

Doktori (PhD) értekezés tézisei

**Rethinking the Public: Universities as Scenes of
Communitarian Engagement and Civic Socialization**

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DEBRECENI EGYETEM

Humántudományok Doktori Iskola Neveléstudományok Doktori Program

Debrecen, 2020

Objectives and scope of the Thesis

Within recent discussion about civic and political socialization there appears to be a tendency to analyse the fast expansion of non-democratic activity patterns in stable democracies (Feischmidt, 2016; Feischmidt et al., 2014; Feischmidt & Hervik, 2015; Holmes, 2010; Juhász et al., 2014; Kalb & Halmai, 2011; Minkenberg, 2000). Within this framework the paper is the final report of the Campus life project aimed to increase understanding of the roles played by universities as learning environments in generating new forms of communitarian engagement (<http://campuslet.unideb.hu>). This paper specifically analyses forms, motivation and scenes of communities of student body at a University in North-East Hungary with an aim to understand the changing nature of communities in a former collectivist country where the “rise of privacy” has fundamentally rewritten the forms of connectivity and the notion of communities (Bauman, 2013; Delanty, 2013; Ritter, 2008; Weintraub & Kumar, 1997). Seen in this light, some of the findings are indicative of the students’ engagement of post transition, their integration into broader institutional or higher educational settings.

The public /private divide is central in higher education, however the concept of "the public sphere," is never settled and under constant strategic considerations (Gábor, 2006; Marginson, 2016; Williams, 2016). The core part of the paper is to expand the sociological imagination to think beyond the formal civic education in the higher educational sector and follow the process of institutionalization in the micro milieu of communities. As a response to the increasing need for infrastructure parallel to the expansion of higher education 54 new institutions were established in Hungary in private – public partnership from 2003 to 2011. While many rely on macro perspectives in their account of how privatized higher educational institutions impact students’ behaviour in post-socialist countries, social scientists have rarely looked at how the seemingly irrelevant micro processes of the evolution of institutional culture add up to significant outcomes.

Within recent discussion about political participation there appears to be a tendency to reconceptualise political participation. A wide range of large-scale projects confine the forms of participation presented to the respondents to five-six chief categories (WVS: World Values Survey; ESS: European Social Survey; EVS: European Values Study; EES: European Election Study; etc.). However, recent advances in economics, sociology and politics

criticized these surveys for not capturing recent significant political developments (W. L. Bennett & Segerberg, 2013; Kahne et al., 2015; Lee, 2014; Micheletti & McFarland, n.d.; Smith, 2009). That is to say, the repertoire of political participation is notably expanding and covers all sort of varied collective and private activities from voting to blogging (Dalton, 2015; Theocharis & Van Deth, 2018; Van Deth, 2014; Van Laer & Van Aelst, 2010).

Similarly, several cross-European comparative study of qualitative and quantitative nature has demonstrated that the mode of youth participation being disconnected from the political arena cannot simply be explained by political apathy (Cammaerts et al., 2014; Dahl et al., 2018; Dalton, 2015; Sloam, 2014). The engaged/ non-engaged paradigm is, in effect, not tenable with regard for young people, the majority of whom dissatisfied with the lack of impact of their voice in political scenes, or sceptical and critical of party political systems.

It is most probable that the institutional avenues offered are not suitable to express young people's political identity in their own terms (Marsh & Akram, 2015, p. 524; Zuckerman, 2014). Therefore parallel to the widespread forms of classical political participation new, creative, individual, non-instrumental, self-expressive forms of participation has increasingly gained relevance (Fox, 2014; Theocharis & Van Deth, 2018). Some even consider non-participation as a new form of selective participation (Amna, 2012; Amna & Ekman, 2014), while others categorically deny emerging these forms and simply view them as the manifestation of non-participation (Harris, 2016; Harris et al., 2010; Norris, 2004)

Seen in this light, political participation is regarded in this study as an activity taken place concentrically in a private-public sphere: it equally involves the participation of individuals in the decision making processes of the institutional environment in any political context with any political motivation. Deth hierarchical decision model helped us here in an attempt to represent forms of engagement, however minor – whether they are manifested in in public civil acts or classical forms of political participation (Van Deth, 2014).

Irrespective of whatever definition is applied turning an eye to the regular youth reports (Ifjúság 2002, 2004, 2008, 2012, 2016) makes it fairly clear that the level of the political participation of young people has been decreased since the 80' in Hungary (Keil & Szabó, 2011; A Szabó & Kern, 2011; A Szabó & Oross, 2017). Nevertheless, slowly and at first faintly an opposite tendency is also showing itself, for the ESS 2010 wave revealed a growing level of engagement in some forms of political participation (Andrea Szabó & Oross, 2012,

2017). Since then the upcoming ESS results has confirmed that it is most probable that the characteristics of political and institutional involvement, in some sense, follows a specific Hungarian way. Csepeli by interpreting the European Youth 2014 results reminds us that young people fond of safety, achievement and hedonism are not likely to be act altruistic or taking into consideration universalistic goals in the region (Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovenia) (Gy Csepeli, 2019). Correspondingly, young people is assumably not apt to act on behalf of institutional structures, not even regard these institutions as bodies that may restrict their lives. Hence, the public sphere in our work is considered as a constantly reinterpreted strategic field were the primacy of private sphere is manifest.

The literature is organized in three sections: writings on political participation, works on institutional integration and outputs in community studies. In the first place, a great body of literature sees the transformation of public sphere and public engagement in the light of late modern conditions, in as much as factors of social inequality (financial, social, cultural) has been under constant reorganization. These anti-establishment approaches reveals that in stable democracies the expansion of non-democratic activity patterns can be considered as an answer to the overarching presence of ever-changing neoliberal reform initiations (Feischmidt & Majtényi, 2019; Holmes, 2010; Juhász et al., 2014; Kalb & Halmai, 2011; Minkenberg, 2000),. Further, scholars even make a direct link between non-democratic activity patterns and peculiar development of social history (Gábor, 2012; I. Szabó, 2009). Global challenges and the institutional solutions question the sovereignty of the state and raises the issue of transnational governmentality. In the light of the emerging new inequality dimensions and the art of governance the classical concept of political interest and participation elaborated in the context of nations states certainly needs reconceptualization (Seddon, 1994).

Along with the studies shedding a light on the changing characteristics of political concepts, a great number of others express some concerns about whether the generation under scrutiny can be regarded as a political cohort(Gábor, 2012; Gázsó & Laki, 2004; Kabai, 2007; Nagy & Tibori, 2016; Somlai, 2010; Szalai, 2011) or not. In their account it is respectively problematized that the generation analysed in contrast with previous generations lacks the ability to become an autonomous social group with self-sufficient, independent activity patterns. They take up the approach that communities on the basis of constant comparison are prevalent and consensus on common goals is feasible, yet common activity patterns are indeed problematic (Mannheim, 1952). It is even articulated that the political transformation

after the 1989 regime change may “stuck” as favourable forms of participation have not been offered (A Szabó & Kern, 2011). Not having a generational consensus regarding public engagement, young people under concern – as Gabor emphasises – tend to imitate, to some considerable degree, the already discredited behavioural patterns of their parents (Gábor, 2012; Keil & Szabó, 2011).

The second significant segment of literature approaches the topic at hand from the perspective of the institutions. More specifically, it provides important insights in terms of the options of meaningful institutional participation. It opens up a lines of inquiry demonstrating that the low activity of young people in the region is partly due to a specific attitude towards institutions. Although the field is conceptually complex, it is possible to argue that public engagement is interconnected with the way institutions are seen as well as notions about the good citizens (Cazes & Nesporova, 2006; Fekete & Gárdos-Orosz, 2017; Kavaliauskas, 2012). In contrast with the participatory models in other parts of Europe there is no direct link between institutional trust and participation in East-Central Europe (Dekker et al., 1997; Gibson, 2001; Letki, 2004). In other words, forms of institutional participation is more likely determined by the way the given institution is perceived and whether or not previous participatory experience exists than by the level of trust among the participants.

And this is one of the thing that Szalai compellingly has elaborated showing that the process of institutional integration, the buildout of the institutional habitus under the condition of profound societal change has region- specific features (Szalai, 2011). Undoubtedly, the generation born after 1989 has evidently witnessed a substantial structural reorganization. The institutional habitus is no longer support the reproduction of the existing institutional structures, it rather overcomes these structures. That is to say, students, academics and the higher educational setting itself in collaboration construct the institutional habitus in their communities of interpretation, by placing a certain amount of reliance on and trust in the institution and being more or less institutional embedded (Fényes et al., 2018; Pusztai, 2011). Their commitments to the institution, however seems to be troublesome, therefore, forms of service oriented consumerist participation offering weaker but more complex way of commitment is prioritized (Coleman & Hoffer, 1987; Szalai, 2011; Tinto, 2003).

Institutional participation studied from many angles can be concluded as follows. Loyalty is apparently either unreflected or illusory by nature, raising voice is meaningless and the option most preferred is the exit: leaving discomfoting services behind (Csákó & Sik, 2018). These

results point to the dysfunctional operation of current institutional establishment on the one hand and to the multiformity of institutional commitment on the other. Whereas the value system and the carrier orientation shows conformity of considerable magnitude, students still unwilling to shape their environment by taking part in decision making processes. Taken together, there is no sign of revolt or dissatisfaction, yet the level of institutional integration is traditionally alarmingly low (Bauer et al., 2017).

Finally, attitudes and modes of political engagement and institutional participation are not only relevant in the arena of politics or organizational studies. The topic is of importance in community studies as well, for they shape the way collective roles are understood. This understanding can be located in recent accounts of community studies focusing from a micro-perspective on the relationship between institutional commitment and the way institutions are perceived (A. Bennett & Kahn-Harris, 2004; Blackman & Kempson, 2016; Murányi & Sipos, 2012; Szapu, 2002; Utasi, 2013) Turning an eye to the inner world of homogenous private groups, student communities or neo-tribes, these accounts provide further important insights into how public notions, visions and attitudes interact. Data show that 1.) intensive communication is taken place within these status homogenous private communities; 2.) additionally, collective activity patterns and interpretative schemas are constantly emerging and interpreted within them. These communities of interpretation, simply put, plays a significant role in the articulation of interest, democratic attitudes and communicative rationality (Csákó, 2014; György Csepeli et al., 2011; A Szabó & Oross, 2017).

In this regard it is useful to recall Sik's work who confirmed that communicative rationality has a potential impact on civic and political engagement if network parameters and socio-economic variables is taken into consideration (Sik, 2011). Confronted by the thought of networks being weak and easy to be reorganized, it is not surprising that student communities, those micro-communities of interpretation where meaning formed and confronted, plays a significant role in shaping attitudes towards the institution: the university (Pusztai, 2011).

Within this framework, the Campus-life project (OTKA 81858, project leader: Prof. Szabó, I) of which this thesis is part of, was designed to reveal patterns of peer socialization in Higher Educational Setting (campuslet.unideb.hu). Students' group culture, their commitments to varied groups, was investigated. To this end special attention was given to the informal agents of civic socialization, agents that influence students' extracurricular academic activities throughout the university studies. Fully aware of the decreasing influence of formal civic

education, factors structuring the micro-milieu of students communities were identified with an aim to show what extent and at what stage institutional and peer socialization might interact. Consistent with this, the current thesis particularly concentrates on the relationship between institutional participation and the perception of the surrounding institutional environment. By doing so, follows the process of institutionalization in the micro milieu of communities.

Methods

The research used multi-sited qualitative method to approach this complex question from a multidisciplinary perspective (sociology, education, political sciences). Within this framework a quantitative and qualitative database was developed and a qualitative method (narrative stimulating story cubes) was invented (Pataki, 2015). In 2012 30 group interviews, 18 semi-structured interviews and 22 narrative interviews were carried out in the private rooms of two residential halls with contrasting funding and management structure at the University in North-East Hungary. The institutional private spaces offered an ideal opportunity to ask students about their attitudes towards the private/public divide. Due to the analytical tools of Maxqda 12 the qualitative and quantitative results will be jointly presented giving an insight into the differing discourses and practices of institutionally vs. culturally active or passive groups of students. In the light of the perception and representation of the surrounding public environment the thorough discourse analysis helped to detect the categorization of public issues in each subgroup of civic activity and informed us about attitudes towards real or virtual public spaces. At the same time the narrative interviews uncovered the way the public – private distinction integrated into personal life stories. The paper first analyses how public views and values are translated into forms of active participation and then the way these activities were discursively and institutionally embedded and shape the institutional settings of their surroundings.

- The following elements have been identified as in particular need of address:
- How students understand the world?
- What do they do to demonstrate how they understand the world? How they communicate their understanding and practice?

- What are the values that sit underneath that shape their responses as a consequence of their understanding?
- What are their actions in response to their understanding?

Outcomes

The data shows that parallel to the “rise of privacy” in the higher educational setting the level and way of commitment to institutions has changed and different identification strategies and institutionalization processes have emerged. The results declared that in a country that are emerging from Soviet-style state socialism the way the private/public distinction is conceived opens a strategic field and gains a specific action theoretical perspective. The peculiar evolutionary development of youth culture has led to a paradoxical situation in which institutional dependency and cultural independency coexist. Being aware of the multiple hierarchies of late modernity and the structural deficits of new capitalism young adults tend to strategically play with private/public divide to avoid identification with their institutional environment and to take advantage of the discrepancies in the different levels of the system.

From the perspective of the students, imagined communities, such as nation, are felt desirous and seen as the sight of individual and collective self-pride and supremacy at the same time commitment towards communities are somehow problematic. Equally, participation in these communities is manifold. The argument substantiates Utasi’s findings that point to the process of the individualization of private communities rather than the alteration of public or semi-public communities (Utasi, 2011, 2013). This process may be characterized by the fact that, under the circumstances of increasing institutional dependency and control, individuals paradoxically avoid integrating into macro groups and advocate for career opportunities. While students fully dependent on institutional services, their institutional integration are still not complete.

It is partly due to, the fact that the public sphere and spaces are only understood through the lens of the private even in the politically active subgroup. This new service oriented form of generational orientation leads to new ways of perceiving connectivity and communality but also new forms of civic and political involvement. These include high level reflection, proficiency in communication and orientation, as well as the reconceptualization of reality and publicity. All of these forms of post conventional actions erode existing systems and institutions and question their legitimacy from an external perspective.

The data also demonstrate that activity as such is not the privilege of students with higher familiar background. Among students with higher and lower status an active and passive attitude was equally identifiable. High educational familiar background, at the same time, made more probable politics and above all policies to be followed. Likewise, heterogeneous, complex networks with relations across faculties or connections outside university increase the level of activity and communicative rationality.

The university is sensed by the students through its regulations and services and the core function of these institutions – namely academic development – is not always realized. Expect of a thin layer of students, agents of higher educational civic socialization such as members of student councils and other mentor organizations are not viewed to be a safeguarding body designed for the articulation of students' interest. They are, in contrast, conceived as part of the faculties with non-transparent operation and finances. Be that it may, only one subgroup of students' institutional integration can be considered complete and they are those boys coming from urban lower educated families who tend to contribute the cultural scenes of university life and by doing so gain plenty of democratic experience.

Further the findings suggest a need to look again and in more detailed way to the interpretative schemas guiding students among reference groups. They suggest that there are points of reference guiding the generation under scrutiny, however they are not existential or political in nature. They rather rely on the common experience that the core of orientation is no longer the communities but the ever-changing situation itself. Correspondingly, patterns of activity support a kind of situation-oriented morality. The interviewees see themselves as a temporary locus of responsibility. They consider themselves publicly fairly active and responsible due to the fact their engagement, however distinct, lacks commitment, can be harmonized with the service-based institutional dependencies and parental lifestyles.

All of them put together, the generation can be considered political cohort in as much as the modification of the surrounding institutional environment by political means is at the core of its carrier orientation. Said that, it should not be forgotten that it either takes place through the institutions (students with high educational familiar background) or outside of them (students with high educational familiar background).

Public services in modern universities, both service providers and consumers, are subject to ongoing institutional reconstruction in post transition which requires and encourage a

particular type of citizenship based on communication and consumerism rather than consensus. This citizenship however no longer integrates students into the surrounding democratic institutional environment.

The analysis of the complex relationship of the higher educational service and students' public activity revealed that proficiency in consumerism and communicative status raised in post transition has led to a new form of communitarian engagement. This process may be characterized by the fact that, under the circumstances of increasingly growing institutional service-based dependency and control, academic consumers, institutions and students alike, paradoxically avoid integrating into macro groups and advocate for opportunities to act meaningfully at different layers of systems without commitment.

The above mentioned changing modelities of modern university opens up new perspectives at the same time however fundamentally rewrite our imaginaries concerning the role of the university.

Theses

1. The studied segment of the generation can be considered as a political cohort
2. For the generation born after the regime change in 1989 the profound conflict solving technique is conflict avoidance
3. From the micro-perspectives of student communities the university requires and encourage a particular type of citizenship: a citizenship based on communication and consumerism rather than consensus. This citizenship however no longer integrates students into the surrounding democratic institutional environment.

First, the generation can be regarded political cohort in as much as its carrier orientation specifically engaged with shaping the surrounding institutional environment. It should not be forgotten that it either takes place through the institutions (students with high educational familiar background) or outside of them (students with high educational familiar background).

Second, conformity is perceived as a normative requirement throughout the analysis. The main body of the interviews proves that adjustment to services, institutions, or to the requirements of the previous generation is seen as vitally important. Consequently, conflicts are felt to be meaningless or even destructive in the eye of students with very little democratic

experiences in one of the poorest region in Hungary. Therefore, solving conflicts is just as detrimental as sharpening them leading to a situation where nine distinct discursive practice were discerned just to avoid conflicts.

Finally, evidence has arisen from students discourses demonstrates that the university is viewed as a site of a multitude of services that no longer empower students to get integrated into the surrounding democratic institutional environment.



Registry number: DEENK/140/2020.PL
Subject: PhD Publikációs Lista

Candidate: Gyöngyvér Pataki
Neptun ID: S5H1L3
Doctoral School: Doctoral School of Human Sciences
MTMT ID: 10049686

List of publications related to the dissertation

Hungarian books (1)

1. Szerk. Kozma, T., Pataki, G.: Kisebbségi Felsőoktatás és a Bologna-folyamat. Debreceni Egyetemi Kiadó, Debrecen, 241 p., 2011. (Régió és Oktatás, ISSN 2060-2596 ; 8.) ISBN: 9789633181089

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2. Pataki, G.: Az egyetemi nyilvánosság szinterei- Közösségek és állampolgári kultúra.
In: Oktatás és fenntarthatóság. Szerk.: Fehérvári Anikó, Juhász Erika, Kiss Virág Ágnes, Kozma Tamás, Magyar Nevelés- és Oktatáskutatók Egyesülete, Budapest, 503-526, 2016, (HERA évkönyvek, ISSN 2064-6755 ; 3.) ISBN: 9789631255423
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List of other publications

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14. Grosvenor, I., ford. Pataki, G.: Terek, érzékek, érzelmek és oktatás: Egy neveléstörténet megközelítés.
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Total IF of journals (all publications): 0,7

Total IF of journals (publications related to the dissertation): 0,7

The Candidate's publication data submitted to the iDEa Tudóstér have been validated by DEENK on the basis of the Journal Citation Report (Impact Factor) database.

07 May, 2020



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