

# Kindergarten and School Social Assistance During the COVID-19 Pandemic in Hungary

ANDREA HOMOKI

Affiliation: Gál Ferenc University  
Faculty of Health and Social Sciences, Gyula, Hungary  
Email: andi.homoki@gmail.com

KRISTÓF CZINDERI

Affiliation: Gál Ferenc University  
Faculty of Health and Social Sciences, Gyula, Hungary  
Email: kczipderi@gmail.com

## Abstract

In this paper, we have analyzed the results obtained in the third year of our longitudinal research (2018–2020) regarding the work of kindergarten and school social workers, research conducted in connection with the Hungarian Educational Research Association. The service provided by kindergarten and school social workers was made generally available in Hungary by a legislation change implemented in 2018. By the end of the school year 2018/2019, after initial difficulties, we noticed a positive change in the supportive attitude and acceptance of teachers and public educational institutions towards the work of kindergarten and school social workers. We confirmed an increase in connections to fellow professions as well as in the level of mutual initiative (Homoki & Czinderi, 2020). The continuous development of the service and the reinforcement of professionals is essential as there is a high degree of fluctuation at the national level (Sinka, 2019), even more increased by the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic, posing unprecedented challenges for actors in public educational institutions. Based on our qualitative data obtained by a focus group interview, we have shown how social workers in different types of settlements and educational institutions of the country (N = 13) were able to adapt to the crisis. What was the degree of fluctuation? What kind of challenges did they face, and what types of resources were they able to mobilize during the online education in the first and second waves of the pandemic? Our data show a shift in priorities at the individual, group, and community levels of social work.

**Keywords:** kindergarten and school social workers, online education, pandemic, professional resources, flexibility

## Introduction

In September 2018, kindergarten and school social services were introduced in public education institutions in Hungary on a normative basis. Prior to the change in legislation<sup>1</sup>, local governments were able to operate this new form of social assistance service in a three-year pilot program. In this study, we present the results obtained in the third year of our longitudinal research (2019–2021)<sup>2</sup> focusing on the work of kindergarten and school social workers. The explorative research regarding the characteristics of the activities of the professionals providing the social assistance service introduced in September 2018, as well as the satisfaction survey and needs assessment of the co-professions and stakeholders related to the service were carried out half a year and one year after the introduction of the service, respectively. By the end of the school year 2018/2019, after the initial difficulties, we observed a clear change in the supportive and accepting attitude of teachers and public education institutions in relation to the activities of kindergarten and school social workers. The results confirmed an increase in the openness to fellow professions, as well as in the level of mutual initiative. We also found that from an organizational point of view, social helpers were operating in an ambiguous position, being “insiders” and “outsiders” in educational institutions at the same time. However, they showed a high degree of resilience, flexibility, and commitment to leaving their comfort zone while managing their schedules, responsibilities, and critical remarks regarding their work (Homoki & Czinderi, 2020).

Continuous development of the service and provision of professional reinforcement is essential (Sinka, 2019), as our results show that the fluctuation was high nationwide one year after the introduction, and the number of vacancies was almost 40% of all positions. The training and employment of well-trained, system-oriented, creative, innovative, socially sensitive, needs-oriented helpers constantly adaptable to change is a challenge for the high-quality implementation of kindergarten and school social work across the country.

Whether we look at the situation of social workers from the point of view of training, application or working conditions, the conditions of institutional education and training changed significantly during the COVID-19 pandemic period. Therefore, in the third phase of our research we examined the adaptation of social workers to the emergency situation

---

<sup>1</sup> 15/1998. (IV. 30.) NM (Ministry of Social Affairs) decree on the professional tasks of child welfare and child protection institutions and persons providing personal care and the conditions of their operation (25–26. §).

<sup>2</sup> Our research conducted at the Gál Ferenc University, Faculty of Health and Social Sciences, Department of Social Work is connected to HERA's (Hungarian Educational Research Association) Children and Youth at Risk and Social Pedagogy Network.

declared during the pandemic using qualitative methods in different settlements (capital, county capitals, small towns, villages) and types of institutions in an online professional workshop (N = 10). We sought answers to the challenges faced during the distance teaching and online education period. Our goal was to explore the human and professional resources mobilized by social helpers in the first and second waves of the pandemic, which strengthened their professional skills and resilience and led them to innovative, new ways of solving tasks.

### **Starting points and frameworks of social assistance in kindergartens and schools**

Both internationally and in Hungary, the examined complex child protection service has a solid scientific background dating back several decades. This service is a professional assistance in kindergartens, schools and dormitories, and it is included in the general child protection subsystem. "It can contribute to improving the daily lives of children, teenagers, young people, students in kindergarten, school, dormitory community, home or residence, holidays" (Budai, 2020, p. 8). As a result, in addition to children, other actors of the institutions (teachers, families) can employ strategies to reduce social problems and avoid serious crises, traumas and conflict situations during preventive programs. Helpers with a complex child protection task at schools have a particularly important social and economic role in reducing school dropout, thereby promoting labor market integration, independently of the social status of children's families (Bányai, 2020). Through ordinary support activities and targeted interventions, professionals become able to stop the gradual withdrawal, which results in school dropout, by recognizing early signs. In addition to the importance of recognizing warning signs, Bányai mentions individual, special forms of support and programs that can be successful, but also emphasizes purposeful, well-thought-out and planned outreach activities that can effectively prevent and reverse dropout, a process that may last for generations. With professional help, a young person can be transferred to the higher levels of the public education institution system successfully, and with the competence- and attitude-shaping effect of inclusive programs, these young people can finally be successfully integrated into the labor market.

In order to achieve its professional goals, the professional must know the school child protection and school social work models that provide a starting point in the development and application of innovative individual, group and community social work tools that are organically adapted to the local characteristics of the institutions. In 50 countries around the world, school social work can be traced back a century.

The theoretical models preparing the international professional protocol (1994) were developed in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Allen-Meares et al., 1986; Allen-Meares, 2010; Costin, 1975). The starting point of the Hungarian models with a modern human-ecosystem approach based on these models is the relational system between the individual and society. Hungarian models, in addition to the diversity of tasks, put emphasis on the professional skills and professional competence (Dávid et al., 2008; Gergál & Máté, 2009; Máté & Gergál, 2020; Soós, 2018). The precondition for a service that meets individual and community needs is that social workers, either with social or pedagogical qualifications (or both), are able to meet the legal and professional expectations and have the professional skills required for their job (Homoki, 2019; V. Gönczi, 2018).

In our previous study (Homoki & Czinderi, 2020), we wrote about the initial difficulties and dilemmas following the launch of the service. Right in the beginning, the social helpers had to face the need to define a framework for cooperation, through the steps of acceptance–inclusion–constructive cooperation, during the implementation of their preventive or corrective activities in Hungarian public educational institutions. “Complex and dynamic postmodern ecological models” draw attention to the importance of the “bridge role,” that is, building on the strengths of helpers and their environment, as well as on the development of child and community resilience (Homoki, 2016). These models also increasingly emphasize the need for inter-professional cooperation, institutionalization and networking (Bányai, 2000; Homoki, 2010; Soós, 2017).

Budai (2020), in his clear and logical synthesis of the global definition of social work (International Federation of Social Workers, 2014) and international school social work definitions, also emphasizes the observance of competence limits and the need to operate inter- and multiprofessional teams during both pedagogic and social work.

According to the development of the international history of school social work, Hungary is almost a century behind, which, after a review of the literature, can be best seen in the differences in the applied methods and the focuses of the system. In Hungary, the institutional development and consolidation of the current service is still an ongoing process, while in the United States of America, which can be considered the cradle of school social work, we can read about the effectiveness of programs organized in the primary prevention phase reflecting the real needs of certain age groups (Dupper, 2002; Loue, 2018).

In Hungary, the objectives of the decree that sets the framework for the kindergarten and school social assistance system—in line with the human ecological approach—include:

- Bring families and children closer to each other.
- Instead of the controlling, sanctioning, punishing, labelling function related to the classical interpretation of social work, support the helping activities that show a positive direction and a path for development out of problematic situations.
- In the processes of reciprocity and retroactivity that determine the life of the institution, it helps to respect the interests and rights of all actors and to create a non-violent school environment through the preventive work of the school social worker.
- The professional should work with the tools of social help, and delegate “official and law enforcement” tasks to representatives of the relevant fellow professions (e.g., school police) (Budai, 2020).

In the light of the literature and research results on the topic, it is clearly seen that kindergarten and school social helpers (“school social workers” in international terminology) have a largely diverse set of tasks, which are, in the framework of psychoeducation and in cooperation with other professions, as follows:

- constructive conflict management,
- reduction of prejudices,
- development of individual skills, abilities,
- development of social skills, abilities,
- sociability,
- development of resilience.

At the current stage of our research, we sought to answer the question of how the empowering tasks at the individual, community and institutional level, affecting directors, teachers, parents and children, were performed during the COVID-19 pandemic, an event that radically changed the economic, political, cultural and social conditions at the 8<sup>th</sup> level of the human ecosystem (global, ecological level), also transforming the social, cultural and ordinary way of life of individuals and families.

## **Previous research**

In the first two stages of the longitudinal research, we explored the experiences, remarks and dilemmas of the responding school participants about the everyday practice of kindergarten and school social assistance by means of focus group interviews and statistical data analysis. Among the respondent institutions (in Békés county), all levels of public education institutions appeared, from kindergartens to secondary schools. Representatives were delegated by the heads of institutions that were located in different types of settlements. The number of socially disadvantaged children in the surveyed institutions typically varied between 10-20%.

## **Results of the first stage (half a year after launch)**

Our results, revealed by metaphor analysis and interview methods, show that after the launch of the new system in 2018, the arrival of the new professionals was received with great anticipation in all types of institutions; however, half a year after the introduction, the responses reflected ambivalent feelings. Factors that limited the chance of success, such as the framework of the service, the personality and professional knowledge of the service provider were already noticed; at the same time, good practices of providing efficient support for children's development as a result of successfully implemented cooperation also emerged.

The majority of respondents on the *Holtartó méter* ("Where are we at?-meter") scale used in the focus group interview gave responses indicating slow start and moderate progress in the first stage.

## **Results of the second stage (one year after launch)**

In the light of the results of the research, the development of the service and ensuring the continuity of professional training in the field is of great importance, especially with regard to the high degree of fluctuation that was detected at the national level in the first year.

The social helpers recognized that one of the important factors in the quality development of the service is effective communication with parents, students, teachers, maintainers, the local community, as typically stakeholders had too little information about the service.

The key to success is to make the service and the service provider visible, to bring problems to the surface, during which trust can be built and the authenticity of the social worker can be enhanced. It also lays the foundation for common thinking, action plans and strategies, and provides the important possibility to collect feedback on results at the individual, managerial and community levels as well.

As is true of any field of social work and help with a system approach, it seems to be proven here as well that “one cannot do alone”: the important, seemingly small but sometimes huge results can only be achieved with extensive professional support and cooperation; and they have a positive preventive effect on their community during a circumstantial event.

By the end of the first year, a change of attitude could be detected in relation to the supportive, accepting attitude of teachers and public education institutions in relation to the activities of kindergarten and school social workers. The results confirm the new social helpers’ openness to co-professions and an increase in the level of mutual initiative. Despite the fact that, from an organizational point of view, social helpers are operating in an ambiguous position, being “insiders” and “outsiders” in educational institutions at the same time, they show a high degree of resilience, flexibility, and commitment to leaving their comfort zone while managing their schedules, responsibilities, and critical remarks regarding their work.

### **The third stage of the research**

#### **Methods**

The methodological bases of the research were determined from the traditional, sociological approaches and practices of social science research—taking into account the examined segment of social work—according to the new methodological guidelines of social work research.

Social work research ... is inseparable from the problem areas of social work, problem-solving processes, evaluation and social programs, the development of services. Just as the field itself is transdisciplinary, which means it merges various theoretical areas and even practice with the goal of problem solving, thus social work research is also transdisciplinary, both in its approach and in its methods ... are about the world we live in, the difficulties and the outcomes we see every day. Thus, research will indeed help practical work, and this new experience may even lead to a much closer relationship between the two areas, practice and research. (Fábián, Hegyesi, & Talyigás, 2021, p. 1)

In addition to the skills of interpreting macro-level social changes, using the research methods of social work, it was our goal at different stages of the longitudinal study to analyze social cultures: lifestyles (Wessely, 2003), communication patterns and habits in organizational cultures, community relations, group dynamics, personal life paths with a recursive effect on a professional’s identity, as seen in the drafts for the focus

group interview and professional workshop in Annexes no. 1–3. In this study, we aimed to explore the specifics of the new child welfare service during the COVID-19 pandemic period in our small-sample qualitative research. It was an exciting question for us how a service that is still evolving works in the period of a pandemic; obviously requiring a high degree of creativity and flexibility from professionals while the framework, rules of work and social distancing have led to a complete transformation of circumstances.

During the sampling procedure, the Great Regions of Hungary (Annex 4) provided the starting point.

The European Parliament and the Council have established the NUTS 1 level in Hungary in accordance with the provisions of Regulation (EC) No 1059/2003, which corresponds to the so-called “statistical large regions.” Hungary was divided into three major statistical regions: the Great Plain and the North, Transdanubia and Central Hungary. (KSH 2016)

In the first round of the sampling procedure, the three counties that covered one NUTS-1 region each were selected. In the counties nominated, we selected the methodological institutions published in the first round of the sampling procedure on the basis of the County Child Welfare Address List of the National Association of Hungarian Family Support and Child Welfare Services (N = 25). When contacting the methodological centers, the objective was for the leaders to delegate micro-collectives for qualitative research, working in different types of settlements (village, small town, county seat, capital) and different types of institutions (kindergarten, primary and secondary education, institution, college).

Based on the results of the previous stages of our research, we predicted further vigorous development in the next stage of our research plan. However, the COVID-19 pandemic forced a general transformation of the framework and opportunities of kindergarten and school social assistance. In this changed situation, we examined how their work has changed in different regions of Hungary, how needs have changed, and how old / new kindergarten and school child protection professionals who had already successfully overcome the initial difficulties have managed to meet the new challenges. Experts from different regions of the country were invited to the professional workshop<sup>3</sup> (N = 13) and data were collected by various

---

<sup>3</sup> The authors would like to express their sincere appreciation to Kata Szabó, a social work student at Gál Ferenc University, Faculty of Health and Social Sciences, for her help in the transcription of the interviews.



gamification and abstraction methods, metaphor analysis, world-café method, regarding the following topics:

- their general well-being, feelings and state of health
- their motivations
- their work-related feelings
- their results
- their difficulties
- innovative solutions for adaptation to the pandemic
- cooperation, fluctuation
- their evaluation of the present situation
- their individual and professional vision

## **Results**

Respondents volunteered for the research and were very active throughout, arriving “curiously, openly, curiously, enthusiastically, cheerfully” and hoping to return to work with useful knowledge as a result of putting heads together with their peers working in more distant parts of the country. This hopeful anticipation also manifested itself among colleagues who, based on their answers to the first question, arrived to the online session “nervously and terribly tired.” This is indicated by the pictorial metaphors with which they expressed their expectations. “What would you take home?” Based on the following quoted answers, it is clear that in addition to interest, they expected concrete practical knowledge, facts and experience that they can adapt in their everyday lives and inspiration: “A bowl of cookies; instructions for use; sun; fire; an apple from the tree of knowledge; a golden apple; a calm water mirror; a suitcase; keys.”

In the light of our previous research results, professional self-determination and identity are of paramount importance for effectiveness. We examined how they define themselves as professionals at this third stage of the research as well. We asked them to complete the following sentence: “I am a kindergarten, school helper, who (is)...” We got a more nuanced picture of the professional self with this abstraction technique.

**Table 1: Expression of professional identity**

---

I am a kindergarten, school social helper, who (is)...

---

<i>a student</i>	delights in the return of children
<i>a rope dancer</i>	struggles
<i>the Great Hohoho Angler<sup>4</sup></i>	tries to balance, maneuver and build bridges between systems
<i>whispering with children</i>	has got to be welcomed by the children
<i>bridge</i>	strives to be present, always renewed
<i>bunch of grapes</i>	
<i>willow</i>	
<i>clock</i>	
<i>open door</i>	

---

<sup>4</sup> A well-known Hungarian cartoon character from the 1980s.

The topics of struggle, the willingness to constantly innovate, openness and balance, and the role of the bridge in classical theories of school social work are represented among the answers (see Table 1).

We asked them to recall their activities during the pandemic using the keywords “pandemic – workplace (families-children) – social assistance.” Our research questions included, “What feelings did they struggle with, who surrounded them? What difficulties did they have to deal with?”; and retrospectively, “What is good to remember? How has work changed in the last year? What did they do differently? What needs have emerged? How could they stand their ground? Were there any colleagues who left?”

After analyzing the narratives engendered by the above questions, we came to the conclusion that the way in which kindergarten and school social assistance continued in different settlements of the country during the pandemic period shows a high degree of heterogeneity. The legislative changes during the declared emergency, in theory, only affected the working conditions of kindergarten and school workers, but not their position. However, there were some settlements where the head of the social institution deployed social helpers to another sector (e.g. elderly homes) and suspended their activity conducted in educational institutions altogether, using school and kindergarten closures as an explanation. This caused a serious break in their developing activities and professional relationships as well as in their building of trust, evolving relationship and regular contact with the children. Interestingly, the great sadness and bitterness due to this change among the

professionals affected by redeployment caused such a remarkable mental imprint that it was also noticeable in their answers to the above questions regarding professional identity. In the period of reopening of schools after COVID restrictions have been lifted, they feel like starting over as a professional, less energized, more nervous, insecure and burdensome.

However, we found that in some places there was a completely different approach to the situation caused by the pandemic. In these cases, despite the distance and the lack of physical contact, kindergarten and school social helpers kept helping children (who were playing and studying at home with their families during the pandemic) and teachers, experimenting with and finding new and innovative solutions, assessing the changes of needs. According to their account of the recent period, they did not feel less but more, and they have been able to be strengthened in their professionalism. Based on their answers, the key elements of the development process resulting from successful adaptation can be identified as follows:

- multi team (task group of professional helpers with various qualifications in the same field)
- support work transferred to online space—flexibility
- more structured operation, well-defined frameworks
- development of a new methodology
- internal trainings (conscious use of the benefits of interprofessional and multi team)
- strengthening interdependence with online community experiences (case studies, weekly online café, nurturing relationships, organizing a professional week)
- involvement of volunteers, NGOs, resource allocation
- online group organization (for parents, children and employees of public education institutions)
- design and sharing an online service catalogue on professional platforms, online classroom classes, and parent groups

To provide a more detailed overview of the results of our qualitative research, we present the most important aspects in a table (see Table 2) where we organized our results according to five research focuses (as seen in the rows of the table), naming the related dilemmas and attributes. We illustrate each of them with quotes from the interviews.

**Table 2: Results organized by focuses / question groups of the research**

Research focus, question group	Dilemma	Attributes	Professional experiences / Good practices (quotes from the interviews)
The effect of the relationship with the school management and teachers on the organizational integration?	Possibility of presence	Integration— Fluctuation	“There are schools where we are greeted with open arms because there are a lot of problematic situations where teachers have been alone so far because there was no help, and <i>now they have finally got some help</i> to which they are strongly attached.”
Practice of helpers’ functions in public educational institutions?	Helping profession, professional identity, credo	Authenticity	“There are a lot of topics... to be cut out. Leave only the ones in which one can appear well and competently, in which one can undertake and accomplish. You don’t have to take on everything because no one understands everything and that will suggest inauthenticity. Every helper has their own specialty that they need to find. <i>Every school is different</i> , so the atmosphere is different, which is not striking if <i>the school’s social assistance program is different</i> .”
Professional and inter-professional cooperation?	Novelty – Resistance	Privation  Need-oriented approach	“People think that the system will <i>expose the problematic children who have not surfaced so far</i> .” “I don’t see much resistance from teachers and, in fact, I think teachers would need a social approach as they deal with a lot of issues and they are pretty much alone in this situation. There is no supervision of teachers and the burnout of teachers could be addressed by the social professionals.”  “ <i>Where we can’t intervene, we call fellow professions</i> , that’s another type of mood and opportunity. Another very important thing is when a teacher sends a note about a problematic child, they get into the system and nothing happens to them. I say it in this ugly way to make you feel its weight. The teachers don’t send a note because they think <i>‘he won’t even get to a psychologist anyway’ because it is just the reality</i> . They will be able to see a psychologist in like half a year and they will either no longer be in crisis or they will be in a much bigger crisis. The problem is that this makes <i>the recommendation of the service inauthentic</i> .”

How to measure success?	New contents and methods  Reorganization of time and space	Interactivity, Interpersonal relations	"I was very happy that the teacher asked me to introduce myself <i>in some playful way</i> because I had a problematic kid in the class and I didn't go to him for the first time, but <i>I dealt with the community</i> in the first place for a 45 minute time. They also introduced themselves, followed by a face-to-face conversation with the child, and I have been helping him with the right methods ever since." "...kids love the activities where <i>they don't have to just sit in class.</i> "
Feedback method, frequency, forming effect, feedback of results?	Communication patterns	Efficiency increase  Open communication	" <i>Communication is lacking</i> , that's where the whole thing is slipping away." "Professional development feels different in different institutions." "Sharing <i>experiences and good practices</i> , both inside and outside the school, is very important and it promotes embedding of the helpers in the school's community."

## Summary

The future is open, and everyone  
—yes, each one of us—  
co-decides about it. (Wolfgang G. Sonnenburg)

Credibility, strength, and openness largely determine the success of professional work with children and their educators. In the crisis caused by the pandemic, and potentially in the years to come, while social workers are expected to remain under a high degree of mental strain, the supportive power of professional teams (multi- and interprofessional groups) has become even more important. In addition to professional support from managers and employees, the confirmatory, reinforcing social support effect of personality and proximity is an important burn-out prevention factor. The responses show the perseverance of human helpers, with the respondents perceiving a decrease in the degree of fluctuation in their workplaces during this difficult period. In order to benefit from the heterogeneity of the conditions of kindergarten and school social service and its quantitative and qualitative indicators in the coming years, the need and necessity of networking was formulated by social workers working in the same field, but with different depth and scope of social and educational situations. Educational institutions, practical training sites and practical partner institutions can play an important role in this. Perceiving the complexity of the provided service, kindergarten and school social workers expect guidance not only from professional governing organizations, but also from the study opportunities offered by higher education institutions.

## References

- Allen-Meares, P. (2010). *Social work services in schools* (6<sup>th</sup> ed.). Pearson.
- Allen-Meares, P., Washington, R. O., & Welsh, B. L. (1986). *Social work services in schools*. Prentice-Hall.
- Bányai, E. (2000). Az iskolai szociális munka és lehetőségei az ezredfordulón Magyarországon. *Háló*, 5(8), 3–5.
- Bányai, E. (2020). A korai iskolaelhagyás megelőzése a szociális munka eszközeivel. *Szociálpedagógia* (16), 31–45.
- Budai, I. (2020). Az iskolai szociális munka (segítés) egyetemes paraméterei. *Szociálpedagógia* (16), 7–29.
- Costin, L. B. (1975). School social work practice: A new model. *Social Work*, 20(2), 135–139.
- Dávid, M., Estefánné, M. V., Farkas, Z., Hídvégi, M., & Lukács, I. (2008). *Hatékony tanuló-megismerési technikák*. Educatio Társadalmi Szolgáltató Közhasznú Társaság.
- Dupper, D. R. (2002). *School social work: Skills and interventions for effective practice*. John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Fábián, G., Hegyesi, G., & Talyigás, K. (2021). Előszó. In G. Fábián, & G. Hegyesi (Eds.), *A szociális munka elmélete és gyakorlata* (Vol. 7, pp. 1–5). MTA Szociológiai Tudományos Bizottság Szociális Munka Albizottság.
- Gergál, T., & Máté, Z. (2009). Az iskolai szociális munka lehetőségei: a pécsi modell. In Z. Máté, & J. Szemelyácz (Eds.), *Az iskolai szociális munka kézikönyve* (pp. 81–98). INDIT Közalapítvány.
- Homoki, A. (2010). Child care's dilemmas in the primary schools. *Practice and Theory in Systems of Education*, 5(4), 321–330.
- Homoki, A. (2016). *Gyermekvédelemben élni a Szeretet erejével: A boldogulás elősegítése nehéz helyzetben lévő serdülők körében*. Áldott Remény Könyvkiadó.
- Homoki, A. (2019). A gyermekvédelmi szükségletorientáció az óvodai, iskolai segítségben. *Deliberationes*, XII(1), 43–71.
- Homoki, A., & Czinderi, K. (2020). Óvodai és iskolai szociális segítők beágyazódása a köznevelési intézmények szervezeti kultúrájába. In A. Varga, H. Andl, & Z. Molnár-Kovács (Eds.), *Új kutatások a neveléstudományokban 2019* (Vol. I, pp. 47–57). MTA Pedagógiai Tudományos Bizottság; PTE BTK Neveléstudományi Intézet. <https://nevtud.btk.pte.hu/sites/nevtud.btk.pte.hu/files/files/ukn2019magyar.pdf>
- International Federation of Social Workers. (2014). Global definition of social work. Retrieved May 28, 2021, from <https://www.ifsw.org/what-is-social-work/global-definition-of-social-work/>
- Loue, S. (2018). *Legal issues in social work practice and research*. Springer International Publishing.
- Máté, Z., & Gergál, T. (2020). Az iskolai szociális munka gyakorlata. A prevenció munkáról. *Szociálpedagógia* (16), 147–171.
- Sinka, E. (2019). Bevezető–Alapvetések. In M. Csillag, & Z. Palotás (Eds.), *Útmutató az óvodai és iskolai szociális segítő tevékenység bevezetéséhez és gyakorlatához az iskolában* (pp. 5–9). Oktatási Hivatal.
- Soós, Z. (2017). Szociális ismeretek oktatása a pedagógus BA képzésekben. *Szociálpedagógia* (3-4), 24–39.
- Soós, Z. (2018). Szerkesztői előszó. *Szociálpedagógia* (12), 5–7.
- V. Gönczi, I. (2018). Határok mentén. Szociálpedagógiai szemlélet a pedagógusképzés tükrében. *Szociálpedagógia* (12), 96–108.
- Wessely, A. (2003). *A kultúra szociológiája*. Osiris.

## Appendices

### Appendix 1

*Focus group interview guide* (for teachers, kindergarten / school social workers, school child protectors, teacher or social worker candidates, parents)

#### I. Presence and activity of educational personnel in the institution

Introductory questions:

“Assistance in school and/or Home school. Being home at school.”

What does this mean for you? How do you interpret that? What forms of help do appear in your institution? (moderator notes the status of professionals mentioned by participants)

#### II. Metaphor analysis:

Please complete the following sentences according to your feelings, experience, opinion: (we provide a blank sheet and a writing instrument, sample in Appendix 2)

Please list all helpers mentioned by the participants, insert them in a sentence, for example: A school psychologist is like...

#### III. Helping in kindergartens and schools (what does it mean, how did it start, first experiences)

Keywords: goal, scope of activity, organizational connection, position, cooperation

How did the helpers' presence start in the institution? How was the first meeting with different actors at the school? What were their primary goals? How do they work in everyday life? Who did they establish connections with? In what situations was their help requested? In what situations do they count on their help? How was the cooperation implemented? Has there been any feedback? Are there any measurable results? How was the feedback done?

#### IV. Vision

How is this new kind of service embedded in the world of kindergartens and schools?

#### V. “Where-are-we-at-meter” projection

Participants get a sheet with the following figure. They are asked to mark the current progress of the system's development, according to their opinion.



## **Appendix 2**

### *Metaphor analysis*

Please finish the sentences dictated by the moderator!

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

Thank you for your answers, please return the page to the moderator!

## **Appendix 3**

### *Plan for the professional workshop (2 hours / 120 minutes)*

#### 1. Greetings (5 minutes)

Who are we? "I came from America, the coat of arms of my profession is..."  
(Note: reference to a children's game popular in Hungary since the 1960s, '70s where a participant has to describe a chosen profession using a description or sign language and other participants have to find out which profession it is.)

Brief talk about the antecedents and preliminary results of the research. What do I expect from today's meeting?

(Get to know each other, place ourselves loosely and playfully in time)

#### 2. Introduction (25 minutes)

Only first name and a personal trait or feeling that describes me

With symbols, pictures "When you think that..."

How are you? (general well-being, condition, feelings)

What did you bring with you? (preparation, motivation)

What would you like to take home from here? What comes to your mind?

#### 3. Think about your job, and finish the sentence (15 minutes)

Before...

I am a school and kindergarten social worker who...

I achieved

#### 4. Time travel (25 minutes)

We go back in time, space, we can turn into fairytale witches, wizards, fairies, shamans—everyone decides who/what...



“Get your magic ball!”

Instruction: Now tell the following words to your magic ball:

Pandemic, workplace (family / child), social assistance (wait a few minutes and look into your magic ball...) What do you see, please tell me! What is this picture like? Where are you? How do you feel? Who surrounds you? What is difficult? What is good to see and feel?

#### 5. World-café (40 minutes)

E.g. How has work changed in the last year? What do you do differently? What kind of needs have emerged? How did you know you were able to stand up? Were there any colleagues who quit? What are you proud of?—other related open issues.

Let’s summarize what we know today about kindergarten and school social workers and help.

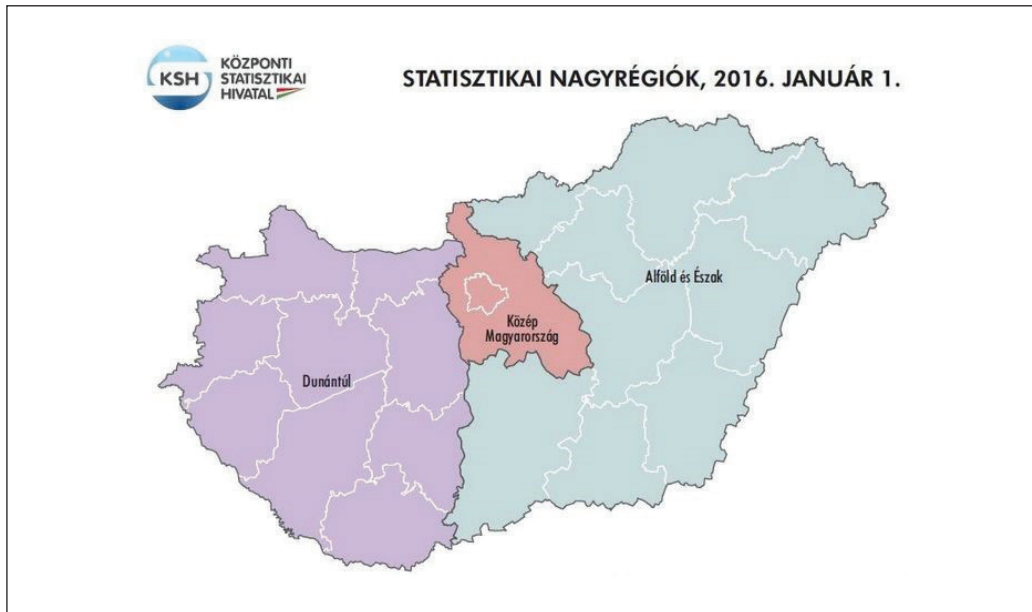
#### 6. Closure (10 minutes)

Get your magic ball again and let’s travel to the future, to 2022.

Where are you, how do you feel, how do you work? What do you consider the most important, what do you like the most about your job?

## **Appendix 4**

### *NUTS-1 regions in Hungary*



Source: <https://hunmix.hu/nagyregiok/>

# The Augmentation of Digital Violence during COVID-19: Incel Culture, Anon-IB, and Ideological Extremism

WHITNEY JORDAN ADAMS

Affiliation: Berry College, Mt. Berry, Georgia, United States  
Evans School of Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences  
Email: wadams@berry.edu

## Abstract

The abrupt onset of the COVID-19 pandemic brought devastating consequences to society as we know it. Connected to the obvious medical, societal, and economic changes, the pandemic also ushered in a world of isolation. Within this world, both media and violence are connected to imposed quarantine and confinement. During the pandemic, many studies indicated the rise of gender-based violence. For example, Mittal and Singh (2020) study the rise of quarantine violence in India. Equally disturbing is the rise of gender-based violence in digital spaces. Anon-IB is an image-based discussion board where anonymous images are posted. However, the board has become a hotbed for revenge porn and incel activity. Dutch police shut the site down in April 2018 (Vaas, 2018), but during the pandemic Anon-IB was able to find loopholes to restart itself. Users can also post headshots of a woman on the site and then ask for “wins,” which translates into nude photos. Anon-IB is location-based, and users often ask for photos of women in the surrounding area. The site also reaches an international audience. One example is a past thread from The University of Georgia in Tbilisi, Georgia. This paper discusses the rise of extreme online violence and revenge porn during the pandemic through a discourse analysis of Anon-IB. A discussion of incel culture will also be discussed, using the work of O’Malley et al. (2020) and others as a framework to discuss the internet’s role in ideological extremism and violence.

**Keywords:** COVID-19, violence, gender, incels, Anon-IB

## Introduction

The abrupt onset of the COVID-19 pandemic brought far-reaching changes and modifications to everyday life. Along with medical, societal, and economic changes,

the pandemic also ushered in lockdowns. In short, isolation was imperative to stave the progression of the pandemic. Individuals were encouraged to isolate themselves for the common good of others, but with this isolation came an abundance of other issues. Within this new world of isolation, forced quarantine and confinement augmented both internet usage rates and gender-based violence. Although confinement was necessary to stop the spread of the virus, quarantine, coupled with the pandemic, bolstered many inequities—inequities already present in day-to-day lives. These inequities cross cultural lines, with one prominent example being that of gender-based violence. For example, Mittal and Singh (2020) studied the rise of quarantine violence in India in relation to COVID-19. As Mittal and Singh articulate, prior pandemics were also connected to a rise in domestic violence cases. In terms of COVID-19, the rates of domestic violence soared in many countries—these elevated rates highlight how domestic violence is not an isolated issue or one that is contained to one specific region or country. An abbreviated list of these countries includes China, the United Kingdom, Australia, and the United States. Mittal and Singh explicate how issues such as economic insecurity and elevated alcohol use exacerbate the stress of quarantine.

Furthermore, issues such as economic insecurity and alcohol use can also impact rates and instances of domestic violence, as the World Health Organization (WHO) reports. In addition, the fear of contacting COVID prevented many women from reporting abuse or leaving home to seek refuge at a local shelter, an issue that Mittal and Singh noted in India. Furthermore, “when under quarantine, women individuals are in close proximity to ... [their abusers] ... with limited to no freedom to go out, thus leading to an increase in gender violence at home” (Mittal & Singh, 2020). Whereas prior to the pandemic, women could escape during the day to work or to run errands, leaving during the day was no longer an option in a world held hostage by the pandemic-induced quarantine. Therefore, women were trapped at home with their abusers—abusers that were often consuming larger quantities of alcohol, as reported by the WHO.

As Mittal and Singh (2020) conclude, “the outcome of gender-based violence is long lasting for its victims.” How might these outcomes be mitigated during or after a pandemic? Mittal and Singh call for a more “holistic response model” during pandemics—this model must also account for gender-based violence connected to violence in the digital realm. Along with the increase in domestic violence during the pandemic, there was also a steady rise in the consumption of pornography (Awan et al., 2021) and in the sending of nude photographs (Abad-Santos, 2020).

Writing for the American media platform Vox, Alex Abad-Santos elaborates on how individuals were “sacrificing physical contact for the global good” during the height of the pandemic.

Moreover, individuals were “also meant to keep away from people we were having sex with or want to have sex with, unless we already live[d] with those people” (Abad-Santos, 2020). A lack of human interaction forced people to seek interaction through digital means, resulting in a heightened increase in sending and sharing “nudes” during quarantine (Iovine, 2020). Several non-academic sources covered this phenomenon during the pandemic, including popular website Mashable and news source *Miami Herald*. A standard pop culture reference, “sending nudes,” has become a staple in everyday vernacular, also infiltrating the meme world. When orchestrated between two consenting and trusting individuals, sending nudes can be seen as a healthy and resilient way to navigate pandemic-induced quarantine or expand and build on partner intimacy. However, the threat of photos being disseminated against one’s consent is often a source of anxiety, especially for women. Internet security issues and online hackers are the most obvious concern. In addition to this, revenge pornography, or “revenge porn,” is also a source of distress and concern. *Revenge porn* is defined as the “distribution of sexually explicit images or videos of individuals without their consent” (“State Revenge Porn Laws”, n.d.). *Revenge porn* is further defined by Oxford Languages online dictionary as “revealing or sexually explicit images or videos of a person posted on the internet, typically by a former sexual partner, without the consent of the subject and in order to cause them distress or embarrassment” (“Revenge porn”, n.d.). As I will delineate, revenge porn impacts women more than men. Additionally, societal structures and patriarchal mores dictate that nude photos of women are to be seen as sources of embarrassment and shame. These patriarchal mores transcend cultural lines, resulting in a hegemonic bias against the image of nude women’s bodies.

### **Freedom and Revenge Porn**

Once photos are sent, there is no guarantee as to what the receiver will do with the content intended for their eyes only. Moreover, studies show that revenge porn impacts women at much higher rates than men. For example, a study conducted by the University of Exeter highlights that almost three in four victims of revenge porn are women (Clarke, 2019). Kempton (2020) cites data from the Data & Society Institute, highlighting that “one in 10 women under the age of 30 have been victims of or threatened with having their private sexually explicit images shared with the public without their consent.” Connected to this is the stigma that women face over leaked nude photographs.

Nude photos of men are not met with the same reactions as those of women (Kempton, 2020). As the dissemination of nude photos has jeopardized the lives of many women, the consequences for men are not the same, primarily due to the ever-present male gaze and the objectification and subordination of women's bodies (Butler, 1993). Kempton also discusses Durham's work (2011), which "argued that sexual experiences online cannot be separated from real-life consequences" (Durham, 2011, as cited in Kempton, 2020). This connection between the online realm and real-life consequences is salient to my overall argument, especially since the boundaries between "real-life" and the digital have been blurred since the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic. Although attitudes are slowly changing, cultural bias surrounding nudity and women still exists. Movements like the SlutWalk attempt to reclaim violent ideologies like victim-blaming and "slut-shaming," but more work needs to be done. While there was an increase in sending nude photographs during the pandemic (White, 2020), the exchange is not equal, as gender-based power dynamics still exist. As discussed, the consequences for women if nude photos are shared are not the same as they are for men. Therefore, men embody more freedom when it comes to the sending and sharing of nude photographs. From the studies referenced, men are also less likely to become victims of revenge porn in the first place.

As Mittal and Singh (2020) discuss, the concept of freedom and subsequent lack of freedom for many women is strongly connected to gender-based violence. The authors reference the elevated lack of freedom women have experienced during the pandemic—and again, this lack of freedom is also directly connected to gender-based violence. As women were often trapped at home with their abusers during the onset and duration of COVID-19, they also lacked the means to alert others of their situation (Mittal & Singh, 2020). Constant surveillance from their abusers further removed autonomy, resulting in heightened violence within the domestic sphere (Mittal & Singh, 2020). Connected to the tangible reality of this violence is its digital counterpart.

Returning to the unauthorized circulation of nude photographs, a relatively unexamined aspect of the revenge porn world is the anonymous image-sharing website Anon-IB. When I began research for this article in April 2020, Anon-IB was fully accessible, and as I will explain, was still operating on a location-based platform. On this location-based platform, users could search for "wins" based on city, state, and also by university. "Wins" is a slang term for nude photographs, and the vast majority of "wins" shared on Anon-IB were those of women. Moreover, location extended beyond the United States. For example, a search for Georgia (my state of residence in the United States) revealed a past thread from The University of Georgia in Tbilisi, Georgia.

How is Anon-IB defined? Reddit poster u/minibagelxo defines Anon-IB as

[A]n anonymous image board where guys post “wins”/leaked pics of cam girls, or frankly any cute girl who puts themselves on the internet. IG girls, tiktok [sic] girls, Twitch streamers, your everyday normal girl ... [sic] anyone. It's a revenge porn cesspit. (u/minibagelxo, 2021)

Leaked photos can also include nude photographs sent via text, messenger, email, or other digital means. Other variations of photos posted include “everyday” photos, taken from social media sites like Facebook, Instagram, or Twitter. Users of Anon-IB can post a photo they took from a victim’s social media profile and will ask for “wins” based on the photo. To explain, a user can post a photo taken from someone’s Facebook profile but can ask for nude photos of the same person. The goal is to see if any users in the geographic area recognize the person posted (again, the photo is usually of a woman). If a user of Anon-IB recognizes the woman in the photo, and if they happen to have any photos of the woman, they will then share those photos. Reddit user u/minibagelxo candidly discusses the anxiety of knowing your photos have been posted on the website, stating that “it’s been difficult not to check for updates” (u/minibagelxo, 2021). From an analysis of this one Reddit post, one can see the overt power that Anon-IB exerts. Constant worry and anxiety over exposed photos on the site would interfere with daily tasks, not to mention the profound impact on one’s mental health. Dutch police shut the site down in April of 2018 (Vaas, 2018), but during the pandemic, Anon-IB users were able to find loopholes to restart the site. The website’s closure in 2018 was a step forward, but the victory was short-lived as the site found increased activity and usage during the pandemic (Goldstein, 2020).

Furthermore, as incel (short for “involuntary celibate”) culture continues to rise in the wake of the pandemic (Vu, 2020), sites like Anon-IB seem always to find a way to reassert themselves into the collective digital consciousness. As Vu indicates, incels reacted favorably to life during the lockdown, reveling in isolation. Also of note is the uptick in “hostile and violent discourse” in certain incel forums during the pandemic (Vu, 2020).

## Incel Culture and Violence

A brief definition and discussion of incel culture is warranted here—a definition, from the Oxford online dictionary, is the following: “a member of an online community of young men who consider themselves unable to attract women sexually, typically associated with views that are hostile toward women and men who are sexually active” (“Incel”, n.d.). Although not all users of Anon-IB would be defined or characterized as incels, an analysis

of past comments on the site suggests that many users are entrenched in the violence that permeates incel culture. For example, users of Anon-IB described women as “worthless,” “stupid,” “sluts,” and “whores.” Establishing an individual or a group of people as “worthless” is often the first step of the justification of violence. In other words, if an individual is deemed as worthless, they lose the value of humanity and are no longer seen as a person worthy of life and respect. Thus, the women on Anon-IB, posted against their will, become objects and victims of ideological violence. As misogyny is allowed to run rampant on sites like Anon-IB, gender-based violence seems to become the norm and as something justifiable.

Although the term incel was coined in 1997,<sup>1</sup> incel culture became more prominent in mainstream media following the 2014 Isla Vista massacre, where Elliot Rodger killed six people and injured 14 others in Isla Vista, California. A self-proclaimed incel, Rodger became an “incel hero” following the massacre and his subsequent death (after the attacks, Rodger turned the gun on himself). For example, “in April 2018, a man from Toronto called Alex Minassian posted on Facebook: “‘The Incel Rebellion has already begun...All hail the Supreme Gentleman Elliot Rodger’” (Taylor, 2018). Shortly after this commending post, Minassian drove a truck down a crowded street, killing ten people (Taylor, 2018). Additionally, Rodger had left behind a manifesto of sorts—a document riddled with his hatred of women and his self-proclaimed disgust of still being a virgin (Taylor, 2018). I believe these “manifestos” left behind after an attack such as this one should be analyzed in rhetorical depth. By attempting to analyze the mindset of the perpetrator, perhaps lives can be saved in the future. In the case of Rodger’s manifesto, details regarding the mental state of the perpetrator could be gleaned, as well as insight into the mind of someone entrenched in incel ideology.

Taisto Witt writes about Rodger in their article titled “‘If i cannot have it, i will do everything i can to destroy it.’ the canonization of Elliot Rodger: ‘Incel’ masculinities, secular sainthood, and justifications of ideological violence” (2020). As Witt states, “online incel spaces have been observed referring to Rodger as ‘Saint Elliot’, or ‘The Supreme Gentleman’, and have been seen celebrating the anniversary of the Isla Vista killings as ‘Saint Elliot Day’” (2020). Ideological justification of extreme violence has become widespread. Another example is the online exultation of American domestic terrorist, white supremacist, and Neo-Nazi Dylann Roof, the man responsible for the attack on

---

<sup>1</sup> The term “incel” is credited to a woman named Alana, who started a website for people struggling to find loving relationships. She named her website “Anna’s Involuntary Celibacy Project,” which is where the term originated from. The website was started with good intentions, but then the term was co-opted to mean what it does today.

Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in downtown Charleston South Carolina, in the United States. Following the attack, Roof became trending on 4-chan and other dark corners of the web, where white supremacists and those that advocate for violence continue to flourish.

Furthermore, the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) recognizes the image of Roof's infamous "bowl-cut" haircut as a registered hate symbol. Both Rodger and Roof were able to find ideological support for their violence and hate on the internet, both before and after the massacres they carried out. Additionally, Rodger and Roof are still revered today by incels and white supremacists alike. O'Malley et al. (2020) identify how "the risk of violence stemming from incel communities and their online operational practices suggests they may resemble other ideologically motivated extremist groups." The connection here is salient to individuals like domestic terrorist Dylann Roof and the Christchurch killer Brenton Harrison Tarrant.

## Violence and Anon-IB

Returning to Anon-IB, another critique of the site is the claim that photos of underage minors are posted on the site. Without any real regulation, there is no way to track the ages of women featured in photographs or track their whereabouts. Many women in the photos might also be victims of human trafficking, an issue deserving more widespread attention and funding. In the United States, the lack of attention to human trafficking and policy is an issue addressed by Anthony DeStefano in their book *The War on Human Trafficking: U.S. Policy Assessed*. Certainly not an issue isolated to the United States, other scholars (Zimmerman & Kiss, 2017) have framed human trafficking as a global health concern. Goździak and Bumo (2008) assessed essential data and research on human trafficking in their bibliography of research-based literature, highlighting significant trends and identifying gaps in what is currently known regarding human trafficking.

Moreover, there are now Master's programs dedicated to the study of human trafficking, with main programs located in both the UK and the United States ("5 Mater's Programs Focused on Human Trafficking", n.d.). As I stated, the main reason Anon-IB is currently shut down<sup>2</sup> is the use of purported photos of minors. Minors are often victims of human trafficking (Moore et al., 2017), so there is a strong correlation with the probability that trafficked minors have been posted on Anon-IB. The posting of minors, coupled with human trafficking, exposes even more gender-based violence relating to the existence and use of Anon-IB.

---

<sup>2</sup> The website has constantly shifted from being shut down to available, as hackers and posters find ways around imposed shutdowns.



Noteworthy, too, is the constant flux and change of Anon-IB, which I reference above. As I have mentioned, Anon-IB is location-based, meaning that one can search for “wins” and leaked photos from a specific geographic region. During the beginning and height of the pandemic, the website was active and accessible following its shutdown in 2018. With increased time at home, it can be deduced that those already inclined to frequent the website had more time to do so. In March 2021, there was a small breakthrough as the website was shut down again. A comment on #TheFappeningForum, dated March 26, 2021, read, “Yeah [sic] that website keeps getting taken down and back up again. Sadly [sic] never found anything like it, as I can never find anything decent on 4chan” (Mediumdck, 2021). This was in response to another poster to the forum stating that Anon-IB would not load for them—this same poster asked if there was another similar or alternate site. Although limited in capacity, these posts highlight the obsession many users have with Anon-IB. *The Fappening*<sup>3</sup> is a website similar to Anon-IB—advocating for disseminating leaked nude photographs of celebrities. Again, the site primarily focuses on obtaining and circulating photos of women celebrities—yet another example of the unfair power dynamic regarding how nude photographs are perceived.

Moreover, as I was making final edits to this essay, I uncovered a Twitter account with the handle @OfficialAnonIB. I am not sure if the Twitter account is specifically connected to the website—moreover, there are only two tweets, both from August 19, 2011. If anything, this suggests the longevity of the website, as the tweets date back to 2011. One tweet specifically mentions “jailbait,” which is an obvious reference to minors. The mere mention of minors in this capacity exposes more significant issues surrounding Twitter and what is allowed to be posted on the site. I have already explicated issues surrounding gender-based violence, minors, and Anon-IB, but this also opens up questions regarding Twitter. If Twitter can ban certain accounts yet allow for the celebration of the exploitation of minors, then Twitter, arguably, has some issues that must be addressed. If ideology-based violence is left to propagate on Twitter without any mediation, then this violence will continue to increase at amplified levels. Shutting down Anon-IB is a step forward, but how can it be guaranteed that it will continue to remain closed down? In addition, if hate-based accounts are allowed to remain on Twitter, incels and other members of extremist-based groups will continue to find a welcoming community within online spaces. How might this impact the future? Additionally, if another pandemic were to grip the world with a longer enforced lockdown time, how might groups be combatted that would again use the lockdown to further their extremist causes?

---

<sup>3</sup> “Fappening” is also a euphemism for male masturbation.

## Connections to Broader Ideological Violence

Pandemics aside, the internet has long been a vehicle for violence, allowing extremism to hide under anonymity, especially in pockets of the dark web. 4chan and other “chan” forums have played a prominent role in circulating hate on the internet, especially with right-wing extremist groups and the alternative right, or the “alt-right,” as they are colloquially called. Stephane J. Baele, Lewys Brace, and Travis G. Coan delineate the rise of these “chan” sites in their article titled “Variations on a Theme? Comparing 4chan, 8kun, and Other chans’ Far-Right ‘/pol’ Boards.” Baele et al. (2021) open their paper discussing Brenton Harrison Tarrant’s attack on two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand. Tarrant posted on 8chan before the massacre, alerting others that an attack was imminent (Baele et al., 2021, p. 65). 8chan was shut down following the terror incident, but not until August 2019, after another shooting had already taken place by John Earnest and Patrick Crusius (Baele et al., 2021, p. 65). Chans are one area of the internet where violence and extremism have been allowed to thrive, yet they are just one piece of the larger puzzle discussed in this paper. What is important to realize is the interconnectedness of these areas of the web. Chan sites, Reddit, and Anon-IB, have all been hosts to racial-based violence, ethnic-based violence, and gender-based violence.

Comments on Anon-IB reflect the same ideology of violence reflected on the chan sites—a topic explored by Blyth Crawford, Florence Keen, and Guillermo Suarez-Tangil in their paper “Memes, Radicalisation, and the Promotion of Violence on Chan Sites” (2020). The authors introduce a “dataset of the most popular memes shared within and between a variety of boards on chan sites used by the far right” (Crawford et al., 2020). Perhaps their most relevant connection to my own research is their analysis of explicit and violent memes, and the circulation of these memes. Drawing on research by Hodge and Hallgrimsdottir (2020), Crawford et al. explain how “shock memes” “frame violence as inherently thrilling.” The authors discuss how these memes are used by extremist groups like Proud Boys<sup>4</sup> to attract and garner followers, which is a concept I discuss in my own dissertation on the rhetorical construction of white supremacy and resentment rhetoric. As I explicate, since their creation, memes have long been used by extremist groups to garner and maintain followers (Adams, 2020).

---

<sup>4</sup> The Southern Poverty Law Center defines the group Proud Boys as the following: “Established in the midst of the 2016 presidential election by VICE Media co-founder Gavin McInnes, the Proud Boys are self-described ‘Western chauvinists’ who adamantly deny any connection to the racist ‘alt-right.’ They insist they are simply a fraternal group spreading an ‘anti-political correctness’ and ‘anti-white guilt’ agenda” (“Proud Boys,” n.d.).

Additionally, within an Accelerationist<sup>5</sup> framework, memes function to gain followers fast, a concept described at length in *A Fair Hearing: The Alt-Right in the Words of Its Members and Leaders* (2018). In other words, the more times an individual is exposed to a meme with a violent theme, the more they might be willing to accept the meme. The alt-right hopes to draw what they deem as “moderates” or Libertarians into their folds through this tactic. Crawford et al. (2020) reference De Cook (2018), by concluding how the circulation of certain memes embody “an ideology that consists of symbolic and physical violence that is particularly attractive to young men in the West.” The notion of symbolic and physical violence and its connection to masculinity is also seen in the above-mentioned group Proud Boys. By focusing on hyper-masculinity and misogyny, members of the Proud Boys place their value above that of women. Harkening back to the comments on Anon-IB, this is related to the dehumanization of the women whose photos were posted without their consent. When consent is removed, violence is enacted on the victim against their will. As gender-based violence was on the rise during the pandemic, the effects of gender-based violence in the digital realm are important and worthy of scholarly inquiry. Awareness is the first step, as is recognizing behavior that might lead to attacks.

## Conclusion

Through an analysis of the location-based website Anon-IB, I have articulated several parallels between Anon-IB and other pockets of the internet where ideology-based violence has been multiplying. Also connected to this is the volatile world of incel culture, a culture that has been gaining traction and followers since before the Isla Vista attack carried out by incel “hero” Eliot Rodger. The complexity of the incel world has also been exacerbated by the global COVID-19 pandemic, which has augmented gender-based violence in both the tangible and virtual worlds. Moreover, the concept of the manosphere explored by Gottel and Dutton (2016) and Ging (2017) explicate how there is a large, interrelated network of anti-women groups on the internet. These groups essentially advocate for violence against women, and the revenge porn site Anon-IB is one of many examples of this violence. As I have articulated, the violence perpetrated on and by Anon-IB impacts women on many levels. Any woman could be a victim of Anon-IB; furthermore, minors have also been posted on the site. The purported posting of minors is why the site is currently shut down, but there is no guarantee that another site with the same intentions as Anon-IB will not be created.

---

<sup>5</sup> Accelerationism, a concept coined by philosopher Nick Land, originally dealt with capitalism and the acceleration of capitalism to create radical change. White nationalists and other groups have adopted the term to refer to social collapse and the creation of a white ethnostate.

Anon-IB currently not operating is a positive step, but there needs to be more regulation to ensure that other copycat sites are not created. The posting of minors is a despicable action, as is the posting of any woman without her consent. Revenge porn is violence, as it projects digital intimidation onto its victim. This digital intimidation can filter into the victim's workplace, schooling, and interpersonal relationships. As I stated above, awareness is the first step, but scholarship must be met with engagement on the legal level as well. According to the Cyber Civil Rights Initiative, 48 states in the United States, the District of Columbia, and Guam have laws in place against revenge porn ("48 States + DC + One Territory Now Have Revenge Porn Laws," n.d.). However, there are "legislative gaps" in these laws (Mania, 2020), indicating that more work needs to be completed on the legal end to ensure that justice is met for the victims. From an international standpoint, countries such as Germany, France, Malta, Japan, and Australia are implementing laws, but there need to be more laws in place in more countries ("Revenge Porn Laws across the World," n.d.). As more laws are put into place with stricter punishments, perpetrators will hopefully be deterred from engaging in revenge porn and using sites like Anon-IB. Alarmingly, perpetrators in the past have been able to escape prosecution through legal loopholes (Mania, 2020). With the increased exposure of revenge porn and its connection to gender-based violence, it is the goal that these legal loopholes will be closed. Connected to this is the goal that more countries will take gender-based violence and revenge porn more seriously.

Additionally, social media sites such as Twitter should be more cautious in how their platform engages in and encourages other forms of ideological violence. This article has discussed how ideological violence perpetuated and augmented on the web is interrelated. Additionally, in the wake of a pandemic-induced lockdown, continued research needs to take place on the role of lockdowns on gender-based violence in both the home and digital spaces.

## References

- 5 master's programs focused on human trafficking. (2018, April 14). Human Rights Careers. <https://www.humanrightscareers.com/magazine/5-masters-programs-focused-on-human-trafficking/>
- 48 states + dc + one territory now have revenge porn laws | cyber civil rights initiative. (n.d.). Retrieved June 6, 2021, from <https://www.cybercivilrights.org/revenge-porn-laws/>
- Abad-Santos, A. (2020, April 8). *Quarantine horniness, explained by a sex researcher*. Vox. <https://www.vox.com/2020/4/8/21210131/coronavirus-nudes-quarantine-sex-instagram>
- Adams, W. (2020). A rhetoric of resentment: Dismantling white supremacy through definition, scholarship, and action. *All Dissertations*. [https://tigerprints.clemson.edu/all\\_dissertations/2644](https://tigerprints.clemson.edu/all_dissertations/2644)

- Alcohol*. (n.d.). Retrieved June 6, 2021, from <https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/alcohol>
- Awan, H. A., Aamir, A., Diwan, M. N., Ullah, I., Pereira-Sanchez, V., Ramalho, R., Orsolini, L., de Filippis, R., Ojeahere, M. I., Ransing, R., Vadsaria, A. K., & Virani, S. (2021). Internet and pornography use during the COVID-19 pandemic: Presumed impact and what can be done. *Frontiers in Psychiatry*, 12. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsy.2021.623508>
- Baele, S. J., Brace, L., & Coan, T. G. (2021). Variations on a theme? Comparing 4chan, 8kun, and other chans' far-right "/pol" boards. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 15(1), 65–80. Retrieved June 7, 2021, from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26984798>
- Butler, J. (1993). *Bodies that matter: On the discursive limits of "sex."* Routledge.
- Clarke, J. (2019, August 23). *Research reveals gendered trends in revenge porn crimes.* SWGfI. <https://swgfi.org.uk/magazine/revenge-porn-research-2019/>
- Crawford, B., Keen, F., & Suarez-Tangil, G. (2021). *Memes, radicalisation, and the promotion of violence on chan sites.* <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Memes%2C-Radicalisation%2C-and-the-Promotion-of-on-Chan-Crawford-Keen/924aec11296f5ec4f67ad4558368b7e907452b1a>
- Davis Kempton, S. (2020). Erotic extortion: Understanding the cultural propagation of revenge porn. *SAGE Open*, 10(2), 2158244020931850. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244020931850>
- DeCook, J. R. (2018). Memes and symbolic violence: #proudboys and the use of memes for propaganda and the construction of collective identity. *Learning, Media and Technology*, 43(4), 485–504. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17439884.2018.1544149>
- DeStefano, A. M. (2007). *The war on human trafficking: U.S. policy assessed.* Rutgers University Press.
- Durham, M. G. (2011). Body matters: Resuscitating the corporeal in a new media environment. *Feminist Media Studies*, 11(1), 53–60. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2011.537027>
- Ging, D. (2017) Alphas, betas, and incels: Theorizing the masculinities of the manosphere. *Men and Masculinities*, 22(4): 638–657. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X17706401>
- Godin, M. (2020, March 18). As cities around the world go on lockdown, victims of domestic violence look for a way out. *Time*. <https://time.com/5803887/coronavirus-domestic-violence-victims/>
- Goldstein, J. (2020, October 29). 'Revenge porn' was already commonplace. The pandemic has made things even worse. *Washington Post*. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/style/revenge-porn-nonconsensual-porn/2020/10/28/603b88f4-dbf1-11ea-b205-ff838e15a9a6\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/style/revenge-porn-nonconsensual-porn/2020/10/28/603b88f4-dbf1-11ea-b205-ff838e15a9a6_story.html)
- Gottel, L., & Dutton, E. (2016). Sexual violence in the 'manosphere': Antifeminist men's rights discourses on rape. *International Journal for Crime, Justice and Social Democracy* 5(2): 6580. <https://doi.org/10.5204/ijcjsd.v5i2.310>
- Goździak, E. M., & Bump, M. N. (2008, October). *Data and research on human trafficking: Bibliography of research-based literature.* Institute for the Study of International Migration. <https://issuu.com/georgetownfs/docs/120731154817-518884e6603142779fa6798568862af1/53>
- Hodge, E., & Hallgrimsdottir, H. (2020). Networks of hate: The alt-right, "troll culture", and the cultural geography of social movement spaces online. *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, 35(4), 563–580. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08865655.2019.1571935>

- Incel* | definition of incel by oxford dictionary on lexico. (n.d.). Lexico Dictionaries | English. Retrieved June 6, 2021, from <https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/incel>
- Iovine, A. (2020, April 14). Sexting and nudes are on the rise during quarantine. *Mashable*. <https://mashable.com/article/sexting-nudes-increase-coronavirus-quarantine/>
- Mania, K. (2020). The legal implications and remedies concerning revenge porn and fake porn: A common law perspective. *Sexuality & Culture*, 24(6), 2079–2097. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12119-020-09738-0>
- Mediumdck. (2021, March 26). #TheFappeningForum. Anonib.ru down? <https://the-fappeningblog.com/forum/threads/anonib-ru-down.61043/>
- minibagelxo. (2021, May). Anon IB – cam girl gossip site. Reddit. [https://www.reddit.com/r/CamGirlProblems/comments/mv4z8f/anon\\_ib\\_cam\\_girl\\_gossip\\_site/](https://www.reddit.com/r/CamGirlProblems/comments/mv4z8f/anon_ib_cam_girl_gossip_site/)
- Mittal, S., & Singh, T. (2020). Gender-based violence during COVID-19 pandemic: A mini-review. *Frontiers in Global Women's Health*, 1. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fgwh.2020.00004>
- Moore, J. L., Kaplan, D. M., & Barron, C. E. (2017). Sex trafficking of minors. *Pediatric Clinics of North America*, 64(2), 413–421. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pcl.2016.11.013>
- O'Malley, R. L., Holt, K., & Holt, T. J. (2020). An exploration of the involuntary celibate (Incel) subculture online. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 0886260520959625. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260520959625>
- Proud boys. (n.d.). Southern Poverty Law Center. Retrieved June 6, 2021, from <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/proud-boys>
- Revenge porn | definition of revenge porn. (n.d.). Lexico Dictionaries | English. Retrieved June 6, 2021, from [https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/revenge\\_porn](https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/revenge_porn)
- Revenge porn laws across the world—The centre for internet and society. (n.d.). Retrieved June 6, 2021, from <https://cis-india.org/internet-governance/blog/revenge-porn-laws-across-the-world>
- Shaw, G. T. (Ed.). (2018). *A fair hearing: The alt-right in the words of its members and leaders* (paperback). Arktos Media Ltd. <https://www.barnesandnoble.com/w/a-fair-hearing-george-t-shaw/1128640780>
- State revenge porn laws. (n.d.). Findlaw. Retrieved June 6, 2021, from <https://www.findlaw.com/criminal/criminal-charges/revenge-porn-laws-by-state.html>
- Taylor, J. (2018, August 29). The woman who founded the “incel” movement. *BBC News*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-45284455>
- Vaas, L. (2018, April 27). Infamous revenge porn site Anon-IB seized by police. *Naked Security*. <https://nakedsecurity.sophos.com/2018/04/27/infamous-revenge-porn-site-anon-ib-seized-by-police/>
- Vu, A. (2020). *The pandemic as incels see it*. University of Cambridge. <http://dx.doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.27697.61288>
- White, D. (2020, April 23). Why in the world are people sharing so many nude photos in the coronavirus pandemic? *Miami Herald*. <https://www.miamiherald.com/news/coronavirus/article242231441.html>
- Witt, T. (2020). 'If i cannot have it, i will do everything i can to destroy it.' The canonization of Elliot Rodger: 'Incel' masculinities, secular sainthood, and justifications of ideological violence. *Social Identities*, 26(5), 675–689. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13504630.2020.1787132>
- Zimmerman, C., & Kiss, L. (2017). Human trafficking and exploitation: A global health concern. *PLOS Medicine*, 14(11), e1002437. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pmed.1002437>

# Private Sphere in the Age of Digital Communication: Some Normative Aspects of Our Right to Privacy<sup>1</sup>

LÁSZLÓ GERGELY SZÜCS

Affiliation: Institute of Philosophy  
Research Centre for the Humanities  
Budapest, Hungary  
Email: szucslasz2020@gmail.com

## Abstract

Examining the interpretations on the “U.S. observation case,” I am trying to answer the question of which contemporary theory may serve as the adequate context for telling the story of the birth of our right to privacy and the modern power structures endeavoring to oppress this right. Relying on the relevant literature, I have attempted to reconstruct two possible theories in light of the strength of the relationship between privacy and power: the paradigm rooted in the sociology of work; and one judicial approach based on human dignity. The analysis of the two privacy paradigms in contrast with each other highlights their advantages and disadvantages. I also attempt to outline normative points of view relevant when analyzing the relationship between power and privacy in the digital age.

**Keywords:** privacy, digital communication, sociology of work, human dignity, social philosophy

## The Approach of the Sociology of Work and the “Information Panopticon”

My article aims to answer the question of how the normative basis of the individual’s right to privacy can be grasped in the present situation when it is endangered by new threats caused by new digital techniques. The article examines and reconstructs two aspects of this problem without formulating a coherent normative theory on the right to privacy. The first one is that of the perspective of organization sociology or sociology of work—reconstructed here based on William S. Brown’s and Shoshana Zuboff’s works—which tries to comprehend the characteristics of the new power structure that poses threats

---

<sup>1</sup> My research was supported by the Felsőbbfokú Tanulmányok Intézete, Kőszeg (iASK). I am grateful to the co-workers of iASK who helped my work with relevant suggestions and to Györgyi Sári, who helped me prepare the English version of my paper.

to the private sphere. The other one is the legal perspective holding up the concept of human dignity in the first place, which is reconstructed based on Avishai Margalit's analyses and using David Alan Sklansky's writings. The two different viewpoints thus reconstructed are then contrasted to each other. Although the article does not aim to reduce this visible tension, it argues that the description of this theoretical controversy can be useful when elaborating on the normative thinking on the private sphere.

In the literature, organizational sociology and the sociology of work—the study of a power structure based on the control of the labor force, as well as work privacy—go back to a long tradition. William S. Brown (1996), a management researcher of the Massachusetts Babson College, thinks that the history of U.S. workplaces can be described as a process during which the power exercised by the employer is based less and less on the personal authority of the employer or the cooperation stipulated in personal agreements (p. 1238). It has been a well-established view in labor organization, at least from the early studies of Winslow Taylor, that “management” means the exercise of hegemony over the employees (and in many cases, over their lifestyles too). In his 1938 work, Chester Barnard described the control over people as a peculiar bilateral “cooperation.” According to this theory, as opposed to management disposing over the technical apparatus serving the control of lifestyles, there appears a labor force for which adjustment may mean the acceptance of impersonal relationships or even self-denial. Thus, the modern approach to management also requires a change in traditional “employees’ virtues”: *conformity* and *compliance* squeeze out creativity and the venturing spirit.

In Brown's opinion, the need for self-expression and free association demonstrated in the movements of 1968 did not lead to any radical changes in the power structures at work. In the seventies, certain changes took place in the composition of corporate management. For instance, there was a growth in the number and proportion of female managers. However, the hegemony of management was still based on the depersonalization of the employees, on coercing their adjustment and compliance. In Brown's (1996) opinion, it was only from the 1990s that the spread of such a level of individualism could be experienced that shatters the acceptance of the general norms of self-abnegation from the part of the employees and the employers and which increases the legal concerns about “work privacy” (p. 1238).

However, Brown has to acknowledge that in the same period, work organization based on the control of employees underwent significant technical development. He quotes three examples. On the one hand, the example of those companies which even control the communication of their employees. The most extreme example was that of the company



involved in Alaskan pipeline systems called Alyeska, the management of which checked the phone conversations and e-mail messages of one of the critics of the company by using an observation program, and installed interception equipment near his house. In another part of the text, he relies on the 1994 *Fortune 200* research project, which showed that as many as 72% of the employees were subjected to medical examinations or physical tests by their employers in the period when the job offer was valid but the contract had not yet been signed. Brown draws the reader's attention to "genetic pre-screening" of potential employees being a widespread practice in this period. The novelty of this situation is that the potential employee is often not hired because they cannot fulfill the requirements of the job—not due to their illness but because his employment may incur potential future financial sacrifice for the company, given the employee's biological features (Brown, 1996, p. 1240). The third important example that Brown quotes is the case of the Citicorp company. It developed the first computerized system in the eighties, which aggregates how many minutes an employee spends talking on the phone, starting financial services, how much time they assign to a work process, and so forth. For each employee, the system generates an electronic social text that gives feedback to the employer on the performance of the individual in question, and on the individual characteristic features and habits cause the decrease in productivity (Brown, 1996, p. 1242).

In Brown's opinion, the history of modern U.S. corporations will become complete when management is not content with the direct control over the work activities anymore—in other words, when using modern technology, the control over personal relationships, private habits, physical and mental conditions, which potentially affect productivity and loyalty, becomes possible. New technologies are generally not built on the direct, personal monitoring of the employees. The employees are able to adjust to a large extent exactly because they are not aware of when they are observed and which activities will be included in the comprehensive reports written about them. This is why Brown accepts the line of thought of Shoshana Zuboff, who describes the development of an "information panopticon" built on total observation in the case of Western corporations (Zuboff, 1988).

## The Right to Privacy

According to Brown, however, the development of the individual's right to privacy is a process that is parallel to the building of the information panopticon. Brown (1996) does not venture to describe, from a historical and sociological aspect, the "in-depth cultural transformation"<sup>2</sup> during which the individual in the modern sense has evolved, one who does

---

<sup>2</sup> Hans Joas (2011) believes that it is only through the adequate historical and sociological

not feel free if they cannot sometimes withdraw from public spaces. He is more interested in how the right to privacy has been shaped in theoretical thinking and how it appeared in the U.S. legal tradition. The first texts that discuss the right to privacy can be found in the analyses of the nature of tyranny by Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Tacitus, and Justinian I. In the history of modern philosophy, he finds Locke, Rousseau, and Montesquieu the most influential thinkers who made “privacy” a subject of theoretical examination. These philosophers directly influenced American legal thinking through the Founding Fathers. Firstly, the works of John Adams, Jefferson, and Madison; and secondly, the debates on politics and constitutional law in the Federalist Papers that witness the enormous efforts taken for the redefinition of the philosophical teaching on inalienable rights in the egalitarian context of a democratic society (Brown, 1996, p. 1238). This could be the basis for the birth of the practical notion of freedom. According to this, the individual does not exercise their personal freedom in spheres independent of the central power—in the economy, civil society, or public debates—through the state.<sup>3</sup>

While the previously mentioned modern thinkers—from Locke to the Founding Fathers—tried to define the essence of the right to private sphere on the level of theory, the private sphere itself went through great changes. Here it is worth mentioning Jürgen Habermas’ work *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. The author argues that the classical approach of modern natural law clearly distinguishes between the civil association of citizens and the sphere of public power. In this dualistic idea, the intimate sphere of families and that of the private economy appear structurally identical, both of them representing the sphere of private freedom. However, the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century brought about considerable changes in this respect. On the one hand, a harsh dividing line appeared between private economy and family life. On the other hand, social movements made the “polarisation of private life” visible and shed light on the differences appearing in the way of life, quality of life, and “private sphere” of the members of society. Instead of the development of private autonomy, the movements of the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century fought for equal rights of participation and communication. Therefore, in this new era, the essence of private freedom needs to be redefined considering that political actors and members of the public sphere stop being identical with the independent actors of the private economy. Furthermore, they can refer to the sphere of the private economy and bourgeois family life as the conflict-free zone of private freedom to a smaller degree (Habermas, 1990, pp. 22–24).

---

description of this transformation that one can understand better the normative consequences of individualization (p. 64).

<sup>3</sup> See the description of the evolution of this ideal of freedom from the aspect of philosophy and social science in (Habermas, 1978, pp. 63–64).

The idea of the “right to privacy” took root first in the American legal tradition: its first explicit definition appeared as late as 1890. Justices Warren and Brandeis (1890) defined the “right to privacy” as a legitimate claim for “the right to be let alone,” by quoting important parts of the Bill of Rights (p. 193). However, they did not consider the right to privacy a fundamental constitutional right either; and they stressed that it was a derivative right. Brown thought that for the more complex definition of the “right to privacy,” it was, interestingly enough, the debates on humane and fair workplaces that took place in the 1970s and 1980s that were necessary—Brown refers to the works of Nickel, Ewing, and Werhane. In these debates, the “right to privacy” appeared as a legitimate claim for the central regulation and manipulation of all the activities of the individual. However, as opposed to the political-philosophical debates underlining the importance of public freedom, these debates suggested that in the program of the humanization of the institutions and society, the protection of the private individual, who is independent of public influence, has key importance. At any rate, the final outcome of the two “stories” that were outlined is interesting: if Brown’s diagnosis is right, then the most complex definition of the “right to privacy” had appeared exactly before the workplaces became modern panopticons in the eighties. This “coincidence,” at the same time, perhaps promises that the potential antidote for the attack against privacy can be found in the American legal culture.

### **A Possible Diagnosis of an Era**

Shoshana Zuboff, whose work is an important point of reference for Brown, confutes the plausible view that the need for control based on observation arose alongside computerized work organization or with the advent of the internet. In Zuboff’s work, the problem of observation and control fits in a wide historical context, and the concept of “panopticon” assumes symbolic significance. As is widely known, the plan of a “panopticon” as a disciplinary institution was the idea of utilitarian philosopher Jeremy Bentham in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and it was originally meant for prisons. The point of this structure is that a guard observes the movements of the inmates from a guard tower in the center of a circle- or star-shaped building in such a way that he is not visible to the convicts. In principle, the guard can observe everybody but he cannot control everyone at the same time. Since this observation is not mutual, the convicts are not aware of when they are observed, this is why they control their own behavior, so no direct violence is required for this coordination. In his book entitled *Discipline and Punish*, Michel Foucault (1991) described how the structure of the panopticon had become the example to be followed by modern surveillance systems, not only in prisons but also, in health care institutions, schools, and offices. Foucault also defined a more general thesis. In his view, the most

important tendency of modernization is that obedience is not coerced by those in power with threatening with torture or corporal punishment but rather, by manipulating people's behavior, by "controlling the spirit and the souls." In Zuboff's case, the symbol of the panopticon gains significance in a much more general perspective of the history of civilization. She points out that, from the different mythologies to pieces of modern fantasy literature, the person or magical creature is an important figure in a wide range of literary and artistic works. This figure obtains superhuman powers by getting an insight into everybody's lives, either due to their particular situation—such as the deity of the sky in ancient Mesopotamia or the inhabitants of the ancient Greek Mount Olympus—or some magic, for example, an object that makes one invisible, such as the ring in Tolkien's novel. In this broader context, the panopticon is the experiment of the modern human to realize a dream of several millennia, that is, to gain the power provided by "knowing everything about everyone."

It is from this perspective that Zuboff reconsiders the findings of her research into organizational sociology and the sociology of work. In the period between 1978 and 1988, she followed the transformation of several companies and offices that increased their productivity by relying on information technology. She drew her conclusions in the form of identifying three rules: (1) at the organizations, all work processes that could be automated were in fact automated; (2) all information that could be transformed into digital information was in fact transformed into digital information; and (3) all technology that was suitable for observing and controlling the employees was in fact used for this purpose—irrespective of its original function. In all cases, the outcome was the transformation of the company or office into a perfectly functioning "smart machine" (Zuboff, 1988, p. 390). The employees became well-functioning parts of this machinery because they felt that their activities were probably being observed—this was proven by Zuboff through her interviews. The managers were generally responsible for the assessment of the enormous amount of information that was generated during the work process. However, they were aware that in case of an upcoming issue, even the way that a certain work process was performed, be it even the most insignificant one, could be subsequently controlled by relying on information technology. This is why Zuboff thought that what she saw during the operation of these entities was the panopticon described by Foucault, that is, a system in which the employees' activities and even their thinking were predictable. Thus, for the creation of the perfect panopticon, it was not the spatial position of the observer and the observed that had to be designed with engineering accuracy but design a system in which those who are observed

continuously generate detailed information about themselves retrievable at any time. In a broader context, this also means that to date, it is the creators and operators of the systems based on information technology that have come closest to realizing the mythological dream of humankind. They have gained total power by having become able to follow each moment of the others by becoming invisible (Zuboff, 2013).

What significance does the NSA (US National Security Agency) spying scandal bear from this perspective? According to a plausible view, the explosive spreading of internet access and the use of desktop computers, laptops, smartphones and iPods were favorable for individualization in the positive sense of the word. We may think that interaction between individuals has become less determined by the traditional power lines and bureaucratic structures. Parallel to this, in order for an individual to obtain information or get access to goods, he does not have to rely on intermediaries or institutions anymore, as obtaining information and purchasing goods have become more direct and have adapted to the needs of the individual. From this angle, it is the merit of the large US American internet companies—first of all, Google, Yahoo, Facebook, Microsoft, Skype, Apple, and YouTube—that they recognized the value of the internet-using individual. Of course, these companies pursued their well-calculated business interests, while the platforms that they had built were still used to establish horizontal relations between the individuals. It is the consequence of this that it is considered that the NSA spying scandal means the unveiling of the historical crimes of the US administration—Zuboff identifies this with the standpoint taken by the author of *The Facebook Effect*, the “technology guru,” David Kirkpatrick. By launching its observation program called Prism in the interests of its particular political goals, not only did the US administration compromise giant corporations, which were forced to collaborate but also destroyed the old desire of power-free democratic communication once and for all.

In Zuboff’s view, this narrative is already contradicted by the experience of internet users. Well before the observation incident, it could be experienced that the different products and brands were present on Facebook as “persons” and so, they were integrated into the users’ communities as constantly communicating “friends.” Also, the users may have suspected for a long time that these companies had been given the opportunity to send them tailor-made advertisements based on users’ profiles and search patterns. Zuboff refers to surveys that suggest that the confidence vested in the large internet companies was already shattered or collapsed long before 2013, as the consumers increasingly felt that only the devices by using which they

generated the contents belonged to them, and others disposed over the contents. According to an opinion poll conducted by the Harris Poll in 2012, only a mere 8 percent of US Americans trusted social media exactly because of this (The Harris Poll, 2012). The distrust of the Germans was even stronger in this period but in Brazil or Indonesia, where social media had spectacular success before, enthusiasm halted by 2012.

Looking back, it seems like the giant internet corporations realized, as early as when they started their operations, that they possessed several billion items of such data, especially about the young generation. When used the data, the evolution of consumers' or electors' preferences could almost perfectly be calculated in advance, broken down to individuals. Following this recognition, these companies could have decided to base most of their revenues traditionally on services provided to the individual users, while they protect them and their connections organized on the network, as well as their manipulation-free communication from the influence of large companies. However, from the very outset, the larger part of their income has come from selling these data to the creators of the targeted advertisements and those who possessed the best technical apparatus to calculate behavior—in other words, for those who were the most financially interested in buying these data.

Zuboff argues that these companies became the creators of “a new type of economic and social logics.” In this economic system, the benefits that come from the gathering of private data do not only supplement the profits of a capitalist entrepreneur. The new capitalist entrepreneur looks at the user not as a contractual partner, not even as a simple consumer but as a “source of raw material.” It is a novelty that the fundamental driver of this new type of economy is the mass of people who shed the information suitable for predicting their behavior in manipulated circumstances, without the chance to obtain meaningful information and without any legal regulation, free of charge and unwittingly. These logics presumably permeate the world of politics as well. This assumption of Zuboff may be interpreted in such a way that gaining the support of masses of people depends less and less on the traditional political merits like rhetoric skills, the ability to govern, or having a comprehensive vision. It much rather depends on exploring the so-far secret emotions of masses of individuals and on maintaining such segmented public. This way, the precalculated messages can be directly forwarded to electors' groups separated from each other. For this reason, Zuboff, all in all, thinks that “panoptical power” did not remain within the frame of modern work organization but became a comprehensive society-shaping power by the 2010s.

However, I assume that Zuboff does not give a coherent answer to the question concerning the steps that may be taken to protect privacy in the societies organized based on this new logic. Zuboff thinks that, at the time of writing her article, American teenagers are turning from Facebook to other types of social media that give them more personal freedom. In her opinion, the consequence is that if users have the opportunity to find connections and information on the online platforms whose developers and owners are involved in data trading, these users will turn away from these social media and online search engines as known today. She draws attention to that the tech companies that handle huge data traffic still treat the masses of private individuals who are worried about what will happen to their data as a great risk. Therefore, there is still hope that the current internet users will transform into a potential democratic community that expects transparency from the next generation of IT companies, having drawn their conclusions from their bitter experience.

However, in Zuboff's study, a much more complex picture of the contemporary "panopticon" unfolds. On the one hand, it is clear that "information panopticons" are not only formed in the world of online communication. The areas of large cities are covered by camera surveillance systems, while facial and gesture recognition software programs are developing explosively. This suggests that the "owners of panoptic power" may even be familiar with such involuntary actions and utterances of ours that are generated offline, and of which we would never think that they may serve as the basis for forecasting behavior. The conscious avoidance of social media or well-known search engines may bring transitional success, but an "exodus" cannot be regarded as a universal strategy for stopping "panoptical power."

At the core of Zuboff's interpretation stands that it is only one side of the story of the "information panopticon" that every human act and gesture believed to be spontaneous—even emotions that are considered private—become recordable in the form of accurate data. Therefore, the groups of society which have the technical apparatus to process data and the forecast behavior thus come to possess a new type of power. The other side of the story is the peculiar "evolution" of this power. This logic of power can only be maintained if the owners of this power use these technical devices to create the illusion of reconquering spontaneity and privacy amidst the rapidly changing circumstances. If this assumption is valid, then the mere requirement of spontaneous organization does not bring the panoptical power that permeates our lives to a halt.

In general, it also poses problems in Zuboff's works and utterances. What we can see is the image of a social actor who recognizes the legitimate boundaries of their

privacy absolutely naturally, who recognizes that this privacy constitutes a key element of their personal integrity, and who is able to identify the threats in the new situation as well. The idea, still emphatic in the thinking of Brown, for example, is pushed into the background—that one only stands a chance for the protection of their privacy if one takes serious intellectual efforts to re-interpret themselves as “private beings” in the historical-cultural circumstances of their age. If, for example, one always makes an attempt at re-interpreting the normative presumptions of “the right to privacy” in the legal discourse of the age in question.

### **Critical Remarks on the Information-focused Approach**

Many authors do not think that we have “a priori” knowledge of where the boundaries of our privacy lie. Depending on culturally defined patterns and the context of discourses, we all define the private and public boundaries of our privacy in different ways. The most typical examples are: privacy is sometimes linked to the need to control one’s own body and self-determination that should become independent even from the influence of the closest relatives. At other times, it means the very family, the possibility of becoming free in intimate, loving relationships, which deserve to be protected from the alienating tendencies of the workplace, the market, or the bureaucratic state apparatus.<sup>4</sup> The private sphere understood as the “home,” describes these intimate relationships (Sklansky, 2014, p. 1109). Sometimes, however, the metaphors “fort” or “castle” are associated with it, which are, in this case, grasped as a sphere where the individual may exercise tyrannical power over their immediate environment, freed from the judgment of others (Margalit, 2001, pp. 259–260). Privacy is considered in terms of the intrusion of others. If a participant at a discourse considers the unauthorized intrusion of another private individual the greatest threat to privacy, they will refer to it using visual metaphors, for example, “peeping.” If, however, private freedom means legitimate opposition to a political conspiracy, one tends to describe unauthorized invasion by using the analogy of “interception” (Margalit, 2001, p. 257). Adam D. Moore thinks that unauthorized invasion of one’s privacy can best be identified from the perspective of the classical bourgeois committed to the sanctity of ownership. However, he also calls the reader’s attention to that one cannot appropriately interpret all the phenomena of misusing confidential information from this perspective, which means that private freedom also has to be defined from an information theory point

---

<sup>4</sup> Interestingly, Axel Honneth (2011) describes this as a form of social freedom, sharply distinguishing it from private freedom which is described as a retreat to “defense,” becoming free from communicative relations (p. 149).



of view (Moore, 1998, pp. 371–374).<sup>5</sup> Margalit (2001) thinks that the protection of privacy appears in the US constitutional tradition with two different meanings: it sometimes appears as the constituent of the human nature of an individual, while at other times, it deserves protection as the guarantee for a “flourishing life” (p. 256). Sometimes it is referred to as a *human right*, where the individual is protected from encroachments by the state; at other times, as a *civil right*, it is the right of an active citizen to formulate an independent opinion.

We can best understand our individual right to privacy if we consider the plural meaning correlations of this privacy. Professor of Law at Stanford University David Alan Sklansky, however, concluded, after having analyzed the legal, public, and academic disputes of recent years that, by now, the “information focused interpretation” of privacy had squeezed out the other traditional interpretations. Sklansky acknowledges that in the US Constitutional Court decisions, the protection of privacy has traditionally meant the disposal over one’s own body and the protection of intimate autonomy. From the 1970s, however, a new tendency appeared: the decisions on the disposal over one’s body or same-sex marriages were increasingly dominated by the traditional concepts of freedom and equality; thus, the ideals of intimate autonomy and privacy were gradually separated from each other. As a result, the right to privacy to obtain a new and more accurate definition in Constitutional Court disputes has increased. This is why Alan Westin’s proposal has found fertile ground, according to which the expression “protection of privacy” should exclusively be used for those cases when the individual rightfully restricts the spread of information about them (Sklansky, 2014, p. 1093). It was also typical earlier that when the court referred to the “protection of privacy,” this usually meant, very hazily, family matters and relationships with friends. This brought about a very special counter-reaction in the leftist public law discourses: many supporters of the critical theory thought that the division of private and public spheres was a fake dichotomy, which concealed that an individual may gain their freedom in social activism. Leftist theoreticians also discovered the “citoyen” merits and increasingly tended to think that it was mostly those who mentioned the intactness of privacy who wished to cover up for the typical cases of oppression in the family. The information-focused approach to privacy—which means that privacy has no fundamental value, only obtains its value from the individual interest calculations—was acceptable from this viewpoint as well (Sklansky, 2014, p. 1093).

It was a major scientific discovery of the second half of the twentieth century that, once one interprets the world as a large, impulsive data flow, one may obtain new methodological

---

<sup>5</sup> It is a curious example of the information theory approach that gives the misuse of health care data as an example (Introna-Pouloudi, 1999, pp. 28–30).

instruments for the quantitative analysis of the individual details of reality. After this discovery, information theory had become such an inevitable point of reference for social sciences as Newton's classical mechanics or Darwinism used to be in the past. The economy also adjusted to the possibilities provided by information technology, and the attention of legal scholars increasingly shifted towards the rules allowing the flow of information. This is how the approach according to which private freedom means the control of personal information also took root in academic discourse (Sklansky, 2014, p. 1094).

Sklansky assumes that our views on the protection of privacy are still determined by our experience gained in the Cold War. He thinks that the socialization of Eastern Bloc intellectuals was fundamentally determined by the experience that every moment of their lives may be observed and in order to avoid unpleasant or even fatal consequences, they had to adjust their actions to the requirements of the single-party state. The vivid descriptions of this experience were substantial sources of understanding the organization of society based on intimidation for the researchers who lived on the other side of the Iron Curtain. In this context, Orwell's novel *Nineteen Eighty-Four* was read not only as a piece of fiction of critical importance but also as a guide to understanding the anomalies of modernity. It was at this time that Foucault's idea, also accepted by Zuboff, became influential. According to it, modern power was organized not by applying direct force but by coercing control and conformity (Sklansky, 2014, pp. 1097–1098).

In this period, the question frequently discussed was how the atmosphere of fear could serve as the basis for building up a power structure. It was less important to answer the obvious question of whether continuous observation, the trickling down of agents into everyday life, or the potential sanctions—ranging from losing one's job to imprisonment and execution—create the atmosphere of fear and coerce cooperation. However, this question remained unanswered even after the Iron Curtain had come down. In this new situation, the apparatus of observation was much more refined—it did not require the presence of agents—and the gathering of data was typically not subjected to the needs of a central power that also applied the means of humiliation. In the new situation, the assumption lived on unreflected, namely, that the mere collection of information or the regular control of habits in itself hinders the development of the individual and independent thinking (Fried, 1968, p. 490), as well as democratic activity (Solove, 2002, p. 1102). Sklansky (2014) calls this idea the "stultification thesis" (p. 1094).

Thus, it is an critical question in what circumstances observation coerces conformity. However, in Sklansky's opinion, the number of empirical studies in which the validity of this assumption is tested is negligible. On the other hand, the empirical research efforts

on this subject frequently weaken the thesis; their findings often contradict each other. For instance, some theoreticians think that audio recording weakens the sincerity of the suspects during interrogation. However, according to the empirical study conducted by Sklansky (2002), the suspects tend to forget about the presence of the audio recording devices (pp. 1263–1264). Researchers at Harvard University found that using a tracking device made some of the inmates expressly nervous and disturbed; however, most of those who wore these ankle monitors were not bothered by this anymore than by wearing a wristwatch (Sklansky, 2014, p. 1095). Data show that the NSA spying scandal in 2013, which unveiled the collaboration between internet companies and the secret services, did not fundamentally change the patterns of using social media. Thus, it may easily be the case that the users become immune to certain forms of monitoring and share private information about themselves without being forced (Sklansky, 2014, p. 1099). Having these examples in mind, Sklansky thinks that the hypothesis on the harmful effects of observation is relevant even these days. However, it is a problem that the testing of this assumption is not the subject of any significant research programs but is present in academic and public discourse with axiomatic validity, without the shadow of a doubt.

Sklansky is primarily interested in the impact of these tendencies as a lawyer. He focuses on particular cases of invasion of privacy: when the representatives of an institution, such as a prison or a school, apply the method of strip-searches. These cases, which concern the Fourth Amendment to the United States Constitution, bring up several questions in the judicial procedure. During such a procedure, it should be thoroughly examined whether the person performing the strip search has violated the self-determination of the individual in question or not, and if so, whether the search was done legitimately or not. It should be found out whether the person conducting the strip search was entitled to do so as they represented the government or an institution with special procedures in the case under review. If there was a violation, was it the institution that misunderstood its authorization, or was it the private individual conducting the strip search who misused their momentary power, following their own (racist) prejudices? We could see that the currently dominant discourses fundamentally interpret privacy as the control over personal information and in the context of the relationship between the state and the citizen due to historical reasons. In this respect, Sklansky critically remarks, we do not have the right concepts for sensitively analyzing such cases where the private individuals who have been given power hurt someone as a human by invading their intimacy. Sklansky (2014) thinks that this is why the expression “assault on privacy” should be applied for the particular cases of violating human dignity (p. 1106).

Of course, a society in which all our data are “a part of an enormous information flow,” and in which we can have no control whatsoever over the spread of information about us, is not even acceptable for Sklansky (2014), who criticizes the information theory approach to privacy (p. 1102). However, at first sight, the human-dignity-focused idea of privacy offered by him seems to be rather narrow for distinguishing between the legitimate and illegitimate forms of information gathering and storage. However, what is certain is that if one identifies the paradigmatic cases of assaults on privacy with the painful experience of invading intimacy, the focus of criticism will change as compared to what we have seen in the works of Brown and Zuboff. On the one hand, we may say that the procedures of monitoring online communication should be subjected to broad empirical examinations to find out in which specific cases they lead to shattering of confidentiality between people. However, neither the range of observation nor the level of sophistication of the technical apparatus in itself reveals the extent to which power invades citizens' privacy. On the other hand, those cases should be subjected to analysis where the state, or a company or an institution, uses information gathering for generating a continuous feeling of shame in the observed subjects during the process of observation. However, we can definitely not identify the cases of efficiently exercising power and misusing power if we identify the presence of the apparatus of information gathering as the gaining ground of a pervasive mysterious power from the very start.

Sklansky thinks that one can best identify the many kinds of threats to privacy from the perspective of a person who has suffered humiliations and shame in their lives. He is right in thinking that the cases of invading intimacy may explain that private autonomy obtains its fundamental value as an inalienable part of personal integrity. If, however, one contrasts Sklansky's line of thought with the earlier analyzed work and organizational sociology theory, then the limits of his theory can also be identified. Through analyzing modern management, Brown and Zuboff have pointed out such forms of exercising power that does not take place by traditional means such as communicative coordination, convincing, or open violence. Their study shows that by relying on modern technology, an increasingly complex picture of the users or citizens can be built: private decisions can be manipulated in such a way that the individuals are less and less aware of such manipulation. Thus, the privacy of an individual may also be violated in such a way that it is not directly linked to the painful experience of the violation of personal integrity. Thus, it seems like the legal or social philosophy perspective, which is sensitive to the viewpoint of human dignity, is only one perspective from which one can assess the threats to one's privacy.

Based on work sociology research concerning the private sphere and literature on human dignity, the article outlined the two different normative concepts of the right to the private sphere that contribute to the relevant interpretation of the surveillance case in 2013. If outlined, the two approaches appear not to have any common ground that could be the basis of a comprehensive theory of the right to the private sphere. Contrasting the two different approaches, however, can raise relevant questions. Regarding the approach that argues for human dignity, the article raises the question of whether impersonal cases of surveillance that do not imply repression or cause fear can also be considered unlawful or pathological. However, the article also draws attention to the fact that the transformation of the logic of power and the enormous structural changes endangering the privacy of masses cannot be interpreted from the perspective of legal or social philosophy but rather from the one offered by organizational sociology and sociology of work.

## References

- Barnard, C. I. (1938). *The functions of the executive*. Harvard University Press.
- Brown, W. S. (1996). Technology, workplace privacy and personhood. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 15(11), 1237–1248. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00412822>
- Foucault, M. (1991). *Discipline and punish. The birth of the prison*. Penguin Books.
- Fried, Ch. (1968). Privacy. *The Yale Law Journal*. 77(3) <https://digitalcommons.law.yale.edu/ylij/vol77/iss3/3>
- Habermas, J. (1990). *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit: Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* [The structural transformation of the public sphere]. Suhrkamp.
- Habermas, J. (1978). *Theorie und Praxis—Sozialphilosophische Studien* [Theory and practice—Studies in social philosophy]. Suhrkamp.
- Honneth, A. (2011). *Das Recht der Freiheit: Grundriß einer demokratischen Sittlichkeit* [Freedom's right: The social foundations of democratic life]. Suhrkamp.
- Introna, L. D., & Pouloudi, A. (1999). Privacy in the information age: Stakeholders, interests and values. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 22(1), 27–38. *Ethics of Information and Communication Technology*, Oct., 1999. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1006151900807>
- Joas, H. (2011). *Die Sakralität der Person. Eine neue Genealogie der Menschenrechte* [The sacredness of the person: A new genealogy of human rights]. Suhrkamp.
- Johnson, D. (1994). *Computer ethics*. Prentice-Hall.
- Margalit, A. (2001). Privacy in the decent society. *Social Research*, 68(1), 255–268. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40971450>
- Moore, A. D. (1998). Intangible property: Privacy, power, and information control. *American Philosophical Quarterly*, 35(4), 365–378. <http://faculty.washington.edu/moore2/IPPPC.pdf>
- Sklansky, D. A. (2014). Too much information: How not to think about privacy and the Fourth Amendment. *California Law Review*, 102(5), 1069–1121. <https://doi.org/10.15779/Z38TJ93>
- Solove, D. J. (2002). Digital dossiers and the dissipation of Fourth Amendment privacy. *S. Cal. L. Rev.*, 75(5), 1083–1167. [https://scholarship.law.gwu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2096&context=faculty\\_publications](https://scholarship.law.gwu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2096&context=faculty_publications)

- The Harris Poll (2012). *Oil, pharmaceutical, health insurance, tobacco, banking and utilities top the list of industries that people would like to see more regulated*. The Harris Poll. <https://theharrispoll.com/new-york-n-y-december-18-2012-an-annual-harris-poll-that-measures-the-percentage-of-americans-perceiving-19-large-industries-as-generally-honest-and-trustworthy-finds-that-the-most-trusted-ind/>
- Warren, S. D., & Brandeis L. D. (1890). The right to privacy. *Harvard Law Review* 4(5), 193–220. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1321160>
- Zuboff, Sh. (1988). *In the age of the smart machine: The future of work and power*. Basic Books.
- Zuboff, Sh. (2013, June 25). "Seid Sand im Getriebe!—Widerstand gegen Datenschnüffelei" [The surveillance paradigm: Be the friction—our response to the new lords of the ring]. <https://www.faz.net/aktuell/feuilleton/debatten/widerstand-gegen-daten-schnueffelei-seid-sand-im-getriebe-12241589.html>

# Translanguaging, Diglossia and Bidialectalism in the Video Gamer Argot

RÓBERT ARNOLD-STEIN

Affiliation: University of Pannonia, Veszprém, Hungary  
English and American Studies Institute  
Email: robert.s.arnold@gmail.com

ILDIKÓ HORTOBÁGYI

Affiliation: University of Pannonia, Veszprém, Hungary  
English and American Studies Institute  
Email: ildiko@almos.uni-pannon.hu

## Abstract

Video games have undergone an extensive technological advancement which has triggered a rapid shift in the role and potency the different media have gained in meeting infotainment needs. The widespread use of the internet has increased the frequency of video gaming among the youth thus promoting the emergence of linguistic material which could be instrumental in second language acquisition. The present paper aims to reveal the linguistic gains from virtual multicultural environments for video gamers in relation to their communication needs, a situation which rightfully characterizes them as bilinguals. Despite the continuing linguistic experimentation activities initiated by researchers, the video gamers' language utilization has not been paid much attention to as potential research domain in bi/multilingualism. The research has capitalized on the germane information of a cross sectional survey conducted on secondary school video gamer students in Hungary by investigating their language use habits derived from video game usage. The ample research scope results contribute to filling the linguistic gap of word formation methods, translanguaging, diglossia and bidialectalism by comparing the international and Hungarian instances of the video gamer argot. We also journey through the description, modelling, explanation of several processes which could happen within and outside the digital world as an illustration of language use in contact.

**Keywords:** gamer argot, code-switching, translanguaging, subcultural language development, language change

## Introduction

Nowadays, on the digital platforms the dividing line between written and oral communication is highly blurred. The communication strings on the chat platforms clearly show how e-literacy conveys the feeling of hearing the text due to the abundance of non-verbal elements (emoticons, using capital letters, doubling consonants and vowels, just to mention a few devices). We are investigating gamer argot according to its written occurrence and investigate how a simple playing activity can turn both into an infotainment and educational event. In terms of video game-related vocabulary, the gamers' language usage comprises only a narrow segment of the communication domains at first sight, although, since a gamer plays several types of video games or genres in her/his youth, to a certain extent their insight into the different accessed domains can be expanded by the importance of the timespan they spend in front of the screen. In addition, the sports video games also provide semi-authentic circumstances through their virtual environments, because the rules are identical to those of the real games. In this paper the term *gamer argot* refers to the lexis a young person has developed in the process of gaming. Due to the fact that a gamer plays several different types of games in one's youth or adolescence, one is able to collect and use this specific vocabulary in both online and offline (verbal) communication, consciously or unconsciously. Consequently, Grosjean's "complementary principle" of bilinguals (1997, p. 165) is compatible with the video gamer's English language application, because their English knowledge is being utilized and evolved *complementary* by playing on various game instruments.

### Video gamers as bilinguals

Young video gamers, who have learnt their basic English in classrooms, having acquired their communicative proficiency during video gaming, ought to be considered rightfully as bilinguals (Crystal, 2008, p. 13), because they utilize the English language on a daily basis, thus, they are language users (Cook, 1993) rather than learners. In addition gamers frequently practice *code switching* and *translanguaging* by accessing words and features of other languages, in order to maximize their "communicative potential" in their "discursive practices" (Garcia, 2009, p. 112). However, linguists such as Schlobinski, do not consider the non-native English video game players as bilinguals because their language utilization is heterogenic and game dependent, thus it cannot be generalised (2000, quoted by Frehner, 2008, p. 27), and echoing Skutnabb-Kangas, who defines a bilingual "individual as having two linguistic systems at her disposal, identical with the one system of the monolingual, as having an equal command of them and an ability to use them for all functions" (1981, p. 35), although the latest world trends in communication definitely enlarge our knowledge



and understanding of the concept of a bi/multilingual person. In this paper, we follow Crystal's and Cook's view complemented with Garcia and Klefgen, who proposed the notion of 'emergent bilinguals' in case of those students who "become bilingual, and are able to continue to function with their home language practices, as well as in English" (2018, p. 24). Video gamers have been researched from comprehensive linguistic points of view, such as vocabulary development, pragmatic language skills, code switching and borrowing, and willingness to communicate, as found by Sylvén & Sundqvist (2012), Cabrera (2016), Hing (2015), Prensky (2006), Reinders, & Wattana (2011), Horowitz (2019), etc. They all concluded that video gaming is a cutting-edge facilitator of language acquisition and social practice, and indeed carries characteristics of the new way of attaining and utilizing literacy, which was labelled "digilect" by Veszelszki (2013, p. 184) or "secondary orality" by Gee (2009, p. 7). Meanwhile, the gamers' social language usage is based on specialised *jargon* of the video games, which has already ramified into the subcultural usage, keeping the *gamer argot* diversified.

### Video gamer research

During online gamer-gamer and in-game oral and written communication, the participants must employ terms from the particular (played) games from which they develop the *gamer argot* where the players adopt or eventually *borrow* words from a foreign language (English) in order to accurately express their personal interests. Thereby, the gamer's way of speaking ought to function in a *bilingual mode* (Grosjean, 1997, p. 163) because the utterer operates in two languages concurrently while gaming and at metalinguistic level when speaking about the games as well. Thus, besides their mother tongue, there must be game related words stored in the gamers' *mental lexicon* (Libben & Goral, 2015) and ready to be used. Since video gamers are able to manage an outstanding number of game related phrases, which is also a prerequisite of their language proficiency, they transfer and use those video game related words in their everyday speech. Therefore, we may argue that creation of new, and the usage of borrowed gaming words, yields the *gamer argot*, which is an unexplored terrain to *code-switching*, *translanguaging*, *diglossia* or *bidialectalism*.

A considerable number of academic papers have endeavoured to collect and analyse words, expressions, emojis and abbreviations from written or spoken communication on digital devices (Chik, 2014; Benson & Chik, 2011; Hilte et al., 2020; Strong, 2018; Veszelszki, 2013; Balogh, 2014; Veszelszki & Parapatics, 2016; Veszelszki & Balogh, 2019; Hortobágyi, 2017a, 2017b), in the aim to understand their linguistic behaviour better.

All of them ascertain that the computer mediated language (CMC) has an intense effect on today's language utilization mostly by youth, although these findings do not cover translanguaging, diglossia and bidialectalism, upon which we intend to call attention.

Having reviewed international and Hungarian examples of gaming words and word formation techniques, this paper provides a detailed report about the participants, research methods and findings of our research. In the discussion part we highlight the relevance of the bilingual status of the video gamers through examples of word formation, translanguaging, diglossia and bidialectalism.

### Literature review

The action video games have an enhancing effect on neural growth by requiring players to communicate in foreign language sentences, keep track of several on-screen moving items while simultaneously manipulating the controller, therefore gamers are processing the visual and auditory information successively in a fraction of a second, which "indicates [that] a relationship may exist between action video game play and multisensory processing" (Green & Bavelier, 2003, p. 537). The gamers are also benefitting of vocabulary development to secure their language proficiency (De Haan et al., 2010, p. 74), which correlates with their inner game performance, because the more diversified their vocabulary, the greater the chance of winning at any games, and that is the greatest motivating factor for the participants (Liddicoat, 1991, p. 11). Video games in which participants must utilize a foreign language equally teach the players to process information faster in order to respond quicker. Having examined their lingual and cognitive advancement, "bilinguals were found to be significantly ahead of their monolingual counterparts in verbal and non-verbal reasoning, divergent thinking and subject matter attainment" ... "bilinguals [seem] to be more creative..." (Liddicoat, 1991, p. 19), especially, if they play video games (Baniqued et al., 2014). Besides, video gamers are required to be more inventive, a quality which helps to infer the meaning of words in context, which also accelerates their language proficiency.

### Video gamers and English

In gaming the *vernacular* is English, by virtue of being the default language of most games, and equally a *Lingua Franca* (ELF) among the participants, besides, "English is ubiquitously at the top of the hierarchy of 'foreign' languages" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1997, p. 28). Commonly, in the sports games the territorially appropriate dialect of English is spoken by the speakers, i.e. American in NBA, British in Rugby or FIFA, although the players employ rather a special, culturally non-specific, neutral form of "International" English (Stavans & Hoffmann 2015, p. 125).

Sociolinguists have already noticed the exploitable factors of IT and video gaming English, such as the frequently used expressions, content nouns, basic verbs, and sentence patterns. For instance, in the commonly named *shooter games* the simpler, yet descriptive up-to-date English is utilized, which contains several action verbs and content nouns from the spectrum of military, medical and mapping domains. The current version of English commonly used on the internet can be supplemented by language items which any gamer can develop to a quite high level of proficiency, through successful communication in various virtual circumstances.

Several expressions have been invented in linguistics to cover the phrases, abbreviations and emojis utilized by IT experts, internet communicators and video gamers for defining the subject of the particular CMC research, such as *internet-slang*, *netspeak* and *new high-tech lingo* (Chrystal, 2008, p. 18), *chat-speak* (Hilte, 2014) and *gamer-speak* (Strong, 2018), whereas Veszelszki (2013) introduced the umbrella term “digilect,” which seems to be applicable to all kinds of CMC, and as such it has been adopted by many authors. However, the mentioned findings reveal that the video game related vocabulary is much greater than the words, abbreviations, emojis altogether, and the gamer argot is used in face-to-face verbal conversations to maximum extent. Thus, using *digilect* as an umbrella term seems incomplete regarding *gamer argot*, because the meaning lacks the possibility of its use orally in real life. Although there is an almost perfect overlap between the online and the offline gamer argot, we can describe the online version as *gamerlect* in order to make it comparable to the *digilect*, on which the authors focus in another paper (Arnold-Stein, 2021, p. 12). Namely, we define as *gamerlect* the words that appear in the online *gamer-gamer communication* and have originally occurred in video games (Arnold-Stein, 2021—in press), as a partition within the umbrella term of *digilect*. In this paper the offline used version filled with subcultural meanings will be identified as *gamer argot*.

### **International research findings**

Chik (2014) focused of the game-based language learning and vocabulary enhancement among students living in East-Asia, who played with English, Japanese and Chinese versions of video games. Native Chinese gamers participated in the research and reported how they managed their language choices while playing and how the gaming activity aided their language learning practices. Each of the 153 undergraduate student participants had to write an autobiographical language learning history in 500 words. In the background information the players disclosed their language preferences in gaming and interestingly English was always the chosen language whenever international students were also present in the game.

Participants also reported how they used blogs, group chats and recorded gaming sessions. Additionally, they also provided a reading jargon list extracted from game texts. This study also implies that the game-related texts in both the native language (L1) and a foreign language (L2) form the capital of knowledge for language learning.

Sylvén and Sundquist (2012) have found similar results when examining the gaming habits of 126 Swedish youth by correlating their language usage to their video gaming habits. The authors found that the video gaming is more popular than television, due to its interactivity. Spoken or written texts that are part of the informal activity of gaming also facilitate the incidental language development, acknowledged by the participants themselves. Besides, the authors concluded that the game texts were the key organiser of the participants' out-of-school language learning, because many of them also reported about the fun of new word creation and reusing the gamer ones for describing real events and circumstances. Piirainen and Tainio (2009) investigated Finnish teenager gamers to find out the role of repetition in certain games and they found frequently used in-game English expressions in out-of-game conversations as well.

Benson and Chik (2011) infer accordingly that video gaming can be considered a primary driving force in language learning for most young adolescents, based on the reports of the participants of a study in which their communicative habits were investigated. The authors noticed that the goal driven action between expert and beginner participants was promoted by communicative interactions which help to develop conversational competencies for the weaker gamers. American and Ukrainian students participated in collaborative gameplay in the *World of Warcraft* (WoW) and the authors noticed several L2 learning episodes, supported by safe learning periods and autonomous learning moments by immersive words.

Hilte et al. (2020) focused on the social media writing habits of Flemish Dutch secondary school teenagers, thus the authors scrutinized 1384 Facebook conversation entries shared by volunteers. They also investigated the idiosyncratic linguistic adaption and accommodation of the participants' language use and called it "chatspeak." In their conversations the participants wanted to facilitate interaction and regulate social distance by accommodating words and sentence markers, such as girls have greater preference for expressive typographic markers, like emojis or the usage of capital letters. On the other hand, the boys have used much more colloquial language and more abbreviations. The claim for social approval among teenagers is resolute, thus linguistically indicated (Gumperz, 1968, p. 469). The register depended on how the speaker would communicate face to face, which strengthened the orality maxim. Several patterns were detectable, e.g., the gamers' language utilization was much more divergent than other messages.

Many conversations contained English expressions in a normal colloquial order and some of them were adapted to Dutch, i.e. written according to Dutch pronunciation Hilte et al., for example English words inserted into a Dutch sentence: “*ben home alone nu* ([l] am home alone now)” (2020, pp. 7–8); an English word written down according to Dutch pronunciation: “*naais*” (nice), “*goed*” (good); an English word with a Dutch suffix: “*haar cadeaus sucken* (her gifts suck)” (2020, pp. 7–8).

Strong (2018) targeted the gamer language and its possible utilization on social networks. The author narrowed his focus to the MMORPG games, in a qualitative analysis among young French gamers with special regard to what the players’ motivational factors are when using special gamer language. The research focused on the system of structural differences in texts, by carrying out a discourse analysis of short excerpts selected from the written conversations. The author calls the language of the written messages “gamer-speak” in which a non-standard, fictive language creation has a conceptual generator effect on the chat room and social network conversations. The results were classified by word formation modes. The researchers found many English loans adapted to the target system. Some words had Latin origins, which means that the words (historically once of Romance Origin) were re-borrowed from English into the French language. Examples for re-borrowing: *mate, quest, dungeon*. Examples of anglicisms: *gear, hunter, tank, tool, tip*; shortenings: *PvP, JcJ, IRL, (ro)bot, AOE*; blends: *healing* as Healing Paladin or *Healadin*; composites: *rebuff, hpal; raid lead* (chief de raid); new creations: *QQ* (crying); *hor2* (hordeux, horde).

## Hungarian research findings

E-sports fans form a separate cast within the video game society, because such electronic games root back to real games and a considerably high number of participants do real sport activity alongside with the e-sporting (Békési & Kovács, 2020, p. 39). Secondly, players of these types of games are most likely to become professionals, due to the growing number of e-sport events and opportunities to play for money, thus their group characteristics follow a different pattern than that of MOBA or MMORPG group members (Békési & Kovács, 2020, p. 40). Furthermore, players of sport e-games can benefit linguistically considerably well from gaming, due to the fact that the rules of the real and the electronic versions are identical, and the sport related expressions can be reused in all walks of life. Using the same language allows the peers to adapt foreign—mostly English—sport related words into Hungarian; although they are most likely to have a Hungarian equivalent, video gamers adhere to English phrases instead, e.g. *team, race, sprint, chicane, sector, DRS*, from Formula 1; *attack, glove, ring, ducking* from boxing; *foul (fault), jump, time-out, defender, block, assist*, from basketball.

Balogh conducted research in the field of gaming language use. In one of her first studies, she ran an online questionnaire that contained 9 general questions about gaming habits and 3 questions related to gaming vocabulary (2014, p. 48). 55% of the 104 Hungarian participants admitted to being gamers. 44% of the respondents were women. The video gamers can be subgrouped into *hard-core* and *casual* gamers, depending on who plays more frequently, and which type of game, thus the members of a subgroup are aware of the coinciding expressions from the same type of games (2014, p. 46). The respondents replied positively about group language and all confirmed that the *casual gamers* have limited familiarity with gamer jargon (2014, p. 48). Respondents recognised 71% of the game related words, because they have overheard some expressions from other gamer friends (Balogh, 2014, p. 49). She concludes that youngsters are open to exert to utilize themselves unusual words or expressions.

Balogh and Veszelszki (2019) researched the linguistics role of the "taunts" in the *League of Legends* (LoL) game. Pre-written insults are kept in a phrase bank, a possibility for the players to write or say acceptable disturbances, in the heat of the game, in order to deteriorate the enemy. The authors analysed these sentences because the examples are perfect to scrutinize the latest linguistic modifications made by gamers. It is utmost important to understand the pragmatic language use from the context in order to find out the motivating factors in the communication (2019, p. 92). Gamers usually establish cooperation among peers, whereas such purposeful expressions used by the enemy, even in a polite way, can offset the communication within the group. Thus, the taunt plays a tactical role in a game, like a game within the game (2019, p. 93), it has a kind of ludic function, namely, losing a cool head can yield to lose the game. Besides, by using such aural and written tactics, the gamers can enlarge the spectrum of their communication, eventually they can have retroactive contributions. Examples: "*she failed her ult, lol*" (she failed [to use] her ultimate ability, laugh out loud); "*So be it ... summoner ... You will lose*" (So be it player, you will lose); "*her Q has big dmg*" (by hitting key Q, she can cause a big damage) (Balogh & Veszelszki, 2019, pp. 98–99).

### Foreign expressions in a sentence

From a pragmatic point of view, chat room or social network communication is not exactly written language, it is rather a "written-spoken" language (Márku & Bartha, 2015, p. 158). As a result, differently pronounced phrases and written onomatopoeic terms are very frequent as well as new word creations (Keszler, 2000). The word formation processes are the most interesting part, words are created and modified by the users regardless of grammatical or orthographical rules (Fazakas, 2015, p. 111).

Attempting to analyse expressions grammatically requires placing them into a current organization of any discourse, namely which foreign expressions play pragmatical roles within a clause. Also, it is necessary to know the size the domain covers (i.e. *game type*) and the similarity of mental functioning of the interlocutor and the receiver (i.e. *casual* or *hard-core* gamer), which is deductible from the similarity of their speech patterns and seriality (Kugler, 2015, p. 16). Normally, the patterns are bonded in the in-the-game conversations (*gamerlect*), compared to an out-of-game discourse (*gamer argot*), where the patterns are loose or there is no pattern at all. Besides, in an out-of-game discourse the game related expressions are used to interpret events as they would be in a game, thus the connotation of such phrases is evoked by the interlocutors' intention. The pragmatic intention constructs different frames with grammatical strata (Langacker, 2006, p. 17, 21 cited by Kugler, 2015, p. 21), by which sentences are being elaborated from the basic to the most complicated ones. The verb functions as the organising principle in a sentence, and because the verb is usually in Hungarian, but the sentence frequently contains proper or concrete nouns, few adjectives in English, all sentences are bilingual.

Example sentence<sup>1</sup>: (verb, English, *-inflection*)

Flame tongue Weapon/Totem 50% helyett 25% healing reduction-ös rebuff-ot ad, kétszer stack-el, a rebuff ugyanúgy 5 sec-es marad.

"Flame tongue (sword) weapon/totem gives (only) 25%, instead of 50% healing reduction rebuff (decreased healing), (if s/he) stacks (gets) twice, the rebuff (lasts for) 5 seconds."

### ***Translanguaging by video gamers***

The specialized vocabulary that characterises the language practice of the video gamers is composed by initiating various linguistic features provided by different games or linguistic modes also prompted by games. Such language utilization can be considered similar to *translanguaging* (Garcia, 2009), because during a *gamer-gamer conversation* the game *jargon* makes maximum sense, even in non-game related topics. *Translanguaging* arises when a participant relates the vocabulary of a particular game to another type of game or uses it figuratively in an instance of reality. Gamers can liberate the possibilities of *translanguaging* by the extent of which they are mutually familiar with the games in a conversation (Li, 2018, p. 12), by inserting foreign (English) phrases into different contexts in order to extend their connotations. In *translanguaging* there is no hierarchy between the occurring languages, they are all interrelated, due to the fact that the name of a particular item makes sense in L2 only for an individual or in the community (Garcia, & Li, 2014, p. 20).

<sup>1</sup> Example sentence is from gamer365.hu website.

*Translanguaging* also scaffolds expressive and transformational language modes in which the conversational modes are also changing through the multilingual terms (Garcia & Li, 2014). Consequently, the edification of the gamers depends on the deployment of each speakers' repertoire in order to learn and develop from each other in the ways of extending language knowledge and equalize distances of language practices (Garcia et al., 2006, p. 14). Such situational language usage in which two languages are used in different circumstances within a population, often by the same speakers, can be called *diglossia* (Ferguson, 1959).

### ***Diglossia in the video game argot***

*Diglossia* is seen as a kind of bilingualism in a community in which there are varieties of a language with different prestige (Gvozdanovic', 2014, p. 4). There must be a substantial body of literature that incorporates the essential values of the speech community (Ferguson, 1959, p. 236) which is perceptible in the aforementioned video gaming examples. Ricento, an author of books of language policy and political theory, also argues that there are languages within a language which have a "socially constructed hierarchy, indexed from low to high" (2012, p. 34). Therefore from a sociolinguistic perspective, related to the video gamers, anyone who can apply the *gaming jargon* properly is accepted by the members of the subculture, as the idiomatic sign of their affiliation. Its spheres of use involve informal, interpersonal communication, i.e. conversation among friends, game opponents and possible business associates. Comparing the *hard-core* and the *casual gamer* elocution, a kind of symbolic value is also observable which shows their common root. More specifically, the *hard-core* gamers who use English gaming terms frequently utilize the *high variant* of the *diglossia* in which they often operate with the game specific connotations in their utterances that cannot be interpreted in L1, whereas the *casual* gamers speak the *low variety*, because they use fewer game related English words. The video gamer vernacular is virtually written in chat rooms and social media sites, thus that *diglossia* can be easily scrutinized.

Differences among *hard-core* gamer subcultures are minor, due to the fact that the gamers are eager to understand each other while gaming, thus their in-game use of phrases is identical, although their out-of-game way of speaking could deviate by topical area. The broadcasted version of the gamer argot spoken by the *hard-core* gamers has got the high prestige, it is also formalised, although its forms are often *filtered* by certain game types which are not introduced to the public. Understanding such formalised *gamer argot* can be considered as status symbol (Adler, 1977, p. 89), because such knowledge requires a broad comprehension of the video games that can be materialised in the job market.



### ***Bidialectalism in the video game argot***

Moreover, there are differences also in pronunciation, the regular use of two or more *dialects* or *diglossia* of a language by a person, is called *bidialectalism* within a speech community (Hazen, 2001, p. 85). Often one of the two is the *standard* dialect and the other one is a region or culture specific dialect; in this case such dialectical differences can be caused by the English phrases in the video gaming vernacular. The more English phrases are used in the speech the bigger the chance to speak dialectically, because English pronunciation differs considerably from the Hungarian one. The differences are not regional, rather they are cultural and can be traced back to the aforementioned *hard-core* and *casual* gamer dichotomy, i.e., the *hard-core* gamers utilize far more English words than the *casuals*. Therefore, the *hard-core* gamers have greater chance to utter English words properly, although they also have a likelihood to play game sessions with people with harsh accents. On the other hand, this phenomenon is not really typical among the non-native English video gamers.

### **Study**

The video gaming expressions are being used more frequently nowadays, since the number of the active gamers is growing, and the classic game specified parlance mostly used by *hard-core* gamers at various out-of-game communication. Such video gamer parlance occurs in several social network comments in written forms or podcasts or real-life conversations in audio forms, thus can be examined efficiently. According to our hypothesis, there are traceable effects of the video gaming on a secondary school students' online and offline conversational habits with special regards to translanguaging, diglossia and bidialectalism.

### **Research questions**

For our study the following research questions have been formulated:

The main RQ:

Do *casual* gamers understand *hard-core* gamers' speech?

The subordinate RQs:

1. If yes, to what an extent?
2. Is there any recognisable hierarchy in a *hard-core* gamer's speech?
3. Can a *hard-core* gamer recognise dialectal differences in an unknown gamer's speech?
4. Is there any motivational factor for the *casual* gamers to understand the *hard-core* gamers' speech?

## Location and participants

First, we compiled as many game related words and phrases we could from *gamer365.hu* blogsite and *KjúbCast* gamer podcast site for quantitative research purposes. Students from secondary schools in Kalocsa helped to group data by game types in order to gain a measurable amount of data for an online survey. The game type groups were the following: The *League of Legends* from MOBA games, *The Walking Dead*–(*Telltale*) from adventure games, and *FIFA* and *F1* from sports games. We have differentiated the word material by game types in order to be able to acquire a broader view of both *hard-core* and *casual* gamers, because they were more likely to come across a familiar word.

Through the school IT system an anonym online questionnaire form was administered in order to reach many students with different backgrounds, hence the chance was higher to get a more accurate linguistic picture. The research proceeded from January 2021 to March 2021 and 136 participants answered the survey. The respondents were 9 to 12 grader students, ranging between 14 to 18 years old. The distribution of the gamer to the non-gamer was: 35 hardcore, 58 casual gamers and 43 non-gamers.

## Survey

From the *gamer365.hu* we collected 692 sentences, from which the students enlisted 922 phrases and divided them into the 3 declared game types. We eliminated proper nouns, such as the names of the places or figures, F1 races, or teams, in order to promote the more frequently and commonly used words, namely concrete nouns, verbs or adjectives. After pre-categorization, we allocated 60 word-families from each game category (3x60=180 items), which consisted of nouns, verbs and adjectives equally disseminated from levels A2-B2. We used a Likert-scale type of survey. In this light, the respondent marked 1) if the word was *unfamiliar*; 2) if it was *familiar*; 3) if it was *understood and used*. If the answer was 3), i.e. *understood and used*, the respondent was asked to give examples for the reference of the usage, either just a collocation or a whole sentence.

## Qualitative part

Having evaluated the surveys, we continued with the qualitative part of the study by interviewing the *hard-core* and the *casual* gamers in order to find some examples that could be accounted for assessing the *gamer argot* linguistically. We were able to connect with 26 *hard-core* / *casual* gamers out of 93, via varied online video chat applications.

In our conversations, which were carried out following the logics of the research questions, we received verbal confirmation of their examples written in the survey. There was no strict timeframe for the interviews; some of the participants explained their examples without providing any comment related to the reasons of the usage. Others, luckily, told a real story to illustrate the reasons behind their choice of certain words or sentences structures. Regarding the hardware usage of the players, *hard-core* gamers use mostly desktop computers at home, besides they also play on their smartphones extensively while not at home. Casual gamers use laptops and smartphones respectively. The difference between the two groups is in the speed of the internet feed—with special regard of the “ping-time” (less than 30 ms is the ideal, which can only be provided through optical cables)—, because the *hard-core* gamers need a steady and prompt internet feed—quicker than 50 Mbit/sec—in order to play online for instance a shooter game. All *hard-core* gamers that we interviewed play on PS platform as well, but not necessarily for the time of the interviews. All the interviewed players were members of a local gaming group, which focused on the COD game by forming 3 or 4 teams occasionally, and the PS games were not fashionable among them. Since the video game industry is not any more a partition of IT, rather it is part of the entertainment industry, thus all kinds of hardware can offer gaming experience on a different level. However, from a linguistic point of view, the PC offers much broader communication options, like typing besides talking, a feature which is also available on smartphones, but not on PS or Xbox platforms.

### Conclusions from the written examples

Our main goal, apart from answering the research questions, was to approach the *gamer argot* from a different linguistic angle, to seek cases that prove whether gamer argot can be considered an example of translanguaging, diglossia or bidialectalism. As we have collected both written and oral instances as well, we could draw conclusions of the linguistic management of the video gamers with regard to the sociolinguistic behaviour of the gamer argot. We have collected several instances of word formation methods, such as clipping (“bot” from robot), acronyms (*WoW* from Word of Warcraft, *COD* from Call of Duty) and neologisms like eponyms (“Kazuár” from the word ‘casual’ because they are pronounced almost similarly). The greatest group is the *morphological derivations* to which most examples belonged. The morphological derivation can be subdivided further according to the behaviour of the stem because the Hungarian gamers can use affixation in two ways, either, by keeping the English pronunciation of the base word or pronounce the base word as if it were Hungarian. Thus, we grouped based on the results with the pronunciation, as first in order of importance.

### **Keeping the original (English) pronunciation**

First we display examples of single words or collocation without affixation, which are a clear illustration of all three viewpoints. *Translanguaging* happens because an L2 word is used in an L1 sentence with the same or rather with extended meaning, since each phrase carries a game related meaning which sometimes differs from the literal meaning of a word. In instances of genuine translanguaging, usually a third party will join the communication to elucidate the meaning of the word, unknown or unfamiliar to one of the two players. In these cases, the words are used for the most part figuratively. Keeping the English pronunciation supports the *high* variety of the *gamer argot*, because the utterer must possess high-level language proficiency, otherwise the s/he would not be able to provide a correct pronunciation of the jargon. This phenomenon could be considered as a primary element of the *gamer diglossia*. Using simultaneously two languages or varieties, which are different in pronunciation, is undeniably an example of *bidialectalism*, because in these instances the Hungarian utterer, though not perfectly, but articulates the words following English pronunciation patterns.

Below there are some examples of the most frequent gamer words used according to the English pronunciation in a Hungarian gaming event.

"Off topic" for touching on another topic; "damage" for damage; "alpha version" for internal testing of a game; "bigdata" for personal data collected by tech giants for selling; "flag" capturing the flag online in a time-based game; Merre vagy mate? (Where are you mate?) for mate; "frag" for killing; "cringe" for being embarrassed instead of another person; "gameplay loop" for a repetitive activity in a game; "med kit" for medical kit or tools (also example for clipping).

The pronunciation of acronyms usually follows the English rules and as such might be considered as an example of *translanguaging*, as this pronunciation infers that the original concepts expressed by words are also cognitively present, thus they are not just a meaningless arbitrary combination of letters.

"EZ dolog" [i: zi], (easy thing) for something is easy; "TP-haza" [ti: pi:] (go home) meaning let's go); "hú de op" [o: pi:], for a very talented person. The acronym TP comes from a Hungarian slang word "tipli," normatively a non-word, meaning "let's get out of here, very quickly." This acronym has gained its rightful place in the *gamer argot*, naturalized in the Hungarian context to mean "let's end this game and go home!"

Affixes often support the presence of bidialectalism. The examples are taken from context; thus, the Hungarian inflection is visible. In addition, all prefixes and/or suffixes assimilate to the stem in order to make the pronunciation smoother.

“**Hipe-olták**” for forced publicity; “**dodge-olsz**” for to dodge a blow; “**unity-ben**” for creating a new online default “game generating” engine something; “**ki-rage-el**” for to burst out; “**pixel-es vagyok**” (I am pixelated) for the internet feed is slow or the person is tired; “adj **shield-et**” (give me a shield) meaning help me; “adj **bandage-ot**” (give me bandage) meaning help me; “**valami off-os**” (something off-like) meaning anticipated loss; “**ki-loot-olom a hűtőt**” (I am looting the fridge) for taking stuff out of the fridge; “**upgrade-elek**” (I am upgrading) meaning to learn in order to be better in something; “**raid-eljük a boltot**” (let’ raid the shop) meaning many people go into the store to buy some food; “**quest-eljük a boltot**” (let’s conquer the shop, for the same meaning above); “**jönnek a bot-ok**” (the bots are coming) the word “bot” derives from “robot” and is a short for non-gamers; “**freemium-nak látszik**” (looks like a free game) meaning just the opposite; “**help-elj**” (help me) literary meaning; “**skip-peljük a napot**” (let’s skip the day) meaning everything is boring; “**ki-click-keltük az embert**” (we have clicked out of the man) meaning to avoid meeting somebody; “adj **boost-ot**” (give me a boost) asking again for help.

### **Affixation by the Hungarian pronunciation**

In case of English words already adapted to the Hungarian pronunciation we might not talk about the *bidialectalism*. Nevertheless, *translanguaging* and *bidialectalism* are also implied since the words have originated in a foreign language and such phrases are used with a video game connotation.

“**lement a HP-ja**” [hɛ pe:], (his/her health points went down), meaning lost interest or feeling tired; “**attack-oljuk a boltot**” [atak], (let’s attack the shop) meaning buying food in a shop; “**lag-golok**” [lag], (I am lagging) for a momentary lapse in the game flow; “**ki-ban-noltuk az embert**” [ban], (we have banned the person) meaning to; “**warn-ollak**” [varn], for warning; “**TK**” [te: kɛ], for team kill, bad things have happened in a row.

Interestingly, there are also examples of acronyms that do not follow an English pronunciation pattern, even if the gamers are familiar with the concept and would be expected to use their original pronunciation. By way of analogy, we suppose that English acronyms that were introduced into the Hungarian common language usage earlier and were pronounced according to the Hungarian phonetic (e.g.: DVD, CD, SMS, MMS, etc.) might just as well exert their iconicity in pronunciation for the new acronyms as well. Another possible explanation for pronouncing *NPC* [en pe: ce:] for Non-Player Character,

*DLC* [de: el ce:] for downloadable content, *MVP* [em ve: pe:] most valuable player according to Hungarian rules could be that influencers naturalized these acronyms while playing and as such there are no normative linguistic rules determining which acronyms keep their original pronunciation and which follow the Hungarian one. It has also been observable that the Hungarian pronunciation is much more common in the casual gamers.

Clipping English words and adapting their orthographic representation to meet Hungarian pronunciation rules is a very common process of linguistic adaptation and naturalization in the world of gaming. Later on, these words enter the common Hungarian lexis.

“Soti” for shotgun; “szeró” for server; “maxos” for ultimate.

The conversational examples below have been written by gamers.

Ebből a **loot-ból** veszek a **soti-ra** egy **upgrade-t**, hogy nagyobb legyen a **damage**.

“I have looted some stuff from which I can buy some upgrade to make bigger damage with my shotgun.”

Elcsesztem a **flag-em**, mehetek vissza a **hill-re**.

“I screwed my flag, now I must go back to the hill.”

Kaptam egy **boost-ot** a **mate-től**, így már sikerült behúznom pár **frag-et**, aztán elkezdett **lag-golni** és kidobott a **szeró-ról**.

“I had got some boost from the mate, so I was able to gain some frags, then (the game) started lagging and got me out from the (game) server.”

## Answering the research questions

Summing up, out of 180, 154 (85%) word families were marked as “understood and used” by *hard-core* gamers; 28 (15%) different words or collocations were marked as “understood and used” by *casual* gamers whereas non-gamers marked 17 (9,4%) words as “understood and used.” Participants recognised mostly nouns, fewer verbs and only a few adjectives. The *hard-core* gamers also contributed with 150 collocations altogether on their surveys, *casual* gamers contributed with 35 words and collocations, which they thought could be derived from any video game, because they overheard or oversaw them from the communication of their *hard-core* gamer friends.

Our main RQ, namely:

“Do *casual* gamers understand *hard-core* gamers’ speech?” can be answered positively, with the remark that, only to a small extent, because a *hard-core* gamer frequently embeds English or other game related words, for instance Japanese words from Pokémon game, into her/his speech.

Answers to our subordinate RQs:

1. If yes, to what an extent?

15% of the cases are comprehensible for the *casual* gamers when they listen to a *hard-core* gamer. According to all of our interviewees, it depends on what kind of games the *casual* gamer plays and with whom, consequently the linguistic circumstances and the personal interests are the most important factors, which deserves further research.

2. Is there any recognisable hierarchy in a *hard-core* gamer's speech?

According to the opinion of the *casual* gamers, *hard-core* gamers who can earn money and prestige through video gaming or making podcasts about games, have attained a significant level of English. These gamers form a special linguistic cast, and their existence is very encouraging, as the level of their English knowledge as well as their different competencies at lexical and grammatical level serve as a role model to casual players, some of whom have even expressed their inner motivation to attain a similar high level of English as one of the outcomes of playing.

3. Can a *hard-core* gamer recognise dialectal differences in an unknown gamer's speech?

They can tell from which country the player in question comes from. After several years of video gaming and involvement in virtual fights, gamers can identify the background of a gamer by her/his accent.

4. Is there any motivational factor for the *casual* gamers to understand the *hard-core* gamers' speech?

Yes, there are several factors such as the goal to play more types of video games, to acquire a higher-level competence in English and to belong to a certain well delimited gamer group. The affiliation of the gamer to the given subculture is idiosyncratic. The real habitat of the video gamers is in the virtual reality.

The non-gamers marked as recognised several words and expressions, as were familiar with them from their online activities. Out of 93 gamers, we were able to interview 26, whose answers corroborated and provided

circumstantial descriptions on what the best way to monitor a gamer-gamer conversation would be and how the gamers could overhear and learn these *gamer argot* items. The most specifically indicated places were on the morning bus, at the bus stop, in the school corridor or in the classroom.

## Conclusion

The everyday language use is impacted by different influencing communication channels, such as social media sites, television, and video gaming, in which the language use has been changing rapidly. Linguists must keep an eye on such influencing areas, otherwise we will miss to realize the reasons of the latest linguistic changes. We hope that our findings direct the focus onto the utilized languages of the virtual world, with special regard to English. Although our questionnaire was limited to the students of the city of Kalocsa, we were able to find many examples to support our hypothesis.

Our findings attempt to shift more intensive attention to the necessity of deeper research in the field, because *translanguaging*, *diglossia* and *bidialectalism* have not been analysed and discussed thoroughly in relation to video gaming before. Word transition between English and Hungarian is an ongoing and accelerated process, due to the swift increase in a gamer's glossary in Hungary, from which words are being used more frequently by *hard-core* and even some *casual* gamers. The internet fosters the transfer of gaming language chunks into the spoken and written vernaculars, with the latest trends visible currently in all walks of life, just think of the frequency of using the words *virus*, *mask*, *pandemic* in the past few months. As a final conclusion we may argue that the *gaming argot* has been growing steadily in Hungary since the turn of the new millennium and has contributed beneficently to the development of English language competence in teenagers and young adults. Besides, video gaming is not just about playing games per se, it is rather a lifestyle in which the participants are frequently communicating with each other for seeking information, help or partner for a particular game or event. In terms of accurate language use, the members sometimes use incorrect orthography and less complex sentences while chatting, because comprehension is in focus. Nevertheless, relying on a more communication competence and confidence, all gamers are motivated to consciously develop a more fluent language use in order to increase their opportunities in the virtual world. The current research projects the further investigation of new instances of linguistic competences in gamer communication with special focus on grammatical, socio-linguistic and expository competences.



## References

- Adler, M. K. (1977). *Collective and individual bilingualism: A sociolinguistic study*. Helmut Buske Verlag.
- Arnold-Stein, R. (2021). The hungarian video gamers' English phraseology and its enriching effect on the hungarian linguistic diversity. *28<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Association of Hungarian Applied Linguistics (XXVIII. Magyar Alkalmazott Nyelvészeti Kongresszus, Veszprém)* (online), 19–20. April 2021.
- Balogh, A. (2014). Geeknyelvtan? A számítógépes játékok nyelvéről. In Veszelszki, Á., & Lengyel, K. (Eds.), *Tudomány, technolektus, terminológia. A tudományok, szakmák nyelve* (pp. 345–352). Éghajlat Könyvkiadó.
- Balogh, A., & Veszelszki, Á. (2019). Udvariasság és sértés a számítógépes játékokban—pragmatikai szempontból. *Magyar Nyelvőr*, 2019/1, 88–116.
- Baniqued, P. L., Kranz, M. B., Voss, M. W., Lee, H., Cosman, J. D., Severson, J., & Kramer, A. F. (2014). Cognitive training with casual video games: points to consider. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 4, 1010. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2013.01010>
- Benson, P., & Chik, A. (2011). Towards a more naturalistic CALL: Video gaming and language learning. *International Journal of Computer-Assisted Language Learning and Teaching*, 1, 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.4018/ijcallt.2011070101>
- Békési, Zs., & Kovács, K. (2020). Az e-sportolók csoportjellemzőinek feltárása. *Információs Társadalom*, 20(1), 29–49. <https://dx.doi.org/10.22503/infars.XX.2020.1.2>
- Cabraja, A. (2016). The effects of video games on the receptive vocabulary proficiency of Swedish ESL students (Dissertation). <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:su:diva-131136>
- Chik, A. (2014). Digital gaming and language learning: Autonomy and community. *Language Learning & Technology*, 18(2), 85–100. <http://dx.doi.org/10125/44371>
- Cook, V. (1993). Wholistic multi-competence—jeu d'esprit or paradigm shift? In Kettemann, B., & Wieden, W. (Eds.), *Current Issues in European Second Language Acquisition Research* (pp. 3–9). Narr Franke Attempto Verlag GmbH & Co. KG.
- Crystal, D. (2008). *Txtng: The gr8 db8*. Oxford University Press.
- De Haan, J., Reed, W. M., & Kuwada, K. (2010). The effects of interactivity with a music video game on second language vocabulary recall. *Language Learning and Technology*, 14(2), 74–94.
- Fazakas, N. (2015). Language myths and ideologies in the new media. *International Review of Studies in Applied Modern Languages*, 8, 102–113.
- Ferguson, C. A. (1959). Diglossia. *WORD*, 15(2), 325–340. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00437956.1959.11659702>
- Frehner, C. (2008). *Email—SMS—MMS. The linguistic creativity of asynchronous discourse in the new media age*. Peter Lang.
- García, O., Skutnabb-Kangas, T., & Torres-Guzmán, M. (2006). Weaving spaces and (de)constructing ways for multilingual schools: The actual and the imagined: Languages in education and glocalization. In García, O., Skutnabb-Kangas, T., & Torres-Guzmán, M. (Eds.), *Imagining Multilingual Schools* (pp. 3–48). De Gruyter.
- Garcia, O. (2009). *Bilingual education in the 21<sup>st</sup> century: A global perspective*. Wiley-Blackwell.

- García, O., & Li, W. (2014). Language, bilingualism and education. In García, O., & Li, W. *Translanguaging: Language, bilingualism and education* (pp. 5–18). Palgrave Macmillan.
- García, O., & Kleifgen, J.A. (2018). *Educating emergent bilinguals. Policies, programs, and practices for English learners*, Second edition. Teacher College Press.
- Gvozdanović, J. (2014). Understanding the essence of diglossia. In Árokay, J., Gvozdanović, J., & Miyajima, D. (Eds.), *Divided languages? Diglossia, translation and the rise of modernity in Japan, China, and the Slavic world* (pp. 3–21). Springer.
- Gee, J.P. (2009). *New digital media and learning as an emerging area and "worked examples" as one way forward*. The MIT Press.
- Green, C.S., & Bavelier, D. (2003). Action video game modifies visual selective attention. *Nature*, 423, 534–537.
- Grosjean, J. (1997). The bilingual individual. *Interpreting*, 2(1-2), 163–187. <https://doi.org/10.1075/intp.2.1-2.07gro>
- Gumperz, J.J. (1968). Types of linguistic communities. In Fishman, J.A. (1968). *Readings in the sociology of language* (pp. 460–473). Mouton Publishers.
- Hazen, K. (2001). An introductory investigation into bidialectalism. *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics*, 7(3), 85–99.
- Hing, D. (2015, April 01). Four difficulty levels on how to use video games to learn English. *Kaplan international languages blog*. <https://blog.kapintdc.com/four-difficulty-levels-on-how-to-use-video-games-to-learn-english> Last viewed: 28.11.2020.
- Hilte, L., Vandekerckhove, R., & Daelemans, W. (2020). Linguistic accommodation in teenagers' social media writing: Convergence patterns in mixed-gender conversations. *Journal of Quantitative Linguistics*, 1-28. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09296174.2020.1807853>
- Horowitz, K. S. (2019). Video games and English as a second language: The effect of massive multiplayer online video games on the willingness to communicate and communicative anxiety of college students in Puerto Rico. *American Journal of Play*, 11(3), 379–410.
- Hortobágyi, I. (2017a). The linguistic rhythms of urban spaces: New approaches to everyday multilingualism. *TOPOS: Journal of Space and Humanities*, 6(2), 97–108.
- Hortobágyi, I. (2017b). Renegotiating meaning in multimodal media contexts. *Synergy, Journal of the Department of Modern Languages and Business Communication, University of Bucharest, Romania*, 13(1), 145–161.
- Keszler, B. (2000). A szóképzés. In Keszler, B. (Ed.), *Magyar Grammatika*. Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó.
- Kugler, N. (2015). *Megfigyelés és következtetés a nyelvi tevékenységben. Segédkönyvek a nyelvészet tanulmányozásához 179*. Tinta Könyvkiadó.
- Li, W. (2018). Translanguaging as a practical theory of language. *Applied Linguistics*, 39(2), 9–30. <https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amx039>
- Libben, G., & Goral, M. (2015). How bilingualism shapes the mental lexicon. In Schwieter, J.W. (Ed.), *The Cambridge handbook of bilingual processing* (pp. 631–644). Cambridge University Press.
- Liddicoat, A. (1991). Bilingualism. An introduction. In Liddicoat, A. (Ed.), *Bilingualism and bilingual education. NLIA Occasional Paper, 2*, (pp. 3–25). National Languages Institute of Melbourne.

- Márku, A., & Bartha, Cs. (2015). Researching the internet language use as a modern trend in applied linguistics. In Huszti, I., & Lechner (Eds.). *I. Modern trends in foreign language teaching and applied linguistics. Proceeding of the international conference "Modern trends in foreign language teaching and applied linguistics in the twenty-first century: Meeting the challenges"*, 156–168. [http://www.kmf.uz.ua/hun114/images/konyvek/modern-trends\\_11\\_17.pdf](http://www.kmf.uz.ua/hun114/images/konyvek/modern-trends_11_17.pdf) Last viewed: 05.02.2021.
- Piirainen-Marsh, A., & Tainio, L. (2009). Other-repetition as a resource for participation in the activity of playing a video game. *The Modern Language Journal*, 93(2), 153–169. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4781.2009.00853.x>
- Prensky, M. (2006). *Don't bother me mom—I'm learning! How computer and video games are preparing your kids for twenty-first century success—and how you can help!* Paragon House.
- Ricento, T. (2012). Political economy and English as a 'global' language. *Critical Multilingualism Studies*, 1(1), 31–56.
- Reinders, H., & Wattana, S. (2011). Learn English or Die: The effects of digital games on interaction and willingness to communicate in a foreign language. *Digital Culture & Education*, 3(1), 3–29.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (1981). *Bilingualism or not: The education of minorities. Multilingual matters 7*. Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (1997). Human rights and language policy in education. In Wodak, R., & Corson, D. (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of language and education. Encyclopedia of language and education vol. 1* (pp. 55–65). Springer.
- Stavans, A., & Hoffmann, C. (2015). *Multilingualism*. Cambridge University Press.
- Strong, S. (2018). *Gamer-generated language and the localisation of massively multiplayer online role-playing games* (PhD Dissertation). University College London.
- Sylvén, K. L., & Sundqvist, P. (2012). Gaming as extramural English L2 learning and L2 proficiency among young learners. *The Journal of European Association for Computer Assisted Language Learning (ReCALL)*, 24(3), 302–321. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S095834401200016X>
- Veszelszki, Á. (2010). Digilektus a lektusok rendszerében. In Illés-Molnár, M., Kaló, Zs., Klein, L., & Parapatics, A. (Eds.), *Félúton 5. Az ELTE BTK Nyelvtudományi Doktori Iskolájának konferenciája. ELTE BTK Nyelvtudományi Doktori Iskola*. 199–215. L'Harmattan.
- Veszelszki, Á. (2013). Digilektus és netszótár. *Irodalomismeret*, 2013/1, 184–197.
- Veszelszki, Á. (2016). A netnyelvészet terminológiai és kronológiai áttekintés (2010–2015). In Balázs, G. (Ed.), *Jelentés a magyar nyelvről, 2010–2015* (pp. 56–73). Inter.
- Veszelszki, Á., & Parapatics, A. (2016). From cooperation to compassion: Death and bereavement on social networking websites. In Knautz, K., & Baran, K. S. (Eds.), *Facets of Facebook: Use and users. Series knowledge & information* (pp. 172–209). De Gruyter.
- Veszelszki, Á. (2017). *Digilect: The impact of infocommunication technology on language*. De Gruyter.

# Content beyond Vocational Skills: The Broader Spectrum of Students' Socialization

VERONIKA BOCSI

Affiliation: University of Debrecen, Hungary  
Faculty of Education for Children and Special Educational Needs  
Email: bocsiveron@gmail.com

## Abstract

The goals of this paper are to reveal the process of institutional effects in higher education and to identify those components that can be classified as being beyond vocational skills. The topicality of this analysis is embedded in the transformation of universities, which can create a new framework for students' socialization process. Two different methods were used during our research: a questionnaire with students (N = 1502) on a nationwide sample in Hungary and 31 interviews with lecturers. According to our empirical findings, the effects of higher education are very complex, and vocational elements are not the only content that is transmitted. Students can perceive the components of moral effects at a high level, and general knowledge has acquired great importance, too. With the help of the lecturers' interviews, we can identify the most important aims of the teaching process, which extend beyond the vocational elements, and at the same time, the barriers to and possibilities offered by this transmission.

**Keywords:** higher education, students' socialization, institutional effects, vocational skills, lecturers

## Introduction

The process of students' socialization was formed by the ongoing evolution of the mass higher educational system, the efforts of various educational policies, the market-like situation developing among institutions, and the circumstances of universities in terms of culture and lifestyle. The level of students' integration seems to be weakening in the current situation and since practical elements have presumably become more significant, we may suppose the dominance of vocational elements in the field of students' socialization process. In this paper, we intend to reveal this process by focusing both on vocational skills and the elements which are located beyond vocational components—for example, moral elements, beliefs, or socially oriented practices.

The novelty of this paper is primarily in the quantitative techniques applied and the combination of different ones. We created a question block with 16 items that cover the perceived effects of higher education. The elements of this process are generally assessed through interviews in the literature, but this technique creates specific barriers to analysis. We were able to identify the components of institutional effects with means and the patterns of elements with factor analysis. In addition, a linear regression model was used because we intended to map the factors which can form these patterns. Secondly, we completed this method using qualitative techniques. Another novelty of this paper is the location of the research because the Hungarian higher education system has particular characteristics—the effects of post-socialist systems or the semi-peripheral position in the academic field.

### **The Process of Students' Socialization**

After entering higher education, the students' socialization process starts. The final stage of any type of socialization process is a membership of an organization or a group, the transformation and internalization of values, beliefs, and the elements of a culture, and the transformation of identity. During this change, people acquire new knowledge and skills and their dispositions may be changed (Bogler & Somech, 2002). The institutional aims include the elements of preparation for the various professions, so this is the final stage of students' socialization in some models. Three fields of transformation are identified by Kaufman and Feldman (2004): intelligence (e.g., critical and analytical thinking, language use), vocational identity, and cosmopolitanism (wider cultural horizons, a sense of taste or habitus, etc.). Parsons divided the socialization process into technical and moral elements (Gordon, 2005). In this paper, we analyze the transformation of students from a wider perspective, and we highlight that professional elements are not the only core contents.

The educational policy and the transformation of universities generate new circumstances in which this transformation takes place and several changes in the field of students' socialization can be explained from this perspective. The transformation of cultural consumption (Peterson & Kern, 1996), the features of the labor market, and changes in the student body and the faculty (Gordon, 2010) all create a new system of conditions in which this process takes place.

The university is a formal institution, and its features—its size, mission, the type of institutional control, and so forth—can shape the conditions of this process (Weidman, 2005). In the differentiated world of higher education, the system of the conditions can vary.

Besides several subcultures, various institutional climates can be identified within a single institution (Pusztai, 2015) at the level of departments or faculties. Attitudes and characteristics which belong to the final stage of students' socialization process differ according to disciplinary fields—for example, from the perspective of values (Knafo & Sagiv, 2004). McInnis (2010) states that the disciplines' own norms and rules (Neave, 2009) also create different organizational cultures.

The socio-cultural background of students can shape the trajectory and starting point of students' socialization (Esomonu & Okeaba, 2016; Weidman, 2005), and individual investments can be affected by this trajectory as well (Weidman, 2005). Bogler and Somech (2002) analyzed the motivation of students and differentiated between scholastic and instrumental types. Instrumental motivation aims to acquire practical skills, while scholastic motivation prioritizes academic aims. The effectiveness of socialization depends on the level of academic integration. The density of peer interaction can raise the level of integration as well as the feeling of belonging, the acceptance of institutional values, and participation in extracurricular activities (Brower, 1992). Kaufman and Feldman (2004) also highlight the role of interactions.

In addition to the new frameworks and internal content of students' socialization, we can identify the most important resources of the effects. Knowledge elements, the influence of various disciplines, the lecturers, the formal and informal networks inside the universities, cultural and vocational events, and professional practice can all impact interactions, learning, involvement, and integration. Pusztai (2015) emphasizes that students have an important role in building socialization frames and improvement of institutional norms and culture; so, the picture of purely passive and receptive students is not valid.

## **The Changing Features of Universities**

The transformation of higher education obviously creates a new framework for students' socialization. This process is widely analysed and described (Bok, 2005; Fitzgerald, 2012) and several elements (marketization, closer relationships with industry, quantification of lecturers' work, regarding students as consumers, the dominance of market-oriented applied research projects, etc.) have been identified. Naidoo (2005) highlighted that the consequences of this turning point are, among others, the following: academic practices have become "goods", a passive and instrumental attitude toward learning has been created, and the predisposition to create knowledge and critical attitudes has been reduced.

If the process of teaching becomes alienated (Barnett, 2000), the mechanism of students' socialization changes. The content of teaching narrows the range of skills that need to be transferred, and the practical and instrumental effects become more and more dominant. The most important goal of the students is to get a good grade, along with practical and quickly utilizable skills. The effects of universities are complex but, as a result of this situation, the elements beyond the vocational content may lose their importance. If the attitude of students has changed, and the institutions must follow the demands of the student body, it creates a shift that is also manifest in the whole process of teaching.

Integration into campus life is also a particularly important feature. However, some changes in undergraduates' lifestyles—taking part in paid work or in joint training courses, attending a “commuter campus,” and so forth—may reduce the extent of on-campus peer networks, attendance at social and cultural events, the probability of research activities and the time students spend on campus. Large groups of students on the same training course or in the same classroom can make conversations with lecturers inside and outside the classroom less frequently.

Lähteenoja and Pirttilä-Backman (2005) point out that the role of universities in students' lives has changed due to the fact that institutions have become more vocation-oriented.

### **Beyond the vocational Elements**

We can identify those elements which are located beyond the limits of vocational content. One optional field is the transmission of values throughout the whole educational system (Bonnett, 2005; Currie, 2000), and the academic literature defines this content as norms, use of language, behavior, moral principles, and many cognitive elements which are not deeply involved in the framework of the given disciplines. Usherwood (2010) highlights that in the past, universities used to be places where critical thinking, exchanges of views, and intellectual debates could take place. General knowledge is still closely related to this additional content. If students' attitudes toward higher education institutions are rather utilitarian and practical, it may be questionable whether we can expect undergraduates to be involved in the transmission of these elements. If undergraduates do not consider these elements to be important enough, they are more likely to avoid courses that are theoretical or which extend beyond their profession. The disciplines, the size of the institution, the features of the student body and the faculty,

and the position of universities on the research or teaching-oriented axes can influence this transmission. The dominance of mass culture and the all-consuming culture, the appreciation of leisure time in young adulthood, and the working method of universities, which regards students as consumers, have changed in the in-campus cultural space.

### **About the Situation of Lecturers**

Gordon (2010) highlighted that research projects which try to reveal the identity and working conditions of lecturers received greater attention after the Millennium. Enders (2009) summed up the earlier and later characteristics of this profession. In the past these professions operated as guilds and organically integrated the elements of teaching and research with autonomy and academic freedom which were all important parts of this occupation. Of course, these earlier circumstances were not the same in every country and every segment of higher education, and we can find differences in different disciplines, as well (Reuben, 1996). According to Enders (2009), several shifts—a new type of leadership, marketization, globalisation, quality assurance and audit process, and so forth created a new situation in which this profession lost its earlier prestige (de-professionalization) and some of its core elements—autonomy, academic freedom—and became a “mass occupation.” In this new situation the distance between teaching and learning became wider (Naidoo, 2005; Scott, 2005), and the growing importance of research, the increasing number of students, the need to publish in the field, and the clearly defined fields of research projects can all reduce the importance of teaching—especially the transmission of content which is located beyond the sphere of vocations understood in a narrow sense. Naidoo (2005) noted that the whole profession had become fragmented and the internal, immanent value of teaching had lost its relevance. White (2012) suggested that the role of ideas and inspiring students take a back seat. Lecturers must adapt to this new world of higher education—and this can be complicated because these lecturers were socialized in more closed and more elitist institutions. This may generate a feeling of discrepancy. But the consequences are not only negative: lecturers are required to turn to the outside world and communicate in other forms.

### **The Hungarian Situation**

The roots of the Hungarian higher education system were similar to the Humboldtian model. During the communist regime, the number of students was limited, and the control of the state was strong in all respects. The expansion started in the late '90s, and it seems to have stopped in the last five years. During this process, a strongly fragmented system



was established: the number of students rose intensively but the number of lecturers did not change. The turn to marketization, a consumer attitude (Veroszta, 2010), and more controlled forms of lecturers' working conditions (Pusztai & Szabó, 2008) are visible. The educational policy tends to be centralizing; Polónyi (2013) analyzed the texts of the transformations of Higher Educational Acts and highlighted that the aim of the courses is increasingly limited to vocational elements. Barakonyi (2009) collected the features of the so-called "Bologna Hungaricum" and emphasized the presence of the early specialization in the vocational field right at the beginning of the course, the centrally directed course offers, and the lack of "intellectual" elements in the course contents.

## **Hypotheses**

According to the theoretical frameworks, the following hypotheses were formulated:

- H1. When describing the system of institutional effects, the highest effects correspond to vocational content, according to Bok (2004) and Fitzgerald (2012). The vocational items are the following: "competence in your own discipline" and "knowledge of scientific literature"—we suppose that these items have the highest means when a scale is used.
  
- H2. The institutional effects are embedded primarily in disciplines if a linear regression model is run—the dependent variables are the factors of institutional effects: public-oriented, social and moral, vocational—according to Reuben (1996). Significant relationships and coefficients are analyzed in this case. We suppose that the coefficients for disciplines are higher than those for socioeconomic variables—gender, parental education, economic capital, and so forth—, the size of the university, the type of training program, student performance, and the level of "on-campus" integration. We also assume that every factor of institutional effects is embedded in the disciplines.

In the qualitative section of our study, hypotheses have not been formulated, but we analyze the following research questions:

- R1. Regarding lecturers' intentions during the teaching process (what elements they would like to transmit), what segments can be identified behind vocational contents (moral, knowledge-oriented, etc.)?
  
- R2. What barriers are identified to this transmission process from the lecturers' perspective?

## Materials and Methods

### Quantitative Analysis

Our quantitative analysis is based on data from a nationwide survey conducted in 2018 in Hungary with 1502 respondents (Family and Career Research project under Ágnes Engler's supervision). Students from eleven Hungarian higher education institutions were selected to participate through stratified sampling with respect to the field of study as well as the geographical region and size of the institution. Of the eleven institutions in the sample, which were chosen based on their location and the disciplines of their offered programs, three were based in the capital city of Budapest, while the others were based in other towns. The sample included data on full-time undergraduate and graduate students as well as students of undivided programs which offer a master's degree. Students in their first year of university were not included in the sample.

As far as the field of study is concerned, a classification was put in place to reduce the number of disciplines throughout the research project. As a result, nursing was regarded as a field of medicine, social sciences included business studies, economics, and law, while computer science was classified as engineering. Teacher education students were characterized based on the discipline they would become teachers of: for example, prospective foreign language teachers were considered students of humanities.

In the course of the research project, we used the literature to create a questionnaire containing eighteen items, which were meant to investigate all aspects of intellectuals' activities as well as their role components. Each item was evaluated by the surveyed students on a 1–4 scale ( $\alpha = 0.812$ ). During the mapping of institutional effects, 16 items from this list were used (two elements could be not interpreted from this perspective,  $\alpha = 0.822$ ). The factors of institutional effects were identified based on these items.

In the linear regression model, the independent variables were the following: disciplines (with dummy coding, the reference category was Agronomy), the location of the institution (capital city or other towns),<sup>1</sup> the size of the student body in the institution (0=below 15,000 students, 1=above). One group of variables relates to the students' background: gender (1=man, 0=woman), economic capital (measured by an index with consumer goods in the family),<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> One institution was considered separately because some parts of its courses take place in the capital city and others in smaller towns.

<sup>2</sup> The elements of the index were the following: Does the family have its own apartment or house, holiday home or other similar-sized property, a car, a flat-screen television, a personal computer, or laptop with broadband internet access at home, a tablet or e-book reader, mobile internet (on the phone or on the computer), a dishwasher, an air-conditioner, and a smartphone? Overall, 10 items were used (0=not possessed by the household, 1= possessed by the household). The mean of this index was 7.26 (SD = 1.64). 19 items were used, the maximum value was 10, and the minimum was 0 in the whole sample.

the type of settlement (with a dummy coding, the reference category was the smaller city) the type of training course (bachelor, master or combined; the reference category was the bachelor course), the integration into peer networks on campus (measured with an index, so this was a continuous variable),<sup>3</sup> parental educational background (measured with years and used as a continuous variable, mother and father separately) and student achievement during high school and university years (measured with an index and used as a continuous variable).<sup>4</sup>

### Qualitative Analysis

During the qualitative part of our research, 31 interviews with lecturers from 12 disciplines and 10 towns were recorded from September 2019 to July 2020. These were semi-structured interviews, and the lecturers were asked to reflect on their opinions about intellectuals and intellectual roles, the features of the student body and students' socialization, the institutional climate, their teaching methods, and their own work. In this analysis, only the elements they would like to transfer and the barriers to this process will be discussed. The outline of the interview contains the following two questions: "In what way can the university shape students?" and "What content would you like transmit to students during the teaching process?" The barriers to the transmission and the techniques used we associated with the other parts of the interviews.

---

<sup>3</sup> The elements were the following: whether there is a person at the university who talks with you about your learning problems, private problems, future, career plans, academic issues, literature or culture or public issues, fine arts, who spends their free time with you, who looks after you if you are sick, from whom you could borrow a book or broadsheets, someone you study together with. Overall, 11 items were used (0=not possessed at the campus, 1=possessed at the campus). The mean of this index was 8.47 (SD=2.72). The maximum value was 11, and the minimum was 0 in the whole sample.

<sup>4</sup> The elements were the following: I have a CV in a foreign language, I am/was a member of a talent nurturing program; I am/was a member of a college for advanced studies; I have got my own research topic; I got extra points during the admission due to my results in academic competitions; I got extra points during the admission due to my comprehensive (i.e. written and oral) language exam at intermediate level; I got extra points during the admission due to my language exam at advanced level; I have passed a basic level comprehensive language exam; I got extra points during the admission due to my results in the field of sport; I won a scholarship during my high school years in the field of fine arts or sport; I won a scholarship during my high school years in an academic field; I have got or had a private student; I wrote a thesis for the National Academic Students' Association Conference or other conference or I have had work published; I am/was an instructor at the university or I take part in the student union; I won a scholarship during my university years due to my academic activities and I won a scholarship during my high school years due to my high grade point average. Overall, 16 items were used (0=not possessed, 1=possessed). The mean of this index was 3.24 (SD = 2.60). 16 items were used, the maximum value was 16, and the minimum was 0 in the whole sample.

The following categories collected from the texts are those which are to be found beyond the "pure" vocational content: professional ethics, moral elements, critical thinking, tolerance, adequate and critical usage of information resources, language and behavioral components, the consumption of high culture, international perspective and the wider framework of thinking, general knowledge, helping attitude, creativity, and public activity. The presence and lack of categories were analyzed with content analysis (Kvale, 1996). The barriers to the transmission process were determined by content analysis too, and we distinguished three main explanations.

## Results

### Quantitative Analysis

#### *Participants*

The female share in the sample amounted to 56%. As for the level of education, the overwhelming majority were undergraduate students, while about 10% were masters students or students of undivided programs. Most students in the sample studied engineering (N = 388), medicine (N = 277), or humanities (N = 266). The least popular fields of study were theology (N = 55) and agricultural sciences (N = 26). The latter was used as a reference category in the linear regression analysis. As far as the parents' educational attainment is concerned, 16.2% of mothers and 27.4% of fathers did not have any substantial qualifications. In contrast, the ratio of those with a tertiary degree was 38% among mothers, and 30% among fathers. As for the original place of residence, 25.5% of students came from a rural background. As much as 45.8% of students were originally from a small town. Relatively few students came from county seats (19%) or the capital (9.4%).

Three institutions are in the capital, Budapest, and 24.5% attend these universities. When we separated the smaller institutions from the larger ones (the limit was set at 15,000 students in the year of the research), 52.9% attended institutions with more than 15,000 students. These universities are the largest research universities in the country, with a broad spectrum of disciplines.

#### *Quantitative Findings*

Table 1 illustrates the institutional effects. These effects have a mixed pattern because vocational and other (moral, knowledge-oriented, independence, habitus-based, and so forth) factors seem to be intertwined in them. Items that refer to the macro level are displayed at the end of the table. According to previous empirical research, Hungarian students often display utilitarian characteristics (Veroszta, 2010).

The table highlights how students are influenced by institutions in a complex way, which is in slight contrast to the transformation of higher education institutions towards a rather vocational path as highlighted by the literature. It seems that macro-structural factors and public considerations are not that important.

**Table 1**

*Institutional Effects as Perceived by Students*

	M	SD
Competence in the field of your own discipline	3.2	0.72
Knowledge of scientific literature	3.0	0.84
Benevolence and beauty	2.9	0.91
General knowledge	2.8	0.83
Being a role model. Improving the local community and society.	2.7	0.92
Spreading and using research findings. Improving society.	2.7	0.83
Independence (from institutions and politics)	2.6	0.93
Consumption of high culture	2.5	0.89
Creating scientific or artistic products	2.5	0.94
Analysing and criticizing social phenomena	2.5	0.94
Preservation of national identity and culture	2.5	0.97
Mediation between social groups or pressure groups	2.4	0.92
Contribution to and spreading of European and/or global culture. Setting up international relationships.	2.4	0.89
Taking part in public affairs and fulfilling public functions	2.4	0.93
Participating in public debates and having a presence in the media	2.1	0.95
Controlling authority, criticizing, and taking part in demonstrations	2.0	0.93

Note. N = min. 1208 per row

Table 2 provides detail on the factors concerning institutional effects. The model includes as many as 12 items, which shed a unique light on institutional roles. It is straightforward to interpret the “public-oriented” role. The role of a “social and moral” encompasses various items in relation to the readiness to provide help, engagement with the local community and national culture, and mediation between different groups in society. The “vocational” role, which includes, among others, the “consumption of high culture,” resembles to a large extent the vocational model as well as the classical idea of a higher education institution aimed at research. We may conclude that this institutional effect is not unambiguously oriented towards the market or commercial purposes.

**Table 2**

*The Factors of Institutional Effects on Intellectual Roles*

	Public-oriented	Social and moral	Vocational
Competence in the field of your own discipline	-.060	.263	<b>.436</b>
Taking part in public affairs and fulfilling public functions	<b>.675</b>	.251	.128
Participating in public debates and having a presence in the media	<b>.818</b>	.155	.130
Consumption of high culture	<b>.355</b>	.274	<b>.472</b>
Knowledge of scientific literature	.022	.174	<b>.567</b>
Creating scientific or artistic products	.296	.108	<b>.526</b>
Being a role model. Improving the local community and society.	.206	<b>.627</b>	.175
Independence (from institutions and politics)	.209	<b>.430</b>	.175
Benevolence and beauty	-.044	<b>.678</b>	.271
Preservation of national identity and culture	.255	<b>.539</b>	.194
Controlling authority, criticizing, and taking part in demonstrations	<b>.602</b>	.101	.011
Mediation between social groups or pressure groups	<b>.357</b>	<b>.518</b>	.140

Note. N = 1502. The extraction method was a maximum likelihood method with varimax rotation. KMO = .0.842. Factor loadings above .30 are in bold. The value of explained variance was 42.520%.

In the next phase of our quantitative analysis, linear regression models were run and the independent variables were the factors of institutional effects. The list of dependent variables is summed up in the Methodology section of this paper. Table 3 contains the results of linear regression models.<sup>5</sup> The effects are slightly embedded in the undergraduates' social background (except the effect of the capital city in the case of the "social and moral" factor), but the presence of students on campus and the features of training courses and institutions can shape the analyzed fields. The effects of disciplines can work in the case of the "social and moral" factor.

**Table 3**

*The Regression Model of Institutions Effects (beta values)*

	Public-oriented	Social and moral	Vocational
	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$
<i>Constant</i>	.529	.636	-.171
Gender <sup>a</sup>	-.056	.048	-.013
<i>Type of settlement<sup>b</sup></i>			
Village	-.018	-.021	-.071
County town	-.066	.009	-.011
Capital city	0.44	<b>-.123**</b>	-.066
<i>Parental educational level</i>			
Mother's educational attainment (with completed years of education)	-.046	.003	.090
Father's educational attainment (with completed years of education)	.051	-.052	-.086
Economic capital (with index)	-.063	-.045	-.020
Achievement (with index)	<b>.092*</b>	-.019	.084
Integration with peers on campus (with index)	<b>-.113*</b>	<b>.099**</b>	<b>.099*</b>

<sup>5</sup> The "public-oriented" factor is equal to + 0.529 + 0.092 (ACHIEVEMENT) - 0.113 (INTEGRATION WITH PEERS ON CAMPUS) - 0.210 (Master's course) + 0.274 (THE SIZE OF THE UNIVERSITY). A significant regression equation was found  $F(19, 474) = 5.303, p < .05$  with an adj. R2 of .147. The "social and moral" factor is equal to + 0.636 - 0.123 (CAPITAL CITY) + 0.099 (INTEGRATION WITH PEERS ON CAMPUS) + 0.146 (Master's course) - 0.223 (ENGINEERING) + 0.223 (THEOLOGY). A significant regression equation was found  $F(19, 474) = 5.164, p < .05$  with an adj. R2 of .143. The "vocational" factor is equal to - 0.171 + 0.099 (INTEGRATION WITH PEERS ON CAMPUS) - 0.111 (COMBINED COURSE). A significant regression equation was found  $F(19, 474) = 2.373, p < .05$  with an adj. R2 of .052.

	Public-oriented $\beta$	Social and moral $\beta$	Vocational $\beta$
<i>The type of training course</i>			
Master's course (0=no, 1=yes)	<b>-.210***</b>	<b>-.146***</b>	-.013
Combined course <sup>c</sup>	-.30	-.082	<b>.111*</b>
<i>Disciplines<sup>d</sup></i>			
Humanities	-.043	-.083	.068
Social sciences	.134	-.064	.067
Science	.047	-.131	.078
Engineering	-.016	<b>-.223*</b>	.010
Medical Studies	.059	-.085	-.014
Arts	.032	-.002	.126
Theology	.097	<b>.223**</b>	.075
The size of the university <sup>e</sup>	<b>.274***</b>	-.068	-.105
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.147	.143	.052

Note. N = 1502, \*p < 0.05, \*\*p < 0.01, \*\*\*p < 0.001.

<sup>a</sup> 1=man, 0=woman

<sup>b</sup> Dummy coding, ref.: smaller city

<sup>c</sup> 0=no, 1=yes

<sup>d</sup> Dummy coding, ref.: smaller city

<sup>e</sup> 0=below 15,000, 1=above

## Qualitative Analysis

### Participants

The features of respondents with their numbers are shown in Table 4. With the sampling method, we attempted to cover all segments of the Hungarian higher educational system. Two church-run institutions were selected, too—one runs theology courses as well, and the other does not. The lecturers from these institutions taught humanities (2 interviewees), social sciences (1 interviewee), and health sciences (1 interviewee).

**Table 4**

*The Number of Interviewees, According to Disciplines and Cities*

Disciplines	Cities (with codes)									
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
Fine arts	1, 2									
Medicine		3, 4								
Health science			25						26	



Disciplines	Cities (with codes)									
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
Agronomy			5, 6							27
Law	7, 8									
Engineering		9	10							
Economics				11, 12						
Social sciences (social work, sociology, social pedagogy)		23					24		29	
Humanities and pedagogy		20, 21			13, 14	15		22		
Science	30			28			16, 17			
Informatics	18, 19									
Sport science				31						

**Qualitative Findings**

We formed the following categories, which are based on the academic literature and the texts of interviews: professional ethics and professionalism, moral elements, critical thinking, tolerance, language and behavioral components, international perspective, general knowledge, helping attitude and public presence. We analyzed the presence of these contents in the texts of the interviews but during the processing of the texts, we had to create other categories which were frequently used by lecturers (consumption of high culture, creativity, and problemsolving, tolerance, the adequate and critical use of information resources, and transformation of personality). Some interviewees take part in mentor programs and formal spaces within the talent nurturing system—in these frameworks the transformation of personality is an important factor.

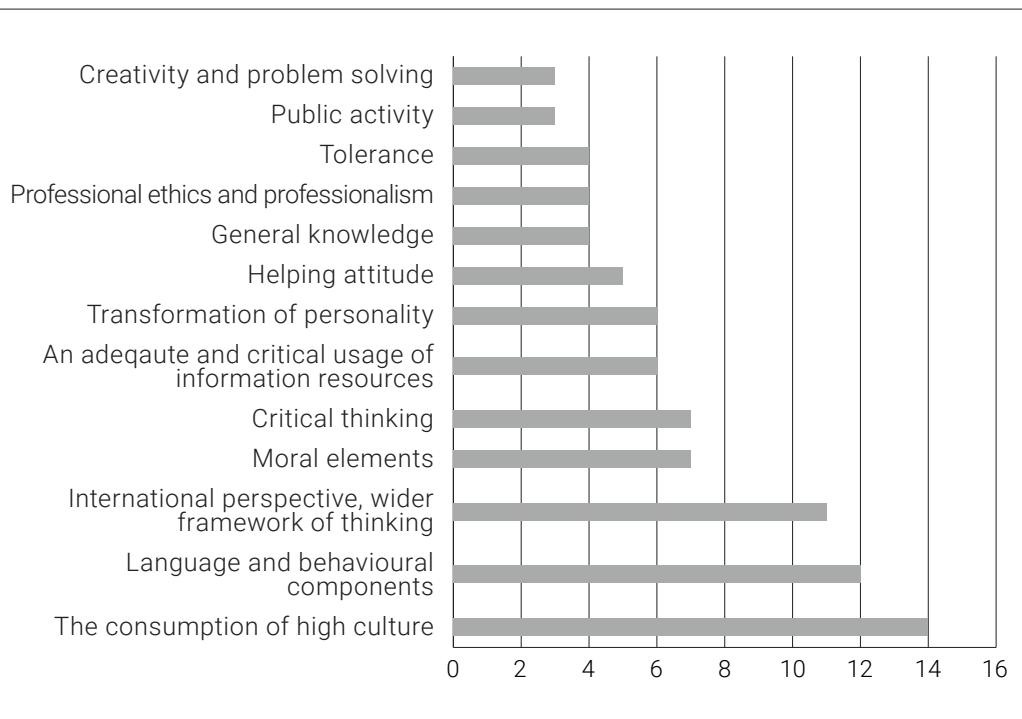
We observed that some categories contained persistent additional elements—professional ethics, the so-called “calling” (Hirschi, 2011) and the pleasure of being in the profession (interviewees 3, 4, and 6) and the moral components fitted into the transmission of traditions and values (1, 2 and 27). Critical thinking was linked to the formation of independent opinions (10 and 20), having an international perspective to thinking in wider systems, and searching for alternatives (5, 8, 19, 21, and 23). Tolerance remained in a close relationship with the removal of prejudice (9 and 29).

The helping attitude category included justice and solidarity in two cases (21, 26), and the use of information resources generally contained the conscious use of the Internet and the filtering of fake news (both in the field of general news and in terms of vocational content—18, 22).

In terms of the frequencies of the categories, two lecturers typified their aims in the field of teaching only through vocational content (4, 31). These interviewees come from the disciplines of medicine and sports science. In the other cases, a comprehensive set of planned effects can be seen, and we can identify a wide range of planned aims in the field of teaching (Figure 1).

**Figure 1**

*The Intended Aims beyond the Vocational Content, According to the Interviewees (the Presence of Categories in the Case of Respondents)<sup>6</sup>*



<sup>6</sup> The categories can be observed in the case of the following interviewees: the consumption of high culture (1, 2, 7, 9, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20, 22, 24, 25, and 27); language and behavioural components (2, 5, 9, 10, 14, 17, 19, 20, 21, 24, 27, and 28); international perspective (5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 14, 16, 19, 21, 23, and 30.); moral elements (1, 2, 10, 21, 26, 27, and 29); critical thinking (7, 10, 12, 13, 21, 23, and 24); use of information resources (7, 12, 19, 27, 28, and 29); helping attitude (3, 13, 21, 26, and 29); transformation of personality (8, 9, 10, 13, 26, and 29); general knowledge (1, 2, 12, and 27); professional ethics and professionalism (3, 4, 6, and 27); tolerance (9, 20, 21, and 29); public activity (7, 23, and 24); and creativity and problem solving (27, 29, and 30).

The lecturers try to reach these goals consciously and using various methods. These practices are part of their classroom activities, and they try to transmit them with the help of dialogues or training sessions with students (1, 9, 13, and 27). The use of literary texts (13, 14, 17, 22, and 23) visits to galleries or social events (1, 2, 6, 11, 19, 22, 24, and 26) or the recommendation of films and books seem to be typical (1, 8, 10, 20, 24, and 27). Lecturers are sometimes seen as role models who can shape students' behavior or thinking (10, 17, and 24).

The barriers to transmission can be identified, too. Three different explanations can be identified within the lecturers' opinions. Firstly, there are the problems which derive from secondary education—and sometimes from primary school—and the process of expansion (8, 10, 16, 17, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, and 30). Skills in the field of reading, writing, and mathematics belong to this group, and specific problems can be observed in the field of Science due to the shifts in the curricula which generate the lower number of classes e.g., in Chemistry, Biology, or Geography. The repetition of the earlier syllabus makes the whole climate of the university similar to secondary education. The second barrier is embedded in the working method of the institution and the features of students' life (4, 8, 11, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 23, 24, and 26). The high number of students and working hours, the fragile balance between teaching, research, and administration reduce the possibilities of transmission for lecturers. The teacher-fronted teaching style of secondary schools may restrict dialogue in the classroom and widen the distance between lecturers and students—sometimes breaking down this gap takes two or three semesters. Moreover, the features of students' campus presence have been changed by paid work and commuting. The third explanation is based on the features of the young cohort (1, 2, 5, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 18, 22, 23, 24, and 27). The different ways of using the Internet, accessing information resources, and the contents of peer dialogues create a dividing wall between lecturers and students and the different cultural spaces reduce the efficiency of dialogue. These differences can show up in the attitudes toward education and knowledge, too. The lower efficiency of lectures is mentioned by interviewees (11, 13, 15, 22, and 24). In two cases (10, 14), the distance between generations seems to be wide, but this distance does not have a negative or restrictive sense.

## Discussion

In our first hypothesis, we assumed the dominance of vocational elements among institutional effects. As Table 1 shows, this hypothesis can be verified because “competence in the field of your own discipline” was ranked first and “knowledge of academic literature” second. However, undergraduates perceive other segments of

institutional effects, and these elements do not belong to the more narrowly interpreted vocational skills and contents. Moral elements, general knowledge, independence—which may be related to free-floating intellectuals (Mannheim, 1993)—, the improvement of local communities, and high culture are in the top half of the list. We can state that despite the utilitarian and practical aspirations of national and institutional policies, the universities' effects are complex, and the public and critical elements seem to be less important.

Our second hypothesis supposes the significant effects of disciplines in the regression models. This hypothesis was not verified. As Table 3 shows, the effects of the universities are hardly embedded in the disciplines. Only two significant relationships can be detected: engineering and theology can form the “social and moral” factor. At the same time, students' presence on campuses seems to be more important, and this result confirms theories of institutional socialization such as those of Weidman (2005) or Pascarella and Terenzini (1991). However, the directions of peer integration are diverse—it can increase the “social moral” but not the “public-oriented” factor—so the high level of integration cannot mediate the whole spectrum of institutional effects. As we could see earlier, these macro-social and critical elements are perceived less by students, but they are characteristic of some segments of higher education—the large research universities above 15,000 students—and remain in a close relationship with high-level achievement. The Master's course—perhaps because it fits more closely into the labor market—reduces both this “public-oriented attitude” and the “social and moral” at the same time. The combined courses include training courses—such as lawyers, doctors, or teachers—that can be considered “professions” (Fónai, 2012)—perhaps this is the explanation for the significant relationship in the case of the “vocational” factor.

Two lecturers characterize their teaching goals as “purely” vocational, but some of them explain this attitude as resulting from the barriers to transmission—the high number of students, the significant workload of students and lecturers at the same time, and too much curricular content. Most lecturers try to transmit a wide range of elements—the consumption of high culture, moral elements—, and have specific techniques to do this. These techniques are developed during classroom practice or in the framework of extra-curricular activities, as well. The barriers to this transmission process are complex: some elements are embedded in the secondary education system, and others in the operation of universities, the current features of students' life, and the effects of the age gap between students and lecturers. It is obvious that these educational circumstances require adaptation from lecturers, who have had to change their working process and teaching methods as the whole spectrum

of students' socialization—aims, frameworks and so forth—has shifted. According to the interviews, the transformation of the student body and this process form undergraduates' skills, habitus, and knowledge. Lecturers need to use new teaching methods and communication forms, and need to start the vocational socialization from other funds—but their opportunities can be limited, and they may find this new situation less comfortable.

Our quantitative and qualitative results confirm the fact that students' socialization process cannot be described by vocational elements alone, but also by the working methods of institutions, the working conditions of lecturers, and the exceptional students who move the whole system in these directions. The patterns of these effects—which were identified with various factors—are embedded in institutional features—the size of the university—, the type of training course, the different fields of students' integration and behaviour—integration with peers, achievement—, but less so in socioeconomic variables. The effects of different disciplines are not significant, except for the “social and moral” factor; however, according to the academic literature, we suppose there are sharp distinctions among arts, sciences, and social sciences. The patterns seem to be different in the case of the master's level, which may indicate the existence of a special form of student integration at this level. The patterns of the institutional effects of the large research universities seem to be more public-oriented.

With the help of the interviews, we can describe lecturers' intentions. However, we must be aware that intentions are not the same as real effects and the methods of transmission which operate in every situation. Some institutions have a strong profile in the fields of “helping attitude” and “moral elements” (these are the church-run universities—26, 29, 20, and 21), and “transformation of personality” is more significant in those segments of higher education in which the socio-cultural background of students is lower—humanities, social sciences, agronomy or engineering. In these cases, the elements of transmission are frequently formalized—mentor programs, a system of tutoring, special lectures in the curricula—, and students turn may to lecturers with their private problems—death in the family, problems with accommodation, and so forth. Lecturers can generally see the barriers to this transmission process; sometimes they feel in an alienated situation (8, 11, and 25). The explanation of this feeling may be the transformation of the universities—the lecturers' socialization process was conducted in a different context, and generally occurred before the expansion process. Some lecturers (8, 9, and 11) highlighted that the integration of students seems to be less intense than in earlier decades, so the institutional effects—whether they be the starting point, lecturers, social events, peer-group effects, and so forth—operate at lower efficiency in the current situation.

Naturally, our research has some limitations. Firstly, although we tried to reach a wide range of institutions and disciplines, our database and interviewees are not representative. Secondly, the analysis was conducted before the global pandemic. To sum up our empirical findings, we cannot create a model which describes the entire Hungarian higher education system—instead, we can observe specific subcultures which can be considered typical with respect to the size of the institutions, the type of the settlement, or in some cases the disciplines. At the level of these subcultures, the patterns of institutional effects are different, which are not confined to vocational elements only.

### Acknowledgements

This article was created with the support of the János Bolyai Research Scholarship of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and it was also supported by the ÚNKP-20-5 New National Excellence Program of the Ministry of Human Capacities.

### References

- Barakonyi K. (2009). *A Bologna „Hungaricum”. Diagnózis és terápia*. Új Mandátum Press.
- Barnett, R. (2000). Supercomplexity and the curriculum. *Studies in Higher Education*, 25(3), 255–265. <https://doi.org/10.1080/713696156>
- Bonnett, M. (2000). Value issues in developing children's thinking. In M. Leicester, S. Modgil & C. Modgil (Eds.), *Education, culture and values* (Vol. 3) (pp. 1–14). Falmer Press.
- Brower, A. M. (1992). The “second half” of student integration: The effects of life task predominance on student persistence. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 63(4), 441–462. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00221546.1992.11778378>
- Bok, D. (2009). *Universities in the marketplace: The commercialization of higher education*. Princeton University Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt7svxh>
- Bogler, R., & Somech, A. (2002). Motives to study and socialization tactics among university students. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 142(2), 233–248. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224540209603897>
- Currie, J. (2000). Mapping schooling types and pedagogies within different values framework. In M. Leicester, S. Modgil & C. Modgil (Eds.), *Education, culture and values* (Vol. 3). (pp. 96–109). Falmer Press.
- Enders, J. (2009). Introduction. In J. Enders, E. de Weert & Egbert de Weert (Eds.), *The changing face of academic life: Analytical and comparative perspectives* (pp. 1–12). Springer. [https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230242166\\_1](https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230242166_1)
- Engler Á. (Ed.). (2018). *Család és karrier. Egyetemi hallgatók jövőtervei*. CHERD.
- Esomonu, N. P. M., & Okeaba, J. U. (2016). Development and standardization of inventory for measuring students' integration into university academic culture. *European Journal of Educational Research*, 5(4), 201–211. <https://doi.org/10.12973/eu-jer.5.4.201>
- Fitzgerald, T. (2012). Tracing the fault lines. In T. Fitzgerald, J. White & H. M. Gunter (Eds.), *Hard labour? Academic work and the changing landscape of higher education* (pp. 1–22). Emerald Group. [https://doi.org/10.1108/S1479-3628\(2012\)0000007002](https://doi.org/10.1108/S1479-3628(2012)0000007002)

- Fónai, M. (2014). *Joghallgatók. Honnan jönnek és hová tartanak?* Debreceni Egyetem Állam- és Jogtudományi Kar–DELA Könyvkiadó Kft.
- Graham, G. (2005). *The institution of intellectual values: Realism and idealism in higher education*. Imprint Academic.
- Gordon, G. (2009). Global contexts. In C. Whitchurch & G. Gordon (Eds.), *Academic and professional identities in higher education: The challenges of a diversifying workforce* (pp. 13–33). Routledge.
- Hirschi, A. (2011). Calling in career: A typological approach to essential and optional components. *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*, 79(1), 60–73. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2010.11.002>
- Kaufman, P., & Feldman, K. A. (2004). Forming identities in college: A sociological approach. *Research in Higher Education*, 45(5), 463–496. <https://doi.org/10.1023/B:RIHE.0000032325.56126.29>
- Knafo, A., & Sagiv, L. (2004). Values and work environment: Mapping 32 occupations. *European Journal of Psychology of Education*, 19(3), 255–273. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF03173223>
- Kvale, S. (1994). *Interviews: An introduction to qualitative research interviewing*. Sage Publications.
- Lähteenoja, S., & Pirttilä-Backman, A. M. (2005). Cultivation or coddling? University teachers' views on student integration. *Studies in Higher Education*, 30(6), 641–661. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03075070500339970>
- Mannheim, K. (1993). The sociology of intellectuals. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 10(3), 69–80.
- McInnis, C. (2010). Traditions of academic professionalism and shifting academic identities. In C. Whitchurch & G. Gordon (Eds.), *Academic and professional identities in higher education: The challenges of a diversifying workforce* (pp. 147–165). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.1177/026327693010003004>
- Naidoo, R. (2005). Universities in the marketplace: The distortion of teaching and research. In R. Barnett (Ed.), *Reshaping the university: New relationships between research, scholarship, and teaching* (pp. 27–36). Open University Press/McGraw-Hill.
- Neave, G. (2009). The academic estate revisited: Reflections on academia's rapid progress from the Capitoline Hill to the Tarpeian Rock. In J. Enders, E. de Weert & Egbert de Weert (Eds.), *The changing face of academic life: Analytical and comparative perspectives* (pp. 15–35). Springer. [https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230242166\\_2](https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230242166_2)
- Scott, P. (2005). Divergence or convergence? The links between teaching and research in mass higher education. In R. Barnett (Ed.), *Reshaping the university: New relationships between research, scholarship, and teaching* (pp. 53–66). McGraw-Hill Education.
- Pascarella, E. T., & Terenzini, P. T. (1991). *How college affects students: Findings and insights from twenty years of research*. Jossey-Bass Inc.
- Peterson, R. A., & Kern, R. M. (1996). Changing highbrow taste: From snob to omnivore. *American Sociological Review*, 61, 900–907. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2096460>
- Polónyi I. (2013). *Az aranykor vége. Bezárnak-e a papírgyárak?* Gondolat Press.
- Pusztai G. (2015). *Pathways to success in higher education*. Peter Lang. <https://doi.org/10.3726/978-3-653-05577-1>
- Pusztai, G., & Szabó, P. C. (2008). The Bologna process as a Trojan horse: Restructuring higher education in Hungary. *European Education*, 40(2), 85–103. <https://doi.org/10.2753/EUE1056-4934400205>

- Usherwood, J. (2010). Innovative university management. In C. Whitchurch & G. Gordon (Eds.), *Academic and professional identities in higher education – the challenge of a diversifying workforce* (pp. 55–67). Routledge.
- Veroszta, Zs (2010). *Felsőoktatási értékek—hallgatói szemmel. A felsőoktatás küldetésére vonatkozó hallgatói értékstruktúrák feltárása*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Corvinus University of Budapest.
- Weidman, J.C. (2006). Socialization of students of higher education: Organizational perspectives. In C. F. Conrad & R. C. Serlin (Eds.), *The Sage handbook for research in education: Engaging ideas and enriching inquiry* (pp. 253–262). SAGE.
- White, J. (2009). Scholarly identity. In T. Fitzgerald, J. White & H. M. Gunter (Eds.), *Hard labour? Academic work and the changing landscape of higher education* (pp. 65–85). Emerald Groups.



# The Contemporary Significance of the Early Accounting Teaching Methods

ERZSÉBET SZÁSZ

Affiliation: Partium Christian University  
Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences, Oradea, Romania  
Email: szaszerzsebet@partium.ro

EDITH DEBRENTI

Affiliation: Partium Christian University  
Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences, Oradea, Romania  
Email: debrenti.edit@partium.ro

## Abstract

In the light of global trends, economic operators cannot withstand change. At first, computer-driven technologies replaced only routine tasks, which were easily programmed using algorithms. However, as a result of technological development, artificial intelligence, machine learning, the internet and big data, machines have acquired an understanding of non-routine tasks. They have become autonomous, and are now capable of solving more and more complex tasks.

The job opportunities offered by the new digitalized world ask for new competencies developed by the education system. Our research examines 20<sup>th</sup>-century teaching methods based on final exams made public, then compares and contrasts them to 21<sup>st</sup>-century teaching materials and examination methods. One of the significant observations is that between 1900 and 1918, the final exam in mathematics contained only word problems. The majority of the 223 problems available, 57 by number, focused on “capital, interest, benefit, loan, sales and purchase.” The wording of the problems reflects the (actual) problems and events of the time. Although case studies are still present, most problems are the “calculate, solve, circle, underline” type. Example problems are often provided; thus, problem-solving turns into a routine task. The earlier method yet based on word problems inspired by our everyday economic reality might prove helpful in developing problem-solving skills, in reducing reading comprehension difficulties present at all levels of education as well as in indirectly raising awareness of today’s environmental, personal finance, issues.

**Keywords:** accounting, mathematics, teaching methods, competences, skills

## Introduction

Global tendencies force every single economic operator to change. At first, technologies controlled by computer systems have only displaced routine production services that could be easily programmed into an algorithm. However, with the development of technology—as a result of artificial intelligence, machine learning, the Internet of Things, and big data—even non-routine tasks and functions have become comprehensible for machines. They have become capable of performing tasks of increasing complexity, also showing the ability of autonomous thinking. As a consequence of this phenomenon, many occupations and fields of activity are jeopardized; so many individuals have to retrain themselves in order to be able to hold their ground in the labor market and possess the personal competencies that convince employers to choose them.

However, the employment opportunities offered by this new, digitalized world require different competencies, developing which is the task of the educational system, teachers, in particular. It is not a simple task, though, since it means meeting requirements that are only partially known or not known at all, while digitalization and automation are happening a lot more quickly than labor market operators, policy, or regulations notice. In addition to this, the new jobs appearing as a result of these processes are also unfamiliar. These phenomena arise in a globalized world in which alarming worldwide occurrences such as pandemic, climate change, or armed conflicts occur. Therefore, education has an outstanding role in developing the skills and competencies individuals need to ensure their sustainability. According to Shear, Gallagher, and Patel (2011), the ability to assume global responsibility is one of the most important competencies of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. At the same time, improvement of fundamental knowledge, developing certain skills, laying down core values has become more important than ever. In relation to the information revolution, the question of technological dystopia also arises, which can be avoided if the education of the future generations will be marked by the humanities, specifically by arts, empathy, and ethics (Vajna, 2018).

This study offers a short overview of the historical teaching accounting and arithmetic; in addition to this, it aims to present the relationship between these two fields and how teaching these subjects began in Europe and Hungary. As in the case of any branch of science, the books published in the early periods are very important as they may serve as the bases of the teaching material created in the future. The purpose of our research is to highlight the essential elements of teaching accounting and mathematics when these subjects were first introduced in the formal education. These elements may provide useful lessons through a rediscovery of old methods which, if incorporated in the set of modern teaching tools of our days, can render teaching more effective.

Since studying and teaching mathematics in Hungary started to develop in the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries, an overview of the books published in this period is welcome because the content and approaches in these books served as a basis for the elementary-level mathematic textbooks that were later published. One of these outstanding publications is *A Kolozsvári Arithmetika*, not a mere mathematics textbook as merchants also used it who, thus, had the possibility to study the basic arithmetical operations in their mother tongue. Furthermore, the book is significant from the perspective of the history of science as well because this is the period when the Hungarian mathematical terminology emerged.

As far as accounting is concerned, an overview of a chapter of the 15<sup>th</sup>-century mathematical encyclopedia, the *Summa de arithmetica, geometria, proportione et proportionalità. Particularis de computis* contains the foundation of today's recording method called double-entry bookkeeping.

In the present research, we also examined the teaching methods of mathematics and accounting at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century based on the analysis of mathematics word problems included in secondary-school leaving examination. In addition to this, a Hungarian accounting workbook published at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is also presented.

## The science of counting

To have comprehensive knowledge of any field of science, it is necessary to study both its present level of development and its history in order to gain an overall picture of its origin and future.

In medieval Europe, books were copied by hand. Students learned from the books they copied from their teachers. Copying by hand was replaced by Gutenberg's printing machine; thus, Gutenberg started the mass production of books and textbooks. From the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the printing houses in the vicinity of universities and larger school centers in Western Europe specialized in printing textbooks. Some of the first significant publications in the field of mathematics are presented below.

### The first European publication in the field of mathematics

Prosdocimo de Beldomandi (~1380–1428) was an Italian mathematician born in Padua whose name is linked to the formula of the sum of the geometric progression. His work entitled *Algoritmus de Integri* appeared in 1410 in Latin. Another significant book was published in 1482 in Bamberg, known as the *Bamberg Mathematics*, written by Wagner Ulrich, arithmetic master from Nürnberg. It was the first printed arithmetic book in German.

A further mathematician who wrote a book was one of the most outstanding mathematicians of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Fra Luca Bartolomeo de Pacioli's (1445–1514) work entitled *Summa de arithmetica, geometrica, proportioni et proportionalita*, published in 1494 in Venice, puts down on paper almost all mathematical knowledge of its time: Arabic numerals, the four basic mathematical operations, fractions, problems solved with both the simple and the compound rule of three, proportional division, percentage calculation, calculation of interest, product and value of goods calculation, mixing problems, coin and casting calculation. It also mentions the "company rule," "calculation of time limits," and "mixing calculation."

Master György—George Martinuzzi—was the first Hungarian who authored a printed book published in the field of mathematics. The Hungarian monk living the Netherlands finished his book, *Arithmeticae Summa Tripartita Magistri Georgij de Hungaria*, in Latin in 1499. It was found by Árpád Hellebrant in 1893 in the Hamburg City Library, and it was published again by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1894.

The German mathematician, Adam Riese (1492–1559), was one of the most outstanding arithmetic masters of his age. He introduced the notations in the operations with fractions that are used in our days. His book appeared in 1525 in Erfurt, and although it does not contain original research, it had a long-term effect on the development and spreading of mathematics because it had been formulated with great didactical skills. It contains the theoretical mathematical knowledge of his age, and it has a great structure from a didactical point of view. He focused on advancing from the simple to the complex, repeated every algorithm with new problems again and again—an important principle in the teaching of mathematics to our days (Debrenti, 2016).

Gemma Reinerus Frisius (1508–1555) was a professor of Leuven University, a doctor, and mathematician. His 37-page long work entitled *Arithmeticae practicea Methodus facilis* appeared in 1540. The book first describes the rules, and then it offers an example to illustrate each one and make practice easier. As a result of his work, the Arabic positional numeral system became widespread in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, similarly to the pursuit to do the mathematical operations fast and with more routine. Therefore, the teaching of mathematics focuses even more on becoming mechanical.

Simon Stevin (Stevinus) (1548–1620), Dutch mathematician, physicist, and engineer, published his work entitled *La disme* in 1585, in which he introduced the decimal fractions presenting their practical application as well.

## Hungarian mathematics in the 16–18<sup>th</sup> century

In this era, scientific publications were written mostly in Latin. Readers who were somewhat educated but did not know Latin could only read prayer books and calendars. As a consequence, mathematical expressions in Hungarian rarely appear in texts written between 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, and there is no continuous text in Hungarian left behind (Keresztesi, 1935). Hungarian mathematics started to take shape in the 16–18<sup>th</sup> centuries as the authors strived to create a Hungarian scientific terminology for mathematics and reserve certain words of the language for the field of mathematics. Since it contains many symbols and signs, mathematical terminology is different from the terminology of other fields. The books that appeared in this period are very important from the perspective of science, as the teaching materials and didactic considerations included in these served as a basis for the elementary-level mathematic textbooks that appeared later on (Debrenti, 2016).

Six important works were published in Hungarian until the 1777 educational reform introduced by Maria Theresa, whose decree promoting Germanisation hindered education in Hungarian that had just slowly started to set off. Empress Maria Theresa's decree issued on August 22, 1777, the I. Ratio Educationis, made teaching mathematics compulsory an hour a week in the second grade of schools with education in the mother tongue. The Ratio Educationis II of 1806 made teaching mathematics compulsory from first grade already and it also specified the content of the teaching material. It was around this time that the first mathematics textbooks in Hungarian were published.

The printing house in Debrecen founded by Rudolf Hoffhalter in 1561 was the first one to publish a Hungarian arithmetic work, *Aritmetica, az az A Számve Tesnec Tudomania* [Arithmetic, or the Science of Counting] in 1577. Its author is anonymous, for this reason it is known as the *Debreceni Arithmetika*. Its revised version, *Kolozsvári Arithmetika*, appeared in 1591. The work entitled *Magyar Arithmetika, az az számvetésnek tudománya* [Hungarian Arithmetic, or the Science of Counting] is the property of the Scientific Collection of the Reformed College from Sárospatak and it was published in "Colosvarat, 1591" [Cluj Napoca]. The books published in this period are characterized by poor vocabulary (Keresztesi, 1935).<sup>1</sup>

János Apáczai Csere's (1625–1659) comprehensive work, *Magyar Encyclopaedia* [Hungarian Encyclopaedia], was the first Hungarian encyclopaedia. It was published in 1655 in Utrecht despite the title page indicating 1653 as the date of publication.

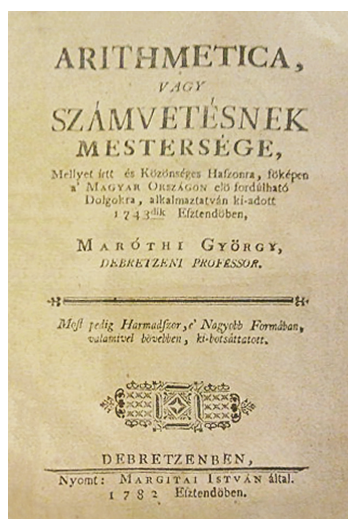
---

<sup>1</sup> Due to the modern technology of our days, the book, together with many other valuable works, is now accessible. It has been digitized by the Hungarian Institute of the History of Science headed by the historian of science István Gazda, the director of the Institute.

Ferenc Menyőii Tolvaj (?–1710) penned *Az arithmetikának, avagy a számlálásnak öt speciesinek rövid magyar regulákban foglaltatott mestersége* [The short rules of the art of arithmetic or counting in Hungarian] in 1675 (Menyőii Tolvaj, 1675).

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century Arithmetic is still taught according to Adam Riese's curriculum, with decimal fractions being included. However, due to the influence of Bracon, Locke, Ratka, and Comenius, the methodology changed a lot.

In 1738, at the age of 23, György Maróthi (1715–1744) became teacher at the Debrecen College, and through his reforms he transformed the school in seven years. He was the one who wrote the first Hungarian textbook in the field of arithmetic, *Arithmetika vagy számvetésnek mestersége* [Arithmetic, or the art of counting], in 1743. A sample of his work can be found in the Archives of the Franciscan Parish of Gyöngyös-Alsóváros (see Figure 1). He introduces Hungarian terms for various mathematical expressions. For example, "Kalmárok Regulája" ["Rule of Merchants"] originated from the Latin designations Regula Detri or Regula Trium. Maróthi introduced the Hungarian name "egyszerű hármasszabály" (simple rule of three), which means that we always seek the fourth number based on three known numbers (Maróthi, 1743). He used this designation to calculate direct and inverse proportionality problems as well. Another term that he presented and explained was the "company rule": when establishing a company, merchants give a sum of money for public trading; when that money brings some profit or a deficit occurs, the amount everyone gets from the profit should be decided based on the Company Regula (Debrenti, Kolozsvár Arithmetics, 2016).



**Figure 1**

*The first Hungarian textbook by Maróthi György*

Source: the Library Archives of the Franciscan Parish of Alsóváros in Gyöngyös (Gyöngyösi–Alsóvárosi Ferences Plébánia Műemlékkönyvtára)

## The analysis of the *Kolozsvári Arithmetika* or What did a merchant learn in the past?

The significance of *Debreceni Arithmetika*, considered the first Hungarian mathematics textbook, is unquestionable as some of the expressions it started to use in the field of arithmetic had not been used in a mathematical context before. Its second edition, *Kolozsvári Arithmetika*, is more complex than the first edition. It is the basis for most subsequent arithmetic textbooks, in addition to contributing to the development of Hungarian arithmetic terminology. It was more than a school textbook as merchants also used it to study the basic mathematical operations in their mother tongue. The title page (Figure 2) gives us more insight into the book's content, purpose, and what it could be used for<sup>2</sup>. The title suggests that this publication is the revised and extended edition of the *Debreceni Arithmetika* enriched with several new and useful examples<sup>3</sup>. The engraving on the title page illustrates the interior of a merchant's shop, which could be interpreted as a hint at the target group of the book. The text aims to present a quick and useful method of counting, which is very easy to learn, for those interested in the field of counting (Maróthi, 1743). Ö. Kovács believed that the anonymous author of the book mastered the language well because his way of thinking, his expressions, his puns have such a wonderful Hungarian character to them, that the mathematical text written in 1591 was far more enjoyable to read than the works of many Hungarian writers those days (1877).

**Figure 2**



*Kolozsvári Arithmetika*

Source of Figure 2  
and Figure 3:  
The Scientific  
Collection of the  
Reformed College  
from Sárospatak  
(Sárospataki  
Református Kollégium  
Tudományos  
Gyűjteménye)

The engraving  
illustrating the inside  
of a merchant's shop

**Figure 3**



<sup>2</sup> "The science of Hungarian Arithmetic or Counting. Published recently based on the Hungarian Arithmetic of Frisius with many new and useful examples in Kolozsvár in 1591 after the birth of our Lord Christ."

<sup>3</sup> Ödön Kovács (1877) believes that despite what the title page suggests, this book was not the new and extended edition of the arithmetic of the Hungarian Frisius printed in 1577 in Debrecen and published again in 1582. The length, the editing, the rules, the explanation of the operations, the examples in the book all diverge from the Debrecen model; only a few elements remind us of the Hungarian Frisius. The author makes many references to the old "Hungarian Mathematical Book," occasionally expressing his harsh criticism of it. Comparing the two works, he claims that the author from Kolozsvár was a better mathematician than the one from Debrecen.

When assessing textbooks, there are two main functions to be emphasized: how the knowledge presented in the book can be acquired and the purpose of the book reflected in the tasks presented in the textbook. Based on Fischerné Dárdai's (2008) criteria, textbooks are analysed as follows: a) the subject matter, the topics; b) the questions and problems; c) the learnability of the technical terms; d) the illustrations, bibliographical aspects.

### The topics of the book

The book consists of two main parts; the first part presents the mathematical operations with many practical applications, each amended with explanation. Figure 4 illustrates the multiplication table called the Heltai multiplication table instead of Tabula Pythagorica—the Hungarian name is used instead of the international one. The subsequent sections present four rules: Regula Detri, simple rule of three, Regula Vulgaris, complex rule of three which is traced back to the simple rule of three, Regula Societatis, the company rule, and Regula Falsi, solving linear equations with planned trial.

Figure 4

DE MVLTIPICATIONE TABLA.		
Kétfer	2	4
	3	6
	4	8
	5	10
	6	12
	7	14
	8	16
	9	18
	<hr/>	
Háromfor	3	9
	4	12
	5	15
	6	18
	7	21
	8	24
	9	27
<hr/>		
Négyszer	4	16
	5	20
	6	24
	7	28
	8	32
	9	36
	C <sub>3</sub>	Eotf

Multiplication table

Source: The Scientific Collection of the Reformed College from Sárospatak (Sárospataki Református Kollégium Tudományos Gyűjteménye)



## Questions and problems

The problems in the book were very practical and each problem was explained (Table 1). It does not contain any number problem; for every operation and rule, only word problems are formulated. Separating word problems from number problems was not customary at that time.

**Table 1**

*The proportion of number problems and word problems in Kolozsvári Arithmetika*

Description	Value
Number of problems (pieces)	120
The proportion of number problems (in %)	5 (these contain text and explanations as well, but these are instructions rather)
The proportion of word problems (in %)	95

The content of the word problems illustrates the author's perception of children typical of that age, also showing the dominant world view and value system of the era. The topics of problems relate to every-day concerns like respecting private property, and refer to moral characteristics such as honesty, helpfulness, and patriotism. Topics also include elements of everyday life, for example, professions, buildings, parts of buildings, means of payment, relationships, partners, connections, animals, plants, places, objects, clothes, food, and drink.

## The learnability of the pedagogical texts and the usage of technical terms

Usually, problems of understanding and learning are mostly caused by technical terms. The frequency of technical terms largely influences the comprehensibility and learnability of a text.

**Table 2**

*The occurrence of technical terms in Kolozsvári Arithmetika*

Description	Value
Number of pages	256
Number of technical terms	1266
Number of technical terms per page	5

The average sentence has 35–40 words, and around three of them are technical terms. The shortest sentence contains ten words, while the longest contains 54. As opposed to this, textbooks today have 1–3 word long sentences, and are characterized by the use of undeveloped codes (Köves, 2010).

The author aimed to make his work readable and easy to understand; to achieve this, he introduced a few punch lines in the text, which is very rare nowadays in textbooks with a similar topic. The punch lines are characteristic of the age. In one of the examples, Maróthi illustrates the length of addition if that involves many items, by comparing it to the time it takes to fry an egg (1743). In another example, to illustrate how expensive an item is, the author claims that the long-distance transport fee is yet to be included in the price (Maróthi, 1743). In connection with one of the rules, he writes that the rule in question has no use whatsoever in Hungary because it cannot be applied due to Hungarian people’s nature. Also, he justifies the name of *Regula falsi*—the false position method—with humor as he claims that it is not called false because it teaches false things.

The author believes that it is important to learn, use and understand technical terms in Hungarian. He uses terminology extensively, in some cases he uses more technical terms for one notion. Thus, the vocabulary of notions found in the book is diverse.

### **Illustrations, bibliographical aspects**

Illustrations play a significant role in understanding and remembering the information to be learned. They can be examined from three aspects: quantity, type, and whether they correspond to the mathematical content. The frequency and classification of the illustrations found in the *Kolozsvári Arithmerika* are summed up in Table 3.

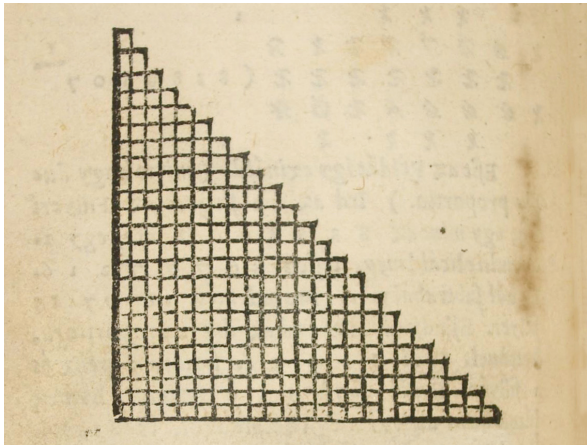
**Table 3**

*The frequency and classification of illustrations*

Description	Value
The overall number of illustrations	240
Illustrations for the explanation of the solution for Problems/Examples/Operations	237
Pictorial illustrations	3
Average number of illustrations on one page	1
Illustrations with textual elements	237
Illustrations without textual elements	3

Illustrations appear on almost every page, except the summary at the end of the book. The presentation of progressions section contains the largest number of illustrations. These are black and white like the letters. Every problem is illustrated by an image closely related to its mathematical content to guide comprehension (Figure 5). The text of problems and the illustrations form a whole as they allude to each other and solution, in many cases, is aided by guided observation.

**Figure 5**



*Illustration without textual elements  
for an easier comprehension  
of progressions*

Source: The Scientific Collection of  
the Reformed College from Sárospatak  
(Sárospataki Református Kollégium  
Tudományos Gyűjteménye)

## The science of accounting

### The first appearance of the double-entry accounting system

Accounting is connected to arithmetic—or counting, as originally termed—in several aspects. Thus, it is not surprising that the writing in which the double-entry accounting system first appeared was not an economics book with economic content, but the 1494 mathematical encyclopedia entitled *Summa de arithmetica, geometria, proportione et proportionalità*, published by the Italian friar Luca Pacioli, one of the most outstanding mathematicians of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Though this work is regarded as the first book to present a uniform summary of double-entry bookkeeping, the first study describing the double-entry accounting system was published in 1458 and it was written by the Italian businessman Benedetto Cotrugli<sup>4</sup> (Sangster & Rossi, 2018).

---

<sup>4</sup>The mistake stems from the fact that Benedetto Cotrugli's book entitled *Libro de l'Arte dela mercatura* was published only in 1573, 115 years after the appearance of his study. In this work, he deals with the double-entry accounting system in only one chapter but does not describe the method in detail. Luca Pacioli refers to this study and gives a summary of the accounting method based on it.

In a relatively short chapter of only 27 pages or 2400 words of his above-mentioned work—a chapter entitled *Particularis de computis*—Luca Pacioli explains the method to record tradesmen’s transactions, wealth, and achievements, which is currently called double-entry bookkeeping. Therefore, the process originates from him<sup>5</sup>. The accounting chapter was translated into many languages, such as English, French, German, Dutch, and Italian. Due to book printing, the *Accounting method from Venice* became a standard throughout Europe (Gleeson-White, 2013). Since this system lacked notions like the balance and the various criteria for classifying accounts, Baricz (2008) believes that this work cannot be regarded as the basis of description of wealth in accounting.

The 16<sup>th</sup> century is of crucial importance for accountants, as flourishing trade had created a great demand for this profession. The first modern balance sheet, the Fugger balance, is created in Augsburg in 1511. In the records of the chief accountant educated in Venice, Matthäus Schwarz, nominal ledgers are classified for the first time: he called the book of debts “book of persons’ account,” while the nominal book of accounts was entitled “Capus.” He also had a “little book of expenses” for the expenses and consumption duties, and created a “secret book,” which, among others, contained the profit and loss accounts (Sinka, 2014).

The first noteworthy accounting textbook, published in 1592, is associated with another mathematician, Sartorius.

### **The analysis of *Particularis de computis***

Luca Pacioli’s description of the basis of the double-entry accounting system from the 15<sup>th</sup> century is close to the way we are using it today. Pacioli’s description is not as detailed as double-accounting system is today, with elaborated standards for every little difference, but it contained every essential element. According to him, in trade three elements are needed: cash, a good accountant, and settling the transactions with regularity so that it may be clear at first glance with through the debit<sup>6</sup> and credit accounting techniques. He emphasized that regular, systematic accounting is the key to every businessman’s peace of mind. Christian faith was

---

<sup>5</sup> There is earlier evidence of the existence of the double-entry accounting system, for example, general ledgers from Genoa from 1340.

<sup>6</sup> Debit—stems from the Latin word *debere*, which means: to possess. Credit—comes from the word *credere*, meaning: to believe.

inseparable from trading according to the mathematician-accountant-friar; this is why he advised every businessman to offer his record-keeping book to God.<sup>7</sup>

Pacioli aimed to present and teach to his students—most of them were the children of merchants, who wanted to prepare their successors for business activities—procedures that would help them find everything at first glance. He warned that without these elements, both them and their business would get into trouble, so he emphasized the paramount importance of order in doing business.

According to Pacioli, every merchant's purpose is to realize lawful and fair profit and maintain their business. Neither of these targets was trivial at that time as merchants did not have the tools we have today to calculate profit. Keeping an accurate and regularly updated accounting record is the prerequisite for realizing the lawful and fair profit Pacioli mentioned.

### **The basics of the double-entry accounting method**

According to the system designed by Pacioli, the first step to achieve this purpose is taking an inventory of every possession—both the highly valuable ones and those that seemed insignificant. It had to be completed in one day if possible, and done with accuracy to avoid confusion. The assets taken stock of had to be noted on a separate sheet of paper.

After the inventory is taken, three books are needed to record transactions:

1. A reminder (memorandum) (*memoriale*) contained the record of every transaction on an hourly basis. Every single item that was bought or sold was mentioned here together with every small detail that might be useful later on.
2. A journal (*giornale*) helped clarify and organize the data recorded in the memorandum. Every note had to start with one of the following expressions: *per*—signaling the source, debit ledger account—or *to*—signaling the target, credit ledger account.
3. A general ledger (*quaderno*) that consisted of pages divided into two columns. Every journal entry had to be recorded here twice: once in the column on the left side (debit/debt) and once in the column on the right side (credit/demand). The two sides had to be of equal size, to eliminate mistakes.

---

<sup>7</sup> His advice includes that every record-keeping book should be started with the name of God. His holy name should be constantly in the merchants' minds, and the first book should be marked by the holy sign of the cross. This could mean protection but also the implementation of Christian values in business transactions.

Since different currency was used in every large city, the accountant, who kept these records, had to be informed what currency to use for the settlement of the operations. After recording transactions, the books could be authenticated and stamped. Therefore, they became certified, and could be presented in a courtroom (Gleeson-White, 2013, p. 97–100).

As noted above, the accounting technique developed by Luca Pacioli contained every important element of the contemporary double-entry bookkeeping: journal and ledger entry recording, journals and nominal ledgers, allocation, credit/debit, transactions recorded in two accounts, balance equality, inventories, and authentication. In the Pacioli-system, assets are reported on a given date, while results for a period. When compiling the records, the principles to be observed are accuracy, regularity, precaution, legality, fairness, morals, and ethics. The core foundations of accounting and economy have not changed. They grew in complexity, the number of required details extended, and the techniques used in proportion with the complexity of the transactions differ. The process evolved from using double entries to applying international standards and from starting a business with the name of God to formulating the code of ethics.

### **The emergence of accounting in Romania and Hungary**

Luca Pacioli's principles and ideas influenced the works written in the field of accounting in various countries of Europe. However, merchants still kept simple records based on income and expenditure besides the ones about the buyers, debtors, and suppliers or creditors. This method was rediscovered in Western Europe at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, the entries of economic transactions of the enterprises still only served to disclose changes in the assets, to demonstrate the stock of the debtors and creditors, and to protect the interests of the owners.

### **Crucial moments in accountancy education and the accounting profession in Romania**

This was no different in Romania either, where economic-accounting mindset and the establishment of economic schools in greater cities emerged at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Theodor Ștefănescu's coursebook entitled *Curs de comptabilitate în partidă dublă* [Double-entry accounting] was first published in Bucharest in 1874, and it had seven subsequent publications (1874, 1881, 1888, 1896, 1901, 1902, and 1908). The first publication in the field of accounting dealing with the double-entry accounting

method was published in Iași in 1901. The author, Constantin Petrescu<sup>8</sup> (1858–1902), a prominent figure of Romanian society, practiced and taught the science of accounting. His only work, the 561-page book, published in the field of accounting, *Contabilitate și administrație* [Accounting and Administration], is a comprehensive piece that presents all the knowledge considered valuable in the field of bookkeeping in those times, domestic achievements, and his work, his creations, (C.E.C.C.A.R., 2006).

The proposals for the new accounting techniques were further developed by Grigore L. Trancu-Iași (1874–1940). His textbook entitled *Curs de comerț și contabilitate* [Business and Accounting Course Book] (1914) was published in three editions (1914, 1920). It contained the description of accounting of many sectors such as the bank sector, insurances, agriculture, industry, traffic. Through his activity, he became an outstanding figure in the field of accounting in Romania. It is at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that accounting as a profession emerged. The crucial moment of the accounting profession in Romania was October 29, 1921, when an accounting board<sup>9</sup> consisting of four-hundred members was established. The members were registered in the Corporate Board in three categories: trainees, auditors, and qualified accountants.

Accounting adapts to the given economic-social circumstances and reflects underlying economic, social and other contextual transformations, so during socialism—starting from as early as 1949—normative accounting was introduced for companies. Unified account plans were enforced, balance sheets had to be suitable for every sector of the national economy, and the accounting methodology of transactions followed the principles of the centralized socialist economy. The Board of Auditors and Qualified Accountants, established in 1921, did not meet the requirements of the socialist economy, therefore, it was dissolved in 1951, which left the activity of auditors without any legal framework. However, six years later, this was corrected when they reestablished the status of accounting expert (C.E.C.C.A.R., 2011).

---

<sup>8</sup> Scholar and teacher Petrescu speaks French, German, and Italian, which allows him to have a great insight into the scientific literature of his time. His book contains knowledge and thoughts in the field of accounting from authors like the German Rothschild and Schmidt, the Italian Tonizig, Fr. Villa, F. Besta, Vincenzo Gitti, Giovanni Massa and Giuseppe Cerboni, the English Morisson, the French Adolphe Guilbault, Courcelle Seneuil, Hippolyte Vannier, Joseph Barré, Barillot, Augier, Monginot, Henri Lefevre and Eugène Léautey (C.E.C.C.A.R., 2006).

<sup>9</sup> It was made possible by the adoption of Law 80/1921 about the establishment of the 'Board of Auditors and Qualified Accountants'.

## The beginning of teaching accountancy in Hungary

In Hungary, bookkeeping was taught from the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century in the German schools of the mining towns, while organized training in bookkeeping is over 300 years old. In the first bookkeeping college in Europe, Collegium Scientiarum Politico Oeconomico Cameralium, founded by Piarist teacher Valero Jakab in Szempc in 1763, public accounting and economics were already part of the curriculum (Halkovics, 1999).

As mentioned in the chapter on teaching mathematics, Maria Theresa's 1777 decree, the Ratio Educationis, turned mathematics into a compulsory school subject. The first national educational reform in accounting is also related to this decree, as it introduced bookkeeping as part of the high school curriculum in mathematics.

Modern vocational education in commerce started in 1830, and bookkeeping was present in the curriculum many hours a week to assure that students deepen the acquired knowledge. Between 1884 and 1895, 26 commercial schools were opened in Hungary. In these commercial high schools during the three-year training, bookkeeping was taught three times a week in the second and third years. Then, starting from the 1919/20 school year, commercial high-school education was extended to four-year training, and learners did this subject from the second year of their training, three hours a week in the second and third year, and four times a week in the fourth year of their training. (Balázsiné Farkas, 2017).

The year 1959 is considered to be a turning point in the vocational training of bookkeeping. The length of the courses was determined by an order from the Ministry of Finance. Based on this, various qualification degrees could be acquired in the field of accounting: qualified accountant, certified public accountant, qualified auditor, and accountant in the public sector. The exams had to be taken in front of the Számviteli Képesítő Bizottság [Accounting Qualification Committee]. The administrative tasks related to the committee's activity were fulfilled by the Pénzügyminisztérium Könyvviteli Tanulmányi Felügyelősége [Accounting Educational Inspectorate of the Ministry of Finance]. The training was of a high standard and set the foundations for the professional recognition and acceptance of some qualifications (Balázsiné Farkas, 2017).

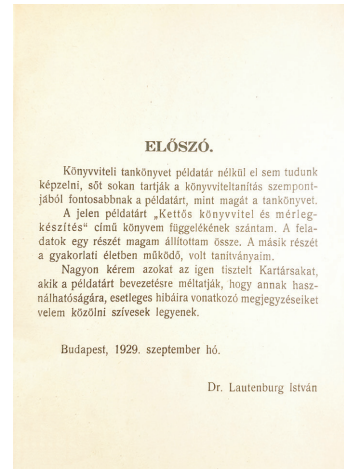
Another milestone in teaching accountancy in Hungary was the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when Dr. István Lautenburg was a professor of the Budapesti Kereskedelmi Akadémia [Budapest Commercial Academy]. In 1929 he published the textbook entitled *Kettős könyvvitel és mérlegkészítés* [Double entry accounting and drawing up balance sheets] and its annex, the "Könyvviteli példatár" [Sample problems in accounting] (Figure 6).



Figure 6



Figure 7



The preface reveals an author who pursued his profession as a vocation and related to his colleagues with humility and honesty: “I kindly request my honorable Colleagues, who shall review this book of sample problems for introduction, to kindly share with me all their observations regarding any possible mistakes or remarks related to its usability” (Figure 7, my translation). The sample problems are extensive: they contain accounting samples for one month/two months, split accounting and undivided accounting, commission sale with the bookkeeping of the consigner/commissioner, and final statements—in the case of sole traders, limited partnerships, cooperatives, public limited liability companies, general partnerships, and banks. The problems are complex and require knowledge in multiple domains: stock movements, down payment, trade allowances, discount, securities, turnover taxes, consumer rebate, customs duty, currency exchange, credit, commissioner, discounting, personnel salaries, depreciation, and so forth (see Figures 8.1–8.4, Business plan 7). The book of sample problems does not contain short, sample problems, but complex case studies.

As far as accounting regulation is concerned, the first momentum was the adoption of the 1874 Commercial law that prescribes accounting obligations. The law prescribes the requirements of accountancy, but deals with accounting on a very rudimentary level—it contains mandatory provisions concerning individuals who pursue commercial transactions as a profession. Later, introduced by the Law on limited liability companies, the notion of qualified auditor appeared in 1930. The first autonomous act on accounting was adopted in 1968, and it was framework legislation that authorized the Minister of Finance to establish the detailed rules<sup>10</sup> (Fogarasi, 2011).

<sup>10</sup> Starting from 1949, the advisory body of the Ministry of Finance has been the National Accountancy Council



Mathematics was a graduation subject in almost every high school in the years before the 1900s. Based on the available Bulletins, 223 final examination problems have been analyzed (Debrenti, 2020). The following table contains their thematic classification (Table 4):

**Table 4**

*Thematic classification of graduation problems*

Theme	Number of problems	%
Capital, interest, allowance, loan, sale-purchase, problems solved by calculations	57	25.56
Field measurement, distances, angles, trigonometry problems	35	15.7
Spatial geometry problems: related to geometric solids and spheres	34	15.25
Problems related to triangles, quadrangles, pentagons, hexagons, circles	23	10.31
The application of progressions in problems	18	8.07
Equation, systems of equation	12	5.38
Word problems with equations	11	4.93
Distance, time, velocity	11	4.93
Distance on the globe	10	4.49
The power of binomials and its application	4	1.79
Circle, ellipse, hyperbola	3	1.35
Mathematical analysis (derivation, integration)	3	1.35
Physics (weight, density, diving, power, etc.)	2	0.89
In total	223	100

*Note.* Based on B. Kovács (2020)

Between 1900 and 1918, the mathematical graduation problems were only word problems. Of the 223 problems available, 57 were on the topic of capital, allowance, credit, sale-purchase. The formulation of the problems reflects the relevant issues and events of the age. One of the questions focused on the capital needed throughout the 200-year existence of the school to cover the 180,000-corona maintenance costs, taking into account the 4% yearly interests of the accumulated capital, and the 3% mid-term capitalization interests (Paál, 1917, p. 62).

Although case studies are still present in teaching today most problems contain instructions such as calculate, solve, circle, and underline. In many cases sample problems are used, therefore, solving problems has become more of a routine. In order to reduce text comprehension difficulties, present on every level of the educational

system, and develop problem-solving skills, using the earlier yet still contemporary method—built on word problems inspired by the everyday economic reality—should be used. This approach requires the use of the learned formulas, and it also draws attention to other relevant personal or global problems—for example, environmental pollution, sustainability, personal finances—making the students sensitive to these.

## Conclusion

Teaching accountancy has evolved from book copying to digitalization, from the *Kolozsvári Arithmerika* to the electronic resources, from Luca Pacioli to the International Accounting Standards. There were efforts to do counting operations fast and with more routine as far back as the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Professions, and jobs built on automatic, routine tasks have become increasingly automatic. This happens so fast that not even labor market operators notice them in time, let alone policymakers. The publications of the first mathematical textbooks and the introduction of teaching double-entry accounting conformed to the requirements created by flourishing commerce, most of the students were active in the commercial sector. Quick and skillful counting was necessary just like the competent calculation of interest, currency, and unit conversion. In Hungary, the calculation of interest, the definition of the average time limit and average interest rate, calculation of debt, discounting of securities, and other operations related to securities were taught in the third grade already the beginning of the 1900s (Könyvtár, 2021). In the seventh grade, in mathematics classes, students could learn about arithmetic and geometric progressions and their applications in the calculation of compound interest, allowance, and repayable loans. Therefore, it is understandable that most of the graduation problems were word problems, which demonstrates a practical approach in mathematical education. The application of theoretical knowledge to solving real-life problems in relevant situations proves that learning was not merely an automatic process. The purpose was to teach the basic operations and develop the notion of these operations through practice. The sample problems were practical, augmented with many explanations, and number problems were absent from the book. The content of word problems reflects the dominant world view and value system of the era. The word problems were inspired by issues relevant at that time, like respecting property, reference to moral characteristics such as honesty, helpfulness, and patriotism. The elements of everyday life are also present. To make these texts readable and easy to understand, the author inserted a few punch lines, which is rare nowadays in textbooks with a similar topic. These punchlines may include joking criticism of certain attitudes or remarks about the names of rules. Another advantage of these coursebooks is that every problem was demonstrated by an illustration that was closely related to the mathematical content.

In the case of the problems, the explanation, the illustration and the guided observations formed a whole to help students solve the problems. In the first accounting textbook, the mathematician author formulated the essential elements of business: cash, a good accountant, and regularity and also applied Christian values. He named realized profit to be legal and fair. Even today, if we respect in accounting the principles and values mentioned above—accuracy, regularity, precaution, legality, and fairness—the rest will be just minor details and techniques. The core of accounting and economy has not changed throughout times, the fields have become more complex, more detailed, and the range of techniques widened. The process has evolved from using double entries to applying international standards and from starting a business with the name of God to formulating the code of ethics.

The palette of our teaching tools has become more varied and ranges from textbooks to new platforms created through the development of technology. However, we should have in mind the content, the reason and the methods used in education. We do not teach merely counting or accounting. If we did, we might risk ending up with results like the Pinto car cost-benefit analysis of Ford Motor Company. In the case of the Pinto car, the safety measures would have cost the company more than 137 million dollars; however, these cost outweighed the benefits, which was estimated at 49.5 million dollars (Shaw & Barry, 2016). Therefore, it is important to teach more than just numbers, be it mathematics, accounting, or any other subject. The aim should be to illustrate and explain phenomena through the examples and events of the given era in a readable and easy-to-understand language, using instructive humorous style. This is our mission in accounting education.

## References

- Balázsiné Farkas, K. (2017). A munkaerőpiac pályakezdő számviteli szakemberekkel szemben támasztott kompetencia követelménye [The requirements of competencies accountants must meet on the labour force market]. *PhD dissertation*. PTE.
- C.E.C.C.A.R. (2006). *ALBUM 85 DE ANI de la înființarea Corpului Expertilor Contabili și Contabililor Autorizați din România* [85 Yearbook on the foundation of the Body of Chartered Certified Accountants of Romania]. Editura CECCAR.
- C.E.C.C.A.R. (2011). *Album istoric. Profesia contabilă din anii socialismului* [History album: accountancy in the socialism]. CECCAR.
- Debrenti, E. (2016). Kolozsvár Arithmetics. In P. Körtesi (Ed.), *Proceedings of the History of Mathematics and Teaching of Mathematics Conference* (pp. 71–85). Junior Mathematical Society Miskolc.
- Fogarasi, E. (2011). *A számvitel szabályozásának változásai Magyarországon: Jelenlegi helyzet, lehetséges jövőképek* [Changes in accounting in Hungary: Present-day situation, possible future]. Miskolci Egyetem Digitális Raktár és Adattár <http://midra.uni-miskolc.hu/document/11027>

- Gleeson-White, J. (2013). *Double Entry. How the Merchants of Venice Created Modern Finance*. W. W. Norton & Company.
- Halkovics, L. (1999). A magyar ipari szakoktatás és statisztikája 1945 előtt [Hungarian vocational education and the related statistics before 1945]. *Statisztikai Szemle*, 77 (4), 260–273. [https://www.ksh.hu/statszemle\\_archive/1999/1999\\_04/1999\\_04\\_260.pdf](https://www.ksh.hu/statszemle_archive/1999/1999_04/1999_04_260.pdf)  
<https://ceccar.ro/ro/wp-content/uploads/2011/09/107-123.pdf>
- Keresztesi, M. (1935). *A magyar matematikai műnyelv története* [The history of the Hungarian technical language of mathematics]. Harmathy Nyomdavidálat.
- Kojanitz, L. (2004). A pedagógiai szövegek analitikus vizsgálata. A szavak szintje [The analysis of pedagogical texts. The level of words]. *Magyar Pedagógia*, 4, 429–439.
- Könyvtár. (2021). Iskolai Értesítők [School Bulletins]. [https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/collection/iskolai\\_ertesitok/](https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/collection/iskolai_ertesitok/)
- Kovács, B. (2020). Érettségi vizsgálati feladványok az 1900–1918 közötti évekből [Graduation exam tasks from 1900–1918]. *MATLAP*, 1, 15–17.
- Kovács, Ö. (1877). Az 1591-dik évi Kolozsvári Arithmetika [The Kolozsvári Arithmetika of 1591]. *Műgyetemi Lapok*, 26–29.
- Köves, G. (2010). *Mi is az a tankönyv?* [What is a textbook?]. KRE-TFK Jubileumi Évkönyv. Opál Bt.
- Menyői Tolvaj, F. (1675). *Az aritmetikának, avagy a számlálásnak öt speciesinek rövid magyar regulákban foglaltatott mestersége* [The craft of arithmetics, or the science of counting formulated through short Hungarian rules]. Karancsi György. <http://mek.oszk.hu/15900/15970>
- Paál, G. (Ed.). (1918). A marosvásárhelyi Református Kollégium államilag segélyezett főgimnáziumának és elemi iskolájának értesítője az 1917–1918-ik iskolai évről [The school bulletin of the Reformed College of Târgu Mureș: 1917–1918]. 17. Marosvásárhelyi Református Kollégium előljárósága.
- Sangster, A., & Rossi, F. (2018). BENEDETTO COTRUGLI on double entry bookkeeping. *De Computis, Revista Española de Historia de la Contabilidad*, 15(2), 22–38.
- Shaw, W. H., & Barry, V. (2016). *Moral issues in business*. (13th ed.). Centgace Learning.
- Shear, L., Gallagher, L., & Patel, D. (2011, November). *ITL Research. Microsoft Partners in Learning*. Retrieved may 20, 2021, from: <https://www.european-agency.org/sites/default/files/itlresearch2011findings.pdf?fbclid=IwAR3VK28KJWVAKOPIN85lgI4tY-79n7UAGKbvHimlvFc86MBTt2KnVo83x29o>
- Sinka, J. (January 01, 2014). *Mérlegen a középkor* [Balancing the Middle Ages]. Retrieved 04. 05, 2021, from Adózóna: [https://adozona.hu/altalanos/Merlegen\\_a\\_kozepkor\\_UFF4ML](https://adozona.hu/altalanos/Merlegen_a_kozepkor_UFF4ML)
- Vajna, T. (2018, September 17). Vér nélkül lezajlik az információs forradalom, vagy lesznek áldozatai is? [Is the information revolution going to have victims or not?]. *Qubit*. <https://qubit.hu/2018/09/17/ver-nelkul-lezajlik-az-informacios-forradalom-vagy-lesznek-aldozatai-is>

# Economic and Higher Education Partnership of Hungary and Kazakhstan

KINGA MAGDOLNA MANDEL

Affiliation: Eötvös Loránd University  
Faculty of Education and Psychology, Budapest, Hungary  
Email: mandel.kinga@ppk.elte.hu

ANARGUL BELGIBAYEVA

Affiliation: Sh. Ualikhanov Kokshetau State University  
Business Department, Kokshetau, Kazakhstan  
Email: anargul.belgibayeva@mail.ru

## Abstract

The aim of our research was to describe, compare, and analyze the development of business and educational co-operation between Kazakhstan and Hungary over the past 19 years. The research was prompted by the university-level co-operation between the two countries that started in 2018, which was made possible by the strategic partnership that is the topic of the present article. We started from the hypothesis that both business and educational co-operation has developed linearly and significantly during the last 19 years. Our research methodology was based on gathering and analyzing secondary macroeconomic, trade, and educational co-operation data in the period between 2011 and 2020. The data were obtained from publications, national offices (statistical, commerce, and education), and international bodies (like Tempus Public Foundation, Eurostat, International Monetary Fund [IMF], and the World Bank). In this paper, we intend to link the main political, social, and macroeconomic endowments with business and educational developments of partnership in the two countries, trying to map out prospects for co-operation. One conclusion is that, although in the political communications of the two countries we were able to identify significant governmental efforts on both sides to support and enforce economic and educational co-operation, the data indicate a decrease in the size of business investments. At the same time, however, the educational co-operation between the two parties continues to develop further.

**Keywords:** economic partnership, higher education co-operation, international co-operation, Hungary, Kazakhstan

## **Introduction**

The co-operation between the two countries has been dated to 1992 when Hungary was among the first countries to recognize Kazakhstan's independence (*Hungary, Kazakhstan 'strategic partners,'* 2020). Since then, the relationship between the two countries has developed to the level of strategic partnership: Kazakhstan is Hungary's principal political and economic partner in the Asian region, while Hungary is Kazakhstan's most important partner in Central and Eastern Europe (*Hungary, Kazakhstan 'strategic partners,'* 2020).

We could only track just a couple of articles regarding the ties between the two countries. One of these is a cultural-anthropological and genetic study evaluating the common background shared by the Hungarians (Magyars) in Hungary and the Madjar population in Kazakhstan (Bíró et al., 2009). Another study analyzed the two-level game of Visegrád countries and Kazakhstan. It stated, that the EU's member states, among them the Visegrád ones (Hungary being one of them), focus on developing trade and economic relations with Kazakhstan, without entering into the sensitive issues of democracy promotion and human rights. Those are left for the EU's institutions to deal with (Plenta, 2016).

Other than these, there are the political declarations issued by the two governments, the annual Doing Business reports published by the World Bank (2020a, 2020b), the Trading Economics (2020a, 2020b, 2020c, 2021a, 2021b) statistics for the two countries, and a World Bank study on the privatization of the energy and natural gas industries in Hungary and Kazakhstan (World Bank, 1999). So far, we have not come across any study analyzing the international business and educational cooperation between the two countries. We aimed to fill this gap as far as possible with the available data, focusing on the development of co-operation in the past 18 years in terms of business and educational partnerships, to find answers to the following questions: How has business partnership evolved over the last 18 years? Has foreign direct investment (FDI) in the other country increased on the part of either country during the investigated period? Have examples of educational cooperation increased between institutions of (higher) education? Have student and teacher exchanges increased in the last 19 years?

## **Methodology**

We used the comparative research method to evaluate the development of cooperation. At the same time, we tried to consider its limitations, as suggested by Azarian (2011), such as overgeneralization and the predominance of description over analysis. In using multiple, dual cases and comparative analytical strategies researchers are motivated by one or more reasons, typically related to either knowledge acquisition or accountability (Greene, 2000). In our case, the dominant motivation was knowledge acquisition.



We aimed to gather and analyze all the possible available data on the development of economic trade and educational relationships between the two countries. Data were, therefore, gathered from many different bodies and organizations:

- international (for example, the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, the Tempus Public Foundation) and
- national ones (Hungarian Statistical Office [KSH], the Hungarian Chamber of Trade and Industry [MKIK], the Hungarian Consulate in Kazakhstan, the Hungarian affiliation of the Tempus Public Foundation [TPF], the Hungarian Educational Authority [OH]).

Furthermore, we used data from available international studies and publications, for example, articles from *The Budapest Times* and *Hungary Today*.

We measured the extent of the economic cooperation using, on the one hand, the countries' basic macroeconomic data, like exports and FDI investments. On the other hand, we examined the scope of educational cooperation through the number of scholarships and the number of exchange students and teachers. One main challenge that emerged was to find data on the development, size, and extent of educational cooperation. According to Arunachalam et al., it would also be possible to measure educational cooperation by assessing co-authorship of scientific papers (2000). However, we were unable to find the respective data. A limitation is that we approached and analyzed the relationships focusing more on the international and Hungarian sources—data and studies—rather than on Kazakh ones because of the former ones are easier and more open to access and because of their availability.

In the present article, we begin by describing the historical, political, and social context that has determined the countries' business and educational relationships. We, then, target the macroeconomic context, which sets the base for the foreign trade specificities of the two countries, before analyzing their economic cooperation, that is, trade exchange. Then we look at the R&D sectors and that of the higher educational co-operation (exchange programs). Finally, we draw conclusions and outline prospects.

## **Historical background**

There are close historical ties between Hungary and Kazakhstan. In the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the Kipchak tribes migrated into Europe from the Kazakh steppe; their descendants live on the territory of modern-day central and eastern Hungary

(*Hungary, Kazakhstan 'strategic partners,'* 2020). Similarly, some members of the Madjar ethnic group (of Hungarian origin) still live in the Torgay region of Kazakhstan. They are known in Hungary as relatives of the Hungarians. The similarities between the names "Madjars" and "Magyars" raise the question of genetic kinship between the Hungarians of today and the Madjars of Kazakhstan (Benkő, 2007).

The "Kurultaj" tribal assembly of the Hun nations is the biggest event in the world celebrating ancient Hungarian traditions, and it attracts more than a hundred traditional Hungarian organizations and non-governmental organizations from the Carpathian Basin. The first modern-day Kurultaj with Hungarian participation was held in 2007 in Saga, Kazakhstan. During this ceremony, the Madjars of Kazakhstan celebrated their existence and kinship with the Hungarian people (MKIK, 2020). This kinship has been confirmed by Bíró et al. (2009). They stated that there could have been genetic contact between the ancestors of the Madjars and the Magyars (Hungarians). Modern Hungarians may be able to trace their ancestry back to Central Asia, rather than to the eastern Uralic region, as other sources indicated (Bíró et al, 2009).

## Political background

Both Hungary and Kazakhstan experienced political, economic, and cultural influences of the Soviet Union, although in different ways and forms. Hungary regained its sovereignty when the last troops left Hungary in 1991 (Székely, 2016) and is now a democratic parliamentary republic with a one-chamber parliament. Kazakhstan became independent in 1992, and it is a presidential republic with a two-chamber parliament (Tar & Újvári, 2019).

In March 1992, Hungary opened its first embassy in Kazakhstan. A year later, in 1993, Kazakhstan likewise opened an embassy in Hungary (MKIK, 2020), the first one in Central and Eastern Europe (*Hungary, Kazakhstan 'strategic partners,'* 2020).

Meetings between representatives of the two countries have taken place almost annually since 1992–1993. One of the last such occasion happened on December 6, 2019, when the Kazakh ambassador Zhanibek Abdrashov presented his credentials to the Hungarian President János Áder (*Hungary, Kazakhstan 'strategic partners,'* 2020).

In July 2007, the European Union approved the EU and Central Asia: Strategy for a New Partnership, intending to intensify cooperation with the region (Plenta, 2016). In 2008, the Hungarian government formalized cooperation between the two countries by issuing Government Decree 197/2008 (August 4) on the Adoption and

Promulgation of the Agreement on Economic Cooperation between the Government of the Republic of Hungary and the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan (“A Kormány 197/2008. rendelete a Magyar Köztársaság Kormánya és a Kazah Köztársaság Kormánya között...,” 2008).

The presidential visits made to Hungary by the first president of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbayev, in 1994 and 2007, as well as the visits made to Kazakhstan by the Hungarian presidents Árpád Göncz in 1997 and Pál Schmitt in 2010, added to the development of cooperation. In April 2019, the Hungarian prime minister Viktor Orbán also accorded an official visit to Kazakhstan, meeting President Kassym-Jomart Tokayev, Prime Minister Askar Mamin, and Nursultan Nazarbayev (*Hungary, Kazakhstan ‘strategic partners,’* 2020).

Based on the political ties outlined above, the activities of the Strategic Council, inter-governmental committees on trade, economic, and legal cooperation, as well as inter-parliamentary friendship groups contribute to the deepening of interactions between the two countries (*Hungary, Kazakhstan ‘strategic partners,’* 2020). In view of the dynamically developing political and economic cooperation with the Central Asian region—that is, the member countries of the Turkic Council—the activities of the MKIK were expanded by the establishment of the Hungarian–Kazakh Section in 2012, which was renamed the Committee for Central Asian Relations on May 4, 2020. The Hungarian–Kazakh Business Council operates within the framework of this committee, which comprises the current member companies as well as the business councils to be established with the countries of the region in the future (MKIK, 2020).

## Social background

Both countries have a multiethnic population. In Kazakhstan, the estimated population in 2020 was 19,091,949, with an annual population growth of 0.89%. According to 2019 estimates, the population was made up of Kazakh (68%), Russian (19.3%), Uzbek (3.2%), Ukrainian (1.5%), Uighur (1.4%), Tatar (1.1%), German (1%), and other (4.4%) nationalities (MKIK, 2020). In Hungary, according to the National Statistical Office, the population was 9,769,526 in 2020—with an annual population decrease of 1.7% (KSH, 2020). According to Bátorfy (2019), in 2011 6.5% of the population, 644,524 persons stated that they belonged to one of the 13 officially acknowledged nationalities in Hungary—which include German, Romanian, Slovakian, Croatian, Serbian, Ukrainian, Slovenian, and Roma—this proportion is estimated to be as high as 10% though.

Kazakhstan is a secular state in which more than 40 faiths coexist in peace. The main religion is Islam (World Bank Group, 2020b). In 2020, the population included Muslims (70.2%), Christians (26.2%, comprising Russian Orthodox [23.9%] and other Christians [2.3%]), Buddhists (0.1%), other denominations (0.2%), and atheists (2.8%) (MKIK, 2020). Hungary is also a secular state. According to the 2011 census, 39% of the population were Catholic (of these 37.2% Western Catholic and 1.8% Eastern Catholic), 13.8% were Protestants (of these 11.6% Calvinist and 2.2% Lutheran), 1.9% belonged to other denominations, 18.2% had no religion, and 27.2% refused to answer the question (KSH, 2014).

### **Macroeconomic background**

The territory of Kazakhstan is 2,724,900 square kilometers, almost thirty times the size of Hungary at 93,030 square kilometers (MKIK, 2020). The strategic goal of Kazakhstan is to take advantage of the global achievements of the Fourth Industrial Revolution; increase the efficiency of mineral extraction; prioritize energy efficiency and energy saving; and increase the share of renewable energies (Tar & Újvári, 2019). Hungary's future vision is to become by 2030 the economic and intellectual capital of Central and Eastern Europe, with a highly competitive economy that provides secure livelihoods for its population and that is based on the sustainable utilization of its resources. Hungary is aiming at an increasing population, strong communities, a better quality of life, and an improved environment ("Nemzeti Fejlesztés 2030," 2014).

In 2020 the rate of sales tax in Kazakhstan is 12%, the corporate tax rate is 20%, the personal income tax rate is 10% and the dividend income received from a Kazakhstan source is taxable at 5%, and 10% applies to all foreign-sourced dividend income (PWC, 2021a; Trading Economics, 2021a). The rate of sales tax in Hungary is 27%, corporate tax is 9%, the personal income tax is 15%, the dividend income is taxable at 15%, and an additional 15.5% social tax is payable on dividend income in certain conditions (PWC, 2021b; Trading Economics, 2021b). This indicates a greater emphasis on sales in Kazakhstan than in Hungary, the tax rate in Kazakhstan being less than half of that of Hungary. The personal income tax is also lower in Kazakhstan than in Hungary; however, the dividend tax is significantly higher in Hungary than in Kazakhstan, and there are higher corporate taxes in Kazakhstan than in Hungary.

On the World Bank's Doing Business portal, Kazakhstan ranks 25<sup>th</sup> with a score of 79.6, and Hungary ranks 52<sup>nd</sup> with a score of 73.4, which means that, according to the World Bank data, it is easier to do business in Kazakhstan than in Hungary.

Similarly, in terms of starting up a business, Kazakhstan ranks 22<sup>nd</sup>; whereas Hungary ranks 87<sup>th</sup> out of 100, meaning that it is far easier to start up a business in Kazakhstan than in Hungary (World Bank Group, 2020a, 2020b).

**Table 1**

*Main Economic Indicators in Kazakhstan and Hungary (2011–2019)*

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
KZ GDP per capita (million USD)*	11,634	12,386.7	13,890.63	12,807.26	10,510.77	7,714,842	9,247.581	9,812.601	9,731.145
HU GDP per capita (million USD)*	14,150.97	12,918.25	13,687.25	14,246.11	12,651.57	12,992.38	14,457.61	16,150.77	16,475.74
KZ GNI per capita (million USD)*	8,280	9,940	11,840	12,080	11,380	8,770	8,040	8,070	8,810
HU GNI per capita (million USD)*	13,170	12,990	13,480	13,540	13,220	13,050	13,080	14,760	16,140
KZ GDP annual growth (%)*	7.4	4.8	6	4.2	1.2	1.1	4.1	4.1	4.5
HU GDP annual growth (%)*	1.8	-1.5	1.9	4.2	3.8	2.2	4.3	5.1	4.9
KZ industrial annual growth %*	3.47	1.89	3.12	1.75	0.10	1.71	6.30	4.45	6.31
HU industrial annual growth %*	-0.06	-2.16	-1.21	6.55	7.69	-0.43	5.26	2.97	7.53
KZ annual price inflation (%)*	...	5.09	5.84	6.70	6.66	14.54	7.44	6.01	5.24
HU annual price inflation (%)*	3.92	5.65	1.73	-0.22	-0.06	0.39	2.34	2.85	3.33
KZ exports of goods and services (% of GDP)*	46.46	44.10	38.61	39.34	28.51	31.84	32.39	37.62	36.54

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
HU exports of goods and services (% of GDP)*	86.58	86.32	85.58	87.41	87.97	87.15	87.14	84.93	83.32
KZ HDI (human development index)**	0.764	0.772	0.782	0.791	0.798	0.806	0.808	0.813	0.817
HU HDI**	0.826	0.823	0.826	0.835	0.833	0.835	0.838	0.841	0.845
KZ GCI (global competitiveness index)***	4.11	4.18	4.37	4.4	4.41	4.48	61.13	61.8	62.94
HU GCI***	4.32	4.36	4.3	4.24	4.28	4.25	63.43	64.31	65.08

Based on: \*Data Bank, 2020    \*\*Human Development Data Center, 2020    \*\*\*Trading Economics, 2020

In the period studied (2011–2019) the GDP per capita was consistently higher in Hungary than in Kazakhstan. The only exception being 2013 when in Hungary the GDP per capita was lower than in Kazakhstan. This was a protracted consequence of the greater decline in Hungarian GDP growth rate experienced in 2012 due to the drought and the low domestic demand (causing contraction of production in most industries). It was also a consequence of the unfavorable external conditions, such as the European debt management crisis (*Eurozone Recession Deepened at End of 2012*, 2013). All those aspects together were causing weaker performance of export markets as well (KSH, 2013). Gross National Income (GNI) per capita was also consistently higher in Hungary. In Kazakhstan, it fluctuated more heavily, thus in late 2019 Hungary's GNI was double that of Kazakhstan (World Bank, 2020b).

Annual GDP growth in Kazakhstan was quite outstanding in 2011 (7.4%) but subsequently experienced a significant crash and fluctuation in the period 2015–2016 before approaching the level of Hungarian growth in 2019. Similarly, like Germany, in 2012, Hungary experienced a severe decline (-1.5%) and the second slowdown in 2015–2016 before starting to grow again. In 2020, the annual GDP growth rate was -5% in Hungary, a bit lower than the 27 EU countries average of -5.9% (Eurostat, 2020; World Bank, 2020c) and -2.6% in Kazakhstan (World Bank, 2020d), indicating that Kazakhstan had taken the lead in this regard, experiencing a smaller decline.

The annual industrial growth declined in Kazakhstan in 2015—when the real GDP growth rate was only 0.1%—, while Hungary, in the same year, saw the biggest industrial development (7.69%). Hungary's industry performed negatively in three consecutive years, 2011–2013, as well as in 2016.

The inflation rate was at its highest peak in Kazakhstan in 2016, reaching 14.54%. The Highest inflation experienced in Hungary was 5.01% in 2012 (World Bank, 2020b). The lowest inflation experienced in Kazakhstan was 5.12% and happened in the same year of 2012. Hungary experienced deflation, negative inflation in two consecutive years, in 2014 and 2015 (-0.22% and -0.06%) (World Bank, 2020b). Such differences and complementarities in terms of industrial and economic development in the two countries could foster trade between them.

The exports of goods and services in Kazakhstan fluctuated during the examined period and were at their lowest in 2015 (28.51% of GDP), while the respective exports were at their highest in Hungary in the same year (87.97% of GDP). Exports were even in the last nine years, with a slight decline in both countries in the past few years. However, Kazakhstan experienced a significant relapse between 2011 and 2019—from 46.46% to 36.54% of GDP (World Bank, 2020b). Hungarian exports relative to the size of GDP were consistently double the respective figure for Kazakhstan, meaning that the Hungarian export strategy could probably serve as an example for Kazakhstan.

The human development index (HDI) increased in both countries. The growth was higher in Kazakhstan—from 0.764 to 0.817, compared to 0.826 to 0.845 in Hungary—and took place more evenly, while in Hungary, it fluctuated in 2012 and 2015. In 2018, the HDI was similar in Kazakhstan and Hungary—0.817 and 0.845, respectively (United Nations Development Programme, 2020).

The unemployment rate in the first quarter of 2020 was similar in the two countries, at 4.35% in Hungary and 6.05% in Kazakhstan (Macrotrends, 2021; Statista, 2020). Similarities in terms of human development also offer a stable background for cooperation in the future.

Kazakhstan scored 62.94 points out of 100, while Hungary scored 65.08 points in the 2019 Global Competitiveness Report published by the World Economic Forum (World Economic Forum, 2020). This means that the two countries are relatively close in terms of their Human Development and Global Competitiveness rankings.

Government debt to GDP was far higher in Hungary, at 80.4%, in December 2019 than in Kazakhstan, where it was 23.4% in December 2020 (Trading Economics, 2020a),

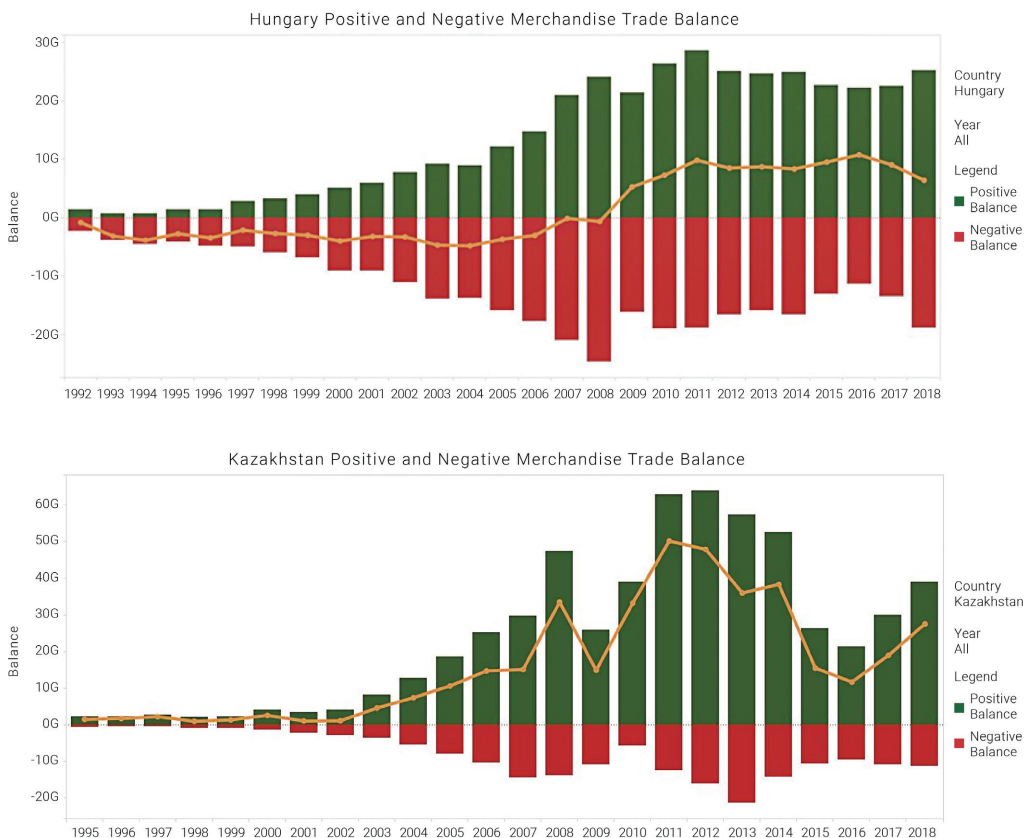
which allows the Kazakh government bigger room for economic and trade maneuvers. However, the macroeconomic differences outlined above could contribute to building of further trade deals based on each country's competitive advantages.

### Foreign trade specificities

International trade plays a significant role in the economy of each country. It allows the specific needs of the population to be met and stimulates the country's internal development (Makhmutova & Mustafin, 2017). The trade balance in Kazakhstan appears more unstable than that of Hungary (see Figure 1 below).

**Figure 1**

*Trade Balance in Hungary and Kazakhstan, 1992–2018*



Source: World Bank Positive and Negative Merchandise Trade Balance



Hungary's main exports include machinery and transportation equipment, consumer goods, agricultural products, chemicals, clothing, textiles, iron and steel, and wine (Trading Economics, 2020b). Kazakhstan's main exports list oil and related products (73% of total exports), ferrous metals, copper, aluminum, zinc, and uranium (Trading Economics, 2020c).

Hungary trades mainly with EU countries—over 79%. Germany was the biggest importer of goods from Hungary in 2020 (28%), followed by Slovakia (5.4%), Italy (5.2%), Romania (5.2%), and various other countries, including Austria, France, Poland, The Czech Republic, and the Netherlands. Hungarian exports to Kazakhstan decreased in value, from around USD 210 million in 2013 to 105 million in 2019 and then increased slightly to USD 165 million by 2020. In 2020, Hungary was exporting mainly pharmaceutical products, miscellaneous chemical products, live animals, machinery, nuclear reactors, boilers to Kazakhstan (Trading Economics, 2020b).

In 2020, Kazakhstan was exporting mainly to Italy (15%), China (14%), Russia (9.7%), the Netherlands (7.6%), and France (6.3%), as well as to other countries including, South Korea, Turkey, and Spain. The decline in Kazakh exports to Hungary between 2010 and 2019 was even more significant than the decline in Hungarian exports to Kazakhstan (falling from almost USD 200 million to USD 10 million). In 2020, Kazakhstan exported goods worth USD 10.26 million to Hungary, mainly fish, crustaceans, mollusks, aquatics invertebrates, machinery, nuclear reactors, boilers, Miscellaneous chemical products, iron, and steel (Trading Economics, 2020c).

Foreign direct investment (FDI) increased by 4445.80 USD Million in the fourth quarter of 2020 in Kazakhstan and increased by 1606.50 EUR Million (1911 Million USD) in the fourth quarter of 2020 in Hungary, meaning that Kazakhstan was attracting more than double amount of FDI compared to Hungary (Trading Economics, 2020b).

### **Economic cooperation features**

The Hungarian and Kazakh governments regard one another as key strategic partners (MKIK, 2020). They signed a new cooperation agreement almost every year—in 1996 on aviation; in 1997 on the avoidance of double taxation; in 1998 on the international carriage of passengers and goods by road; in 1999 on the promotion and mutual protection of investments; in 2008 on economic cooperation between Exim bank and KazAgro; and 2014 on the establishment of a common mutual fund (Külgazdasági és Külügyminisztérium, 2018). Finally, in 2016, executives from Eximbank and KazAgro

signed an agreement on a joint Kazakh–Hungarian agricultural investment fund. The initial size of the fund was USD 40 million, representing a contribution of USD 20 million each from both Exim Bank and KazAgro (MKIK, 2020). The cooperation between the Hungarian Eximbank and Astana International Financial Center (AIFC) was also developing successfully, the Hungarian Exim Bank opening its representative office in the Astana International Financial Center in 2021 known as Exim Opening Representative Office in Kazakhstan) (*Hungary, Kazakhstan 'strategic partners,'* 2020).

The Hungarian–Kazakh Intergovernmental Committee for Economic Cooperation has held six meetings to date, in 2008, 2012, and 2016 in Astana—known as Nur-Sultan since 2019—and in 2010, 2014, and 2018 in Budapest (Makhmutova, & Mustafin, 2017). In April 2019, the Hungarian–Kazakh Strategic Cooperation Meeting took place in Nur-Sultan (MKIK, 2020).

The largest Hungarian investors in Kazakhstan are MOL—the Hungarian Oil Company—a few pharmaceutical companies like Richter Gedeon Nyrt., Egis Zrt., and LAC Holding specialized in professional management services (MKIK, 2020).

In 2020 a project for the construction of a fifth-generation greenhouse complex, the Pickle project, has been implemented in the Aktobe region. In addition to this, Gardens of the East, a \$10 million project for growing and processing apples was started in the Zhambyl region, using Hungarian technology (*Hungary, Kazakhstan 'strategic partners,'* 2020).

Since June 2017, there have been direct Wizzair flights between Budapest and Nur-Sultan, which strengthens both business and higher education ties. The flight is popular not only among Kazakh and Hungarian but people from neighboring countries—like Uzbekistan and Russia—also use it (*Hungary, Kazakhstan 'strategic partners,'* 2020).

The latest development happened on 20 May 2021, when the Hungarian Minister of Agriculture discussed with the Minister of Agriculture in Kazakhstan the further directions for mutual development of partnership and cooperation between the two countries. Aiming to bring together the world-class Hungarian seed sector and the vast production areas of Kazakhstan—more than 21 million hectares (*Hungary, Kazakhstan 'strategic partners,'* 2020), especially in the field of corn (LAC Holding, 2021).

## The R&D sectors

According to some macroeconomic theories—for example Solow’s growth model—after the development of physical capital and the educated labor force, the developed countries could develop further only with new ideas. Thus, the research and development sector has become a priority as it contributes to innovative, cutting-edge economic growth in countries that are unable to grow further by investing more in their capitals (Tabarrok, 2015). This is the case in both Hungary and Kazakhstan, where the emphasis is being given lately to the development of the R&D sector.

**Table 2**

*Research and Development (R&D) Expenditure and Number of Researchers Per Capita in Kazakhstan and Hungary*

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
KZ R&D expenditure (% of GDP)*	0.15	0.16	0.17	0.16	0.16	0.14	0.12	0.12
HU R&D expenditure (% of GDP)*	1.18	1.26	1.38	1.35	1.36	1.20	1.34	1.55
KZ Researchers in R&D (per million people)*	385.91	612.18	737.22	798.66	777.14	693.68	666.14	666.93
HU Researchers in R&D (per million people)*	2,326.16	2,416.47	2,546.08	2,673.43	2,589.09	2,645.75	2,921.53	3,237.70

Source: Own compilation based on \*World Development Indicators

However, it seems that Hungary could afford to spend more on R&D, thus expenditure on research and development as a percentage of GDP was consistently higher here than in Kazakhstan. The best year in this respect was 2013 in Kazakhstan (0.17%) and 2018 in Hungary (1.55%). The lowest rates were in 2017–2018 in Kazakhstan and 2011 in Hungary. The number of researchers per million people was six times higher in Hungary than in Kazakhstan in 2011. This advantage had been reduced to 4.56 times

higher by 2018 (667 researchers per million), although the difference remained significant. In Kazakhstan, the number of researchers per million people was highest in 2014, at 798.66 researchers per million people, while in Hungary, it was highest in 2018, at 3,237.7 researchers per million people (World Bank, 2020a). This helps explain why Kazakhstan is investing in educational programs such as Bolashak inviting foreign university teachers and researchers to take up temporary posts to develop teaching and research activities at their universities, and endeavoring to adjust to European requirements in this field.

### Higher Education Cooperation

The relationship between the two countries is not based exclusively on economics. Artists, scientists, athletes from the two countries are involved in various cultural and sporting events held in both countries (*Hungary, Kazakhstan 'strategic partners,'* 2020).

Education is an important element in bilateral cooperation. In Kazakhstan, there are 131 institutes of higher education. 223 academic programs are taught entirely in English at 21 universities. More than 300 programs are run jointly with international institutes of higher education. (Sphere, 2021). In Hungary, there are currently 22 state universities (including universities of applied sciences) and seven non-state universities, five state and four non-state universities of applied sciences, as well as 1 state college and 26 non-state colleges—of which 21 are church-run (Eurydice, 2021).

In 2013, the Ministry of Human Resources in Hungary and the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan signed an agreement on educational and scientific cooperation to develop educational cooperation and further strengthen and expanding relations between the two countries. The agreement initially provided scholarships for 45 Kazakh and Hungarian students per year to participate in undergraduate, master's level, and doctoral studies, although the numbers later increased (Emberi Erőforrások Minisztériuma, 2013). Educational cooperation between the two countries has operated on this legal base ever since.

Since 2018, the development of tourism, energy, and educational projects has been given particular attention (Székely, 2016).

In 2019, new Hungarian–Kazakh cooperation in the field of agricultural research and education was established by the Hungarian National Center for Agricultural Research and Innovation—Research Institute of Agricultural Economics and the Kazakh Agro-technical University (NAIK & Agroinform, 2019).

Since 2015 Erasmus+ international credit mobility has been available at Hungarian institutes of higher education through the Erasmus Charter for Higher Education. Kazakhstan belongs to the Development Cooperation Instrument's Central Asia region, with Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. In 2020, the budget available for this region to support mobility activities with Hungarian institutes of higher education was EUR 118,426. In 2020, applications reached almost five times the budget available for this region; thus, many programs ended up on a waiting list (Tempus Közalapítvány, 2020a).

The KA107 Erasmus+ international mobility program is becoming more and more widespread. According to data from Hungary's Tempus Public Foundation, although the number of Kazakh students coming to study in Hungary rose from 6 to 21 between 2015 and 2019, there were only 6 Hungarian students in 2016 going to study in Kazakhstan (KA107 Erasmus+ International Credit Mobility—Kazakhstan. Tempus Közalapítvány [Tempus Public Foundation], Personal Communication, July 17, 2020).

The student mobility program for internships seems to be unknown, as no one opted for it. While the staff mobility program for educational purposes was more popular among Hungarian staff members, mobility for training purposes get more attention among Kazakh staff members. The duration of mobility among outgoing—that is, Hungarians in Kazakhstan—trainers, 28 people, was the following: 23 people for 5 days, 1 person for 7 days, 2 people for 10 days, and 2 people for 14 days. The duration of mobility among incoming—that is, Kazakhs in Hungary—trainers, 25 people split into days was the following: 17 people for 5 days, 2 people for 6 days, 1 person for 8 days, 1 person for 12 days, and 4 people for 14 days. This indicates that Hungarian teachers prefer shorter stays than their Kazakh counterparts (KA107 Erasmus+ International Credit Mobility—Kazakhstan. Tempus Közalapítvány [Tempus Public Foundation], Personal Communication, July 17, 2020).

The number of mobile teachers and students gradually increased up until 2020, even in the most recent academic year, and against all pandemic circumstances grew further (KA107 Erasmus+ International Credit Mobility—Kazakhstan. Tempus Közalapítvány [Tempus Public Foundation], Personal Communication, July 17, 2020).

**Table 3**

*Number of Hungarian and Kazakh Students and Staff Involved in Erasmus Mobility Programs in the Academic Years 2015/16–2020/21*

Study year	Student mobility for study purposes (SMS)		Staff mobility for educational purposes (STA)		Staff mobility for training purposes (STT)		Total
	Outbound	Inbound*	Outbound	Inbound	Outbound	Inbound	
2015/16	0	6	4	4	2	9	25
2016/17	6	7	5	5	3	2	28
2017/18	0	6	6	9	5	3	29
2018/19	0	21	8	6	0	3	38
2019/20	0	6	5	1	2	1	15
2020/21	10	4	8	8	0	1	31
Total	16	50	36	33	12	19	166

\*outbound = Hungarians going to Kazakhstan; inbound = Kazakhs going to Hungary  
Based on data provided by the Hungarian Tempus Office, 2021

Based on the Higher Education Information System (FIR) module of the National Statistical Data Collection Program (OSAP) in Hungary, there is only one single employee of Kazakh nationality teaching in a Hungarian institute of higher education. The employee concerned had a continuous employment relationship from the autumn semester of the 2017/18 academic year to the spring semester of the 2019/2020 academic year (KA107 Erasmus+ International Credit Mobility–Kazakhstan. Tempus Közalapítvány [Tempus Public Foundation], Personal Communication, July 17, 2020).

It seems that the Stipendium Hungaricum program might be able to attract more students than the Erasmus+ mobility program. However, the Stipendium Hungaricum program is unilateral: only Kazakh students can use it to study in Hungary. The total number of Kazakh students studying in Hungary with government support through the Stipendium Hungaricum has gradually increased, from 51 in 2015/16 to 478 in the 2020/2021 academic year. However, the proportion of foreign students coming from 67 countries has not increased significantly, and it grew from 4.03% to just 4.75% in 2019 (Tempus Közalapítvány, 2020b). This suggests that the Hungarian government has expanded the total number of Stipendium Hungaricum grants, not only those awarded to Kazakh students.

**Table 4**

*Number and Percentage of Kazakh Students Studying with a Stipendium Hungaricum (SH) Scholarship in Hungary between 2015 and 2019*

Country of citizenship	Study year					
	2015/16 autumn	2015/16 spring	2016/17 autumn	2017/2018 autumn	2018/2019 autumn	2019/2020 autumn
Kazakhstan*	51	51	88	207	333	429
% of Kazakh students out of total SH students**	4.03	3.82	3.01	4.02	7.03	4.75

Based on the following: \*(Tempus Public Foundation, 2020); \*\*based on (Tempus Public Foundation)

In 2020, more than 600 Kazakh students were studying in Hungary due to the Stipendium Hungaricum program (Hungary, Kazakhstan ‘strategic partners,’ 2020).

## Conclusions and Prospects

The most surprising finding in this secondary data analysis was that although according to their declarations, the two governments appear to invest a lot of effort into building and strengthening the strategic partnership between the two countries—by means of annual and new economic and trade agreements,—the Hungarian exports to Kazakhstan still have fallen by 50% between 2013 and 2019, and Kazakh exports declined even more, to 5% of their previous level, in between 2010 and 2019.

Plenta (2016) comes to similar conclusion regarding the EU countries and Kazakh ties; he states that we can see the difference between declared ambitions and the real situation. The EU strategy through regular meetings between European and Kazakh representatives helps increase contacts at the highest level. “Kazakhstan has increased its ties with Europe. However, apart from political dialogue, I don’t think that relations have increased so much” (Plenta, 2016, p. 84).

Further research would be needed to analyze what are the reasons behind this contradiction, why there is this clash between the declared intentions and the real situation regarding the size of the trade and economic cooperation between the two countries. Based on a previous study (Plenta, 2016), we could suppose that the problems are caused by the differences in cooperation with large, “western” enterprises, as small and medium-sized companies in Kazakhstan, which are still in the “Soviet thinking model”

(Plenta, 2016, p. 88), were marked as not fully reliable. Another problem is unclear and unstable legislation, weak enforcement of the law, and corruption. On paper everything is acceptable, however there are problems with custom services, the rapid legislation changes, and the laws that are not strict in business cooperation, the most significant problem identified was the level of corruption in the country (Plenta, 2016).

Studies have shown that the most promising area for future cooperation between Kazakhstan and Hungary could be the agricultural sector. Hungary, which operates according to the EU standards, has technologies and a qualified workforce for processing agricultural products. Kazakhstan has huge potential for producing environmentally friendly agricultural products. The two countries could cooperate in order to create competitive Kazakh products and bring them to the markets of the Eurasian Economic Union, China, and Central Asian countries (*Hungary, Kazakhstan 'strategic partners,'* 2020).

Potential business investment areas for Hungarian companies include fruit and vegetable production—greenhouse vegetable production; the planting of apple, cherry, and other orchards—fodder and crop production—maize, corn, sunflowers, sugar, and sorghum—and the food industry (meat processing and the production of dried and canned vegetables and fruits). Other areas include the healthcare industry—for example, the assembly of medical devices and equipment—medical tourism, that is rehabilitation; construction technologies; water industrial technologies—the development of water utilities and wastewater treatment—and waste processing (Külgazdasági és Külügyminisztérium, 2018).

Kazakhstan produces medicines and medical devices, although not in sufficient quantities to meet the needs of its internal market. The Hungarian company Richter Gedeon has thus established a representative office and a joint venture, Egis, while all international pharmaceutical companies that have subsidiaries in Hungary—for example, Sanofi—are also present in Kazakhstan. However, the market is highly regulated, with public procurement carried out by a public body. Thus, market entry is limited in this field. At the same time, Hungarian healthcare equipment and products can be successful in some segments if suppliers ensure the registration of such equipment, which is a process that requires a minimum of 6 months. The COVID-19 epidemic resulted in a significant increase in demand for imported products in the first quarter of 2020; however, this demand may decline due to the expansion or re-profiling of local production. At the same time, the demand for import substitution solutions has increased, which may result in success for Hungarian manufacturers following recovery from the epidemic (Külgazdasági és Külügyminisztérium, 2021).



The pull sectors will remain industry, construction, and agriculture. It can be assumed that due to a lack of financial resources—and the high cost of credit and funds on the local market—among Kazakh partners, financing will be expected from the Hungarian side. Thus it would be expedient to find out about the available financing and/or risk-sharing solutions at Eximbank (MKIK, 2020).

In April 2020, the Kazakh government announced an economic protection action plan in Nur-Sultan, due to the spread of the COVID-19 virus and the drastic fall in the price of oil, which is a significant source of revenue for the country. To provide basic food items, the state credit line has to date been raised from KZT 600 million to 1 billion, and the interest rate on this was reduced by between 13% and 15%. Companies importing agricultural products are no longer subject to VAT. The government has set aside EUR 300 billion for infrastructural development, employing 120,000 people, exclusively Kazakh citizens (Benkő, 2007). There will still be a demand for agricultural technologies, with the increased demand for Hungarian financing (MTI & Hungary Today, 2020).

State measures to combat the COVID-19-related downturn, which could amount to KZT 5.9 trillion (approximately HUF 5 billion), will prioritize the development of the construction industry, thus offsetting rising unemployment. (Planned projects include housing construction, road construction, and renovation, the construction of the Sary-Arka gas pipeline, the expansion of the Tengiz/Atyrau site, and the completion of the Almaty ring road.) A significant share of the technologies is available, although there is a demand for new technologies, and the production of building materials is constantly expanding. At the same time, considering the development of the exchange rate, the Kazakh partners are very cost-sensitive—for example, in terms of planning, the Hungarian price level can be considered high on the market (Külgazdasági és Külügyminisztérium, 2021).

The Hungarian government and business groups are working on implementing Hungarian projects in the fields of green management, waste management, road construction, and logistics. The initiative to present and promote Hungarian products at the Khorgos International Center of Boundary Cooperation, a special economic zone that includes the Kazakh–Chinese border crossing, could be a big step in bringing Hungarian products to the Kazakh market (MKIK, 2020).

Finally, it gives space for optimism that the exports in both directions started to recover against the difficult pandemic situation in 2020. The Hungarian exports to Kazakhstan increased from 105 million USD in 2019 to 165 million USD in 2020—this stands for 57% annual growth—and Kazakhstan exports to Hungary from 10 million USD in 2019 to 10.26 in 2020—meaning 2.6% annual growth.

The cooperation in the fields of R&D and higher education evolved linearly and continuously between 2011 and 2020, which gives hope for further developments in this area. Through this cooperation, Hungary could assist Kazakhstan in setting up more international relations in the European region becoming an even more influential country in Central Asia in the areas of economy and education.

## References

- A Kormány 197/2008. (VIII. 4.) Korm. Rendelete a Magyar Köztársaság Kormánya és a Kazah Köztársaság Kormánya között a gazdasági együttműködésről szóló megállapodás kötelező hatályának elismerésére adott felhatalmazásról és kihirdetéséről [Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Hungary and the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan on Economic Cooperation]. (2008). *Gazdasági Közlöny*, 8, 498–500.
- Arunachalam, S., & Doss, M. J. (2000). *Mapping International Collaboration in Science in Asia through Coauthorship Analysis*. 79(5), 621–628. <https://repository.arizona.edu/handle/10150/106209>
- Azarian, R. (2011). Potentials and Limitations of Comparative Method in Social Science. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 1(4), 113–125.
- Bátorfy A. (2019). *Magyarország nemzetiségi térképe* [Map of Hungarian nationalities]. <https://atlo.team/magyarorszagnemzetisegiterkepe/>
- Benkő, M. (2007). Közép-Ázsiai krónikák a keleti magyarok részvételéről a kazak kánóságok megalapításában [Chronicles of Central Asia on the participation of Eastern Hungarians in the founding of the Kazakh khanas]. In J. Gazda & E. Szabó (Eds.), *Kőrösi Csoma Sándor és keleti hagyományaink* (pp. 139–151). Kőrösi Csoma Sándor Közművelődési Egyesület.
- Bíró, A. Z., Zalán, A., Völgyi, A., & Pamjav, H. (2009). A Y-chromosomal comparison of the Madjars (Kazakhstan) and the Magyars (Hungary). *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 139(3), 305–310. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ajpa.20984>
- Cohen, A. (2008). *Kazakhstan: The Road to Independence. Energy Policy and the Birth of a Nation*. Central Asia-Caucasus Institute & Silk Road Studies Program. <https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/131571/kazakhstanindependence.pdf>
- Emberi Erőforrások Minisztériuma [Ministry of Human Resources]. (2013, November 19). *Magyar–kazah oktatási és tudományos együttműködési megállapodás* [Hungarian–Kazakh education and scientific cooperation agreement]. Felsőoktatásért Felelős Államtitkárság. <https://2010-2014.kormany.hu/hu/emberi-eroforrasok-miniszteriuma/felsooktatasesert-felelos-allamtitkarsag/hirek/magyar-kazah-oktatasi-es-tudomanyos-egyuttmukodesi-megallapodas>
- Eurostat. (2020). *Real GDP growth rate—Volume* [Data set]. <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/tec00115/default/table?lang=en>
- Eurozone recession deepened at end of 2012. (2013, February 14). BBC News. <https://www.bbc.com/news/business-21455423>
- Eurydice. (2021, March 31). *Types of Higher Education Institutions*. Eurydice–European Commission. [https://eacea.ec.europa.eu/national-policies/eurydice/hungary/types-higher-education-institutions\\_en](https://eacea.ec.europa.eu/national-policies/eurydice/hungary/types-higher-education-institutions_en)

- Greene, J. C. (2000). Challenges in practicing deliberative democratic evaluation. *New Directions for Evaluation*, 2000(85), 13–26. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ev.1158>
- Hungary, Kazakhstan 'strategic partners.' (2020, February 3). The Budapest Times. <https://www.archiv.budapesttimes.hu/2020/02/03/hungary-kazakhstan-strategic-partners>
- KSH [Hungarian Central Statistical Office]. (2013). *Hungary, 2012*. <https://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xftp/idoszaki/mo/hungary2012.pdf>
- KSH [Hungarian Central Statistical Office]. (2014). *2011. Évi népszámlálás. 10. Vallás, felekezet*. Központi Statisztikai Hivatal. [https://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xftp/idoszaki/nepsz2011/nepsz\\_10\\_2011.pdf](https://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xftp/idoszaki/nepsz2011/nepsz_10_2011.pdf)
- KSH [Hungarian Central Statistical Office]. (2020). *Magyarország népességének száma nemek és életkor szerint, 2020. Január 1.* [Population of Hungary by gender and age, 1 January 2020] [Data set]. <https://www.ksh.hu/interaktiv/korfak/orszag.html>
- Külgazdasági és Külügyminisztérium [Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade]. (2018). *Kazahsztán* [Kazakhstan] [PDF slides]. <http://exporthungary.gov.hu/download/b/35/52000/Kazahszt%C3%A1n.pdf>
- Külgazdasági és Külügyminisztérium [Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade]. (2021). *Kazahsztán* [Kazakhstan]. [http://exporthungary.gov.hu/download/3/f1/d2000/Kazahszt%C3%A1n\\_20210920.pdf](http://exporthungary.gov.hu/download/3/f1/d2000/Kazahszt%C3%A1n_20210920.pdf)
- LAC Holding. (2021). *Kazakh-Hungarian Cooperation Agreement*. <http://lac.hu/hu/hirek/reszletek/1005/kazakh-hungarian-cooperation-agreement>
- Macrotrends. (2021). *Kazakhstan Unemployment Rate 1991-2021* [Data set]. <https://www.macrotrends.net/countries/KAZ/kazakhstan/unemployment-rate>
- Magyar Kereskedelmi és Iparkamara (MKIK) [Hungarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry]. (2020). *Piaci útmutató a Kazah Köztársaságról* [Market guide for the Republic of Kazakhstan]. <https://mkik.hu/download/207/kazah-koeztarsasag>
- Makhmutova, D. I., & Mustafin, A. N. (2017). Impact of International Trade on Economic Growth. *International Journal of Scientific Study*, 5(6), 140–144. [https://www.ijss-sn.com/uploads/2/0/1/5/20153321/ijss-iran\\_sep\\_17\\_benson\\_oa29.pdf](https://www.ijss-sn.com/uploads/2/0/1/5/20153321/ijss-iran_sep_17_benson_oa29.pdf)
- MTI & Hungary Today. (2020, May 6). *Coronavirus: Finance Ministry Sees 3 pc GDP Contraction in 2020*. Hungary Today. <https://hungarytoday.hu/coronavirus-finance-ministry-sees-3-pc-gdp-contraction-in-2020/>
- NAIK & Agroinform. (2019, April 30). *Magyar-kazah együttműködés az agrárkutásban és -oktatásban*. <https://www.agroinform.hu/gazdasag/magyar-kazah-egyuttmukodes-agrarkutatasban-es-oktatasban-39935-001>
- Nemzeti fejlesztés 2030 [National Development 2030]. (2014). *Magyar Közlöny*, 1, 10–298. <http://www.kozlonyok.hu/nkonline/MKPDF/hiteles/MK14001.pdf>
- Parliament Resolution No. 1/2014. (I. 3.) OGY National Development 2030–National Development and Territorial Development Concept [English translation of the “Nemzeti fejlesztés 2030” document, published as article in the “Magyar Közlöny” journal, 2014/1, pp. 10–298]. (2014). [https://regionalispolitika.kormany.hu/download/b/c9/e0000/OFTK\\_vegleges\\_EN.pdf](https://regionalispolitika.kormany.hu/download/b/c9/e0000/OFTK_vegleges_EN.pdf)
- Plenta, P. (2016). The European Two-Level Game in Central Asia: Visegrad Countries and Kazakhstan. *Asian International Studies Review*, 17(2), 79–99. <https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=3366941>
- PWC. (2021a, June 30). *Hungary–Individual–Income determination*. PWC Worldwide Tax Summaries Online. <https://taxsummaries.pwc.com/hungary/individual/income-determination>

- PWC. (2021b, July 23). *Kazakhstan—Individual—Income determination*. PWC Worldwide Tax Summaries Online. <https://taxsummaries.pwc.com/kazakhstan/individual/income-determination>
- SPHERE. (2021). *Higher education in Kazakhstan*. Support and Promotion for Higher Education Reform Experts. <https://supporthere.org/page/higher-education-kazakhstan>
- Statista. (2020). *Hungary: Unemployment rate from 1991 to 2020* [Data set]. <https://www.statista.com/statistics/339859/unemployment-rate-in-hungary/>
- Székely, T. (2016, June 19). *On This Day—In 1991 Soviet Troops Finally Left Hungary After Four Decades of Occupation*. Hungary Today. <https://hungarytoday.hu/day-1991-soviet-troops-finally-left-hungary-four-decades-occupation-video-59830/>
- Tabarrok, A. (2015). *Introduction to the Solow Model*. Marginal Revolution University. <https://mru.org/courses/principles-economics-macroeconomics/solow-model-economic-growth>
- Tar, G., & Ujvári, M. (2019). *Kazahsztán országinformáció* [Kazakhstan country information] [PDF slides]. Külgazdasági és Külügyminisztérium [Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade Hungary]. <http://exporthungary.gov.hu/download/b/35/52000/Kazahszt%C3%A1n.pdf>
- Tempus Közalapítvány [Tempus Public Foundation]. (2020a). *Nemzetközi kreditmobilitás. 2020. Évi pályázati tudnivalók* [International credit mobility. 2020 year application info]. <https://tka.hu/palyazatok/7619/statisztikak>
- Tempus Közalapítvány [Tempus Public Foundation]. (2020b). *Stipendium Hungaricum jelentkezői és hallgatói adatok* [Stipendium Hungaricum candidates and students data] [Data set]. <https://tka.hu/palyazatok/7619/statisztikak>
- Trading Economics. (2020a). *Country List Government Debt to GDP* [Data set]. <https://tradingeconomics.com/country-list/government-debt-to-gdp>
- Trading Economics. (2020b). *Hungary Exports* [Data set]. <https://tradingeconomics.com/hungary/exports>
- Trading Economics. (2020c). *Kazakhstan Exports* [Data set]. <https://tradingeconomics.com/kazakhstan/exports>
- Trading Economics. (2021a). *Kazahsztán—Személyi jövedelemadó mértéke* [Kazakhstan—Personal income tax rate] [Data set]. <https://hu.tradingeconomics.com/kazakhstan/personal-income-tax-rate>
- Trading Economics. (2021b). *Magyarország—Személyi jövedelemadó mértéke* [Hungary—Personal income tax rate] [Data set]. <https://hu.tradingeconomics.com/hungary/personal-income-tax-rate>
- United Nations Development Programme. (2020). *Human Development Data Center, Human Development Reports* [Data set]. <http://hdr.undp.org/en/data>
- World Bank. (1999). *Privatization of the power and natural gas industries in Hungary and Kazakhstan*. <https://doi.org/10.1596/0-8213-4483-8>
- World Bank. (2020a). *DataBank: Researchers in R&D (per million people)* [Data set]. <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.SCIE.RD.P6>
- World Bank. (2020b). *DataBank: World Development Indicators* [Data set]. <https://data-bank.worldbank.org/source/world-development-indicators>
- World Bank. (2020c). *DataBank: World Development Indicators. GDP growth (annual %)—Hungary* [Data set]. <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG?locations=HU>

- World Bank. (2020d). *DataBank: World Development Indicators. GDP growth (annual %)-Kazakhstan* [Data set]. <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG?locations=KZ>
- World Bank Group. (2020a). *Doing Business 2020. Hungary*. <https://www.doingbusiness.org/content/dam/doingBusiness/country/h/hungary/HUN.pdf>
- World Bank Group. (2020b). *Doing Business 2020. Kazakhstan*. <https://www.doingbusiness.org/content/dam/doingBusiness/country/k/kazakhstan/KAZ.pdf>
- World Economic Forum. (2020). *Global Competitiveness Report Special Edition 2020: How Countries are Performing on the Road to Recovery*. [https://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF\\_TheGlobalCompetitivenessReport2020.pdf](https://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_TheGlobalCompetitivenessReport2020.pdf)

## Book Review. Alex Broom and Katherine Kenny's *Survivorship: A Sociology of Cancer in Everyday Life*

ÁGNES SÁNTHA

Affiliation: Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania  
Faculty of Technical and Human Sciences, Târgu Mureș, Romania  
Department of Applied Social Sciences  
Email: [santhaagnes@ms.sapientia.ro](mailto:santhaagnes@ms.sapientia.ro)

### Abstract

Cancer has become the second largest cause of death and a central concern in modern societies. Despite increasing survival rates, there is hardly a family that is not directly engaged with the fight against cancer. The brand new book *Survivorship: A Sociology of Cancer in Everyday Life* (appeared as recently as March 2021) approaches the phenomenon from the the perspective of everyday lives of survivors, their micro-social networks, and health care professionals. Authored by Alex Broom and Katherine Kenny, sociologists from the University of Sydney, and elaborated with a range of qualitative methods, the chapters of the book address issues of social norms, individual tensions of survivors, and emotional approaches to survivorship.

**Keywords:** agency, illness perceptions, cancer, sociology of health, survivorship, normative expectations

Part of the *Routledge Studies in the Sociology of Health and Illness*, the book fills a gap in sociology in general and in microsociology, in particular, by completing the medical and quantifying view on cancer with the individual experiences of patients and their networks. The cancer-care industry, and within it, discourse on survivorship, is framed through quantifiable clinical constructions, which show great progress of cancer treatment success in the last decades in the Global North. Disease-centered cancer survivorship, however, misses the person. As an alternative, the person-centered approach offered by this book foregrounds the relational, cultural, economic, and political aspects of illness in everyday life that are outside of the focus of quantifiable encoding.

Although cancer has always existed and it definitely will remain with us in the foreseeable future, experiences of the illness in late modernity have a particular nuance when life extension is desirable at all costs and mortality is troubling.

The concept of survivorship as an escape postulates some moral qualities of individuals as inherent. Survivors are physically and mentally strong characters, resilient winners who have overcome the disease, and surviving is a moral imperative for the individual in relation to society and the state.

The arguments foreground the processual nature of cancer treatment. The normative trajectory of survivorship is “away from disease”: from diagnosis to treatment and then to cure. Stories of survivors in this book present people who live with the illness rather than who have overcome it, some of them without ever being completely cured of it. This is yet another aspect overseen by the disease-centered model that misses the growing number of people living with cancer in the long run.

The book is an example of a qualitative mixed methods approach with data gathered throughout twenty years, using a large number of individual and dyadic interviews and focus group discussions with cancer patients from Australia. Moreover, solicited diaries and photo elicitation of the patients help capture longer-term states of survivors and identify behind-the-scene happenings, broadening the temporal frame and distancing the storyteller from the researcher.

A particularly valuable and interesting chapter of the book develops from the dyadic interviews conducted with patients and their carers. Respondents orient themselves towards their future through a process of negotiation in relation to other people, to the significant others, like spouses, family members, friends, and colleagues. Uncertainty prevails in the narratives of survivors already inherent in medical diagnoses, treatment options, and prognoses themselves. Throughout the chapters, tensions between the normative expectations and the lived experiences of survivors are being discussed. The normative imperative “prepare for the worst, but hope for the best” often preserve various degrees of discontinuity with cancer patients’ past, present, and future.

Another tension that prevails in the narratives lies between the clinical diagnosis of terminal cancer and feeling well despite this diagnosis. Deviations from the normative assumptions connected to the “sick role” (Parsons, 1951) that assumes a decline before dying confers uncertainty.

Similarly, the dominant discourse about survivorship is the positive activity. Cancer patients experience the expectation of being hopeful and fighting a battle while storytellers recount being strong for others, primarily for their families. Demands of attitudes towards survivors are relational in their nature. The normativity of the appropriate disposition is created and reinforced throughout the illness process, creating constant pressure concerning proper behavior.

A further tension originates in the dichotomy of waiting for future clinical updates and, at the same time, trying to live in the present. The omnipresence of disease in the background and everyday life is often experienced as a form of exile, discontinuous from the path of life itself, from the past and the future. The contradiction between entanglement and estrangement brings about the porosity of borders, particularly between time planes that are supposed to be continuous in the normal life course. Yet, when living with cancer, past and future are constantly renegotiated. Clinical prognoses of the survival chances and the time left to live not only crystallize the sense of liminality but are also omnipresent as unsettling factors about the future, thus, they confer ambivalence to the present, too.

Unlike the usual approaches to cancer survivorship, stories of cancer patients in this book depart from the effects of emotions (Fox, 2015) and do not celebrate the phenomenon as an individual triumph independent from relational others, but rather as a form of sociality infused not only with effects but also with morality. Survivorship is a culturally shaped collective act; in other words, it is surrounded by normative expectations about the appropriate emotions, most commonly a will to live, bravery, hope, and positivity (Ehrenreich, 2009; Steinberg, 2015). It is being deployed as a moral commitment and a coercive cultural form, imposing pressure on cancer patients, particularly on those who experience feelings of dread, despair, and capitulation and are thus socially misrecognized. Due to the dominant paradigm of positivism in survivorship, such non-normative negative feelings are often individualized and marginalized.

Within the context of the rise of precision medicine in cancer care and the euphoria associated with it, healthcare professionals' (oncologists', trainees', and nurses') accounts offer a more nuanced view on this promising innovation. The transformative power of the genomic turn is evident in some types of cancer like melanoma or lung cancer. In the background, however, individual molecular therapeutics is associated with ambiguity around the economic interests behind its emergence (Rushford & Greengalagh, 2020).



In the stories of healthcare professionals, enchantment—a mixture of hope, faith, refreshment, and the aspiration of progress-towards-cure—intertwining with the breakthrough of precision medicine is challenged by the uneven progress across cancer types, the disproportionate institutionalization throughout Australian hospitals, as well as by the patients' unequal access to care. The tension between the affective enchantment sustained by the media and the clinical reality featuring social inequity carries the potential of patient misinformation or confusion.

Precision medicine is linked to a series of trials for patients as a part of their cancer treatment procedure, beyond the official scientific investigation. Although it carries the heavy burden of inequity, those patients involved in such experiments perceive participation as a civic duty, sometimes as a parting gift to the community and future patients, and often participate in trials in spite of being critical to the assessment of worth and their conviction that their lives should not be prolonged at any cost. Notwithstanding the objective gains of disease reduction, the quality of their lives is inherently compromised. Hope, too, is a complicated social practice.

The book is a critique of orthodox views on cancer survivorship and reveals the social production of the process. Living with cancer is captured as becoming, in its processual nature. Despite the relatively large potential of agency within the fight for survival, the process entails a strong structural gradient that manifests itself in the reproduction of social inequalities and unequal treatment opportunities for patients. Much more than an individual issue, survivorship becomes a social, economic, and political practice.

## References

- Broom, A., & Kenny, K. (2021). *Survivorship: A sociology of cancer in everyday life*. Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group.
- Ehrenreich, B. (2009). *Smile or die: How positive thinking fooled America and the world*. Granta.
- Fox, N. J. (2015). Emotions, affect and the production of social life. *British Journal of Sociology* 66(2), 301-318. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-4446.12119>
- Parsons, T. (1951). *The social system*. Free Press.
- Rushford, A. & Greengalagh, T. (2020): Personalized medicine, disruptive innovation, and "Trailblazer" guidelines: Case study and theorization of an unsuccessful change effort. *Milbank Quarterly* 98(2), 581-617. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-0009.12455>
- Steinberg, D. L. (2015). The bad patient: Estranged subjects of the cancer culture. *Body & Society* 21(3), 115-143. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1357034X15586240>

## Book Review. Győrfi Dénes's *Bibliotheca Universitatis Claudiopolitanae. Evoluția instituțională și practici ale lecturii în Clujul Universitar*

ARTÚR LÓRÁND LAKATOS

Affiliation: Partium Christian University  
Department of Economics, Oradea, Romania  
Email: lakatosartur@partium.ro

### Abstract

This book review is presenting a published PhD thesis concerning the history of the library of the university of Cluj, from its foundation until 1945. The book is dealing with three distinguishable periods, the 1872–1918 period, during the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy; the period of 1918–1940, the era of the Great Romania, and the third period is represented by the years of World War II. Based on a rich bibliography, the author is following the major processes concerning the institutional management of the library.

**Keywords:** library history, library management, cultural institutions, acquisitions

It is rare to meet books that are relevant both in the field of library history and library management. A librarian and researcher in history, Dénes Győrfi took this challenge by trying to give a comprehensive image to the development of the University Library of Cluj. Since he is not only a historian—taking his PhD with the subject of this current book—but also a librarian and a library manager, he has an inside look, as a professional, on the processes. In the postface of the book, the former director of the library, Doru Radosav summarizes the author's efforts in the following way: it is a typical text of historiography, with deep analyses in the subjects of library functions, infrastructure, finances, personnel and the profession of a librarian, with all of its tasks and hardships.

A few stylistic generalities can be observed. First of all, the author uses simple notions to make the text clear for a larger audience. Since the subject is relatively neutral, the author can try to stay objective to present facts and processes without making value judgments.

In this respect, the quest for the complex character of the text is accompanied by a certain rigorous writing style. Each and every sentence is calculated, contains precise information, allowing very limited space for subjectivity, and the formulation is cautious. Even when he narrates debatable events—like the competition for the position of the director of the library from 1929, accompanied by serious conflicts of ambitions and interests—he resumes to present the facts discovered in the documents: the author allows the sources to speak for themselves. In many cases, we can learn some very interesting details and case studies, like the struggle for controlling the library at the end of the twenties, when the administration of the kingdom of Romania was already properly established, and a harsh struggle between different interest groups was going on. This can be observed especially in the political and economic life, where stakes were higher, but they did not avoid the otherwise very *neutral* institution of the University Library either. A typical scene took place between director Eugen Barbul, and his later successor, Ioan Mușlea, this second one being supported by the influential professor Alexandru Lapedatu. Other actors were also involved, one of them being so determined to obtain the post of the director that, through his practices, he managed to cause disciplinary actions against himself. This story is a great cross-sectional case study of how relations in the Transylvanian elite of those years were shaped.

The history of the modern University of Cluj, and through this, the history of the university library, has some distinct periods, divided according to the main turning points of the history of East-Central Europe. First, there is the period of the Franz Joseph University, founded in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in 1872. This era ended in 1918 when the Franz Joseph University was forced into exile due to the advancement of the Romanian troops, and the King Ferdinand University was established, taking over the goods of the former Hungarian state university. The King Ferdinand University was continuously developing in the city, while the Franz Joseph in Szeged was using continuously the brand of the University of Kolozsvár, practically, two universities claiming the city brand for themselves. The third period starts in 1940 when, according to the Second Treaty of Vienna, Northern Transylvania was annexed back to Hungary, the Romanian university choosing the way of exile in Sibiu. Following the end of World War II, in 1945 the ethnic aspect of the issue of continuity was solved in a seemingly Solomonic decision: the Romanian university returned from Sibiu, and a state university for the Hungarian minority from Romania was founded by a Royal Decree, the Bolyai János University. The two universities existed in parallel for a while, for being unified forcefully in 1959. This was followed by a gradual reduction of the Hungarian element in the new, unified structure, a process reversed

only after the revolution of 1989, nowadays the Babeş-Bolyai University claiming proudly the brand of multiculturalism. Even if the University Library theoretically is a separate legal entity from the universities themselves, in practice, it is affected by the changes undergoing in the political, legal, social and economic status of the University: moreover, the same major events have a significant and similar impact over them. In this sense, the different periods in the existence of the University Library often reproduce the same phenomenon, especially on a professional plan—acquisition, research, human resources—issues that generally share the same characteristics, under all kinds of regimes and are affected by the general political, social economic and cultural environment. This book deals with three of these periods of existence: the 1872–1918 period, the 1918–1940 period, and the 1940–1945 period. In this latter one, the author follows the parallel fate of the collections from Cluj and Sibiu until their moment of reunification in 1945.

The author did his best to gather as many sources as possible. From the category of studies and articles, 24 titles are included in the bibliography, the oldest one from 1894. Many of the authors of these articles are either people directly involved in the management of the library or historians dealing with local and regional subjects, including intellectual and cultural history. Similar is the case of the books and monographs, but also a series of publications that can be considered primary sources, like memoirs, journals, and letters. Such are the monograph of the former library director, Eugen Barbul, the memoirs of Farkas Gyalui, the journal and letters of Lajos Kelemen. Győrfi did a good job by reviewing the periodical publications related to the history of the library—many of them being the publications of the institution—but probably the most important category of texts are the yet unpublished archive materials.

The author performed comprehensive research in different archives from Cluj and Budapest, starting with the document collection of the library. The most important sources are, however, those coming from certain personal collections. Of the 320 pages of text, almost half of it is dedicated to the transcript of important and illustrative documents and to pictures that better clarify the historical and institutional context to the interested reader.

The text is divided into four parts of different sizes. The first part is focusing on the evolution of the newly founded University Library in the period of 1872–1918, from its establishment till its situation in 1918. The author is presenting here different issues related to the maintenance and development of the library, starting with its foundation, and the issue of its location until the building of the current Central Library, a building

where the headquarter of the institution is functioning even today, and seemingly this will remain so for a while. A separate chapter deals with the issue of the establishment of the smaller deposit libraries near the departments of the university, subordinated to the central library. Other chapters deal with the human resource of the institution, clearly describing and delimiting the functions employed, the constant acquisitions and the growth of the library collections, and the rules of functioning. The positive role of key personalities is highlighted, like in the case of directors Károly Szabó, Zoltán Ferenci, and Pál Erdélyi. The place and activities for developing the Romanian-centered collections of Grigore Moldovan and Grigore Silași are also mentioned. The last chapter of this unit deals with the situation during World War I.

The second part deals with the development of the library in the interwar period, in Romania, when all the turbulence of the political life influenced the functioning of the institution too. This unit has three directions: one of these is reflecting on the struggle for influence among circles of interest of the academic life related to the functioning of the library. The second is related to managerial issues, from salaries to extending the access to a larger public, the building of new reading rooms, the set of rules for reading and borrowing. Finally, the third direction focuses on the enrichment of the library collections. The third unit deals with the issue of the division of the library collections following the Arbitration of Vienna: the responsible organs evacuated in Sibiu only the materials belonging to the Romanian national culture, leaving the Hungarian materials for the Hungarian university life. The last unit presents the return of the Romanian university and the way collections were unified again.

The general conclusion can be the idea formulated by István Csucsujá—in Dénes Gyórfi's vision, the development of the University Library from Cluj is a process of constant ascension. We can hope, in our turn, that this ascension will continue.

## References

Gyórfi, D. (2019). *Bibliotheca Universitatis Claudiopolitanae. Evoluția instituțională și practici ale lecturii în Clujul universitar* [Bibliotheca Universitatis Claudiopolitanae. Institutional evolution and reading practices in the university city of Cluj]. Argonaut.

## Book Review. Uricska Erna's *COVIDICTIONARY: Words and Phrases Related to the Global Pandemic*

NÓRA BARNUCZ

Affiliation: University of Public Service Ludovika, Budapest, Hungary  
Researcher of ICT MasterMinds Research Group  
Email: barnucz.nora@uni-nke.hu

### Abstract

This unique work in its subject matter, genre and language was prepared during the first wave of the coronavirus epidemic. The theoretical background of the author's research work is perfectly adjusted to Patyi's "university triangle" model ("Nemzeti Közzolgálati Egyetem, Intézményfejlesztési Terv 2015–2020," n.d.), which basically illustrates the functioning of a university in a triple system of the activities "research–education–curriculum development," and Paavola and Hakkarainen's *trialogical model* (2005), which—through the competence of cooperation—provides an opportunity to develop students' creativity, to keep their motivation at a high level, to develop competencies required by the labour market, and to implement experiential teaching–learning. A questionnaire survey was used with closed and open questions among students who have been learning English for law enforcement at the University of Public Service Faculty of Law Enforcement (hereinafter: UPS FLE) using the corpus-based dictionary method. The author's acquaintances registered on Facebook social media platform were also involved in the research. The 96-page collection of words and phrases based on the theoretical background involves 403 English words, word phrases, neologisms and their definitions related to the coronavirus epidemic and COVID-19 situation during the first wave.

**Keywords:** covid dictionary, social networking sites, English for law enforcement, university triangle, trialogical learning

The author is a doctoral student at the Doctoral School of the Sociology and Communication Science, Corvinus University of Budapest. Her research interests include the study of digital communication on the social network sites of the English, the American, and the Hungarian law enforcement organizations.

The author's research activities are not limited to theoretical and empirical research. This is evidenced by the unique—in its subject matter, genre and language—work that was completed by the author during the first wave of the worldwide coronavirus epidemic. The basic idea of the collection of the English monolingual words and phrases (hereinafter: collection) was also inspired by Ágnes Veszelszki's *Quarantine Dictionary* (2020a) in Hungarian, who is the author's supervisor, an Associate Professor, the Head of the Department of Communication and Media Studies at Corvinus University of Budapest. The dictionary was based on the observation that the coronavirus epidemic in the early 2020 had led to the emergence of a number of new terms in the language or to the revival of words that had been previously rarely used (Veszelszki, 2020a). The researcher explored the effects of the coronavirus on the Hungarian language in her latest research. The phenomenon that language—especially vocabulary—responds immediately to crises in all areas of life, such as the pandemic caused by the coronavirus, is not new (Veszelszki, 2020b). These professional background factors and inspirations were enough for Erna Uricska to think further the basic idea in the midst of the current pandemic, create an object with the purpose of the practical implementation of community teaching and learning and research, which in addition is considered a novelty in its own genre, and is also compatible with the following scientific theoretical models.

Patyi's "university triangle" model ("Nemzeti Közzolgálati Egyetem, Intézményfejlesztési Terv 2015–2020," n.d.)—which was explained in detail in a co-authored work of Patyi and Barnucz (2020)—fits perfectly to the theoretical background of the collection. The model presents the university operations, namely the scientific work (research), the education (preparation) and the curriculum development as a system of activities that are simultaneously performed, with respect to and in coordination with each other. Paavola and Hakkarainen's (2005) triological model can be adapted well and updated for the creation of the dictionary, in which students collaboratively develop a knowledge object during the teaching-learning process. Thus, it creates an opportunity to develop the students' creativity, keep their motivation at a high level, develop competences required by the labour market, and implement experiential teaching-learning (Uricska, 2020a). In addition to the theoretical models, the adaptation of a practical model of language learning can be mentioned like the model of metacognitive strategies (Barnucz & Uricska, 2020). Its particular importance is the vocabulary development in language learning, while communicating in the target language.

The author wanted to adapt the collection to the activities of the university triangle: on the one hand, to the scientific research on the definitions of each term; on the other hand, to produce knowledge based on the university curricula. Finally, the researcher pays special attention to the use of the dictionary in seminars by students. In line with Patyi's university triangle model and Paavola and Hakkarainen's triological teaching and learning model together give the university quality, and the researcher has fulfilled it with her present work. A questionnaire survey was used with closed and open questions among students who had been learning English for law enforcement at UPS FLE using a corpus-based dictionary method, more specifically a word survey. The students, following the request of their instructor, collected new terms related to the coronavirus epidemic, distance learning, and their future profession. Furthermore, the author extended the research to her acquaintances on Facebook, and a lot of them also joined in word collection thus implementing a kind of community research and teaching-learning. As a result, the research became well-known internationally, as her acquaintances in the United States, Germany, the United Kingdom and Luxembourg participated in the research and enriched the collection with a number of terms. The aim of the author was to achieve internationalization through social media, which is one of the indispensable platforms for education and research in the twenty-first century. Overall, the author has put the triological model of Paavola and Hakkarainen (2005) into practice with excellent research skills, as the model is well adapted to online and offline knowledge creation activities, where the focus is not only on the individual and the community, but also on a process in which the participants of knowledge creation collaborate to create a shared knowledge object (community learning).

The relevance of the language learning metacognitive strategy model (Barnucz & Uricska, 2020, 2021) shows that there are often breakpoints in the development of the language learners' communication, which can be improved with the help of the model. In a higher education (academic) context, the prevalence of memory-based, cognitive and metacognitive strategies is the most important among students learning a (professional) foreign language, as well as the fact that cognitive schemes of professional knowledge also facilitate the acquisition of professional language use and vocabulary (Jakusné, 2014). The metacognitive model consists of four processes that are interdependent rather than strictly sequential: planning, monitoring, problem solving and evaluating. When applying the model, the instructor's responsibility is to decide which strategic step is prioritized for the processing of the learning material.



The scientific standard of the collection is also sufficiently supported by the references. The English and Hungarian articles as well as the websites listed in the bibliography provide inspiration for the preparation of the dictionary. The international themes of the literature listed raise the quality of the research even further. The bibliography at the end of the collection follows a sophisticated and consistent style. From the author's final reflection on the outside cover of the collection, we learn that the purpose of the dictionary, in addition to the practical implementation of community teaching-learning and research, is to express one's respect to frontline workers. The author also confirms this with the image of a nurse—wearing a mask while working in health care—on the outside cover of the collection. In the short summary at the back of the volume, the author provides information about the content of the work, expresses her gratitude to the colleagues, as well as to her closest colleagues working at UPS.

Based on this theoretical background, the 96-page collection contains 403 words, word structures, phrases and neologisms, and their definitions related to the coronavirus epidemic and quarantine situation that were most commonly used in English during the first wave of the epidemic. A good example of this is the neologism "smizing," which is an excellent way to capture the non-verbality of communication, since in the current epidemic situation, it is only our eyes that are uncovered and what we can express our feelings with. The dictionary also includes several other neologisms, such as "coronacation," "coronacoaster," "quaranteam," etc., which gives the novelty of the collection. All these have been supplemented by indicating the class of words, word structures and expressions, their synonyms and, in some places, by adding example sentences to some items. Most of the word structures are concentrated around the terms used by frontline workers, mainly in the fields of law enforcement and health care. The researcher has also taken care of the professional and linguistic proofreading of the word and phrase collection. The professional proofreading of the dictionary was performed by Judit Borszéki, Assistant Professor at the Department of Foreign Languages for Specific Purposes of the FLE, UPS, while the language proofreading was done by Josephine Moleon, a native speaker and researcher. The editor of the dictionary was Katalin Molnár, Associate Professor at the Department of Behavioural Sciences, of the FLE, UPS.

In line with all the research methodology, the dictionary can be useful for researchers working in communication studies and/or social media research (Uricska, 2020b, 2020c), while from the linguistics viewpoint it can serve as an excellent teaching material or supplementary material for English teaching training; and as it is a niche, the dictionary can also be useful for teachers and students of law enforcement and health care.

## References

- Barnucz, N., & Uricska, E. (2020). Innovatív nyelvtanulási módszerek és módszertan a rendészeti szaknyelvi képzés vizsgálatában. Előtanulmány egy vizsgálathoz. *Új Pedagógiai Szemle*, 70(9-10), 53–63. <https://bit.ly/2NlAToc>
- Barnucz, N., & Uricska, E. (2021). Kiterjesztett valóság és közösségi oldalak alkalmazása a nyelvoktatásban különös tekintettel a rendészeti szaknyelvre. *Rendvédelem*, 10(2), 4–48.
- Brown, H. D. (1994). *Teaching by principles*. Prentice Hall.
- Jakusné Harnos, É. (2014). A tudásszerveződés formáinak szerepe a szakmai nyelvhasználatban. In Zs. Bocz (Ed.), *Porta Lingua* (pp. 245–254).
- Kelemen, K., & Talabér, J. (2014). „Szavak nélkül a nyelv halott”—A szóbeli kommunikáció prioritása az idegennyelv-oktatásban. In J. Torgyik (Ed.), *Sokszínű pedagógiai kultúra* (pp. 420–426). <https://bit.ly/3ati1mc>
- Nemzeti Közzolgálati Egyetem, *Intézményfejlesztési Terv 2015-2020*. <https://bit.ly/2WFesl4>
- Paavola, S., & Hakkarainen, K. (2005). The knowledge creation metaphor— an emergent epistemological to learning. *Science and Education*, 14(6), 535–557. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11191-004-5157-0>
- Patyi, A., & Barnucz, N. (2020). A közzolgálati és rendészeti felsőoktatás néhány időszerű kihívása. *Új Magyar Közigazgatás*, 13(4), 1–12.
- Uricska, E. (2020a). Rendészeti közösségi oldalak alkalmazása a szaknyelvoktatásban. *Educatio*. 29(4), 653-662.
- Uricska, E. (2020b). Közösségi rendészet—közösségi média. Elméleti háttér és a rendészeti digilektus fogalmának bevezetése. *Magyar Rendészet*, 20(2), 153–168. <https://doi.org/10.32577/mr.2020.2.8>
- Uricska, E. (2020c). Proper interactive communication of the police as a(n e-)trust-building strategy. Introducing the term policing digilect. *Kosice Security Revue*, 10(2), 185–195.
- Uricska, E. (2021). *COVIDICTIONARY: Words and phrases related to the global pandemic*. Rejtjel Kiadó.
- Veszelszki, Á. (2020a). *Karanténszótár. Virális tartalom*. Budapest: Inter – IKU.
- Veszelszki, Á. (2020b). *Karanténszótár. Corvinus Podcast*. <https://bit.ly/2ZZeLbI>

## Book Reviewing Old Beginnings: Marjorie Watts' *P.E.N. The Early Years 1921–1926*

DAN HORAȚIU POPESCU

Affiliation: Partium Christian University

Department of Languages and Literatures, Oradea, Romania

Email: [dhpopescu@yahoo.com](mailto:dhpopescu@yahoo.com)

### Abstract

This review of a 1971 book is meant to invite readers to reflect on the role P.E.N. International—a worldwide association of writers, founded in London in 1921 to promote literature and intellectual co-operation among writers—might have given the increasing challenges in our contemporary society. Describing the beginnings of the organization, the book marked P.E.N.'s Golden Jubilee. Therefore, I felt it appropriate to discuss some of the issues it addressed—that is, socializing vs. political activism—as this year, P.E.N. International turned 100.

**Keywords:** writers' organizations, centenary, political activism, socializing, nostalgia

For those interested in what P.E.N. is nowadays, thoroughly assess its activity, the internet can provide a swift and complex answer. The P.E.N. site has as its headings "Who we are," "Celebrating literature," "Defending free expression," "Protecting writers at risk," "Supporting writers in exile," "Promoting linguistic rights" and "PEN Centres globally." Apparently (or is it *obviously?*), it is about writers from all over the world and also about their fight for human rights in the twenty-first century.

In the second spring of the COVID-19 pandemic, having researched the history of the Romanian P.E.N. Club for half a decade already and anticipating the intense exchange of information in the centenary year, I decided to order a copy of a book I had been looking for some while. Amazon fulfilled my desire and the booklet—indeed, as it was a 37-page volume—arrived in a couple of weeks. Authored by Marjorie Watts, née Scott, *P.E.N. The Early Years 1921–1926* was published in 1971, marking the half a century existence of the organization.

Marjorie Watts' small book aimed at setting "down the facts concerning the Foundation of the P.E.N. Club" and at giving its "present and future members a picture of her [mother] as Founder" (1971). During World War I Catherine Dawson Scott had set up Women's

Defence Relief Corps, an organization for women disposed to undertake “civil or semi-military work which would enable more men to enlist” (Watts, 1971, p. 5). When other similar organizations entered the public space, she started to consider diversifying and expanding or, to quote her daughter, she began “to think internationally” (1971, p. 5). Diversifying meant switching back to her real interest, the literary world, and what she had in mind was to create a social space for writers to meet, especially for the young and aspiring. That was how in the spring of 1917, the To-Morrow Club was founded. It followed the pattern already established by other clubs, so typically British, with members meeting once a week “in a large, low-ceilinged room in Long Acre” (Watts, 1971, p. 6). Marjorie Watts draws an affectionate portrait of her mother, who “undertook to find a subject, speaker and chairman” for each of the sessions, a task that she gracefully accomplished due to “her ability to persuade many distinguished writers” (1971, p. 6).

Despite its reduced dimension, the book is rich in sources of all kinds, as Marjorie Watts meant to underline the most significant items that would capture the spirit of the age. She resorted to her personal recollections—“My mother wrote long, chatty letters to me every week” (Watts, 1971, 11)—and to other people’s memories & testimonies, letters, diary entries, official documents, and so forth. In fact, the voice of Marjorie’s mother “was influential in the adjusting of reputations on that literary bourse (of London),” in other words, the establishment had to pay attention to what was going on in the literary market of the emerging consumerist society (1971, p. 9).

No wonder that when the idea of P.E.N. Club occurred to Mrs. Dawson Scott, in the summer of 1921, among its first supporters was an American publisher. “If I get started here, will get going to America,” she was writing to her daughter (1971, p. 12). She was pointing to a reality that used to work predominantly a single way for more than a century. American authors were always looking at Europe as the epitome of culture. With a certain flair for business, Catherine Dawson Scott had realized that if Britain were to retain its supremacy, then she should look for solid American partners—“If it is to be international, it must have an American who knows who’s who on that side of the water” (Watts, 1971, p. 12).

Such amplitude requires rules, but before establishing them, it is the guiding principles that readers should notice. Gender equality was at the front—“This must be a real man-and-woman club, not me doing everything,” she was writing to Marjorie (1971, p. 12), as she had at times felt overwhelmed at the To-Morrow Club. Among those who responded enthusiastically to her call and the list of proposals was John Galsworthy. His portrait in the book matches the magnitude of Mrs. Scott’s. They had known each other since the founding of the To-Morrow Club, as he had been among the early speakers.

They were very different in character and yet complementary to each other—she gay, enthusiastic and forthright, unconventional and wayward; Galsworthy shy, quiet and unhurried, wise and deliberate, unswayed by emotions, though often moved. But they had certain fundamentals in common—a deep belief in internationalism, a dislike of grandeur and show, snobbishness and racial prejudice—and they both loved the under-dog. (Watts, 1971, p. 16)

One should not read “internationalism” in the above quote as having any leftist connotation. On the contrary, British and American writers were paying close attention to the emergent threat of communism, as seen in an episode detailed by Marjorie Watts. Edith Wharton, the woman novelist approached to be appointed an Honorary Member for America, turned down the invitation as she considered inappropriate the selection for the French Centre—that is Romain Rolland and Anatole France, both outspoken supporters of the 1917 Russian Revolution—and she was not happy to see her name on the same list.

Not surprisingly, power games were fast developing. The French Centre had been the first established, and some of its members might not have been very happy with London as the literary capital of Europe & the world. At a P.E.N. Congress in Paris, Catherine Dawson Scott found out that they intended “to recommend that the International Council should have its headquarters” in the capital of France (Watts, 1971, p. 29). Galsworthy was summoned by Marjorie and he tackled the issue and had the idea dropped.

Across the Atlantic, the power games involved writers from New York and Chicago when it came to the establishment, in 1922, of the American Centre. A trained and skillful lawyer, a master in the art of negotiation, Galsworthy reflected on the issue and wrote to Marjorie that they, the P.E.N. Centre in London, would “have to adopt a policy of recognizing New York as the American Centre, with any branches that they may advise us to recognise” (Watts, 1971, p. 22).

In a letter from 1924 to Catherine Dawson Scott, while pondering over the political options of one of their acquaintances, Galsworthy wrote a sentence, as retained by Marjorie, which makes us wonder how things evolved in time in what concerns P.E.N.’s activity and types of engagement—“It all comes back to the question whether we can be in the least sure that we shall be dealing with literary men or disguised politicians” (1971, p. 28).

In Catherine Dawson Scott’s view, in the beginning P.E.N. was P.P.E.N. and stood for “Poet, Playwright, Editor, Novelist” (Watts, 1971, p. 11) and the rules regarding qualifications for membership indicated a book of verse/a play/a novel or “the editorship, past or present, of a well-known paper or magazine” (p. 14). Eventually, editors were left out,

and only Poets/Playwrights, Essayists and Novelists remained to comply with the rules stipulating that, for instance, dinners should be held on Tuesday with booking “before 12 noon the same day” (p. 14). Members were allowed to bring visitors, either writers or “persons of distinction,” so the *socializing* component was carefully observed (p. 14).

The epitome of all these was the annual banquet, and Marjorie Watts remembers the last one she was directly involved, in November 1926. The banquet took place at the Hyde Park Hotel under predominantly Central-European auspices, as “the distinguished patrons were Their Excellencies, the Austrian, Hungarian, Polish, Roumanian and Swedish Ministers” (Watts, 1971, p. 35).

My internet led me to an article describing the event. Its author underlines the contrast between the contemporary P.E.N., which has “an explicitly political identity,” and the logic behind its formation “as a social rather than political organization” (Nunes, 2016). The Book Ball planning committee member John Drinkwater is quoted, and the author believes that *club*, and not P.E.N., is the *operative* word here “with all of its connotations of social glamour and elite exclusivity” (Nunes, 2016).

Where does P.E.N. stand nowadays is a tricky question to raise, and one could not but give it a deep nostalgic reflection and consider Europe’s Golden Age in the Roaring Twenties when observing, in the 1926 ball programme,

the decadent menu featuring such delicacies as SOUPER Consommé Double en Tasse/ Paillets au Parmesan/ Suprême de Sole Claudinete/ Poularde poêle mascotte/ Pomme Mignon/ Salade Trianon/ Petit pois bonne femme/ Soufflé glacé Tosca/ Friandises; BUFFET Petit Pains Rossini/ Boucheé Montglas. (Nunes, 2016)

So, “Où sont les neiges d’antan?” one might humbly (or *maliciously*?) ask.

## References

- Nunes, C. (2016). Book Balls, fox-trots, and boeuf bordelaise: The early history of international P.E.N. *Ransom Center Magazine* March 17, 2016. <https://sites.utexas.edu/ransomcentermagazine/2016/03/17/book-balls-fox-trots-and-boeuf-bordelaise-the-early-history-of-international-p-e-n/>
- Watts, M. (1971). *P.E.N. The Early Years 1921–1926*. Archive Press.