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Table of contents

The Suggestive Magic of Van Gogh in Heidegger's Interpretation

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Abstract

The present paper brings to the fore the unforeseen fit and harmony of Heidegger's artwork with the world, and supports the above statement with relevant details. On the one hand, it touches on the Heideggerian conception that takes the interpretation of art in a different direction, making it clear by eliminating established notions of appearance, and on the other hand, it outlines how Heidegger interprets Van Gogh's painting *A Pair of Shoes*, which has become particularly famous because of the controversy surrounding it. I will present Heidegger's highly perceptive interpretation of the original peasant world through the lens of reviews by Frederic Jameson, Meyer Schapiro and Jacques Derrida.

Keywords: artwork, truth, peasant world, art criticism

Introduction

"I am chained to the earth with more,
than by mere earthly bonds."
(Van Gogh, 2006, p. 293)

How can Vincent Van Gogh's paintings be interpreted in a way that both brings us closer to his intentions and allows for the freest possible reception? Placed in a position of infinite desire for the whole and finite fulfilment, perhaps this is a far from simple intention. Van Gogh achieved in his paintings a kind of exhilaration as if driven by *attunement* (disposition) and the intensity and daring experimentation that characterise his talent. As if he had missed something and now wanted to do everything at once *bring in*. The daring crossover of painterly consciousness and instinct, their interaction, creates a suggestive magic to reveal perfection.

What can be called the basic characteristic of modern art in general is clearly visible in the Dutch painter's depictions. It is that the paintings sharpen one's senses of what the artist is working from. The shoes, sunflowers, crows, the peasant man reaping his grain, all become tools of his symbolic art. Like the realists, Van Gogh was a painter of human labour and suffering. The symbolic meaning of the man working in the fields, the clear sky, the fiery sun, the bumpy fields, the worn clothes – *Reaper with Sickle, The Sower, Peasant Digging, Still Life with Potatoes, Peasant House at Sunrise, The Red Vineyards near Arles, Harvest at La Crau, Harvest in Provence, The Langlois Bridge at Arles* – is saturated with expression, with privacy, with the artistic elements of the cycle of life and death. Unlike Manet, Cézanne or Millet, Van Gogh often painted paired footwear or paths (with cypresses, poplars), separate from clothing, embodying the idea of a lifelong walk or a continual change of experience. Discipline and concentration striving for perfection of formulation tame the endless longing shown by the colours in these paintings.

In Van Gogh's conception of art, the beauty have no place. Yet his paintings show beauty in their own way; or: they show beauty in their own way. A beauty imbued with suffering, which does not blend in, but is woven into the whole of existence. All the paintings of his late period became almost symbols of fate, their effect heightened by the suggestive power of colour and not overshadowed by fear of being overwhelmed. But he did not always find the instinctive colours to express peace and serenity in his work, which was interrupted by bouts of illness, and the effect of depth often seemed weak and uncertain.

His discussion of the relationship between psychological meditation, schizophrenia and artistic creation enabled Karl Jaspers to dissect more general issues and to put Van Gogh's case in parallel with the careers of other artists suffering from similar illnesses, such as Hölderlin and Strindberg.

> "On the one hand," he writes, "there are works that are round, that end in a universe, that do not make us question the existence of the artist or his other works, works whose salutary beauty we can enjoy almost timelessly, but on the other hand, in the history of European art, there have always been works that seem to be expressions of an existence, partial solutions, steps along the way." (Jaspers, 1986, p. 30.)

In Van Gogh's case, the latter possibility is taken to the extreme. His whole existence reaches a unique height, which we could never understand without his works of art and which is mainly expressed in them. The spring of 1998 marks a

major turning point in Van Gogh's art – Jaspers argues – for it coincides with the beginning of the Dutch painter's psychosis. His paintings are imbued with a dense melancholy, and what is particularly interesting is that this melancholy finds expression in the world of things. In these simplistic representations, concentrated on a single object, but therefore infinitely intensified inwardly (e.g. The two empty chairs: Gauguin's and Vincent's), a double correspondence prevails: the form that is represented and the idea that is represented. Behind the persuasive power of these works lies the state of mind that defines the work, the artistic mood, the life positions that emerge.

While Jaspers explored the relationship between life and work, illness and creation through Van Gogh's letters in his 1922 essay, Martin Heidegger was inspired by the painter's material spatial dynamics in a March exhibition at the Van Gogh Museum in Amsterdam. It was there that Heidegger first saw the oil painting *A Pair of Shoes*, which was analysed a few years later in *The Origin of the Work of Art* and which has provoked a wide-ranging debate among art historians and scholars, the following essay summarises the criticisms of which.

Criticisms of the interpretation of art

The rather wide-ranging polemic has not only developed over Heidegger's thoughts on the Van Gogh painting, but also over the nature and purpose of *The Origin of the Work of Art*, which comprises three units: the relation of thing and work to each other, the relation of work and truth, and the definition of art and truth. The primary reason for this is that Heidegger, noting the discrepancy between the philosophy of art and aesthetics, argues that aesthetics treats the work of art as an object and strongly objects to the subjective concepts that permeate it. "Aesthetics conceives of the work of art as an object, namely as the object of αἴσϑησις, of sensory perception in the broad sense. Today, this perception is called perception. [...] All experience. Yet perhaps experience is the medium in which art dies." (Heidegger, 2006, pp. 62–63). In this context, he poses the question of the origin of art: 'Is art still an essential and necessary mode in which a decisive truth for our historical present is done, or is it no longer so? [...] Such questions, which sometimes arise in us more clearly, sometimes only vaguely, can only be asked if we first consider the essence of art." (Heidegger, 2006, p. 63–64). The first result of this is that Heidegger has embarked on the path he chose, not starting from the concept of art, but considering the nature of the work as a work of art, from the point of view of the essence of truth. He believed that art could be defined by questioning existence, so that it could only be

examined through the essential structure of everyday life in conjunction with the problem of being and existence.

The source of these critiques is based on the first chapters of *The Origin of the Work of Art*, in which Heidegger formulates a simple description of the instrument, devoid of philosophical theories, in a highly perceptive manner, and shows in detail how an image, apparently representing a mere instrument, can reveal a peasant world.

> "It's a pair of peasant shoes and nothing more. And yet. From the gaping darkness of the footwear's trodden insides, the weariness of the workman's stairs stares back at us. In the familiar heaviness of the clumsy footwear, there is the tenacity of walking slowly through the long, ever-uniform furrows of the field, over which the harsh wind whistles. The greasy bite of the earth is embedded in his skin. The soles of his shoes show the desolation of the dirt road in the descending twilight. The secret call of the earth trembles in the footwear, the silent gift of its ripening grain and its mysterious renunciation of itself in the barren barrenness of the winter land. This footwear is permeated by the uncomplaining anxiety for a sure bread, the silent joy of a newfound poverty, the trembling at the coming of childbirth and the tremor at the threat of death. The means belong to the land and are preserved in the world of the peasant woman. It is from this preserved belonging that the instrument itself comes to rest in itself." (Heidegger, 2006, p. 24).

Through this Van Gogh painting, Heidegger demonstrates that the work of art has a property that enables it to create a specific medium in the world. The footstool shows the everyday life of a peasant woman, as the working woman is almost constantly pervaded by a constant worry about her daily bread, which makes poverty, poverty and the fear of death present. This painting reveals the very essence of the tool's existence: its reliability and suitability, through which the tool is revealed in all its truth.

> "Whenever a peasant woman, heavy with a healthy fatigue, puts away her shoes late at night, and whenever she reaches for them again at dawn, when it is a holiday, when she does not care for them, she always knows it, without any scrutiny or examination. It may be in the fitness of the instrument, but

> it rests on the totality of the essential being of the instrument
> itself. This is what we call reliability. Hence, through this
> instrument, the peasant woman is admitted to the listening
> call of the earth, by the instrument, and by the instrument's
> reliability she is secure in her world. For the world and for the
> earth, and for those who live like her, she is present only in
> this way: in the instrument." (Heidegger, 2006, p. 24).

The important thing then is that by showing that a pair of shoes exists, it makes available to people what they have not yet been able to experience. Because when a work is made, it becomes existent, it takes on a new space in the world. But Heidegger also arrives at another result: going beyond the material, the completed work (by virtue of the uniqueness of its being-a-work) is *capable of constituting a world*. Related to this is the fact that the instrument – in this case, the peasant's shoe – shows its instrumentality by being placed in that world in such a way that it reveals itself in its own truth. For it is a matter of the existent stepping out into the unconcealment of its being, that is to say, the truth of the existent comes into play. "In the work, if the opening of the existent [Opening] takes place through it, as it is and as it is, the happening of truth operates." (Heidegger, 2006, p. 26). Un-hidden (disclosed) is the original meaning of the Greek term *ἀλήθεια*. The proper definition of the word (aletheia) that we call truth is discoveredness, according to Heidegger's interpretation, which he discusses in detail in paragraph 44 of *Being and Time*, based on the traditional notion of truth. „*ἀλήθεια*, which Aristotle identifies with *πράγμα, φαινόμενα*, means "things themselves", that which is revealed, *the existent in the how~ of its disclosure*." (Heidegger, 1989, p. 386).

From the above, it can be said that truth is to be understood as revelation, or the very definition of revelatory being. And this revealing-being is the mode of being of the Da-sein. In this respect, if truth is revelation, then as its counterpart, concealment as non-truth becomes evident. And that this close relationship is indeed at stake here is shown by the discussion of *earth and the world*, which will be discussed later. But beyond these detailed questions, it is worth highlighting here above all the question: what is a world for Heidegger?

> "What can it mean to describe the 'world' as a phenomenon? It
> means letting what shows itself in the 'beings' within the
> world be seen. Thus, the first step is to enumerate the things
> which are 'in' the world: houses, trees, people, mountains,
> stars. We can *describe* the 'outward appearance' of these being

and *tell of* the events occurring with them." (Heidegger, 1989, p. 170).

It can be seen that this is not phenomenologically relevant, since this description is only formally meaningful. These are the natural things which, through their existence, show us what the world itself is like. But beyond this description there is something more important: the manifestation of the world, *the worldliness of the world itself*. Worldness is an ontological concept in Heidegger, known primarily as the existential definition of the Da-sein, in which the Da-sein relates to the world within a dominant mode of being, and within that, with spontaneous circumspection, to the things handinesses (instrument). But the work does not set up this whole structure, but the essence of the world, its being. The work-being of the work, then, like the instrument-being of the instrument, also possesses an essential characteristic, the character of production, and thus the Heideggerian thesis of what is at work in the construction of the world: the opening of its being.

In the course of the reflection on the work's being, another context is analysed, where Heidegger introduces the concepts of earth [Erde] and world [Welt] and their conflict. Their opposition to each other points to a condition in which, although different, they are interdependent. The earth flows in harmony with itself, moving calmly, while the world, with its openness, is constantly trying to overcome it. The concentration of the controversy created by their constant movement is constantly changing, becoming either more violent or more calm. This battle, according to Heidegger, is produced by the work, that is, the work-being of the work consists in the struggle between the world and the earth. As the primordial conflict between the earth and the world erupts, a *space* is created in which each being can appear as itself. *This playground, this space of openness, is what he calls the clearing of the present* [Lichtung]. It is the very centre of reality, the unfolding truth settling itself in the debate and playground it opens up. The clarity of openness and the settling into openness go together, the two are the same essence of the truth happening.

A further analysis of the work's genesis will briefly compare some of the similarities. Boros points to two very important ways of capturing the essence of truth as conceived by Heidegger in his volume Philosophy in his discussion of the concepts of philosophy and the history of philosophy. Heidegger "[turns] to art, looks to works of art for the revelation of truth, be it a painting by Van Gogh or a poem by Hölderlin. In *The Origin of the Work of Art*, he writes, in an allusion to pragmatist philosophy, that the work of art 'realizes truth' or 'brings truth into action.'" (Boros, 2020, p. 28). The latter is relevant because the correlations between

the struggle of world and earth discussed above can be found in Hölderlin's poems, which I will quote below from *Heidegger's Erläuterungen zu Hölderlins Dichtung*. "Die Erde ist nur Erde als die Erde des Himmels, der nur Himmel ist, in dem er auf die Erde hinabwirkt." The earth is earth only as the earth of heaven, and heaven is heaven only when it descends to the earth (Heidegger, 1996, p. 161). And in *The Origin of the Work of Art*, we read, "The foundation of the world is the earth, and the earth permeates the world." (Heidegger, 2006, p. 37) Their meanings are almost identical. This is not to say that Heidegger adopts Hölderlin's ideas, but that he extracts his interpretations and seems to adopt them makes. „Sie birgt und trägt als der Bau der Himmlischen das Heilige, d. h. die Sphäre des Gottes." The earth hides and bears as the building of the Heavenly the sacred, i.e. the sphere of God (Heidegger, 1996, p. 161). This sacred land for Hölderlin is Greece, for which his affection is expressed in several poems. "It is a land with a strong navel, for on its shores are grasses in a thicket of flames and elements, where the common days are wonderful and people are pleased, and they dwell there as such." (Hölderlin, 1993, p. 161). This, then, is the land where beauty dwells, and whence comes the light of the truth of being. This light, which shines forth of its own accord, is truth, beauty itself. And he who can reveal this truth, in Hölderlinian terms: *the poetically dwelling man*.

In dwelling, man tends and tends his growing things on earth, these are forms of cultivation. This includes all works, buildings and constructions that are the result of human activity, and these are the essential consequences of habitation. But if this habitation is poetic, that is to say, if the poetry constructs the essence of habitation, then it can be conceived as a measure-taking by which man is measured. This measure can only measure the essence of man, which mortal man always and at all times does by measuring himself against God. "For man dwells by measuring "on earth" and "under heaven"." (Heidegger, 1994, p. 203). And this is the very measure-taking of man's dwelling, and thus poetry becomes a measurement of distinction. When Hölderlin speaks of dwelling, he has in mind a fundamental feature of human existence, namely that whether dwelling is poetry is shown by its relation to it (it is poetry that makes dwelling truly dwelling).

"If life is a torment, can you look up
Can a man say,
I want to be like that? Yes. As long as the feeling of friendship,
The pure, lingers in the heart,
It does not measure itself unhappily
To God, man is not unhappy."　　　　(Heidegger, 1994, p. 198).

Man is given the freedom to look up to the heavens, and it is this gaze that measures the openness between heaven and earth and brings this pair closer together. The interdependence of earth and sky (Hölderlin) and of earth and world (Heidegger) thus implies certainty. In this connection, I would like to point out a further significant connection. According to Hölderlin, the gaze traverses the space between heaven and earth, what he calls an opened dimension where man can measure himself against God. But how? "He may postpone the measurement, but he cannot exclude it." (Heidegger, 1994, p. 200). That is to say, if the taking of the measure does not take place, it is possible to postpone it, to postpone it, but the Da-sein cannot completely shut itself off from it. This position is also very similar to Heidegger's inauthentic way of being, where the Da-sein, in avoiding death, can overcome its fear of it by escaping into worldly concerns. He postpones his own confrontation with his own death, the Hölderlinic poetic unpoetic way of being seems to prevail. "Man's abstraction of himself corresponds to the hiding of the purity of being." (Heidegger, 2006, p. 293). And if the Hölderlinian continence takes place, *then man becomes poetic by reaching to himself*, by running forward to this Da-sein, he becomes determined to his own intrinsic Being-toward-death. The resolute as revealer is the resoluteness of the factual Da-sein, who existences in his own authentic with understanding.

Returning to the unique opposition between the earth and the world (the art-world of the work), in the space of their battle, a space is created – as I mentioned above – in which each being is given the opportunity to show itself as itself. Lichtung means an open space surrounded by a luminous centre. Light, in turn, can only illuminate that which is already present in a medium that is open to it. And this light can be grasped in the un-hidden, that is, in $\dot{\alpha}\lambda\dot{\eta}\vartheta\varepsilon\iota\alpha$ (aletheia). This is the interpretation of Hölderlin's medium (open) that Heidegger explores in his *Erläuterungen zu Hölderlins Dichtung*. "Vollendruhe. Goldroth. [...] Und Greist, der Säulenordnung, wirklich Ganzem Verhältniß, samt der Mitt, Und glänzenden". Complete tranquillity. Goldroth. [...] And spirit, of the order of columns, really Whole relation, together with the middle, And shining." (Heidegger, 1996, p. 163). Which words attract attention: real, in the whole relation, and together with the middle. „Wir dürfen dieses »ganze Verhältniß«, in das Erde und Himmel und ihr Bezug gehören, […] un-endlich zueinander gehören im Verhältnis, dass sie »durchgängig« aus seiner Mitte zusämmenthalt." This "whole relation into which earth and heaven and their relation belong [...] belong endlessly to one another in the relation which holds them together pervasively-throughout from its centre" (Heidegger, 1996, p. 163). This centre - neither earth nor heaven - shines. The light that permeates the middle, that is, the open, is presumably the same light that can

be grasped in the Heideggerian open, which holds heaven and earth together. And the openness in the work is the illumination, or Lichtung, into which the existent enters, and thus the un-hidden, or truth itself, becomes visible.

And it is at this point that the following clarification is needed. So what is the basis of a work of art? The created-being of the work and the made-being of the instrument are identical in that they are both created-beings in themselves, but they differ in that the made-being of the work is part of the making. The making of the instrument is never directly the bringing about of the truth, its made-being is the shaping of some material so that it is fit for use. Heidegger's train of thought culminates in the thesis that the reality of the work is not exhausted in its created-being, but that the proof begins here: it is by the work and in the work that the instrumentality of the instrument is revealed in its own being. "The work of art has made us aware of what the footwear really is." (Heidegger, 2006, p. 25). Consequently, he maintains that a work of art that is assumed to be real is a work of art only if it sets truth into action, and he holds this to be true with full conviction for all the arts.

Another example is given in the description, deliberately diverging from representational art to focus on a Greek temple building and its mission to explore the world. "In the temple, God is present through the temple. The presence of God is in itself an extension and delimitation of the precinct as a sacred precinct." (Heidegger, 2006, 31). This building is capable of gathering into a unity and ordering around itself the aspects (birth-death, blessing-cursing, triumph-demiliation, endurance-decay) that for man take the form of destiny. According to Heidegger, the abundance of these aspects is the world of the historical people. "It becomes itself in and from itself in order to fulfil its mission. [...] In its there-state, the church first gives things a face and helps people to find themselves. As long as the work remains a work, as long as God does not abandon it, this possibility will remain open." (Heidegger, 2006, pp. 31–32). So it is – according to Heidegger - with the statue of God, which is a work that makes God himself present. The linguistic work is born in the telling of the historical people, and decides "[w]hat is holy and what is profane, what is great and what is small, what is brave and what is cowardly, what is renowned and what is ephemeral, who will be the lord and who the servant." (Heidegger, 2006, p. 32). It can be assumed that the works of art briefly described above carry with them essential implications such as the meaning of history and understanding of the world. Thus, the sanctity of the artwork's elevation to the sacred, its dedication to God's grace, its majesty and luminosity as the presence of God, where the true as the essential provides guidance.

The very claim that a work of art constitutes a world raises a number of critical questions. "It seeps, no doubt, into his writing about art - art in general, poetry in particular, but his attention never turns to the theatre." (Boros, 2020, p. 44). Boros argues, in agreement with Nancy Jean-Luc's writing on philosophical art, that Heidegger is almost completely uninterested in theatre, in acting. This question cannot be answered by reassessing his individual works, but by observing how the work of art relates to and reflects the un-workable. Only the process of creation can reveal the artwork's creation. Heidegger conceives of the work-creation as creation [Hervorbringen]. For it is in the process of creation that the work becomes real, and is thus in fact dependent on creation, since the essence of creation is determined by the essence of the work. Creation itself is the release into something created [Hervorgehenlassen]. The becoming of the work into a work is a way of truth being and becoming. The connection between the work's being-created is supported by the following: 'The more solitary the work fixed in form stands in itself, the more clearly it seems to be detached from all its relations to man, the more simply the impulse to have such a work becomes open, the more essentially the extraordinary is revealed [aufgestoßen].' (Heidegger, 2006, p. 52). The reality of the work, then, as a sacred creation, is defined in its essential features by the essence of its being-work.

However, I should mention that Heidegger does have a connection with the best known figures in the world of the theatre, the playwrights, since in his 1953 *Introduction to Metaphysics* he discusses Sophocles' drama *Antigone* in three parts in §52, which is mostly a content-related, self-created series of comments on the basic text. Undoubtedly, the most interesting chapter of The Poem of the Thinker as the essential opening of the human condition is its 'uncanny not homelike' existence, which makes a very interesting connection with the symbol of the primitive Greek existence (Oedipus), the Freudian Oedipus complex, the non-home existence of the present of *Being and Time*, and what Hungarian literary critics of 1939 called the 'heroic Dasein'.

Heidegger's thought provided(s) inexhaustible insights into the foundations of art, which led to the emergence of critiques on the concept of the work and modern art. In what follows, I will confine myself to a few reviews that focus not only on the subject of the painting, the evocative power of the colours, but also on the peasant world that Heidegger associates. I would like to note here that Heidegger does not clearly identify which of several paintings of peasant shoes by Van Gogh – 8 in number (La Faille, 1939, pp. 54–607) - he defines, since he only needs to do so for ease of illustration. Well, in the light of this, it cannot be

considered a major omission, although critics such as Meyer Schapiro have argued the opposite.

Criticism of Schapiro

In his 1968 review of *Still Life as a Personal Object, Notes on Heidegger and Van Gogh*, the art historian Meyer Schapiro's denunciation of the above-mentioned omission occupies a prominent place. At the beginning of his reflection, in which he groups the paintings according to Heidegger's description and then describes them exclusively, he states that the painting in question is catalogue number 255, *A pair of shoes*, an oil painting from 1866, which the philosopher saw in Amsterdam. Convinced that he had succeeded in identifying the picture from which Heidegger's description was taken, he makes further critical comments. "A the shoes in the picture look more like the artist's own shoes than peasant shoes." (Schapiro, 1998, 24). Schapiro, in a 1994 supplement based on biographical and art historical data, argues that the artist's personal self-portrait is a symbolic self-portrait - *a true portrait of an ageing shoe* (Steinberg, 1998-1999, p. 136) - and rejects the idea that it is a peasant shoe worn by a peasant woman. In his opinion, no Van Gogh painting expresses the ownership of the peasant woman's shoes, and he even believes that the shoes depicted in the painting belong to the artist, and therefore cannot even be linked to Heidegger's reference *to the land*.

> "Unfortunately, the philosopher has really lost his way this time. His encounter with Van Gogh's canvas led to lines of association about peasants and the land that are not supported by the picture. What he has to say is more likely to derive from his own pathos-laden social views of the ancient and the earthbound. It is true, then, that his description is 'a subjective act of first colouring the picture and only then putting it all in'. In his encounter with the work of art he experienced too much and too little." (Schapiro, 1998, p. 26).

The art historian, insisting on a contextual reading, is of the opinion that on the one hand Heidegger has little experience and expertise in art, and on the other hand he claims without doubt - on the basis of logic - that the shoes are Van Gogh's own. He bases this latter view on the fact that if the painter had not painted his own shoes, he would not have devoted an entire canvas to the lonely standing footwear.

Is this not a bold statement? After all, it is well known that, in contrast to the light and the world of light of the Impressionists, Van Gogh reasserted the heavy,

sombre, fate-defining and bearing earth with all the things that exist on it. In fact, every single painting of his late period is saturated with line symbols until his death. Yet the answers to the previous question give rise to a counter-argument. Van Gogh's two paintings of *The Two Empty Chairs*, which the artist completed on Christmas 1888, are a particularly good example. The paintings depict two empty chairs: one of his own chair in Arles, on which his pipe is lying with tobacco, and the other a chair he bought for his friend Paul Gauguin (both paintings are a chilling picture of the artist's mental state at the time.) His own chair is starkly simple, armless, rustic, yellow in colour and set on a red brick floor. Gauguin's chair is a delicate chair with an armrest, feminine in character, standing on a carpet with a dark green wall behind it. A few candles stand on the chair and two modern short stories lie beside it. These two images are the bearers of countless significant subliminal messages, and it would be difficult to misunderstand their targeting value. As is well known, the friendship between the two painters was founded on their strong artistic unity, until it was ended by Van Gogh's fits of jealousy, disappointment and intense feelings of hatred, which turned dramatic when he cut off his own ear. It was then that he painted these two empty chairs, pronouncing, as it were, their death sentence. With all this in mind, it can be said that, given the combination of Vincent van Gogh's life at the time, the impulses of his subconscious desires and many other factors, it is clearly not impossible that *The One Pair of Shoes* depicts his shoes.

Moreover, the trees, the silent suffering of the land, the anguish of the lines, the trees in the rural motifs of the laundress, the fields, the tortured olive groves, the mountains cut up by ravines, are striking, and they convey an expressiveness that probably had a strong influence on Heidegger at the Van Gogh exhibition in Amsterdam. These symbols, if you like, allow Heidegger's associative theory of shoes to fit, to put it mildly, normally with the earthly and peasant elements. My reflection is based on the following Heideggerian quote:

> „Philosophical work is not an eccentric solitary activity. It has its place in the midst of the work of the peasants. When the young farmer drags his heavy plough up the steep slope, to lead it, laden high with beechwood, on a perilous descent to his house; when the shepherd herds his animals uphill with slow, slow steps; when the peasant man shapes countless shingles in his room ready for his roof, my work is of the same kind as theirs. In this is rooted the direct belonging to the peasant man." (Heidegger, 1999, p. 4).

To all this, it should be added that Heidegger's little house (Hütte) stood on the slope of a wide, high valley in the southern Black Forest, with peasant gates on the hillside opposite, so that the philosopher could follow the world of the peasant farmer day by day. It follows from all this that the increased potentiality of the pictorial elements, which are interspersed with rural-popular motifs, is most effectively manifested in the fact that they do not signify nothing definite, but can interact with each other in a wide variety of ways, and thus be linked to the picture as a whole, without the individual details revealing more than traces of pictorial coherence. To describe all this as openness through the derivation of the device is in fact a pictorial context freed from meaning, which, in Heideggerian terms, makes something visible, brings something forward, shows something.

After his 1968 review, the art historian continued his study of Van Gogh's art, and later, in 1994, he brought up the criticism of the peasant's shoes again. He did not fail to notice Heidegger's handwritten note on a page of one of the original editions. "„Nach dem Gemälde können wir nicht einmal feststellen wo diese Schuhe stehen und wess sie gehören." From Van Gogh's painting we cannot even determine where these shoes stand and to whom they belong. (Heidegger, 1977, p. 18) Schapiro, in interpreting this note, compares Millet's drawing of wooden shoes with Van Gogh's shoes. It is from this position that his extreme nominalism emerges, as he tries to show that it is impossible to attribute a real existence to the general Heideggerian peasant world. He remains of the opinion that Van Gogh painted his own beat-up shoes as self-portraits, which could have led to an honest revelation of the morbid side of his self. He argues that Heidegger missed a significant aspect of the painting: the artist's presence in the work and his description of it overlooked the issues of personhood and uniqueness that the shoes raised in relation to the shoes, which made them permanent and worth painting in the artist's eyes (not to mention the intimacy of the particular tones, shapes and brushstrokes on the surface of the painting as a painted work of art).

> "Van Gogh's painting of shoes can be described as a picture of
> objects that the artist saw as an expressive part of himself - he
> saw himself as a mirror image - selected, isolated, carefully
> arranged and intended for himself." (Schapiro, 1994, p. 33).

In my opinion, the style of the painting shows the sombre mood of the moment and suggests tension and loneliness. Van Gogh's technique is peculiar in that the brushstrokes remain open in their function of meaning because of their isolation from each other. They refer back to themselves at least as much as they contribute to the development of an interpreted world view in their objective context as a

process of re-cognition in the open playground of painting. The shoes, placed on the ground, juxtaposed, detached from clothing and context, and spiced with a depressive, melancholic attitude, reflect a post- pilgrimage state more than a self-testing portrait.

The Jameson critique

In addition to a number of aesthetes, the American philosopher Fredric Jameson also joined in the critiques of Heidegger's original interpretation of the peasant world, and in no way ignored Heidegger's central analysis. The first Heideggerian line he criticises is: "On the footwear there trembles the secret call of the earth, the silent gift of its ripening grain and its mysterious renunciation of itself in the barren barrenness of the winter land." (Jameson, 1998, p. 88). He believes that Heidegger's description needs to be supplemented somewhat by an emphasis on the renewed materiality, the transformed materiality of the work. For the earth is transformed, saturated with a multiplicity of visually visible experiences, which at first sight is reassuring and plausible, but all of which Heidegger himself approves and foregrounds in the way he fills with the aforementioned content. In his view, this a pair of shoes shows rather the agricultural misery, a primitive and marginalized world as the whole material world of naked rural poverty.

> "In this world, the fruit trees are ancient and exhausted pieces
> of wood sprouting from barren soil; the inhabitants of the
> villages are caricatures of a kind of grotesque typology of basic
> human traits, distorted to the extreme, and parched to the
> bone." (Jameson, 1998, p. 88).

Admittedly, this reading of the painting cannot be ignored either, but Heidegger's idea of the artwork as a body of ideas emerging from the gap between the earth and the world is interpreted by Jameson as the materiality of the body and nature without meaning. The struggle between the earth and the world, however, is revealed not only in the gaping darkness of the trodden footsteps, but also in the actual coherence of the painting, which Heidegger describes in terms of the pre-statement of the earth.

> "To pre-establish [her-stellen] the earth means: to bring the
> earth into openness as an encloser. This production of the
> earth is provided by the work, insofar as the work itself is
> restored to the earth. The enclosure of the earth, however,
> does not unfold in its one-planar, rigid enclosure-but in an

inexhaustible profusion of simple modes and forms."
(Heidegger, 2006, p. 36).

All things of the earth, and the earth itself, flow in mutual harmony. "Here flows a self-contained stream of delimitation, which bounds all that is present in its presence." (Heidegger, 2006, p. 36). It is the earth that is essentially enclosing, and the world, as opening itself up, does not tolerate any enclosure. It cannot do without the openness of the world, nor can the world turn away from it. In their essence, they are always in dispute; only in this way can they participate in the debate between clearness and concealment. The work that sets up the world and produces the earth is the struggle to resolve this debate, in which justice is done.

To further explore Jameson's work, he selects Andy Warhol's *Diamond Dust Shoes* from a selection of late works by a central figure in contemporary art. It is clearly no coincidence that he chose Warhol's 1980 print *Diamond Dust Shoes*, which was made by Warhol, who became famous as a shoe illustrator and a key figure in contemporary art. This image, with its colourful nail shoes hanging down by their heels, clearly does not show the immediacy of Van Gogh footwear, and indeed, *these shoes do not speak to us at all*. This painting, with the contingency of an incomprehensible natural object, does not offer the viewer an intimate view of the world, but rather a repulsive one.

> "In *Diamond Dust Shoes*, the repressed actually returns in some way, in the form of a strange, additional, decorative enthusiasm, which the title itself explicitly alludes to, obviously referring to the glitter of gold dust, a gold dust decoration that covers the surface of the painting, but still shines on us." (Jameson, 1998, p. 88).

The first impression of the sight of the lifeless shoes is of monotony and lack of depth, and of superficiality, which is perhaps the main formal characteristic of postmodernism. Even more clearly, this very photographic image reflects a sense of fear of death, with its cold elegance, its garish colours, its low-categorisable style of advertising image. The mediocrity of the image gives the impression of shoes discarded after a night of dancing and fun waiting for their wearer in a cramped old dressing room or hanging on the door of a lost property department. It is not only the phenomenology of this Warhol painting that is overshadowed by finitude; the painter has also produced several images of traffic accidents and many frighteningly colourful but unsubjective poster-like works of advertising grip that can be described as a taste destroyer. In his later work, his paintings of

electric chair parts and his black-and-white photographic negative of the *Pope of Popcorn*, with his death's head, further express the presence of death.

Derrida's duplicative critique

The inspiration for Jacques Derrida's summary critique is Meyer Schapiro's article *The Still Life as Personal Object*, which has already been discussed above and which the author dedicated to the memory of Kurt Goldstein (Schapiro, 1968, p. 26). Derrida takes an objective view, so to speak, of the discrepancy between Heidegger's peasant world and Schapiro's position, and begins his reflection below:

> "– Here they are. I will begin. What kind of shoes? What, shoes? Whose shoes? What are they made of? What are they? Here are the questions, that's all. [...] What I want to say is that there will be a kind of correspondence between Meyer Schapiro and Martin Heidegger. One of them said in 1935: to the peasant, or even to the peasant woman, this pair comes back from the field. – What makes you so sure it's a pair of shoes? What is a pair?" (Derrida, 1998–1999, p. 17).

According to Derrida, Heidegger has no doubt that the shoes belong to a peasant woman, but Schapiro refutes this claim 38 years later, with evidence to support it. Derrida believes that both are wrong to associate the shoes with a particular person, Heidegger with a peasant woman and Schapiro with the painter himself. He claims that the The shoes in the painting are so shapeless that it is impossible to decide whether they are a pair at all (their identification as a pair is obviously a prerequisite for their being linked to one person). According to him, none of their claims can be substantiated.

> "– No hurry... I am interested in this collapse. In his own way (that of a detective), Schapiro is on to it, and I am interested in his analysis, even if I find it unsatisfactory. To answer what the collapse means, do we have to narrow the question down to a dispute over the ownership of shoes? Should we collapse on the painting or on the shoes in reality? And just think 'whose shoes are they?'" (Derrida, 1998-1999, p. 118).

Schapiro, on the other hand, is right that Heidegger ignores the internal and external context of the painting. However, I will briefly comment on his remark about the absence of pictorial contexts below.

"A space has to be opened up to make room for truth in painting. Neither inside nor outside, it squares without allowing itself to be framed but it is not positioned outside the frame. It works, it works, it lets the frame work, it gives it work. [...] The trait retreats and retreats of its own accord, retreats and disappears. It withdraws, withdraws, withdraws. It is located between the visible edge and the central phantom by which we are enchanted." (Derrida, 1998–1999, p. 58).

In fact, everything fits into a frame – even thinking – whether it is perceptible or imperceptible. These possibilities also provide the starting point for his discussion: how far does it extend, does it owe its power to its invisible essence or to its material endowment? What can be said with certainty is that the frame has a specific function: it cuts out, regulates, condenses. The only question is whether it sufficiently directs attention to the delimitation of the work or rather to the part of the world it represents.

At the same time, Schaprio was explicitly concerned with the frames of painting, the boundaries and contours of the depicted scene. Hence his stubborn insistence on the internal and external context. For symbolist painters such as Gauguin, the frame was also important, but the avant-garde artists of the early 20th century were already besieged by its limits. Picasso was more overtly semiotic, and Klee was explicitly most concerned with borders and boundaries, with arranged frames. The classical requirement of a measured framing runs differently through the history of painting and other arts, which also presuppose some kind of frame: margin, canvas, parergon. A frame is the minimum necessary to protect and highlight the work and to separate it from the world. I would like to conclude this very brief passage from a Heideggerian line of thought: the work of art does not need a frame or a decoration outside itself.

However, the question arises: what context is Derrida referring to here? The starting point is that the shoes depicted in the painting do not belong to any context at all, and therefore open up a different world, a different set of ideas for the artist. The painting is almost devoid of colour, a depressing, dark, light brown, toneless image, where the shoes stand with their laces untied, abandoned, trampled, worn. I move on. Standing still?! Floating. "It does look a little like they're in the air." (Derrida, 1998–1999, pp. 121–122). The image does not in fact have a base that could be a pointing device in a depicted story or a narrated plot. If we take Schapiro's theory as a starting point, and this pair of shoes is a self-portrait, where did Van Gogh place himself, his own spirituality, in this way?

Among other reasons, I would rule out this possibility, because Van Gogh painted many self-portraits of himself in relation to his mood at the time, in which he himself, and not an object, is shown. Some of his paintings show him with a pipe in his mouth, wearing a straw hat, or with his head bandaged after having his left ear cut off, or sitting depressed at a table, while others show him in elegant clothes and using strong colours. While it is true that the painter's physical and mental suffering (in connection with his psychiatric illness) had a profound effect on his work, and that throughout his life he claimed that his sadness would never end, he was able to reveal in his art the nobility and beauty inherent in man. "To be someone's shoe is to become part of their existence or their station in life." (Hamsun, 1941, p. 27). The artist who makes his own isolated shoe the subject of his painting may convey the fatality of his social position, but it can in no way be interpreted, in my opinion, as a self-portrait.

Despite his strong insistence on the context of the images, Schapiro nevertheless extracts a few lines from Heidegger's theory without being interested in the framework of the thought process and subjects them to criticism.

> "[w]hat can explain why he (Heidegger) naively, instinctively, uncritically attributes the shoes in the picture to such a specific 'subject', the peasant, or rather the peasant woman? Moreover, it is this narrow attribution and definition that guides the whole discourse on the image and 'truth'. Can we agree that this gesture is, as just described: naive, instinctive, uncritical" (Derrida, 1998–1999, p. 120)?

Agreeing with this critique, Derrida, somewhat in agreement with Heidegger, expounds a few sentences.

> "A mitigating circumstance in Heidegger's defence: he had no 'intention' of taking an interest in such and such a painting, of describing it and examining its uniqueness in art history. Let us read this passage again from the beginning. He is not talking about the 'simple description' (einfach beschreiben) of a painting, but of 'an instrument', 'free of philosophical theories'. As an example, let's take an ordinary tool, say a pair of peasant's shoes. It is not yet a picture, not a work, a tool. Let's go further. To describe it, we do not even need to have a real example of such a utensil in front of us. Everyone knows it well. But still, since we are dealing with a direct description, it   would   be   good   to   facilitate   the   illustration

(Veranschaulichung). A pictorial representation (bildliche Darstellung) will suffice. For this purpose, we will choose a well-known painting by van Gogh, who painted such footwear several times." (Derrida, 1998–1999, pp. 123–124).

It is clear that, hypothetically, painting is at the moment an intuitive incidental element," Derrida writes. The object to be described is not the painting, not the painted object as such, but an ordinary instrument that everyone knows. Nevertheless, Schapiro goes on to attack Heidegger's lines about the peasant world with further assertions.

"– [...] Schapiro, having attackingly and critically denied Heidegger's right to agricultural property, launches into a general attack. He starts with the question: is Heidegger's error only in the wrong choice of example (the latter proof he considers to be accomplished). No, it's that he failed to analyse his own example, but even if he was right and 'saw' peasant shoes, he missed the point, 'the presence of the artist in his work'. [...] From this moment on, Schapiro knows no bounds in appropriating shoes for his own van Gogh. [...] We are in the presence of van Gogh himself. In the picture, it is as if the artist himself 'appears' in his self-portrait, not just 'a piece of his own life', but an inseparable and thus entailing piece of the whole body, one of the 'things inseparable from his body', what is more, standing 'the erect mody in its contact with the ground': the returning van Gogh's footstep passing through the picture." (Derrida, 1998–1999, pp. 130–131).

Schapiro is wrong, in my opinion, mainly in claiming that this is a copyist's description of Heidegger alone. On the contrary! *The work is preserved as a work of art, defining reality.* To make the truth happen in the work is to make the existent in its totality un-hidden and to keep it there, which in this case is evident in the manifestation of the instrumentality of the peasant's shoes. I think that Schapiro does not even consider the possibility that Van Gogh could have painted peasant shoes independently of his urban lifestyle. The sun, moon and stars he paints are elementary forces that flow through space, growing and growing, and in this way create land and sea, field and garden. (Conscious and unconscious symbolism often go together, but not always.) His symbolism is direct, experiential from the urge to endow the object with a wealth of content. Just as Csontváry, one of the most famous figures in modern Hungarian painting, is the painter of the Sun's

Path, so too can Van Gogh be considered a painter of personal experiences. For him, a motif is a symbol saturated with atmosphere, the expression of a specific destiny. His desire to simplify the means of expression, to separate objects, to keep clearly defined local colours and distinct lines became a means of revealing his deepest inner reality.

From the above, it can be said that Heidegger attempted to transcend an aesthetic interpretation of art that was contaminated by the metaphysical opposites of subject and object, truth and feeling, form and content. His thesis: art does not represent, it makes visible. As soon as a thing is elevated into a work of art, it develops its own unique world, since a work of art is also something produced. Art is a privileged way of creating truth, so that it takes on a different meaning beyond the traditional conception of art as a means of self-expression and aesthetic pleasure. "But it is art that makes the hidden earth visible, that produces something to which no imagination can otherwise reach; art opens up a space in which the very hiding of the earth is revealed. It reveals a secret without touching it." (Safranski, 2000, pp. 424–425). To all this it should be added, Safranski writes, that for Heidegger the world-shaping character of art and its special power are of particular importance, because when the work becomes a work of art, it also has a particularly significant aspect: it is not only necessary to create the work, but also to be able to preserve it. Preservers are just as important as creators, since they are intrinsically linked to the work's composition. "To let the work be the work is to *preserve* the work." (Heidegger, 2006, p. 52). *The preservation* of the work does not limit people to their experience, but makes them belong to the truth in the work. The truth in the work thus becomes a class belonging to the future preservers, that is, to a historical humanity.

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The Concept of Enculturation in a Multidisciplinary Approach

Philosophical, Educational, Cultural Anthropological and Ethnographic Aspects

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Abstract

The forms of early education for children have remained essentially unchanged for centuries. In examining this, the observations of ancient philosophers coincide with the findings of 20th century social science research. The present paper reviews the terminology, definitions and interpretations of this early phase of education. The main key concepts discussed are inculcation (cultural integration), enculturation and socialization.

Keywords: enculturation, socialisation, inculcation, tradition, cultural patterns, cultural integration

Introduction

Since the dawn of human history and until the appearance of school education, the education of children within the family and community has been the only source of knowledge. There are records from ancient times of mothers and fathers passing on their own knowledge to their daughters and sons in the form of practical teaching and advice. This way they were able to influence and educate primarily by living example. In Ancient Rome, the mother of the family was primarily responsible for the education of young children, teaching them discipline, obedience, the customs of the ancestors and respect for religion and the gods. From the age of seven, the father took over the task of educating the children. He taught the childen how to read, write, count and the most important rules of practical life. Later in life, Roman sons accompanied their fathers to the Forum, where, like their fellow Greeks in the Agora, they gained their first impressions of political life. At first they were spectators learning the procedures

of lawmaking and voting on issues affecting the life of the community. Later, as a sign of their coming of age, they were able to participate in voting from the age of seventeen (Pukánszky, 2013).

There is evidence from both Greek and Roman cultures of primitive education. For example, in the dialogical process of the heuristic method associated with the name of Socrates, the student's knowledge is perfected with the help of the master that is a recollection of knowledge that was originally born with us and later forgotten. Platon (1984), on the other hand stresses the importance of the knowledge acquired in childhood, when, he argues, our whole character is formed by the power of habit. Aristotle (1994) divides the knowledge acquired in childhood into two types. He believes that moral virtues are formed through habituation and spiritual virtues through education. In the center of his view stands the practice of moral virtues: if we act virtuously repeatedly over and over again we develop a lasting spiritual quality, the moral habitus of the soul. All Greek thinkers therefore emphasise the unconscious involuntary nature of early family education which lays the foundations for learning in the later stages of life.

Pliny the Younger (1981) is the most noteworthy figure in Roman culture on the subject under discussion. The polymath describes the education of the Roman age this way: 'In the old days, it was the practice to learn from our elders - not only by ear but also by eye - what we should do soon and then in a similar way to pass on to those who were still younger. So the young men and women were immediately called up for military service, so that they could get used to obeying and following others and later giving them. Then they stood at the gates of the council chamber seeking office, first as spectators and later as participants in the public deliberations. The father was also the teacher of his children. In the case of an absent father one of the more respected and older senators took his place. They learnt what the orator's and voters choices were, what the powers of the officials were, what freedom the others had, where to give way, when to protest and when to remain silent, what rules the orator had to follow, how to distinguish opposing views, how to deal with those who comment on what has just been said - in short, they have learned all that is involved in being a senator, and by example, which is the most effective way of learning. " (Pliny, 1981). One of the most remarkable elements of Pliny' thought is that he also stresses the importance of passing on knowledge from generation to generation: the child or young person listens so that he can pass on to the next generation all that he experiences.

These sporadic data suggest that the forms of early childhood education remained essentially unchanged for centuries, until the development of book printing and

later the information revolution. With the appearance of ancient schooling the focus of scholarship has shifted towards organised, formal education. The 20th century saw a resurgence of interest in ethnography and cultural anthropology in relation to family education, which is largely informal. In ethnography, the study of the archaic customs of the peasantry, and in cultural anthropology in pre-industrial societies, with a methodology based on participant observation. The two related disciplines relate the transmission of basic knowledge from generation to generation to the process of transmission, since children's learning processes in peasant or even tribal societies were primarily based on the acquisition of traditions, the main medium being the family and the local community, and the method being observation, learning and inculcation (Vehrer, 2022). The concept of tradition here refers to the dynamic system of rules that organises the old and the new, the well-tried, the repeatedly practised and the experimental, the newly accepted and the customary into a workable cultural system that offers a guiding thread for action to all members of the community (Szilágyi, 2009). In the past, individuals belonging to the community had to learn this system of norms and rules in the course of their lives, as it ensured them effective social coexistence. Even today, however, these traditional forms of knowledge transmission play an important role in the early stages of childhood.

Basic concepts

The process of learning from one generation to the next through observation and imitation, is studied by several disciplines, each of which uses different terms to describe this phenomenon. The most common are inculcation, socialisation and enculturation. The present study highlights the concept of enculturation, as it is the one used by cultural anthropology, which is the most nuanced of all the theoretical writings on the subject. The relevant literature provides a differentiated view on the process of cultural integration itself both geographically and cross-culturally.

Inculcation

In ethnography, the concept of inculcation is understood as a natural educational activity based on everyday experience not bound to educational institutions or social organisations. The medium of learning of an individual born into a folk community is the family, their current age group and the village community. It is during this process of integration that the child acquires the knowledge and skills necessary for work, learns the forms of everyday interaction and masters the

traditions of the community. This prepares them for adult life and helps them to acquire the norms of the community (Németh, 1977; Edelényi, 2009).

Socialisation

The concept of socialisation, associated with Durkheim (1980), is understood as a social and educational theory by which individuals acquire socially appropriate behaviour through interactions with other members of society. Ethnography and cultural anthropology use the concept of socialisation infrequently, but interpret it in a similar way. It is understood as the social process whereby an individual acquires the knowledge, skills and abilities necessary to contribute to the maintenance of the society into which he or she is born, to be able to carry out the tasks that that society imposes on him or her, and thus to become a sustainer or even a shaper of the culture of that society. In the process of socialisation, according to the ethnographic interpretation two important media are involved, one is organised, institutionalised education, in which society consciously seeks to shape the individual, the other is nurture the spontaneous acquisition of social experience (Sárkány, 1982). This duality and broader interpretation distinguishes the concept from inculcation.

Enculturation

Enculturation in cultural anthropology is similar to the former concept. It is understood as a process of cultural learning, in other words cultural inculcation, the transmission of cultural habits, experiences and knowledge through education, consciously or unconsciously. An important condition is the closed nature of the culture but nowadays it also covers the whole life cycle, i.e. learning to respond to the effects of the environment. In this interpretation it is a set of lifelong interactions in which adaptation patterns learned in childhood play a dominant role. A related theory is that cultural inculcation is the relationship between a phenomenon and the cultural representation of the individual's habits, and therefore its stages are characterised by transitions of culture and the capacity to innovate (A. Gergely, 2010). According to Kirshner-Meng (2011), enculturation processes involve three factors: the transmission of parental norms to children, conscious imitation and unconscious adaptation.

Enculturation, the process by which an individual engages in the normative attainment of a native culture, emerged as a separate construct only in the late 1940s, thanks to the theory of Herskovits (1948). Herskovits (2003), the creator of the concept of enculturation, initially used the terms "culturalisation" and "socialisation" in his work. By culturalisation, he means the process of

unconscious cognition through one becomes the owner of his own culture and which distinguishes him from other living beings. The process by which the individual assimilates into society is what he calls socialisation. In this he emphasises the fundamental role of adaptation to the peer group, in the course of which the individual's role in the life of the community is established. Integration into society takes place in institutionalised forms. By interpreting this pair of concepts, we can identify culturalisation with nurturing and socialisation with education.

Cultural assimilation into tradition

In the traditional peasant society, the individual and the community lived together in a particular dialectic. The community set the norms, guided behaviour and everyday customs to which the individual had to adapt in order to fit into society. The strict norms also provided security for those who lived within them: the knowledge transmitted by tradition gave those living in peasant society a secure knowledge and a general education. Culture was transmitted through direct human contact, so learning by sight was also important (Tarján, 1991). Educating a child meant first of all teaching them the traditions of the adult society of the village. And as they grew up, they already understood all the work that adults did and knew everything they knew. So the way to learn the traditional culture of the village was through the family. As an adult, the individual became a member of the village or town community, which is the second most important medium for passing on traditions after the family. It was in these two contexts where the child learned the mother tongue, the rhymes of folk poetry, the norms of everyday life, festive customs and material culture (Andrásfalvy, 1990).

Vasas (1993), based on his fieldwork in Kalotaszeg, found that the child initially imitates the behavioural patterns of his grandparents, parents and siblings and then over time internalises the values behind the learned manifestations. The child thus becomes more and more attached to the community in which he or she was born. In this process they have the opportunity to learn „that they are only one member of a community in which they must often give up their individual desires and ideas for the benefit of the public, or his peers and that they must above all have the public interest at heart" (Vasas, 1993, p. 15).

This phenomenon was not only observed in European folk culture, but also in tribal societies. The cultural anthropologist Franz Boas writes: 'There is one feature of social life, however, that tends to keep the conservative attachment to

customary actions before the minds of the people. This is the education ofthe young. The child in whom the habitual behavior of his surroundings has not yet developed will acquire muchof it by unconscious imitation. In many cases, however,it will act in a way different from the customary manner,and will be corrected by its elders. Any one familiar withprimitive life will know that the children are constantlyexhorted to follow the example of their elders, and everycollection of carefully recorded traditions contains numerous references to advice given by parents to children, impressing them with the duty to observe the customs of thetribe. The greater the emotional value of a custom, thestronger will be the desire to inculcate it in the minds ofthe young. Thus ample opportunity is given to bring theresistance against infractions into consciousness.' (Boas, 1939, p. 237).

On the basis of the same numerous descriptions, Jávor (2000) explains that in village communities, individual initiative and curiosity played a very minor role, and that people's lives - from an early age - were governed by strict village life principles, rules of coexistence and the bonds of religious life. Among other things the community taught the child honesty, truth-telling, religious morals, responsibility towards the family, respect for the parents and elders. Education took place primarily within the family but the whole village community was responsible for ensuring that the child's whole life was adapted to the local community, so they could lecture the, use physical means of punishment, make them work and feed them. Parents were always afraid of the judgment of the community, so they took great care to ensure that their children appeared well behaved. Morality and appearance were inextricably intertwined in peasant society. Parents constantly made their children aware of the community's judgement in the event of failure, for example by telling them parables from the stories of the villagers. Among the ideals of peasant education, a central category was the teaching of obedience and dependence, the ideal of mediocrity and respect for the elderly.

Burke (1991) describes how in the Mediterranean region of Europe in rural communities where the majority of families live in the same house and cultivated the same land for generations, it is reasonable to assume a degree of cultural continuity. In such communities oral traditions have changed less and are therefore a more reliable source of the past. In these inward-looking communities the store of knowledge about the past has changed almost nothing from one generation to the next. Similarly, Gazda (1980) notes that the child learns about older and newer cultural elements through his or her educators of different generations. The grandparent who had more time to spend with the child within

the family passed on the model of life and intellectual assets of a quarter of a century earlier, while parents or older siblings could transmit a culture enriched with folk art brought from abroad, but also diluted and enriched with civilian elements.

In addition to the unconscious cultural mediation of parents, grandparents, siblings, the role of the peer group should also be mentioned. Children are put in a group of peers at a very early age, when they are only a few years old and from then on belonging to a particular age group determines the rules of social behaviour. As they grew up these rules were constantly changing in the process of socialisation partly within the family and partly within the age group. One of the most important functions of the changing rules of social behaviour was to prepare individuals of the same or approximately the same age, but from different sex groups for entry into adult society (Niedermüller, 1981).

In the course of growing up, the individual is always moving into a new age group. In most cases, the children learn the children's folklore, songs and games from each other, the younger ones from the older ones. Playing is a typical example of the folk dialectic since it was not only entertainment but also a way of preparing for adult life: the objects of play varied from gender to gender and were linked to adult activities. Girls' play with rag dolls was a preparation for motherhood which is the most important task of an adult woman, while boys played with miniature replicas of household tools. During playing the children imitated the adult's work processes. In addition, from an early age, the children helped the adults with age-appropriate tasks (Kresz, 1949). Laczkovits (1995) gives a precise description of the work processes that determined the children's integration process by gender as they grew older, but in general it can be said that the child became a full member of the family, regardless of gender through their integration into work on the basis of their participation in the family's productive work.

Inculturation took place in different ways in different regions, as the landscape, nature and lifestyle conditions were different. The culture of a village was generally uniform despite the fact that the people living there were of different classes and ranks, had different financial status and mostly different occupations. The inhabitants of a village were alike in many ways, such as their principles and tools of farming, building system, motifs of folk costumes and decorative arts, and their knowledge of stories and songs. They observed all this from birth and by adulthood they had learned what the community expected of them in terms of keeping traditions alive. Most of this knowledge was not written down, it was

passed on by oral tradition, but it was still known by the members of the community (Németh, 1977). For centuries mankind has lived and worked in various smaller and larger kinships and territorial units: in families, clans, villages, towns and cities, in a traditional way. In this order, each person had their place, task and work, defined by unwritten rules (Kósa-Szemerkényi, 1973). The socialisation of children is closely linked to their culturalisation and was made easier by their continuous participation in children's communities, which were reorganised according to life cycle and age group (Gazda, 1980).

Mária Kresz (1949) also observed areal differences in these cultural transmission processes during her research in a village called Nyárszó. As far as the educational aims were concerned, she saw a significant difference between civilian and peasant education. In urban families the aim was to make the child stand out from the community, to make them 'different', whatever their social class, in rural families the aim was to make the child fit in as perfectly as possible and the desire to 'excel', to 'master', to rise through education was almost considered a vice. (Kresz, 1949, p. 64)

Tradition and enculturation versus socialisation

The most common definitions of enculturation can be: in the most general sense, the acquisition of one's own culture (Kron, 2003); the conscious adoption of cultural goods and techniques (Wurzbacher, 1974); the cultural shaping of the individual, the transmission of cultural knowledge to the next generation through social inculcation. In the process of enculturation, the elderly provide the growing generation with a personal and social identity - through primary educators, which is always the family - and on the other hand, we internalize elements of culture through involuntary learning, pattern following, and partly conscious learning (Hollós, 1995).

However, Tomory (2004) argues that a more nuanced definition of the concept is needed given its processual, personal, interactive and experiential nature. Indeed, the encoding and decoding of information accompanies a person from birth and consists of constant signals sent back and forth throughout life. According to Tomory, specific channels of communication are opened up between the older members of the family and the child which are not necessarily specific to other communities, individuals or cultures, and the content transmitted is also local or even personal. Verbal and non-verbal communication processes surround the child, by which they are integrated into something that is the culture as a whole (Tomory, 2004).

The concept of enculturation, associated with Herskovits (1948), later became part of the academic community and was discussed by many even in connection with the concept of socialisation. Hammond (1975) defines it as a process of integration into a specific culture i.e. adaptation and Nahodil (1986) defines it as integration into a cultural complex. Initially the concept is interpreted as referring to assimilation to one's own culture, and in terms of age, to early childhood. In recent decades however, anthropology has broadened the definition of the lifespan even extending it to adulthood considering increased mobility and the lifelong need to adapt (e.g. McMillan, 1995). Other researchers include the fetal period when a harmonious relationship with the mother and her well-being has an emotional impact on the future member of the community even before birth (Tomory, 2004).

Thus, according to Tomory (2004), enculturation encompasses the broadest categories of learning including all the content that makes a person human, a being with culture and capable of culture. In this sense culture can be understood as a specific tool that enables the child to become an adult. It is always a question of the specific culture of particular people, a community or group, their way of thinking and the attitudes, external manifestations and integration of internal content associated with it, and therefore takes place differently in each culture. Enculturation is therefore a basic process that encompasses all cultural contents and their acquisition, with its roots in the family.

The role of cultural patterns

When discussing this topic it is important to mention Ruth Benedict's Patterns of Culture (1934), because the theory she developed in this work has had a significant influence on later research. Benedict defined the cultural patterns that affect individuals through socialisation. She argued that the same cultural phenomena - such as growing up, tests and proofs of manhood, warfare, marriage - in a similar economic situation and political system are associated with very different and often contradictory customs in the lives of different people. By interpreting this differentiation, she emphasised the social impact on the assumption that each culture can only be understood in its own system as a coherent whole of its elements. Benedict identified culture with tradition, which takes different forms from person to person, and which includes the means of human life, the way in which they are used, the customs of living together and their spiritual values. All cultures, she argued, develop a more or less uniform but prefabricated system of thought and action, a system of patterns of thought and action ready-made for the recipient, which permeates everyday actions as well as the rites of celebration. In other words the culture creates a certain style which can

be characterised and becomes the pattern to which the individual adapts. According to her, each culture is an integrated whole with its own form, each individual within a cultural form bears the traits of that culture and behaves according to its pattern (Bohannan-Glazer, 1997). The pioneering research of the American anthropologist E. T. Hall (1966), who was the first to study the spatial needs of a human should also be mentioned in this context and his observations were used as the basis for dividing the distances used by individuals into zones. It was in connection to the processes of enculturation that Hall identified culture-specific norms in different ethnic groups, while at the same time observing the unconscious nature of the application of these cultural patterns within and outside the community. He found that the existence of proxemic enculturation only becomes apparent as a result of different norms across cultures.

In cultural anthropology, social learning is the adaptation of behaviours (Peoples-Bailey, 1991). Whiting (1991) describes many forms of social behaviour in his studies based on observations of several cultures. He talks about universal traits, similar character traits all over the world, justified by universal needs and desires. There are also universal traits in mother-child interaction, as the mother is the primary emotional source for the child. Whiting confirms that in addition to the fact that each culture has its own specific norms of behaviour, there are also differences in children's learning which are related to the their gender, age, social organisation, etc. Whiting, using the example of the lap and knee children highlights the role of the older child as a supervisor in the education of the younger ones, and the importance of rehearsal and imitation. Enculturation, therefore tends to provide and ground cultural content within the family, while socialisation refers to the whole of society with shared activities: holidays, rituals, dances, songs, listening to stories, acting them out, etc. Imitation plays an important role in the adoption of all patterns (Cole & Cole, 1997; Boglár, 1998).

Cultural integration into society

Durkheim's social anthropology played a major role in the subject under study both in social and educational terms (Durkheim, 1980). Today, the term is used primarily in psychology and educational science, and refers to the totality of the social environmental effects of child development (Falus-Báthory, 1997). Socialisation is primarily the acquisition of rules and norms which are indispensable for individual integration into society and effective participation in social life (Bábosik, 1997). According to Bourdieu (2022), socialisation is the result of ritual and practical activities in the family the aim of which is to create in each

member of the community lasting feelings that ensure integration as a condition for the existence and survival of the community.

Pedagogy distinguishes between primary and secondary socialisation, the primary taking place in the family and the secondary in the school (Atkinson, 1997). This division is in line with the division used by Herskovits (2003) between culturalisation and socialisation. The family environment has a significant influence on the individual's social behaviour and attitudes towards formal education, and in this sense it is a lifelong influence and therefore its importance is more dominant than that of secondary socialisation. Much of the literature on the subject emphasises the role of the mother in the socialisation process, while others consider the role of both parents to be dominant (Mead, 1930). As they write, sibling play is one of the most important socialization media but the younger sibling also has much to do with how conflict situations are approached by parents and how the different needs of siblings due to their different ages are managed (Cole & Cole, 1997).

The cultural anthropologist Le Vine (1988), studying different cultures concluded that there are basically three types of socialization goals in early raising of children: the most important is the survival goal where parents take care of the child's health and safety to ensure their survival. The second is economic, where the child is encouraged to acquire the skills that are essential for becoming an economically productive and successful adult. Thirdly, the cultural objective is identified, whereby the values of the cultural life of the community are passed on to the next generation. These goals are arranged in a hierarchy according to Le Vine, although the order of economic and cultural transmission can easily be disputed if we consider that the importance of the third goal is manifested in early childhood, while the second goal becomes vital only later in life. A similar view is expressed by Lips (1962), who, referring to pre-industrial societies points out that all members of the community are obliged to acquire traditional knowledge. Everyone has an equal opportunity to do so, since all children grow up under the constant supervision of their parents. The growing child is initiated step by step into the wisdom of ancient times, since from infancy they are always carried by their mother and thus participates in their parent's every movement and action. Lips considers that the most important knowledge is the knowledge of subsistence: 'Education always has a twofold aim: on the one hand, to impart the technical knowledge necessary for subsistence, in accordance with the culture of the time, and on the other - which is much more important - to make the child, the adolescent, the young man and the young girl aware of the essence of the ethical, spiritual and social values which form the basis of community life. [...] The

belief that the negligence of even one individual is violating the sacred laws of the tribe endangers the safety of the whole community makes the duty of education a vitally important task for the whole tribe among natural people." (Lips, 1962, p. 262).

Conclusions

In summary, every culture has norms that we can learn by learning and imitating. As we have seen, an important element at the heart of socialisation is tha it approaches the influence of education and the incorporation of the expectations of the environment. Both processes aim for social integration and may involve conscious and unconscious mediating elements. While enculturation tends to take place within the family, the immediate community. At the same time, the family and community are part of a cultural system, passing on its patterns.

If we look at the phenomenon of enculturation, we can observe that it is an unchanging process that has been going on for centuries, whatever culture we are talking about. However, in recent decades there has been a break in well-established practices as the role of each generation in transmitting traditions, values and norms has undergone a major transformation. These changes have been influenced by a number of factors but most of all by the information revolution that is unfolding in the new millennium. Social change now governs relations between people in a different way. In folk culture the sole holders and connoisseurs of customs were adults and the elderly and elements of culture were passed down in an unchanging static form, whereas today, the creators and holders of customs are often contemporary groups, and these changes mean that they take dynamic forms in the everyday lives of younger generations. The former continuity of generations and the process of handing down traditions has been replaced by the discontinuity of generations. The world has opened up for the younger generation but their situation has also become more difficult, as the former safety net of traditional communities has disappeared. Their patterns now carry few traditional values compared to their parents' and grandparents' generation. The early childhood environment continues to influence our adult lives and values, and the importance of intergenerational dialogue and rethinking has come to the fore in academic thinking in recent years in a number of disciplines.

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Individual Approaches to the Philosophical Interpretation of Successful Settlements, Their Evaluation

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Abstract

Settlements are complex systems that operate on the basis of many dimensions and aspects and the active participation of local communities, settlement leaders and residents is essential for successful development and ensuring a sustainable future influencing the identity, power relations and community relations of the people living there. The task of local organizations is to help building the community and the support of local initiatives. Public services and infrastructure support the operation of settlements and the quality of life of the population, while economic segments such as retail trade, industry and tourism have their highlighted importance in terms of economic development. Settlements are multifaceted entities that are defined not only by residences, but also by community life, the economy, the environment and local institutions. Cities are centers of economic activity, where jobs are created, businesses operate and develop. The settlement philosophy can help to create economic structures that are diversified, resistant to crises and support local economic growth. So the importance of the ideas of settlement philosophy and their necessary exmination related to the fact that settlements are the scene of human life, such areas that are environmentally sustainable, socially just and economically prosperous. The leaders of the settlement, residents and local organizations must conduct an open dialogue and strive for cooperation in matters affecting the settlement, thereby ensuring the pursuit of sustainable economic, social and environmental development. The principles of transparency, responsibility, equality and integrity must be respected by all involved participants, but ethical thinking and value-oriented decisions can help the development of settlements and promoting the well-being of the community.

Introduction

In the conceptual framework of the social sciences, settlement means a settlement unit with a human population located in a specific area, which becomes the scene of economic, social and cultural activities. During the formation and development of a settlement, various factors, such as loyalty to a settlement, the availability of resources, economic activities and the role of social institutions, play a role. A

settlement is a territorial unit that includes buildings, infrastructure and land where people live, work and form a community. They typically have infrastructure such as buildings, transportation systems, water and energy supplies, and community and cultural facilities (Berényi, 2003). Settlements can have different sizes and different organizational structures, but they are clearly the central locations of human life and social relations, where the population performs many activities, forms communities, and shapes identity. In smaller communities, moral and religious control works more strongly than in urbanized large cities or in global spaces and internet platforms. At the same time, the acceleration of the virtual world, and thus the transformation of the way of thinking, is a challenge in the life of a city; this is naturally associated with the emergence of new theories, philosophical and ethical approaches (Sós & Szécsi, 2016). "City of people" as imaginary virtual faces, the faces are not products of mere imagination, but an"invisible" but very real sections of the city, civilization and human sexuality, dream images of the absent revealing the deeper dimensions of reality such as poems, a song, a movement or a scent, and which sometimes give a more accurate picture of the phenomenon (Calvino, 2012). One's notion of community is strongly determined by one's experience of community in relation to mediated communication. Therefore, the man of the age of modernity defined communality distinguising from abstract social relations, which still strongly built on the principle of locality, attachment to place and attachment to primary communication groups. His conception of community is strongly linked to the experience of belonging to local groups, which point out to the importance of direct communication relationships within the family and other smaller social groups (Szécsi, 2014).

In our globalizing world, economic growth, social development and the improvement of people's living standards are key factors in relation to the competitiveness of settlements, cities and regions. Achieving and maintaining successful operation does not only depend on economic factors, but is closely related to the ethical value system and socio-cultural factors of the settlement. Settlement ethics includes concepts and values such as fairness, justice, transparency, environmental awareness and empathy between people that guide the everyday decisions and behavior of the local community, as well as how they deal with challenges and opportunities. Adhering and strengthening the basic principles of settlement ethics helps sustainable development and the formation of cohesive communities, which in the long term helps to increase competitiveness. However, success depends not only on the ethical commitment of the local community, but also on the economic and infrastructural environment

of the city, settlement or region. An important aspect is also for the business sector, enterprises and investors how attractive the settlement appears as an investment destination. The presence of corruption and ethical problems, as well as their extent, can significantly influence the decisions of businesses and investors, and can be a restraining force in terms of increasing competitiveness. The bottom-up settlement ethic, which is actively supported by the local communities and the people living there, helps residents participate in public affairs and decision-making. As a result, settlements can respond to challenges at a higher level and adapt to the changing economic environment. There are different ways and approaches to solve the problem of a sustainable economy, the solutions and answers to the challenges differ depending on the way of thinking and approach of each nation, according to the philosophical background, beliefs and optimistic or pessimistic attitude. In an optimistic approach, the roots of social responsibility are based on business enterprises as the engines and participants of the economy, thus providing an answer to the creation of a new mode of operation (Zádori & Nemeskéri, 2021).

Thoughts on the meaning and importance of town and village life

Community and human relationships, choice and freedom, emotional experiences, and connection to nature all contribute to the happiness, development, and meaningful life of individuals. The attractions of the settlements are not only external factors, but also internal values and experiences that help the individual to find the meaning and purpose of his own life (Figure 1). Cities and villages are central sites of social bonds, where people can meet, communicate and influence each other. The sharing of common values, traditions and cultures is the basis of community life, people can cooperate, support each other and live in community. Human relationships and community life play an important role in the happiness and value creation of individuals. Settlements offer different opportunities and services to people providing freely choosing where to live, what kind of work to undertake and what cultural and entertainment opportunities they use. Choice and freedom give individuals the opportunity to shape their own lives and express their unique needs and desires. The presence of diversity and different lifestyles in the urban environment offers inspiring and exciting opportunities. The diversity and vibrant energy of cities and villages offer experiences that can contribute to the emotional and spiritual development of the residents. The built environment, streets, parks and public spaces stimulate the senses and contribute to the experience of beauty and harmony. Cultural events, art performances and local gastronomy also offer rich,

unique experiences, which experiences are important for human happiness and connection with a satisfied life. The relationship between the natural environment, parks, green areas and natural attractions is essential for human existence. Connecting with nature allows the individual to strive for harmony and unity and reminds us that we are part of a larger ecosystem.
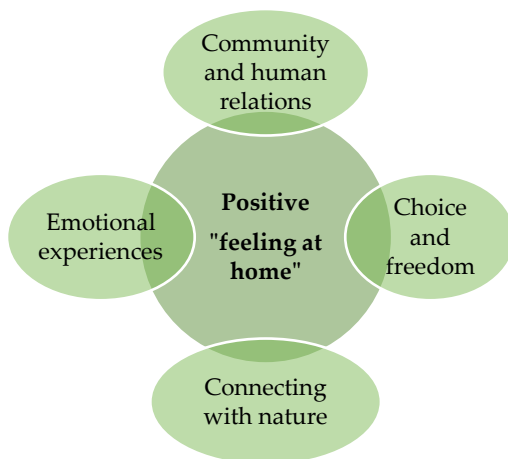

Figure 1. *Components of a positive "feeling at home"* Source: own compilation

The beautiful landscapes, mountains, lakes, rivers and beaches attract visitors and provide the locals with a pleasant environment. Green areas, parks and gardens allow relaxation and recreation. Natural beauty therefore has not only aesthetic value, but also ecological and sustainability benefits. Clean air and a natural environment contribute to the health and well-being of local residents. Home, community, connection with nature, cultural richness, quality of life and happiness are fundamental factors that enable an individual to live a fuller and more meaningful life. Home is not just a place, but the basis of our identity and self-identity. It is the place where we experience safety, belonging and stability. Settlements create a home where people build relationships, enjoy their lives, and where they are enriched by community experiences. This "feeling at home" is reinforced by the attractiveness and importance of settlements in the consciousness and judgment of the individual.

Basic principles of settlements, philosophical and social aspects of their operation

The structure of the urban space and its role in the human way of life are undergoing substantial changes as a result of postmodern social processes. In

parallel with the physical transformation of the spatial structure, the social aspects of the town are also transformed. The urban way of life as a whole is aligned with the principles of post-industrial society: the traditional frameworks and the questioning of their nature are replaced by the rules and interpretation possibilities determined by the new social conditions (Tóth, 2018).

A settlement becomes a settlement when people move or settle in a specific place and environment. There may be many philosophical and social aspects behind the term settlement that are worth examining. (Figure 2)
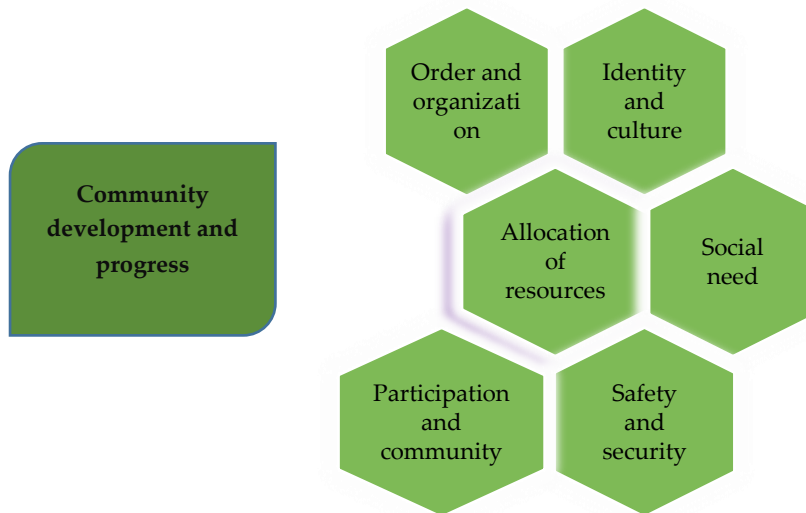
Figure 2. *Philosophical and social aspects of the interpretation of the settlement.* Source: own compilation

Being in a community is a social need, — people are basically social beings, and settlements are formed because of their need to live together. Communities are created where people live, work and interact with each other. One of the main functions of settlements is to provide security and protection, which is why people tend to gather in groups, thereby being able to better protect themselves from possible dangers. It becomes possible for the individual to be part of a community where they can share their thoughts, feelings, experiences and rely on each other. The creation and maintenance of settlements requires a kind of order and organization. The operated institutions and rules contribute to the fact that the people living in the settlement can work together harmoniously and efficiently. Local governments play an important role in the distribution of resources and the implementation of economic activities. People move to different

areas to access the resources they think they need. Settlements contribute to the formation of the identity and cultural heritage of individuals and communities; its characteristics, history and culture determine the lifestyle and values of its inhabitants. Ultimately, community development and progress enable settlements to develop and prosper through cooperation, knowledge sharing and innovation between the people living and working there.

Individual approaches and findings of settlement philosophy

The philosophical principles of settlements are interwined with social philosophy and ethics. The most important principles give a comprehensive picture of the values and principles that govern the thinking about settlements. It is important to understand that the interpretation is different in different social and cultural contexts, and the communities of specific settlements can build on different values and priorities. (Figure 3)

Justice and equality	**Sustainability and environmental awareness**	**Cultural diversity and tolerance**
Quality of life and happiness	**Community involvement**	

Figure 3. *Most important principles in philosophical thinking about settlements.* Source: own compilation

The principle of community participation plays an important role in the philosophy of the settlement, that is, everyone living in the settlement has the right and responsibility to participate in the life and decisions of the community. Active participation promotes community cohesion and mutual support. A prominent aspect is the enforcement of the principle of justice and equality in the settlement. All residents must have equal access to resources, opportunities and public services. Ensuring the principle of justice and equality promotes social stability and creates equal opportunities for everyone. Settlements must take

responsibility for their environment and develop economic and social practices that are sustainable in the long term. The preservation of environmental resources and the minimization of environmental damage are key to ensuring the quality of life and the well-being of future generations. Furthermore, an environment must be created where groups of different cultures, religions and other lifestyles can live peacefully and with mutual respect. Accepting and supporting diversity results in a richer and more harmonious community life. Promoting happiness and the quality of life are among the most important goals of the settlements, which also means that the people living there must be given the opportunity to develop their talents, realize their desires and prevail themselves in the community.

Individual analysis of trends in the philosophy of science with regard to settlements

Social Constructivism (Constructivism)

The constructivist or social constructivist approach perceives and tries to describe science as a specific social phenomenon. It imagines scientific and technical knowledge, scientific activity, the institutional system of science and technology as interacting with other elements of the social system. (Ropolyi, 2000a) According to the social constructivist approach, settlements, as social institutions, can be interpreted along the lines of social constructions. Settlements are not just geographical places, but organizations formed and maintained by the inhabitants, to which we give importance and meaning through common social practices and symbols. In this sense, settlements are points of settlement that enable social interactions and the coordination of human activities.

Social constructivism examines the understanding and meaning of social reality, and notes the role of social interactions and cultural context in people's interpretation and value system, emphasizing that settlements are not objective entities, but social constructs. Settlements are defined through linguistic and symbolic representations, through which the operation of social hierarchies and power relations becomes understandable for local residents and other stakeholders. In order to shape the identity of the people living in the settlements, community socialization, the local lifestyle, the social network and the institutions all influence the values, norms and lifestyle of the people and contribute to shape the settlement's cultural expressions, religious traditions to form their linguistic diversity and social norms. The distribution of local institutions, economic actors and other social resources, and social inequalities affect the opportunities and

social status of local residents. Power relations determine an individual's access to decision-making processes and the resources of the settlement. Social ties play a relevant role in people's quality of life and well-being. Community relations make it possible for the individual to build a network of support and help, — friendships and family relationships, participation in community groups, — which provides an opportunity for emotional support, sharing information and solving any difficulties together.

Phenomenology

The phenomenological way of thinking deals with many different versions of the interpretation of man and the human way of being. According to this worldview, scientific activity is considered to be in the environment of everyday life, essentially inseparable from its components, and fundamentally shaped by customs and traditions rooted in everyday life; it studies it in terms of concrete, historical and finite horizons (Ropolyi, 2000b). The phenomenological approach emphasizes individual experience and experience, that is, how the individual experiences its life, identity and the environment there in the given settlement. The features of the settlement and the experiences gained by the attractions influence our thinking, emotions and lifestyle. For example, in the case of members of a small-town community, the way of thinking and identity can be shaped through meanings and experiences shaped by the environment of the settlement, social relations and cultural phenomena. They attribute a special meaning to the objects and places in the small town, so they focus on local monuments, buildings or other locations that are important in the historical and traditional awareness of the population and the identity of the settlement.

Political philosophy

"Political philosophy, like philosophy in general, has been convinced since its ancient beginnings that there is a fundamental difference between belief and knowledge, and the disturbing awareness of this difference creates and animates political philosophy to this day." (Strauss, 1959). All kinds of political knowledge are surrounded by opinions, which are interwined: with beliefs, prejudices, speculations and other concepts. Everyone has some knowledge about the police, taxes, and activities in the parliament, but this knowledge is usually shaky and uncertain. Political philosophy, on the other hand, is a consistent and tireless effort to replace shaky beliefs or beliefs about political issues with solid knowledge (Demeter, 2017). The political philosophical approach thus examines how the political and legal institutional system of society is organized and functions in settlements.

Settlements are political units where decisions are made and where people participate in community life, having their political role and organization raise philosophical questions about the distribution of power, participation and social justice. By observing a given settlement, we can better understand how settlement policy works, by which political theories and ideas prevail, and which power relations and political institutions determine the decision-making processes. Furthermore, we can get an idea of the functioning and openness of the city government, committees and community forums in relation to the possibility of participation of local residents. Following these representation opportunities, the local issues and challenges of the settlement can help the population's political preferences and priorities.

Ecological philosophy

Confronting environmental problems on a daily basis and as a result, increasing environmental awareness is a general global trend. People try to organize their daily lives in such a way that their behavior and decisions have as little environmental impact as possible (selective waste collection, preferring to buy environmentally friendly products, curbing unnecessary consumption, avoiding the use of single-use, disposable products, using energy-saving solutions and renewable energy sources in the household, environmental and support of conservation organizations) (Raffay, 2019). Ecological thinking starts from the fact that the world of nature and man cannot be separated, but operate according to the same principles, in mutual connection with each other, and in the end, they merely form two aspects of a single reality, artificially separated into "worlds" in modernity. For this reason, we have to face the challenge of ensuring that the philosophical and scientific views of the future, and our daily activities, doing justice to both nature and man (Karsai, 2003). The ecological philosophical approach examines settlements from the point of view of the relationship between man and the environment. Settlements are not only human communities, but also part of the natural environment, where the connections between the natural environment and human activity must be taken into account. It emphasizes the value and importance of the natural environment, as well as the possibility and way of thinking of how the people living in the settlement can become aware and more sensitive to environmental effects and how they can reduce the environmental load.

Urban ethics principles in the perspective of competitiveness

In connection with the operation and organization of settlements, it is necessary to deal with the issues of moral decision-making, personal development, justice and social hierarchies in the context of competition, moreover it is justified to explore the various aspects of competition and cooperation including their effects at the level of individuals and societies. In moral debates, the value of fair play, sportsmanship and honesty can be examined between the parties participating in the competition, even the harmful dimension of competitive pursuit of the individual and society can be analyzed as well as its mitigation alternatives. Deeper layers of human psychology can also be explored during competitive and non-competitive cooperation, such as how individuals are affected by the pursuit of competition, comparison with competitors, and winning or losing—a competitive stress, motivation and performance pressure also play a central role in this in the area. Competition, as a constant conflict situation, transforms the relationships between individuals, rearranges social hierarchies, and in addition, due to its positive effects, the constant stress situation calls into question how cooperation without competition could be more beneficial from the point of view of society, and how the factors that encourage competition they fit the community goals (Kondorosi & Baráth, 2013).

The ethical principles help the settlements to become successful and sustainable communities that can increase their competitiveness in the long term and attract business opportunities and investments, all of them form a strong foundation for the fulfillment and realization of future goals. With the use of new communication technologies, the boundaries of virtual and physical communities are becoming more and more blurred, supporting the group of communities that receive them into a single complex trust process (Szécsi, 2022). Together, local residents, businesses and the municipality can create a force that promotes the development and success of the settlement in the long term. Ethical, transparent and sustainable communities are able to attract investments, talented workforce and promote economic development in the long term. It is therefore worthwhile for localities to pay special attention to the observance of ethical principles and ethical management, as these contribute to improving their competitiveness and improving the quality of life of their residents. (Figure 4)

Figure 4. *Ethical principles of creating an environment from the point of view of businesses, investors and the population.* Source: own compilation

The transparent operation and decision-making of the management and institutions of the settlement instills confidence among businesses and investors. Institutions that operate transparently help building the good reputation of the settlement, as they reduce the risks of corruption and uncertainty. From the point of view of entrepreneurial activity, it is important that the settlement provides long-term stability and a reliable legal framework;— avoiding continuous changes and uncertainties helps the long-term planning and implementation of investments. Committed support of environmental protection and sustainability can be of outstanding importance for responsible businesses and their customers. Keeping in mind the principles of energy-efficient solutions, green infrastructure and ecological awareness, embedding them in the city philosophy can help the long-term competitiveness of the settlement. In the examined context, the essential element of settlement ethics is the education and training of the population, as well as the provision of equal access to education and training opportunities, — with which we support the improvement of the proportion of the skilled workforce, thereby supporting the innovation capacity of the

settlement. The ethically thinking, functioning settlement does not only focus on its economic success, but also ensures that all layers of society can get involved in development and share in the opportunities. Inclusive communities are more tolerant and innovative, in addition the city administration is open to cooperation ideas and dialogue between businesses, civil organizations and individuals. Good communication strengthens the attractiveness of the settlement as a result of the realization of common goals. In the settlement, we value the local cultural heritage and identity as a priority; — the preservation of cultural diversity contributes to the upswing of tourism and at the same time, results in economic upswing.

According to the representatives of consequentialism, an individual's actions can be considered ethical if they are for the benefit of the community that accepts it, and thus its actions will have good consequences for as many people as possible. According to the representatives of classical utilitarianism, the actor needs to mediate possible action alternatives as soon as possible, to think about the consequences of each alternative for the other members of the community. According to utilitarian principles, the alternative that benefits the most people within the group is the most morally correct. In this regard, we need to know the expectations, interests, considerations, and moral considerations of the members of the given community (Gulyás et al., 2021).

Conceptual interpretation of settlement ethics and its connection to the competitive city approach

Settlement ethics represents a scientific approach that examines the moral issues of settlements and cities in the field of ethics and philosophy, and interprets the values and moral norms of settlements. For instance, community values, characteristics of local culture and identity, as well as the ethical principles that guide decisions and actions in the settlement. In its conceptual scope, it deals with issues of social justice, thus researching the distribution of resources, accessibility to public services, social mobility and the fight against discrimination. It is a relevant task to ensure social and economic justice within the settlements. In connection with the environmental issues of settlements and cities, we can also study for example the ethical principles that govern environmental sustainability and environmental protection. We can emphasize the reduction of the ecological footprint, sustainable urban development, the fight against climate change and the protection of natural resources as particularly important principles. I also consider it important to mention community participation, that is, how to ensure the active participation of individuals and communities in settlement decision-making, as well as how to build and maintain meaningful democratic processes

in settlements. Also relevant related concepts are cultural diversity and tolerance, thus helping acceptance between people of different cultural and religious backgrounds. A priority goal of the city administration is to improve the quality of life of the residents, promoting community well-being, building appropriate infrastructure, providing cultural and leisure opportunities, and developing health and educational services.

Local residents must actively participate in urban development processes, community participation and collective decision-making support population satisfaction. In order to increase the competitiveness of a settlement, justice and equality must be taken into account in urban policy, planning and development. For instance, equal access to education, healthcare and public services helps to create better living conditions for the population as well as the creation and development of economic opportunities. Cultural diversity and tolerance strengthen the attractiveness of cities, as they can increase the number of tourists arriving at a given destination, also help increasing economic and service opportunities, and thus contribute to improving the competitiveness of a given settlement.

The conceptual scope of settlements must therefore be placed in a new context, which goes beyond the traditional interpretation, since the environment, the need for sustainability and the processes taking place there have begun to be evaluated as relevant factors. The driving force behind the settlement's development is the following of an entrepreneurial approach instead of the previous managerial approach (Harvey, 1989), which focuses on the cooperation between the private and public spheres in leadership way of thinking. A settlement can become competitive if it can take the measures and create the conditions that ensure and support a high level of per capita income and continuous growth. In the traditional interpretation, one of the main goals is to make the city livable for the local population, which can be achieved through high-quality events, a well-kept natural and architectural environment, a city square with functions and jobs that provide a decent living. According to the modern understanding, the primary task of the settlement management is to support investments, and the development of the economy is also a less relevant factor to pay attention improving the living conditions of the population (Kozma, 2002).

If we want to examine the features of a settlement, it is necessary to examine the available natural attractions, the quality of their texture and the related infrastructural and touristic opportunities. In relation to man-made attractions, it

is necessary to analyze the developments of the past period and to research the possibilities for the future (Slezák-Bartos, 2020).

According to Enyedi (1997), a settlement is successful in which the generated income increases, which is reinvested in connection with the operation and development of the settlement. Ergo the per capita income in the settlement is constantly increasing, from which broad sections of the population benefit, but the economic growth does not damage the natural, built and cultural environment of the town. According to Koltai (2014), the public safety of the settlement, the state of the settlement's infrastructure, the living environment, the standard of health services and employment conditions appear as prominent factors in the preferences of the Hungarian population when choosing a place of residence. When choosing a place of residence, the unfavorable characteristics of the "big city", such as the polluted, unhealthy living environment, indifferent human relations, and poor public safety appear as influential aspects (Koltai & Galambosné Tiszberger, 2014). Improving the competitiveness of the region and settlement is primarily an own competence, for which the central authorities can only provide the background. Territorial competition has intensified, settlements compete with each other for investors, development opportunities, institutions, and competitive professionals (Lengyel, 2006).

The main goal of the city's competitiveness is to increase the standard of living of the population, improving regional and city income and as a determinant of these, the employment situation (Piskóti et al., 2015). Cities are made successful by the presence of industries that produce added value and certain factors like the natural, built and cultural environment, external relations and their place in international competition (Enyedi, 2012; Michalkó, 2014).

In connection with the new, broad interpretation of settlements, Kotler summarizes the essential ideas of modern settlement marketing and its interpretation, deals with the product development stage, pointing out that marketing activities can only be successful if they rely on a settlement that is attractive from several points of view (Kotler, 1993; Kozma 2002).

Ethical behavior of a successful, competitive settlement

A competitive and successful settlement can behave and operate ethically, i.e. it can prioritize the observance of high moral and ethical standards in addition to economic development and competitiveness. The success and sustainable development of the settlement is not only based on economic growth and competitiveness, but also on respect for social, cultural and environmental values.

In this case, its operation is based on transparency, responsible management and commitment to the community. The leaders and institutions of the settlement make fair and equitable decisions and keep the good of the community in mind when taking measures, besides the operation contributes to strengthening community cohesion and building trust. Ethical behavior supports social cohesion, in a community oriented in this way, people are more willing to cooperate and share knowledge, resources, and support each other, which promotes the success of urban projects and initiatives and contributes to sustainable development, supports social justice and equal opportunities. Through educational and social measures, they help to create opportunities between different groups, minimizing discrimination, respecting the rights of workers, also those with lower incomes and vulnerable groups. Sustainable environmental protection and social responsibility are also extremely important factors, in connection with which they help energy efficiency, waste reduction and the introduction of environmental protection measures, even support local communities and charity initiatives. Adherence to moral values and ethical standards helps to avoid decisions based on short-term benefits that are harmful in the long term, strengthens the settlement's reputation, attractiveness and relations with investors and residents.

The competitiveness of a settlement representing ethical behavior

With their transparent and responsible decisions, the settlement leaders help build and support the trust of the community. This positive image attracts new businesses, investors and talented people, supporting the city's economic growth and development. Business and economic practices promote long-term success, businesses enjoy a higher level of customer trust and loyalty, which contributes to their market competitiveness. The provision of quality products and services, as well as social responsibility, increases the competitiveness of businesses in the long term. A well-functioning urban environment supports innovation and sustainability. Ethical behavior and values encourage the creation of new ideas and solutions, the development of urban infrastructure and economic activities. The city administration supports environmental protection initiatives, which also contribute to sustainability and competitiveness in the long term. By creating social cohesion, city management can help residents' willingness to cooperate, which supports the success of city projects and initiatives, strengthens community unity and cohesion, even increases residents' satisfaction and happiness. Good community relations and equality promote residents' well-being and quality of life, improving the quality of urban life, which can further increase the city's

competitiveness. The relationship between an ethically functioning urban environment and competitiveness is thus formed along the lines of economic prosperity, social harmony and sustainability, which can not only make a municipality more competitive, but also put it in a more advantageous position. Moral behavior and decision-making have positive effects on the economic, social and cultural levels of the city.

Ethical operation and competitiveness are not mutually exclusive, but rather contribute to sustainable and harmonious development by strengthening each other.

The principle operation and competitive philosophy of competitive settlements

The innovation process can be seen as the coming together of technology and communities, so innovation and its consequences become a shared responsibility. It is the responsibility of the community to use the technology within a given range of permissible behaviors and to incorporate rules and norms that support the technology. On the other hand, it is the responsibility of the enterprise or settlement that focuses on innovation to understand the community in which innovation is planned.

Economic success can have a positive impact on individuals' community experiences, and conversely, also the positive community experiences can contribute to individual economic decision-making and outcomes.

A deeper understanding of interacting processes can lead not only to better decision-making in the economic and social fields, but also to a more global picture of human behavior and interactions. Providing a comparative advantage indicates the effective allocation of resources and is meant to encourage specialization in specialized areas, which can result in economic growth and development.

The operation of a competitive settlement is governed by a number of principles that reflect the combined effect of economic, social and environmental factors. Figure 5)

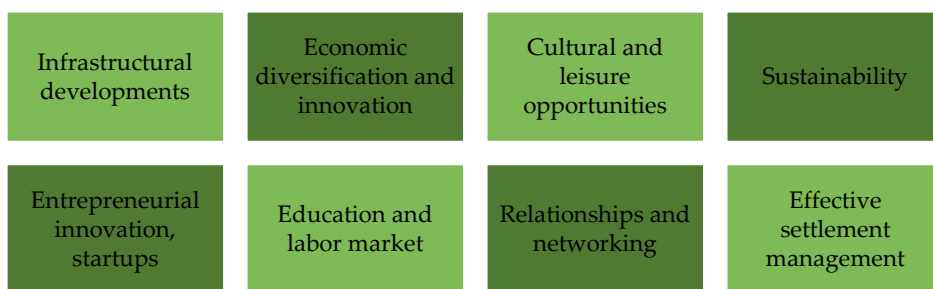|			
Infrastructural developments	Economic diversification and innovation	Cultural and leisure opportunities	Sustainability
Entrepreneurial innovation, startups	Education and labor market	Relationships and networking	Effective settlement management

Figure 5. *Factors of the principle operation of successful settlements.* Source: own compilation

In a competitive, successful settlement, the city administration continuously strives for economic diversification, besides the development of various industries and economic sectors, the introduction of innovation and new technologies contributes to the development and growth of the economy. The quality of the infrastructure, well-developed transport networks, energy supply, water and sewage systems, and digital infrastructure help the economic and social progress of the city. By providing adequate education and training opportunities, the presence of skilled labor in the settlement supports the development of businesses and the creation of new jobs. Incubator houses, startup centers and investment incentives help the creation and growth of new businesses. Ensuring environmental sustainability plays an important role, minimizing environmental impacts and supporting green initiatives are necessary for long-term competitiveness. The important characteristics of a successful settlement are social justice and inclusion; ensuring equal opportunities, supporting the poorer class and preventing exclusion contribute to social stability. The variety of cultural and leisure programs affects the quality of life, provides recreation opportunities for residents and tourists, and attracts investors. Transparent city management, effective decision-making and community participation promote the development of the city. The settlement can build relationships with other cities, regions and international partners, — through networking, it promotes the exchange of knowledge, enables the sharing of experiences and economic cooperation. The competitive philosophy of successful municipalities therefore reflects a complex and integrated approach based on the principles of innovation, economic development, sustainability, social participation and cultural diversity.

Summary

In recent decades, the examination of the competitiveness of settlements has become an increasingly prominent topic in the global economic and social environment, however in the background of which, not only economic factors, but also the ethical norms and values of the settlements play a decisive role. Settlement ethics basically focuses on the question of what values and norms a settlement or city keeps in mind during everyday life and how it ensures compliance with them. The pursuit of moral operation and decision-making contributes to the development and well-being of the local community as a whole, also the related behavioral patterns create trust between institutions and people, promote cooperation and cohesion, moreover contribute to the development of a positive urban image. In addition to the analysis of economic indicators, the examination of competitiveness is increasingly based on institutional efficiency, innovation, training and social infrastructure, — reliability, transparency and responsible business behavior together shape the attractiveness of the settlement for investors, corporations and people looking for a place to settle.

In modern societies, the ethical operation of settlements is of outstanding importance from the point of view of sustainable development and social coexistence, in order to achieve which they take on a wide range of tasks for the benefit of local communities. There is a need to ensure the principle of community control and accountability, to operate organisations that can independently evaluate the activities of local governments and institutions, by providing critical comments and reports on decision-making processes and their outcomes, and to put pressure on the authorities to operate in a transparent manner and in accordance with the established guidelines. The organizations strive to collect information and raise awareness, warning the community about ethical problems and their consequences, besides organizing training for local residents helping to promote responsibility and participation. In order to operate morally, they aim to control and improve the behavior of institutions and individuals, moreover in the interest of human rights they also act against oppression, discrimination and violations of human dignity, supporting the creation of a social environment which provide equal opportunities and rights for everyone.

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Education for Sustainability through Gamification

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Abstract

The study explores the intersection of sustainability education and gamification, focusing on the application of the "Green Walker" board game in educational settings. It addresses the role of educational institutions in sustainability education, methodological approaches to sustainability education, and the significance and efficacy of gamification in enhancing learning motivation and cognitive skills. The empirical research concentrates on the outcomes of implementing the "Zöld járőr" game in schools, examining its impact on students' sustainability consciousness and attitudes. The findings indicate that gamified educational tools significantly contribute to reinforcing sustainability knowledge and fostering environmentally responsible behaviours among students. The research underscores the importance of integrating sustainability education with gamification in education and highlights the potential benefits of game-based learning for developing sustainability competencies.

Keywords: sustainability, green education, gamification

In the 21st century, sustainable development, raising environmental awareness and protecting ecosystems are key priorities that will shape the global community's environmental, social and economic future. The challenges are significant and wide-ranging, but there is scope to slow progress and conserve remaining resources. Hungary has actively contributed to sustainability efforts from the beginning, and in 2015, it included sustainability as a key competence in the National Core Curriculum, highlighting the importance of environmental sustainability education for future generations. Education and awareness-raising start with the youngest age groups, who are open to the world and easily absorb information that is relevant to them in an understandable way, thus enabling the long-term integration of sustainability knowledge and skills. Environmental

education starts in an institutional setting in the preschool and primary school years (Dudok, 2021; Szilágyi & Dudok, 2022). For Generation Z and Alpha, the need for a sustainable future and environmental awareness is a real issue that can become part of their everyday activities and shape their thinking. One of the most effective settings for environmental education is the environment itself, such as zoos, wildlife parks and national parks, which offer a wealth of opportunities for learning through experience. They can provide formative experiences that help develop and reinforce a sense of responsibility for each other and the living world. Environmental empathy education also becomes a tool for complex personal development. Through zoo pedagogy and experiential education, students can leave their comfort zone and gain in-depth knowledge of the nature around them (Ács, 2007; Barnes, 2002; Csajka & Csimáné, 2019). Gamification, a key method for the current generation, is highly effective in capturing attention, increasing motivation and promoting active participation. Its integration into the educational process is essential. The use of gamification allows learners to acquire new knowledge and skills in a playful way, making the learning process more effective and enjoyable (Dudok, 2023).

Our research aims to investigate the effectiveness of education for sustainability through gamification. The research will investigate the students' thinking about sustainability and its development through the "Zöld járőr" board game.

Education for sustainability

Sensitisation is one of the most effective educational strategies for teaching sustainability, aiming to introduce children to nature and make them love it (Randler et al., 2005; Tran, 2011). One of the most effective complementary approaches is to teach children outdoors, where they can learn from their own experiences, facilitating the exploration and understanding of cause and effect. Research has shown that this also positively affects problem-solving methods and helps long-term memorisation and the development of social skills (Benefield et al., 2006; Randler et al., 2005; Mónus, 2020). Formulated the method of sensitisation in four steps: 1) focus attention on a small problem, 2) start sensitisation at an early age (kindergarten, primary school), 3) provide opportunities for nature experiences and experiences, 4) link nature experiences and experiences to classroom teaching (Randler et al., 2005).

The emergence of the need for environmental education first highlighted the rapid destruction of our natural environment linked to economic and social systems. There are many ways of linking sustainability education and teaching

within schools, but it is up to school leaders and teachers to ensure this is achieved. For example, educational posters on sustainable development can be displayed on school premises or related texts can be developed in lessons and discussed in workshops (Dudok, 2021).

The integration of sustainability education into education in Hungary started with the 2012 and 2020 amendments to the National Core Curriculum (NAT), which emphasise the need to teach sustainable development (Oktatási és Kulturális Minisztérium, 2012, 2020). The NAT requires teaching sustainability at all school levels, emphasising its multidisciplinary nature, which permeates the curricula of natural sciences, social sciences and arts.

In the context of sustainability education, particular attention will be paid to environmental awareness, resource efficiency, climate change, biodiversity conservation and sustainable consumption. These elements contribute to students' understanding of the ecological footprint and their ability to make responsible choices in their daily lives (Szűcs, 2018).

However, there are several challenges to implementing it in practice. On the one hand, teachers must be provided with specific training and in-service training related to sustainability education to have the appropriate knowledge and methodological tools (Kovács & Szőnyi, 2019). On the other hand, the success of sustainability education depends mainly on students' motivation, interest and attitude, which can be challenging due to different interests and prior knowledge differences.

The role of educational institutions is crucial for the successful implementation of sustainability education. Projects, programmes and hands-on activities in schools and kindergartens, such as environmental project weeks, green school programmes and research projects focusing on local environmental problems, contribute to raising awareness of sustainability (Nagy, 2020).

In line with European and international trends, there is a growing number of initiatives in Hungary to promote education for sustainability. International programmes related to sustainable development, such as UNESCO's Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) programme, also support Hungarian educational institutions in this field (UNESCO, 2017).

Education through gamification

Gamification, i.e. the integration of game elements and game dynamics into educational processes, has received increasing attention in educational research

and practice over the last decade. With particular reference to the use of board games, these methods offer significant potential for motivating learning, developing cognitive skills and facilitating social interaction (Dudok, 2023).

The essence of gamification is using playfulness, competition, rewards and other game elements in learning processes, thus increasing learners' motivation and interest (Deterding et al., 2011). Including board games in education is particularly beneficial as they help develop social skills such as communication, cooperation and conflict resolution (Qian & Clark, 2016). Traditional learning methods often prove insufficiently motivating for students in the digital age. Gamification offers new ways to make learning more exciting and interactive. Gamified learning promotes active participation, critical thinking and problem-solving skills (Hamari et al., 2014).

Successfully implementing gamification in education involves several steps. The learning objectives to be achieved through gamification must be clearly defined, board games and game elements must be selected according to the learning objectives, and games must be harmoniously integrated into the existing curriculum, ensuring that they support the learning objectives. Provide students continuous feedback and assessment throughout the learning process (Bellotti et al., 2013).

Gamification, particularly the use of board games, is beneficial in education for several reasons, as the playful elements and competition increase student interest and engagement. Board games promote communication skills and teamwork, requiring critical thinking, problem-solving, and decision-making. Furthermore, playful exercises can help students better understand and consolidate the learning material. This type of playful learning has significant potential to enrich educational processes, increase learner motivation and develop cognitive and social skills (Bellotti et al., 2013).

According to the NAT (National et al.), which will come into force on 1 September 2020, the maximum number of lessons per week in the sixth grade in Hungary is 28, so the maximum number of lessons per day is 7. Sixth-formers have twelve different subjects and physical education five times a week. They have four lessons a week in Hungarian language and literature and four lessons a week in mathematics. They study foreign languages 3 hours a week and history and science 2 hours a week. Once a week, they have ethics, vocal music, visual culture, technology and design, class teachers, and digital culture. Board games are included in the curriculum of three subjects: visual culture, foreign language and mathematics. The mathematics curriculum differs from the visual culture and

foreign language curricula, as the aim is not to create a board game but to develop thinking through an existing game. In the case of mathematics, the subject of logic and combinatorics is concerned with the development of logical thinking through board games. In the case of visual culture, the framework curriculum proposes board game creation in visual art phenomena under the theme of works and styles. For foreign languages, the framework curriculum proposes board games or the creation of board games for almost all subjects. In "Public matters", "Cross-curricular topics and activities", "English and language learning", and "Entertainment and playful learning", making and playing board games in group work appear as a suggested activity (Nemzeti alaptanterv, 2020).

Zöld járőr board game

The National Crime Prevention Council has supported the Zöld járőr programme for many years, and the Crime Prevention and Education Centre Association is continuously developing it. The objectives of crime prevention are closely linked to education for sustainability because education is a means of developing values considered necessary for a sustainable future and directing attention to appropriate forms of behaviour that enable the development of attitudes towards safety. The programme's holistic approach to developing the necessary knowledge and skills strongly emphasises values and social competencies (Bűnmegelőzési Központ, 2017). Therefore, the pedagogical content of education for sustainability is inseparable from crime prevention, and the development of critical thinking, cooperation and social skills is accordingly addressed. Article 7 (2) of Government Decree 326/2013 included among the teacher competencies the authentic representation of the values of sustainability and the transfer of the associated attitudes (Wolters Kluwer, 2013). In the development of play, a key aspect was to strengthen the children's play culture and, according to the experiential pedagogy method, to make teaching experiential so that the student unobtrusively acquires new knowledge. Board games can also be used in education, where skills and abilities are developed unobtrusively, to teach sustainability and environmental awareness. The main aim of the game and the programme is to involve all participants in protecting the environment by working independently to detect environmental damage and to convey crime prevention messages to young people. To increase cooperation between the micro- and macro-communities involved and to develop the social skills of young people and their compliance with rules. The long-term goal should be to promote sustainability, health, environmental and social awareness, and crime prevention skills (Bűnmegelőzési Központ, 2017).

Introducing the Zöld járőr board game

In addition to the game board, three different types of cards are included in the game: (1) picture animal cards, which give different essential and exciting information about an animal; (2) knowledge-building question cards, which include six different tasks and questions, (3) luck cards, which are responsible for good mood and cooperation. The board game includes several game options that can be used to convey information and show action patterns to children.

Good communication skills are essential to understanding and answering the tasks on the knowledge-building cards, but the game also requires decision-making in certain situations. Players can choose between transport modes, assessing their advantages and disadvantages. Players can establish a priority order, deciding how each animal is returned to its habitat, which is crucial for increasing social awareness. The game allows one to override self-interest and prioritise another animal's survival.

The game starts with players drawing five animal cards. On the back of the cards, they look at the location of the animal's habitat, as the task is to transport it to the zoo of the continent where it lives, where it will be adequately cared for and, if possible, returned to its original habitat. Domesticated or ubiquitous animals can be deposited at any zoo, and animals marked with the logo of the Szeged Wildlife Park can be transported there. Players receive a token for each animal they bring home. Moving around the board is done by adding the numbers thrown out of the two dice. During the game, stepping onto the "ecological footprint" fields, knowledge-enhancing question cards are read out with various tasks. The game ends when everyone has brought home their five animals.

Research Methodology

Participants were first asked to fill in a (self-developed) paper-pencil-based questionnaire. The questionnaire covers sustainability and environmental awareness and also examines how board games can be used to teach students and deepen their knowledge by learning playfully. The questionnaire is divided into three parts; the first block asks demographic questions, the respondent's favourite subject and whether they have covered the environment in any of their lessons. In the second part of the questionnaire, there are open-ended questions on the respondent's knowledge of the environment. The open-ended questions aimed to discover how aware students are of sustainability as a concept and whether they know what they can do to create a sustainable environment. The respondent could express their knowledge of the question in short sentences; if they were

unclear about the meaning, they could leave the question unanswered—the third part of the questionnaire focused on the environmental sensitivity of the respondents. Respondents were asked to rate their attitudes towards nature on a five-point Likert scale. Data were collected in two groups per school. The questionnaires were administered at each institution during the break between classes, giving students 15 minutes to complete the questionnaires. The survey was conducted in two parallel classes in the schools participating in the study. One class was the experimental group, and the other was the control group. The input and output measures were the same for each group, but there was no sustainability education in the form of play between the two measurements for the control group. In the experimental groups, immediately after the completion of the input measurement, a playful session was conducted using the Zöld járőr board game as part of a lesson. Three days after the lesson, the pilot group completed the questionnaire. The control group did not receive any sessions after completing the input measure and also completed the output measure after three days.

Eighty-nine primary school pupils in the sixth grade, 45 girls and 44 boys, participated in the survey. Of those surveyed, 41 were attending a rural school. The gender and the place of residence of the respondents were an essential aspect of the research, as previous research has shown that girls and people living in cities are more environmentally aware and sensitive than boys and people living in rural areas (Berglund et al.,2015). The ages of the students ranged between 11 and 13 years. The sample is not representative, and our results refer to all samples studied.

Table 1. *Number of students in experimental and control groups* (N=89)

	Experimental group	**Control group**
City School	25 persons	23 persons
Rural school (1)	5 persons	5 persons
Rural school (2)	16 persons	15 persons

Results

44.94% of respondents are fully engaged in creating a sustainable environment. 6.74% disagreed or strongly disagreed with this statement. Table 2 also shows that 26.96% of the respondents stated that they can learn about sustainability not only at school. Concern about running out of clean water was expressed by 43.82% of

the respondents, while 5.61% were not concerned about it. 50.56% of respondents agree that construction deprives animals of their natural habitat. 59.55% of respondents strongly agree that enforcing rules and preventing crime is essential, with only 2.24% disagreeing with this statement. As for the statement that people have the right to change the natural environment to suit their needs, 44.94% of respondents strongly disagreed, while 31.46% strongly agreed or agreed. In the last statement, whether people care a lot about the environment, 64.04% of the respondents could not decide whether they agreed or disagreed; those who disagreed or strongly disagreed were 21.34% of the respondents.

Table 2. *Attitudes of survey participants towards the statements listed* (N=89)

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Sustainable environment	3	3	21	22	40
2. In school only	24	33	23	6	3
3. No worries-clean water	39	16	20	9	5
4. Construction deprives animals	1	8	13	22	45
5. It is essential to follow the rules	0	2	8	26	53
6. Man is free to shape	9	31	21	10	18
7. They care a lot about the environment	3	16	57	10	3

In the survey's outcome measure, we also examined respondents' attitudes towards the environment, sustainability and safety awareness, separating the control and experimental groups. This is presented in Table 3, where the left-hand table indicates students who were engaged and the right-hand table indicates students who were not.

These show that 76% of the pilot group is concerned about creating a sustainable environment, and 6.52% disagree. The control group's percentages are as follows: 71.41% indicated that they strongly agree and agree to create a sustainable environment, and 25.58% indicated that they both agree and disagree. None of the respondents thought they disagreed. Student responses were very mixed on whether they could learn about sustainability only at school. Of the group interviewed, 36.95% thought they disagreed with this statement, compared to 27.9% of the control group who thought they only agreed.

Table 3. *Participants attitudes towards the statements listed in the second questionnaire measurement by experimental (N=46) and control group (N=43)*

	Experimental group					Control group				
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
1. Sustainable environment	2	1	8	14	21	0	0	11	19	13
2. In school only	17	11	11	3	4	12	16	13	1	1
3. No worries-clean water	18	12	6	3	3	17	6	8	8	4
4. Construction deprives animals	0	1	6	15	24	2	1	11	9	20
5. It is essential to follow the rules	0	0	5	15	26	0	2	6	11	24
6. Man is free to shape	9	13	17	4	3	7	14	10	9	3
7. They care a lot about the environment	5	10	27	3	1	5	7	21	6	4

At the starting point before the sessions, we compared the two groups and asked them for their views on areas of sustainability. We found that at baseline before the session, there was no significant difference between the groups. A two-sample t-test showed that members of the two groups had similar views on the importance of protecting the environment, following rules, taking action to change nature, building, sustainability, clean water and a sustainable environment (all p > 0.164), i.e. the baseline was the same in all cases.

After the session, we examined the groups' opinions separately, along with the same questions. We found that those not participating in the board game session did not significantly change their opinions on sustainability issues (all p > 0.294).

However, based on the Paired-sample t-test, we found differences in the pre and post-intervention conditions in the group administered the intervention. Table 4 presents the mean scores and corresponding standard deviations of the students who received the board game intervention pre- and post-intervention condition. After performing the statistical test, we can see that there were two cases of significant change; these are marked with *. One of these areas is the topic of dealing with the environment. Those who participated in the game have a more realistic view of the problem afterwards and are more likely to think that more should be done about the issue (t(45)=2.050 p=0.046). Furthermore, those who also participated in the game think that people have less of a right to change the natural environment after the game than they thought before it (t(45)=-0.488 p=0.019).

Table 4. *Perceptions of intervention participants (N=46) on sustainability issues before and after the intervention.*

	First		Second	
	Average	Source	Average	Source
1. Sustainable environment*	2,96	0,842	2,67	0,845
2. In school only	4,46	0,751	4,46	0,69
3. No worries-clean water*	3,02	1,308	2,54	1,11
4. Construction deprives animals	4,17	0,996	4,36	0,795
5. It is essential to follow the rules	2,17	1,12	2,26	1,27
6. Man is free to shape	1,98	1,16	2,07	1,18
7. They care a lot about the environment	4	1,135	4,11	1,05

Comparisons were also made by place of residence on issues relating to sustainability. We divided the sample into two groups by place of residence: an urban group (N=48) and a rural group (N=41).

A two-sample t-test found that before the session, i.e. at the first measurement, urban and rural students were statistically similar in thinking about the importance of environmental protection, following rules, actions to change nature, sustainability, clean water and a sustainable environment (all p > 0.276). However, they think significantly differently about the issue of construction depriving animals of their natural habitat (t(87)=3.189 p=0.002). Those living in rural areas (M=3.78 SD=1.01) perceive the issue as less important, i.e., feel less that animals' habitats are being taken away than those living in cities (M=4.46 SD=0.988).

However, using the Paired-sample t-test, we found that the number of points for living in the countryside increased significantly on the second measurement (t(40)=-2870 p=0.007). Thus, building in the countryside was significantly more important on the second measurement (M=4.12 SD=1.005) than on the first (M=3.78 SD=1.013).

In general, analysing the open-ended questions, students knew that sustainability as a concept is closely related to environmental protection, and in many cases, students' sensitivity to cutting down trees was reflected in their answers. However, it should be pointed out that in some cases, there were instances where some of the responses were not related to sustainability or pollution at all. The almost exact definition of sustainability was correctly answered by 26% of the respondents, e.g., protecting and preserving the environment for posterity. They

were saving to save life, wood and water for future generations. We consume only as much as necessary to preserve for the future. Of this 26%, 19% of respondents attend a rural school. Of the respondents, 13 students could not answer the question, leaving it blank. In many cases, the students who participated in the session (pilot group) knew the concept of sustainability in the output questionnaire. 47.83% of the respondents answered the concept of sustainability correctly, 39.13% of them knew that the concept was related to pollution and environmental protection and tended to write answers that could contribute to a sustainable environment. Students who did not participate in the session (control group) did not change their answers.

Regarding the answers on reducing pollution, 14 out of the students who filled in the questionnaires did not answer. Most students who responded thought the best way to reduce pollution was not to litter and to collect rubbish separately. The second most common response was to reduce air pollution, and most students were willing to use public transport or cycling to help reduce pollution. In urban schools, it can be observed that their answers are better explained than those of students in rural schools, and their answers show that they are more knowledgeable on the subject. Rural schools tended to give answers of a few words. It should be pointed out that pupils in urban schools had numerically more ideas on how they could help to reduce pollution. After the session, pupils in the experimental group of rural schools could write down many more ideas of what they could do to reduce pollution and elaborate on their ideas. They could write concrete examples of recycling and producing less rubbish. New concepts appeared in their answers, such as zero waste. The students in the pilot group, who were studying in urban schools, gave similar answers to those given before the session. Their answers included saving water, e.g., I do not litter or waste water and paper. I do not waste; I use less water and less energy. One pupil also mentioned the usefulness of participating in different environmental programmes. Five students who participated in the session did not answer this question. The responses of the students in the control group, with whom no peer learning session was conducted, changed little or not at all. Most of the answers mentioned littering and selective waste collection, as well as the importance of public transport and cycling. Of the respondents, two students did not relate their answers to the question, so they were not considered countable. Of the respondents, six students did not answer the question at all. Students from urban schools gave more extensive and varied responses to the question than students from rural schools.

In general, when asked why they think it is essential to protect animals, respondents were mixed. Students in rural schools mostly thought that protecting animals was important primarily because there is no food if there are no animals. This may be because more families in rural areas are involved in agriculture and animal husbandry and see animals as a source of profit. In urban schools, students tended to focus on the natural cycle, with many describing a concern that some species might become extinct. 21.87% of respondents said that protecting animals is essential to prevent species from becoming extinct.

In the second measurement, it was observed in the experimental group that students used the concept of sustainability as a response after the session. These answers were more characteristic of students from the urban school. After the session, students from rural schools saw animals as applicable, and responses such as the extinction of animals or the importance of the natural cycle appeared. The answers for the control group changed slightly compared to the first questionnaire. In the case of rural schools, students focused on the food produced by animals, while students in urban schools focused on the importance of the food chain. There were also some responses indicating attachment. Responses focusing on the relationship between humans and animals were common to both types of schools. These responses focused on emotions; for them, the animal is the bond.

Summary

This paper examines the relationship between sustainability education and gamification, focusing on using the Zöld járőr board game. The role of educational institutions, methodological approaches to sustainability education and the relevance and effectiveness of gamification in improving motivation to learn and cognitive skills are analysed. The empirical part of the research will focus on studies conducted in the school setting and the pedagogical outcomes of the Zöld járőr board game, examining the impact of gamification activities on students' sustainability awareness and attitudes. The results show that gamification tools, such as the Zöld járőr board game, can significantly contribute to consolidating sustainability knowledge and developing environmentally conscious attitudes among students. The context analysis highlights the importance of successfully integrating sustainability education and gamification in education and the potential benefits of gamified learning in developing sustainability competencies.

The results showed that using the Zöld járőr board game significantly improved students' sustainability awareness and environmental attitudes. The gamified educational methodology positively impacted students' motivation, environmental knowledge and sustainability skills. The study highlighted that a

gamified learning environment can promote students' active participation and engagement in sustainability education, which contributes to developing environmentally conscious behaviours. The results support the potential benefits of gamification in education, particularly sustainability education.

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Student-centered school, competency development and playful, experiential mathematics learning in Hungary

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Abstract

As colleagues of the Faculty of Culture, Education and Regional Development at the University of Pécs (Hungary), we have been striving for decades to ensure that teachers contribute as successfully as possible to the development of the most important competencies of their students. In our thesis we highlighted three topics (each related to a renowned psychologist) we found important in our teacher training practice. Based on the work of *Carl Rogers*, the person-centered approach has influenced the mindset of helping professionals worldwide over the past sixty years. In the 80's we started spreading it from the Juhász Gyula Teacher Training College in Szeged, and than from the University of Pécs. *John Raven*'s psychocybernetic approach points out that education is a complex system in which positive changes in one factor can be detrimental to overall performance due to complex interactions. When the University of Pécs awarded John Raven an honorary doctorate, it also wanted to show that we want to build more on his work in teacher education. *Zoltán Pál Dienes* is considered the most exciting figure in playful, experiential, exploratory mathematics learning/teaching worldwide. In the last years of his life, he also became an honorary doctor of the University of Pécs and we undertook to bring his mathematical games (learning aids) to Hungarian schools. We hope that the "Dienes method" will make everyone like this anxiety-inducing subject, which is still foreign to many students today. The trends presented in this paper can help make our educational practice more child-centered and effective if we continue to make serious efforts.

Keywords: person-centered approach; psychocybernetics; playful learning

Introduction

Forty years ago, in response to a journalist's question, Sándor Klein replied:

"... Our schools should primarily aim to help children develop healthy personality. Of course, a person with a well developed personality has a fairly good knowledge base, which he/she can activate and use if necessary. Personal development can best take place through voluntary learning with interest and full attention... A school from which mentally crippled, anxious or aggressive, narrowly interested, incapable of human contact, selfless and unappreciative, irresponsible people emerge, does not fulfill its function, no matter how many multiplications children can do in 5 minutes, no matter how much historical data they store in their heads."

In this article, we focus on the positives: some efforts that can move organised learning in a more humanistic direction.

Carl Rogers and the Student-Centered School

Carl Rogers (1902–1987) became world-famous primarily as the creator of client-centered psychotherapy. Over time, however, he realized that the attitudinal conditions that allow the "healing" of those with mental health problems contribute to success in all other helping professions: they can make the activities of teachers, leaders and parents more effective. This is how the *person-centered approach* that is now characteristic of many types of helping relationships was created. From the perspective of a *student-centred school*, this means that teachers appear to be authentic, accepting and emphatic understanding in the eyes of students (Klein, 2016). In Hungary, this approach was radically novel in the 80s.

"In schools, the curriculum is more central than the children. The teacher plays a central role: he knows all secrets, he asks, he decides whether the answer is correct, he evaluates – as if everything was turned upside down. But that's always been the case! And then Carl Rogers comes along and writes: School can become a place for exciting and meaningful learning. It can be a place where teacher and student learn from each other. We just have to take the risk of taking off the teacher's mask and being ourselves." (Klein, 2013, p. 142):

In a paper (originally published in 1957), Carl Rogers wrote the following:

"My experience has been that I cannot teach another person how to teach.", "... anything that can be taught to another is relatively inconsequential, and has little or no significant influence on human behavior.", "… the only learning which significantly influences human behavior is self-discovered, self-appropriated learning" Rogers (2003)

In his book "Freedom to Learn" (Rogers & Freiberg, 2013) he has many more messages:

– schools should become an interesting place (unfortunately boring for many, many children today),

– "*the essence of learning is the extraordinary interest in the issues that are significant to me*"

– the whole person – emotions and thinking together – participate in essential learning,

– teaching is even harder than learning, since with the help of a true teacher, we learn how to learn,

– *if we want to be facilitators of others' learning, we must be facilitators of our own learning* (open to receiving what young people have to say)

– responsible freedom in the classroom can only come about through a gradual process of development, the joint efforts of teacher and student.

In the same book, *Rogers* emphasizes that an honest, accepting, understanding teacher behaves so differently in the classroom than the "traditional teacher" that it is worth calling him the "facilitator of learning." The facilitator creates an atmosphere in which the student is free to make mistakes and thus learn from his peers, the teacher and his experiences without anxiety: he revives the enthusiastic joy of learning that so characterizes early childhood.

The person-centred approach influenced the thinking of teachers, psychologists and doctors here and there in Hungary in the 70s – for example, Béla Buda's book *on „the Art of Empathy"*, published in 1978, was a significant achievement at this time – , but the real breakthrough was the international cross-cultural meetings organized by the Juhász Gyula Teacher Training College and the Hungarian Psychological Association in Szeged in 1984 and 1986, at which some 300 people, with the help of Carl Rogers and his colleagues, experienced the difficulties and potential of responsible freedom.

Since 2009, these week-long meetings have been organized annually again with the help of the University of Pécs (primarily the Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Education and Regional Development), increasingly as part of a living person-centered movement. After the meetings in Szeged, some „Rogerian" schools were established in Hungary (Rogers Person-Centered School, Blue Bird Person-Centered Pedagogical Program, Colorful School in Tata), the Hungarian Association of Person-Centered Psychotherapy and Counselling was founded, important books related to the person-centered approach have been published, individual client-centered therapy, encounter groups have become available – the past four decades can be considered a success story from this point of view.

Cross-cultural Communication meetings are especially suitable for developing the communication skills of teachers and practicing their "congruence, acceptance, and empathy". We would like as many teachers as possible to take advantage of this opportunity not only in Hungary, but also from other countries.

We consider it an important task to continue to help spread the person-centered approach and make schools student-centered.

John Raven and developing competencies

Ten years ago, the Faculty of Adult Education and Human Resource Development of the University of Pécs awarded John Raven an honorary doctorate. John Raven is perhaps the most original figure in the competence movement. In his writings, he proves with data from extensive surveys that educational practice that stuffs knowledge into students' heads does not promote excellent performance at work. Specific knowledge is relatively easy to acquire, but quickly becomes obsolete and contributes little to the significant difference in performance between competent and incompetent workers. The focus should be on developing competencies such as the ability to understand and effectively develop the organization in which we work and live (Raven, 2001). To do this, we would need to transform our schools into 'development environments' (Raven, 2020). Schools should become places in which

– teachers and pupils can resolve conflicts in an open, supportive atmosphere,
– "different behavior", making mistakes does not ridicule and does not lead to serious, long-term negative consequences,
– students are encouraged to set difficult (but realistic) goals and are helped if for some reason they are unable to meet their own expectations.

Clarification of values and behavior in accordance with those values are essential for the development of competencies (Raven, 1977).

Research has shown (Raven, 1984, pp. 132-149) that the most important characteristic distinguishing between more efficient and less effective leaders is how much time they devote to developing their subordinates. Similarly: the parents of creative, high-achieving adults mostly encouraged them to be independent from early childhood, trusted that they were able to make decisions about issues affecting them, expected them to perform their tasks themselves with serious effort and minimal help, and did not impose their ethical views on them.

Raven emphasizes the importance of project-based, exploratory learning in school. Among its positive examples there are many that have led to serious social action (for example, the pollution study of a local river). These projects not only introduced children to social research, but also developed their competencies for initiating effective social actions (Raven, 1984, pp. 138-139).

We agree with him that schools can only be successful in developing students' competencies if they pay attention to individual differences: "different students need to develop different competencies and different methods must be used for different children to develop a certain competency" (Raven, 1991, p. 81).

Like Rogers, Raven believes it is crucial to change the role of the teacher: from a lecturer to a facilitator of development, from a center of attention to a source of wisdom. Instead of "teaching competencies", teachers should have "leadership competencies", among which the ability to influence the immediate and wider environment plays an important role (Raven, 1990).

John Raven's ideas (such as the importance of social responsibility of teachers) should become an important part of our teacher training practice.

Zoltán Dienes and playful, experiential mathematics learning

Carl Rogers and John Raven sought to transform the entire school learning to meet the demands of a rapidly changing world, while Zoltán Dienes selected a very important subject and sought to reform it worldwide (Dienes, 2014).

He thought that the situation described by György Pólya in his book *How to solve it* is quite realistic: *"... future teachers pass through the elementary schools learning to detest mathematics... They return to the elementary school to teach a new generations to detest it."* (Pólya, 1957).

He saw the goal of learning mathematics in the development of thinking and especially mathematical thinking (Dienes, 1967). The mathematics learning environment outlined by him also stimulates students' personality development and social behavior.

This requires drastically reforming not only the subject, but also the teaching/learning methodology (e.g., he did not question the occasional use of frontal teaching or individual learning, but placed special emphasis on cooperative small group sessions).

Dienes' *theory of learning mathematics* is based on four principles:

1.   the *Principle of Constructivity* (according to Dienes, mathematical concepts must be recreated over and over again; during the game the child "sees", discovers the structure inherent in the tools, "reads" the rules from them),

2.   the *Principle of Mathematical Variability* (mathematical concepts can only be abstracted from several models),

3.   the *Principle of Dynamic* (it is necessary to create the possibility of transformations within models, "flipping" one model into another),

4.   the *Principle of Perceptual Variability* (the same structure is worth dressing up in many ways).

Dienes found that there are different *stages of mathematics learning*:

1.   *free play* (this is when the child first encounters several concrete components from which he later constructs the concept),

2.   *rule-game* (at this stage, you can give children games tied with certain rules, but also make sure that the rules are not considered sacrosanct),

3.   *recognition of common structure* (you need a lot of games that have a common structure),

4.   *representation of the common structure* (representation helps to recognize what is common in games that "embody" structure),

5.   *description of the structure depicted* (symbolization is the stage of introduction of mathematical notation),

6.   *formalization* (the path from axioms to theorems).

The "Dienes method" is theoretically well-established, but its true beauty can only be revealed to those who pay attention to their practice, especially the many games he constructed. The essence of this method is a "mathematical environment" in which the main source of learning is the children's own experience. This is in stark contrast to the traditional method of teaching mathematics: "taking a symbolic funnel through which you mix the knowledge and pour it into the brain of a child and than you test him and see if he gives the *right response*" said Zoltán Dienes in a conversation with Sándor Klein (Klein, 1987, p. 60). Dienes in every way supported the inclusion of the natural environment in the process of mathematical abstraction, but believed that the development of purposefully shaped playful teaching tools was necessary for the development of abstract thinking, which is the essence of mathematics. Perhaps his most influential innovation to date is the variety of playful teaching tools based on

mathematical structures that can be used to facilitate the development of abstract concepts.

"Playing is a wonderful thing. It makes us active and makes us forget that we are tired. It can evoke in the child an effort worthy of an adult, and in the adult it can awaken the dormant, oppressed child. While playing, we can learn almost imperceptibly and joyfully things that otherwise would have been very difficult for us to comprehend, from which, if we knew how serious they were, we would have narrowly closed our ears and minds before we had a chance to understand the essence of the problem. " (Klein et al., 2021, p. 199)

An early book by Dienes (Holt & Dienes, 1973) explored the possibilities of mathematical games for children aged 4 to 5, while two later volumes (Dienes, 2003; Thomas, 2009) provides plenty materials to think about for "mature youth" and young people forever in spirit. Throughout his life, Dienes scattered his ideas about mathematical games around the world with "rich carelessness", many of which found their way into school practice in some countries about half a century ago, but today hardly anything of them can be found here and there.

The revival of the "Dienes method"

Zoltán P. Dienes died in Canada on January 11, 2014 at the age of 97, and Julianna Kiss and Sándor Klein represented his students at his funeral. Eight months later, two old-fashioned suitcases arrived in Pécs (Hungary): part of Zoltán Dienes' legacy, books, studies, documents, photographs and, of course, original toys. The battered objects recovered from travel suitcases, which must have travelled around the world several times, had a great influence on the authors of this paper, and from the fragments a man who was ready to teach, educate and do something for his fellow human beings emerged. Professor Dienes believed in the power of playful, experiential learning and that universal languages of mathematics and logic, regardless of age, geography or culture, can often be necessary for effective communication.

The Faculty of Adult Education and Human Resource Development of the University of Pécs, and later the Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Education and Regional Development in Szekszárd proudly undertook the management of the intellectual heritage of the renowned professor.

Figure 1. *The arrival of the Dienes heritage at the University of Pécs*. Source: authors' own recording

At the Faculty of Cultural Sciences, and Regional Development, the Zoltán Dienes Teacher Training and Children's Culture Methodology Research Centre named after the professor was established in 2018. The most important task of the centre is to care for the Dienes heritage, and in this spirit to coordinate interdisciplinary professional programs that contribute to the renewal of pedagogical practices and the establishment of national and international cooperation between professionals dealing with the topic of children's culture.

The colleagues of the research centre and the faculty have done a lot recently to ensure that after the end of this productive and truly special life, the work of Zoltán Dienes can be shown again to the interested Hungarian audience and a worthy memorial to the world-famous professor in the digital world of the 21st century, one of the most important milestones of which is the *Dienes Virtual Museum*, unique in Hungary, completed in the summer of 2020 (Internet access: http://dienesmuzeum.kpvk.pte.hu/). Hungary's first virtual museum, visitors from anywhere in the world can get an insight into the work of the world-famous scientist and his achievements in playful mathematics teaching.

There are many virtual museums around the world, but these initiatives are usually photographed and digitised versions of existing museums. The Dienes Virtual Museum is special in that it does not exist anywhere in reality: but in the virtual space.

Visitors arriving at the central hall of the virtual museum can get acquainted with the life and work of Zoltán Dienes in three rooms. In *the first room* they can find the most important stages of the professor's life. The second room, called "Globetrotting Scientist", guides you to places, educational and cultural centers and institutions located in different parts of the world, where Zoltán Dienes lived with his family in the later stages of his life and taught for longer or shorter periods. The *third room*, "The heritage – the footprint of the scientist (the afterlife of the method)" focuses on the most important messages of Dienes' oeuvre, presenting the essence of experiential mathematics teaching. The museum is enriched with rich imagery. An excerpt from Zoltán Dienes' autobiographical book can be heard in a lecture by Sándor Klein.

In the future, the museum will be connected to the organization of further training and events directly serving Dienes' oeuvre, experiential mathematics education, and the introduction and popularization of experiential pedagogical methods. The English version of the Dienes Virtual Museum will be prepared, the museum shop will be replenished with books, publications and games.

In recent years we have made serious efforts to revive the "Dienes games" from their Sleeping Beauty dream: we have redesigned Dienes' game and strive to spread them domestically and internationally. These manipulatives , dusted off and in a new guise, can serve as a link between the school board and the computer. Dienes realized that if he combined the inner stimulus (source of pleasure) inherent in play with the many embodiments of mathematical concepts and structures, children would be able to recognize much more complex relationships than previously imagined.

We strive to gradually establish "Dienes math labs" in schools, which can develop into centers for the development of creative thinking. We believe that the Dienes educational toys (*Who goes to the castle?* and *Forest Game*) produced so far and distributed to many Hungarian and cross-border schools with the support of several organizations (including the Hungarian Energy and Public Utility Regulatory Authority, the Klebelsberg Center, Piatnik Budapest Kft. and the University of Pécs) are a good start with the two new ones (*Pearls* and *AbrakaDabra*) that have recently been prepared for production, others will follow shortly.

Figure 2. *Finished Dienes toys*. Source: Piatnik Budapest Kft.

The *Who goes to the castle?* for example, is based on simple logical operations (*and*, *or*, *if* and *only if*, *negation*), but children who play with it do not need to know this: their task is to get exactly the designated ones out of eight wanderers to the castle (or forest), building a "good road" (in the "most economical way") by properly selecting the necessary road details and signposts (Klein et al., 2021a). The advantage of the game is that both very simple and very complex tasks can be formulated in the given structure, so they can be played by both preschoolers and university students. Another advantage is that it can be played as an individual or group activity, as well as competitively, so cooperation and competition can be practiced with it.

In the "*Forest Game*" there are 13 prisms and 13 property cards. Trees are painted on the prisms according to certain regularities: 0, 1 or 2 pines, oaks or willow on both visible sides (if there is one pine on one side, then two on the other, if there is no pine on one side, then there is no pine on the other side, etc.). The number of trees can be added together, but in this game you have to subtract three or multiples of numbers larger than two – for example, 2+2=1, 2+2+2=0. Each prism has four properties, and each property is characteristic of exactly four prisms. Both prisms and property cards can be turned into 3x3 "magic squares".

Here, of course, we could only illustrate how rich the mathematical background of these games is.

Incorporating Dienes games into today's school practice is not an easy task. Recently we started training primary school teachers on how to do this. We

honestly hope, that with the help of the Dienes method, learning math could be fun.

Conclusion

Our rapidly changing world poses ever greater challenges to our young people, who can only meet them with a school system that prepares them for these changes. We have highlighted three aspirations that can help schools in this momentous task. In addition to scientific thoroughness, it takes commitment, courage and perseverance to follow the path shown by Rogers, Raven and Dienes. Despite the undoubted successes of recent decades, we are only at the beginning of the journey today.

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Social identity and narrative perspectives[1]

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Abstract

Balázs Kézdi, in his work entitled Identity and Culture (2001), draws attention to the fact that the concept of identity is ambiguous and overdetermined not only in social science discourse but also in psychology because the concepts of "self" and self-definition are often mixed up with the concepts of self-definition. Different theories emphasise different characteristics depending on whether the self is a personal or a social self-definition and whether the process of identification is interpreted as static or situational.

Over the last few decades, the psychological literature on identity has increasingly emphasised the narrative nature of identity. This means that people form their interpretations of the world through narratives (including self-narratives), and these narratives are inseparable from the concept of self-determination (László, 2005). The following paper discusses the particular case of collective identity and significant group identification, including the issue of national identity and the role of collective memories. Accordingly, it focuses first on the psychological and cultural approach to the process of peer self-determination, followed by the group history and the resulting theoretical considerations.

Keywords: collective memory, social identity, self-determination

Social existence and identity

Social psychological approaches

The issues of group identity in social psychology are organised around two models: on the one hand, theories of social identity by Turner and Tajfel, which focus on the mechanism of the individual's belonging to a group, and on the other hand, the scientific narrative psychological paradigms of the content of collective or social identity, which emphasise the characteristics of group identity construction.

The social science discourse on social identity has been significantly influenced in the last few decades by the idea of Festinger (1954) that, in the absence of objective means, we evaluate specific abilities by comparing them with others and, beyond that, by seeking to compare them in ways that are advantageous to us. This line of thought has significantly impacted the development of self-categorisation theories on the one hand and explanations of how groups are formed on the other. In the Tajfelian and Turnerian paradigms of social identity, however, the focus is no longer on individual comparativity but on identification between groups in the dimension of evaluation.

Social identity theories place social categorisation in a key position in the mechanism of identity construction (Turner, 1980) because it helps the individual to organise the social environment, i.e. to adapt to a particular group and thus achieve a sense of social identity. On the other hand, they emphasise the emotional aspect because individuals can satisfy their positive self-esteem and self-esteem through their group affiliation (Tajfel, 1980). In the context of Tajfel's three-stage CIC model (categorisation, identification, comparison), the group is interpreted as a category with which the individual identifies and, if the category is positively evaluated, is incorporated into his sense of identity, i.e. identification is established.

On the one hand, the theory implies the context-dependence of peer identification, but at the same time, as Brewer (1999), for example, emphasises, identity construction takes place in the dynamics of the opposing tendencies of group identity and individual separation. Thus, the concept of social identity is understood as a multidimensional construct saturated not only with cognitive but also with affective content, and the dual determinacy of identification along group values and of defining something in terms of something implies a prominent role for intergroup emotions. [2]

In contrast, theorists of narrative psychology of social/collective identity do not focus on the mechanisms of individual group commitment and group formation

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[2] We can speak of intergroup emotions if four criteria are fulfilled: (1) if they can be distinguished from individual emotions, (2) if the intensity of their experience depends on the intensity of identification with the group, (3) if there is a correlation between group members in terms of the emotions experienced, and (4) if the emotions experienced have a regulating function in intra- and intergroup processes (E. R. Smith, Seger and Mackie, 2007). The fulfilment and verification of the last two criteria is problematic for negative emotions, which is labelled in the literature as the identification paradox. The paradox is that in the case of negative emotions, the most committed members of the group identify (Yzerbit, Durmont et al., 2003), but they are also the ones who are most motivated to maintain a positive self-image of the group because of their loyalty to the group (Janis, 1982, Staub, 1997), so strongly identifying group members are the most prone to alternative interpretations of events.

but primarily on the content of group identification, and by exploring different patterns, they capture the way narratives organise experience. In this respect, the collective memories of the group's history, the causal coherence of identity construction or the emotional content are strongly emphasised. The main difference between the two paradigms is that while social identity models do not deal with the states and qualities of group self-identity, social identity theories and methodological applications examine and draw conclusions from the construction of meaning in the group's self-definition, thus forming typologies of group identity constructions.

A cultural studies approach

In another approach to social identity - cultural studies - the connective nature of culture is emphasised. According to Jan Assmann's (1999) line of thought, this connectivity ensures the individual's attachment to the group on two planes, the social and the temporal, i.e. it creates a common space in the symbolic world of culture that both orientates and provides trust and creates a temporal continuity by shaping and preserving shared experiences and memories. The latter is the basis for mythic narratives of shared knowledge and memory and rules, which have the specificity of being identity-constructive in that they allow the individual to define him/herself in terms of the dimensions of the 'we'.

As a result of the inclusion of cultural theory, Kézdi, in his remarks on the Asmannian concept of identity, stresses that identity and culture are constituted in mutual reflection. An individual's self-determination is constructed through participation in the communicative patterns of one's group, within which group identity takes precedence over self-identity (i.e. identity is sociogenetic or culturally genetic in nature). At the same time, collective identity as such does not exist outside of the individuals who bear the group, i.e. collective self-determination is tied to individual consciousness. Another important aspect is that while the framework of collective self-definition may be changeable, i.e. an individual may give up belonging to a group, the abandonment or emptying of individual identity has pathological consequences (Kézdi, 1999, 2001).

Identity and narrative

As a new paradigm of Soft Syntheis (Runyan, 1988), narrative psychology views the human being in a dual field of power: both a causally determined and an interpreting being. One of the central insights of this approach is that human beings communicate their experiences, thoughts, emotions and interpretations of the world through constructed narratives and that these narratives are capable of

reflecting the complex and unique social, historical and cultural context of the individual, and are thus closely linked to the notion of identity (László, 2005). In other words, identity is fundamentally narrative; that is, it is articulated in and can be extracted from the process of narration (Ricoeur, 2001, 2004).

This is why identity studies in recent decades have emphasised, among other things, the linking of the individual and life history, i.e. the establishment of a scientific discourse of psychohistory. As a result of this linking, interest in the study of life history and life events as identity-constructing elements has grown since the 1980s (Sarbin et al., etc.), in which the specificity of episodic and summarising life-history narratives, which are organised from time to time into coherent formations, is an important aspect (Pataki, 2000).

This shift in the direction of scientific discourse has resulted in a new paradigm in which the role of biography has become crucial. McAdams (1988) has argued outright that identity is, in fact, a life history embedded in a socio-historical context, and as such, the dynamic process of identity construction encompasses the entire life cycle, thus de-emphasising the Eriksonian significance of adolescence in his argument.

The life story as a narrated text contains both episodic figures, life events schematised and summarised by repetition, and generalised stories, cleansed of episodic contingencies, and as such, is thematically inhomogeneous. (Kézdi, 2001) The significant life events that emerge from these have two basic characteristics: on the one hand, the events are the subject of personal interpretation, and on the other hand, the life story is permanently embedded in the (collective) past of some narrower and broader community, to which it also has a personal relationship. The Narrative's primary purpose and function are the social grounding of the individual's self-image and self-concept and the anchoring of further psychological processes (Pléh, 2008).

The narrative of the self must never be solely the work of the self but a dialogical product of the intersubjective relations existing at the moment of the narration. The consequence of this dialogical relation is that narratives never take the form of simple narratives; the texts produced always carry emotions and intentions at the linguistic level; they are distorted in some way by the subject, which is the key to their interpretability. In the context of this distortion, reference may also be made here to Bruner's distinction between paradigmatic and narrative mode, which denotes two forms of human thought. Whereas the paradigmatic mode seeks to justify truth using abstract concepts and causal proofs, the narrative mode justifies itself by means of lifelikeness, its organising principle being not

truth but lifelikeness (Bruner, 2001; id. Laszlo, 2008). This line of thought also fits in well, as the Gergen authors (2001) argue, that in storytelling since self-identity can be communicated within socially determined discursive rules, it is a culture that speaks through storytelling, which uses the subject to reproduces itself (Gergen, 2001).

Kézdi (2001) draws attention to the fact that there is no such thing as a life event as a pure entity in itself because if it does not fit into the flow of the life-history narrative, it does not become real and disappears without a trace (or is smothered in the unconscious). The flip side of the same argument is that human life itself is a narrative event insofar as it can only be articulated and understood within the narrative framework produced by the community (in more radical terms, the mental background can be seen as a consequence of the discursive process alone).

Moving on, narrativity is not only the creator of life but also its antecedent since when we think of an event, we always think of it as a narrative event with meaning. Bruner (2004) also refers to this when he argues that narratives play a significant role in processing and creating events. In line with this, of course, the main questions for narrative theorists are how people make sense of the world around them, i.e. how they construct their stories and the role of narrativity in general in the psychological and social development or construction of human beings.

In addition to the fact that narratives are constructed along narrative regularities defined for the individual, it is important to emphasise that their role is not only essential in the context of individual identity. The elements of individual and collective identities are in some respects intertwined, and accordingly, narratives are also a necessary part of the life of groups (László, 2012).

Social identity and memory

Just as individual identity can be expressed from the life story narrative, the group story becomes relevant for collective identity, i.e. the patterns in the group narratives form the information about the nature of social identity. The strength of a group identity always depends on the extent to which it is alive in the consciousness of its members (Assmann, 1999), and the most crucial role in this, as László (2005) points out, is played by group narratives.

A strong sense of identity derived from group membership lies in collective memories and historical narratives. What binds these groups together, in addition to instinct, is shared knowledge based on talk and communication. This means

that (in Assmannian terminology) collective identity is always founded and reproduced by the corresponding cultural formation.

Regarding literacy, Assmann sees repetition as the basic principle of the connective structure mentioned earlier: it ensures that actions are organised into recognisable patterns. Repetition is linked to representational memory, the latter through the interpretation of tradition. This dichotomy can be observed through rituals: in the case of strict adherence to a fixed order, repetition is given greater emphasis, while in the case of less rigid ritual occasions, the aspect of representation is given more significant space. The dynamic range of connectivity is structured between the two poles.

A change of emphasis and a new connective structure emerges with the writing down of traditions: repetition is replaced by representation, ritual coherence is replaced by textual coherence, and liturgy is replaced by hermeneutics. The connective structure of culture is reinforced by the written canon, by the memory narratives of a given society, thus making collective identity continuous. If certain events cannot be interpreted in the plausibility of the present, then, in the absence of a frame of reference, these events disappear from collective memory, thus making the concept of forgetting intelligible.

As regards the forms of memory, Assmann's theory formulates three criteria: the specificity of place and time (memories are rooted in a specific time and space), the specificity of the group (exclusive connection to the position of a real group, which can be made durable through memory), and reconstructivity as an autonomous process (memory does not preserve the pure past, but the contents that society can preserve/insert from it in its temporal frame of reference).

The group's memory narratives are definitive: in addition to being flexible for the group members (adapting to the group's goals), they also provide a framework for a communal way of being. As in the case of personal narratives, in addition to the facts narrated, a field of reference is constructed that provides a structure of plausibility for the present and the future, defines the elementary points of reference for "being in the world", regulates the possibilities of interpersonal and intergroup behaviour, and structures the interpretation of events. In other words, these memory narratives are adapted to the group's purposes and provide a framework for community existence (Bar-Tal, 2000; Liu & László, 2007).

Returning to the structure of collective memory, Assmann also makes a temporal distinction with the concept by separating recent events from events in the distant past. The reason for this separation is that the present or recent events can be

found in the experiential dimension of the group, while the more distant, historical narratives can be found in the memory dimension of the group.

The communicative memory, i.e. the events of the past 80-100 years, is activated in the group's communication, and therefore, as individual discourses are given space in the interpretation, their meaning is not fully developed. On the other hand, cultural memory transforms specific figures and historical events into shared memories that explain the present by condensing them into legends of symbolic significance. The symbolic content of the collective past, in the absence of individual experience, is recorded in the canonised texts of the group, although these recorded narratives may evolve as the group's position changes.

However, the significance of the distinction lies not only in the characterisation and analysis of the different memory structures: despite the separation, the Assmannian idea sees the construction of the continuity of identity in the linking of the two kinds of memory, i.e. the present and the past. The actions of heroes/heroes and the events of the past constitute a point in time and space from which the individual and the community can define themselves and their current historical context, ensuring continuity. All these historical narratives are key elements of national continuity and national role conceptions, which are central to both group solidarity and social legitimacy (Bindorffer, 2002).

One of the most crucial points of the relationship between the two types of memory is that the recorded narratives of the past shape how the present/past is evaluated. Linked to this is the basic assumption of narrative psychology that past events and the emotional patterns associated with them are embedded and perpetuated in representations, thus becoming the carriers (and group-level shapers) of a kind of enduring emotional orientation, i.e. they contain, in a cumulative way, the emotional patterns that group members relate to themselves and represent towards other groups (Bar-Tal, 2005).

Collective identity and national history

The most obvious example of conscious social belonging is national consciousness. The concept of the nation and the questions of national identity associated with it are the subject of a wide-ranging polemic in the historical and social sciences, and the debate can be divided primarily according to the place in time and the elements that different views attach to the antecedents of the nation. In particular, the latter question is significant in accounting for the content of national identity. For as long as the origins of the nation are derived from some common ethnic origin and territorial boundaries, identity studies reflect on these,

and if the category of the nation is seen as a kind of artificial and modern construct, the study of identity contents is organised according to a real and symbolic network of constructed traditions (Hobsbawm, 1983).

Let's take a narrative approach to the question of national identity. We anchor national consciousness to its past events, examining the socio-psychological mechanisms that operate collective identity and how national history is represented in each group.

In terms of mechanisms, in the context of peer identity, the minimal group paradigm experiments have already well pointed out the behavioural manifestation of bias, i.e., that identification with one's own group seeks modes of comparison in which it can gain positive self-evaluation, with the result that one's own group is valorised and the outgroup devalued (e.g., Sherif, 1966; Tajfel, 1978).

The more complex emotional patterns for an external group are not monochromatic, i.e. not all external groups have the same emotional response. In his work *Stereotypes and Prejudices in Conflict* (2005), Bar-Tal argues that the emotional set is highly dependent on the particular context of the community, which is the context that denotes the forms of expression that are derived from the group's historical, cultural, geographical, economic or even political existence, and that can legitimise the group and help the integration of its members.

In other words, the narratives that bring us closer to exploring the emotional patterns of certain national groups are those linked to their own history, whether official historiography (history books), literary corpus texts or interviews that examine historical representations.

Emotional patterns

As Fülöp and László (2011) argue, events congruent with identity are preserved in the collective memory of the group. The narrative of events, the networks of actions that emerge within them, contain evaluative dimensions, emotions and coping strategies that are then transmitted transgenerationally. Historical stories provide the substance of the group, ensuring intergenerational interconnection, cultural continuity and emotional understanding.

Studies of cultural emotions in the historical scenario of individual nations and the verbalisation of the emotional structures that emerge in it have drawn attention to how the basic narratives of the representation of collective history can be structured (e.g. Markus & Kitayama, 1991; László et al., 2002; McAdams, 2006;

László & Liu, 2007), other research has shown that such dimensions of evaluation are also expressed in verbal form. (Szabó, Banga, Ferenczhalmy, Fülöp, Szalai, László 2010) In other words, if the context of a community is persistent, the evaluation of events is embedded in the group's narratives, and their transmission not only operates at the level of group identity (i.e., for the individual's integration and the group's survival) but also has a substantial impact on action tendencies due to emotional "ownership".

As Szabó, Banga and colleagues summarise in their study (2011), the theme of emotions related to group membership was introduced in social psychology by E. R. Smith (1993), and the theoretical context is derived from the triad of individual emotion evaluation theories (cognitive evaluation), social identity theories and self-categorization theories.

In the central questions of the intergroup theories, the patterns (evaluations) underlying the emotional experience and the patterns involved in forming the experience are the main focus. When enumerating the dimensions involved in the process of evaluation, the dimensions of agency, legitimacy, likelihood and pleasantness of the outcome should be mentioned, and, standing on the ground of self-categorisation theories, the inclusion of the group's point of view, perspective, which induces the interpretation of different events from the group's point of view, should be emphasised (Szabó et al., 2011).

In the case of studies of collective emotions, the focus is on the moral dilemmas of the group (and the emotions associated with them) and, by extension, on the history of the group, especially the question of types of identification with the group and instances of devaluation of the out-group (thus showing the "us-them" dichotomy in a plastic way). An example of the former is the study by Roccas, Klar and Liviatan (2006), in which the separation of attachment and glorification was complemented by considering the nature of intensity, thus interpreting the pattern of group identification in a four-dimensional typology.[3] In the latter case, Leyens et al. investigated an extreme form of devaluation of external groups, the phenomenon of infrahumanisation, and the associated exculpatory (and self-justifying) strategy (Leyens, Paladino et al., 2000).

Another highlight of the research on collective emotions concerns the historical dimension of intergroup relations, which is twofold in nature: on the one hand, it examines the impact of the past on current intergroup relations, and on the other

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[3] Of these, three congruent and one non-congruent attachment patterns were identified (congruent: 1) strongly attaching and glorifying persons; 2) strongly attaching, non-glorifying persons; 3) weakly attaching, non-glorifying persons), non-congruent: weakly attaching, glorifying persons.)

hand, it analyses the current group's attempts to reinterpret the past. In both cases, empirical studies confirm that the past events of one's own group have a significant impact on the perception of the present (e.g. Wohl and Branscombe, 2008) and vice versa (e.g. Roccas et al., 2006, cited in Szabó et al., 2011).

In recent years, several studies on Hungarian history have demonstrated such properties of group narratives. The issues of own-group agentiality have been analysed by Szalai and László (2006, 2008), the dimensions of evaluation by László and Csertő (2011), and the patterns of emotions related to the historical trajectory of the own-group by Fülöp and László (2010). In these empirical studies, the theses of intergroup bias have been verified at the verbal level.

Further studies have also focused on the role of the narrative internal perspective in identity construction (Vincze, László, 2007, 2010; Tóth et al., 2006) and on the measurement of intentionality (Ferenczhalmy & László, 2010). The related results support group stories' identity-forming and identity-defining characters (László, 2012).

The narrative organisation of history

As already explained above, the set of emotions underlying contextuality varies from group to group; the primary reason for the high level of convergence between the emotions of group members is the specific historical trajectory unique to that group, which has the specific orienting function of serving as a landmark in the emergence of particular emotions in certain situations.

This also implies the idea of the narrative organisation of history, which has become prominent in historiography and social psychology in the last few decades. (White, 1973; Hull, 1975; Gyáni, 2000; László, 2003) In this interpretation, the historian, in his vulnerability to traces of unattainable reality, writes almost prose, and instead of authentic reality, we can speak of the relative truth of the talk about history, i.e. the canonised version of the past we know from history books is also only a narrative. Moreover, it is a narrative which - like all other texts - has narrative structures; that is, history is ultimately a historiographical construction, a created interpretation interspersed with different linguistic forms.

Summary

The relationship between social self-determination and narrative is, therefore, closely related. On the one hand, we have to consider that collective identity construction involves emotions, comparisons, and cognitive evaluations and that

the relation to the external group(s) is as essential in the identification process as the mechanism and content of identification with one's group.

Identity is narrative in nature, i.e., constructed through narratives; at the individual level, it is expressed through life stories; at the collective level, through group stories.

In this interpretative framework, group history is now understood as a series of events and a narrative that gives meaning to facts. In these meanings, the basic rules of the group's functioning and the starting points of its relations can be found, thus forming the basis for the strategies for interpreting the events.

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In the Labyrinth of Remembrance: Historical Thinking and the Pluralism of past-interpretations

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Abstract

The study explores the issues of European remembrance politics and common culture of remembrance, analysing the relationship between collective memory and historiography. It points out that history is a constructed narrative that serves political ends and that national identity is closely intertwined with the national image of history. The study takes stock of the dilemmas of a common remembrance policy at the European level: the divergence of national narratives and the question of a single European identity. Finally, presents the issues of European memory culture, from the Holocaust to EU integration and migration, and makes proposals for an unbiased, diverse and common European memory policy.

Keywords: politics of memory, cultural identity, European remembrance, collective memory

In a study (Gross, 1996), John Gross points out that the danger of the globalisation process is that historical memory is endangered, that the European man may lose it. Gross is not optimistic about the future of European culture, which he sees as losing its roots and becoming less 'European'. In this situation, knowledge of the past, the ability to learn from past events and mistakes, becomes a cardinal issue, a quasi-moral duty precisely for the sake of preserving culture. Gross also uses examples to highlight the importance of teaching history, the dilemmas associated with the shrinking of specific curricula, the changing knowledge base, and the decline in the new generations' knowledge of culture, particularly of the culture of the past. This is related to the process described by George Ritzer (Ritzer, 2009) as the *McDonaldisation* of society. The organisational principles applied to the fast-

food chain are being applied to more and more areas of society, including education and culture. The rationalisation of knowledge, its categorisation into valuable and useless categories, the increase in the 'efficiency' of knowledge transfer and its measurability in as many areas as possible, and the increasingly emphasised guiding principle of cost-effectiveness - are all products of this approach. In this cultural context, history teaching is easily victimised by rationalisation, especially in societies where the official, standard view of history has changed several times over a quarter of a century.

It is also worth examining the relationship between the past and historiography before we turn to the specificities of European memory culture. In the early nineties, the British historian Keith Jenkins (1991, p. 31), in a volume entitled *Re-Thinking History,* provides a complex definition of history: "*History is a shifting, problematic discourse, ostensibly about an aspect of the world, the past, that is produced by a group of present-minded workers (overwhelmingly in our culture salaried historians) who go about their work in mutually recognisable ways that are epistemologically, methodologically, ideologically and practically positioned and whose products, once in circulation, are subject to a series of uses and abuses that are logically infinite but which in actuality generally correspond to a range of power bases that exist at any given moment and which structure and distribute the meanings of histories along a dominant-marginal spectrum*"

What is essential is that Jenkins sees history as a discourse organised along ideologies and power-dominance relations, challenging its interpretation as an objective, independent reality. The political and power relations of the present determine the way the past is viewed, and the historian himself does not remain independent in this process, i.e. although the past remains unified, the possibilities for interpreting it are infinite. Gábor Gyáni (2013) mentions that modern historical consciousness is essentially a construction of historians and has been closely linked to the issue of national identity from the beginning. For this reason, politics has also sought to instrumentalise history and historiography as a scientific way of discussing the past to use it for its ends. The emergence of modern forms of power and the birth of modern states is closely linked to the birth of new nations and the emergence of new national (Tomka & Szilárdi, 2016) traditions and national historical canons. As Hobsbawm (1987) points out, from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, a multitude of traditions were invented and disseminated by historians, propagandists and specialised bureaucrats in order

to achieve specific political ends. These 'invented traditions' helped to shape identity in a comprehensible and simple way while at the same time constructing an image of the past. Even in later periods, such as the period of state socialism, the context of historical events and processes is reassessed and reconstructed based on political initiative, resulting in a new image of history in line with the dominant ideology. This is one of the reasons why, following the regime change, there has been a great distrust of historiography and the picture of history painted by historians in Central European societies.

In the context of Central European historiography, it also seems to be confirmed that nationality is a fundamental determinant of historical reflection. This is the case in official historiography, especially in so-called *public history.* The public history is the image of the past that its representatives create for the community and the needs of the community feed that. In many cases, public history is a use of the past for direct political purposes, drawing on collective memory and bringing its traditions into play (Gyáni, 2006). It also takes a variety of forms: educational journals, heritage groups, festivals, video games, and films. It is crucial to consider the needs of the public and consumer expectations, which shape the collective memory tradition.

The most popular topos of this public history are those that form the backbone of what György Gyarmati (Gyarmati, 2016) calls *pre-scientific* historical culture. Gyarmati points out that there is an asynchronicity between *pre-scientific* public history and professional historiography: the former has "a different chronology". It is precisely this that makes this public historiography useful for politics since it serves the political-ideological intentions that are intended to shape public thinking. They also offer a more convenient solution for the wider society: confused and often contradictory theories, explanations and constructed traditions act as a kind of panel from which anyone can construct their own identity without much effort. Of course, these identities are vulnerable because of their *bricolage* nature, and it is easy for their defence to become a programme and almost religious, as we sometimes see.

The pluralism of interpretations of the past also means that professional historiography has to position itself in a context where the methodological approach of the discipline is at a clear "competitive disadvantage". Gyáni (Gyáni, 2015, p. 65) warns that "*historians' history is inherently not the sanctioning and further enrichment of a particular tradition, its re-creation as a fixed canon, but the production of*

rational knowledge about the past", but the expectations placed on historians by politics as a "client" are stretching the limits of the possibilities of scholarship free from ideological influences in many countries.

Memory, history and remembrance politics

The attempts at re-nationalisation that followed the relegation of national historiography to the background after the Second World War were unsuccessful, partly due to the rise of the unifying idea of Europe, which also meant that "*the historian is less and less able to contribute to the creation and constant cultivation of the intellectual construction of collective, and in particular national, identity*", writes Gyáni (Gyáni, 2006, p. 266). Just as there has been strong resistance to instrumentalising tendencies at the level of the discipline, public history has taken up this task, assuming the role previously reserved for historians. At the global level, this period has brought with it the fragmentation of identities and the heterogenisation of historical consciousness. However, from the mid-2000s onwards, national identities have also been given a new and enhanced role. We can see that depoliticised memory and alternative constructions of the past easily come into conflict with historical knowledge. An intriguing question is how memory politics - which is fundamentally strongly tied to the nation as an imaginary framework - can operate in supranational political entities, and can the conflicts between memory politics and historiography be reduced by decoupling memory politics from its national ties?

The extent to which this classification of the past will work as an identity-forming factor at the European level remains to be seen. At the national level, however, the canon of memory politics is indeed organised differently, and this will not lead to a short-term consensus regarding a shared culture of memory.

Péter Kende (Kende, 2003) refers to István Bibó when he points out that the nation as a democratic community has everywhere managed to turn towards itself the emotional warmth that was previously reserved for smaller, more local communities, and this, he argues, is the origin of the 'heat of nationalism'. For him, the question remains whether the emotional transfer that characterises nation-building can be repeated in the new context of Europeanism: '*Is there any prospect of Europe as a political extended family having the same' warm and direct feelings 'as the nation'*? In addition to 'warm and immediate feelings', a fundamental question is that of political identity, on which Kende is sceptical

(Kende 2003:11): '*The fact that it is a civilisational community does not make Europe, or the wider West, an entity with which it can be politically identified*'. Can a shared memory help this process? Europe as a civilisational community is not unified in its collective memory either; the national memories of the states that make up the European Union are mosaically assembled into a visionary 'European remembrance'.

According to Claus Leggewie (2008), this supranational memory should be imagined as a concentric circle with the Holocaust at its centre. The contemporary relevance of Holocaust remembrance is given by the rise of xenophobia, anti-Semitism and racism in Europe - in the context of which Holocaust remembrance has a pedagogical role. Another contemporary issue is the issue of Holocaust denial and relativisation, which is legally sanctioned in many European countries. In the second circle are the crimes of communism, the denial and questioning of which are also punished in many countries. An important issue is the competing comparison between the crimes of the two totalitarian regimes, which appears in some political narratives, and their asymmetry in European memory. The reasons for this can be traced back to several sources: the historical uniqueness of the Holocaust and the suffering of the ethnic groups living in the territory of the Soviet Union have created a kind of collective 'blindness' to the significance of the Red Terror in post-war Western Europe. A second reason is that the tragedy of the Jews in the Second World War was more transparent and visible to Europeans - while the victims of the Nazis were mostly Europeans from other nations, the victims of the communist terror were mainly 'their own'. Thirdly, the geographic nature of communist terror should be highlighted: it did not affect the Western states; they had no real experience of it.

A dominant element in European collective memory is the memory of ethnic cleansing, forced displacement and population exchanges, many of which are not fully processed even at the national level, such as the atrocities committed against Hungarians in Voivodina (nowadays a province of Serbia) after World War II (Forró, 2013, 2016). In many cases, national memory narratives contain different elements of certain events - for this reason, it is essential to develop a unified concept of remembrance at the European level.

Fourthly, the unresolved nature of the Armenian genocide is a significant challenge both in terms of historical memory and international relations, which also has a substantial impact on Turkey's European integration. The tragic events

of the early 20th century, during the Ottoman Empire, are still the subject of intense debate. Recognition of the genocide and the failure to face up to the past is essential not only for historical justice but also for future peace, reconciliation and stability. Addressing the memory of the Armenian genocide is thus not only a matter of historical awareness but also a test of European remembrance.

The fifth circle is organised around the sins of colonialism. These are the rediscovered elements of European memory centred around the genocides committed by the European colonial powers (Belgium, Germany, France). The atrocities committed in the colonies, the atrocities of the European colonialists, have long been a forgotten (or hidden) chapter in European history. In recent decades, for example, the series of massacres perpetrated by Germans in South West Africa (present-day Namibia), whose racist character is seen as a forerunner of the great tragedies of the twentieth century, has gained attention and become part of the European canon of memory. In the sixth circle, the story of migration and immigration is presented - linked at several points to the colonial past. Migration has a prominent place in the history of twentieth-century Europe: the waves of migration that followed the collapse of colonial empires are as much a part of European memory as the millions of refugees fleeing communist rule in Eastern Europe or the Balkan wars. Nowadays, the issue of migration has become particularly important in European politics, and the historical experience of immigration and the way it is processed and under-processed is repositioned in European memory culture.

Finally, in the seventh round is European integration. The political process that started in the 1950s and led to the integration of the post-communist states and the emergence of a supranational economic-political entity in the 1920s is clearly a success story. The extent to which the criticisms of the way the European Union functions today are valid, or the long-term consequences of the problems brought to light by the migration crisis, are irrelevant factors in the culture of memory. The successful establishment and maintenance of economic and cultural relations between nations, the democratisation of societies in transition, the unification of European values and orientation - these are becoming important elements of European memory culture.

It can be seen that the first five of these are among the great tragedies of the twentieth century, while the sixth (migration) is ambivalent in nature, and the only positive one is the European integration process. These circles of memory

are organised around a pragmatic politics of memory and are intended to shape a common European identity. The extent to which this classification of the past works as an identity-forming factor at the European level remains to be seen. At the national level, however, the canon of memory politics is certainly organised differently, and this will not lead to a short-term consensus regarding a shared culture of memory.

Narratives of forgetting

In several works, the Bulgarian-born French philosopher and literary scholar Tzvetan Todorov has analysed issues of collective memory and identity and drawn attention to the distortions of memory: "*The totalitarian regimes of the twentieth century showed that there was a danger of which no one had been aware before the disappearance of memory. (...) The tyrannies of the twentieth century, having understood that lands and people could be conquered by the conquest of information and communication, systematically took memory under their control and sought to keep it under their control down to its most hidden corners*" (Todorov, 2005, p. 109).

In his study "Memory as Remedy for Evil" (Todorov, 2009), he explores the complex relationship between memory, justice and the inherent evil in human society. Todorov analyses the narratives of good and evil, the process of remembering past atrocities and the consequences of justice and reconciliation. The author identifies four main actors in narratives of good and evil: the villain, the victim, the hero and the beneficiaries, and points out that memory often leads us to identify ourselves with heroes or victims while keeping villains at a distance. According to Todorov, preserving the memory of past evils is not sufficient in itself if we use it to put an inseparable wall between ourselves and evil, identifying only with heroes of integrity and innocent victims. He stresses that to understand, contain and tame evil, we must recognise that it is also present within us. Todorov believes that true hope lies not in the final eradication of evil but in understanding, containing and taming it, recognising that it is part of us. Todorov notes that adequately addressing the memory of past evil can help not only to comfort victims but also to influence perpetrators and would-be perpetrators not to repeat their actions in the future. He suggests that memory and justice must take into account the complexity of human nature and its capacity for evil and that good and evil come from the same source and are not clearly separated in most historical events.

Aleida Assmann, one of the best-known experts in the field of collective memory and cultural memory research, stresses that the incorporation of past traumas into collective memory is key to the process of inter-group reconciliation. According to Assmann, understanding the dynamics of memory and forgetting is crucial to resolving social conflicts and building a shared vision of the future. *'When thinking about memory, we must start with forgetting'*, she writes in her study "Canon and Archive" (Assman, 2010, p. 97). Forgetting is made sense of in social and cultural contexts, so it is worth examining the dynamics of remembering and forgetting in specific socio-historical contexts. As a fundamental human and social phenomenon, forgetting is an indispensable part of cultural evolution, whereby past events, objects and experiences are removed from shared memory over time. Remembering requires conscious effort, whereas forgetting is often automatic as a result of social and technological change. As social and cultural contexts change, so do the forms and functions of remembering and forgetting, reflecting changes in social development, technological innovation and ethical norms. The dynamic between remembering and forgetting is thus a complex, multi-layered process that plays a key role in shaping individual and community identity, historical consciousness and cultural heritage (Assmann, 2014).

Assmann points out that silencing and forgetting the divisive, traumatic events of the past does not lead to conflict resolution and social reconciliation. On the contrary, the politics of forgetting preserves and reproduces inter-group confrontations and antagonisms. Instead, integrating the traumatic past into shared memory can help to process grievances and reconciliation. Only through an honest, critical confrontation with the past can dialogue and understanding between groups be achieved.

Way out of the labyrinth

Building a common European culture of remembrance is a major challenge for the EU institutions. Over the past decade and a half, a variety of solutions have been proposed, taking into account the gap between divergent national narratives and the need to develop a unified European identity, which is key to the success of EU integration.

The experience of the past decades clearly shows that promoting dialogue between historians exploring different national narratives is inevitable in the construction of a common European culture of memory. Scholarly dialogue

makes it possible to explore the reasons for the differences between national narratives and to bring positions closer together, thus fostering mutual understanding. A complex, multi-perspective approach to historical events, which helps to present the diversity of national narratives by representing certain events, is key to promoting an objective assessment of cultural and historical issues. Emphasising common anti-Christian roots and values can also be an important basis for a common European identity, as this common point of reference can help to provide a cultural and ethical foundation that bridges differences arising from different geographical, historical and political pasts. A forward-looking approach, focusing on future challenges rather than dwelling on past grievances, can also facilitate cooperation and a move towards common objectives. Cooperation between civil society actors and joint professional and cultural programmes are of particular importance in fostering a sense of belonging, as they bring people together directly, helping to break down prejudices and share common values. Programmes that focus on highlighting shared cultural heritage and artistic collaborations can also contribute to understanding cultural diversity and strengthening a common European identity. Finally, fostering critical perspectives on national narratives and educating people to examine historical events objectively and impartially is crucial in promoting an objective understanding of history and cultural openness.

Taken together, these can be the key to an unbiased, forward-looking common narrative that can foster even closer European integration and a stronger common European identity.

In this study, I have tried to highlight that the development of a European remembrance policy and a shared culture of remembrance is a significant challenge for EU Member States. Often, sharp differences in national narratives, past grievances and a subordinate view of history to political goals make it very difficult to establish common ground. What is clear is that a central, integrative European memory policy is essential to achieve real unity. The critical elements of this should be a dialogue between historians, a multi-perspective and interdisciplinary approach, the identification and emphasis on shared core values, a future-oriented approach and a critical perspective. By developing a shared narrative within an unbiased and democratic framework, a European culture of remembrance can be created that strengthens cohesion and shared identity, while

respecting national specificities and diversity. This can best serve the future of a united yet democratic Europe.

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