

Theses for Doctoral (PhD) Dissertation

Cultural elite in Debrecen

The intellectual and cultural life of Debrecen

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I. Aim of the thesis, outline of the topic

Culture plays a crucial role in shaping society and social relations. The shapers of culture, the members of the cultural elite, also influence the society that legitimises their elite position. In Hungary, of the three groups of elites (economic, cultural and political), the cultural elite has been the least researched in empirical terms. The composition of this elite group changed least during the period of regime change (Kristóf 2011b). It is difficult to establish a valid framework when defining the term, as another question that may arise when looking at a local society is who may belong to the cultural elite.

My research focuses on the cultural elite in Debrecen. Debrecen, as the centre of the Eastern region, and with its specific identity, intellectual atmosphere and milieu, dominant history and traditions, has created a local culture and elite that has a significant impact on the life of the city and the surrounding settlements. The city council has a clear ambition to strengthen this role at regional level.

I include among the members of the cultural elite of Debrecen all artists working in Debrecen, whose profession has been recognized with an outstanding professional or state award, and I designate them as the artistic elite within the cultural elite. I consider the leaders of the cultural institutions in Debrecen as belonging to the group under investigation – through their decision-making position. They represent the positional elite within the cultural elite. I applied this concept of the elite in my research, following the first elite research after the regime change in 1993, which later went through several waves. Researchers considered as members of the cultural elite those who held leading positions in cultural life, as well as artists who were recognised with state awards (Szelényi – Szelényi – Kovách 1995).

In the study of cultural elites, classical elite theories (Mosca 1939, Spengler 1994 [1918], Pareto 1963, 1983, Ortega 1944, 1995, Bibó 2004) help us to understand the historical and social relations that gave rise to the use of the concept of elites and to elite studies. The crisis of elites has been the starting point for the emergence of the concept, as well as for the study of dichotomies such as majority–minority, elite–mass, leadership–empowerment. Thinking in terms of these dichotomies has already led to the definition of a kind of social elite function, such as the creation, transmission and transmission of values, and the influence on the reception of cultural products.

Researchers distinguish three groups of elites – political, economic and cultural – which can be defined by the types of capital they possess (Szalai 2001). A significant part of economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital is distributed among these three groups of elites. This phenomenon makes it possible to describe social structures and, where appropriate, who

belongs to the highly qualified classes of society (Bourdieu 2010). According to Bourdieu's (1978) theory of capital, cultural capital is the basis of cultural power, i.e. the holders of cultural capital can gain advantages in the cultural sphere. One of the main characteristics of the cultural elite, as well as its privilege, is its most important type of capital: education. This means that members of the cultural elite are generally more highly educated than the rest of society, and also than the other two groups of elites, the economic and the political elite, and are thus able to influence intellectual communities and shape and produce culture (Kristóf 2011b). Reputation plays a very important role in the internal functioning of the cultural elite, without the mechanism of recognition the cultural system would be dysfunctional. The degree to which a culture or cultural field is self-determining is reflected in the extent to which recognition mechanisms within that system or field can function independently without external control. In systems such as the field of limited artistic production – high culture – it is possible to define who influences the production of reputation, and therefore the internal rules and values of the field shape the process and criteria of recognition (Kristóf 2011a). Reputation is also an important measure in determining status positions within the cultural field, as it makes visible the past performance on the basis of which cultural elites recognise each other, and this hierarchises the statuses that can be occupied within the field (Kristóf 2021).

Community memory and sense of identity play a crucial role in the life of a local community and are important elements of integration, the latter being strongly influenced by the elites that build and reinforce identity. In order to characterise the local identity of the cultural elite in Debrecen and to map its characteristics, it is necessary to examine debreceness as a concept and as a phenomenon and form of behaviour (Balogh 1969, Debreczeni 2020, Kálmán C. 2010, Mocsár 1981).

The functioning of the elite can be described in a specific space – linked to a specific society and even a specific locality. In the case of cultural elites, the question of the mechanisms by which they exist as a social group in a given social context is unavoidable. And when discussing the cultural elite in Debrecen, this question becomes particularly important because of the specific, local characteristics of the city, the exploration of group dynamics. In addition to the internal ordering of the cultural elite, the question arises as to how it, as an influential group, influences the rest of society and whether it is able to increase social integration through its cultural capital. I attribute to the elite an important role in mediating possible ways of social integration and achieving the highest possible level of social integration, since through its functioning – whether it is a positioning or artistic elite – it (has) the effect of forming communities which, as individuals interested in culture and consumers of culture, can also

include members of society outside the elite groups. These mechanisms can be studied and understood through social integration. In common parlance, integration is the ability of an individual to belong to a community (Utasi 2002), and in social science terms, the ability of an individual or a social institution to interact with another group/community (Kovách et al. 2016, Kovách 2017). Norms and values play an important role in integration. These, by maintaining cooperation, strengthen the sense of belonging (Dupcsik – Szabari 2015). The tasks of cultural elites include the transmission of expected and accepted norms and values. At the local level, cultural elites can integrate by strengthening the sense of belonging to the local community and the representation of space. Creating heterogeneous groups and communities that cultural consumers can join.

My empirical – qualitative – research focused on the elite image of the sample, how much it converges with the real branch, how localism affects the cultural elite, and whether the cultural elite in Debrecen is able to build a local identity and image. In the chapter presenting the results of my thesis, I analysed the interviews in relation to my research questions along the following aspects: similarities and differences between the cultural elite image as defined by theories and literature and as appropriated by the sample under study; external and internal expectations of the elite; characteristics and roles within the cultural elite; self-definition; local effects on the functioning of the elite; and integration mechanisms within the functioning of the elite. Complementing the qualitative research, I used relevant questions from the four waves of Debrecen research to investigate what makes locals, the inhabitants of the city, feel like Debrecen, what content they attach to being Debrecen, what local identity means to them, which cultural institutions they visit most, how satisfied they are with the cultural life of the city, and who they consider to be cultural elites and opinion leaders.

II. Outline of the methods used

The methodology of my exploratory research on the cultural life of Debrecen and the cultural elite of the city is based on three main pillars. First, I conducted semi-structured interviews with members of the cultural elite in Debrecen. Secondly, I used the results of a quantitative questionnaire-based survey conducted by the Department of Sociology and Social Policy of the University of Debrecen in order to gain a more nuanced understanding of the social impact and influence of the elite, as well as the elite's perception of the city, their image of the city and their cultural consumption. Thirdly, I analysed the city's cultural development strategy in order to examine and interpret the extent to which elite members' expectations and visions for the future of cultural space are in line with the city's cultural development plan, and thus to see

what priorities are driving the development of cultural life and where and what role the local cultural elite plays in this.

I started my qualitative, interview-based research in the second year of my doctoral studies in 2017, and the last interview was conducted in 2020. My research spans these three years, and my thesis is mainly a reflection of this period – although the period of the research and the political and economic changes in the preceding years had an impact on the interviewees' perceptions and responses, and thus the results are indirectly forward-looking.

I interviewed the elite members I visited according to an interview schedule. The semi-structured interviews, which lasted 1-1.5 hours on average, were recorded in person and in most cases on tape, and allowed me to learn about the personal and professional life of the cultural elite members of Debrecen, their relationship to the city, their opinions and knowledge of the intellectual atmosphere of the place, their image of the elite and cultural elites in general, as well as their future plans for the cultural life of the city, their individual desires and fears related to this, and their own (imagined) place in the local cultural sphere and institutional system.

The study of elites and cultural elites is multifaceted and offers the researcher the opportunity to explore and answer different questions when the aim is to understand a cultural milieu and its elite, linked to a local with a strong identity.

In analysing the interviews, I am looking for answers to the following questions:

1. *What is the elite image of the sample?*
 - Is there a difference between the findings in the literature and the elite image of the sample under study, between positioning and the elite image of the artistic elite?
 - What social characteristics and roles do respondents attribute to the cultural elite?
2. *What impact does local and/or regionalism have on the functioning of cultural elites?*
 - What is the local cultural milieu in which the work of the cultural elite in Debrecen can be interpreted, how does the elite influence its functioning, and how does the design of the city's cultural policy affect the activities of the elite members?
3. *To what extent can the cultural elite in Debrecen contribute to building local identity and image? To what extent do they feel it is important to strengthen the*

local communities and their identity, and to build the image of the city through their opinion and culture shaping?

During the research, the primary question was how a cultural elite operating in a local space interprets its own culture-shaping role, what kind of elite image it has, and what roles and functions it attributes to its members in general. Another dimension of particular importance in the research was the understanding of the local intellectual climate, the further sharpening of the heritage of debreceness in the identity and local functioning of cultural actors. Finally, in relation to the previous questions, I was curious about the extent to which cultural elites are integrated into the cultural life of Debrecen, into their own community, and to what extent they strengthen the local identity and integrity of the host community.

The interviews conducted made it clear that it is essential to understand the development of the city's cultural life and the place and role of local elites in planning for the future, also from the perspective of the city's cultural development plan. The reason for this is that during the period of the research, a major development plan was launched in the city, which, in addition to economic development, also gives considerable scope for cultural development. It was during the period of the development plan that Debrecen applied to become European Capital of Culture for the second time. Although the city did not win the bid,¹ the development plans were nevertheless promised to be implemented, which will affect a wide range of artistic disciplines, both the recognised and the outstanding artists of Debrecen. It is therefore fascinating to address the question of what the D2030 development plan looks like and where it is now, and what impact it might have on the local functioning of the elite members.

The third pillar of the research methodology – the Debrecen research – is an important complement to the knowledge of locality, of debreceness, which is fundamental to the work of the cultural elites operating in Debrecen. The research was launched in 2018 and is still carried out annually, examining the population of the city, the opinions of its inhabitants on certain problems and phenomena, and the realistic situation of the people of Debrecen in a given year. During several waves of research at the Department of Sociology and Social Policy of the University of Debrecen, I had the opportunity to ask questions related to my doctoral research, so I also included questions in the questionnaires that helped me to understand what the citizens of Debrecen think about the city, about local identity, whether it exists in their everyday life, whether the so-called spirit of place is still real, and to what extent it is in line with what the

¹ In 2023, Veszprém will be the European Capital of Culture in Hungary.

city's cultural leaders think, and also the level of attendance of certain cultural and artistic institutions, the level of cultural consumption in the Debrecen communities, and who they consider to be the key cultural actors and players.

III. A summary of the results in thesis form

1. Elite interpretation of the considered sample

Analysing the interviews, I distinguished four types of self-definition of elites. There are those who see the task of cultural elites as the transmission of values (type 1), in the sense of Bibo (1986) – they are seen as high cultivators and interpreters of culture, as transmitters of values, who hold up a mirror to society, who draw attention to social changes and problems through their critical perspective. Exemplars are also included among the responses (type 2). Exemplars in the classical sense are seen as elites who serve as models for the majority, who are highly influential in some area of culture, or who are constantly present, visible and in the public eye as exemplars (Ortega 1995). In addition to these, there are those who classify cultural elites as members of the cultural elite (type 3). Finally, an approach to the definition of elites has emerged that emphasizes the two poles of cultural organization, the organization from below and the external influence, cultural politics (type 4).

When interpreting the cultural elite, interviewees approached the possibilities of definition from several dimensions. It is clear from the responses that there are very different perceptions of who the cultural elite are, and these different interpretations are heavily distorted by the way they view members of the intelligentsia and cultural policy actors. Cultural elites think of themselves mainly as a medium, a transfer agent, and thus as a kind of mediator, who, with the support of cultural policy, speak to the intellectual elite in the language of art, and transmit values. However, the functions and/or roles of classical elite theories in relation to elites – majority–minority, elite–mass and leadership–obedience dichotomies – are rarely revealed in the responses, although the giving of examples and the opening up to ordinary people do appear, but rather intellectuals in the classical sense are theoretically positioned as elites on the level of the responses.

2. The intellectual atmosphere of the city's culture as interpreted by cultural elites

In a sense, Debrecen is the centre of the eastern region, yet it cannot be said to be a cultural centre, although Debrecen does have a significant position in Hungarian cultural life. What is the meaning of a *civis* identity? The main thing we can see nowadays is that the concept of a *civis* identity is still alive in the public consciousness, but there is a duality in the way it is perceived

as to whether it can be filled with a tangible content. The fact that the traditional sense of a 'civis consciousness' no longer exists may be one of the reasons for the multiplication of the city's population. Therefore, the memory of a civis consciousness, i.e. the topos and stereotypes from which the city's identity history was built, is more likely to be retained by some of the inhabitants of Debrecen. It is the constant rearrangement of inherited memories that is important for the creation of identity in Debrecen. Individuals develop a particular image and attachment to the memory of Debrecen, and these particular characteristics build communities around themselves, which can be infused with the content of debreceness. These contents are always influenced by the ways in which the city is used by its inhabitants.

The cultural elite, as an integrating group, can strengthen community identification. The mechanism to be highlighted for this thesis is the group of values and norms, where elite members achieve their influence through actions that follow the norms, along the lines of values and knowledge. In the case of debreceness, this is strongly linked to the mechanism of spatiality and locality, which is also based on some shared knowledge. The dimension of norms and locality thus plays an important role in maintaining and reinforcing the identity of the place as a factor of identification, since it reinforces the sense of belonging to the local community and the representation of space, together with the norms carried and accepted by debreceness. It can be seen that when speaking about community, collective identity becomes the basis of integrity and the community has boundaries that it either allows outside persons to cross or not, so that by excluding from the community, the so-called sense of 'we', which is the basis of debreceness according to the analysis, can be strengthened. In this community, therefore, the accepted values and norms that mark the boundaries always have an integrating role (Csurgó – Légmán 2015). Debreceness as an intellectual and cultural heritage can become a significant community factor because its essential elements can be captured in culture, and through its identification it can ensure the coherence of society and organise it into a system. If debrecenicity acts as a cultural factor within a community, it has an impact on its way of life and its system of relationships, which creates a cultural model. Relationships, including closed networks, play a very important role in the development of a shared identity and integration, as closed networks foster a sense of trust in community members, thus becoming strong ties (Gerő – Hajdu 2015). If the closedness of a community increases, certain benefits become available only to members of the

community (Weber 1987). These strong ties and privileges can help to keep the heritage of debreceness alive.

3. Integration mechanisms and impact

If we approach the tasks of cultural elites from the perspective of integration, we see that they have a significant role *in transmitting the norms and values* expected and accepted by society. It follows that the integrating role of cultural elites cannot be understood without an inclusive community. And the sense of *belonging to a community*, whether it is the internal community of the elite or the host community, can reinforce the sense of integration.

Regarding the integration of the cultural elite, an important dimension is that the existence or lack of community within the city is interpreted by several elite members interviewed in relation to the factors of the tradition of Debreceness. A criticism that emerged during the interviews was that the city is not sufficiently receptive to artists working in the area and that an (elite) community cannot develop that has its own identity or that would strengthen the sense of integration through community. A powerful aspect of integration, of a sense of belonging to a community, is the experience of recognition and acceptance. In several cases, interviewees reported that the city seemed to be making a little less effort to make its artistic assets visible – whether artists still alive or gone, architecture, etc. – while in some cases the visibility of institutions² plays a significant role in cultural policy manifestations.

One of the most important roles of cultural elites in the mechanism of integration is to preserve and transmit values and norms. The development of a common set of values and norms promotes the integration of small communities through a shared identity. This function of the elite was mentioned by several interviewees in relation to themselves or to others within the community during the interviews, using the following terms:

- can pull a crowd
- must be taught
- have a vision for them (in the cultural community).

It is essential that local decision-makers, as well as cultural elites, are interested in culture and its funding, as it improves the quality of life of local residents and is not negligible from an educational point of view.

² See, for example, the Culture to Business conference in May 2022, where only large arts institutions presented themselves to the service sector.

4. Residents' views on Debrecen's cultural life and elite

The analysis of the relevant questions of the Debrecen survey provided insights into how locals perceive Debrecen culture, opinion leaders, institutions and Debreceness. The city was mainly associated with concepts of *civis* culture, but also with different institutions such as the Great Church and the university. It is interesting to note that fixed concepts of Debreceness only appeared in the answers to the question of what terms first came to mind when asked about the city, while the known stereotypes were less likely to appear in the case of Debrecen as a city endowed with human qualities.

In terms of attendance of cultural institutions, entertainment cultural institutions lead with a high share, and it is also interesting that, compared to the classic, so-called old institutions, for example MODEM, as a relatively new cultural institution, is hardly known and visited. It is also important to note that, despite the relatively low attendance of institutions, locals are generally satisfied with the cultural life of the city.

As for what makes someone a Debrecenian, the answers suggest that it is the fact that they identify themselves as a Debrecenian, but it also matters that they live most of their life in the city.

Summary

My doctoral thesis focuses on the shapers of culture in Debrecen, therefore my research aimed to get to know the cultural life in Debrecen, the opinion leaders who have the most influence on it, the members of the local cultural elite, and to reveal patterns and trends in their medium.

The primary question of my research was how a cultural elite operating in a local space understands its role as a culture-shaper, what kind of elite image and what roles and functions it attributes to its members. The other very important dimension was to understand the local intellectual climate, and I also considered it essential to explore the continuing sharpness of the heritage of Debreceness in terms of identity in the local functioning of cultural actors. Finally, in relation to the previous questions, I was looking for answers to the extent to which the cultural elites of Debrecen are integrated into the local cultural life in their own milieu, and to what extent they strengthen the local identity and integration of the host community. My doctoral research and the present thesis describe the cultural elites who have an impact on the local community, their image of the elites, their cultural and intellectual heritage, and their role in integration, during an exciting period of transformation in the cultural life of the city of Debrecen. Through the key theses, we also gain insights into the specificities of elites in the

local arena, the influences they face and the factors that affect their role in local cultural life. The thesis has explored the mechanisms of the cultural elite in Debrecen by focusing on a period of a few years, but these results raise further questions, laying the ground for possible further research that could lead to a more complete exploration and understanding of the interrelationships.

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List of publications related to the dissertation

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