche Nähe zu einer ontologisch fundierten Literaturtheorie. Szondi spricht ja der Erfahrung einer Literatur als spezifischer Seinsweise des Menschen das Wort. Die Lehre von der Absolutheit knackt das große Paradoxon der Dichtung als inklusiver Exklusivität. In ihrer Ausschließlichkeit schließt ja die Literatur alles literarisch Äußere aus und alles in bezug auf die Rezeption Innere, Innerliche ein. Sie setzt zudem mit dem Anbeginn der Rezeption unvermittelt ein. Jene Art von Schließen, die es vermag, in aller Plötzlichkeit aus- und einzuschließen, heißt mit einem alten Wort *Bann*. Wer unter Bann gestellt ist, ist ausgestoßen, ausgeschlossen, des Landes verwiesen. Ihm wird kein Einlaß mehr gewährt. Wer unter dem Bann von jemandem steht, ist ihm ganz verfallen, ist von ihm gebannt, in den Bann geschlagen, gefesselt. Die Absolution der Dichtung, die Erlösung der Literatur ist ein solches Bannen. Die Literatur ist dem jungen Szondi zufolge eine spezifische Seinsweise des Daseins, die zugleich befreit und fesselt, gleichzeitig ein und ausschließt. Es braucht nicht eigens beton zu werden, dass dies mit der altehrwürdigen um Objektivität bemühten Philologie in keinem Einklang steht, ganz im Gegenteil, in solchen Sprüchen spricht man sich von der poetologischen Philologie los.

Der Gedanke der Absolutheit der Dichtung scheint bei dem reifen Szondi in komparatistischer Perspektive zu wiederkehren, wenn er in seinem Traktat *Über philologische Erkenntnis* die Bemerkung macht, „es darf nicht übersehen werden, daß jedem Kunstwerk ein monarchischer Zug eigen ist, daß es – nach einer Bemerkung

Valérys – allein durch sein Dasein alle anderen Kunstwerke zunichte machen möchte. […] Dieses Verlangen gehört als Absolutheitsanspruch zum Charakter jedes Kunstwerks, das ein Ganzes, ein Mikrokosmos sein will, und die Literaturwissenschaft darf sich darüber nicht einfach hinwegsetzen, wenn ihr Vorgehen ihrem Gegenstand angemessen, das heißt wissenschaftlich sein soll." (Szondi 1967, 21) Diesem Zitat kann auf der einen Seite entnommen werden, dass Peter Szondi, der Philologe, in der Literatur immer noch einen fertig vorliegenden Gegenstand, nämlich den Text erblickt. Allerdings springt er über den langen Schatten der Artefaktizität der Poetologie, wenn er sich traut, bei einem womöglich fiktiven Zitat ausgerechnet Paul Valéry, mithin einen Lyriker und Essayisten zum Gewährsmann zu nehmen und die Dichtung mit einem Mikrokosmos zu vergleichen. Ist die Dichtung eine Welt für sich, so ist sie nicht deshalb unvergleichlich, weil es keine anderen Welten dieser Art gibt, sondern weil der Mensch ontologisch so beschaffen ist, dass er innerhalb einer Welt existiert und ihm jede andere Welt transzendent ist. Rezeptionstheoretisch gewendet, ist der Rezipient nur einer, wenn er in dem Nachvollzug von Literatur aufgegangen ist. Während des Rezeptionsprozesses eine andere Dichtung, also einen anderen Rezeptionsvorgang zum Vergleich heranziehen hieße einen Standpunkt beziehen, der sich außerhalb beider Dichtungen und zugleich außerhalb des Nachvollzugs, ja schließlich der Literatur selbst befände, was ein epistemologisches Paradoxon wäre. Es liegt auf der Hand, dass hier die Lehre von der Absolutheit der Dichtung in gewandelter Gestalt wiederkehrt. Ontologisch gesprochen, erkennt der Komparatist Szondi den Innerweltlichkeitscharakter jener besonderen Seinsweise, die gewöhnlich Literatur genannt wird. Zugleich sieht Szondi ein, ohne jedoch das Eingesehene wissenschaftstheoretisch herauszuarbeiten, dass es in Analogie zur quantenmechanischen Unschärferelation offensichtlich auch eine wirkungsmechanische Unbestimmtheitsrelation gibt. Die Literatur lässt sich empirisch nur im rezeptiven Vollzug erfahren und erleben. Geht man indessen im literarischen Nachvollzug auf, so ist man von dem, was es zu untersuchen gilt, unmöglich zu trennen. Der Beobachter beobachtet sich mit. Da geraten die Pole der klassischen epistemologischen Objekt-Subjekt-Dichotomie nicht einfach nur durcheinander, sondern gleichsam aus den Fugen.

Parallel zu dieser Erfahrung der Unvordenklichkeit von Rezeption als erlebendem Nachvollzug von Literatur, die nicht von ungefähr dem ontologischen Vorrang des existentiellen Verstehens bei Heidegger zu entsprechen scheint, mehren sich bei Szondi Formulierungen, in denen er die Subjektivität literarischer Interpretation vor dem Vorwurf gescheiterter Objektivität immer entschlossener in Schutz nimmt und dadurch gleichsam die Vermutung nahelegt, er habe kurz vor der theoretischen Überwindung dieses Gegensatzpaares gestanden.

Bereits in dem Traktat *Über philologische Erkenntnis* lässt sich Szondi durch die Diltheysche Lehre, dem Erklären der Naturwissenschaften stünde in den Geisteswissenschaften das Verstehen gegenüber, zur Feststellung, sobald die philologische Forschung „um ihrer vermeintlichen Objektivität willen das erkennende Subjekt auszuklammern sucht, läuft sie Gefahr, die subjektiv geprägten Tatsachen durch unangemessene Methoden zu verfälschen, ohne dabei den Irrtum gewahren zu können." (Szondi 1967, 14) Subjektivität kann also Wahrheiten zu Tage fördern, wiewohl Objektivität Tatsachen verfälschen kann. In seiner *Einführung in die literarische Hermeneutik* bemerkt er in bezug auf die hermeneu-

tischen Propädeutik von Johann Martin Chladenius (*Einleitung zur richtigen Auslegung vernünfftiger Reden und Schrifften*) von 1742 dann womöglich noch prägnanter, dass Chlaudenius erkannt habe, dass an jedem Verstehen Subjektives mitwirke, ja mitwirken nachgerade müsse (Szondi 1975, 51).

Viel mehr Denkimpulse als von Chlaudenius, Schleiermacher, Gadamer und Heidegger zusammen scheint Peter Szondi indessen von Paul Celan erhalten zu haben. Vor allem durch die scheinbare Enigmatik der Celanschen Lyrik fühlt sich ja die germanistische Philologie der 1960er und 70er Jahre herausgefordert. Heraus nämlich von den eigenen Denkschemata. Im Laufe der philologisch anhebenden und in weite Felder des Essayistischen und zugleich des Theoretischen vorstoßenden Interpretation des Poems *Engführung* kommt Celan auf die Rolle des Rezipienten zu sprechen, die ihm von dem Gedicht her zuteil wird: „So läßt *Engführung* gleich zu Anfang den Leser verstehen, daß er vom Dichter nicht angesprochen wird [...], und daß er auch nicht Gegenstand des Gedichts ist; vielmehr wird er derart ins Innere des Textes versetzt, daß es unmöglich wird, zwischen dem, der liest, und dem, was er liest, zu unterscheiden; das lesende Subjekt fällt zusammen mit dem Subjekt des gelesenen Gedichts." (Szondi 1972, 48 f.) An dieser kurzen Stelle sticht gleich in die Augen, dass Celan – von der Helle der produktionsästhetischen Beleuchtung lyrischer Texte wohl geblendet – zwischen dem Dichter, also dem Dichtenden und der lyrischen Instanz, die in einem Gedicht zu Wort kommt, noch weitgehend nicht unterscheidet. Genauso auffällig ist indessen auch, dass Szondi – vorerst zwar nur spezifisch in der Lyrik Celans – eine literaturontologische Situation wahrnimmt, in der sich einerseits die Unterscheidung zwischen lyrischem Subjekt und poetischem Objekt *ad finitum et absurdum* gedacht werden und festgestellt werden muss, dass es schier unmöglich ist, zwischen dem Lesenden und dem Gelesenen zu *unterscheiden*. Szondi, der Philologe, sieht sich zur Feststellung gezwungen, vorerst noch ausschließlich im Geltungsbereich einer mit existenziell radikalen Einsätzen arbeitenden Dichtung Szondis eigener Gegenwart, dass sich der ontologische Status des Lesenden mit dem Beginn der Rezeption radikal wandelt. Der Lesende und das Gelesene lassen sich, und das ist ein epistemologischer Skandal, nicht mehr unterscheiden. Dem Gedicht geht es als dem Rezipienten gleich einem Unglück oder Blitzschlag widerfahrender Literatur nachgerade darum, den Abstand zwischen den Zeilen und den Augen zum Verschwinden zu bringen. In der Interpretation des Peter Szondi sind Leser und Gelesenes existentiell untrennbar. Sie sind verwachsen.

Diese Verbundenheit folgt indessen aus dem universalen Aspekt der Hermeneutik unausweichlich. Wenn aus „der Konzeption der sprachlichen Bedingtheit von Literatur folgt, daß die literarische Hermeneutik den Gegenstand des Verstehens nicht jenseits der Sprache ansetzen kann, sondern in der Sprache selbst", (Szondi 1975, 405) wenn also die Sprache eine Mitte ist, in der sich Ich und Welt zusammenschließen, verknüpfen, (vgl. Gadamer 1986, 478) dann nimmt keineswegs wunder, dass in der Dichtung, mithin in der literarischen Verdichtung menschlicher Sprachlichkeit seinesgleichen geschieht und sich in bezug auf die Literatur allein schon deshalb kein erkennendes Subjekt mehr denken lässt, weil der Rezipient im Vollzug der Rezeption aufgeht, sich literarisch identifiziert und nun litera-

risch ist, sich durch und durch dichtungsimmanent verhält, ja mehr noch, von alles übrigem absolut getrennt ist. Szondi scheint sich dessen bewusst zu sein, dass dadurch Unerhörtes geschieht, es wird ja an den poetologischen Fundamenten des Aristoteles gerüttelt: „[…] der Text als solcher weigert sich, weiter im Dienst der Wirklichkeit zu stehen und die Rolle zu spielen, die ihm seit Aristoteles zuge-dacht wird. Die Dichtung ist nicht Mimesis, keine Repräsentation mehr: sie wird Realität. Poetische Realität freilich, Text, der keiner Wirklichkeit mehr folgt, sondern sich selbst als Realität entwirft und begründet." (Szondi 1972, 52)

Die Absolutheit, mit der die literarische Rezeption die außerliterarische Existenz des Rezipienten ausblendet, hängt indessen mit der Endlichkeit des menschlichen Denkens zusammen. Diese setzt die Grenzen menschlichen Fassungsvermögens. Letztere fallen mit dem Weltkonstrukt unserer existentialen Immanenz oder um mit Heidegger zu sprechen, mit unserem In-der-Welt-sein zusammen. Die Rezeption der Dichtung muss deshalb, also wegen der ontologischen Verfassung menschli-cher Existenz, eine absolute Immanenz voraussetzen. Eine Relativität, eine Ver-gleichbarkeit zur selben Zeit erlebbarer unterschiedlicher Innerweltlichkeiten würde unseren ontologischen Status als Mensch und Dasein schlichtweg sprengen. Die von Szondi festgestellte rezeptionsimmanente Identifikation oder um mit Gadamer zu sprechen, die transitorische Unmöglichkeit zwischen Darstellung und Sein zu unterscheiden, folgt aus dem Universalen Aspekt der Hermeneutik. Er ist eine He-rausforderung, ja Provokation der Literaturtheorie, die Peter Szondi wahrgenom-men hat. Sein Entwurf einer literaturwissenschaftlichen Hermeneutik ist indessen teils unvollendet geblieben, teils stellt er den großartigen Versuch dar, den univer-salen Aspekt der Hermeneutik auf die altehrwürdige Poetologie zu adaptieren. Es fragt sich allerdings sowohl, ob dies möglich, als auch, ob dies tunlich ist. Vielleicht stellt der Szondische Versuch einmal mehr unter Beweis, dass es unumgänglich geworden ist, die Literaturtheorie von Grund auf neu zu begründen und die Poeto-logie des Aristoteles mit der Radikalität eines Verzichtes zu überwinden.

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Neil Gaiman and P. L. Travers among the Stars

Renáta Marosi

Abstract

Neil Gaiman, one of the most celebrated fantasy writers of our century, has been inspired by P. L. Travers, the author of the *Mary Poppins* books. The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate *Mary Poppins*'s influence on Gaiman's *Stardust* regarding mostly the moral of the novels by taking a psychological perspective: in order to live a whole and happy life (or step on the way of the individuation process) we need to get to know ourselves (by paying attention to our unconscious). Furthermore, both authors' novels refer back to Victorian England, include Fairyland and the same literary genres and motifs (e.g. nursery rhyme, the hero's quest and dreams) which are either Travers's direct affects or similarities between the novels based on their common taste for books.

Key words: Stardust, Mary Poppins, Victorian England, natural phenomena, dreams, unconscious, recollection

1. P. L. Travers's Influence on Neil Gaiman

Neil Gaiman, one of the creators of modern comics, whose *Sandman* was the first comic ever to receive a literary award (1991 World Fantasy Award for Best Short Story), one of the winners of the Newberry Medal, the most honourable award of children's literature, for his work *The Graveyard Book*, and the recipient of several other awards (4 Hugos, 2 Nebulas, 6 Locuses, etc.). His successful works appeal both to adults (*Neverwhere*, *American Gods, Anansi Boys, Good Omens*) and children (*M is for Magic, The Day I Swapped My Dad for Two Goldfish, Crazy Hair,* etc.).

As a keen reader from his childhood, Neil Gaiman was inspired and enchanted by many fantasy, science-fiction authors and cartoonists such as L. Carroll, C. S. Lewis, R. Kipling, M. Shelley, E. Blyton, Ursula K. Le Guin, Will Eisner and last but not least P. L. Travers, who, as Gaiman suspects, underpinned all his writing with the universe of her magic nanny (Grilli 2014, xiv) and he considers her *Mary Poppins* books excellent and inspiring novels, and much more interesting than people give credit for (N.N. 2016, n. p.).

Just like Gaiman, Travers also admired *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, *The Chronicles of Narnia*, and *The Jungle Book*. By the same token, and since the story of *Stardust* had been bubbling in his subconscious for many years (Wagner et. al. 2008, 296), it is sometimes difficult to determine which motifs of his postmodern fairy tale are directly or unconsciously influenced by Travers's *Mary Poppins,* and which features are only similar to the magic nanny's novels due to the authors' common taste for books. Presumably, both options could be easily acceptable and taken either separately or simultaneously.

Considering the fact that Travers aided him to 'underpin his writing', it is worth

presenting some similarities between their writing styles, most importantly regarding their attitude towards questions and the truth – by no means claiming that only Travers contributed to his creative literary work.

First of all, Travers and Gaiman share the same opinion about the source of their inspiration, the significance of and approach toward questions. First of all, just as Travers explained that she did not create or invent Mary Poppins, but instead she discovered her (Draper–Koralek 1999, 12), Gaiman claimed that although it is obvious that all his ideas come out of his head, he does not know, "where the ideas really come from, what makes them come, or whether one day they'll stop" (Gaiman 1997, n. p.). Furthermore, questions have their prominent role in their writings. Travers (1988) once declared, "Anything I write is all question. I don't think I have the answers" (237). However, she considered getting no answer a grace because we have the possibility of wondering, pondering, absorbing the world (Travers 1988, 237). By the same token, some questions remain unanswered in *Mary Poppins*, i.e. we never know where she actually comes from, or where Mary Poppins leaves when she is no more responsible for the Banks children.

Gaiman (1997), similarly, highlights that he is inspired the most by asking questions: "You get ideas when you ask yourself simple questions. The most important of the questions is just, What if…? […] Another important question is, If only… […] And then there are the others: I wonder…" (n. p.). While Travers does not provide us with many important answers, Gaiman intends to answer his own questions and fulfil his daydreaming also with respect to *Stardust*: "*What if* a star falls down on the earth?"; "I *wonder* whether they own the same feelings like us"; "*If only* I could get close to a star", etc.

2. P. L. Travers's Influence on Neil Gaiman's *Stardust*

By answering his questions, Gaiman intended to put the answers and tell his tales as they were true facts, which he might have learnt from Travers. She believed that tales, especially the original Grimm's tales, can teach us great things and let us think (Travers 1999, 183), they show the truth, the things as they really are. Gaiman has been deeply impressed and inspired by Travers in paying attention to that truth:

> When I was young I read Mary Poppins by P. L. Travers and I learned that a nanny could also be a chthonic entity who danced, on her night off, with anthropomorphic personifications of the stars and constellations, and that if you told the tale well, this felt like truth. I suspect I've been trying for that level of assurance ever since (Gaiman 2017, n. p.).

Thus, as Gaiman (2012) claimed, the stories of Mary Poppins made him want to tell stories that "seemed like they had existed forever, and were true in a way that real things that had actually happened could never be" (12). Consequently, the meaning of the word 'true' has been altered in Gaiman's vocabulary: no matter how incredible and unbelievable their stories are, they all could be telling the truth, let it be proclaimed by a magic nanny or through the story of an 'anthropomorphic personifications of a star' and a unique boy who wants to gain his Heart's Desire.

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Considering his reverence for P. L. Travers, it is not a coincidence that Gaiman was asked to write the foreword to Georgia Grilli's book, *Myth, Symbol and Meaning in Mary Poppins: The Governess as Provocateur*. In that foreword he defined Mary Poppins as

> a natural phenomenon, ancient as mountain ranges, on first-name terms with the primal powers of the universe, adored and respected by everything that saw the world as it was. And she is a misery [….] The patterns of the first three Mary Poppins books are as inflexible as those of a Noh play: she arrives, brings order to chaos, sets the world to rights, takes the Banks children places, tells them a story, rescues them from themselves, brings magic to Cherry tree Lane, and then, when the time is right, she leaves (Grilli 2014, xiii).

Gaiman here writes an insightful description of Mary Poppins by emphasizing her pristine attributes and tight bond with the universe. He also aptly and concisely summarizes the plot of the magic nanny's story referring to a Japanese play whose culture deeply enchanted Travers. Nevertheless, that pristine feature and strong relation to the cosmos is also very characteristic for his *Stardust*: the fairy world including the celestial bodies is also in a very intimate relationship with Tristran Thorn, his tale's hero; moreover, Yvaine the star and the heroine also sets the world (of Faeries) to rights and when both heroes fulfil their destinies and missions they leave (the mortals).

Both Travers and Gaiman endow the stars and other natural phenomena with characters' roles. For instance, in one of the Mary Poppins stories (*The Evening Out*), when Jane and Michael attend a heavenly circus, they get to know the Sun who is introduced as the Ring Master. They also talk and dance with animals and other creatures made of stars and standing for various constellations (Orion, Great Bear and Little Bear, Venus the Evening Star) who happen to be the performers in that circus. Furthermore, Mary Poppins and her protégés spend their Midsummer Night in the Park together with Castor and Pollux, who are constellations too. Moreover, during their Christmas shopping they help Maia, a star from the constellation of Taurus, buying some presents for her sisters.

Gaiman goes even further. He does not only give the opportunity to a star to appear in a single chapter, but also guarantees her to be the heroine of his fairy tale: he personifies the celestial body and gives her a name, Yvaine. The idea of a star as a humanoid being presumably came not only from *Mary Poppins*, but also from *The Voyage of Dawn Treader* –he read both books at around the age of seven, thus the experiences could be mixed in his mind (Wagner 2008, 459; 489).

Although Mary Poppins is not a fallen star, some scenes in the novels might suggest some direct influences of *Mary Poppins* on the character of Yvaine – mostly, with respect to the value of their presence. First of all, just as Mary Poppins who keeps the Banks family together, takes care of the children and helps to run the household, for different reasons, Yvaine is also very important in every characters' lives. Yvaine falls from the sky when the dying king of Stormhold hits her by the Power of Stormhold, a large yellowish stone. The princes of Stormhold want the stone since who possesses this object, possesses the

power over Stormhold. In addition, the three old witch sisters, the Lilim, need to cut off Yvain's heart in order to become young and beautiful again. Furthermore, Tristran also needs Yvaine since he promised his Heart Desire, his beloved Victoria a fallen star.

Second of all, Yvaine's and Mary Poppins's arrival and departure share similar features. On the one hand, when Mary Poppins is departing for the second time on a Merry-go-round up towards the sky, Mr Banks considers the leaving nanny to be a bright new star. When the enthusiastic Mr Banks showed his discovery to Jane and Michael, they already knew that it is Mary Poppins and concluded that "Out of the sky she had come, back to the sky she had gone" (Travers 2010, 329) –she arrived on a kite from the sky and disappeared in the sky as well. Similarly, Yvaine falls from the sky (though despite her will), and as the Lady of Stromhold, she returns to a place which is really close to the sky, her former home:

> They say that each night, when the duties of state permit, she climbs, on foot, and limps, alone, to the highest peak of the palace, where she stands for hour after hour, seeming not to notice the cold peak winds. She says nothing at all, but simply stares upward into the dark sky and watches, with sad eyes, the slow dance of the infinite stars (Gaiman 1998, 103).

The everyday life in Cherry Tree Lane accompanied by Mary Poppins could be characterized as an unpredictable, extraordinary and unusual experience. As Gaiman (2008) explained, "these odd little stories where everybody would go down to the park and there would be a sort of magical eruption that Mary Poppins had created, and the world of normality would interchange, and you'd become someone just for the space of a chapter, or an hour and then it would be over, and everybody would be floating through the park on balloons or whatever" (n. p.). In other words, the conventional order could be subverted anytime and anywhere unexpectedly wherever Mary Poppins appears: once Jane and Michael are walking in the Park, then, the following moment they are flying by magic balloons above the Park or celebrating a wedding in a plasticine park under the dandelions.

Just as Mary Poppins suddenly evokes chaos and subverts many character's lives positively or negatively by her arrival, Yvaine's presence brings subversion, chaos, fortune and misfortune as well: the princes die while they are trying to obtain the Power of Stormhold which is carried by Yvaine. The brothers kill each other due to their thirst for power. Furthermore, in the end, Madame Semele a witch loses her slave bird who is actually an enchanted princess, Lady Una of Stormhold, Tristran's real mother. As the prophecy predicted, she became free because the moon lost her daughter. The moon's daughter is Yvaine, who, since has fallen in love with Tristran, wholeheartedly belongs only to him, and thus she never goes back to the sky but instead continues living in Stormhold with her beloved one. Nevertheless, Yvaine brings not only love into Tristran's life, but helps him get to know himself, and aids in restoring the peace and balance in Faerie.

Similarly, on the one hand, Mary Poppins keeps the Banks family's lives in peace, and provides them with wonders, on the other hand, she punishes if it is necessary: the evil Ms Andrew, Mr Banks's former governess, gets into her own

lark's aviary after she criticizes Poppins's perfection and educational methods (however, by punishing she rescues the bird from its aviary as Yvaine did with Lady Una); the selfish and plasticine Mrs Mo, Poppins's relative's wife, is taken away by Indians after being rude and mean to Mr Mo and Mary Poppins. Thus, those who want to harm Mary Poppins or her protégés and beloved ones, have to face the consequences, which are not at all beneficiary and fortunate to them.

The careful reader may notice that not only the stars but also the *wind* has a very significant role in both Gaiman's *Stardust* and Travers's *Mary Poppins* books. *Wind* suggests something unique in both novels. Just as Mary Poppins pops in by the west wind and is warned by the east wind that it is time to leave, the "wind blew from the east" (Gaiman 1998, 24) when Tristran Thorn's journey began with his promise to the beloved Victoria: he would bring her the fallen star. Furthermore, Stormhold, which also suggests the wind in its title, is one of the settings of the novel. With respect to the setting, both *Stardust* and *Mary Poppins* take place in Victorian England and in a sort of Fairyland. Before scrutinizing Travers's direct influence on Gaiman's novel regarding the moral of the tale, the paper offers a short insight into these places with respect to the similarities and/or direct influence (or alteration) of Mary Poppins's world.

3. Setting: Victorian England and Fairyland

Both Gaiman and Travers decided to put their ideas into the same period, thus recalling cosy and peaceful times and atmosphere that Gaiman's 21th century bustling world has long-forgotten, just as Travers's peaceful world and life was disturbed by family tragedies (her father's alcoholism and early death, bad relationship with her adopted son, etc.) and the world wars. Travers's *Mary Poppins* books take place in the late Victorian, early Edwardian period while Gaiman's *Stardust* is set in the Early-Victorian England.

For Travers it was a lot easier to create this world as she was born in 1899 than to Gaiman who was born in 1960. However, with his illustrator, Charles Vess he aptly and authentically preserves the mood and life of the Early-Victorian England. Gaiman also looks back to the pre-Tolkien fantasy of the nineteenth and twenties century, which influences his style and storytelling sense, but he infuses those elements into original, twenty-first-century ideas (Wagner at al. 2009, 297). He did not only look back but also intended to imagine writing his fairy tale in the pre-Tolkien times. Thus, with the help of a copy of Katharine Briggs' *Dictionary of Fairies*, he decided to write in longhand in order to evolve the kind of sentence structure, emotion, the whole thing that people had in the 1920s (Gaiman 2007, n. p.; White 1999, n. p.).

Gaiman uses much more definite allusions to depict and determine the time and place of *Stardust* than Travers did in her *Mary Poppins* novels. The author mentions various figures and their contributions to the Victorian English literature (Charles Dickens) and science (Samuel Morse), and last but not least the hero's Heart Desire is named Victoria, thus carrying the name of the period and the ruling queen's. Moreover, the famous Faerie Market that takes place every nine years on May Day on the other side of the wall where people have the opportunity to meet

supernatural creatures (giants, fairies, witches), and which people come to visit from all over the world is exceedingly similar to and recalls the significance and popularity of the Great Exhibition of 1851 organized in London. Many historians have regarded this event as the first world's fair that saw six million visitors coming through its doors from all over the world with over 100,000 exhibits on display (Gwin 2008, 3). Although the Great Exhibition took place in the Mid-Victorian age, its significance, popularity and atmosphere is equal to that of the Faerie Market which is also only a whole night's ride to London:

> They came in ones, and they came in twos, and they landed at Dover or in London or in Liverpool: men and women with skins as pale as paper, skins as dark as volcanic rock, skins the color of cinnamon, speaking in a multitude of tongues. They arrived all through April, and they traveled by steam train, by horse, by caravan or cart, and many of them walked (Gaiman 1998, 6).

Travers evokes Victorian times by picturing the cosy and pokey everyday life before the busy and fast life was about to begin (playing children in the park with their governesses, the Ice Cream Man wheeling his tricycle on the road, etc.); furthermore, by describing the obedient wife Mrs Banks whose task is only to run the household (which she does more or less successfully), and by portraying the magic nanny Mary Poppins's behaviour and cloths. Her clothing mirrors the traditional Victorian uniform: she always wears a hat, a skirt with a belt and boots. Furthermore, she follows the Victorian manner as she is standoffish and speaks coldly and contemptuously, even disdainfully to the children. In addition, she considers daily routines and running the household properly very important responsibilities and tasks of the governess. However, she also subverts the traditional Victorian picture of the nanny: she considers references old fashioned and she educates their protégés by supernatural dreamy adventures instead of books and ordinary lectures.

Travers's and Gaiman's Victorian world is accompanied by the same Fairyland with respect to their setting since neither of these miraculous places own any boundaries. The boundaries of Gaiman's Faerie are constantly changing, and it is "bigger than England as it is bigger than the world" (Gaiman 1998, 29). Travers's Fairyland is unlimited not to its size but to the Banks's children's imagination. Mary Poppins spends her first day off with her friend, Berth the match man and pavement painter in one of his pictures. There they drink tea and go on a Merry-go-round. Once she returns, Poppins tells the children that she has been to Fairyland. Jane and Michael do not understand why neither Cinderella nor Robinson Crusoe live in her Fairyland. Mary Poppins explains that "everybody's got a Fairyland of their own" (Travers 2010, 29). Thus, as no one knows where the boundaries of Faerie ends and how it changes, no one can set a limit to Poppins's Fairyland – there are as many Fairylands as the many types we imagine.

In Gaiman's *Stardust* there are two parallel worlds depicted, a quaint Victorian village named Wall and the fantastical kingdom of Stormhold that is a part of Faerie (McGrathaug 2007). Similarly, Travers's stories also take place in two

worlds: on the one hand, it is Jane and Michael's everyday life in Cherry Tree Lane and the aforementioned Fairyland; on the other hand, it is their everyday world and dream world in which they undergo wonderful adventures with their nanny. Nevertheless, while Gaiman's two worlds are separated by a wall and can meet each other only every nine years, Travers's worlds are separated by Mary Poppins and getting there is more difficult than passing a wall, since *she* is a sort of door who separates the ordinary and the extraordinary world but who also allows contact between them (Grilli 2014, 60). Consequently, although both Gaiman's and Travers's novel depict parallel worlds populated by ordinary and extraordinary characters, the threshold between these worlds varies. Gaiman's threshold, the wall, is a constant one, we always know where and when we can enter the other world through that threshold. Opposed to this, Mary Poppins, the threshold guardian makes the supernatural world visible unexpectedly in Jane and Michael's dream, but always in a different place.

By approaching and attending Dreamland or Fairyland, the heroes are getting closer and closer to their lessons. The following chapter explores what lesson they have to learn, and thus, how they face the moral of their stories.

4. The Moral of Stardust in Mary Poppins's Steps

In the novels in question, the same messages and advice are manifested concerning the past and happiness: 1. let *the* truth be seen and recall the forgotten knowledge, 2. by facing your unconscious and reconciling to your Shadow you learn to live a whole and harmonious life. The only difference is that while Jane and Michael Banks learn these lessons during their dreams, Tristran Thorn becomes wiser during his quest in Faerie and dreams only assist him.

a. Recalling the Truths

In connection with myth and fairy tales, Joseph Campbell (2004) points out that both adventures and misfortunes move the characters toward learning and transformation (Introduction: The Mystic Question, para. 7). According to scholars such as Campell, Zipes and Jung we could draw a parallel between the hero's quest and the dream. By the same token, the hero's wisdom attained on his journey is not some new knowledge but the recollection of the forgotten and so the unfamiliar truth that is frightening and comforting at the same time (Campbell, 2004 'Introduction: The Shoulder We Stand on'; Zipes 2010, 12). Similarly, as Jung (1988) defined, the main task of dreams is to bring back a sort of recollection of the prehistoric right down to the level of the most primitive instincts (98–99). In other words, "[w]hen asleep we go back to the old ways of looking at things and of feeling about them, to impulses and activities which long ago dominated us" (Sully 1893, 120–121).

Here the functions of Tristran's dreams and quest and that of the Banks children's meet each other metaphorically since in their dreams and on their quest they each has the opportunity to face the 'unfamiliar', and 'frightening but comforting' truth. Tristran's quest and dreams taken place in Faerie help him firstly recall his knowledge about some long-forgotten truths: memories about his baby-

hood in Faerie, his real family, his true identity and origin, and secondly warn him for the upcoming adventures and dangers. To prove the dream's warning function, it is important to recall when once Tristan is dreaming about the moon, and it talks to him as follows: "Please, whispered the moon [...] Protect my child. They mean her harm." (Gaiman 1998, 60). Thus, here it is revealed, though yet not understandable to Tristran, that Yvaine, the moon's daughter, is in danger.

With respect to Mary Poppins, the frightening but comforting long-forgotten truth that Jane and Michael have to face is not related to their familial memories but as Gaiman suggests (2016) to a sort of way of thinking about the world (n. p.). Jane and Michael recall and remember the truth about their original relation with the nature by meeting the moon and stars in their dreams. Since, according to the primitive vision of the world the forces of the universe were felt so strongly by each individual that the he was seen to be bound to the cosmos. (Grilli 2014, 89). However, by growing up Jane and Michael lost their intimate and pristine bond with the cosmos; therefore, Mary Poppins and other extraordinary characters (celestial bodies and animals) aid them to comprehend, remember and recollect the memory of that bond with the help of various dreamy experiences. Thus, for example, at the Zoo, when they celebrate Mary Poppins's birthday with the animals, Jane and Michael "learn that animals, people, imaginary characters, and stars are all made of the same substance, and that all elements in the world can in fact communicate with and understand each other" (Grilli 2014, xvii). Their teacher here is Mary Poppins's cousin, the lord of the Zoo, the Hamadryad. It emphasises that "We are all made of the same stuff [...] the tree overhead, the stone beneath us, the birds, the beast, the star" (Travers 2010, 117). Thus the snake intends to help children retain their memory of ancient knowledge concerning the unity of the whole cosmos. The wholeness is further depicted in the rituals like dancing the 'Grand Chain' in the Zoo that also symbolises the development from the least conscious to the highest consciousness (Wenger 2001, 108), which can be interpreted as the process of individuation.

b. The Individuation Process

By undergoing various adventures, Jane, Michael Banks and Tristran Thorn step onto the way of the individuation process, which could also be aided by dreams. As Jung asserted, "[d]reams function to promote the most important developmental process of human life, namely, the uniting of consciousness and the unconscious in a healthy, harmonious state of wholeness" (Bulkley 1993, n. p.). The totality of the personality, which embraces both the conscious and the unconscious, is called the Self. (Jung 1965, 481). However, while with respect to Jane and Michael as "Special Visitors" (Travers 2010, 105) and "Guests of Honour" (Travers 2010, 444) this process takes place during their dreamtime, Tristran's individuation process begins with his journey to Faerie and continues in his whole life, and dreams only aid him in stepping onto the way of individuation. The way by which Jane, Michael and Tristran unite their conscious and unconscious varies, but the result is the same. Eventually, for shorter or longer time, they each happen to meet their unconscious and learn to pay attention to it.

i. Facing the unconscious

Tristran Thorn has many things to learn and experience in order to live a happy and whole life. First of all, he has to learn who his real family is, where he belongs to that is not at all essential to Jane and Michael Banks who have always known who their real parents are, and that their real home is Cherry Tree Lane 17. Many memories and daydreams of Tristran suggest that he unconsciously possesses the knowledge of his past. Here, in short, it is worth making the difference between the personal and the collective unconscious. As Jung (1980) defined, the deeper layer of the unconscious is not individual but universal; in contrast to the personal psyche, it has contents and modes of behaviour that are more or less the same everywhere and in all individuals (3–4). Before falling asleep in Faerie, he "stared up at the stars and imagined he could see the very faces of the stars; pale, they were, and smiling" (Gaiman 1998, 33). It seems as Tristran would know the stars, their faces, their habits. Supposedly, he draws this mental picture from the collective unconscious of Faerie: since Stormhold is carved out of the peak of Mount Huon, perched high in the sky and thus the world of the celestial bodies has always been quite familiar to the royal family of Stormhold. By the same token, he knows the whole Faerie although he is unable to explain how this could be possible: "He had not known there were Debatable Hills, or Catavarian Isles […], but he was as certain in himself of their location as he was of the whereabouts of his own left foot or the nose on his face" (Gaiman 1998, 39). Knowing the whole Faerie, he also predicts where he will find his fallen star: "A man could walk, only stopping to sleep, while the moon waxed and waned above him a half a dozen times, crossing treacherous mountains and burning deserts, before he reached the place where the star has fallen" (Gaiman 1998, 44). Fairies also suggest Tristrans' origin and destiny in their song: "Tristran Thorn / Tristran Thorn / Does not know why he was born […] he sits here all forlorn / Soon to face his true love's scorn" (Gaiman 1998, 43). Thus, the fairies claim that although Tristran does not know it yet, he is destined for something more than he thinks: to become the king of Stormhold and that his real lover is not Victorian but Yvaine.

Moreover, once he is in Faerie he recalls songs and nursery rhymes. Tristran, Jane and Michael have the opportunity not only to hear about but also meet the characters of a popular English nursery rhyme, namely the *Lion and the Unicorn*. Jane and Michael get to know them in a subverted situation since they are no enemies but friends. In their dream these creatures are celebrating the New Year, embracing each other; while Tristran and Yvaine face the characters in the same situation as it is known from the nursery rhyme: "The Lion and the Unicorn are fighting for the crown / The Lion beat the Unicom all about the town. / He beat him once /He beat him twice / With all his might and main / He beat him three times over / His power to maintain" (Gaiman 1998, 50-51). After the star and Tristran save the unicorn's life and Yvaine sings a lullaby to it, the melody transports Tristran, takes him beyond himself (Gaiman 1998, 79). Thus, songs aid him to get closer to his personal unconscious and find his long-forgotten memories.

ii. Facing the Shadow

In order to reach his happy and whole life, as a fairy tale hero, Tristran is pre-destined to fight the evil (princes and witches), and by beating them over, dis-covering his strength and weaknesses, to reconcile to his Shadow. From a psychological point of view, the inferior, repressed, hidden part of the person-ality, that displays both bad (fears) and good (normal instincts) qualities and which can be realized in dreams, is called the Shadow (Jung 1988, 168, 481, 482). As Travers (1989a) claimed, "[o]nly the integration of good and evil and the stern acceptance of opposites will change the situation and bring about the condition that is known as Happy Ever After" (268). According to a psychological perspective, we could decode this thought as an enouncement of the impor-tance of the reconciliation of the opposites due to the 'happy ending', or in other words, the successful individuation.

Each hero has to accomplish a task by which they face and reconcile to their Shadows. Jane and Michael do that on Halloween when in the Park they literally dance and have fun with their own shadows. Although, this not the object of this paper, it is worth mentioning that this scene highly inspired Gaiman also in his other novel, *The Graveyard Book* where at a certain night the living and the dead are dancing together. As Gaiman (2016) claimed, "She did not write that one, but if she had, it would have gone something like that" (n. p.).

By rescuing Yvaine from the lords of Stromhold and the Lilim, besides mag-ical tools such as a copper coloured leaf that whispers the truth, he utilizes the good part of his Shadow by using his instincts and ingenuity supposedly inher-ited from his real family. He faces and reconciles to his bad parts as well when instead of focusing on his fear he discovers his ability to cope with unexpected and dangerous situations.

"[T]he function of the shadow is to represent the opposite side of the ego and to embody just those qualities that one dislikes most in other people" (Jung 1988, 173). In other words, our shadow mirrors our other real, wise self as well, just like Miss Lark's, the Banks family's neighbour's Shadow does it once her owner rebukes the shadow for making merry with strangers in the Park: "I'm gayer than you think, Lucinda. And so you are. If you but knew it. Why are you always fussing and fretting instead of enjoying yourself?" (Travers 2010, 661). Thus, the shadow warns her that instead of making complaints and grumbling she should bravely enjoy her life. Finally, by the end of the Halloween party, all characters learn to be reconciled to their shadows: they learn to value the other (forgotten or repressed) part of their personality and make friends with it.

Tristran's symbolical shadows, wise mirrors used to be Yvaine and the hairy little man (whom he met at the beginning of his journey), who intend to lead him onto the right path. Neither of them support Tristran's plan, the way he wants to express his love toward Victoria. The dwarf gives him the following advice: "I'd tell her to go shove her face in the pig pen, and go out and find another one who'll kiss you without askin' for the earth" (Gaiman 1998, 35). Yvaine, being upset and not willing to go with Tristran, also judges his plan and Victoria's per-sonality: "And this wise, sweet creature sent you here to torture me?" (Gaiman

1998, 48). Nevertheless, opposed to Jane and Michael, Tristran is too confident and determined to listen to his shadows in the beginning.

iii. Return from Fairyland and Dreamland

After the self-discovery and the re-discovery of cosmic unity, none of these young people are the same. After Tristran returns to the Wall with the unveiled knowledge about his identity and origin, he feels even weirder in the Wall than before:

> And it came to Tristran then, in a wave of something that resembled home-sickness, but a homesickness comprised in equal parts of longing and de-spair, that these [supernatural creatures] might as well be his own people, for he felt he had more in common with them than with the pallid folk of Wall in their worsted jackets and their hobnailed boots (Gaiman 1998, 90).

Before his journey to Faerie, Tristran considers the Wall his home, he does not even know any other place; however, he always feels that he does not wholly belong to this folk. Once his journey ends, feeling both happy and sad, Tristran realizes that he truly belongs to Faerie, he finds more things in common with the fairies and giants than with the 'pallid folk of Wall'.

Similarly, Jane and Michael feel stressed because Mary Poppins denies re-calling the wonderful memories of their dreams. Though, she does it on purpose. As Grilli (2014) explains, "back in the realm of logic and order, any narration would give those fantastic experiences a compromised and imperfect form" (p. 19), so any alteration would ruin the value of their experience.

Tristran returns to Faerie, his real home where he lives happily ever after, but Jane and Michael are never able to experience those dreams without the help of their nanny. After Mary Poppins leaves them forever, their lives continue in the familiar way and the reader hopes that as Tristran, Jane and Michael could also at least unconsciously utilize their gift from Mary Poppins, the "gift of a greater, fuller life" (Grilli 2014, 19) and a new approach toward the world and themselves.

5. Conclusion

Gaiman is deeply fascinated by the world which P. L. Travers created in her Mary Poppins books. Consequently, in his Stardust, Gaiman has gratefully and happily adopted some motifs and thoughts that are consistent with the motifs of Mary Poppins taking place in the Late-Victorian, Early-Edwardian period. Although Stardust, set in the Early-Victorian England, is not the only work where the won-ders of Poppinry are depicted (i.e. Coraline, The Graveyard Book), the purpose of the paper was to scrutinize his postmodern fairy tale, Stardust, with respect to their common moral – facing the truth, the Shadow and recognizing the Self.

Gaiman devotes his attention to the stars, the questions and dreams that is partly the consequence of Travers's influence. In both authors' oeuvre natural phenomena, such as the wind, the moon and the stars have important roles. They both use these to illuminate dreamtime. Moreover, neither authors were afraid of personifying these phenomena. Travers depicted the sun, the moon and the constellations as the members of a celestial circus, or as the Banks chil-

dren's new friends. Gaiman was braver than 'providing' Yvain, the star with one of the main roles.

With respect to the moral of the novels in question, Jane, Michael Banks and Tristran Thorn face various truths and (re)learn some knowledge during their dream time and quest in Faerie. They each have to leave their ordinary lives in order to reveal some sort of truth. With regard to the *Mary Poppins* stories, in their dreams, Jane and Michael face the true of the universal unity that is covered in their (collective) unconscious. Furthermore, they realize their hidden, forgotten side by dancing with their Shadows on Halloween. With respect to *Stardust*, on the one hand, Tristran's dreams evoke the knowledge of his personal consciousness (i.e. suggest and recall his babyhood memories and his real identity), and aid him on his quest (i.e. to avoid danger or warn for it). On the other hand, Tristran's quest in Faerie serves to get to know his real identity and to meet his real home. All in all, Tristran Thorn, Jane and Michael Banks are provided with the gift of a fuller and happier life either for shorter time in their dreams or longer time in Faerie.

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Cyntia Kálmán

The book with the title *"Forms of Political and Media Propaganda in Central Europe, Czecho-Slovakia and Hungary (1938-1968)"* is a collection of studies connected with the historical aspects of the political and media propaganda in the 20th century. It is the result of a three-year-long international research cooperation of nine scholars from five different countries, as stated in the book's preface. The volume consists of ten chapters and the book itself is divided into two main parts. It closes with a summary and bibliography of all contributions as well as an attached appendix that consists of various forms of media propaganda sources.

Part I starts with the studies of David Schriffl, Milan Olejník, Attila Simon and Tatsuya Nakazawa, examining the nature of the Eastern European wartime and political propaganda, which is directed towards the Czecho-Slovak, Hungarian and Japanese society during the second world war and revolutionary period.

In his study, David Schriffl deals with Austria's, more specifically Vienna's media influence in Slovakia in the 20th century. He claims that Austria and Vienna always had a specific relation towards Slovakia; historically they were connected during the period of the Habsburg Monarchy over centuries. However, he adds, there also were legal and factual differences, which began to have a stronger impact on political development after the subdivision of the Habsburg Monarchy, when the era of nationalism started.

Milan Olejník's paper chronologically follows some events mentioned in the first study; he selected the year of 1938, a period from the Anschluss of Austria till the Munich Agreement. He says, in the interwar Czechoslovak Republic the periodical press was the most influential medium, which published information about political development both at home and abroad for the general public. Olejník examines these happenings in the reflections and reactions of the Slovak press.

Attila Simon focuses on the issue of the Trianon State Borders in the 1938 Propaganda War between Czechoslovakia and Hunagry targeted on Southern Slovakia. He writes that the state border quickly became a source of destabilization in the region and the target of bilateral propaganda. The study mentions that the intensity already started between 1919 and 1921, when tools and measures of bilateral propaganda were used in the media, the press, and the nationalization of public spaces and even in education. Later, he focuses on the issue of state borders in 1938, the crisis starting with the Anschluss, the propaganda war in southern Slovakia and the contrast between Budapest's and Prague's propaganda.

Prof. Tatsuya Nakazawa approaches the main topic by focusing on the Japanese media propaganda from 1939 to 1940, which has a connection with Japan's tough diplomatic negations towards Germany, the United States and the Soviet Union. Prof. Nakazawa investigates the signing of the Anti-Comintern Pact in 1936 and the outcome in 1940, when Japan entered into the Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy. He also examines the media propaganda about Slovakia, when Japanese media in-

terest heightened towards Slovakia and gave a favourable coverage to the country after its independence from Czechoslovakia and entry into the Tripartite Pact.

Árpád Popély, Peter Jašek and Karl Benziger deal with such forms of media propaganda that appear to be associated key-elements during social changes. These forms of media propaganda in the studies vary from newspapers to broadcasting in the revolution years of 1956 and 1968. Árpád Popély examines a connection between the anti-revolutionary propaganda in *Új Szó* and the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. In his study, Peter Jašek focuses on the Catholic World's actions and pays attention to the question of how the Slovak Desk of the *Radio Vaticana* dealt with the situation in 1968 Czechoslovakia. Karl P. Benziger observes the propaganda and dissent during the American War in Vietnam, its consequences and escalation.

Part I closes with the study of Marína Zavacká and Barnabás Vajda on the issue of the question whether the media has ever been the property of all citizens. Their study examines the archives of *Radio Free Europe* (RFE), while highly focusing on the included letters written and sent in by young listeners to a teenager-aimed musical programme broadcasted by the *Hungarian RFE Department*. Their research was not limited to the political optics of the East/West Iron Curtain division; thereby it presents the young listeners' reflections and subject matters according to their letters, demonstrated in a "non-political" sphere.

In Part II, Béla Révész and Barnabás Vajda publish and analyse some primary archival sources, which has not been accessible to the general public. Both of their studies start with an overall introduction part that gives a clear explanation and also functions as a guide to easily understand the later presented sources. Révész's Hungarian study focuses on Vladimir Lenin's political propaganda in the media and he agrees with the statement that for Lenin the term propaganda was equal with politics and vice versa. He also deals with the offensive and defensive propaganda actions of the communist party and state protection authorities towards the Western countries' ideological diversion. On the other hand, Barnabás Vajda examines George Minden's role in the CIA funded *Mailing Project*. In his study, Vajda agrees with Minden's unquestionably important figure in the international historical discourse, confirming this with Minden's articles, which were never written publicly. However, by gaining more access to these primary sources, according to Vajda, George C. Minden's letters help to see when the U.S foreign affairs administration actually started to consider a change in its general political course towards Europe's Eastern periphery.

In conclusion, the book has managed to show the strong historical contextualization of the theme propaganda and has successfully answered how and why political media propaganda works so efficiently. This was proven by the more accurate statement of "never-ending propaganda warfare" instead of "media-warfare", specifically when the book unveiled that in some cases the main aim in Eastern Europe was to influence or even brainwash the public that was triggered by an ideological war. Furthermore, according to the above stated issue, in the end the book raises the question of whether one can communicate or publish unfiltered ideas even today.

Orsolya Hegedűs

In his book *Postmodern Literature in Central Europe*, Zoltán Németh undertakes to develop an important theoretical system: he discusses postmodernism separately from modernism based on three strategies. According to the author, postmodernism is characterized by the diversity of views existent side by side. In this respect, however, it reminds us of modernism that is impossible to understand without such diversity. Moreover, even trends within one paradigm cannot always be reconciled; let us think, for example, of the various premise systems of avant-garde isms. The problem is, then, that postmodernism has features that are not opposed to the approach of some trends of modernism. One of the obvious examples is the poetical revolution of peripheral modernism (South American literature), the most astonishing, however, is the intertextual similarity of the avant-garde and postmodernism on the basis of the mobilisation of the boundaries of artworks.

Therefore, the question is, whether the separation of postmodernism from modernism is correct. In his basic study *Die literarische Postmoderne*, Jauss drew attention to an important aspect with reference to intertextuality. In his view, the new impartiality with the authority of tradition means the decomposition and recomposition of former things. It is a reacquisition and rejuvenation of the past, where the reverse side of the time spirit is visible which is aware of its subsequence, and yet, by making this positive, it can become creative again. The extension of the tolerance threshold – we can add – is probably an important property of the postmodernism, but this threshold is shifting off-modernity; coupling the subsequence and innovation is also incomprehensible without reference points.

In connection with the problem, Zoltán Németh refers among others to Ihab Hassan, who explicates in several of his texts that postmodernism can be distinguished from the avant-garde and modernism. However, if we look closely at the critic's register of concepts, we find that there are lots of references to phenomena which, in his view, are accessories of postmodernism, but can be linked to modernism as well. For example, the technical extension of consciousness by the media, the trans-humanization of the Earth, the apocalyptic way of thinking, the absolutization of language, the attraction to indecision, favouring the process character etc. Some of the 33 conception pairs of the Hassan text, (which is a part of *The Postmodern Turn* from 1987) referred to by Németh, are arguable. Would Dadaism, Anarchy, Happening, Intertextuality, Rhetoricity, Metonymy, Combination, Desire, Mutation, Schizophrenia, Irony, Immanence, and Holy Spirit only feature postmodernism? Many of the aforementioned have no historical index and some cannot really be operated as an epoch-marking term.

So Zoltán Németh is right, and not when deciding to interpret postmodernism separately from modernism. Let us look at the three strategies in a bit more detail. The most important features of early postmodernism (highlights follow!) are self-reflection, metafiction, irony, rewriting, eclecticism, respectively the approach that can be interpreted as a response to the challenges of existentialism and re-

alism. The most essential elements of the irreferential postmodernism are self-reflection, fragmentation, anti-mimetism, parody, conscious intertextuality, respectively the approach focusing on the ontological location of the language and text, responding to the challenges of the avant-garde and neo-avantgarde. The most basic components of anthropological postmodernism are transitivism, liminalism, mainstream opposition, fallogocentrism criticism, postcolonial approach, and the "politics" that are interested in vocalizing the marginal and powerfully oppressed cultural positions.

All this is related to the destabilisation of the zeitgeist (time spirit), whose historical aspects are well visible. The disintegration of trends results in a new canon system, the role of alternative canons increases (respectively the transmedial active canon comes to the fore). In particular, due to intercanonical works, the levels of reflection – in the poetical sense – are expanding, the number of feedback opportunities increases, not only the most important achievements of modernism but the 19th century paradigmatic works for popular culture can also be freely used and written further. This is probably true for many of the products of the cultural past that can be seen from the horizon of postmodern rewriting techniques. To unfold this, however, we need to suspend the aesthetic ideology (which is also graspable as a process, since art is not only in an intermedial expansion but the canon map treats all the preliminary value systems relatively that limits the intercanonical movements).

Postmodernism is perhaps opening up the sense of crisis of modernism by showing – with continuously changing aspects – that if art (and literature) deviates from the mood assigned by the all-time technomedia environment, can no longer return. If we take this as a strategy (though we might have to treat it rather as a media history discretion) then this would overtake/outride all the others that Zoltán Németh's book accounts for. In this case (approach to this), however, the findings concerning literary works as texts prove to be scarce, and the possibilities of mono-medial practice of literary history writing are exhausted. Zoltán Németh's book is an important crown witness of this silencing, which can function as an excellent keynote text for undergraduate courses that process the topic.

Nikolas Katona

Teaching young learners is one of the most challenging jobs nowadays. There are various methods and books about teaching the young generation, but who can say which book can provide the most suitable information for teachers.

This book shows a great picture about the basic things that a professional teacher can use during his/her career. The main aim of the author is to create such a world in which both the teacher and the young students can work together easily in a playful way. Despite the fact that lots of books have dealt with this topic, the book of Andrea Puskás gives you new perspectives on teaching kids and has some new ideas which are purposeful, enjoyable, playful and fit into the requirements that other teachers expect in the modern educational system. The author also has lots of experiences, because she worked with young learners during her teaching career and she also applied the strategies and techniques mentioned in the book.

The monograph is a really good guidance both for beginner and professional teachers. It identifies some important questions such as teaching vocabulary, grammar, drama techniques and many other things. It emphasizes that teaching young learners needs more knowledge and more creativity from both side. The teacher should create a good atmosphere in the classroom, should organize various activities that should be motivating, playful and enjoyable, and last but not least, he/she should treat children equally as himself/herself and find the proper way to make connection with children. The role of the teacher in that case is not just teaching children, but he/she is a prompter, an observer, a facilitator, a psychologist in one person. The book shows us these kinds of features of being good teacher and how we can use these pieces of advice when we work with young learners.

As I have pointed out before, the book can be a good friend or guidance. Why? The author gives us some practical tips and hints that we can use in our profession. She enumerates the advantages and the disadvantages of the given area (choosing a coursebook, teaching grammar, assessing students, etc.). The second part of the book is the practical part (resources). The book introduces different kinds of activities from various coursebooks that teachers use worldwide and these activities are very practical if you want to teach something new and special to young children and believe me: they will enjoy them!

The book consists of several chapters. The beginning of the book introduces some key points about who young learners are and this is a very brief and useful overview about defining their age, the aims and attitudes on teaching English to young learners and the characteristic features of different learners.

In Chapter 2, the author presents some new and old approaches that the teachers could use. These approaches and methods are compared and give us a choice which method will be the most appropriate one, and this is very subjective which is really good, because everything depends on us, we have the right to choose. The author gives us some beneficial approaches, not just one, and also mentions some demands which influence small children when they start to learn a language.

Chapter 3 deals with the problem of using and evaluating coursebooks. It is a very

hard question from the beginning that which coursebook will be the best for both the teacher and the learners. This chapter is a really good part of the book, because the author does not say which coursebook is the best, but offers the pros and cons of using a coursebook in the language classroom. I really liked the idea that the using a coursebook should be followed by evaluation. The author writes about four types of evaluation and we can compare these ideas to pick up the most suitable one. The ending of this part mentions some practical hints regarding the choice of the perfect coursebook.

Chapter 4 and 5 deal with the issues of teaching grammar and vocabulary. Both parts are really important, because some teachers keep arguing about which are should come first. The introduction of the book also emphasizes the contrast between them, but the author does not commit herself to one of them and tries to describe both the advantages and the disadvantages of the two areas. She claims that teaching grammar and vocabulary should rely on guided practice, the teacher should create a personalized atmosphere between children and teaching should be successful and motivating. Both chapters suggest some practical activities and hints for teachers, really creative ideas that children will definitely enjoy.

Games have an important role in teaching young learners, because children need an interactive and playful way to make their learning process more effective. Chapter 6 highlights the most important types of games and gives some practical advice on how to use games and creative activities during teaching.

Drama techniques are very popular nowadays. Various teachers suggest that these activities should be the integral part of the teaching process. Chapter 7 describes the most specific features of drama techniques. It emphasizes that using drama with children is very effective and give both the teacher and the children some kind of freedom. This technique involves lot of skills such as imagination, improvisation and creativity. The children can move in the classroom, they get closer to each other and with the usage of this they overcome the barriers during learning. In that case learning becomes a problem-solving, creative activity, and the learners become the principal agents. The author names some popular drama techniques such as *miming, mirroring, teacher narrative*, etc.

Chapter 8 deals with assessing young learners. It names different kinds of criteria (their age, language level and several other factors) which have to be taken into account. This chapter mentions different kinds of assessment and provides information about the types of tests and evaluation processes. This chapter highlights the importance of paying attention to the negative side of assessment. The author compares assessment and evaluation and gives us some practical tips for carrying out valuable and objective evaluation about the child's work or performance.

The last chapter (*Resource Bank*) lists activities based on the theoretical assumptions and principles elaborated in the theoretical parts. These activities can function as guidance for teachers, because they focus on different language areas and skills such as vocabulary, grammar, reading and writing. This part is rather practical and combines the four skills that need to be improved during the language class: reading, writing, speaking and listening.

In conclusion, this book provides a great picture about young learners and indicates some good ideas which can be useful for beginner and also professional teachers. It can function as a guide and whenever the teacher has some troubles, this book will help. You just open it, read it and will immediately find the perfect solution.

Eszter Dobai

Nowadays, the Internet immediately reacts to all types of actions with jokes, caricatures, memes and parodies. Lawyers and politicians had been the targets of these kinds of attacks even before jokes spread widely over the Internet. Anna T. Litovkina did a thorough job collecting the stereotyped features of these professions in her book *"Do You Serve Lawyers and Politicians Here?"*. The striking title implies the contemptible nature of lawyers and politicians, since the joke suggests how someone working in these hated professions might not even get service in public places.

The author divided this book into two main parts. The first part investigates the stereotypes lawyers obtained in American lawyer jokes. It contains 5 chapters, which present a vast collection of jokes and caricatures, making this book not only a valuable academic study, but also a very amusing piece of reading. In the second part, the two professions are examined as present in anti-proverbs. It contains two chapters, dealing separately with politicians and lawyers in American anti-proverbs, providing several examples.

One of the most common and dominant features of lawyers according to the jokes is their habit of lying. The first chapter of the first part focuses on this phenomenon, examined from different perspectives. Lying is followed by other unpleasant qualities which include lawyers' greediness, arrogance, cynicism, and their ability to change reality. They are also often associated with the Devil itself.

Lawyers and doctors are the great rival professions in American culture, which might be the reason of their frequent appearance in jokes. These stereotypes are introduced in the second chapter, which reveals how both doctors and lawyers are portrayed as dishonest, corrupt and stupid creatures in American jokes. It is followed by a subchapter studying jokes about lawyers compared to prostitutes, where the latter professionals got a higher place in the moral scale. Jokes about priests, politicians and some other professions compared to lawyers are portrayed in the following three subchapters. The aim of these jokes is to present other professions only to discredit lawyers and politicians.

People often use animal names when they try to capture some kind of resemblance to someone' features, either in a positive or negative way. It is a metaphorical way of expressing likes (for example "you are my honey bunny") and dislikes ("he eats like a pig"). Presumably it does not come as a surprise that lawyers are compared to the least friendly types of animals, which the author presents in the third chapter of this book. The four subchapters incorporate the jokes about lawyers and sharks, snakes, rats and blood-feeding creatures. Hopefully it does not need a further explanation why specifically these animals have the honour to be compared with the lawyer profession. The illustrations and jokes talk for themselves, and the black humour only intensifies in the following chapter.

The fourth chapter's examples of jokes might be too harsh for the tender-minded

readers. Previously, lawyers were displayed as unfavourable people, and then they were compared to other professions, and later even to dangerous and insulting animals. Some jokes went further, and this chapter presents how they contemplate about different ways of exterminating lawyers. However, these brutal punishments still seem to be insufficient as American lawyer jokes do not end here.

By now it might not be too difficult for the readers to answer the following question: What happens to lawyers after they die? According to chapter five, American jokes give various ideas how lawyers can end up in hell. Four subchapters specify the options, from which one of the most common case is when lawyers reach the gates of Heaven and try to bargain for their lives. The last subchapter gives an example of jokes when a lawyer ends up in Heaven, but it is such a rare case, that it is regarded as a miracle.

After the ironic and often black humour lawyer jokes, the second part of the book deals with anti-proverbs. They are transformations or parodies of proverbs, and usually the knowledge of the original proverb is necessary for their understanding. Mostly, however, they are obvious and funny, as the same proverbs appear in different languages. In the examples, the author of the book always provides the original version of the anti-proverbs in brackets.

After a short introduction about anti-proverbs, the first chapter investigates the stereotypes of lawyers in American anti-proverbs. As it was demonstrated through jokes, very similar features of lawyers are emphasized in proverb transformations too. People generally seem to be angry at their fees, which is intensely expressed in the given examples of anti-proverbs.

The last chapter of the book studies anti-proverbs in which politicians are brought forward. Through six subchapters the readers can observe the huge creativity how politicians are parodied in proverb transformations. Their dishonesty, misguidance, greediness is emphasized in these examples.

Humour, even its darker side, is still a peaceful way of expressing the public opinion of the professions mentioned in this book. Litovkina's rich collection of jokes and anti-proverbs is an entertaining and noteworthy study. With her discussion notes, introductions and conclusions dividing each chapters from each other, this book forms a rounded whole.

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