

Theses of Doctoral (PhD) essay

The effect of using ICT-tools on parent-child relationships, based on the parents' perceptions

Ildikó Fekete Deák

Doctoral advisor: Dr. habil. Ibolya Czibere PhD,
associate professor



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Doctoral School of Human Sciences

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Ildikó Fekete Deák

*Doctoral School of Human Sciences,
University of Debrecen
Department of Sociology and Social Politics*

The objective of the doctoral thesis, delimitation of the topic

The explosive appearance and spread of ICT tools brought about a series of changes already by children and even more by young people and teenagers, having a ripple effect in the life of families as well. The in-home media and internet use of children and the questions concerning parental attitudes gain increasing interest in the international scientific literature. (Valcke et al 2013, Alvarez et al 2010, Wong et al 2015) Children encounter the world of internet at an earlier and earlier age. Simultaneously with becoming independent they spend more and more time in the digital world of the internet. The medium of the family becomes primarily that socialization platform, which can integrate - integrates the use of ICT tools into the every day life. Thus in course of the exploration

of the topic it is not only necessary to examine the use of these tools, but we should also pay attention to the various parent-child models existing in the families of the given sociocultural environment. We also have to examine, how do external impacts influence the family life, what kind of attitudes do parents have toward ICT tools, how can they manage the new situation. (Bodó, 2018).

My research looks for answers to the question, how the parent-child relationship has been changed as a result of the expansion of internet technologies. In case of the use of ICT tools a kind of reverse socialization has taken place, the competence gap between parents and children has created such an assymetrical situation in favour of the children, which can disturb the conventional order of the hierachic child-parent realationship prevailing in the traditional family model. At the same time due to the use of their own smart phones and internet, adolescents gain more and more freedom and they get out of parental control in a significant proportion. The management of the new situation is a serious challange to the parents and their reactions are quite different to it.

The primary objective of my research is to draw up a local state of play, to explore changes caused by ICT tools in the

parent-child relationship and family socialization. My research went along two main dimensions. First I examined the main aspects of family socialization (family composition, work distribution, values, parenting principles, parenting practice, communication, conflict management) which enabled me to explore the sociocultural environment, in light of which the second dimension, the impacts of ICT tools (tool supply, tool using competences, parental attitudes to the tools) upon the parent-child relationship become interpretable.

The doctoral thesis is made up of three chapters: a theoretical chapter, a methodological chapter and a chapter presenting results. The first subsection of the theoretical part deals apart from the definitions of the family with the scientific literature concerning family roles and modern changes in the family. The definitions of the family have been continuously changing in course of time. When trying to define this concept, today most of the social scientists lay more emphasis on the emotional support of the family and on the providing of a sense of community in the family. In my research I consider the family as the primary platform for socialization, where the education of children and adolescents takes place. Compared to the past, the family has lost several of its fundamental functions, but it

still has survived and it has been performing functions, which can only be provided from a social point of view by the family (Hablicsek, 2000). The family is not any more specifically the guardian of traditions and national values, it is becoming rather the „barometer” of social changes. (Mihailescu, 1999).

In the second subsection I make a review of the most important family sociology theories: family ecology theory, interactionist approach (Mead, G. H.,1934), system theory approach (Luhmann, N.,1982, Olson, D. H. 1990), structural – functional theory (Parsons, 1955, Goode, W. 1963), family development model (Aldous, 1996, Mattessich, Hill 1987), family conflict model and the feminist school, all these theories provides support for the interpretation of my research results.

In the third subsection I make a survey of the literature dealing with the changes which have occurred in parenting and the changing of the situation of children within the family. From the second half of the XXth century the definition of the family, the tasks of parents and the situation of children within the family have changed. The democratisation process of the family began, due to which the rights of children came more and more into the foreground. The child has become an independent person having his/her own world, the parental

authority has gradually lost ground and the autonomy of the child has been strengthened. As a result, the role of parents has also changed, the goal is not any more to transmit the ancient knowledge gained throughout generations, but to let the child unfold his/her abilities. An alternative parenting model came into being, where it is expected from the parent to establish a supportive, helping, protective relationship, where the child can evolve freely, his task is to provide for the child the possibility to discover the world more widely. Thus the role of the parent is now to accompany the child on this way, to protect the interests of the child, to stand by him/her in need, to console him/her, without intervening in the personality development, the decisions of the child, except when the child's life is in danger. There are no such expectation towards the child any more, that he/she should be polite and obedient, but rather to have autonomy and to be a self-expressing and self-fulfilling person. In the parent-child relationship the order and instruction is replaced by reasoning and explanation. In our days (in the postmodern childhood) the difference between children and parents is continuously shrinking, this is also supported by the characteristic changes of culture (Vajda, 2005). Further, the third subsection contains the literature linked to family socialization and the home and international research

results regarding parenting principles and parental attitudes. For the measuring of the parenting attitude more researchers defined the parent-child relationship on basis of two dimensions of the parental behaviour: the emotional relationship with the child and the parental control (Holden and Edwards, 1989, Baumrind, 1971). The often cited theory of Baumrind (1971) distinguishes three parenting attitudes: authoritative (paying attention to the child, relative freedom, well defined requirements), authoritarian (strict, rigid, excessive expectations on the child, frequent punishments) and the permissive (highly emotional relationship, there are no well defined parenting methods, incoherence). Maccoby and Martin (1983) completed Baumrind's model with the neglectful, uninvolved parenting attitude. By the presentation of the parenting styles I relied on Baumrind's theory, parental regulation and the emotional relationship between parent and child appear in my thesis as main dimensions.

In the fourth subsection of the theoretical part I discuss the role of social media as socialization instrument, the impacts of the internet use of adolescents, which influence the changes in the parent-child relationship. I also review the media researches connected to my research topic. The clarification of the basic

concepts necessary for my research (info communications tools, digital competence, attitude towards internet use, attitude components) was possible for me by the scientific literature of this chapter. The research results examining the internet use of children and adolescents/young people (Livingstone, Haddon, Görzig, & Ólafsson, 2011) point out, that children, teenagers and young people browse the internet mostly at home, a fact which puts into the foreground the role of the parents in regulating the internet use of their children. The way of parental control and regulation is going on differently in different families, the procedures can be determined through the identification of the parental attitude. Valcke and his co-workers (2010) distinguished four internet parenting styles on basis of the parental attitude towards the internet use of the children, using the theory of Baumrind and completing it with the conclusions of Maccoby, Martin (1983) and Becker (1964): these are the *permissive*, *laissez-faire (neglectful)*, *authoritarian* and *authoritative styles*. In my research, the results of the researches carried out by Valcke and his co-workers were of great help for the operationalization of certain concepts, like the parental regulation of the use of ICT tools by children and teenagers or the emotional involvement or co-operation of parents.

The outlining of the applied methods

The field of my research is a village in Szeklerland, which is organically integrated into that „quasi-archaic” society, that characterizes Szeklerland (Biró-Biró, 1995:190). It is one of the most important settlements of the Middle Csík region in Hargita county. It has 3652 inhabitants of which 96 % are Hungarians. From an administrative point of view the village is composed of four villages. As I am examining the impact of the use of ICT tools upon the changes of the parent-child relationship, the primary target group of my research was composed of parents, who have got early teen-age children (14-15 year-old-children). The database was provided by the schools of the three member communities of the village. I chose as interviewees the parents of the children enrolled in the seventh and eighth grade of the 2017/2018 school year. I visited all parents (61) of the seventh – eighth grade students, fourty of them accepted the talk.

I used as main research method the **semistructured interview**, which I applied with 40 parents in the period between 2016 and 2019. The interviews took place in the homes of the families at previously appointed times. These interviews took 60-90 minutes and went smoothly most of the time. The interview plan contained questions linked to five important

dimensions. In the first four dimensions I formulated questions concerning the structure of the family, the socialization medium, the communication practice within the family and the practice of management of upcoming conflicts. In the fifth part I asked questions concerning the practice of the use of ICT tools and the parental attitude in connection to it. On basis of the exploration of the family model, the share of work in the family, the parenting principles, the value system of parents, the ways of communication and conflict management inside the family, I managed to outline a so called local picture, a context which made possible for me to interpret more precisely the attitude of parents towards ICT tools and towards the internet use of their children. By formulating the questions and realizing the interviews I relied on my own field knowledge. The thorough knowledge of the local community and the background knowledge, that I possess as an „ethnologist making researches in his/her own culture” (Fél, 1991), enabled me to reveal the connections within my own culture (emic culture research, Keszeg, 2011) and to identify the common interpretation practice of local people. At the same time I treated the interview texts as an assembly of texts, as the set of narrativa of parents and I tried to analyze these with the distance and objectivity of the sociologist, drawing conclusions from them.

The thesis-like listing of the results

- **The attitude of parents towards the internet use of their teen-age children**

For the parents involved in the research, the acceptance and understanding of the impact of the use of ICT tools upon their children, as well as the regulation of the use of such tools means a big challenge. These parents were not prepared for the effects of such changes, the permanent problematic situations press them to continuous reactions, approaches and all these without previous knowledge, models to be followed, well-established practice. Consequently the parental attitudes move on a large scale, from acceptance to total rejection. A smaller group, including parents with higher educational attainment have recognized the positive benefits of the internet use and according to them, if their children „use the internet for a good purpose”, the internet can be very useful both for parents and for children. A certain consciousness can be traced from their part, due to which they strive to regulate the internet use of their children paying more attention to it.

Another group of only a few parents feels rather the harmful effects of the internet use, they have a negative,

rejective approach towards the use of internet tools and contents. The main reason for this is, that it is difficult for them to regulate and control the internet use of their children because of their workload or because they work in several shifts. Their teen-age children predominantly use the entertainment contents (games, music, short you tube films) on the internet and in the social media, which distract them from learning or doing housework. These parents try to regulate the internet use of their children with restrictions, prohibitions or with rhapsodic punishments, but apart from momentary effects, these measures are not very successful, so they oppose the internet use vehemently. They also have lower educational attainment and their digital competences are also lower.

The majority of the interviewed parents are in the „inbetween” group, their approach is ambivalent, not really clear for themselves either. They see the advantages of the use of ICT tools (school exercises, free interaction sites) but simultaneously they are also confronted with the failure of regulating the use of internet tools of their teen-age children. As their ICT competences are mainly elementary, they cannot participate as partners in the internet use of their children, they cannot get an insight into the „digital” world of the children.

Sometimes they forbid it, trying to regulate the use of ICT tools strictly, other times they are more permissive and recognize that their children have got more knowledge in this field. Where the teenagers become „addicted” to the online games, social media networks, parents can hardly impose limits. Therefore these parents consider the restrictions, limitations and punishments somewhat futile, they become insecure and begin to question the effectiveness of their former parenting practice. During the interviews they often expressed their perplexity and helplessness regarding this topic.

- **The regulation of the use of internet by teenagers**

The scientific literature categorizes the ways of the internet regulation of parents differently. Livingstone and Helsper (2008) speak of restrictive and instructive regulations, Lwin, Stanaland and Miyazaki (2008) speak of regulatory (only with rules), instructive (only with explanations, discussions), selective (with rules and discussions) regulations, respectively of the lack of regulations, Livingstone and Health (2008) speak of active co-users, of parents using technical filters and of direct controllers. Examining the internet regulation practice of the parents involved into the research, we can state, that the greater part of them applies rather the restrictive regulation. The

restrictions and limitations refer mostly to the duration and moment of the use. According to the own account of the interviewed parents, they can hardly or cannot at all control the infocommunicational content consumption and the established social media contacts of their children. In the families participating in my research we cannot speak about the active common use of ICT tools, unless we consider the parent teaching „lessons” of the teenagers as such common occasions. None of the parents applied technical filter programs and some of them mentioned that regulation is not necessary. There were only a few parents, mostly with higher education, who emphasized the importance of a supportive regulation, who were trying consciously to teach their children the correct use of the ICT tools with the help of discussions and explanations.

Parents try to change tactics and instead of restrictions and reckonings they are striving to get information about the digital activity of their children through intimate discussions. The sincerity of these discussions, the extent of the revealing of the own virtual world, depends very much on the directness of the parent-child relationship, on the openness of the parents and on the extent of the mutual confidence. Only a fourth of the interviewed parents admitted, that due to the intimate relation-

ship, their teen-age children sharewith them the events of their own digital world.

- **Conflicts in the family which result from the excessive use of ICT tools**

On basis of the reports of parents, we can definitely conclude, that the appearance of the ICT tools has caused a series of conflicts in the family. On one hand parents attribute these „changes” in the behaviour of their children to puberty, on the other hand they say, that conflicts occur more often because of the „phone use”. During our interviews many parents pointed out, that „today children are different”. Not only that they want to be far away from their parents more and more (spending time with friends), but they often withdraw into their own virtual world. That world is for the parents not transparent, so the majority of them take this kind of retreat pretty hard. They often blame their children because of the quantity of the „wasted time”, the secrecy and because of the lack of control. In most families the struggle between parents and children is permanent, there are only some exceptions, some more „submissive” parents, who do not like to be confronted with their children. Generally the conflicts do not lead to constructive solutions, because none of the parties likes to

let go of his position. Most of the parents have been socialized in an authoritarian family model, so they cannot accept easily, that some of the events in the life of their children take place in the virtual world, into which they have little insight. According to them, the difficulty is, that in the regulation of the use of ICT tools the parental authority cannot be asserted, as the teenagers can easily circumvent the rules due to their better digital competences. As parents have less practical knowledge and experience regarding the use of ICT tools, they are also insecure when it comes to regulation. The conflicts recur to a greater or smaller degree, „occasionally” the child is punished (the parent takes away the phone of the child for a certain time), then the parent calms down momentarily, the adolescent tries to adapt temporarily, then everything starts all over again. The problem is not solved properly, thus the continuous struggle becomes an organic part of the family life.

- **Changes in parenting roles generated by conflict situations arising from the use of ICT device**

Based on my research experience, the majority of the interviewed families reflect certain features of the traditional family model, particularly in terms of division of labour, gender roles, and certain aspects of parenting practice. In most

families, a hierarchical parent-child relationship based on parental authority prevails, in which the parent is the representative of experience and knowledge, who expects obedience and adaptation from his child. The appearance of ICT devices has created a new situation for parents, as they do not represent “knowledge” or “experience” in the given field, and adolescents have/had a better comprehension of these tools. In this reverse socialization process, the roles have changed: while the child has become the possessor of knowledge and skills, the parent learns from the child. The parents involved in the study have all acknowledged their children’s expertise in this area. This process can be said to “undermine” the order of the traditional family model; the asymmetric parent-child relationship loses from its validity. Thanks to ICT devices, children can no longer obtain information solely from their parents, but they can browse the World Wide Web according to their own interests without parental control. They can gain knowledge and information that outweigh their parents’ knowledge, which enables them to form independent opinions. Consequently, they are more likely to question the omnipotence of their parents and can be more critical of them. They express their opinions more boldly, they no longer obey their parents in everything, they are hard to convince by using authority.

Parental punishments are less effective, requiring well-founded arguments and honest conversations instead. The parent who does not recognize this and is unable to adapt to new challenges will be excluded by the adolescents from their world, communication between them will be reduced, and the adolescent will not initiate parents into their daily lives. They escape to their own free virtual world, making new connections. The appearance of ICT devices actually means a kind of competition for parents, in the event of an inappropriate parent-child relationship, it provides an alternative world for adolescents, where they can get information and get to know each other freely without parental control. Some authoritative parents have realized the danger of this already, while others are honing their educational practice in the process of a series of struggles - negotiating - punishments - conversations.

- **Parenting styles – internet parenting styles**

The concept of parenting style is interpreted in the literature from different viewpoints. The two main perspectives that occur in different variations in each theoretical approach are the parent-child emotional relationship and parental control (psychodynamic approach, learning theory approaches, Schaefer's (1965) circumplex model of parenting attitudes,

Baumrind (1971), Maccoby and Martin (1983) Holden and Edwards (1989) measurements. Considering various theories, the parenting style that is considered “ideal” is characterized by the parents’ warm-sensitive attitude towards the child (Schaefer, 1965), ensuring relative freedom - with stable, flexible rules (Baumrind, 1971), child-centeredness (Maccoby and Martin (1983), close emotional connection (Holden and Edwards (1989). After early theories, the most well-known is Baumrind’s (1971) model, further developed by Maccoby and Martin (1983) according to which four parenting styles are distinguished (authoritative, authoritarian, permissive and neglectful). Based on this, Valcke et al. (2010) developed four internet parenting styles. The low-to-high level control and low-to-high level of emotional parental involvement give these four parental styles. In my thesis, based on the research by Valcke et al. (2010), I attempted to operationalize “parental regulation” and “parental emotional involvement” in the use of ICT devices and to classify the interviewed parents into one of the four internet parenting styles. “Practice” has shown that in the investigated field, among the parents interviewed, the internet parenting styles are still evolving, changing, it has not been possible to clearly distinguish defined types along the two dimensions. Therefore, aside from the types, I presented

parenting styles in a “descriptive” form. In my opinion, parenting styles were differentiated particularly along the parents’ level of education, which also significantly determined the parents’ occupation, income, and perception on parenting. Cultural and structural factors influencing parents’ parenting styles are supported by a number of research findings. Class affiliation (Bianchi and Robinson 1997; Cooksey et al. 1997; Coontz 1992; Hays 1996; Lareau 2003; McLanahan 2004; Menaghan 1991), education, occupation, complexity of work performed (Kohn et al. 1986, Cooksey et al. (1997), the possibility of income and access to resources (Coontz 1992; Hays 2003; Hochschild 2002;), the narrower social and living environment (Holloway and Pimlott-Wilson (2014) are all factors that affect parents’ parenting styles and, indirectly, the internet parenting style.

By investigating the internet education style of the parents involved in my research in the cross-section of the interaction of the mentioned factors, one of the most determining factors proved to be the parents’ education. For parents (especially mothers) with higher education (college, university), the parent-child relationship based on partnership was most observable, in which the parent consciously strives for mutually open, trusting

communication with his adolescent, where conversations and negotiations play a more significant role. This has also been reflected in the regulation of the adolescent ICT use. As most of these parents have some degree of digital competence, they were able to define more precisely their expectations regarding the use of smart devices, monitoring not only the duration but also the content and their children's relationships. Parents use more arguments and explain more, they try to influence the adolescent not necessarily with restrictions, but rather with persuasion. It is considered more important to listen to the adolescent's point of view, to give him/her a degree of autonomy so that he or she can gain experience and become self-regulating later on. According to them, ICT devices can also be challenging to them as well, and in the new situation they also face many difficulties. However, in the parent-child relationship based on previously established sincerity and acceptance, they find it easier to find a voice with their adolescents, and thanks to their more confidential relationship, they gain more insight into all aspects of their children's use of devices. They are more open to orientation and self-education. Although they often struggle with the lack of time and usually lack the constant presence of fathers, they put more energy into raising their children, monitoring their children's educational

progress, and planning for their future. They invest more in order to enrich their children's cultural capital, of which the development of an appropriate level of digital competence is an integral part.

Parents with a lower level of education (vocational school) are able to devote significantly less time and energy to their children, most of them are forced to work all day long, in fact, they often farm or, fathers in particular occasionally work abroad. Ongoing extra work to supplement low incomes actually takes time away from children, and not just physical time, but also the energy that can be spent on their upbringing. Fathers who have been abroad for months or work until the evening are almost entirely excluded from parenting, which also means that the burden and responsibility of this is chiefly on the mothers. Most mothers also go to work, perform strenuous physical work, or many of them work in helping professions (nurses, teachers) that require a lot of patience and emotional involvement. As they have limited time and energy for constant agreements and discussions with the child, most of them prefer to try out prohibitive, punishable regulation. Thus, the often restrictive, punitive educational practice is in many cases "nourished" by the fatigue and impatience due to

continuous, exhausting, restless work, which also prevails in the regulation of ICT devices. It is also a greater challenge for them to deal with the new situation that is emerging with the appearance of ICT devices. Mostly they are the ones who use it less, so they find ICT devices less useful, therefore they find it harder to bear the “constant use of smartphones” of their adolescents. In the absence of parents, it is easier for children to become addicted to the internet and online games. Consequently, it is even more difficult for parents to regulate and to restrict. Many of the mothers voiced their insecurities, their guilt, they were aware of the fact that they needed to talk to their children a lot more, they shouldn't have raised their voices or apply a constantly punishing attitude. Many of them also try to use these devices, but in everyday practice (due to a lot of work, “pressure”, lack of time, fatigue) only a few succeed. This might also explain why many find it difficult to be consistent. Although most of the time they apply punishment in the-spur-of-the-moment, but they also let go more easily. This kind of inconsistent style of education, based on prohibitions, restrictions and permissions, leads to less self-control in the long run regarding the regulation of the use of ICT devices. At the same time, it is a good reflection of the plight of these parents, especially mothers, the insecurity that is

often coupled with the feeling of helplessness. They are perplexed, they feel that they cannot regulate the use of ICT devices by their children, as they have little time to discuss the rules together, to negotiate, and they can also spend little time together physically. They often remain alone with their doubts and fears, in many families, husbands and grandparents consider the upbringing and regulation of children to be the duty and responsibility of the wife. They do not get much external professional help either, safe internet has only been discussed at school once so far. Prohibition, restriction, punishment and permission or sometimes even forgiveness, are often present in their educational practice simultaneously.

When studying the parenting style of parents, in addition to education, of course, the influencing effect of other factors should be taken into consideration as well. Occupations, incomes, educational experiences and values brought from one's own family, and last but not least the mentality and educational practice of the narrow environment, namely the material and cultural capital of families. In this respect, the parenting style of parents is becoming more refined, which is to some extent consistent with the parents' online parenting style. But not in all cases, as in the field of ICT use, the

majority of parents have lower digital competence than their children, which makes it difficult for them to find appropriate ways of intervention and regulation. Especially the usually restrictive, controlling parent can easily “come to a dead end” in the use of ICT tools, as apart from the duration the parent can hardly or not at all limit or control other aspects of use. This state of cognitive dissonance often causes tension and anxiety in parents, which makes them to reinterpret their previous educational practices and principles, and creates a variety of educational practices and styles. That is how ICT devices can become influential factors and shapers of the parent-child relationship. The difficulties and uncertainties of this change process are continually reflected in the interview texts.



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List of publications related to the dissertation

Hungarian book chapters (2)

1. **Fekete Deák, I.**: Az IKT eszközhasználat hatása a szülő-gyerek kapcsolatra és a családi szocializációra rurális térségben kora serdülőkorú (14-15) gyerekek esetében.
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List of other publications

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8. **Fekete Deák, I.**: "Hidden Resistance": the collectivization process in Szeklerland.
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