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Köszöntőkötet A. Gergely András 70. születésnapja alkalmából.
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Editorial Foreword

Dear Readers, Authors, Colleagues, Editors, and Reviewers, we are glad to present you the first issue of the new series of *Social Analysis* – the merged continuation of three earlier journal series: *Communicatio*, *European and Regional Studies*, as well as the journal bearing the title – within the *Acta Universitatis Sapientiae* family of periodicals. The reconceptualized journal unites the aims undertaken by its predecessors into a more broadened horizon of social sciences, allowing more flexible interdisciplinary approaches, at the same time preserving the clear original tracks of the three previous journals – which will become apparent from the next issue as three separate topical, or rather disciplinary, sections coordinated by topic editors. Thus, while on a general level, the field of interest is the description, interpretation, and analysis of social phenomena extending into most spheres of social sciences (including sociology, communication studies, mass media, cultural studies and political science, or even anthropology, economics, education, human geography, and network science), history, and philosophy, the strict, narrower topics to be followed will be focusing on three main areas: communication and media studies, European and regional studies, and social analysis.

The *Communication thematic column* aims to gather and present the newest ongoing research on traditional and virtual communication, or new (mass and social) media, with a highlight on Central and Eastern Europe and global perspectives. The focus of the section will be the study of social media, of their impact on generations, and of how they transform society in the region. Digital culture and its ubiquitous presence in our lives is a complex topic requiring a multi-disciplinary and a mixed-method approach.

The *topical section of European and Regional Studies* provides a forum for papers and inquiries concerning the historical, political, economic, and societal development of South, Central, and Eastern Europe and its countries, with special focus on international relations, nationalism and language, democratic institutions and practices, post-socialist legacies, and the consequences of European integration.

The *Social Analysis section* is dedicated to the analysis of various social phenomena and processes taking place in Central and Eastern Europe and its regions. Besides original articles containing empirical findings, the Journal welcomes policy analysis and critical essays aimed at describing the processes

of social development, cultural reconfiguration, and associated discourses taking place in this part of Europe. Scoping and book reviews on emerging new topics in social sciences are encouraged.

Acta Universitatis Sapientiae, Social Analysis seeks to provide a stance for comparative perspectives, interdisciplinary and multiple methodologies in approaching these themes. It publishes research articles focusing on individual countries, cross-country analyses, or even studies relating the region to other parts of the world, literature reviews of specific topics of interest, and book reviews.

Bearing in mind these premises, we release the inaugural – extended and unified – issue of our renewed series, which offers six articles in all three fields, this time, however, without delimiting them into topical sections. In the opening, under the trademark of the communication sciences, you can read a historical overview of the soda water advertisements in Hungary in the first half of the past century (*Advertising Soda Water in Hungary between the Two World Wars*) by Zoltán Ottó Fülöp. Still in the realm of communication sciences follows a social media analysis related to a sensitive case of social injustice, with a side-glimpse to social networking (*George Floyd Four Years After: A Data-Driven Analysis of Posts and Comments on X /Formerly Twitter/*) by Nigerian researcher Olatunji Apampa. The next three articles belong to the field of European and regional studies: Kálmán Tóth's essay relates about a key feature of the oeuvre of a Hungarian political thinker (*The Common Good as the Central Element of the Political in the Writings of István Gorove*). Next, Tamás Szőnyegi presents the institutionalization of self-government of the Hungarians in Vojvodina (*The Hungarian National Council in Serbia: Cultural Autonomy in Practice*). The fifth article written by Nikolai Vukov deals with a historical case of immigration at the end of 19th and in the early 20th century (*Immigration and the Garden as a Workshop: Resettling and Cultural Interaction of Bulgarian Immigrant Groups to Hungary*). The narrower field of social sciences is also present in this pilot issue: Edith Gaálné Szabó presents her research examining the home care of elderly people living with dementia as a sociologically scrutinized behaviour (*Role Construction of Family Caregivers in the Home Care of the Elderly Living with Dementia*). The issue is closed by a book review written by Zoltán Ottó Fülöp on the recent celebratory volume honouring András A. Gergely, a Hungarian scholar of international reputation, under the supervision of János Bali, Richárd Papp, István Povedák, Antónia Szász, and Ibolya Tomory: *Antropológia – Gondolkodás – Alkotás. Közöntökötet A. Gergely András 70. születésnapja alkalmából*. (Anthropology, Thinking, Creation. Celebratory Volume on the Occasion of András A. Gergely's 70th Birthday Anniversary).

Hoping that You will find relevant and valuable results and information in this introductory issue, we wish all our readers a pleasant lecture.

The editors



Advertising Soda Water in Hungary between the Two World Wars

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Abstract. In my study, I will present the advertisements related to soda water in Hungary during the period in question from the perspective of press, media, and cultural history. In the 1930s and 1940s, just as today, the aim of the advertisements was to highlight the special characteristics of the product and to draw attention to it. In my work, I seek to find out what media techniques the profession used to promote its products during this period of soda water production and how it used the various advertising tools to attract customers. In addition to periodicals, I will focus on the forms and content of communication that convey the status of soda water in new ways. Thus, I will place particular emphasis on the advertisements for the textbook of the first industrial soda water course, as well as on small print, caricatures, theatre and cinematographic works, and mapping their social, cultural, economic, and ideological background.

Keywords: soda water, advertisements, media techniques, cultural history, cinematographic works

Introduction

Several aspects of the study are used as a basis for interpreting the cultural aspects of soda water. In my paper, I drew on the disciplines and methods that foreground the cultural paradigm such as *Alltagsgeschichte* [history of everyday life], new cultural history and media history. The Canadian communication theorist Marshall McLuhan's well-known statement from his work *Understanding Media* (McLuhan 1964) that “the medium is the message” can be applied in this study, i.e. it is no longer a means to convey meaning but rather a framework for meaning making. Thus, the model-like basic movement of the media can be applied to this situation, i.e. the existence of a new medium does not make the existing one redundant, does not replace it but merely steps alongside it and at the same time forces it to reposition itself (Schanze 2001). The background to this is that no medium is by its very nature capable of representing reality in its entirety but only in the form of

a reduction of complexity (Szajbély 2016). In this study, the historical analysis is mainly based on primary sources and the sources of material and visual culture. So-called “sleeping sources” (Bourdé–Martin 1985) – e.g. *Kellnerzettel* (accounting slips) – further help to unravel the connections between the contents associated with soda water. My research methods are characterized by interdisciplinarity and the combination of different qualitative and quantitative approaches. The cultural-historical perspective, which differs from the traditional industrial, technical, and economic historical approaches, helps to create a more nuanced picture of the changing symbolic content of soda water and the role of the product in the food culture. In the following, I focus on the analysis of social practices, representations, and symbols. I will study how the product is integrated into everyday consumption and how this is reflected in the advertisements in the examined period.

The Emergence of Soda Water Advertisements in Hungary

As far as the history is concerned, the first advertising surfaces were the objects themselves: the porcelain heads with green dew water swing top bottles, then the eagle beaks, followed by the simple transparent white and coloured glass with metal heads, and the signs, inscriptions, and symbols on them. From the second half of the 19th century onwards, periodicals began to feature product promotions of “artificial sparkling water”. These are illustrated by the advertisements published in the pages of *Orvosi Hetilap* [Medical Weekly, 1865], *Esztergom és Vidéke* [Esztergom and Its Countryside, 1892], *Bácskai Hírlap* [Bachchan Newspaper, 1900], and *A szikviz- és szénsavipar lapja* [Newspaper of Soda Water and Carbonic Acid Industry, 1910], which show the changing content of the thematic advertisements. At that time, the production of soda water was part of the field of applied chemistry, and soda water was sold as a medicinal product in pharmacies, which sold not only medicines but also cosmetics, body care products, disinfectants, medicinal waters, ointments, syrups, and powders. So, the majority of advertisers are doctors and pharmacists, who try to take advantage of the specialized press. Advertisements at the turn of the century emphasize the health-promoting effects of carbonated water, as do placards on billboards and omnibuses recommending the consumption of soda water as a protective drink, especially during epidemics. The Fifth Paris World Fair¹ marks a turning point in

1 Ödön Miklós wrote about the World Exhibition in his book *Magyarország és társországai az 1900-ik évi párisi Nemzetközi Kiállításon* [Hungary and Its Partner Countries at the 1900 International Exhibition in Paris] and Béla Czobor in his study *Magyarország történelmi kiállítása* [The Historical Exhibition of Hungary]. A detailed description of the installations is given by Samu Boros in his work *A párisi magyar kiállítás kalauza* [The Guide to the Hungarian Exhibition in Paris]. In addition, several authors have written on the subject in the journal

the product's assessment, as it is transferred from the chemical category to the food category (Exposition Culinaire, Classe 55, Groupe 10).² This sets the course for the future of sparkling water internationally and then also in Hungary, i.e. it accelerates the move towards a more pleasure character. Subsequently, private entrepreneurs increasingly occupy a central place in the small-scale industry. A new feature after the First World War is the expression of the nation's search for identity, which is embodied in the name of the soda factories (e.g. *Hunnia or Hungária Szikvízüzem*), in the imagery of the advertising, and in the textual content. The symbols represented on the sparkling water bottles, such as the wreaths weaved in national colours with the slogans "No No Never" and "Everything Back", reflect the revisionist attitude. The accelerated modernization between the two world wars favoured the growth of the small soda water industry: so, advertising itself was stimulated, and at the same time competition intensified. After the recovery from the Great Depression, industrial production expands and incomes rise.



Source: author's photo

Figure 1. Soda bottle with the inscription "Nem Nem Soha" [No No Never]

One of the consequences of industrialization, the growth of services, and urbanization is that the need for education comes to the fore. The Ministry of Industry commissioned the production of an educational material for the training of soda water makers, entitled *Szikvíziparosok Tanácsadója* [Soda Water Manufacturer's Advisor] (Erdélyi-Kozma 1939). The handbook is of great importance in the history of the craft, as it became the basic work for modern soda

Magyar Iparművészet [Hungarian Applied Art] (Miklós 1903, Czobor 1901: 1–19, Boros 1900, Pap 1900: 176–183, Mihalik 1900: 327–334).

2 From the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, the Hungarian Statistical Bulletins already classified the makers of soda water in the main group of the production of foodstuffs and pleasure articles. The 1900 census, which also shows the change in the category of soda water, lists the production of soda water as the one hundred and forty-eighth of the three hundred and twenty-eight occupations (*Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények* 1904).

water production and training in Hungary in the 20th century. The publication, which presents a specific type of advertising, also contains a significant number of advertisements.

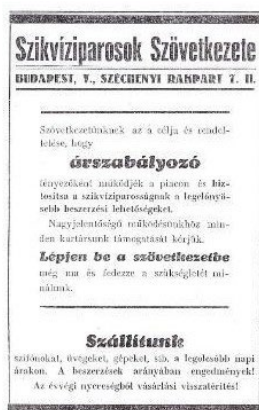
Thematic Product Recommendations from *Szikkvíziparosok Tanácsadója* [Soda Water Manufacturer's Advisor]

The National Board of Industrial Courses, in cooperation with the Hungarian Rural Soda Water Association, launches the industrial courses for sparkling water producers in the capital, at the Royal Hungarian State Higher Industrial School, with the permission of the Minister of Industry. On 16 October 1939, the course was inaugurated in a ceremony by Emil Ferenczy, Minister Councillor and retired Director General of Industrial Education. The bound book is published in Budapest in March 1939 by István Urbányi Book Printing Institute as the first volume of *Szikkvízipari Szakkönyvtár* [Specialized Library for Soda Water Industry]; four series followed in 1942 by another publication of specialized knowledge, *A szikkvízipar technológiája* [The Technology of the Soda Water Industry] by Mihály Károly Kozma (Kozma 1942). The foreword was written by Antal Czirják, a soda water industrialist and parliamentary representative of independent smallholders from Pécs, President of the Hungarian Rural Soda Water Association. In addition to the knowledge to be acquired, the course guide also contains paid advertisements featuring some of the representatives of the profession and its auxiliary industries, component manufacturers, protective clothing manufacturers. The inclusion of product offers is not only essential to finance the work but is also a relevant factor in attracting the public and gaining a better economic position. They have in common that they are mainly text-based, presenting information of a persuasive nature, drawing attention to the specific characteristics and uniqueness of the product. The presentation of the product mainly consists of printed information messages of varying size and type. Producers and distributors seek to market their products within the professional framework of expertise, reliability, and quality.

The educational material also includes calls from two professional advocacy organizations. The recruitment placards are also propaganda for the newly formed representative organizations, encouraging them to join and organize themselves. In 1935, Antal Czirják founded the Hungarian Rural Soda Water Association in opposition to the National Association of Soda Water Industrialist, founded in the second half of the 1920s by the great entrepreneur of Budapest, Ödön Süss, which

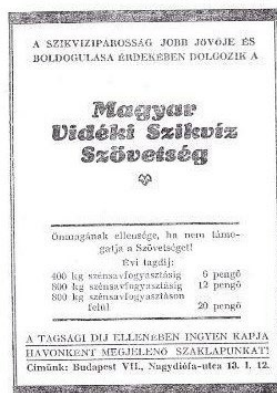
was concentrated in the capital. The declaration of the two associations shows the conflict of interests as well as the opposition between the capital and the countryside.

In its call to join, the Cooperative of Soda Water Industrials in Budapest wants to “serve the market” as a “price regulator” for soda manufacturers, providing them with the “most advantageous conditions”. Thus, it promises to supply siphons, bottles, and machines at the lowest daily price, and it even offers “a rebate on the year-end profit in proportion to the purchases made”. For the cooperative’s “large-scale” operation, it asks for the support of “the members of the cartel” (Erdélyi–Kozma 1939: 81).



Source: Szikvíziparosok tanácsadója. 1939: 81

Figure 2. A call to join forces from the Cooperative of the Soda Water Industrials between the two world wars



Source: Szikvíziparosok tanácsadója. 1939: 81

Figure 3. The recruitment placard of the Hungarian Rural Soda Water Association at the end of the 1930s

The recruitment placard of the rural industrialist body (Erdélyi–Kozma 1939: 79) builds on the national consciousness reflecting the ideology of the period. It proclaims in capital letters: “The Hungarian Rural Soda Water Association is working for the better future and prosperity of the soda water industry.” The call for self-organization, “You are your own enemy if you don’t support the Association”, is a strong invitation to join, with the monthly magazine free of charge. The notice also includes the membership fee, which is calculated on the basis of the company’s income.

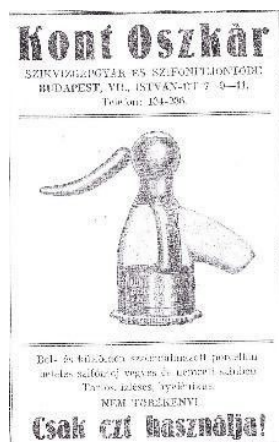
One of the product advertisements in the leaflet offers a rapid filter suitable for both filtration and iron removal, the quality of which has been repeatedly tested by the Royal Hungarian National Institute of Public Health (Erdélyi–Kozma 1939: 37). The advertisement draws attention to itself with bold, italicized highlights, different font sizes, and questions that directly address the customer: “Does your water taste of iron?” “Do you want to make good and healthy soda water?” “Filter out the foreign substances and harmful bacteria floating in the water!”



Source: Szikvíziparosok tanácsadója. 1939: 36

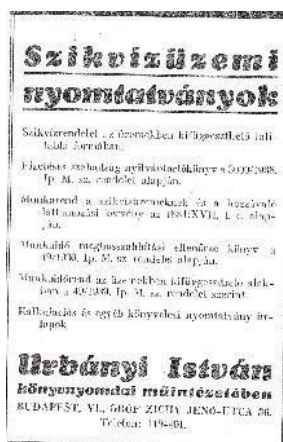
Figure 4. Water filter advertisement from the late 1930s

Manufacturers also lay great emphasis on the promotion of components. This is reflected, for example, in the advertisement of the Oszkár Kont Soda Water Machine Factory and Siphon Head Foundry, which features a patented graphic of a “porcelain-inserted soapstone head” with the name and address of the manufacturer (Erdélyi–Kozma 1939: 86). The large lettering emphasizes that the product is “beautiful, aesthetic, durable, hygienic” and has the big advantage of being “non-fragile”. A special emphasis is given to the appeal by the embossed call “Use only this!”. The product is available in a variety of forms, from “mixed” to patriotic “national colours”.



Source: Szikvíziparosok tanácsadója. 1939: 86

Figure 5. Advertisement of Oszkár Kont Soda Bottle Head from 1939



Source: Szikvíziparosok tanácsadója. 1939: 91

Figure 6. Drawing attention to the product of Urbányi Printing House in the late 1930s

In the textbook, the Book Printing Institute of István Urbányi advertises forms for the soda water works (Erdélyi–Kozma 1939: 91). The regulated soda production required their use in order to ensure transparency, controllability and to monitor the legal operation. The thickly-paged advertising text offers a full range of forms: a notice board to be displayed in the factories, on which the current soda water decree can be read, a book of paid leave records in accordance with the provisions of the Decree of the Minister for Industry No 3000/1938, a factory work schedule and the accompanying vision application to para. XVII of

the Law of 1884, a working time extension control book according to the Decree of the Minister for Industry No. 49/1939, plus calculation and other accounting forms. The fact that the training material is also published by the enterprise of István Urbányi is a quite excellent example for effective organization of orders for his own company.

Thanks to advertisements, the textbook as a media platform transcends its educational function. The handbook is read with great interest not only by prospective business owners but also by small-scale industrialists who are already running their own businesses, since the advertisements in the manual inform them about what and where to buy. The thematic advertising toolbox will be further expanded during this period.

Soda Water Advertisements in a New Cultural Environment

In the early 1930s, the *autosiphon*,³ the Sparklet, and the *autotank*,⁴ which started in the United States and later also made inroads into England and Germany, began to spread in Hungary, where they could be used to prepare refreshing drinks in households and catering establishments (Kozma 1942: 33–34). In addition to the tax burden, the emergence of new product types also made the situation difficult for soda water manufacturers, as restaurateurs, seeking cheaper solutions, did not order safe, high-quality but more expensive bottled soda water, but they prepared it themselves using the *autotank*. The growing popularity of the *autosiphon* and the *autotank* is also being sensitively reflected in various artistic disciplines. The change of product on the consumer side, which in many cases made it impossible for small-scale soda water manufacturers to survive, is the subject of theatrical adaptation, as reported by the correspondent of *The Soda Water Industry* (*A szikvizipar* 1930: 8). Lajos Zilahy's three-act comedy *A Tésasszony* [The Honourable Madam], presented in 1930 at Vígszínház, vividly reflects the changing soda water consumption habits. From the industrialists' perspective, the play shows the decline of a previously profitable sector, the artificially created and ever-increasing competition. The stage adaptation goes beyond a faithful portrayal of reality and exacerbates this crisis by having the honest but self-disappointed, good-natured industrialist even drive his wife out of his home to marry the cashier who banished the *tanksoda* from the café as a sign of his

3 Soda water could also be made at home. The *autosiphon*, used exclusively in private households, was a glass bottle covered with a dense wire mesh, which was used to produce one litre of soda water. Over time, the glass bottle was replaced by an aluminium bottle.

4 The *autotank*, which was mainly used in catering establishments, was a tin-plated copper cylinder with a capacity of twenty litres. Due to its rudimentary design and unsuitability, its use sometimes resulted in tragic accidents and was banned by decree in 1932 (Kozma 1942: 34).

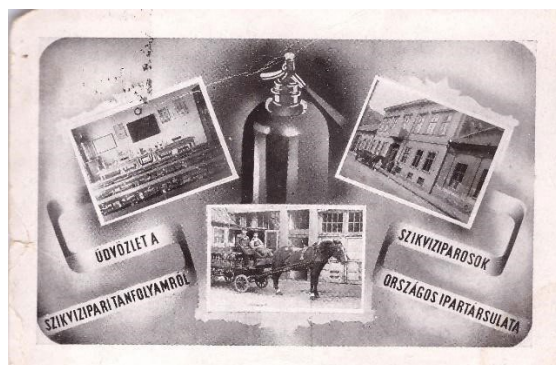
gratitude. The literary historian Aladár Schöpflin wrote a review of the play in the literary journal *Nyugat* [West], in which he noted that *A Tésasszony* [The Honourable Madam], with its theme and characters, modelled on the Viennese *Volksstück* [folk play], fitted in with the trend of staging the social problems of the period (*Nyugat* 1930: 24). The production is also mentioned in the newspaper *A szikvizipar* [The Soda Water Industry] by Ödön Süss, who was involved in the production as a consultant and who put his “own patented siphon bottles” at the disposal of the theatre in Nagykörút as props. On the placard promoting the performance, the much-quoted paraphrase “Soda water is the truth in the wine” (Kiss 2008: 67) became a widely used slogan. In his article published in the periodical *Színház* [Theatre], József Vinkó, a translator and playwright, writes, “The themes of the plays trace the interest of the audience: in the early twenties, the village was in vogue, then came the prisoner of war stories, then the irredentist themes, and finally the various occupations...” (*Színház* 1982: 6).

In addition to the types of advertising presented so far, small print is becoming increasingly important in the promotion of soda water. A separate category is the counting slip, the front of which offers a wide variety of advertising graphics (Virányi 2014: 143). The visual and typographic elements of a contemporary *Kellnerzettel*, which can also be considered a miniature placard, present the competition attacking the soda water industry in a creative way. Narrow, elongated counting slips, which are common in the trade, are typical advertising media of this period (Cseh 2002). Printed-paper blocks in bundles of 50 and 100 appear in large numbers, as the socio-economic boom of the second half of the 1930s creates a wider consumer base. The easy-to-handle paper with pictures is used in elegant shops in the capital as well as in small shops in the countryside. They are most popular in grocery and convenience stores, where many people pass through on a daily basis. They are also used in cafés and restaurants. The blank side is a handy payment slip, and the printed side advertises a product or service with short, concise, targeted, informative messages. The attention-grabbing drawing and rhymed advertising slogan of one of the most popular, humour-filled numbering slips – “The first thing you should do is buy an *autosiphon*” – is an effective communication tool against factory soda. The steel mesh siphon illustration, which mimics the human form and figuratively descends down the red staircase and into the consumer price point, focuses on the cost-effectiveness and practicality of homemade cartridge soda. In addition, it encourages consumers to buy by offering other discounts: “Get 12 dozen discounted merchandise cartridge exchange voucher booklets for P 2.88! For P 1.20 instead of P 2, you get a dozen of replacement cartridges for a voucher sheet and can make a litre of soda water, sparkling wine, and all kinds of carbonated soft drinks for 12 fillérs! Get a free recipe booklet too!” The soda siphon is gaining popularity in households despite

the fact that the quality of the soda water produced with the cartridge and the safety of the device are questionable.

What is new in the cultural dimension of soda water in this period is the appearance in some press organs, alongside commercial advertisements, of feuilletons, cartoons, short news stories, and a kind of distorting mirror of mockery. The latter genre also includes soda water, which the daily newspaper *Az Est* [The Evening] wrapped up in a humorous story – *Párbaj után édes az elégtétel. Szikvíz úr megreformálta a lovagias eljárást* [After a duel, satisfaction is sweet. Mr Soda Water has reformed the chivalry procedure] (*Az Est* 1935: 134). The question of authorship also comes to the fore, as the creator claims that his name should appear in a clearly visible manner on the depictions he creates. Imre Lányi is the creator of the figure, who is a corpulent, siphon-headed, jovial, and likeable figure, and who produced illustrations for the newspaper between 1934 and 1936, which was aimed at a large audience. Mr Soda Water is the hard-working, honest, tax-paying industrialist who needs a lot of ideas, ingenuity, and determination in his struggle to make a living. The topical message is embodied in an entertaining series of images. Situated comically, the scenes tell the story of Mr Soda Water's adventures in a comic-book style. The five black-and-white stills are intended to entertain the reader, but also to draw attention to the injustices of a more difficult life through powerful symbols, short captions, and the characters' clashes.

After the Second World War, compulsory training in the soda water industry and the craft itself were promoted through a new medium. The postcard, dating back to 1948, captures three episodes in the life of the soda makers: it announces the start of a course organized by the National Association of Soda Water Manufacturers, presents the organization's building in the capital, and arouses interest in learning the skills of the industry outside the institutional framework. The greeting card focuses on the horse-drawn carriage, indicating that the essential element of the craft is the delivery of goods to the customer.



Source: author's property

Figure 7. A postcard from 1948 promoting a course in the soda water industry

In the same year, the Hungarian Soda Manufacturing Guild was dissolved, creating its successor, the National Organization of Small Industrials. The publication of the just relaunched trade journal *Szikkvízipar* [The Soda Water Industry] is finally discontinued, so the profession no longer has a thematic organ under state socialism. The complexity of the media genre in which soda water is presented is further complicated by film as an audiovisual medium.

Soda Water and Spritzer in Films

Not only theatre but also cinema provides several examples of this stage of product presentation. In the feature films of the 1930s, the bourgeois milieu was characterized by the spritzer, the epitome of cheap and pleasant pleasure. Since the second half of the 20th century, the refreshing, carbonated water has also appeared in educational films, documentaries, newsreels, and series. In this work, I will not only look at some of the works from the two decades under review but also at the film drama by the Béla Balázs Prize-winning director and screenwriter Ferenc Török, which, although a contemporary work, has a plot that dates back to this period. I am not primarily interested in artistic and aesthetic aspects but rather in how soda water becomes part of the plot and what symbolic meaning the filmmakers attach to it, interpreting it as a specific historical source. In *Hyppolit, a lakáj* [Hyppolit, the Butler, 1931] Mátyás Schneider, a haulier, and his friends enter a small inn. On a table in the garden, there is a litre bottle of soda water with an aluminium head, and nearby are glasses with spritzer. In *Meseautó* [The Dream Car, 1934], filmed three years later, Vera Kovács, a typist who is head over heels in love with her boss, the manager of the factory, has the greatest desire to go to a small restaurant in Lillafüred to eat a stew and drink a *kisfröccs* (spritzer made from one decilitre wine and one decilitre soda water). It is remarkable that in the remake, set in 2000, the Kovács kitchen is no longer equipped with the traditional glass of soda water but with a round-bellied cartridge soda siphon as its competitor. In *Címzett ismeretlen* [Recipient Unknown, 1935], Teri, an orphaned girl, is put up for sale, and her guardians do not want her to marry her lover but rather their intended son-in-law, Hugo, a wealthy soda manufacturer from Újpest. This scene also reveals that a prosperous soda water factory then provides lasting financial security for its owner, who can afford to choose the beautiful but dowryless bride. In the film *Katyi* (1942), the glass of soda water, a must for hospitality, is also on the table. Kató, the title character, travels down to Lake Balaton, asks her friend to play the role of a fortune-teller and to predict to Peter, who wants to teach her a lesson, that she will drown in the lake. In his grief, he was hitting the bottle hard in the same restaurant where she and his partner are spending Katyi's dinner. A bottle of

wine and a litre of soda are in front of them. In the film drama *1945* (2017), soda water appears several times. The action takes place in August 1945, when the occupying Germans had been replaced by the Red Army for months. The setting is an unnamed village in eastern Hungary, preparing for the first free elections. The notary's son is about to marry, preparations are underway for the wedding, and guests are provided with bottled soda water to accompany the wine served in the *botellas*. Another scene takes place in a small restaurant, where four full bottles of soda are displayed on the drinking desk. István Szentes, the notary, comes in for lunch and, as he pours soda into his glass, the powerful splashing sound of soda water fills the room. Then he receives some unexpected news – two Orthodox Jewish men are returning to the village – and he suddenly gets up from the table and leaves his lunch, but not before drinking his spritzer. Another frame of film shows a woman in a headscarf working on a sewing machine, with bottles of soda lined up on the table beside her.

The historical reference value of these films from the 1930s and 1940s is primarily owing to the fact that the time of filming and the era depicted coincide, and the soda water is an integral part of the milieu. In the case of a black and white film drama made after 2000, it is relevant from a cultural anthropological and sociological point of view that the contemporary work presents a condensed, symbolically rich image of a day in 1945, where the glass of soda and the spritzer are recurrent elements as the concept of the director of the film. All of this shows that the product is part of everyday life in the two decades under consideration, and that this is expressed in the image constructed by the artists.

Summary

To sum up, the range of symbolic meanings associated with soda water has expanded over the period under study, and as the product has acquired new meanings and roles, the media and content elements expressing the change of function have changed. The message was communicated to the target audience through a wide range of advertising tools, including placards, leaflets, and postcards, which featured bottled soda water and its competitors, the *autosiphon* and the *autotank*. Theatre art also reflected this; nevertheless, caricatures were published in the press. In the meantime, the cost-effectiveness of the home-made cartridge soda was promoted on the counting slips, which further sharpened the battle for customers. The demand for apprenticeships had been present since the late 1930s, and from 1947 onwards, examinations were compulsory. A milestone in the history of the craft was the first easy-to-use teaching material with practical information. The textbook, which went beyond its original function – to help with the start-up and operation of the business – served to familiarize and promote the

goods of the back-end industry. It also expressed recruitment into the industry, the protection of interests, and the conflict between the metropolitan and rural sparkling water associations. The medial surfaces presented here provide a specific picture of the role of soda water in the society and can also add to the cultural history of artificial carbonated water, enriching, colouring, and further nuancing it.

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George Floyd Four Years After: A Data-Driven Analysis of Posts and Comments on X (Formerly Twitter)

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Abstract. The death of George Floyd in the hands of the Minneapolis Police on 25 May 2020 led to public outcry, followed by a worldwide protest against the rampant killing and humiliation of black people by the police in the western hemisphere, especially in the United States. The objectives of this study are to use data mining techniques and machine learning algorithms to better understand how the online communications emanating from X (formerly Twitter) trended during the period of the protests, and the observed characteristics of these communications. Due to the large volume of data collected from the social media platform X, two separate datasets in the form of posts (formerly known as tweets) were collected in DataFrame format using the Twitter Archival Google Sheets (TAGS). The first dataset was collected using *#BlackLivesMatter* and the second using *#GeorgeFloyd*. Using modules from the Python Pandas ecosystem specifically designed for data analytics, operations such as sentiment analysis, word count, and data visualizations such as word cloud were made possible. The social network package Gephi was found most suitable for analysing the network that evolved over the period under review. Our social media analytics of the *#BlackLivesMatter* dataset showed that 40% of the tweets analysed were positive, 44% were found to be neutral, and only 21% were categorized as negative by the TextBlob algorithm. A simple network was observed to have evolved due to the proximity in location of social media handles. Using the *#GeorgeFloyd* dataset, our analysis showed that 39% of the tweets were positive, another 39% were found to be neutral, and only 22% were considered negative by the algorithm for sentiment analysis this time around. Overall, the comments on Twitter were found to be positive and in support of the protests and clamour for change, social justice, police reforms, equality, and equity.

Keywords: BlackLivesMatter, George Floyd, social media, social network analysis, sentiment analysis, social media movements, Twitter, tweets

Introduction

On Monday, 25 May 2020, George Floyd, a 46-year-old African American was killed in police custody in Minneapolis, Minnesota, in the United States of America in broad daylight, thus sparking outrage and condemnation by many, and eventually leading to a worldwide protest by members of the Black Lives Matter movement (BLM) and their supporters. Most people were outraged at the video of the incident that went viral on social media whereby Minneapolis Police officer Derek Chauvin was seen to have knelt over George Floyd by the neck with his knees for a total of 8 minutes and 46 seconds while Mr Floyd pleaded for mercy and his life, stating severally that he could not breathe. He eventually passed out and was pronounced dead on arrival at the hospital.

Unlike previous protests, the ones following the death of Mr Floyd went on for several days and weeks. By the end of June 2020, BLM protests had taken place in all 50 states of the United States. Protests also broke out in the following: the city of London, the United Kingdom; Paris, France; Berlin, Germany; Madrid, Spain; Melbourne, Australia; Amsterdam, the Netherlands; Johannesburg, South Africa; Lagos, Nigeria; Rio De Janeiro, Brazil – to mention but a few. As of August 2020, BLM protests were still ongoing in the United States, notably in the State of Washington, which is predominately white demographically.

Aims and Objectives of the Study

The objective of the study is to use big data analytics (data mining techniques and the use of machine learning algorithms) on data collected from the social media platform X in order to better understand both how the online communications emanating from X trended during the period of the protests and the observed characteristics in the form of patterns, opinions, and insights from these communications.

Literature Review

Van Osch and Coursaris (2013) reported that “social media” are technology *artefacts*, both material and virtual, “that support various *actors* in a multiplicity of communication *activities* for producing user-generated content, developing and maintaining social relationships, or enabling other computer-mediated interactions and collaborations” [emphasis mine]. Basically, social media allows for online connection and interaction through communication (text, images, and videos) between and amongst individuals on the platform through the world wide

web or via mobile applications irrespective of geographical location. According to Bruns et al. (2014), social media are often also described as social networks. Although the two terms do not mean the same thing, they are closely related.

Social Media: the communicative aspects of platforms. This means both the media we create – tweets on Twitter, images on Instagram, or videos on YouTube – and the information, ideas, and opinions we communicate through these media.

Social Networks: the interconnections between people on platforms. These connections are created by and used in these communicative processes, as well as the interconnections between posts, comments, and other pieces of content we create.

The likes of YouTube, Vimeo, and Vevo have been categorized as vlogs (video blogs) due to their video sharing architecture that also makes room for responses and comments by users and followers. It is obvious from the above descriptions that the many social media platforms that are available for free usage today allow different modes of interactions and content sharing amongst users. Typically, blogs and vlogs offer interaction between a blogger (owner, operator, or manager of a weblog) and followers or users in a restricted kind of network, while the likes of Facebook and Twitter have ecosystems that allow for across user interactions in a defined network. Instagram is a mobile application that allows for the sharing of content (images and videos) amongst users, leaving room for comments. It must be pointed out that although Instagram is also accessible online as a website via a web browser, it is nonetheless essentially a mobile application with a limited web version.

Social Media Movements: Sandoval-Almazan R. and Gil-Garcia J. R. (2014) reported that information technologies were increasingly important for political and social activism, such that social media applications have recently played a significant role in influencing government decision making and shaping the relationships between governments, citizens, politicians, and other social actors. This view was corroborated by Isa and Himelboim (2018) when they observed that in the last two decades online social movements have been increasingly relying on new communication technologies and, more recently, social media, to mobilize their own members, reaching out to new ones, and engaging with key societal actors, such as news media and decision makers to bring about societal changes. Whether it is referred to as online social movements or social media movements, the use of social media platforms to plan, coordinate, organize, and mobilize a group of people effectively to take a stand and effect societal change on a particular issue of collective importance is at the core of social media movements. Ranney (2014) was of the view that a social movement is an entity formed by a group of people who come together to protest against injustices and challenge the status quo. Social movements can be local or international and may address various social issues (Isa–Himelboim 2018).

For the study, the term social media movements (SMM) is preferred because the research work is centred around the formation, sustenance, and social architecture of the online social movements that evolved from such mobilization at a specific period. Unlike traditional social movements, SMM challenges the assumption of a movement as a single interconnected component, calling for identifying subgroups within the movement (Isa–Himmelboim 2018). Social-media-based activism tends to be less interconnected and often composed of distinct and often disconnected subgroups and publics (Keib–Himmelboim 2016). SMM are driven by key actors who can mobilize ordinary citizens and influential members of the society. As Isa and Himmelboim (2018) rightly observed, how social media movements strategically use these key users and post content to reach out beyond their immediate group of members remains understudied.

Advocacy-based Social Media Movements: Many social media movements (SMM) grew out of a spontaneous response to ongoing social issues that affects a subgroup or cross-section of society, male and female. The #BlackLivesMatter movement is one such. Formed in the U.S., BLM has gained traction across the Atlantic to places such as the United Kingdom and mainland Europe as a means of fighting systemic racism towards black people. As Bauermeister (2016) observed, social movements were often initiated by a group of actors who are the primary victims of a decision, action, or policy that drive them to protest and hold demonstrations. These actors play the leadership role throughout the movement's life cycle to achieve their goals. The BlackLivesMatter movement is not only engaged in campaigns against police brutality towards people of African descent, but it has also called for prison reforms and orientation towards the issues that affect the black communities in the diaspora. It was founded in 2013 by Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors, and Opal Tometi. Other notable people in the movement include Shaun King, DeRay Mckensson, Erica Garner, Johnetta Elsie, and Tet Pole.

Gender-based issues are at the forefront of most SMM. The #MeToo campaign and the #WomensMarch were all intended to fight gender-based discrimination such as sexual assault and sexual harassment, equal pay in the U.S., sexism, online bullying, racism against minorities, colourism amongst African American women, and sexism to mention but a relevant few. However, gender-related activism is not limited to the Western hemisphere of Europe and the Americas. Rape is a big issue in India and Bangladesh, while Nigeria is battling with the trafficking of women for sex and prostitution. The activities of the #BringBackOurGirls have not gone unnoticed internationally. The efforts at retrieving the 276 schoolgirls kidnapped by the insurgent Boko Haram from their dormitories in the town of Chibok, North-East Nigeria in 2014 was championed by none other than Dr Obi Ezekwesili, a former Managing Director of the World Bank. Colourism is still a big issue that affects Afro-Brazilian women. In 2013, Nayara Justino was selected

and crowned as the *Globeleza*, or Carnival queen, only to be replaced quietly a few weeks later after trolls of racist slurs deemed her too dark-skinned. Some of the trolls described her as “blackie” and “monkey”. TV Globo, the organizers of the Carnival pageant, secretly replaced Miss Justino with another Afro-Brazilian – a light-skinned woman named Erika Moura. It is important to note that the online verbal attacks on Miss Justino were carried out by both white and non-white Brazilians. Since that time, there have been concerted efforts by activists in Brazil to fight racism, gender-related abuses, and inclusion of non-whites in television programming.

According to Raven, Berg, and Hassenshall (2010), the elements that contribute to addressing environmental problems include scientific assessment, risk analysis, public education and involvement, political action, and long-term evaluation. These five critical elements, when set in motion accordingly, with due diligence, could help assuage some of the challenges and hazards of environmental degradation and climate change. However, the effects and importance of public education and involvement of civil society cannot be overemphasized in the fight against climate change. According to the Pew Research Center report (2017), as of August 2017, around two-thirds (67%) of Americans get their news from social media. Thus, it is important to be able to use social media as an effective platform for the dissemination of information to combat the climate crisis. This is usually termed climate and environmental communication on social media. Unlike other types of movements, climate and environmental movements are unique in that the efforts are long-term and could run into several years, even decades. Unfortunately, time creates a sort of latency or inertia to the messaging such that after a certain period the online social media campaign towards the climate crisis becomes boring due to repetitions, thus becoming less effective. Climate activists and environmental communication specialists are continually looking for creative ways to keep the public interested in the fight to prevent continuous environmental degradation and stop further damage to the ozone layer. Global warming, climate change, and now climate crisis were some of the slogans used in the last three decades to create awareness about the need to be environmentally cautious in our daily lives. According to Ibimilua F. O. and Ibimilua A. F. (2014), notable consequences of environmental degradation include loss of lives, loss of properties, loss of genetic resources, loss of habitats, climate change and global warming, biodiversity loss, as well as epidemiological threats. Others are disturbance of human activities, reduction in ecosystem adaptability, and impoverishment of communities that rely on environmental resources as their means of livelihood.

An online social network emerges when social actors (referred to as *nodes*) form connections (or links) with other actors in the network. A typical example is the online social network formed amongst Twitter users when tweets are retweeted

and user handles are mentioned in tweets using the @ symbol. According to Chaudhary and Warner (2015), social network analysis (SNA), which combines both method and theory, constrains studying the individual actor in isolation because the actor is part of a network. Therefore, a *dyad*, or relationship between two individuals or actors, is the building block of the social network study. In fact, SNA combines theories from mathematics, communication, and the social sciences to better understand the dynamics of the complex interactions amongst online groups and clusters on social networks.

Social media communications via X have become widespread in many parts of the world. In Nigeria, X was used to mobilize, organize, and orchestrate the #EndSars campaign in Lagos, Nigeria, from 8 to 20 October 2020. Similar situations have been found in Hong Kong, Brazil, and many other countries in recent years. Najadat et al. (2020) reported that people in the Arab world strive to communicate their thoughts and sentiments about various political, social, and economic events in their everyday lives via Twitter, which has grown to be one of the most popular social media platforms in recent years.

Balaji et al. (2021) were of the view that the most popular data generation application platforms on the Internet are social media platforms, which makes data analysis more extensive. But it is difficult to interpret such vast amounts of data effectively, so we need a system that learns from them, like machine learning. Storing, processing, and extracting information from this vast amount of data is not an easy task. Higher storage capacity and effective processing techniques are needed. Using machine learning (ML) techniques to combine intelligence notions with intelligent learning approaches is one way to potentially obtain valuable insights and hidden patterns from the data (Balaji et al. 2021). Machine learning algorithms are particularly of importance where large datasets are involved due to their ability to extract knowledge where classical statistical methods are not applicable.

Research Methods

Due to the large volume of data anticipated from the social media platform X, data mining techniques were used in the extraction of data from social media. The extracted datasets were used for sentiment analysis using relevant natural language processing tools from the Pandas Natural Language Toolkit.

Data Collection: Two sets of data were collected from the social media platform Twitter (now X) using the Twitter Archival Google Sheets (TAGS). To have access to the data on the X platform, users must first login to their X accounts. They will then access the X application programming interface (API) via the X Developer platform (<https://developer.x.com/en/docs/x-api>). Both the API keys and tokens are required to login into the X API for data collection. API keys are typically

associated with specific servers the calling application is deployed on. When the application makes an API request, the server identifies the calling application by the API key. In contrast, an API token is a string of codes containing comprehensive data that identifies a specific user. Once the API keys and tokens are inputted into the Twitter Archiving Google Sheet (TAGS, <https://tags.hawksey.info/>), access is granted into the workspace for the collection of tweets after following a series of instructions and checking the corresponding boxes and buttons on the TAGS platform. Tweets were collected by entering a search term with a hashtag (#) in the provided space on the TAGS worksheet, after which the necessary parameters were set for the search for relevant tweets based on the search term to commence. Usually, tweets from the last seven days will be returned. The returned tweets (now referred to as posts) were presented in spreadsheet format after which they were downloaded in comma-separated values (CSV) formats for onward processing. The Spyder-integrated development environment (IDE) was used for programming in the Python language for data cleansing, processing, and analysis alike using appropriate functions and modules.

For this study, the search terms used for data scraping and collection off the platform X were *#BlackLivesMatter* and *#GeorgeFloyd*. The returned tweets were then collected and saved in a comma-separated value (CSV) format by selecting the preference on the download option of the *File* menu in the TAGS.

The first set of data was collected using the hashtag *#GeorgeFloyd* between 1 and 14 June 2020. Only one of the two datasets collected was found usable. Thus, the *#GeorgeFloyd2* dataset has the attribute (18,511, 18). That is eighteen thousand five hundred and eleven instances and eighteen attributes. For the second dataset, two sets of tweets (posts) were collected over a period of four weeks (1–28 June 2020) using “*#BlackLivesMatter*”. The collected tweets were merged into one unit (*#BlackLivesMatter2020*) using the concatenation (*concat*) function in the Python Pandas module. The data *#BlackLivesMatter2020* has a total of 67,792 instances and 18 attributes but was reduced to (67,792, 17) for further analysis, after which the column index (0) was dropped from the DataFrame using the *delete* function.

Data Wrangling and Cleansing: The two datasets were then subjected to wrangling and cleansing to prepare them for further analysis. Tokenization, stemming, lemmatization, and the removal of stop words were some of the operations performed on the datasets to prepare them for sentiment and social network analysis. Data wrangling or cleansing entails the removal of unwanted elements from rows or columns of a dataset.

Data Analytics: There are several modules available in the Python ecosystem for data analytics, especially in the areas of social media analytics. Modules such as *Pandas*, *Matplotlib*, *SciPy*, *SciKitLearn*, *TextBlob*, *BS4*, etc. all have advanced features for doing sentiment analysis, word cloud, and data visualization such

as word cloud, plots, etc. SciKitLearn has facilities for the use and application of machine learning such as logistic regression, support vector machines, naïve bayes classifiers, classification, regression trees (CART), etc. There were no predictive analytics in this study.

Sentiment Analysis: This was conducted on the two datasets using the TextBlob module from the Pandas library. Blobber is a submodule of TextBlob that is used for further pre-processing of the data before the sentiment analysis was done.

Word Cloud: The *Word Cloud* module is used to analyse and report the most common words in the tweets (posts) collected from X. This gives an indication of the direction, content, and context of the posts and discussions during the period.

Social Network Analysis (SNA) is an innovative approach that social and behavioural scientists can use in understanding online social interactions on digital platforms such as the Web 2.0. Gephi is an application designed for network analysis. It has advanced modules for the import and subsequent analysis of social networks in a variety of formats such as .csv, .txt, .xlsx, and many more. Gephi was used to analyse and report the ensuing network from the collected datasets. Most of the default parameters and settings in Gephi were found to be sufficient for this study. Gephi provided detailed analysis of the type of social networks that emerged from the George Floyd protests several weeks after the incident was reported and shared on social media.

Results and Analyses

Sentiment Analysis: This entails the categorization of an expression or a piece of text as being positive, negative, or neutral. This is useful in gauging the public perception of an item, situation, event, or phenomenon. Using the TextBlob module for sentiment analysis on the BlackLiveMatter2020 data, we have the following:

Table 1. *Sentiment analysis of tweets for #BlackLivesMatter*

S/N	Id_str	Sentiment
0	1269736037766451200	0.000000
1	1269736037410095108	0.000000
2	1269736037359726598	0.014815
3	1269736037254934530	0.000000
4	1269736037112299521	-0.250000
5	1269736036717850624	0.000000
6	1269736036629983232	-0.041667
7	1269736036462141446	0.000000
8	1269736036063744006	0.000000
9	1269736035950477312	0.000000

Social Network Analysis for the #BlackLivesMatter Dataset

The Force Atlas option in Gephi was selected for the social network analysis, and the other parameters were set to basic options. The following network developed from the #BlackLivesMatter data (*Fig. 2*) below. Clusters were identified communities or subnetworks within the main network. Gephi was able to identify and analyse the modularity of the network (that is the tendency of a network to separate into clusters). *Table 3* below shows the results for some statistical graph measures. It is noteworthy that the network is not dynamic and is restricted (we consider the network in 30 days only – June of 2020), although in reality such networks keep growing and the shape keeps changing, and thus statistical measures such as the degree and clustering coefficient are absent, though we do indeed have clusters (subnetworks) in the graph.

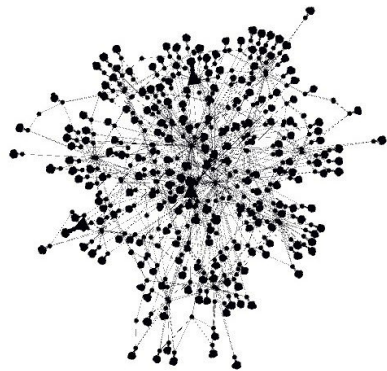


Figure 2. *A social network of the #BlackLivesMatter campaign in June 2020*

Analysing the network for the associated parameters revealed the following information as presented in *Table 3* below.

Table 3. *Network parameters for the #BlackLivesMatter2020 dataset*

S/N	Network Parameter	Value
1	Average degree	1.249
2	Average weighted degree	1.25
3	Network diameter	8
4	Graph density	0.001
5	Modularity	0.799
6	Average path length	4.94

Table 5. Word count for #GeorgeFloyd2

S/N	Word	Count
1	George Floyd	17,155
2	Purple	6,652
3	Rayshard Brooks	3,509
4	Protesters	2,995
5	Death	2,933
6	Breonna Taylor	2,891
7	BlackLivesMatter	2,698
8	People	2,618
9	Police	2,600
10	White	2,087
11	American	1,956
12	Simpsons	1,927
13	Streets	1,827
14	Mourn	1,697
15	Unexpected	1,696

There was no social network analysis conducted for the #GeorgeFloyd2 dataset due to the small number of instances available for use. The 18,511 instances in data were insufficient to determine the type of network that resulted over the period of consideration (1–28 June 2020).

Conclusions

The #BlackLivesMatter dataset revealed that 40% of the tweets analysed were positive, 44% were found to be neutral, and only 21% were categorized as negative by the TextBlob algorithm. Using #GeorgeFloyd, our analysis showed that 39% of the tweets were positive, another 39% were found to be neutral, and only 22% were considered negative by the algorithm for sentiment analysis this time around.

Expectedly, the following words were found to be prominent within the communications in the tweets analysed: *BlackLivesMatter*, #*BlackLivesMatter*, *Police*, *Protest*, and *Black*. Surprisingly, the name Joshua Potash came up 4,270 times, the city of London 3,203 times, Movement 2,742 times, Racism 2,540 times, and Justice came up 2,464 times. These words were a clear indication of the predominant discussions, posts, and views expressed on Twitter during the June 2020 protests by the BLM movement on social media. With a modularity of 4.94, a simple social network was found to have emerged during the period under review due to the proximity of Twitter users.

The analysis of tweets collected using #GeorgeFloyd revealed an entirely different pattern for word count. The name George Floyd was found to have been

mentioned a total of 17,155 times in 18,511 tweets, which is 93% of the tweets. The names Rayshard Brooks and Breonna Taylor were prominently mentioned in the tweets. Other prominent words/terms found in the tweets include *Protesters*, *Death*, *BlackLivesMatter*, *People*, *Police*, *White*, *American*, and *Simpsons*. The *Simpsons* was an unexpected term on the list. Available desk reference showed that the name Simpson appeared in many tweets in reference to a debunked episode of the cartoon series “the Simpsons”, in which a white police officer arrested an African American male and subjected him to a physical situation by placing his knee on his neck thereby leading to protests and riots.

Overall, the protests trended well on X judging from the sentiment analysis conducted. The word count showed that the prominent terms found in the social media communication were in line with the aims and objectives of the #BlackLivesMatter movement, which is primarily about justice, police reforms, equality before the law, and probity. Finally, it must be emphasized that the results obtained from this analysis are not representative of the totality of trends observed on X in the weeks and months following the death of George Floyd. This analysis holds true only for a subset of all the tweets that emanated from X in that period.

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The Common Good as the Central Element of the Political in the Writings of István Gorove¹

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Abstract. In the current case study, I examine a key feature of the political thinking of István Gorove (1818–1881), one of the well-known and respected politicians and political thinkers of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Aspects of the common good in Gorove’s political thought cover a broad scope of social phenomena, among which the current study will focus on the analysis of the British society and political culture together with its implications on the common good of Gorove’s own Hungarian political community, based on Gorove’s two-volume book *Nyugot: Utazás külföldön* [West: A Journey Abroad].

Keywords: common good, the political, Kingdom of Hungary, Great Britain, classical liberalism

Introduction

The concept of the common good has been used as a key reference point of both theoretical and practical political thinking in modern and contemporary political discourse; however, in most of the recent cases, the relevant literature does not bother itself with the exact meaning and definition of this concept, presuming that everyone knows what it means. Those who attempt to give a definition, like American legal scholar Adrian Vermeule in his 2022 volume *Common Good Constitutionalism: Recovering the Classical Legal Tradition* (Cambridge), follow the Aristotelian and Scholastic traditions by understanding the common good

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as the unification of individual and community goods that leads to personal and social flourishing: “it represents the highest felicity or happiness of the whole political community, which is also the highest good of the individuals comprising that community” (Vermeule 2022: 7). There are manifold interpretations of the common good based on different religious and secular principles. A shared characteristic of common-good-centred approaches to politics can be defined, though, as the aim to find political action that benefits all members of society. The question regarding how to achieve the common good remains debated. From a historical viewpoint, it cannot be denied that no political community (city, nation, or empire) has ever been able to realize the common good to its full extent. Therefore, as German-American Philosopher Hans Sluga puts it:

[...] politics is not the implementation of a fixed common good; it is, rather, an ongoing search in which various conceptions of the good will be proposed and dismissed. That we engage in this search does not mean that there is a determinate good to be found. [...] The search for the common good carries us forward even when there is no fixed terminal point to it. We are left thus with the history of the search which is the history of politics, the history of our existence as political beings. (Sluga 2014: 4)

With the current study, my aim is to reconstruct a historical stage of this search, based on the reflections of a 19th-century Hungarian classical liberal political thinker from the Reform Era, the “golden age” of Hungarian political thinking: István Gorove’s *Nyugot. Utazás külföldön*, in which he recollected the experiences of his journey to Western Europe in 1842–43. István Gorove was born into a Hungarian noble family of Armenian origin. He started his career in politics in the 1840s, became an MP in 1848; he stayed loyal to Kossuth in 1849 and played a part in the conceptualization of the Declaration of Independence. After Hungary’s defeat in the 1848–49 War of Independence, Gorove was forced into exile. In his absence, the Habsburg neo-absolutism sentenced him to death. He was symbolically hanged, but he was allowed to return to Hungary in 1857. He was elected MP again in 1861. After the 1867 Settlement with Austria, he became Minister of Agriculture, Industry, and Trade (1867–1870) and later Minister of Public Works and Transport (1870–1871). After the fusion of the governing Deák Party with the Left Centre Party, when the leader of the latter, Kálmán Tisza, became Prime Minister, Gorove became the president of the new governing Liberal Party, a position he held until his death.²

Gorove’s aforementioned travelogue, which was published in 1844, does not deal with the political from an explicitly theoretical viewpoint but clearly reflects on its various manifestations he experienced during his journey to Western

2 Cf. Szinnyei 1890–1909, vol. 3: 1297–1302.

Europe. As I aim to demonstrate, the main reference point of his reflections was the concept of the common good, focusing on the political consequences of social and economic phenomena of industrial modernity that Hungary should implement or try to avoid when unavoidable modernization would reach it in the upcoming decades. In my study, due to space constraints, I will only focus on the chapters describing Gorove's visit to England and analyse his experiences and reflections on the social problems of industrial society, on the questions of political participation, on the necessity of democratic reforms regarding political representation, and on free trade.

Problems of the Industrial Society

Based on the preface of his book (Gorove 1844, vol. 1: vii–x), we may assume that Gorove had the concept of the common good in mind when he visited the industrial cities of England. He attributed the greatness of England largely to its factories, and especially the textile industry (Gorove 1844, vol. 2: 26). In his description of the life and working circumstances in these industrial cities, he emphasizes the sharp contrast he observed between the living standards of the factory owners and those of the workers. The former live in the countryside near the town, in a beautiful manor, where the air is clear and fresh, while the latter live in extreme poverty, under appalling circumstances unfit for human beings. Gorove finds this contrast highly unjust, as those who contribute the most towards the wealth of the nation are almost completely excluded from its benefits. It is harmful for the realization of the common good, as the intellect, treasures, power, and freedom cannot help overcome the poverty of the working class. Even education does not help much, as the people do not have enough money to buy food, let alone books (Gorove 1844, vol. 2: 29).

He also criticizes the ruling classes for dismissing the calls for help in this situation and for writing the outcries off as rebellion caused by demagoguery, a threat against private property, or simply nonsense (Gorove 1844, vol. 2: 29–30).

Gorove's assessment of the situation of the English working class largely matches the issues that were raised in a rare debate on the "discontent among the working classes" in the British House of Commons on 4 February 1840, launched by Robert Aglionby Slaney (1791–1862), a Whig politician noted for his efforts to improve the living conditions of the lower classes in industrial towns (Escott 2009). It is noteworthy that Slaney had to start his speech with a long-winded apology and justification for bringing up the topic at all. He gave a fairly detailed overview of the numerous riots and disturbances that were caused by the deep poverty of the working classes in the course of the past half-century. He also described the appalling living conditions unfit for human beings, witnessed by

Gorove as well, and urged the Government to remedy the “reasonable grounds of complaint” of the working classes in order to “strengthen the attachment of the people to the institutions of the country”. Slaney’s proposal to appoint a committee to inquire into the causes of discontent was met with disapproval from the conservative members of parliament, some of whom put the blame on the workers themselves for their poverty, accusing them of bad moral habits, intemperance, and lack of education and attributed the causes of rebellion to the incitement of demagogue writers. Other speakers blamed excessive taxation for the discontent among the people. Eventually, the motion was withdrawn without any consequences, indicating the inability and unwillingness of the political elite to tackle this issue (Hansard 1840: 1222–1247).

That he devotes two whole chapters (Gorove 1844, vol. 2: 31–44) to provide a brief overview of the existing theoretical solutions to remedy this evil is a clear indicator that Gorove examined the situation of Great Britain from the viewpoint of the common good, the key element of the political in his thinking. When comparing the distribution of wealth in free-market capitalist England to the situation in the still feudal Hungary, he finds that the situation of the working class in England is no better (or even worse) than the situation of the peasants in East-Central Europe. Based on objective data of McCulloch’s *A Statistical Account of the British Empire* (1839, vol. 2: 693), he concludes:

The result: 1 factory and 949 workers, i.e. one man decides over the fate of 949 people, and I ask in what does this differ from the feudal state? There one landlord conducts the fate of so and so many serfs; here one industrialist of so and so many hired labour; there the lord of the castle and palace forces his serfs to work and demands for himself tithe and the one-seventh portion of their harvest; here the factory owner distributes a few shillings among hundreds and hundreds; the serf working on the fields under blue skies is engaged in hundreds of different activities, his perspiration is dried by the evening breeze, he finds rest under the shadow of a tree, he finds joy listening to the sounds of the forest and seeing the flowers of the meadow, the fresh, clean air gives him health and vigour; here workers of the factory spend their lives beside a vat, a cauldron, a loom, a spindle – the only music they hear is the dull rumble of the spindles, they smell the odour of wool and cotton and the fumes of the clothing dyes, they find rest on a hard pallet. I am not saying this to defend the feudal system that must perish where it is still in existence, but when comparing the two systems, I found the fate of these working people harder and more difficult to improve than the fate of the peasants in Hungary or somewhere else.³ (Gorove 1844, vol. 2: 34)

3 The quotations from Gorove’s works in the main text are my own English translations (Kálmán Tóth).

Gorove first considers some solutions that would seem obvious at first glance but on closer examination prove to be impracticable. He goes over the most popular ways of solutions suggested by various British newspapers. According to *The Times*, factory owners should be obliged to pay a decent wage to all their workers and keep them on even when the demand for their products declines. In Gorove's view, this would only be a makeshift solution, which in the long run would only increase extreme poverty. *The Morning Chronicle* advised the increase of commerce by finding new markets. For Gorove, this would also only help for a few years or decades but in the long term would result in greater problems when the resources are exhausted. *The Standard* wanted to ease extreme poverty through religion, but, according to Gorove, this is based on a complete misunderstanding of the situation and would not help at all. He also considers the Chartist movement, which many believed in, as insufficient since rights alone would not give bread to the masses (Gorove 1844, vol. 2: 31–32). He sums up his overview by concluding that as of yet no actual political solution is available (Gorove 1844, vol. 2: 34). Therefore, he takes into consideration what theory could offer, as, according to his belief, this serious illness of the British society can only be cured by a “medicine” developed in the field of social sciences (Gorove 1844, vol. 2: 34–35).

His own personal experiences in the industrial towns of England made Gorove less enthusiastic about the free-market theory than, for instance, his elder contemporary, Count István Széchenyi, the author of *Hitel* [Credit], *Világ* [Light], and *Stadium* [Stage], the most influential Hungarian political thinker of the early Reform Era. Széchenyi considered England the best example for Hungary to follow on the road towards necessary modernization but (most likely because he only frequented bourgeois and aristocratic circles when he visited Britain in the 1820s) failed to realize the negative aspects of English industrial capitalism, and his Anglophilia blurred the significant differences between imperial Great Britain and Habsburg provincial Hungary. Unlike Széchenyi, Gorove managed to develop a more complex view of liberal free-market capitalism, as he differentiated between the industrial and political success of a state and the common good of its people. As a result of his first-hand experiences, Gorove realized the limits of the free-market liberalism of Adam Smith as the means of achieving the common good. On the one hand, free-market capitalism had undoubtedly made England the leading world power in the early 1800s, but, on the other hand, it failed to produce its theoretically promised positive effect for the entire society, which is, according to Gorove's viewpoint, a serious deviation from the ultimate goal of realizing the common good of an entire nation and, through it, the whole of humanity (Gorove 1844, vol. 2: 35–36).

According to Gorove, technological innovation and economic growth do not necessarily lead to a more just distribution of goods, and so he warned against the

danger of all the wealth and capital accumulating in the hands of a few, leaving the masses impoverished.

He considers all existing theoretical solutions insufficient, as “palliative treatment” for the “disease” of English society (Gorove 1844, vol. 2: 37). He only briefly mentions the opinion of Thomas Malthus, who wanted to restrict the birth rate of the poor population in order to prevent the perpetuation of poverty. Gorove considers this view as inhuman and a blind alley, as it goes against basic needs of human nature (Gorove 1844, vol. 2: 37). He also examines the views of Jean Charles Léonard de Sismondi (1773–1842), who saw the source of the evil in rapid technological growth with which most participants of the economy cannot keep pace. Sismondi suggested that innovation should be limited and owners of large capitals should pay higher taxes than small businesses. Gorove points out that even Sismondi himself did not consider these as final solutions to the problems of modern industrial societies (Gorove 1844, vol. 2: 38).

Gorove closes his overview of possible solutions with a short presentation of the thoughts of French writer and political economist Eugène Buret (1810–1842), who analysed the causes of pauperism in the context of contemporary England and France and also suggested ways to remedy this evil. Buret summed up his ideas in a two-volume book titled *De la misère des classes laborieuses en Angleterre et en France* [On the Misery of the Working Classes in England and in France]. By Gorove’s own admission, among all existing solutions up to that time, Buret’s thoughts were closest to his own. The same as Gorove, Buret also considered uncontrolled free-market capitalism irreconcilable with the common good but rejected economic protectionism as well. According to Buret, the only way to reconcile capital and labour is to give the workers as much say in the decision-making regarding production, wages, and contracts as industrialists have. He also suggested economic planning on regional and national levels by the forming of councils from representatives of both industrialists and workers that would supervise industry and constantly monitor the changes in world economy in order to be able to react in time and prevent economic crises (Gorove 1844, vol. 2: 41–44).

Gorove was fully aware that these would be the most radical solutions that could be implemented within the framework of the existing social order. More radical reforms would lead to the emergence of a completely new social order such as socialism and communism, ideologies that Gorove, by his own admission, could not identify himself with (Gorove 1844, vol. 2: 44). His rejection of such revolutionary ideas can most likely be traced back to the fact that these do not take into account the common good of every strata of the society. It should be mentioned here that Gorove’s text was originally written in the first half of the 1840s, so his class-centred view of society cannot be traced back to the influence of Engels’s famous work (1845), which appeared a year later than Gorove’s.

After taking stock of these existing proposals, Gorove abruptly ends these theoretical reflections and returns to the diagnostic practice of assessing his personal experiences. It must have been clear for him that there was no obvious solution to these serious economic and social problems of capitalism. And we should add here that it is still the case today. Unless we believe in utopia, the common good always remains an ongoing process of searching for better solutions, as also suggested by the theoretical framework of Hans Sluga (Sluga 2014: 11–40).

The purpose of Gorove's deliberations is clearly underlined by the following citation, as it becomes clear what the real stake of his diagnostic evaluations is. He underlines the significance of the contemporary situation in England from a Hungarian perspective:

We must know how the direction of human spirit would develop when viewing this situation, to foresee where it would go in the near future, as our own future also lies in this, and although we are one full period behind some other nations, we are not outside the impact of the directions of our times, and intellectual movements reach us, too. Also it is prudent to learn from the mistakes of others, that is why we should be aware what to avoid when our lawmaking and public spirit start to promote industrialization, in order not to bring about misery where it not yet exists and to avoid making millions, who are yet to be born, miserable. (Gorove 1844, vol. 2: 39–40)

As a result of this diagnosis-based forecast, Gorove issued a clear warning to the political elites of the Habsburg Empire and the Kingdom of Hungary to learn from the situation in England, as, from the perspective of the common good, he found it necessary to do everything possible to prevent mass poverty when industrial capitalism would inevitably reach this region in the upcoming decades.

Questions of Political Participation

During his visit to England, Gorove had the opportunity to witness a political meeting in the town of Bolton thanks to Sir John Bowring (1792–1872), writer and diplomat, member of various learned societies, translator of Hungarian poems into English.⁴ Bowring served as Member of Parliament (1835–1837, 1841–1849). He had already become acquainted with Gorove and his travelling companion

⁴ He published the first English-language anthology of Hungarian poetry under the title *Poetry of the Magyars, Preceded by a Sketch of the Language and Literature of Hungary and Transylvania* (London: Heward, Hunter, Wigand, 1830) and later published a selection of Sándor Petőfi's poems in his own translation under the title *Translations from Alexander Petőfi, the Magyar Poet* (London: Trübner & Co., 1866).

Lőrinc Tóth (1814–1903), writer, jurist, and politician, when he visited Hungary in 1838.

Gorove gives an inside look into the practical functioning of English political culture, based on his first-hand experiences, when he describes an informal discussion of the city's magistrates where Bowring had taken him and Tóth before the public meeting:

Bowring introduced us to the gathering of the town's magistrates – about 15-20 men, both young and old, sitting together at a tea table, the leaders of the city, honourable and serious gentlemen discussed the topic of the day, the situation of the factories in a silent and calm manner. I clearly witnessed the rhetorical talent of the English, as fluency and clearness, richness in ideas, maturity, and cohesion characterized their speeches. (Gorove 1844, vol. 2: 19)

The key feature Gorove praises in this quotation is the culture of moderate political discussion based on rational argumentation and the “rhetorical talent of the English”. What is more, it was not the sole property of the urban elite, as members of the working class, though less educated, also had the rhetorical skills to get into disputes with members of the political elite on practical issues regarding the common good of the nation, as Gorove experienced at the political meeting he visited in Bolton. In his description of this meeting, it is easy to notice his responsiveness to the democratic features of British political culture:

The meeting started. From the podium, the mayor of the town was proposed as chairman. Applause, cheers, and groans followed this proposal; those who agreed were asked to raise their hands. [...] After this, a hard voice from the crowd proposed someone else, the noise renewed [...] someone else from the gallery was proposed in a hard voice [...] as, finally, N was proposed from the tribune as chairman; then a dirty young lad, most likely an apprentice blacksmith, invaded the tribune and cried out loudly: “Whoever wants N should raise their hands.” Many hands were raised, and this mass of hands were in the majority, which was not overwhelming, but no one could deny it, and N occupied the chair, and the meeting began. (Gorove 1844, vol. 2: 19–20)

On a local level, analogies with the original Greek notion of politics are fairly obvious from the citation. Based on the Aristotelian concept of the political, the handling of common affairs in order to achieve the common good of the political community can be observed as the basic framework of this mid-19th-century English urban political meeting. The discussion here was significantly more

heated than at the city magistrates' informal meeting, as clashing interests of different social groups came to the fore:

When we came to England, sour vibrations from the factory revolt were still going on. Bolton is an industrial city of 60 000, neighbouring Manchester, the centre of the rebellion, within which sour feelings were still outpouring over the unfortunate situation. The meeting was open, the emotions were swelling, Bowring found himself in a very difficult situation. Could any other delegate but him, a man of complete freedom, handle this situation without either falling to the strikes of excitement, or swimming with the tide of this great movement towards a direction that is disliked by the state power and is very close to being persecuted by the full force of penal law. Bowring managed to avoid both. "I was the one, he spoke, who presented the great People's Charter to our Queen", and the audience burst out in loud applause, as it was the Charter they hoped their salvation from, ointment to the wound that they carried into the meeting as well with a painful feeling of their miserable state. (Gorove 1844, vol. 2: 20–21)

The quotation makes it clear that Gorove by no means idealized the political situation of contemporary Britain. It was also clear for him that there was a huge abyss between the political elite of the British Empire and the vast majority of the population. The governance at the state level was not democratic and not even socially sensitive. Gorove perceived the state as oppressive even to the justified demands of the workers as he hinted at the retaliatory measures that threatened the supporters of their movement. He praised Bowring for his prudence and moderation that enabled him to avoid saying anything offensive to the state system and gain the approval of many supporters of the Chartist movement at the same time. However, when listening to Bowring, Gorove also noticed a characteristic feature of Anglo-Saxon political culture:

The purpose of Bowring's public meeting was the following: to give account to his Bolton voters of his actions in Parliament in the previous year. I knew that every candidate, together with giving a political creed, makes a heap of promises and praises himself as much as possible. I knew that and thought it was a national custom, like a slanting branch of a proudly verdant oak-tree, that during a career or at its finish the frequent mentioning of their own person cannot be missing, and always in a favourable context; I noted this among my experiences today. (Gorove 1844, vol. 2: 21)

The metaphor used by him, "slanting branch", makes it clear that Gorove perceived this feature of excessive British individualism as a strange and morally

questionable character trait. We can conclude from this that the political culture of the Hungarian Reform Era, the milieu of Gorove's political socialization must have been different from English political culture in this regard as well. The Hungarian classical liberal movement of the Reform Era certainly put a stronger emphasis on the service of the common good as the duty of a politician, instead of self-proclaimed excellence.

At the aforementioned political meeting, every strata of the urban society seems to have been represented, and members of the working class were in majority. It was the only forum where they could speak up for themselves, as they had no right to vote. The fact that Bowring still found it important to justify his actions as Member of Parliament in front of them clearly shows the level of mass dissatisfaction with the capitalist order of British society that had to be defended by armed forces against uprisings of the working class. Being a believer in classical liberal ideas, Bowring supported the demands of the Chartists in the House of Commons. He also found it necessary to refer to his personal role in presenting the People's Charter to Queen Victoria, as the majority of attendees at the meeting were Chartists.⁵

Political Aspects of Free Trade

The political meeting in Bolton was the scene of a heated but civilized debate on what political measures would solve the problems of the working class. As Gorove accounts, Bowring also considered this question eminently political when he spoke about his proposal to solve it:

Bowring also went into the discussion of this situation; his principle, woven together like a textile by his knowledge and experience, was the principle of free trade. He was no friend of military operations that were undertaken at the Indies and in China at the cost of the sacrifice of millions [...] according to him, the task of England was to bring her commerce everywhere in a peaceful way. (Gorove 1844, vol. 2: 21–22)

Bowring also stressed the positive effects of free trade on the common good of the participating countries and cited the example of the Kingdom of Hungary, where his guests came from:

See, he said, here are my two young friends, two Hungarian noblemen; I was in their homeland on the shores of the Danube, and I saw it with my own eyes how the grain gets mouldy in their granaries because they

5 For a standard overview of the history of the Chartist movement, see Thompson (1984).

cannot export it. I want, therefore, that when a quarter of the grain costs 20 shillings there, it should not be 60 here, as the people here struggle with starvation and misery because it is very expensive – and they also face misery there because the grain is too cheap. (Gorove 1844, vol. 2: 22)

Bowring's suggestion was perceived by Gorove as a way to promote the common good beyond national politics that would guarantee harmony between nations. Although he was aware of the one-sided imperialistic nature of how the British implemented free trade in practice, as a classical liberal he accepted the benefits of the principle that it would promote mutual acceptance of rights between nations on a global scale. While he accepted the principle of free trade, he was not naive about the practical political issues regarding its implementation:

I was thinking a lot about Bowring's words, as they were related to our homeland, how it would be possible to make our grain appear on the English market, and to the benefit of a large population, depress the price there and raise it here. However, I stayed with the doctrine that commerce can only be mutual, to buy and to sell. I have no doubt that a commercial contract with England, regulated according to our interests, would bring us many benefits – but this commerce is all about customs relations for both sides, for the Hungarian and for the English alike; for example, the Corn Laws in England and the import of industrial products here. (Gorove 1844, vol. 2: 23)

The Corn Laws Gorove refers to were protectionist measures that imposed high duties on the import of grain in order to serve the interest of the landed aristocracy. Because of the grain shortage in the first half of the 19th century, food prices rose sharply, causing famine among the lower classes.⁶ These regulations were also a thorn in the side of wealthy middle-class industrialists who saw them as economically damaging. Led by Richard Cobden, an organization called Anti-Corn Law League was founded in 1839, which mobilized the industrial middle classes against the landlords. The Corn Laws were eventually repealed in 1846 (4 years after Gorove's visit to England); this, however, has brought only a slight improvement in the living conditions of the working classes.⁷

Gorove realized the political nature of economic issues but did not go into detail regarding the institutional framework behind the realization of such a bilateral free-trade agreement, as he carefully avoided any mentioning of the obvious

6 Cf. Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. „Corn Law”. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 20 March 2019. <https://www.britannica.com/event/Corn-Law-British-history>.

7 Cf. Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. „Anti-Corn Law League”. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 15 March 2018. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Anti-Corn-Law-League>.

fact that, unlike Great Britain, the Kingdom of Hungary was not an independent country, and as part of the Habsburg Empire there existed a customs border within the Empire between the country and the Hereditary Lands. As Hungary did not have any independent foreign and economic policy, any free-trade agreement with Great Britain would only have been possible if the Vienna Court had wanted it. In spite of these difficulties, Gorove considered the implementation of such a treaty a vital step towards promoting the common good on both a national and a supranational scale. In not discussing this topic any further, Gorove could well have been aware of Habsburg censorship, and his cautiousness was clearly justified by the fact that a considerable part of his book describing his visit to France was not allowed to be published by the censors. The missing chapters were only published after his death, in 1882 (Gorove 1882: 58–135). But let us return to Gorove's assessment of his travel experiences in England.

The Need for Democratic Reforms

At the previously discussed political meeting in Bolton, members of the working class were allowed to respond to the speech of Bowring:

The speech of Bowring was followed by great applause; then came the speakers from the people, from the working class, with uncombed hair, unwashed faces and hands, in vests with sleeves, as if they had just left the loom, the paint tub, or furnace. The oratorical talent I experienced from these ordinary men is truly amazing – what a preparedness with every argument in favour of their cause, what a mature thoughtfulness carrying the principle through all the proofs of experience and life! (Gorove 1844, vol. 2: 24)

Here Gorove once again praises the political competence, rational thinking, and rhetorical skills of these working men who spoke up for a more inclusive system of political representation and also demanded changes to the economic system of industrial capitalism. Their opinions differed in the evaluation of some key economic factors: the Luddites blamed the emergence of machines for the poverty of the masses, while the Chartists argued that only the expansion of political rights would help improve the situation of the working classes. Bowring responded to every speaker, and the meeting gave him a vote of confidence and then dissolved peacefully.

In Gorove's view, no movement had any realistic chance without the support of the middle class in their struggle for a democratic reform of the political system, even though it would have served the common good, as it was in the interest of the whole nation to find a solution to the problems of the working

classes. Gorove cited the names of Joseph Sturge (1793–1859), William Sharman Crawford (1780–1861), and Bowring as middle-class intellectuals who embraced the cause of “complete suffrage” in the interest of the common good, and he felt that they had a better chance to succeed because “when a cause is starting to be bolstered by intellect, it is more difficult to make it fail than if it is supported by brute strength” (Gorove 1844, vol. 2: 84).

Gorove’s political thinking is based on the idea of the common good of an entire nation. He also points out an important element of a well-functioning society that is an essential element of common-good-based political thinking: shared basic pre-political values (Gorove 1844: vol. 2: 89). Gorove is by no means alone when he considers Christian religion as the most crucial source of these, and by claiming that with the decline of religion, moral values also decline.⁸ According to his evaluation, also shared by many of his contemporaries, France was the best example for this historical process. He predicted further revolutionary turmoil in that country for the near future, and the events of 1848 and 1871 certainly proved him right. His evaluation of the situation in Great Britain has also been correct as he diagnosed a calmer and moderate political culture on the British Isles, where even though radical ideologies appear, these would never receive the same public support and would not be pushed to such extremes as in France. Nonetheless, we should not forget that Great Britain had the advantage of getting rid of its excess population by mass migration to Anglo-Saxon dominated North America, Australia, and New Zealand, where English-speaking people had many opportunities to start a new life.

Gorove’s Views in the Context of Other Hungarian Travelogues from the Epoch

Gorove’s book is not a unique phenomenon in the Hungarian literature of his epoch; it is organically connected to the genre of travelogues describing foreign journeys that became popular in the 1840s. Undertaking a journey abroad had become almost compulsory for young intellectuals of noble background, and many of them wrote down and published their experiences. Similarly to Gorove’s, these works not only recollect the events encountered during the journey but also contain economic, social, and political reflections. We can gain a more nuanced view of Gorove’s political thinking by comparing the parts of his work that describe British capitalism to the picture of England presented in other notable travelogues of the Reform Era. In the following, I will attempt a brief overview through the analysis of relevant texts by Sándor Bölöni Farkas, Ferenc

8 For a recent assessment of the importance of education for maintaining a political culture based on shared traditional values, see Hörcher (2020: 138–147).

Pulszky, Bertalan Szemere, and Lőrinc Tóth, who all visited Great Britain in the 1830s–40s.

Although Sándor Bölöni Farkas focused mostly on culture, on technological innovations, and on the constitutional political system, he too noticed the harsh social inequality in Great Britain. According to him, large masses were excluded from the benefits of constitutionalism. Nonetheless, instead of the capitalist system, Bölöni put the blame for the misery of the people on the aristocracy and on the unjust system of taxation. He also perceived the significant contradiction between constitutional freedom rights and mass pauperism, the causes of which he traced back to the unequal distribution of material goods (Bölöni 2008: 233–234). But unlike Gorove, Bölöni stopped there and did not deal with proposals on how this problem could be remedied; moreover, he did not even connect the experienced phenomenon to industrial development.

Ferenc Pulszky published his travelogue about his journey to Great Britain in an anonymous German-language book, titled *Aus dem Tagebuche eines in Grossbritannien reisenden Ungarn* [From the Diary of a Hungarian Travelling in Great Britain]. In accordance with his personal interests, he focused on the description of landscapes, artefacts, and cultural monuments. He described, however, the bleakness of industrial cities like Birmingham, Liverpool, and Manchester (Pulszky 1837: 120–121) and also realized the symptoms of industrial capitalism by noticing the large number of women and children working in the factories visited by him (Pulszky 1837: 100–101). He pointed out the alienating effect of industrialization, emphasizing that a soulless industrial product, regardless how perfect it was, could never become a work of art. He feared industrialization would degrade workers to machines, depriving them of all creativity.⁹ He predicted radical changes in European social conditions due to the spreading of industrialization, as, according to him, the conquering of distance by railways carried in itself the threat of shallowness and empty cosmopolitanism (Pulszky 1837: 121–122). While Gorove perceived the deep poverty and vulnerability of the

9 In contrast to Pulszky's view, this degrading effect of industrial capitalism on the human soul was presented in a desirable light by British apologetics of liberal capitalism. A notable example is Andrew Ure (1778–1857), a Scottish physician, science writer, and business theorist, who was an enthusiastic defender of the factory system. Ure showed absolutely no understanding towards workers' movements and trade unions, accusing them of demanding "high wages", and, instead of showing "thankfulness", wanting to "exercise control over their masters" (Ure 1835: 364). His stance is clearly reflected in the passages of his work *The Philosophy of Manufactures* (1835), where he praised the invention of the "Iron Man", a spinning automaton, "a machine apparently instinct with the thought, feeling, and tact of the experienced workman, [...] – a creation destined to restore order among the industrious classes". According to Ure, science and technology should play a disciplinary role by crushing labour resistance: "It is to be hoped that the manufacturers who received this guardian power from mechanical science will strengthen with grateful patronage the arm which brought them deliverance in the day of their distress. [...] This invention confirms the great doctrine already propounded that when capital enlists science in her service, the refractory hand of labour will always be taught docility" (Ure 1835: 367–368).

working class and considered industrialization itself an inevitable and basically beneficial trend, Pulszky rejected technological development itself in fear of the mechanization of mankind. He conducted cultural criticism but did not go into any deeper analysis of socio-economic processes.

Bertalan Szemere, who visited England in 1837, published his book *Utazás külföldön* [A Journey Abroad] in 1840. He praised the virtues of industrial capitalism, highlighted the productivity of factories, and wrote about the improving living conditions of the people (Szemere 1845, vol. 2: 139–141). He fully identified with the views of Adam Smith about the promotion of self-interest being the most effective tool of promoting public interest (Szemere 1845, vol. 2: 51). He completely ignored the situation of factory workers and claimed that poverty only extended to beggars (Szemere 1845, vol. 2: 94–95). He only seemed to notice poverty when he visited Dublin, Ireland (Szemere 1845, vol. 2: 158–161). He traced back the reasons for this to overpopulation, following the views of Malthus, but with no actual reference to him (Szemere 1845, vol. 2: 162). It is worth mentioning that Szemere only travelled through industrial towns and only visited homes of factory owners outside the towns, hardly paying any attention to the living conditions of the working class, which he considered a milieu entirely alien to him (Szemere 1845, vol. 2: 168). In regard to the conditions of England, Szemere's viewpoint is predominantly apologetic and, in contrast to Gorove's work, he often phrased stereotypical opinions reflecting a high level of subjectivity. Subjectivity was not completely alien from Gorove either, but he clearly distinguished the subjective passages of his book from those that dealt with the description of economic, social, and political conditions. Where he clearly intended to present an objective assessment, Gorove often underscored his line of reasoning by references to and quotations from scientific sources. These differences between Szemere and Gorove can mostly be attributed to their different personalities and partly to their different fields of interest. Gorove knew the work of Szemere; he even referred to it in one place in his work where he discussed the changes made to the oversight system at Coldbath Fields Prison, also visited by Szemere a few years before (Gorove 1844, vol. 2: 153–161).

Comparing Lőrinc Tóth's travelogue *Uti tárcza* [Travel Feuilleton] to Gorove's is especially interesting since they travelled together, and, therefore, the material experience in the background of their works can be considered to have been almost identical. The differences arise from the different personalities and differing viewpoints of the two travellers. Lőrinc Tóth gave detailed descriptions of the history and notable landmarks of the places they visited and gave less space to theoretical reflections on socio-economic conditions. He may have been motivated by business aspects, as there was a significant demand in that age for travelogues which could be used as guide books, describing Western European countries. In spite of this, Lőrinc Tóth did not lack social sensitivity. Similarly to

Gorove, he noticed the poverty of the working class in industrial cities and the harsh contradiction between the living standards of factory owners and that of their workers (Tóth 1844: 183). He also assessed briefly the proposed solutions of various political streams, none of which he considered convincing, drawing the conclusion that despite there being no sufficient solution as of yet, the goal to improve the living conditions of the working classes cannot be abandoned (Tóth 1844: 190–191). He, too, did not deny the inevitability of industrial evolution and its positive effects on promoting the common good; however, he did not share Gorove's fears that the implementation of the capitalist system would also cause widespread poverty in Hungary unless an effective solution is found to avoid this unintended consequence of modernization. On the contrary, he traced back mass pauperism to overpopulation, thinking that it would not affect underpopulated Hungary for centuries to come (Tóth 1844: 192).

Summary

The subject of this scholarly analysis focusing on a unique manifestation of a common-good-centred classical liberal approach to the political was a 19th-century political thinker's text that focused on the practical elements of politics and did not elaborate a specific theory of the political. However, this does not make it any less relevant from the perspective of a historical research on political thought. We should not forget that the history of political thought is not a history of ideas or political theories, although it is connected to these, but only as far as these ideas and theories influenced the political thinking of individual political actors (Schlett 2018, vol. 1: 38).

As we have seen, in his political analyses, Gorove followed a method directed at the present state of particular historically developed social phenomena, and his approach to theory was always intertwined with its practical use. Although he believed in the classical liberal concept of universal development, his way of thinking was strongly shaped by an awareness for particular historical situations. He considered his Western European experiences as a diagnostic tool for a contribution towards the common good of the Hungarian nation, perceived as a unifying concept for all inhabitants of the historical Kingdom of Hungary within the Habsburg Monarchy. He never neglected the differences between the historical developments of the visited countries, and unlike Széchenyi, he did not believe there was one universal solution or model to follow for the development of every nation; not even Great Britain served for him as an ideal model of organizing society. In his opinion, every nation has its own historical way of development, even if some universal phenomena seem inevitable for their flourishing in the era where one lives. This assumption has clearly been proven

right by the course of historical development during the past two centuries, just like Gorove's thoughts about the different ways this necessary development can proceed along historically different national frameworks.

Gorove's approach to politics was a communitarian one, within the paradigm of classical liberalism. His political socialization made him an avid supporter of the classical liberal reform agenda in the late 1830s and 1840s. He perceived the concept of the common good within a national framework. As he states in the preface of his book, he regards a Western European journey as an important endeavour for Hungarian youth, where they have an opportunity to "learn from its peoples what made them great in order to aid the affairs of the nation with their experience when they would be called upon to conduct them" (Gorove 1844, vol. 1: ix).

The aim of Gorove with the recollections of his Western European travel experiences was not to create an abstract scientific theory of the political but to provide an analysis from a practical viewpoint of political phenomena in order to give guidelines to practical political action in Hungary. He did not consider it a precise scientific method and was conscious that what he wrote was also political action in order to show what Hungarian politicians need to adopt and what traps they should avoid.

Classical liberals believed in progress and science, but they did not pretend to have all the ingredients and possess all knowledge on how to realize an ideal human society and political system. Gorove's political assessment of Western European societies was also conscious of this uncertain nature of the political. That is why he was in favour of progress, which he considered inevitable, but cautious about radical social changes and thoughtless imitations of foreign political institutions. Prudence and moderation were, too, important elements of his political thinking, and these conservative features also prove that his common-good-centred concept of the political was deeply rooted in the Aristotelian tradition and was closely intertwined with practical political action.¹⁰ Later in his life, he had the opportunity to contribute to the common good of his national community as a minister of the Andrassy government after the Settlement of 1867, but assessing his impact as a practical politician goes beyond the scope of this study.

10 On the origins and contexts of prudence-based conservative political action, see Hörcher (2020: 148–161).

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The Hungarian National Council in Serbia: Cultural Autonomy in Practice

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Abstract. The National Council of the Hungarian Ethnic Minority (HNC) in Serbia is an autonomous institution of the autochthonous Hungarian national minority of Serbia. The already existing HNC became legal in the 2000s, when the democratization of Serbia took place. Since then, it has become a success story for both the community and Serbia due to the devotion of the Hungarian minority. In this article, we review the relevant legal background and the role the institution has been playing in the everyday life of the Hungarian community. In doing so, with attention to the limited nature of available literature, we also rely on the findings of an interview, realized recently with the leaders of the HNC, for a better presentation of the significance of this umbrella organization of the Hungarian cultural autonomy in Serbia.

Keywords: Serbia, Hungarian minority, autonomy, cultural autonomy, minority rights

Introduction

Since 1918–20, very few ethnic Hungarians living in the neighbouring countries have had self-governing institutions that would have allowed them to protect their ethno-linguistic and cultural features. This was mainly due to assimilation pressure from the states concerned, the ideal endpoint of which, for them, would have been the creation of ethnically homogeneous states. A notable exception to this was the Magyar Autonomous Region established in 1952 in Romania, which had become a Soviet interest and which later transformed into Mureș-Magyar Autonomous Region, to be eliminated in 1968. These regions, however, were little more than an institution designed to prevent social tensions in a Soviet-era Romania from escalating into ethnic conflict.

Partly also due to Soviet inspiration, a different approach was taken in this respect by the socialist Yugoslavia, which became an ethno-federal state after

1944-45. Despite its dissolution in 1991, the then applied practice continues to influence legislation on minority rights in the successor states of Yugoslavia. In this paper, we will look at the issue of national councils in Serbia, and in particular at that of the Hungarian National Council.

1. Legal Background

After the wars of the 1990s, Yugoslavia embarked on a democratic transition following the Bulldozer Revolution of 2000. By this time, not only had the dreams of Yugoslavia's Serbian dominance been shattered – Serbia had recognized the independence of all the breakaway former Yugoslav republics – but Kosovo, formerly an autonomous province of the state, was under international administration too, i.e. outside the control of the Serbian state. A democratizing Serbia sought to regain this territory and had to try to convince the world that it could guarantee security and extensive rights for its nationalities. This resulted in the enactment of two important pieces of legislation: first, the famous Omnibus Law of 2002 (Ördögh 2017: 29), which restored the territorial autonomies of Vojvodina and Kosovo-Metohija abolished in 1989, and second, the Law on the National Councils of 2009 allowing national minorities to establish their own national councils.¹ The latter law created the conditions for the legalisation of the Hungarian National Council (HNC), which had been existing illegally since 1999. In addition to these pieces of legislation, there are two other legal documents which are indispensable for getting acquainted with the functioning of the Hungarian National Council: the Statute of the Hungarian National Council² and its Rules of Procedure.³ By examining these documents, we can get a picture of the Hungarian National Council, in which we can see the basic legal framework, the rules of operation, and the areas in which it performs its functions.

However, for a more precise understanding of the legislative context, it is worth starting from the Serbian Constitution and placing thus the HNC within the Serbian constitutional system.

1 *Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia*, No 72/2009, 20/2014 – AB Decision, No 55/2014 and No 47/2018. <https://www.mnt.org.rs/dokumentum/torvenyek-es-egyeb-jogi-dokumentumok-magyar-nyelven>.

2 Statutes of the Hungarian National Council. https://www.mnt.org.rs/sites/default/files/attachments/mnt_alapszabaly.pdf.

3 Rules of Procedure of the Hungarian National Council. https://www.mnt.org.rs/sites/default/files/attachments/04b_mnt_ugyrend_javaslat_2018_hu.pdf.

1.1. The Constitution of the Republic of Serbia

In order to understand why a legally recognized Hungarian National Council can function in Serbia today, we need to briefly review the process that resulted in the transformation of Yugoslavia from a socialist one-party system to a constitutional multi-party democracy. In this paper, we will consider only the public law and minority protection aspects of this rather complex process.

The current Constitution of the Republic of Serbia was adopted in 2006, after the break-up of the Serbia and Montenegro state union, and confirmed by referendum. The provisions and guarantees for the protection of national minorities are contained in articles 75–81 of the Constitution, which were taken over and expanded from the 2003 Constitution of Serbia and Montenegro (Korhecz 2020: 180).

Article 75 of the Serbian Constitution⁴ stipulates that members of national minorities living in Serbia have additional individual and collective rights, on the basis of which “Persons belonging to national minorities shall take part in decision-making or decide independently on certain issues related to their culture, education, information and official use of languages and script through their collective rights in accordance with the law.”

The participation of national minorities in decision making is therefore a constitutionally guaranteed fundamental right. The rest of Article 75 is even clearer on the extension of the right: “Persons belonging to national minorities may elect their national councils in order to exercise the right to self-governance in the field of culture, education, information and official use of their language and script, in accordance with the law.”

This article provides for the possibility of establishing national councils at the constitutional level and outlines the areas in which national councils are to be competent. On this basis, it can be said that the Serbian Constitution lays the foundations for a cultural-linguistic autonomy for national minorities living in the country.

Moving on to the article of the Constitution dealing with national minorities, Article 76 contains provisions on equality before the law and non-discrimination. In Article 77, the Constitution states that members of national minorities may participate on equal terms in the administration of public affairs and hold public office, and it notes that the national composition of the population and the representation of minorities must be taken into account in state and local administration bodies, autonomous provinces, and local governments.

In the next article – Article 78 –, we find a very significant and exemplary provision in terms of minority protection:

4 Constitution of the Republic of Serbia. <https://www.srbija.gov.rs/tekst/en/130144/constitution-of-serbia.php>.

Forced assimilation of members of national minorities shall be strictly prohibited. Protection of members of national minorities from all activities directed towards their forced assimilation shall be regulated by the Law. Undertaking measures, which would cause artificial changes in ethnic structure of population in areas where members of national minorities live traditionally and in large numbers, shall be strictly prohibited.

Such constitutional provisions are not often found in the constitutions of other countries, and the insertion of this article was presumably intended to improve the international image of the Serbian state, but it nevertheless created an important constitutional guarantee. However, it is also worth pointing out that during the Yugoslav and Kosovo wars, a significant number of those who fled their former places of residence found a home in Vojvodina, as ethnic proportions have changed considerably since 1991. Moreover, it is, of course, questionable how such a constitutional provision can be enforced in the future.

Article 79 of the constitution is titled *Right to Preservation of Originality*. These rules provide a wide range of opportunities for the preservation of the identity of national minorities, the practical realization and development of national distinctiveness in the areas of mother tongue education, the use of mother tongue in public administration, the free exercise of religion, the use of municipal and street names, and mass media.

Article 80 guarantees the right of association in the field of public education and culture and allows for the right of association and cooperation with the part of the given minority living outside Serbia, not naming but clearly including their motherland, which again creates an important constitutional guarantee for the Hungarians of Vojvodina, this time with regard to the right of cooperation with Hungary, its state and local institutions, as well as with, e.g., church and civil organizations and municipalities.

Article 81 is titled *Developing a Spirit of Tolerance* and sets as a general objective intercultural dialogue and mutual respect between people irrespective of their ethnic, cultural, linguistic, or religious identity. This seems a particularly important guarantee provision in the light of the history of Yugoslavia and Serbia in the 1990s.

The 2006 Constitution thus appears to grant broad powers to recognized nationalities and allows for the establishment of national councils to exercise them. These measures include guarantees that the State must ensure for the benefit of national minorities, both for itself and for the activities of other State or local government institutions.

1.2. Law on National Councils for National Minorities

In the following, we will review the legislation in force that guarantees self-organization for national minorities in Serbia. In this context, we will examine the powers of nationalities, the framework within which they can exercise cultural self-government and the precise legal framework for the establishment and functioning of national councils.

According to Péter Kókai, this law can be called a milestone (Kókai 2010: 6), as it has regulated the possibilities of self-organization of national minorities in Serbia in a detailed manner. In his study, Kókai describes the situation of self-government and minority protection of the Hungarian minority in Serbia and their legal background up to the regime change in 1990 (then still in Yugoslavia). To briefly summarize this process, it can be said that a process was started around the 1990 regime change, which aimed to formulate the self-government of nationalities at the legislative level, but the subsequent war years made a meaningful discussion on this issue almost impossible. Finally, the consolidation of the 2000s brought the opportunity to draft a comprehensive law in 2009, which would ensure the exercise of cultural autonomy for all minorities in Serbia within a legal framework.

However, from a legal point of view, the absence of a legal provision listing the recognized nationalities is particularly problematic. In the 2018 national council elections, 22 national councils were open for voting: Albanian, Askal, Bulgarian, Bosnian, Bunjevci, Czech, Croatian, Egyptian, German, Greek, Hungarian, Macedonian, Montenegrin, Polish, Russian, Roma, Romanian, Ruthenian, Slovak, Slovene, Ukrainian, and Vlach (Dobos 2020: 6–7), while in the 2022 elections, 23 communities – now including the Goranis – were able to elect their national council members.⁵

The biggest innovation in the law adopted in 2009 was the election of members of national councils, a process that used to be exclusively electoral, but the new law, as we will see later on, allows citizens belonging to a given national minority to elect members of the council directly on a voluntary basis. The key issue here is the compilation of the electoral roll, which works by establishing a proportional threshold.

In Serbia, cooperation between national councils and the state takes place within the framework of the National Minorities Coordination Board, which holds regular joint meetings with the National Minorities Council of the Government of Serbia. The Chair of the Coordination Body rotates annually among the leaders of national minorities in Serbia. Such a chairmanship has already been held by the President of the HNC in the pre-2020 term.

5 National Council elections to be held in Serbia today (13 November 2022). <https://magyarnemzet.hu/kulfold/2022/11/nemzeti-tanacsi-valasztasokat-tartanak-ma-szerbiaban>.

1.3. Status of National Councils

The Law on National Councils of National Minorities⁶ consists of ten parts and contains 139 articles. This legislation contains detailed rules for the functioning of the National Councils.

Part I is titled *Basic Provisions*, and this chapter practically repeats and supplements some of the already cited articles of the Serbian Constitution, which concern culture, education, information, and the use of official languages and writing. It is important to note that National Councils are registered in the Register of National Councils and must comply with the requirements of legality. The management of the registers is the responsibility of the Ministry of Human and Minority Rights, currently the Ministry of Human and Minority Rights and Social Dialogue. The registration procedure is by application accompanied by the statutes of the national council and the minutes of the first meeting at which the statutes were adopted. The registration procedure has a deadline of 30 days and ends with an order. Upon registration, the national council acquires legal personality, with all the formal accessories, such as official name, seat, stamp, and membership. This process is in fact similar to the creation of social organizations such as associations. The national council must have a constitution which sets out the main organizational and operational framework. All the decisions of the national council must be deducible from the statutes, which can therefore be described as a kind of “small constitution”.

In Part II, the law regulates in detail the internal organization of the national council, headed by the president, with the other most important basic units being the committees: “A national council shall have a president, executive board, committees for education, culture, information and official use of language and script.”⁷

Reading parts II and III of the law on delegations, one might get the impression that the National Council is both a “small parliament” and a “small government”, i.e. that both decision-making and executive functions are present in the National Council within the defined terms of reference. The number of members of the national councils may vary between 15 and 35, with the number of members being adjusted to the number of minorities with a population of less than 10,000 and more than 100,000 in a banding system based on the number of minorities as determined in the last census.⁸

6 Law on National Councils for National Minorities, *Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia*, No 72/2009, 20/2014 – AB Decision, No 55/2014 and 47/2018.

7 Law on National Councils for National Minorities, *Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia*, No 72/2009, 20/2014 – AB Decision No 55/2014 and No 47/2018, Article 7.

8 Op. cit. Article 9.

With regard to committees, the executive committee and its chairman have a special role because they are responsible for implementing the decisions taken by the national council.

This article also contains rules on conflicts of interest, which apply to the president of the national council and members of the executive committee and prohibit the holding of political party, state, provincial, and municipal offices together.⁹

Part III of the Act regulates at length (in articles 10–22) the powers of the national councils, broken down into specific areas. These are: education, culture, information, official language and writing. In the article on general powers, we find the most basic comprehensive powers that belong to the national councils, some of which are (1) rules of operation (drafting of statutes, own budget), (2) founding rights, which will be discussed later, and (3) legislative functions and minority protection.

For the latter two points, the regulation provides:

9) Initiate the adoption of and monitor the implementation of laws and other regulations in the fields of culture, education, information and official use of language and script;

10) Participate in the preparation of laws and other regulations and initiate the adoption, i.e. amendments to laws and other regulations prescribing national minority rights guaranteed by the Constitution in the fields of culture, education, information and official use of language and script;

11) Initiate the adoption, i.e. amendments to special regulations and provisional measures in domains in which the right to self-government is accomplished in order to achieve full equality between members of a national minority and citizens belonging to the majority population;

12) Initiate complaints before the Protector of Citizens, the Provincial Ombudsman, local ombudsmen and other competent bodies if it assesses that there has been a violation of rights and freedoms of national minorities' members guaranteed by the Constitution and law.¹⁰

From the passage quoted, we can see that national councils have the right to initiate legislation, which is a very powerful tool in the hands of a national minority to shape its own life situations; although this, of course, requires support in the national assembly, which depends on the power relations and negotiations between political groups. However, this is a political issue which is not the subject of this paper, but it should be noted that if a minority has members in the National Assembly, this fact can greatly help the cause of that minority.

9 Op. cit. Article 7a.

10 Op. cit. § 10 (9)–(12).

Another point worth highlighting from this article is the right to complain to the Civic Defender. This institution is equivalent to the Hungarian Commissioner for Fundamental Rights, formerly known as the Ombudsman. The relevant articles of the Serbian Constitution effectively establish a general institution of a Public Defender of Rights very similar to the Fundamental Law of Hungary.¹¹

At the beginning of each of the sectoral mandates detailed above are the provisions on founder's rights. It is worth highlighting that national councils may establish and participate in the management of their own educational, cultural, and information institutions. The key to preserving the identity of a national minority is to have its own institutional system, to have its own or co-sponsored educational institutions, and to be involved in the management of these institutions, for example in the development of curricula and the publication and selection of textbooks.

National councils may set up educational institutions, either independently or in cooperation with the state, the province, or local government. In institutions of special importance, education is provided in the minority language.

It is important to mention in the delegations that national councils can propose two members of the Council of the Electronic Media Regulatory Board.¹² This is also important because in the modern world the media is referred to as a separate branch of power, in the shaping of which minorities have the right to have a say, and thus information can be more balanced, as it contains more different opinions.

The language and literacy rights set out in Article 22 of the Act provide for the possibility that in settlements where the given minority language is in use, the names of settlements, public places, and other geographical names may be written in the language of the given minority.¹³ This measure is also a powerful means of ensuring that a minority preserves its identity and cherishes its traditions, if only because this visualization makes the minority's presence "visible" to members of the majority and others. Similar regulations exist in Hungary and in many other countries, which in my opinion shows a good trend compared to the 20th century. Unfortunately, however, in many places there are still instances of these multilingual signs being vandalized, but one must always add the fact that this mentality is increasingly the preserve of marginal, extremist small groups. Furthermore, most right-thinking people, whether they belong to the majority or to any national minority, condemn such acts and seek to restore and maintain good relations.

11 Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, *Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia*, No 98/2006, Article 138, cf.

12 Law on National Councils for National Minorities, *Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia*, No 72/2009, 20/2014 – AB Decision No 55/2014 and No 47/2018, Article 20.

13 Op. cit. Article 22.

The next part of the law, Part IV, states that the national councils shall cooperate with the Government of the Republic of Serbia and state administration bodies, as well as with the bodies of the autonomous province¹⁴ and local self-government. This means that they can propose possible amendments to this law and, in case of amendments proposed by ministries or other bodies, the national councils can give their opinion.¹⁵ At the level of autonomous provinces and local governments, they may exercise the right to make proposals on matters affecting the life of the minority concerned but are obliged to comply with requests for information or documents from the administration within ten days.¹⁶

In the next article on international and regional cooperation (Part V), we read that a given minority may maintain contacts with its home country and with international organizations.¹⁷

Part VI deals with the election of members of the national councils. This is the longest chapter of the Act, covering articles 29 to 109, as the legislation regulates in great detail the substantive and procedural issues of elections. The basic principles of elections are set out in the following article: “Article 30: Elections of national councils shall be based on the principles of freedom of choice, equality of voting rights, periodicity of elections and principle of secret ballot. The elections shall be especially based on voluntariness, proportionality and democracy.”¹⁸

Here, the innovation already mentioned is the possibility of direct election of members of national councils, which depends on the latest census results and the creation of a special register of voters – the register of nationality voters – based on them. In the absence of such a national register, the election of council members will be by electoral system.

As mentioned, this article is the longest one in the law, so it is worth making some summary observations about the electoral system described here:

1. The election of members of national councils is based on a list system, i.e. voters vote on lists drawn up by the various nominating organizations, and seats are allocated proportionally. The term of office shall be four years from the date of the inaugural meeting.

2. The voting process, in particular with regard to the activities of the ballot-counting (ballot-picking) committee, shall be documented in minutes – thus ensuring the orderly conduct of elections and their subsequent verifiability.

3. Electoral bodies for the election of the National Council shall be the same as those for the election of the members of the National Assembly. The Republic Electoral Commission supervises the legality of the whole process.

14 In principle, it is the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and the Autonomous Province of Kosovo-Metohija, but in practice only Vojvodina is included.

15 Op. cit. Article 25.

16 Op. cit. Article 26.

17 Op. cit. pp. 27–28.

18 Op. cit. Article 30.

4. The results shall be sent to the competent ministry and published in the *Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia*. The results of the elections may be appealed within a short time limit.

The electoral system can be said to mix electoral rules specific to a parliament and a municipality, and thus to have a unique “national parliamentary election” character.

The next chapter is about funding. National Councils have an annual financial plan and a final account. Revenue and expenditure are assigned to the delegations referred to in this Act: “Art. 112: A national council shall adopt its annual financial plan and annual financial statement. A national council shall adopt the annual financial plan in line with the programme model containing the income and expenses aligned with the authorisations of the national council.”

The sources are as follows: “Funds for the activities of national councils shall be provided from the budget of the Republic of Serbia, the budget of the autonomous province and the budget of local self-government units, donations and other sources.”¹⁹

This means, therefore, that the Serbian state is committed to ensuring that national minorities living on its territory operate from central and local budget resources, with the possibility of donations. This is, in my opinion, a very advanced rule for the protection of minorities, as it promotes their organized representation.

There is also, of course, a legal supervision of the national councils, which is exercised by the competent ministry, as described in Chapter VIII of the Act. This means that any decision of the National Council that is considered to be unlawful can be subject to review by the Constitutional Court.

The other parts of the Act contain the penal provisions, transitional and final provisions, and amendments. These contain the known entry into force, promulgation, and other mandatory elements of the legislation, as well as some minor clarifications of the 2014 and 2018 amendments.

2. The Hungarian National Council

It has been a long process to get the HNC to function in its current form. After the regime change in 1990 – then still in Yugoslavia –, the members of the Hungarian minority recognized the opportunity to create their own representative organization in the new period, and so they founded the Democratic Community of Hungarians of Vojvodina.²⁰ This organization defined itself as a self-organizing representative organization and by 1992 had drawn up a memorandum laying

19 Op. cit. Article 114.

20 Kókai 2010: 1.

down the foundations of the Hungarian self-government it wished to achieve.²¹ However, the period that followed – the Yugoslav wars and later the Kosovo war – did not favour dialogue on national self-government.

It was the political consolidation in the 2000s that made it possible to create a general law regulating the rights and self-government of nationalities living in Serbia. Thus, the Law on the Protection of the Rights and Freedoms of National Minorities of 2002 was created. It was within the framework of this law that the Hungarian National Council was officially established on 21 September 2002 in Subotica.²² The HNC had been operating effectively – but almost illegally due to the lack of a legal framework – since 20 August 1999. The 21 September 2002 electoral meeting in Subotica, attended by Hungarian representatives who had won seats in federal, republican, provincial, and local elections and convened by the Ministry of Minorities of Serbia and Montenegro, elected the 35 members of the HNC. The official inaugural meeting of the HNC took place on 19 October 2002, when the statute and the rules of procedure were also adopted and its president, vice-presidents, and notary were elected. The HNC's executive body, the Administrative Committee, and its technical committees were set up at the second meeting, on 6 December 2002.

The two main internal documents that lay down the detailed rules for the operation of the HNC allow us to outline the essence of the institution's functioning.

2.1. The Statute

The Statute of the HNC was drawn up on the basis of articles 6 and 10(1)(1) of the Law on National Councils for National Minorities. Its current form was finalized at the meeting of 10 December 2018. The Statute was drafted in compliance with the statutory obligations, and all its important provisions can be derived from Law 72/2009, as described above. Thus, in the Statute, we find the rules for the election and mandate of the President, the committees, and all important officers. The Statute defines itself as *The Supreme Law of the Hungarian National Council*.²³ This also supports the thesis described above that the Statutes of the National Councils are “small constitutions”. The Statute in Art. 2 defines the Hungarian National Council as follows:

The Council is the directly and democratically elected national self-government of the Hungarian national minority in Serbia (hereinafter referred to as the Hungarian national minority). It is the supreme body

21 Op. cit. p. 1.

22 Op. cit. p. 4.

23 Statutes of the Hungarian National Council, Section 1.

of Hungarian cultural autonomy, through which the Hungarian national minority exercises its collective right to self-government in the fields of culture, education, information and the use of official languages and literacy.²⁴

From the passage quoted, we shall highlight two important elements. The first one is the national nature of self-governance, which means that the HNC operates throughout Serbia although its main area of operation is, of course, the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, where the majority of the ethnic Hungarians live. Second, this section refers to a “cultural autonomy”, which provides a strong, constitutionally guaranteed status, already described earlier, for the Hungarians living in Serbia.

The Statute declares the purposes for which the Council was established (Section 4), regulates the legal status of the HNC and its members, contains basic information about the HNC, such as legal entity, seat, official name in Hungarian and Serbian and in English, and a precise heraldic description of the coat of arms.

Section 7. The coat of arms of the Council is a pointed, gold-edged shield. On the top, resting on a ribbon ornament, folded once on each side, the inscription “Hungarian National Council” is printed in block letters. The field of the coat of arms is divided into two levels: the first level is divided into four fields, symmetrically bisected vertically by a line and horizontally by four stylized wavy lines representing a river. In the centre of the top left field is a stylized image of the northern facade of the Town Hall of Subotica on a cherry red background. In the centre of the upper right field, a golden eight-pointed star on a green background. In the centre of the lower left field, on a green background, there is a white open book with the letter “A” printed on the left and the symbol “§” (paragraph mark) on the right. In the centre of the lower right field, on a cherry-red background, there is a green five-leaved tree branch. At the intersection of the four fields, the base of the small emblem is white, with a semicircle at the bottom and a semicircle resting on top, surrounded by seven white spheres. In the centre of the small chemise, there is a stylized symmetrical flower with leaves of a cherry-red-white-green colour running downwards from the top and a stylized cherry-red-coloured pistil.²⁵

24 Op. cit. Section 2.

25 Statutes of the Hungarian National Council, Section 7. [All translations of non-English texts are mine throughout the paper.]



Source: website of the Hungarian National Council (<https://www.mnt.org.rs/>)

Figure 1. Coat of arms of the Hungarian National Council

The term of office of the Council is four years from the date of its establishment, and its members are eligible for re-election.

In the following sections, one will find detailed rules on the internal organization, officers and committees and their rights and responsibilities. The HNC is headed by the President, whose term of office is 4 years, and the Vice-President, who is elected by the Council on the proposal of the President. Both positions are elected by a secret ballot. The President has wide-ranging powers, including representation, appointment, agenda, chairing meetings, and decision making.

The next chapter of the Statute contains the powers of the Executive Committee, which implements the decisions of the Council.

The Statutes can therefore be compared to the main documents governing the operation of other autonomous institutions, such as regional autonomy or national minority self-governments in Hungary, in that the Statute contains the fundamental values and objectives of the HNC, the rights and powers of its members, and provisions on personnel, organization, and operation.

2.2. The Rules of Procedure

The Rules of Procedure of the Hungarian National Council were adopted by the HNC at its meeting on 10 December 2018. The Rules of Procedure regulate the details of its operation in nine parts and 74 sections. It sets out the procedure for holding inaugural and ordinary meetings and the rules for the election of officers. Under the Rules, meetings are conducted in Hungarian.

The Rules of Procedure describe precisely how the agenda is adopted, how decisions are taken, the limits of the presentations and speeches, and the possibility of open and secret ballots. A vote-counting committee is attached to

the decision-making process. Minutes are kept of the meetings. Council members may ask questions and make comments on previous speeches, but these debates are subject to strict time limits. The Rules of Procedure also contain disciplinary provisions in the event of disorder. Meetings are open to the public, and the media are usually present and report on HNC meetings, with many manifestations of this in the Internet press. Decisions taken by the Council must be formally announced.

The work of the committees also takes place within a clearly defined framework, while the Rules of Procedure also contain the rules on amendments. To summarize the chapter on the Rules of Procedure, this document can be compared to the House Rules of any European Parliament, for example the Hungarian Parliament's House Rules. In practice, the Rules of Procedure also regulate in great detail the practical functioning of a democratically elected representative body that operates for a 4-year term. It is this document which, under the concept of a "small parliament", regulates the conduct of sittings. It is a document that has stood the test in real life and, like the Statute, fulfils the task that its creators set themselves, namely to conduct debates and decision making in a civilized manner.

3. The Work of the HNC in Practice

While writing this paper, the author finds that literature is quite scarce on the functioning of the HNC. In order to complete the already presented legal framework and internal operational documents with the "living law" (Pokol 2016), an interview was made with István Sárközi, Chairman of the Executive Committee, and Emil Lulity, Registrar, in autumn 2023. The interview covered topics related to the above-mentioned legislation, including how it works and how it can be implemented.

One of the most fundamental conclusions of this discussion was that the legislative framework is in a constant state of change and that the HNC should adapt to this feature and try to participate in shaping the framework where possible. The dynamics of the legal framework are driven on the one hand by the legislatures – i.e. the National Assembly in Beograd, the provincial parliament of Vojvodina in Novi Sad, and the municipalities – and, on the other hand, by the Serbian Constitutional Court. The latter is exemplified by the decisions of the Constitutional Court in 2014 and 2018, which amended the laws on National Councils. The Constitutional Court decision of 2014 has been analysed in detail by Tamás Korhecz, who concluded that although the Serbian Constitution prohibits the curtailment of vested rights, this Constitutional Court decision did so on some points, for example in the management of institutions run jointly with public authorities (Korhecz 2014: 61).

According to the HNC leaders, the current question in terms of legislative development is how to ensure the preservation of the achievements and the legal gains of national minorities. Nevertheless, HNC leaders believe that Serbia currently has the most advanced constitutional and public recognition and autonomy of the Hungarian community among the Hungarian minorities living abroad in the Carpathian Basin. This fact – which confirms the personal opinion of the author – can be attributed to the current Serbian state and political leadership, and also to the good relations between the two countries and the two peoples, with the addition that this is the result of a long process.

Among the main areas of the HNC's activities, its leaders identified essentially the four main areas presented in the above-mentioned articles of the Serbian Constitution – education, culture, information, and language and literacy – and the operation of institutions implementing these activities. The work of the Council is largely made up of the running of institutions, both self- and co-founded, and those run independently and jointly with other organizations, and, where possible, the founding of new ones. The HNC leaders stressed that the HNC is the most professionally functioning organization compared to other national councils in Serbia, and in many cases, when questions come from the state, ministries, or other bodies and concern national councils in general, the HNC is the first to be consulted, as it has the greatest knowledge and capacity to understand and contribute to the discussion of a bill. This often also means that in a sense the HNC “paves the way” for other national minorities in Serbia, for their benefit as well.

Organizational issues include the fact that the HNC employs a full-time professional staff of dozens of people who ensure its operation. This also gives the HNC a stronger position compared to other national minorities, and the HNC occasionally assists other national minorities within the limits of the constitution. In addition to full-time employees, other professionals contribute their knowledge, experience, and diligence to the work of the HNC when called upon to do so, often in the context of social work.

The number of ordinary meetings of the HNC varies widely, with the Statutes providing for six ordinary meetings a year, but in recent years the multitude of tasks has required up to 8-10 meetings to be held on an annual basis. According to the website of the Hungarian National Council, 36 ordinary meetings were held in the 2018–2022 cycle.²⁶ This means an average of 9 meetings per year during this four-year cycle. As for the Executive Committee, the number of meetings in a 4-year cycle can exceed 200 in number, also due to the large number of tasks.

The organizational issues also include the previously mentioned “small parliament” character of the Hungarian National Council, which is composed of 35 members according to Serbian law. In previous elections, the members of

26 Council decisions. <https://www.mnt.org.rs/dokumentumok/tanacs-dontesei>.

more than one Hungarian nominating organization were elected by Hungarian voters in Serbia, but in the current HNC (in operation since 2022), all members were elected from the main Hungarian Party's, the VMSZ's list.

The HNC's practice is to establish a strategy for each mandate period, covering the challenges and objectives of the four main areas of activity, but, of course, these strategy documents can be revised or replaced by a new strategy as necessary. Key decisions are taken by the President of the Council. The role of the 5-member Executive Committee, headed by the President, is decisive for the day-to-day running of the HNC as a whole, while the work of the other committees is limited to the work that falls within the 4 main sectors.

HNC, with its extensive network of institutions, manages the property network that serves them through the Szekeres László Foundation established by HNC.

4. Results

The cultural autonomy of Hungarians living in Serbia can be examined from several perspectives. From a slightly more distant approach, we saw that in 2016 the Serbian government adopted an *Action Plan for the Implementation of the Rights of National Minorities*.²⁷ Its elaboration was analysed by Mihály Nyilas and Zsuzsanna Mackó in a study (Nyilas–Mackó 2017). The authors present the background, the drafting, and the beginnings of the implementation of this strategy, but here I will only quote those related to the activities of the Hungarian National Council. At the initiative of the Ministry of Justice of Serbia, representatives of minorities living in Serbia, including the then President of the Hungarian National Council, Jenő Hajnal, participated in the drafting of the plan. The most important chapters of the plan from a Hungarian point of view, and the ones related to this study, are focused on education and proportional employment (Nyilas–Mackó 2017: 113). Looking at education, the authors concluded that a greater proportion of teachers should be trained in Hungarian in order to ensure that Hungarian-language education is available at all levels of the education system, while the simplification and acceleration of the publication of textbooks in the national languages is a positive result (Nyilas–Mackó 2017: 115).

It was also noted that the proportion of ethnic minority employees in the public sector does not correspond to the actual ethnic proportions of the population in the municipality, and that there is a need to increase the number of ethnic minority employees in this sector (Nyilas–Mackó 2017: 117).

27 Nyilas–Mackó 2017: 1. The findings of this study should be supplemented here by the fact that the authors' research is based on statistics from the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, making it geographically limited to this province.

Norbert Šabić's analysis focuses on the national councils and presents the relationship between the Serbian education system and national representation. The first important finding of the study, which is relevant to this topic, is that national councils in the municipalities where the language is spoken are involved in the development of school curricula (Šabić 2018: 111). The second is that they prepare textbooks and their translations in cooperation with the national councils and the Ministry of Education (Šabić 2018: 124).

The institutions founded or co-founded, self-supported or co-supported by the Hungarian National Council are: 118 primary schools, 25 vocational secondary schools, 10 secondary schools, eight music schools and five special schools, as well as 15 faculties and branches of the University of Novi Sad, where the HNC is also involved. In addition, HNC is involved in the establishment and maintenance of seven colleges and vocational schools, 25 colleges, and four student support institutions. The portfolio also includes 41 priority cultural institutions, over 100 cultural associations, six cultural institutions (libraries), over 100 associations, eight information institutions (media, publishing, radio), and eight foundations. The HNC also regularly launches scholarship programmes to help Hungarian students.²⁸

Further, the HNC runs the Hungarian Language Office of Vojvodina, which is responsible for:

The Vojvodina Hungarian Language Office is a virtual office. It was set up by the Hungarian National Council with the aim of providing assistance in language rights cases and supporting the work of translators.

The HNC Office has been and is still trusted by clients in cases where they have suffered any kind of prejudice in the official use of the Hungarian language. We would like to continue to provide assistance in solving these problems. In addition, HNC, through its staff, wishes to support translators by collecting help material and discussing specific problems that may arise during translation.

We also want to involve a wide range of professionals and organizations in tackling these problems.²⁹

This is effectively a stand-alone legal aid office, which operates as a separate legal aid institution and also fits into the concept of minority protection, further expanding the practical operation of the HNC.

28 My collection from the HNC website: <https://www.mnt.org.rs/szervezetek-intezmenyek>.

29 Hungarian Language Office of Vojvodina. <https://www.mnt.org.rs/vajdasagi-magyar-nyelvi-iroda>.

These considerable figures speak for themselves and show that the cultural autonomy of the Hungarian nationality in Serbia exists in reality beyond the legislation and is flourishing compared to the previous situation.

Summary

In this chapter, I would like to make a few observations on how we can summarize the functioning of the Hungarian National Council and how we can evaluate the activities of the HNC and the path that the Hungarian minority in Serbia has taken in the field of self-determination.

Tamás Korhecz, former President of the Hungarian National Council and current member of the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Serbia, analyses the situation of Hungarians in Serbia in a study and writes,

It is a well-known fact that among the politically organized Hungarian communities living abroad, only the Hungarians of Vojvodina have managed to achieve a form of national autonomy – personal autonomy or cultural autonomy. Embedded in the Serbian legal system, this autonomy is exercised by the Hungarians of Vojvodina through the democratically and directly elected multi-party Hungarian National Council (HNC). (Korhecz 2020: 86–87)

Tamás Korhecz summarizes the achievements of the past years in three points: firstly, that a democratic, legitimate organization has been established to represent the Hungarian community; secondly, that it is supported by adequate budgetary resources; and thirdly, that strategy and development have also appeared in national policy (Korhecz 2020: 88).

With the creation of these institutions, it became possible to exercise cultural, educational, and informational self-determination in a meaningful way, with many significant results, notably book and journal publishing. It has been shown in the study that there is an extensive and wide-ranging constitutional regulation for minorities living in Serbia, and there is also a legal regulation at the level of the law, which fills the relevant articles of the Constitution with content.

In my opinion, from the point of view of the protection of minorities, the legislative framework creates a real opportunity for national minorities living in Serbia to exercise meaningful self-determination in the areas of culture, education, language, and information.

On the basis of the legislation and literature read during the preparation of this study, which in many cases covers decades, we can conclude that the last 30 years have shown a positive trend in the field of self-determination for the

Hungarian minority in Serbia. The personalized cultural autonomy that has been implemented here is already well established in practice. One of the main manifestations of this is the Hungarian National Council, which is particularly active and whose activities contribute on a daily basis to improving the lives of the Hungarians living there and to continuing to preserve and nurture their identity. Looking at the numerous educational and cultural institutions and the numerous Hungarian-related events, the conclusion we can draw from this paper is that the professionals working in the Hungarian National Council make good use of the possibilities offered by the law and bring the written rules to life, so cultural autonomy is working in practice and the trend is in the right direction.

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Immigration and the Garden as a Workshop: Resettling and Cultural Interaction of Bulgarian Immigrant Groups to Hungary (late 19th–early 20th c.)

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Abstract. The article focuses on the dual meaning of the “garden as a workshop”, a concept developed by Bulgarian immigrant gardeners to Hungary in the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. The “garden” was not only a terrain for modernization but also a passkey of integration for Bulgarian immigrants in the host society. On the basis of diverse materials about the migration of Bulgarian gardeners to Hungarian lands, the article outlines the importance of factors, such as liberalization policies in the Habsburg Empire, land availability, water resources, and city markets, as having influenced the arrival and settlement of gardeners in the second half of the 19th century. All these factors are interpreted in the text from the perspective of their role in modernization processes, outlining thus the garden as a space that responded to the new rhythms and demands of modernity, by introducing new technologies for land cultivation, optimizing production, and linking it directly with the urban centres, making thus horticulture a substantial part of the modernizing trends. Highlighting the role Bulgarian gardeners had in this process at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, the author argues that the innovative approach to vegetable growing and to agriculture in general shows an alternative pattern of modernization (different from those in the spheres of political systems, culture, and industry) – one that developed in the domain of agriculture. Whilst, on the one hand, this alternative path permitted the modernizing of this work activity and its optimization in line with the new social demands, it also allowed for the integration of Bulgarian gardeners’ community in Bulgaria, laying the grounds for their long-term presence and interaction with Hungarian society.

Keywords: Bulgarian gardeners in Hungary, horticulture, modernization, cultural integration

The current article takes impetus from the work by the famous Hungarian cultural studies historian Peter Hanák, whose book dedicated to the cultural history of fin-de-siècle Budapest and Vienna bears the title *The Garden and the Workshop: Essays on the Cultural History of Vienna and Budapest* (see Hanák 1997). In his study, Hanák discusses various aspects of the social and cultural life in Central Europe, focusing on the two capitals and drawing comparisons between them – what was going on in Budapest and Vienna as cultural movements, what was the transmission of ideas between the two cities, how were fin-de-siècle ideas and modern style of life taken up in the two cities. Outlining the numerous parallels, but also differences, between the two cities at the turn of the century, Hanák argued that as a capital city Vienna was very much epitomizing the image of a “garden”, of cultivated space of luxury and appeal, as a cultural hub with an unconcealed inclination to high culture, beauty, and the arts. Whilst Budapest was also taking up and transferring ideas and inspirations, it was much more towards the image of the workshop. It was a city with intensive industrialization at the end of the 19th century, with new industrial enterprises and a new type of industrial modernity taking place in this city. Comparing the two capital cities in terms of the transfer of ideas, Hanák puts a stress on this specific line of distinction – Vienna as an imperial garden, a city of beauty and artistic impression and Budapest as predominantly an industrial hub, concentrating the dynamics of industrial life.

In the pages to follow,¹ I will draw on the symbolic resources proposed by Hanák in his analysis of the two cities, highlighting a largely overshadowed aspect of this parallel between the garden and the workshop, namely putting into focus cases when the garden was seen and was instrumentalized as a workshop, when the two symbols of social and cultural activities overlapped and mutually intensified each other. Dwelling on the example of Bulgarian immigrant gardeners in Hungary, I will focus on the social practices related to gardening since the middle of the 19th century as indicators of enhancing modernization and new relationships between the rural and urban setting at the wake of arising modernity. As the cases of the immigrant groups from Bulgaria to Habsburg lands in the last decades of the 19th century show, the garden turned as a venue for the introduction of new methods and cultivation practices, becoming also a profitable “enterprise”, as a workshop for the immigrants where they would show their skills and knowledge and would prove as economic agents to the host society. The garden did not only provide for their work activity and economic

1 The article was prepared as a result of the research carried out on the project *Migrations, Modernities and Intercultural Contacts – Bulgarian Immigrant Groups to Hungary in late 19th and early 20th c. and Their Impact on the Social and Cultural Life of the Host Society* (IC-HU/07/2022–2023), realized in collaboration of teams from the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Studies with Ethnographic Museum (IEFSEM), Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and the Institute of Political Science, Centre for Social Sciences (CSS), Hungarian Academy of Sciences. A short-size Bulgarian version of the article has been prepared for the journal *Balgarski folklor*.

survival – it was also a testing ground for new technologies and means of labour organization, which ensured immigrants' competitiveness in the local society. It was through the garden, its cultivation, and the products that it yielded that immigrants could interact with the locals, could be accepted by them, and could undergo the pathway of cultural adjustment and integration to Hungarian society. All this took place in the midst of arising modernization in Hungarian lands, where alongside the enhancing rhythm of labour and life in general, there ran processes of land acculturation and arable land expansion (through draining swamps, river control systems, and new irrigation practices) – a process in which Bulgarian gardeners were major agents in the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries.

The photographic evidence reflecting the history of Bulgarian gardeners in Hungary² abounds with group photos of peasants standing with their vegetable production in front and the garden landscape in the background. Taken mostly in the 1920s and 1930s (i.e. half a century after the first documented cases of Bulgarian gardeners travelling to Hungary), these photos show other generations of Bulgarian gardeners, different from that of the 1870s when individual immigrants and small groups of garden-workers moved seasonably from the Ottoman Empire to Habsburg lands. In many of these photos, we can see families – there are women in the group, probably daughters, wives, children. We have families together. Maybe not all of them together, but we certainly see different family members – men, women, elderly, younger members, etc. In the majority of the cases, we face staged photographs – their purpose is for people to show themselves to the audience. The people in the photos know they have attracted importance – they were evidently important for the photographer, for those who were documenting them. They are conscious of the value that they have, and they are aware of the input, of the contribution that they had given and continued to give to Hungarian society. In the photos, they stay in a confident manner and are confident of the place they take in the host society.

A permanent position in all the pictures is given to the products resulting from gardeners' work, arranged in vegetable stalls (with cabbage, cauliflower, onion, peppers, etc.). These are the products that gardeners have collected and selected as valuable, as the contribution to Hungarian society that actually justifies their presence in Hungary. The stalls are usually arranged aesthetically, with a sense of beauty that nurtures the gardeners' pride and seeks to be appealing to the photo

2 As N. Rashkova points out, the visual evidence about the history of Bulgarian gardeners in Hungary can be seen in some of the public spaces of Bulgarian community in Hungary (such as the Cultural House and the Orthodox church St Cyril and Methodius in Budapest), but also in exhibitions presenting the history of the community and the Bulgarian–Hungarian relations (see Rashkova 2005: 91). They are abundantly presented in books, albums, and journals on the history of the Bulgarian community and its institutions in Hungary (Changova-Menyhart 1989, 2001; Petkova-Papadopoulos 2005).

viewers. As the landscape shows, the photos were taken at the places where the gardeners worked, the stalls were evidently arranged not for the market but for the photographer. The fields in the background show that this is not the centre of the city but the garden itself, where Bulgarian gardeners worked and produced.

In the photographs, we can also see the means of transportation, carts, baskets, and sacks – visual testimonies of how they transported these vegetables and how they delivered the produce to urban dwellers. Alongside huts for storing the production, one can also see the irrigation technology of *dulap*, which gardeners introduced to vegetable growing in Hungary: it does not only indicate the presence of technology in agricultural production but also reveals the gardeners' technological contribution to the local practices. Last but not least, in many of the photos one can see the major agent of gardening activity and vegetable production – the river. It outlines the major destination of gardeners' settling and work – the lands near water flows as sources of irrigation, as well as transportation channels for vegetable production. The river shows the gardeners' interaction with nature, their intervention into the natural space, but also the transformative power that their work has on the surrounding environment. This is the panorama in the background of which the encounter occurs between the traditional rural-based agriculture and the modernizing impact ensuing from new technologies and changing urban demands.

The Immigration of Bulgarian Gardeners to Hungarian Lands

The multifarious aspects of immigration of Bulgarians to Central Europe and to Hungarian lands specifically have been an object of research by a range of historical and ethnographic studies.³ As noted by researchers, the migration of Bulgarian ethnic population to the territory of present-day Hungary proceeded historically in several major waves – in the Medieval period, after the 1688

3 The scholarly research on the history of Bulgarian gardeners in Hungary and Central Europe in general dates back to the late 19th century (Geshov 1888, Ginchev 1988 [1887]) and continued to attract interest until the interwar period (see Georgiev 1917, Manev 1938, Sirakov 1922), followed by a decrease of scholarly attention during the first three decades of the communist rule. In the 1980s and after the end of the communist rule in 1989, there has been a visible increase in studies on this topic in relation to the explorations of Bulgarian diasporas in different countries of Europe and other continents. Among the works related to this topic, one can mention here monographs and edited volumes dedicated to Bulgarian immigration in Central Europe and specifically to the Bulgarian community in Hungary – *Balgari i ungartszi* 2002; *Balgarite v Sredna i Iztochna Evropa* 1994; Changova-Menyhart 1989, 2001; Ganeva-Raicheva 2004; Gyurov 2001; Menyhart 2016; Penchev 2017; Peneva-Vintse–Petkova-Papadopoulos 1999; Petkova-Papadopoulos 2005; Peykovska 2011; Rashkova 2011; Ruskov–Kyoseva 2005; Ruskov 2015; Yankova 2014). The ethnographic aspects of gardening practices are presented in detail in the works of Rayna Simeonova-Hargitainé and Vasil Mutafov (Mutafov 1980, 2018; Simeonova-Hargitainé 2014).

Chiprovtsi uprising (predominantly to the Banat region), in the second half of the 19th century and during the 20th century, with its different phases of the interwar period, the communist rule, and the post-communist transition.⁴ In modern times, particularly strong was the so-called “gardeners’ march” to Central Europe (see Glasnova 2015, Penchev 2017), when in the course of three-four decades many Bulgarian immigrants undertook seasonal trips from their local places to areas of the Habsburg Empire. Whilst this march was directed not only to Central Europe but also eastwards and northwards (to Istanbul and other towns in the Ottoman Empire, to the Russian Empire, etc.), Central Europe was actually the main pathway of this immigration related to gardening from Bulgarian lands. Taking place mostly in the territories around the Danube and its adjacent rivers, it showed the efforts of the Bulgarian population to find a place where they could have this type of economic activity, to export it beyond the confines of their towns and villages.

The impetus of carrying out economic activities abroad, outside the Ottoman Empire, was characteristic for the mid-19th century and included a wide array of professional endeavours, most notably related to the spheres of agriculture, commerce, and education. Among these, gardening took a special place – as one of the possibilities for the predominantly rural Bulgarian population to offer and sell their skills and knowledge – of working the land and doing it in an economically and nutritionally feasible manner. This is what gardeners could offer, and they persisted in probing this possibility in different places in nowadays’ Austria, Croatia, Hungary, Romania, Slovenia, etc. Elicited mostly from towns and villages of North Central Bulgaria (in the areas of Gorna Oryahovitsa, Veliko Tarnovo, Pleven, Lovech, etc.), this labour migration was basically an economic one – it was determined by the economic conditions, by the lack of sufficient arable lands in the native villages in Bulgaria, and by the wish to ensure material well-being for their families (see Rashkova 2015: 27). It was based on the idea of profit, of making use of one’s professional and agricultural skills, but it was also a possibility for an easy interaction with lands where they could have a better environment to live and work. For the population coming from the Ottoman Empire, this interaction with the Habsburg Empire was giving opportunities for doing their economic activity much more freely and – despite dependence on local landlords and aristocrats – a certain sense of self-reliance and liberty. As L. Mód remarks in relation to this possibility, Bulgarians had at their avail vast territories they could occupy and work on (Mód 2015: 63). Beyond doubt, the immigration wave to Habsburg lands in the middle of the 19th century was completely different from those in previous periods. It became possible after the 1848 revolution and was enhanced after the Great Compromise in 1867 when the policies of liberalization were accompanied by enormous transformations in the

4 About the different waves of Bulgarian immigration to Hungary, see esp. Gyurov (1999, 2005).

economic, social, and cultural life. It was in that period when the gardeners from Bulgarian lands started travelling and establishing themselves in Central Europe.

However diverse the regions in the Empire, it was particularly the Hungarian lands and the areas around the rivers that were most appealing and attractive for Bulgarian gardeners due to the presence of water and irrigation systems as stimulating vegetable production. This prompts another very important factor – the transportation means, as along the river, the population in Northern Bulgaria could easily make the tour and reach different parts of Central Europe. Despite the prevalence of the Danube as a route into Central Europe, the first historical evidence of Bulgarian gardeners' appearance in Hungarian lands is in Southern Hungary – in the towns of Szeged, Szentes, and Pécs –, and only afterwards did it spread to Budapest and other cities. According to St. Uzunova, the first Bulgarian garden (in Southern Hungary) was organized in 1864 by Iliya H. Bonev in the town of Pécs (Uzunova 1999: 192). In Budapest – according to data presented by A. Gyurov –, the first Bulgarian gardeners arrived in April 1865: they took uncultivated lands on lease from the estate of Count István Károly in Káposztásmegyer (currently in District IV of Budapest) and started the production of vegetables (Gyurov 2005: 57). With their production activity, choice of vegetable growing, and the irrigation technology, they enabled the transfer of traditions from the Mediterranean and the Ottoman Empire to Hungarian lands (Gyurov 2005: 58). Within a decade after the first documented cases, the number of Bulgarian gardeners in Hungary was visibly growing. The newspaper *Gazdasági Lapok* reports (on 13 April 1873) about 18,000 Bulgarian gardeners working in Hungary – only eight years after the first arrivals (ibid.). A significant role for the increase of Bulgarian gardeners in the last quarter of the 19th century was played by the official regulation, issued by the Hungarian Ministry of Agriculture in 1875, which recommended its economic units in Csanád, Szabolcs, Torontál, Arad, etc. to accept Bulgarian specialists in vegetable growing in view of the proper supply of vegetables to the Hungarian population (Uzunova 1999: 192). Within a decade after the first arrivals, Bulgarian gardeners spread in most parts of Hungary, forming three main areas of Bulgarian gardeners' presence – Budapest, Northern Hungary (Miskolc and Ózd), and Southern Hungary (Pécs, Szeged, Szentes, Torontál) (see Penchev 2017: 79–80). Between 1865 and 1910, Bulgarians were registered in 62 Hungarian towns and villages (*Balgarskite sledi* 2019: 6). This increase could be traced not only in Hungary but also in other immigrant destinations for Bulgarian gardeners. Whilst in the last decade of the 19th century their number abroad was more than 10,000 people, in the beginning of the new century it reached 15,000 people (see Glasnova 2015).

Until the beginning of the 20th century, this migration followed predominantly a seasonal pattern. In the beginning, the immigrants came to Hungary around 1 February (St. Tryphon's Day) and remained there until the second half of October

or the beginning of November (around St. Dimiter's Day), when they divided the earnings among themselves and toured back to their places of origin (Gyurov 2005: 59). In such a way, they spent half a year in Hungary, half in their homes in Bulgaria. The first documented cases of staying in Hungary for the winter date back to 1890. Whilst in the beginning the gardeners' group consisted only of men who had left their families behind and returned to them on an annual basis, with the onset of the 20th century, many gardeners settled in Hungary together with their families, and their descendants formed the basis of contemporary Bulgarian community in Hungary (*Balgarskite sledi* 2019: 6). Some of the young men started marrying Hungarian women. Significant changes also occurred in the gardeners' economic activity and way of life. The leaders of gardeners' groups (*gazdi*) leased the land plots not for a single but for several years; some of them bought lands, houses, or rented rooms, and did not return to their country on a yearly basis (Donchev 1999: 36). Gardens were worked on in cooperation and collective labour, within an intensive labour process with the participation of the entire immigrant community. This specific pattern of vegetable growing was known as "the Bulgarian way" and included gardens' intensive use, the yielding of 2-3 harvests per year, dividing gardens in plant beds, and abundant watering and fertilizing for generating very high produce (Uzunova 1999: 199).

The Garden as a Workshop

Here I would like to stress again the image of the garden as a workshop. The second half of the 19th century was for all Europe and for the Habsburg Empire (particularly for Budapest and the larger cities) a period of population growth and enhancing industrialization. The industrial world was coming into the picture: workshops and enterprises started appearing, and they developed as manufacture units that accumulated human experience. Although perhaps some of the immigrants were engaged in other activities (not only gardening) and joined other workshops, for the majority of immigrants from Bulgaria, the garden was this workshop and manufacture – it was the unit where they could intensify labour and gain more profit with their work. The garden was the place where they could "modernize" the manual work activity, to make it more intense, to introduce new methods of cultivation, and to gain higher produce. By modernizing this unit, the garden, they could make their own work more efficient and profitable, but at the same time they could also integrate more easily into the host society. For them, the garden was a passkey to modernization – by modernizing vegetable production, they could better integrate into the modernizing world in the Habsburg Empire.

It is not by chance that the destinations where the Bulgarian gardeners settled en masse scale were the areas around the cities with the most rapid industrial

development at the turn of the new century. As A. Gyurov points out, in the second half of the 19th century, Budapest was the only European capital where 85% of the country's industry was concentrated; in Miskolc and in the nearby Ózd, large metallurgic plants had been functioning since 1754; and Pécs was the most dynamically industrializing city in Southern Hungary (Gyurov 2005: 58–59). A direct result of the industrialization pace was the concentration of population and the development of markets for satisfying its growing needs. The authors of the guidebook on the history of Hungarian agriculture remark in this respect, “the turn of the century was the heyday of fairs. Markets became separated according to their produce. The trade of products for everyday use (poultry, milk, bread, vegetables, fruits) still went on in the center of settlements” (*The History* 2008: 36). Such markets developed particularly in larger cities, enabling the supply of unlimited amount of agricultural production – a factor that should have played a decisive role in Bulgarian gardeners' choice of settlement and garden cultivation. In the capital of the Dual Monarchy, Budapest, Bulgarian gardeners sold their produce mainly in the Central Covered Market in Budapest, which was built in the period of 1894–1897 to satisfy the needs of the growing city and to enhance the distribution of food products in the city's vicinity.⁵

As hubs for new consumption patterns in capital cities, central markets were also sites for new and more intense economic activities, as well as for a direct access to product distribution and consumption. Seeking economic survival and labour realization in the host society, Bulgarian gardeners were clearly seeing large cities and their markets as spaces where they could offer the products of their agricultural work and would secure their sale in larger quantities. The markets were the places where gardeners would also act as salesmen, putting in practice their trading skills and commercial sense. These were the spaces where they could perform as modern subjects of taking economic initiatives of their own, of being part of the modernizing system of economic exchange and urban life. It was not by chance that – according to the well-known pattern, shared as community knowledge until today – Bulgarians leased and then purchased land plots for vegetable cultivation in the areas around the cities, at a distance where they could still see the chimneys of industrial plants: meaning that the distance would be not too long as to permit them to make trips to the city and sell their produce.

The above-mentioned circumstances permit outlining the geographical spaces of settlement of Bulgarian immigrants at the end of the 19th century, with two major factors that played the role in this: the proximity of water sources and the

5 According to K. Menyhart, “the intensive development of cities and industry in the middle of the 19th century created opportunities for the economic success of Bulgarian gardeners, who made use of the situation to provide vegetable production on a mass scale” (Menyhart 2016: 85). [Translation from Bulgarian. All translations of non-English texts are mine throughout the paper.] A. Gyurov and F. Bódi also stress the presence of large markets for vegetable production as the major factor attracting the gardeners (Gyurov 2001: 58, 145; Bódi 2017: 116).

easy access to markets where they could sell their produce. Both of these locations were objects of substantial transformation and adjustment to modernizing trends. Whilst the markets were indicators of the increased demographic presence, the growing consumption needs, the intensifying rhythm of economic exchange, the water sources and their adjacent land plots would need the application of methods and techniques that would enable more rigorous and fruitful vegetable growing. The two factors were inextricably linked, as both the enhancing development of urban life and the new market opportunities conditioned the development of intensive vegetable production in the areas around the city centres; on its turn, the optimization of vegetable growing boosted vegetable production, posing an impact on the trade system and consumption patterns in the urban centres. The significance of the two factors – the urban centres with their markets and the land plots with the accessible water sources – largely determined the immediate spaces of settlement of Bulgarian immigrants at the time in the areas around the cities, in arable plots at a relative proximity to urban centres. They were thus inhabiting the intermediate spaces between the town and the village – living in the garden areas around the city confines but crossing these confines on an everyday basis and enabling the supply of products needed for the growing urban organism. The two spaces of activity – the land plots and the market – were mutually enhancing themselves and triggering each other for a speedier and better performance in accordance with the demands of the modern society that was in its making. In this exchange, Bulgarian immigrants were both intermediaries and important agents that could additionally stimulate this social and economic intensity with new techniques of production, higher productivity, and commercial fervour.

The seasonal migration and gradual settlement of Bulgarian gardeners in Hungary was in the context of substantial transformations occurring in all of Europe in the sphere of agriculture, finding expression in the utilization of new territories for agricultural work, expanding of the arable lands, reorganization of peasant work, etc. For Hungary, during the second half of the 19th century, a policy of increasing land use was undertaken as part of the processes of industrialization and urbanization. This resulted in the drying of vast plots around rivers, turning the previous swampy areas and wetlands into arable lands. Whilst the systematic policies of wetland utilization were expressions of the state impetus to exercise control on its territories and the population, they also evidenced the impetus of enhancing land productivity through the enlargement of land plots and the development of more farms. The period was one of substantial changes in the rural landscape with a wide range of consequences – river regulations, land acquisition, cultivation of the new land plots, practices of renting and leasing of reclaimed territories, turning the former swamp areas into gardens, introduction and cultivation of new plants, etc. To put it briefly, river regulation policies in the end of the 19th century changed

society as a whole, leaving their mark on land use, landscapes, state control, agriculture, nutrition – to name just a few of the major dimensions. Another important factor in that period was the phylloxera epidemic, which destroyed the vineyards in most of Europe, opening new land areas that were often turned into orchards and vegetable gardens (The History 2008: 40).

In fact, until the mid-19th century in Hungary, wheat and corn were grown predominantly, whilst vegetables were less present in the kitchen (Mód 2015: 64). They were known and consumed, but mostly by aristocrats, and were not common for the population at large. The acquisition of new lands as a result of river regulation and the destruction of previous vineyards opened the ground for increasing vegetable and fruit production and introducing some of the plants more widely, making these more accessible to different strata of the population. Thus, whilst Bulgarians did not exactly “discover” the vegetables and fruits with which they acquired fame in Hungary (tomatoes, peppers, eggplants, strawberries, etc.), they actually introduced the techniques of growing these vegetables intensively and transformed it truly into mass production.⁶

In this context of agricultural transformations, the appearance of Bulgarian immigrants needed both to adjust to the ongoing processes and to offer competitive models of production so as to advance and get established as economic agents in the host society. The major input that was associated with Bulgarians’ appearance in Hungarian lands was related to the innovations they introduced in irrigation. As the guidebook on Hungarian agriculture points out, “with the appearance of industrial horticulture especially next to towns, and due to the influence of German and Bulgarian gardening methods, an intensive, irrigated horticulture developed” (The History 2008: 38). This new system of vegetable growing included the use of a “Bulgarian wheel” (*dulap*)⁷ to extract water from a nearby river and to channel it in irrigation ditches (*Balgarskite sledi* 2019: 6). In this way, the crops could be regularly watered and the gardens could yield several harvests per season, starting from early spring and continuing to late autumn. The use of greenhouse techniques for protecting the crops from the early spring cold was another step that enabled Bulgarian gardeners to offer vegetables as early as possible for the growing needs of the market (see Mód 2015: 64). The technology of intensive vegetable production that Bulgarians brought to Hungary was generally unknown to Hungarians due to the previous agricultural pattern

6 L. Mód comments with regards to Southern Hungary (but this is valid for other parts of the country too): “Bulgarian gardeners enabled making popular such vegetables that were previously unknown in the region. Among them, peppers had the largest significance, as the areas around Szentes were famous in all the country for their production” (Mód 2015: 62; 2024).

7 As V. Yankova points out, “albeit with a forgotten origin from the Orient, in Hungary, *dulap* is recognized as ‘Bulgarian’, and this is reflected in its popular name of ‘Bulgarian wheel’” (Yankova 2014: 50–51). About the *dulap* and its use by Bulgarian gardeners, see also Mutafov (1980).

that relied mostly on grain production. The evident results of this technology made a strong impression on the local population, and it was soon embraced by the local people who not only worked on some of the Bulgarian gardens but also applied the techniques in their own agricultural practices (see Boross 1980).

All this portrays the gardeners from Bulgaria not only as participants but also as agents of the social changes at the time. They made a modernizing impact on the host society in horticulture, irrigation system, land use, and nutrition. Whilst the new gardening techniques triggered and transformed the sphere of vegetable production, the introduction of new plants, seeds, and food products laid a strong impact on Hungarian nutrition and culinary patterns. The intensive vegetable growing prompted new possibilities of feeding the population, but it also directed the attention to the consumption of fresh products and to their access on the table not only in the summer period but also all the year round. The acceleration of work rhythm in the garden was not only a possibility of investing the modern and industrial spirit in the garden space but also a proof that new forms of production could help improving the life of the population – its feeding in a sufficient, accessible, and healthy way. Last but not least, with their social groups that worked as one joint organism, Bulgarian gardeners also introduced a new sense of community organization, new forms of social organization and collaboration within the professional network, to the extent that they all had their roles and share in the professional system. It was a system of hierarchy and equal division of tasks, with the clear impetus that hard work can be a key to economic success; to a certain extent, it was also a system of peer relations where everybody's involvement was needed and where success depended on the dedication and labour of every participant in the community.

If we refer back to Peter Hanák and to his idea of the “garden as a workshop”, we can note again that when discussing Vienna and Budapest, he actually discussed multiple modernities. In this interpretative framework, some societies go along the modernity of the type of arts, culture, opera, etc., whilst others get modernized rather through industrial work. Following this approach, Bulgarian gardeners actually gave a different input – through agriculture, through modernizing agriculture. For them, the garden and the applied agricultural practices were a possibility to become part of the modernizing world. Beyond doubt, they were not the only ones doing this – a clear example is the one of German gardeners who are often mentioned together with Bulgarians as influencing Hungarian agriculture. However, with the wide array of the contributions, the persistence, and long-term impact, immigrant gardeners from Bulgaria were a primary example of this different form of modernization – of making spheres of life more functional and more modern through optimizing the practices of land cultivation.

An important aspect of this modernizing impact was its sustainability over several decades despite the changes that occurred with the patterns of

immigration. As already mentioned, the first two generations of immigrants maintained a seasonal migration (half a year in Hungary and half a year back in Bulgaria), preferred not to settle, and generally did not enter into mixed marriages. For them, the tour to Hungary was a work trip – an industrial enterprise that enabled them to sell their labour and to earn profit that they could have hardly accomplished at their home places. Still, despite this reluctance of settlement, they were also learning some of the local customs and language, to the extent that they had to interact with the Hungarian society: they had to communicate with landlords and tradesmen, had to know where to sell and what to sell, had to be aware of the needs and preferences of the host society. Bulgarian gardeners were maintaining contacts with local population and – bringing skills and products from Bulgaria – were also taking practices and cultural habits with them from Hungary. Among the cases in point, it is important to mention the transferring back of paprika, some types of peppers, the high use of red pepper in cuisine, as well as vegetables that were unknown in Bulgaria, such as celery, kale, small onions, etc. (Uzunova 1999: 199). The influence was palpably expressed on the level of daily life, social habits, and customs too. Taken together, these allow us to see modernization not merely as related to the host society but also as an ongoing process that affected in a specific way the immigrants' lands of origin. It was a matter, thus, not only of multiple modernities but also of multiple channels through which modernization reached the societies that aspired for it.

This positive picture of mutually enriching mobility between Bulgarian and Hungarian lands was very much challenged in the 20th century – during the interwar period, as part of the turbulence that Europe went through during and after the Great War. Bulgaria and Hungary were very much similar in the way they were treated in the war's aftermath, with severe consequences related to lost territories and population, refugee waves, economic difficulties, and political crises. Both during the war and in the post-war period, Bulgarians continued their activities and contributed to the social stability in Hungary by supplying vegetables and other agricultural products to the city markets. During the war, representatives of the gardeners' community in Budapest were spared mobilization so that not to disrupt the regular food supply and nutrition of citizens in the capital. In the Hungarian society, Bulgarian gardeners had already turned into examples for vegetable producers and as key agents in the food supply and nutrition of the population (Borosh 1980, Changova-Menyhart 1989). This was even more so after World War I when the search for vegetables increased, and during the global economic crisis, grain production was no longer profitable (Mód 2015: 62). This was the period when the Bulgarian model was steadily embraced by local citizens for whom – in conditions of financial instability and unemployment – gardening provided a solution to supply food from rented plots. Many of the practices used by Bulgarian gardeners for vegetable growing, irrigation, land cultivation, and

also social organization of agricultural work were taken up by the Hungarian population and received wide distribution during the first decades of the 20th century (see Bódi 2024). As L. Mód points it out, in the period between the two world wars, Hungarian gardeners started to prevail and the phrase “Bulgarian gardener” no longer meant ethnic affiliation but referred to all who worked their lands in this specific way (Mód 2015: 64).

A positive example with their economic and nutritional input, Bulgarian gardeners were respected also in terms of their community formation and the successful integration in Hungarian society. This reflected directly on the self-awareness of the community and its confidence as being a well-integrated group in the beginning of the 20th century. It was in this period when – one or two generations after the arrival of the first seasonal migrants from Bulgaria – members of this community had become sufficiently numerous to start organizing their immigrants’ network and started building Bulgarian institutions in Hungary. On 20 July 1914, at the initiative of the Bulgarian General Consulate in Budapest, a meeting of Bulgarian gardeners took place, and the Association of Bulgarians in Hungary was established (see Gardev 2005: 67). It was soon followed by the Orthodox Church Community (1916), the Bulgarian School (1917), the Cultural House (1922), etc. (see Savova and Toldi 2016). In the 1920s and 1930s, the number of Bulgarian gardeners in Hungary gradually increased, varying between 5,000 and 12,000, with around 3,000 living in the two main centres – Budapest and Miskolc (Uzunova 1999: 203). In 1923, a school and a chapel were founded in Miskolc, and in 1932 the Bulgarian Orthodox Church St. Cyril and Methodius was built in Budapest with donations by members of the Bulgarian community. Whilst these institutions were a clear indication of the high level of adjustment of Bulgarian immigrants in the Hungarian society, of their acceptance and social visibility, they also testified to the community networks among the immigrants from Bulgaria. A prerequisite for their survival and successful work manifestation during the 19th century, these network links remained strong and compact for the second and third generations of Bulgarian gardeners despite the changes that the immigrant community and the society as a whole underwent in the first part of the 20th century.

The political changes in Bulgaria and Hungary after World War II had a critical and in many respects decisive impact on this community.⁸ In the conditions of vehement communist propaganda, they were proclaimed “enemies of the people” and “kulaks”, which led to their mass repatriation to Bulgaria (see Yankova 2015: 44, Gyurov 2001: 169–174), where many of them suffered persecutions from the communist regime for accusations of bringing capitalist or Western European ideological influence. Those of the gardeners who remained in Hungary were forced to enter agricultural cooperatives and had their lands confiscated, with the

8 For a detailed presentation of these processes, see Gardev (2013).

right to retain only small plots for family use (Gardev 2005: 79). Some of them were hired as garden specialists in the cooperatives. With private initiative decreased to a minimum in the 1950s and with the high taxes for all private producers, only a small number of garden owners retained gardening as their main economic activity (Peykovska 2015: 69). In 1951, the Gardeners' Union was officially dissolved, marking the beginning of the Bulgarian community's transformation into a minority (Donchev 1999: 37). In 1960, gardening migration was cancelled with a decree, and the previous pattern of seasonal trips and seasonal work was no longer possible. The gardeners were forced to choose in which of the two countries they would ultimately settle, which actually broke the previous pattern of travelling and acting as intermediaries between the two countries. It was only after the end of the communist period that the relationships with families and friends back in the two countries put on hold could be restored and when descendants of Bulgarian gardeners in Hungary gained renewed impetus to revive their activities as an immigrant community, additionally stimulated by the possibilities provided by the 1993 Law on National and Ethnic Minorities.

Conclusions

The purpose of the analysis so far has not been to trace the development of the Bulgarian gardeners' community in Hungary with some of its formative phases but rather to outline in a nutshell the specific way in which immigration and integration into the host society became possible in the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. We could summarize this as the "garden as a workshop" – an image that portrays the coalescence of immigrant and labour experience with the type of modernity related to industrialization, enhanced modes of production, and economic exchange. As already noted, for Bulgarian immigrants the "garden" appeared as a password for entering the Hungarian society, a niche for work activity that they were ready to fill in and exploit, optimizing its mechanisms of work organization and production, and adjusting it to the new – industrial, urban, and "modern" – ways of life. By introducing new technologies and new forms of cooperation and work activities, the gardeners made a positive impact on the transition between tradition and modernity in the sphere of agriculture, acting as intermediaries in the great transformations that were taking place at the onset of the 20th century. In such a way, they took a path of modernization, which was different from the binary division that Peter Hanák proposed for the capital cities of the Dual Monarchy, i.e. the one between "the garden" and "the workshop". Instead, seasonal gardeners from Bulgaria took the path of turning the garden into a workshop and, through modernizing cultivation

practices and economic activities, of educating the agricultural sphere, securing also their own survival and integration in the host society.

As a final remark in my analysis, I would like to propose the notion of immigration as a “rhizomatic experience”, by dwelling on the concept proposed by G. Deleuze and F. Guattari of the different types of rooting and extending them to a metaphor of the different forms of settling. In their work *A Thousand Plateaus*, the two authors drew a contrast between trees and plants that have different rooting systems such as strawberries. In such plants, it is not a single root that goes down but, on the contrary, different roots go in several directions and get attached to different locations, forming thus a rhizomatic system. In this system, rooting is not linear and uni-directional but rather a network. According to the two authors, the rhizome is always in the middle, does not have a centre but has many places. It is in-between things and survives because it is rooted in many places: “rhizome has no beginning or end; it is always in the middle, between things, interbeing, intermezzo.” (Deleuze–Guattari 1987: 25). In my view, this image helps explaining the experience of Bulgarian gardeners from the middle of the 19th century – going into different locations, to different places and searching for ways to get rooted, striking no deep roots though. Even if one is rooted somewhere, they can go to another location and transfer roots there, which actually represents a mobile pattern of settling. As the two authors specify, even if you cut one of these branches, it will not disappear but will go into a different direction because it works as a system – one that is in constant motion and with unconcealed power of rooting. In my understanding, it describes very well the experience of Bulgarian gardeners and similar types of immigration – as a rhizomatic experience, which spreads around and searches for roots, interacts with the environment, seeks to find an equilibrium with it, but ultimately influences it and changes it with its own presence.

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Role Construction of Family Caregivers in the Home Care of the Elderly Living with Dementia

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Abstract. Our research examines the home care of elderly people living with dementia as a sociologically scrutinized behaviour. Our goal is to understand how elderly people with special needs living with dementia are cared for in the families that care for them. Our empirical research used a qualitative method to examine how caregivers interpret their role as caregivers within the framework of the given context during the emerging constraints that motivate their actions, determining the family division of labour and the situation and well-being of the elderly. In our micro-sociological research, we were able to monitor the care process constructed through the joint life history of the cared-for elderly and their family caregivers, the care motivations, burdens, and struggles that show the development of care within the family and reveal the deficiencies.

According to our results, the individual variability of home care for the elderly is explained by the family caregivers' perception of care, their cultural background and social situation (tradition, health knowledge, material assets, nature of the relationship, etc.).

Keywords: demented elderly, social support, care, social constructionism

Introduction

Care is a phenomenon that has always existed throughout history, which carries some kind of care-related knowledge and experience for the members of society. When care comes into focus as a sociological problem, we see that it has extremely diverse characteristics, in which macro-, meso-, and micro-social processes are connected. Among the various social contexts, I would like to understand in my study what meaning the people involved in care give to their caregiving role in a specific place and time, which also reflects on the shortcomings of care.

Understanding the care process presupposes that we examine what concrete care means to certain members of society.

Among the elderly, we can identify a dynamically growing group in need of care, whose care is a challenge for the current care policy in view of the multimorbidity characteristics of the dementia syndrome (Patyán 2017). According to the International Classification of Mental Disorders,¹ dementia is a psychiatric disease that means gradual mental and therefore physical deterioration to the state of complete incapacity. Although most people with dementia are elderly, it is not considered part of the normal aging process. In connection with epidemiological transitions, chronic, degenerative mental illnesses come to the fore (Bálint 2016). Considering the increase in the number of people with dementia (Gyarmati 2010), the high number of elderly people living alone (Monostori-Gresits 2018), as well as the need to develop care adapted to their care-related needs (Kostyál 2020), all resources must be disclosed in the care process that could be used to contribute to the well-being of those who are concerned.

Research Aim and Questions

Our objective is, on the one hand, to understand how the care of demented elderly people in need of care takes place within the family, who undertakes care and why, and, on the other hand, following the interpretation of care, our aim is to reveal the care difficulties of families in order to shape policy intervention. It is necessary to understand the specific care process in order to provide adequate help for families caring for elderly people living with dementia.

Accordingly, our research questions are aimed at:

1. How are primary caregivers selected for care according to the interpretation of their own role?
2. What division of labour takes place in families when carrying out care tasks?
3. What losses and burdens do family caregivers bear when caring for elderly people with dementia at home?

Theoretical Background of the Research

In aging societies, in the case of both North American and European countries, the number of people living with dementia is expected to increase simultaneously with the increase in the average life expectancy of the elderly population. According to demographic data, there were 55 million people living with

1 <https://www.psychiatry.org/psychiatrists/practice/dsm/educational-resources/dsm-5-fact-sheets> (downloaded: 23.05.2022).

dementia worldwide² in 2020, which could reach 139 million by 2050. The number of people with dementia in the European Union (EU27)³ was estimated at 7,853,705 in 2018, which may double to 14,298,671 by 2050. According to the statistics of the World Health Organization (WHO), 60% of people with dementia live in middle- and low-income countries,⁴ which are burdened by caring for people with dementia. The number of these seniors will continue to increase as they age. 15% of people over the age of 65 are affected by the disease, 20% over the age of 70, and 30% over the age of 80 in the age groups of the elderly (Gedeonné 2022).

The issues of caring for the elderly living with dementia poses a challenge to societies, which is why we are increasingly encountering models and programmes that deal with the exploration of resources that can be involved. Such a resource can be the family relationship system, which is essential in the care process and ought to be involved. Individuals in families have a common history, in which they are connected by common experience. The cultural background, patterns, and diversity of family forms have an influence on the development of the support relationships of the elderly, which influence their situation and well-being (Antonucci et al. 2013). Family relationships represent social capital for individuals. Within the multidimensional interpretation framework of these relationships, in addition to the skills, abilities, and profit-making opportunities that occur in a person's life, Bourdieu (1978) interprets social capital as the totality of the current resources, in the framework of which relationships are also part of the individual's wealth. Social capital means belonging to social groups, which depends on the individual's network of relationships and its extent (Farkas 2013). In the case of a decrease in the self-sufficiency and ability to act of the elderly living with dementia, the closest family members are the most suitable supporters. During the disclosure of these resources, the caregiver network around the elderly person unfolds. The function and dynamic of this network is determined by the interpretation of the roles of those involved, as well as the cultural and political context of the given society.

A specific understanding of the social support network surrounding the elderly is the convoy model presented by Kahn and Antonucci (1980), according to which the supporters who influence the well-being of the elderly in the late life phase are selected from the network of relationships surrounding the individual. The motivation of these selected caregivers for their own role as caregivers can show the variety of care and care problems in the given social context. The

2 <https://www.alzint.org/about/dementia-facts-figures/dementia-statistics/> (downloaded: 08.10.2024).

3 https://www.alzheimer-europe.org/sites/default/files/alzheimer_europe_dementia_in_europe_yearbook_2019.pdf (downloaded: 20.10.2021).

4 <https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/dementia> (downloaded: 08.10.2024).

concept of the convoy of care perceives care as dynamic, progressive, person- and family-specific, and influenced by different levels of factors. Events in the lives of families and individuals that determine the current situation of individuals must also be taken into account in the development of caregiving activities. Understanding this is aided by the lifespan and life path theories,⁵ which are explanatory models for interpreting the convoy model. The Lifespan Theory is attributed to Batles (1987), according to whom the individual develops throughout his whole life. This development means not only losses but also gains. The main aspect is change, during which sociocultural and historical events all contribute to development. The events of the present become comprehensible through the events that take place in time – in our case, the care; we can say that they feed on the past, which does not mean that they are necessarily determined by it. The lifespan theory is complemented by the life course theory, which focuses on how social roles, structures, organizations, and resources influence the individual's situation (Elder 1985, Elder–Johnson–Crosnoe 2003, Hareven 2018, Fuller–Antonucci 2020). Life path means a set of socially determined circumstances, which includes the events and roles experienced by the individual over time. According to these, in our research we are looking for identifiable actors in the lifespan and life path of the elderly and their motivations for care.

We try to interpret the individual motivations of the people selected for care through a sociological point of view. This sociological theory is given by social constructionism, which examines the history of the formation of knowledge about a given social phenomenon (Szöllősi 2016). Based on the everyday experiences of social actors, in this case family caregivers, we interpret the social reality (Berger–Luckmann 2016) that determines their behaviour, that is, it becomes known why they care and what problems they struggle with. Weich's study presents in detail the process by which social discourse creates the persona of “the informal caregiver”. According to his findings, care is based on a moral consensus maintained by public, social, and cultural discourse. This discourse creates the distinction between informal care and paid care; this creates the image of a “decent society” that properly cares for its elderly members. The function of the discourse is to contribute to the social order in which relatives are the primary caregivers of the elderly, which can be supplemented by institutional and (privately) paid care (Weich 2008). The established caregiver role perceptions determine caregiver actions, the main motivations of which are traditions and norms that feed on culture, behaviours based on religious values, the gender determination of care, and the availability of the formal institutional network (Zarzycki 2022).

5 <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/jfr.12376> (downloaded: 30.06.2023).

Method and Sample Selection

We tried to reveal the history of care constructed through the interactions of the convoy of caregivers surrounding the elderly through qualitative data collection in the form of in-depth interviews. We conducted our research in a settlement in western Hungary in 2022 with 10 family caregivers, who presented the home care of an elderly family member through their own interpretations. Our interviewees were involved in the research through expert sample selection. We interviewed caregivers whose family members lived in a nursing home and who developed a trusting relationship with us during the joint work.⁶ We considered it important to have shared experiences, a conversation, based on a supportive relationship and trust, because caregivers of elderly people with dementia often experience the mental deterioration of their elderly family members as a stigma and are reluctant to talk about it. We asked the family caregivers to tell the story of home care based on their memories. During the retrospective data collection, the caregivers often relived what was said, which was upsetting to them, but at the same time it also must be taken into account that these recollections have a distorting effect. The results of the research are not representative, but they still clearly reflect the burdens and difficulties of caring for elderly people with dementia in families. Prior to recording the interviews, those involved were informed about the purpose of the research and signed an anonymous consent form for data collection. The resulting conversations were confidential; in each case, they had a different duration (from 0.5 to 3 hours) in the family caregivers' own homes, and we recorded, transcribed, and analysed them thematically.

Results

According to the interpretation of the convoy model, primary caregiver roles are formed during the organization of the caregiver network around the elderly, whose interpretations reveal the motivations of caregiving, the negotiation processes in the family, and the difficulties of caregiving. The average age of family caregivers participating in the interviews ($N = 10$) at the time of the research was 54.80 (± 9.750) years, women, mostly the daughters of the elderly (8 persons), and one daughter-in-law and one brother. According to the degree of dementia of the elderly cared for by family caregivers, 4 people had mild dementia, 4 people had moderate dementia, and 2 people had severe dementia⁷ at the time of home care.

6 The author and the therapist participating in the data collection used to work in the nursing home where the elderly family members lived and were cared for.

7 According to family caregivers, based on a medical record or final report.

Narratives of Becoming a Family Caregiver, Division of Family Work

A Family Tradition

Insisting on home care, the family members either lived separately from the patient or made all the sacrifices together in order to be able to provide home care.

My mother and I insisted on taking care of my father at home, so we took him home from the hospital and cared for him for 10 years. (46-year-old daughter)⁸

We lived in the same household; it was natural for me to take care of my foster father in addition to my mother. (58-year-old foster daughter)

The children of the elderly took part in the care of the elderly depending on the extent to which they had the opportunity to do so. There were families where elderly spouses and siblings were available, but due to their illnesses, they only supplemented the primary caregiving tasks.

I could very rarely rely on my younger brother, for he was also sick. My husband had a hard time bearing my absence, but after a while, he accepted the situation. (46-year-old daughter)

I did not receive help during home care. As long as my mother was alive, she helped my father with the easier stuff: she prepared food, cut his nails; when he was able to walk, she helped him with the washing. My younger brother was rarely able to help me because of his illness. He usually took on the garden work and did not participate in carrying wood, care, and spiritual support. (63-year-old daughter)

Compulsion

Some felt that no one else in the family was performing the care tasks, so they had to take care of it, as if drifting into an inevitable life situation. After family conflicts, there were no other caring family members left:

8 The interview fragments cited in this paper were translated from Hungarian into English by the author.

I couldn't count on my brother and my brother's children. Their relationship with my father was not good because of an inheritance case, so the grandchildren did not really visit him. (63-year-old daughter)

One of the family caregivers resents her mother for not being able to fulfil her role as a mother, and so it fell on her:

Mom was introvert in her entire life, and her bad marriage with my father only deepened that. Dad was drinking constantly, chasing the girls, and mom fell into a complete depression. We are three girls and siblings, my older sister soon ran away from home, everything fell on me; I raised my sister and kept the family together, so it was also my task to take care of my parents. In the family, I was the one who paid attention to them. Actually, my caregiving duties were few; however, I struggled a lot with the fact that it was my duty to take care of them, regardless of the fact that there was not really an emotional bond between us. Maybe if mom had divorced and not run away into depression, our relationship would have been different. (65-year-old daughter)

Solitariness and Professional Knowledge

One of the carers expresses ambivalent feelings and remembers the story of becoming a carer through his own painful life story. She interprets her singleness as meaning that she has to take care of her parents:

I moved away from my parents when I was 25 years old. The main reason, however, was the circumstances at home, which left a deep mark on me up to this day. My grandfather molested me several times, and when my mother took notice of it, she didn't even say anything, not even to my father. I wasn't allowed to talk about it either. I moved away from my mother. Our relationship got from bad to worse; she was always a reserved, cold person, I never felt her love. When my parents' health began to deteriorate, my brother refused the caring tasks and did not help them. So, they moved here to the apartment on the floor below me. They often had lunch at my place, and I often did the shopping for them out of my own money. My father came home after his first stroke, and I nursed him for a year and a half. Due to my professional nursing qualification, it was not a problem. I could take care of him along with my work, and I could look after him in the evening or at night. My brother and I agreed that I would take care of him for I am single. (63-year-old daughter)

End-of-Life Care

There was a caregiver who wanted to care for her dying father in home conditions, so she became a primary family caregiver. In this difficult end-of-life care, her younger sister did not help, but she was able to do it with the support of her husband:

My father became sick, he got septicaemia due to a mistreated wound, the treatment of which caused him to spend a long time in the hospital. Because of the ongoing COVID-epidemic, I decided to bring him home. If he must die, he should go among his loved ones. My mother helped take care of him when I had to run errands or did the shopping. My current partner helped me financially. My younger sister couldn't bear mentally the sight of dad; she didn't even come to my aid. (41-year-old daughter)

Detecting Symptoms of Dementia

Dementia begins with unusual forgetfulness that affects the entire behaviour of the elderly person. Members of the network of relationships surrounding the elderly do not always recognize the difference between forgetfulness that characterizes normal aging and pathological forgetfulness and behaviour change, and they are not prepared for the reserved manner of the elderly in this situation either.

My mother-in-law's brother noticed something was wrong with my mother-in-law, as she was almost "out of her mind". There were days when she walked around her room and wailed and whimpered, even though she was not in any pain. About one year later, my father-in-law died, which further deepened this strange state: she forgot things more and more often, her money disappeared, or she was cheated, even though she used to be very organized. As a strong-willed woman, she was ashamed to ask for help, even though I visited her every day to buy her groceries. She was dismissive; we visited her daily. Thank God, we are a very close-knit family, my mother-in-law's family, the siblings constantly look out for each other. In fact, this period could be described by continuous visits and, apart from dementia, she had no other problems, which, however, worsened month by month. (67-year-old daughter-in-law)

According to informal caregivers, other signs of dementia were aggressiveness, disorientation, jealousy, and depression.

We noticed that my foster father was getting lost on the street, he couldn't find his way home, and when me and my mother asked him, he aggressively replied that he didn't have a "home". However, he never raised his voice until then; he was a peaceful and calm person. I took him to psychiatry and neurology, and as a result of Parkinson's disease and dementia, a process of cognitive deterioration began. (58-year-old adopted daughter)

My parents' marriage slowly fell apart; they had a hard time putting up with each other's deficiencies. Mom was extremely messy, they couldn't solve problems together. They eventually divorced; dad remarried shortly after their divorce. Later, mom also got married, and after 10 years, a high degree of jealousy and mistrust began to develop, which was not typical of her until then. At the same time, she began to be characterized by unusual arrogance and resentment for small things, which had never been seen before. One of mom's good friends took her to a neurologist, where, after many tests, more and more examinations followed. After one such examination, the doctor asked: How could you tolerate this paranoid behaviour? This is how the process of degradation began, and with it the burden of care falling on my shoulders. (47-year-old daughter)

My father suffered a cerebral infarction, as a result of which he became paralysed on one side and his speech centre was damaged. Due to the lack of communication and awareness of the disease, he turned inwards and started to show signs of dementia. (46-year-old daughter)

Losses, Difficulties

According to the recollections of family caregivers, the nursing tasks previously performed at home meant full nursing care in most cases. The 24-hour supervision and care of the elderly required them to reorganize their daily tasks, which in most cases entailed various losses.

Staying Away from Your Family, Losing Your Job

Dad was completely bedridden, he couldn't eat or drink on his own, he needed a diaper. I started doing exercises with him on a daily basis, which the physiotherapist showed me. He gradually got stronger, when he could be transferred into a wheelchair and stayed in it for a longer time. I was able to nurse him at home for one and a half year, and I was with him day and night, which brought results. He was able to eat on his own, sit

out more and more, and move his legs to some extent. Even if not at full strength, I got my father back, whom the doctors had already given up on. My partner was extremely tolerant and understood that my place was next to dad. I had to leave a well-paying job in Austria because of home care. With 0–24 hours of observation, I could not undertake anything else. I took care of my father for a long time, it consumed all the time from my partner, and when my father got better, with his consent, we decided together to apply to the nursing home. (41-year-old daughter)

Lack of Professional Nursing Help, Mental Strain

The worry felt due to the mental strain, and the lack of professional nursing knowledge led to the emergence of depression in the caregiver. Most family caregivers experienced mental stress, helplessness, and depression during home care; nevertheless, they did not receive external help to cope with it.

I received no external help during home nursing care. I taught myself how to move him, e.g. to lift him up while changing diapers, move his hands so that he can hold the spoon, etc. There was a wound care nurse on one occasion, but by that time I had already watched videos for what it was for, how many times it should be bandaged, how to keep clean a decubitus.⁹ (41-year-old daughter)

I became depressed because of the constant anxiety and that I had to hold myself in readiness. Regarding his care, I had constant goals in front of me. The struggle to get my bedridden father on his feet and all the constant help with speech and articulation took a toll on me mentally, not to mention the constant doubt in myself: am I doing it right? There was no confirmation, not from anyone but dad. However, I was sure I had to take on the task, with or without help. (46-year-old daughter)

I had a hard time admitting the fact that my mother is in need of care. I tried so hard to avoid it so that I wouldn't have to put up with my mother's condition every day. At work, I tried to cover it by being cheerful. Many people inquired about mom's condition; because of her work, she knew a lot of people (at the social welfare office) and helped everyone selflessly. It was also good for me that the outside world was concerned about her. (47-year-old daughter)

9 Bed sores or pressure sores.

It hurt me when I saw that he was in pain, suffering; it was mentally difficult. He was my foster father, but I loved him very much. (58-year-old foster daughter)

Seeing his body failing was a tragedy, really. What comforted me, so to speak, was that he remained healthy and physically strong to this day. Now I have also accepted the fact that he doesn't recognize me, neither his grandson nor his brother. He had a difficult childhood in the orphanage, lost his son, and developed severe dementia... a heartbreaking fate. (67-year-old daughter-in-law)

Summary

In our research, we tried to reveal the history of caring for elderly people with dementia in the families that care for them. In the interpretation of the convoy model, the caregiver network that surrounds the individual is primarily made up of family members, and the primary caregivers are selected from among them through the shared life history. Our research followed the selection processes of these caregivers, while we were able to learn from the interpretations of their own roles, who is/are additionally involved in the care besides them, and what kind of division of labour takes place in the family. According to the narratives of selection for primary care, the motivations of the caregivers' actions were examined through the perspective of social constructionism. The selection for care and the actions can take place: due to compulsion, tradition, reasons of conscience, professional nursing knowledge, etc. Primary caregiving roles are mainly taken on by women, which is also supported by evidence from previous research (Miller-Cafasso 1992). At the same time, secondary caregivers, such as elderly spouses, other male members of the family (sons and husbands), as well as friends also participate in care (supervision, chores around the house, accompanying to the doctor, etc.), without whose support the primary caregiver would not be able to provide long-term care at home. Therefore, the exploration of the roles of secondary caregivers can be of high priority in the care of the elderly with dementia.

Dementia, as a disease that affects the entire existence, is difficult to accept both by the patients and their caregivers, and they are less familiar with its treatment options, and their care skills are non-existent or incomplete. All questioned family caregivers reported that it was possible to identify the symptoms of dementia in the case of the elderly cared for. These were the following: aggression, wandering, mistrust, resentment, depression, and forgetfulness. Handling these negative habits posed a challenge for them. In the last phase of physical and mental

deterioration, they turned to social institutional placement, sometimes after 10 years of home care. Due to the constant observing, family conflicts, and mental strain, family caregivers of the elderly often lose their jobs while struggling to provide care for the daily needs of someone that is unable to care for themselves in the severe stages of dementia.

Discussion and Conclusions

Family caregivers of the elderly living with dementia explained their selection for care by their position in society, mobility opportunities, living conditions, and forced life situations. Examining these supportive relationships from a constructionist perspective revealed how family caregivers interpret care in each household. There are those who interpret their caregiving role as a filial or feminine obligation, or perhaps their decisions are motivated by an inner helping attitude, humanity or altruism, which, however, are culturally determined. According to Peeters et al. (2010), love and marital duty are strong motivations for care. Becoming a family caregiver is determined, on the one hand, by the personal characteristics of the elderly and their family caregivers (age, illness, self-sufficiency, financial resources, spatial proximity), their individual life path, and external social events. In addition, however, we must take into account the individual preferences of family caregivers, which shape the nature and content of care.

Caregiver actions and decisions are always influenced by the relationship between the elderly person and the family caregiver, which can be hostile. In such cases, the quality of the care activity and the well-being of the elderly may reveal the nature of the relationship. In his research, Shanas (1961) pointed out that the elderly who have caring children are in a more advantageous position in terms of organizing their care compared to those whose family network is weak or absent.

In some families, care for generations has meant care at home with a division of tasks between family members. In addition to cultural and socialization matters, the bargaining processes within the family were also influenced by other factors: spatial location of family members, financial opportunities, professional (nursing) experience, marital status, employment opportunities, health status, cohesion or conflicts between family members. Caring for elderly people with dementia is primarily managed by members within the family, sharing tasks among themselves (Kopasz 2020).

Examining the losses of family caregivers, the loss of job and family conflicts appeared as external losses; however, monitoring the deteriorated condition of the elderly, the mental and physical deterioration associated with dementia was a heavy internal and mental burden for them, which was considered more difficult

than the burden associated with caregiving. Factors causing mental stress can be external and internal stressors (Pearlin et al. 1990).

During our research, it was proven that, as postulated by the convoy model, the examination of the selection process of primary caregivers and of the role of caregivers through social constructionism enables learning about home care for the elderly with dementia and thereby shaping policy. It would be important to enable family caregivers to receive mental health support, which is not available to them at all, long-term access to specialist care in their homes, and adequate financial support. The possibility of using formal systems in the care of elderly people with dementia requires further research.

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Book Review



János Bali – Richárd Papp – István Povedák – Antónia Szász –
Ibolya Tomory (eds.):

Antropológia – Gondolkodás – Alkotás.

Köszöntőkötet A. Gergely András 70. születésnapja alkalmából.

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Reflection on the Celebratory Volume ***Anthropology – Thinking – Creating***

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The celebratory volume, prepared for the 70th birthday of András A. Gergely (AGA),¹ was published in December 2022 in the MAKAT² Books series edited by János Bali, Richárd Papp, István Povedák, Antónia Szász, and Ibolya Tomory and published by the Hungarian Society for Cultural Anthropology. In terms of its formal characteristics, the volume belongs to the Festschrift genre and bears its classical features. This is proven, among other things, by the fact that the celebratory volume includes studies reflecting the diverse research fields of AGA, as well as empirical experiences, past quotations, and eulogies. The large format, the 595-page volume features a portrait of András A. Gergely on the cover. The work of graphic artist Adrienn Umlauf shows the kind face of the Celebrated, his legendary beard, his lively gaze, the “stirring” of his being, the outwardly perceptible ripples of the ever-analysing polymath’s powerful soul. The review is sadly topical because the former President of the Hungarian Cultural Anthropological Society (2006–2019), who had been greeted with great affection by the profession, friends, acquaintances and admirers, just a few months earlier, passed away on 1 April 2023.

1 András A. Gergely (AGA) (1952–2023) was an acclaimed Hungarian polymath, cultural anthropologist, academic, university professor, editor, film director, and radio producer (editors’ note).

2 MAKAT (Magyar Kulturális Antropológiai Társaság) – Hungarian Society for Cultural Anthropology (editors’ note).

The eclectic nature of the internal structure of the eight-chapter volume reflects the diversity of the disciplines and disciplinary “adventures” of the celebrated scholar. The specific coherence of the chapters is given by the fact that the reflections are all addressed and related to AGA. Through their writings, the authors link their research attitudes and interests to the professional activities of the doctor of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, with a deep verticality and a broad horizon, including urban anthropology, political anthropology, symbolic use of space, integration, minority studies, ethnicity and identity, and popular culture in the Maghreb region, among others.

The first unit is entitled *Greetings, Portraits*. It contains salutes, friendly writings, reminiscences, photo essays, and a tabula gratulatoria. An interesting opening is provided by László Letenyey's self-reflexive essay, which summarizes quantitative and qualitative observations collected in a specific field, and which proves his Central Europeanism, supported by WHO data. The title of the author's work reflects the reminiscence of the Átány monograph by Edit Fél and Tamás Hofer (Fél–Hofer 1967). His birthday glass toast brings to life the Platonic notion of symposium, a ritual after-meal drinking party where the communal feast is accompanied by music, dance, and conversation. Éva Melles and Antónia Szász choose a unique way of welcoming the guests, presenting a photo essay documenting AGA's multifaceted personality. In a series of photographs that bring to life a decade of shared memories, they tell of the close relationship and the productive presence of the African drumming master at the Symbiosis Days. By capturing a memorable moment, they illustrate how the former scientific director of the Centre for Ethno-regional and Anthropological Studies of the Institute of Political Science of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences was a key figure in these cultural events for many years.

Among the four papers in the *Interdisciplinary Perspectives* chapter, Gábor Biczó, using Vincent Crapanzano's anthropological theory of understanding, focuses on the issue of imagination as interpretation, which he explores in terms of the Hermes dilemma. He emphasizes the methodology of the logical-linguistic-formal translation task, the function of constructed meaning, and the necessity of representation. György Csepeli reflects on the interface of value and culture in the context of a validation-valorization process, along axiological problematics. Andrea Düll seeks intersections between environmental psychology, ecological psychology, and ecological anthropology. András Máté-Tóth examines changes in manners and protocol in the duality of religious law and popular morality. He examines how Western youth in 1968, during the Vietnam War and the Prague Spring, related to existential canons. Then, interpreting the metaphorical images of Sándor Weöres's poem *Freskó* [Fresco] of the 20th century and placing them in a broader context, he draws the conclusion: while in the previous century the certainty of material well-being was lost, in the 21st century the knowledge of

knowledge has also disappeared. He concludes that in the recent political space, the universality of knowledge of decency has been broken down, so it is only possible to find one's way around certain enclaves of validity. He points out that in pluralistic societies, communities of all sizes are held together by a fine-woven web of unwritten rules of decorum, but where these rules are constantly being challenged.

The third part brings together studies on the transmission, communication, and translation of culture. Tünde Fatima Ács raises questions of fate related to teaching and education in schools. In the context of socialization and status management, she focuses on the success of the Education of the Disadvantaged Project and the Hejőkeresztúr Model, their methodological potential and the benefits they offer. Her study traces the process of complex pedagogical culture change in a primary school in the capital city and summarizes the results of its fieldwork. Katalin Tóth Balogné discusses the challenges of cultural translation in detail, using the examples of the Orthodox carpenter's synagogue in the Újlipótváros district of Budapest, the *stíbl*³ and the neologue prayer house in Páva Street, while raising the dilemma of insider and outsider researcher behaviour. Drawing on the methodology of the translation turn in cultural studies, she points out the overlaps and boundaries between the concepts of translating culture and cultural translation. Her work contributes greatly to our understanding of the transmission of knowledge and may serve as an effective tool for clarifying and reflecting on Ludwig Wittgenstein's *Tractatus* (1921) – "Limits of my language are limits of my world" – from a social science perspective. Péter Szuhay presented the Gypsy exhibitions of the Museum of Ethnography from 1989 to 2018. Among the ten thematic exhibitions, *The Margins of Society* can be highlighted, which focuses on the occupations of Gypsies in the fifty years before the extensive socialist industrialization and highlights the increasing unemployment in the last decade of the Kádár era due to the rationalization of heavy industry. One of the special features of *Images, Gypsies, Gypsy Images, from Exotic Savage to Conscious Citizen* is that it had been first shown at Museu Valencia d'Etnologia in 2011 and came to Budapest only two years later. It deals with topics such as the exotic savage's genre images, the ethnographic, sociological, and anthropological perception of the Gypsy, self-representation in the studio, the success story of political propaganda on minorities, and the socio-photographic confrontation with official ideology. Exhibitions closely linked are *Ferenc Liszt and Gypsy Music* (2011) and *Pull it, Gypsy! Gypsy Music from Liszt to Hungaricum* (2016). The former, in connection with the bicentenary of the composer's birth, deals with his book on Gypsy music, while the latter – continuing the theme already begun – presents the portrayal of Gypsy musicians from the 18th to the early 20th century. It uses the tools of representation to illustrate the closed way of life and

3 *stíbl* (or *stiebel*): Orthodox Jewish prayer house.

the institutionalization of music by the Gypsy musicians and traces the process of declaring the artistic and traditional achievements of the 100-member Gypsy Orchestra, which was awarded the Hungarian Heritage Prize. Ibolya Tomory takes stock of the challenges of 21st-century education systems for technical teacher education in East Africa, with a special focus on Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda.

The studies in the fourth block are grouped around the theme of *Image and Mediation*. András Bán examines the canons, categories, and values of Hungarian photographic art in the half century after 1945 from a photographic history perspective. From the golden age of Hungarian photography, he points out the genre-creating role of the Talking Houses, the scientific usability of literary topography and analyses in detail the photographic material that marks the rejection of conventions and the crossing of borders. Ádám Paár and János Bali also reflect on András A. Gergely's filmic connections. The political scientist and historian Paár looks at the process of the construction of external enemy images in Hungarian costume and historical films between 1943 and 2021. His main questions are as follows: what hetero stereotypes are conveyed by representations on the imagological plane and how they are manifested on the film screen? His primary focus is on the image of Turks, Germans, Austrians, and Russians/Soviets. In the case of cinematographic representations, instead of a "black-and-white perspective", he stresses the need for knowledge of the historical source material, which is being explored and becoming richer, and for multiple perspectives, i.e. the parallel illumination of facts from socio-cultural, social-historical, and psychological aspects. János Bali presents the workflow and partial results of a sociological survey conducted in 2021 on the basis of the films considered most characteristic of the Hungarian nation.

The fifth chapter is on *Sound, Dance, and Mediation*. Szilárd Biernaczky describes the use of the *sanza*, an instrument known as the African piano, which is widespread in much of the black continent, and shares his empirical experiences of the *viszángysi*⁴ musical instrument. Based on the book by László Magyar, he traces the origins of the *sanza* from an instrumental history perspective and outlines the path of its spread. Kinga Povedák and István Povedák discuss the "Gabi Tóth media war" from a religious studies and music anthropological perspective respectively. Agreeing with AGA's statement that the music industry is never apolitical, just as the world of politics is never music-free, the authors analyse the multifaceted relationship between Hungarian pop music and political power by analysing the musical career of a media personality who as a teenager was once in the spotlight in a talent show. In her study, Nóra Kovács presents one of the most popular ballroom dances, the Argentine tango. Through the life story

4 *viszángysi*: a plucked string instrument used mainly in southern and central Africa, played by the musician with two thumbs.

of Ricardo Vidort (1929–2006), she explores the inner and outer connections between movement, dance, and improvisation.

In the sixth unit, the concepts of family, ethnicity, denomination, locality, and nation are also under the spotlight. Péter Bálint examines the phenomenology of the surrendered child in folk tales from the perspective of the history of fairy tales and beliefs. In his study, he analyses the syncretic schema that emerged from Indo-European and Semitic myths and refers in this context to the first book of Samuel (cf. 1 Sam 16:12–22; 1 Sam 17:33–42). In her article, Gabriella Judit Tóth explores the individual and communal forms of memory and its motivational role in the definition of identity and group cohesion in small villages in the Bükk Mountains, such as Répáshuta, Bükkszentkereszt, and Nyésta. She discusses the coherences in which individuals rewrite their stories depending on their social context and social relations and then shows – on the basis of Halbwachs – the cognitive and emotional schemata of memory as a framework of social interactions that take on their final form after multiple repetitions. Richárd Papp looks at the freedom of humour and the humour of freedom in Jewish culture. Through jokes, he gives a sociological reading of self-stereotypes. He points out that self-irony enables a more oily cooperation with the majority society in the framework of a specific adaptation strategy. István Povedák emphasizes the ethno-religious and ethnic aspects of the Csátka pilgrimage site and highlights the bipolar structure of the pilgrimage. Márta Korpics and István Béres discuss the symbolic significance and communication-theoretical dimension of ecumenical pilgrimages, which are rare in Hungary. László Koppány Csáji examines the relationship between ethnicity and nationalism from a theoretical point of view and their conceptual demarcation. In the context of the Macedonian–Bulgarian identity war, Péter Krasztev discusses the issues of uncompetitive identities and national branding.

The seventh topic is organized around urban anthropology. Ágnes Kapitány and Gábor Kapitány discuss the symbolism of urbanization and re-ruralization in the relationship between town and village. They discuss the complex relationship between town and country in the cross-section of centre-periphery. They point out the differences in lifestyles and attitudes, the mutual stereotypes that affect each other, and identify the phenomena that can be seen as symbols of urbanization in 21st-century villages, and, finally, they explore the symbols of the village in the urban world. In Miskolc, Judit Dobák uses the example of the Vasgyári housing estate to outline the various ways in which the mental map is used and its function in identifying identity. She explains that before the settlement of the Gypsies in the 1950s, there was a marked dividing line between the indigenous people of the ironworks and the “interlopers”, a process that ran parallel to the disappearance of the workers’ aristocracy and the ghettoization of a peripheral area of the city, the Lyukóbánya, locally known as Kis-Lyukó.

The final chapter of the volume is entitled *In Distant Lands, in Distant Times*. Henriett Kovács's *Ecce Homo Sapiens!* contains multiple cultural references. On the one hand, she refers to Pontius Pilate, who, according to the Gospel of John, used these words to present the scourged Jesus to the people (cf. John 19:4–15). On the other hand, she can recall art historical references to this passage of scripture, such as the Lüneburg gold plate in the *Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum* in Hanover and the painting by Mihály Munkácsy in Déri Museum in Debrecen. In the subchapter entitled *The Continuation of the Human Play*, the author evokes Dante Alighieri's *Divina Commedia*, consistently embedding it in a biological-evolutionary framework, with the “wise man” at its centre. Mihály Sárkány illustrates the economic-anthropological link between self-sufficiency and commodity production through an example from Kenya. The author visited Kenya several times between 1988 and 1995 and chose the concept of “exchange” as one of his interpretative categories. In his study, he points out that the monotheistic Kikuyu villagers, who make up about a quarter of the country's population, are observed to be self-sufficient and market-sensitive. Examining the exchange relations in Kenya in the light of Pierre Bourdieu's theory of capital, he also discusses rural forms of socio-economic transformation in the context of the late 20th century and the present. He concludes from recent GDP data that the commodification of agricultural products is becoming increasingly prevalent, providing the opportunity for the rural population of a black African country to move from peasant status to becoming farmers. Zsófia Drjenovszky and Katalin Schiller present practices in cultural tourism and tourism strategies in the Americas. Drjenovszky uses the example of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico to show how indigenous people are trying to change their living museum image and preserve their traditions despite the challenges of the 21st century. Katalin Schiller analyses the town of Papantla in the north of the state of Veracruz, founded by the Totonac in the 13th century and part of the *Pueblo Magico Programme*, from an anthropological perspective on tourism. It highlights the importance of proxemics and the dangers of overtourism. In her article, Schiller attempts to reinterpret and revalue the Totonac culture in the context of tourism and points to the ambivalence of Papantla, which, although it identifies itself with the Totonac culture and treats it as a heritage to be preserved, does not include the bearers of the culture, the natives, in the process of valorization.

The celebratory volume ends in an unusual way, as at the end of the Festschrift there is a lengthy interview on the history of the profession, conducted by Tímea Tibori. The series of interviews, which took place in several phases in early 2019, was commissioned by the 20th-Century Voice of the 20th-Century Archive and Research Workshop of the Centre for Social Research of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The publication contains excerpts from the self-reflexive, self-critical stream of talks, which is organized around a few questions and interspersed

with personal testimonies. The celebratory volume, which was produced for the round anniversary, is inspired by the thought of the historian of philosophy and art Raymond Klibansky that “But books, although important ... – do not speak for themselves.” Thus, it is the readers who will be able to make this Festschrift speak, which is not primarily about the authors and editors but about András A. Gergely, a tribute to his life’s work. All this makes it safe to say that the anthropologist’s thoughts will remain alive as long as his works are in the hands of those who will read them.

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