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THE CONFLICT BETWEEN PARTISAN INTERESTS AND NORMATIVE EXPECTATIONS IN ELECTORAL SYSTEM CHANGE. HUNGARY IN 2014

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ABSTRACT *Academic literature is divided about the importance of the normative versus the partisan background of electoral system change. While concerns regarding the former electoral system were justified in Hungary the article argues that the actual reform dominantly followed partisan interests and even neglected normative concerns. Applying the approach of the Electoral Integrity Project the analysis of various aspects, like the electoral law itself, electoral procedures, voter registration, party and candidate registration, media coverage, campaign finance, voting process, vote count, and the role of electoral authorities demonstrates that Hungary's ranking is strikingly low for almost every element, often ranking last from a comparative perspective. The new electoral system is a building block in the construction of a predominant party system.*

KEYWORDS: *electoral system change, electoral integrity, majoritarian turn, partisan redistribute interests*

INTRODUCTION

The expanding literature on electoral reform has proposed a comprehensive approach towards electoral system change, arguing that looking beyond the simple logic of maximizing gains for the dominant political elite allows for the assessment of the normative drivers behind such change (Hazan – Leyenaar

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2014). Indeed, electoral systems tend to fulfil normative expectations like providing fair representation and stable government. More nuanced, practical concerns such as making elections cheaper or more intelligible are also regarded as positive outcomes. However, these normative goals are intermingled with the rule-makers' political interests. The delicate balance between normative goals and strategic partisan goals becomes highly visible at the moment of electoral system change. Academic literature is divided about the importance of the normative versus the partisan background of electoral system change. Rational choice literature argues for the supremacy of partisan interests in the formation (transformation) of electoral system design (Benoit 2004, Colomer 2005), claiming that seat maximization is the parties' main interest. Others (Shugart 2001) focus on normative claims: if the electoral system does not bring representative demands to the surface, or the prospective formation of a government remains opaque to voters in the electoral process, or the mandate majority counters the voters' electoral majority, the electoral system is unbalanced and requires modification on normative grounds.

However, as Bowler and Donovan note: "When elites want to change institutions, however, appeals to narrow self-interested or partisan goals seem somehow inappropriate or at least ineffective. Appeals grounded in an over-expression of self-interest are not used very frequently despite the fact that self-interest is a major component of how institutions, and institutional changes, are understood. Instead, campaigners focus on the procedural and conceptual consequences of institutional change." (2013:45).The authors suggest making a clear distinction between the arguments for change (along with the promises that are made) and the actual results of the reform process. With an analysis of the new electoral system that was introduced in Hungary in 2011 and was first implemented at the 2014 parliamentary elections, we explore the connection between normative and partisan motives and the actual outcomes of the new electoral design. We argue that while there existed a broad array of arguments for change mainly based on normative claims, the actual reform dominantly followed partisan interests and even neglected normative concerns. Analysis of the Hungarian case can enrich our understanding of the limitations of the normative approach to electoral reform and explain how the pressure to answer to the electorate interacts with strategically driven reform processes.

The electoral reform in Hungary was vigorously debated, even provoking international interest and criticism, notably by the Venice Commission (an organization of the Council of Europe that oversees the state of democracy in different countries) and the OECD/ODIHIR and was part of a broad institutional process of transformation. This increases the relevance of our research question which may be framed as: 'how were normative demands and expectations

implemented by the governing majority?' Our analysis is structured along three claims: the first is that normative concerns served as a starting point for the Hungarian reform because concerns regarding the former electoral system were justified and corrections were due. Our second claim is that partisan interests overruled normative and practical considerations in the formation of the new electoral rules. In order to comprehend the partisan aspect of electoral reform, we are required to ask "why, when and in what form" questions, as Katz eloquently formulated it (Katz 2005). Finally, by placing the new electoral system into the frame of electoral integrity we demonstrate in what respect the new electoral design is responding to normative and partisan interests.

NORMATIVE CLAIMS

The old electoral system (Law XXXIV of 1989) was designed in the process of negotiations between post-communist and new opposition parties during the change of system and was a true compromise in the sense that it reflected the priorities of the different actors: the post-communists' desire to create single-member districts (SMDs) (as their cadres had local ties) and the new parties' demands for proportionality (as the new party labels were assumed to be more telling than their still largely unknown personalities). The mixed-member system responded to both expectations. In addition to the SMDs, other instruments, which generally represented entry barriers to smaller parties, also supported the electoral system's majoritarian bias. The two territorial tiers (the regional and the national) did not reduce disproportionality. Due to the small magnitude of districts, the territorial lists favored bigger parties, and only in Budapest (where the district size was bigger) were smaller parties able to win mandates (Fábián 1999). The two biggest parties always won more than 60 percent of territorial mandates, a proportion that rose above 90 percent with the concentration of the party system in the 2000s. The entry of smaller parties was also constrained because only those parties could set up a regional list that were able to run candidates in at least one-third of the region's SMDs, and only those parties could set up a national list that had established at least seven regional lists. Still, the national list guaranteed proportionality to some degree as the fragmented votes from SMDs and regional lists were added up and earned mandates, there being no votes cast on the national list.

On these grounds concerns with respect to *representation* became explicit as smaller parties were placed in a disadvantageous position: not only the threshold requirement but the regional list requirements, not to mention the

advantage of big parties in SMDs, reduced their electoral opportunities. A particular problem with representation concerned ethnic minorities which were given a constitutional warrant for fair representation by the modified Hungarian Constitution in 1990. According to the ruling of the Hungarian Constitutional Court, the absence of minority representation in the parliament was unconstitutional (35/1992.Resolution (VI.10) and needed remedy.

In contrast, the electoral system well served the idea of *governability* as at each election it ensured a majority coalition government. Of course, coalition formation is also a function of parties' coalition potential, but relative majority winners were always able to establish stable coalitions with junior partner(s). In 1994, one party even managed to gain an absolute majority of seats and formed an oversize coalition with a more-than-two-thirds majority. This type of supermajority reoccurred as a result of the 2010 elections. The significance of this event is that certain laws, including the electoral law, can be amended only with a two-thirds majority. We shall return to the significance of this condition in the next section during an analysis of the moments of change. Overall, as a result of the stable party system, along with the electoral rules, governability prevailed, which distinguished Hungary from most new democracies in Central Eastern Europe.

Some further problems with the functioning of the electoral system were highly visible. Most importantly, *party finance and campaign finance regulations* were a cause of concern. These were not transparent and gave an advantage to the larger parties represented in parliament. The regulations were articulated in the transition period of the early 1990s and represented the priorities of the negotiating parties, most of whom became parliamentary parties, making them resistant to change. State subsidies were provided to parties that received at least 1 percent of the vote at the preceding election, with 25 percent of the subsidy divided equally among parliamentary parties that had won mandates on the national list and 75 percent divided in proportion to vote share among all parties that reached the 1 percent threshold. The electoral law limited the amount of campaign spending per candidate (Law C of 1997) but the parties chose to overlook this legal requirement. Parties tended to overspend; some even went bankrupt (Ilonszki 2008). Party finances, particularly in the campaign period, were scattered with corruption scandals and dubious relations between private enterprises and parties – leading to loyal entrepreneurs being awarded government contracts (Enyedi 2007).

In addition to the above-mentioned proportionality and financial concerns, some other issues were also at stake – and gained importance during the formation of the new electoral design. After 1990, no *redistricting* had taken place, despite natural population movements. This situation had been already criticized by an official statement of the Hungarian Constitutional Court in 2005

and also ran counter to the advice of the Venice Commission which suggested that a 10 percentage point difference was acceptable, and a 15 percentage point difference the highest level tolerable between the populations of the SMDs. More than half of the 176 SMDs in Hungary exceeded this 10 percent difference threshold and close to one third exceeded the "intolerable" 15 percent difference. The most extreme example involved the population size of the most and the least populated SMD being different by a multiple of 2.75 (László 2012). One can justifiably claim that, by any standards, redistricting was due.

Candidate nomination procedures were criticized, virtually from the first moment of the new democratic system. A candidate was required to collect 750 so-called nomination slips in the SMDs to qualify to run. Although this number may not seem to be high, it was increasingly difficult to fulfil the task, particularly for smaller parties, for two reasons. First, large parties with ample resources were quick to collect the slips – raiding their district and collecting many more than they needed to 'qualify' – thus the small parties could not reach out to the most accessible voters. Second, this method made election fraud possible: exchanging nomination slips for money (or goods) was not uncommon. Moreover, as nomination slips were posted to voters together with their registration slips which contained personal data about the voters, it became common practice to steal nomination slips from citizens' post-boxes. With the help of this personal data the slips could be filled in and used to support a party 'in need'. It was also fortuitous to some that voters, by handing over their nomination slips to a party (candidate), disclosed their party preferences. These nomination slips were taken to the local election committee for verification, and although they should have been destroyed afterwards, their confidentiality remained an issue.

Finally, it should be mentioned that the Hungarian electoral system was widely claimed to be too *complicated* and hard to understand (Benoit 1996, Schiemann 2001). At the time of its formation one legislator complained that it was so complicated that "the voters, if they want to understand it, will have to take at least one course on vote calculation" (cited by Schiemann 2001:231). There is no hard evidence about this issue, but the combination of three tiers and two votes and the compensation mechanism were probably difficult to understand at first glance. Still, as demonstrated by the academic literature, Hungarian voters were informed as they tended to vote strategically (Duch and Palmer 2002, Benoit 2001) and by way of ticket splitting between their SMD and territorial list voting, ensured the survival of small parties[2].

2 From a broader perspective it is worth noting that even complex electoral systems like mixed member ones show the expected effects and have stimulated the strategic behavior of voters early on in new democracies (see Moser and Scheiner, 2009; Riera, 2013).

THE MOMENT OF CHANGE – WHY, WHEN, AND WHAT?

In post-communist new democracies, electoral system changes occurred largely in the initial period of democratization and then became less frequent and less substantial. In the second decade after initial modifications were made, significant changes to electoral systems became even less frequent as attempts to this end failed (Nikolenyi 2011). This condition makes the Hungarian transformation interesting in itself. Moreover, wherever an electoral system change was introduced, unlike in Hungary, it happened in the direction of proportional representation (Bielasiak 2002:192)[3]. This type or turn of change warns that the electoral system should be approached as both an independent and a dependent variable (Leyenaar – Hazan 2011:438) as contextual causation is as important as the actual outcome of the electoral design.

The WHY question is not that difficult to answer, even if at first glance it may seem obvious that it is not in the interest of a governing party who are the majority and are in charge of any transformation to change an electoral system that brought them victory. But parties may fear coming elections and want to consolidate their positions with new regulation (Katz 2015). This approach strengthens the perspective that the motivation of a party is paramount in electoral system change. As Nunez and Jacobs add (2016), electoral system changes can be understood as located in a complex matrix of constraints and opportunities: changes of government, crisis momentum, and electoral volatility may all work in favor of new regulation. The Hungarian case supports these arguments.

Clearly, changing the rules of the electoral game has been on the agenda in Hungary for some time. In the 1994-98 parliament and government term all-party negotiations resulted in an agreement to decrease the size of the parliament and increase its representative context. Still, disagreements about some other concrete issues meant that the parliament's final decision fell five votes short of the constitutional majority required for change. During the term of the next government (1998-2002) a parliamentary commission was even set up, but results were inconclusive. The desire to decrease the size of parliament was a common denominator among the parties, but deep divisions prevailed regarding the share of the nominal and list tiers, and regarding one-round or two-round ballots in SMDs, which have a direct impact on the chances of both smaller and bigger parties and also determine the rules of party cooperation-competition. Fidesz (the senior governing party at that time) proved to be the

3 One possible exception in this regard was the electoral system change in Romania in 2008, which however was soon 'retransformed'.

most persistent at arguing to maintain the majority run off system in SMDs and to favor governability as opposed to representation. Although electoral system change remained a reoccurring theme in the subsequent terms, diverging party interests and the polarized political landscape undermined not only the reform consensus but the interest in reform as well.

The TIMING of the reform is connected to the why question and also illuminates the background process – why was the post-2010 period appropriate for the change? We argue that the failure and the collapse of the party cartel was the main reason (Ilonszki – Várnagy, 2014). The political-constitutional framework hammered out during the democratic transition in 1990 ensured the participating parties a safe position: the regulations of the electoral system protected them from external challengers and the cartel fulfilled claims for stability and governability. While all partisan actors who participated in the agreement were satisfied, there was no motivation for change. Later, when dissatisfaction grew, none of them were in the position to pursue fundamental transformation singlehandedly, as this would have required a two-thirds majority agreement. Thus the old system remained. When the integrity and the popularity of the left was challenged and the earthquake election in 2010 destroyed the remains of the bipolar framework (Enyedi – Benoit 2011) time was ripe for the evolving and dominant party Fidesz to introduce major reforms, including electoral system change. Moreover, two fundamentally political phenomena influenced the direction of the change: first, an understanding that the former partisan bipolarity had been replaced by a tri-polar framework in which a divided opposition had emerged: a fragmented left (including the once-large party MSzP and a small green party, LMP) and an extreme right (Jobbik) – and that any cooperation between the left and the extreme right would be excluded by all means. Second, that among these conditions the Fidesz-KDNP party alliance could enjoy a lasting position of relative majority but also that such 'overrepresentation' (that is, a two-thirds majority) would normally require particular political conditions and thus was associated with an air of uncertainty. On these grounds the new electoral design was created to fulfil two requirements: to provide extra advantages to the largest party so that it could benefit from a two-thirds majority, while a party with only a modest relative majority could not become predominant.

It seems that by 2011 there was ample partisan motivation to drive electoral system change, while some normative claims also appeared to be justified. However, the information provided to voters did not reflect these normative claims. Electoral reform was poorly and one-sidedly framed in public discourse, and the entire process involved a serious lack of transparency and public and political scrutiny (Tóka 2013). The new electoral law (CCIII of 2011) was

accepted despite protest from the opposition parties, with Jobbik voting against and MSZP and LMP abstaining from the vote.

Public debate was focused on three elements of the reform: parliament size, minority representation, and voter registration. Due to political calculations and the very limited timeframe, the rest of the proposed and accepted changes were only discussed after the legislation had passed. The main explanation given for the reform was that parliament needed downsizing, which was an easy point to sell, with populist overtones: too many politicians cost too much money. This was one of the (very few) campaign slogans and promises of Fidesz in 2010. Interestingly, even candidates who agreed with the prospective reduction in the number of mandates were carefully selected at that time. Neither the reduction of seats from 386 to 199 nor the elimination of mandate accumulation (joint occupation of parliamentary and local mandates) triggered any obvious intra-party debate, although both had substantial effects on the political career opportunities of many Fidesz politicians. Unsurprisingly, after the 2014 elections the party faithful former parliamentarians or MPs-cum-mayors were compensated with some of the spoils (Dobos – Kurtán – Várnagy, 2016).

In addition to parliament size, minority representation appeared among Fidesz' party promises, including minorities living in Hungary as well as ethnic Hungarians living outside state borders. In the latter case, the symbolic connection between Hungary and the ethnic Hungarian minority groups was strongly emphasized. In contrast, the opposition focused on the idea of voter registration, initially also part of the new regulation. The register of voter domicile had been well established (mainly based on the system inherited from the communist era, with its deep surveillance system) thus voters did not have to register directly in order to vote. Still, the rule-makers wanted to introduce a new regulation through which voter registration was required. Registration was finally ruled out by the Constitutional Court which came to the conclusion that pre-registration would restrict the right to vote, without constitutional justification (1/2013. (I. 7) thus the governing Fidesz-KDNP party alliance had to revoke this proposition.

Given the many concerns and the few promises, WHAT did the electoral reform actually entail? Table 1 offers an overview of the electoral system before and after the 2011 reform. As the size of the parliament almost halved, the number of SMDs also decreased, but their share in the distribution of mandates increased. Under the previous electoral system 45.6 percent of mandates were distributed in SMDs which yielded highly disproportional results, especially in the 1990s. With the reform, the proportion of mandates distributed in SMDs increased to 53.3 percent, thus reinforcing the majoritarian tendency of the electoral system. SMDs have always been won by large parties. This reached an

extreme during the 2010 earthquake elections when Fidesz gained 174 out the 176 SMD mandates.

Table 1. *The Hungarian Electoral System before and after 2011*

	Electoral system pre-2011	**New electoral system**
Size of parliament	386	199
Number of tiers	3	2
No. of SMDs	176	106
Ballot in SMDs	majority run off	relative majority
Number of regional lists	20	none, eliminated
Formula used on regional list	Hagenbach-Bischoff	none
National list	1	1
Ballot on national list	no vote, served as a compensatory list	non-preferential vote
Formula used on national list	d'Hondt	d'Hondt
Representation of ethnic minorities	none	nationality party lists with preferential quota for winning mandate, ethnic spokesperson in case of not winning a mandate

Source: Authors' compilation

Obviously, the rule maker's intention was to maintain this advantage. Two particular measures – namely, the replacement of majority run off with a one-round (first-past-the-post, FPTP) election in SMDs and the facilitation of candidate nomination – served this purpose well. According to the new rule, obtaining a relative majority of the vote was enough to gain a SMD mandate, while formerly 50 percent of votes were required in the first round. The voter participation threshold was also eliminated, further contributing to the low winning threshold. Even more importantly, the elimination of the second round totally transformed the dynamics of the political game. Formerly, the parties used the time between the two rounds to forge potentially winning alliances for the second round, but the new rules encourage parties to form strategic alliances prior to elections. This offers a more transparent choice to voters but pre-election alliances can be risky if partners are not fully informed about the district's political and personal leanings; moreover, this set-up weakens smaller parties which become less visible without a candidate, not to mention the vague chances of cooperation occurring within a highly polarized opposition.

The transformed system for nomination is possibly the best illustration of how a necessary corrective measure can become distorted, and how partisan

vote-maximizing considerations win in the end (see particularly László 2015). According to the new regulations, voters are entitled to support as many candidates (parties) as they want by signing so-called recommendation forms and providing their personal identity number. This method indeed creates a greater opportunity for new parties (candidates) to appear on the political scene than the former procedure which allowed the voter only one single nomination. The new and generous financing mechanism (discussed below) is a further source of motivation for new parties (and candidates) to enter electoral politics. If a party is able to run 27 SMD candidates (from the 106 SMDs) in the required regional spread, it may also establish a national list, a financially highly rewarding undertaking. Clearly, the new regulation offers contrasting incentives: parties need to unite in order to be able to win mandates in the one round FPTP election, while the low thresholds for nomination encourage parties to run independently.

Changes concerning the proportional tiers of the electoral system and the linkage between the majoritarian and proportional tiers raise concerns about the equality of votes (Mécs 2014, Reiner 2014). As the territorial lists were eliminated, the national list remained the only proportional tier, but lost most of its compensatory character. Formerly, the national list was used to collect the surplus votes and thus the smaller parties were able to win the majority of their mandates on this tier. Under the new regulation, the national list collects direct votes from voters (as mentioned above, in the old system votes were not cast on the national list at all) while it continues to absorb some votes from SMDs. Nevertheless, while in the old system only the votes cast for the non-winning candidates in SMDs (and non-winning votes on territorial lists) were transferred to the national tier, according to the new law the surplus votes that are cast for the winning candidates are transferred as well. This means that the overrepresentation of the winner is reinforced by the transfer of the surplus votes which prove to be 'unnecessary' for the winning candidate in the SMDs.[4] As the strongest party tends to win SMD mandates, the thus-transferred surplus votes enhance the strength of the dominant party in the SMDs. Also, due to the transferred votes the vote component of the different mandates varies, so mandates on the national lists are more 'expensive', thus creating an indirect threshold for smaller parties.

While all the former points indirectly raise concern about the equality of representation, the new electoral system directly addressed representation issues only in relation to ethnic minorities, and neglected to reform practices that affect

4 Numerically speaking, these are votes in excess of the number of votes cast for the second best candidate, plus one.

other minorities such as women or youth, despite the obvious representation shortcomings in this regard (Ilonszki 2012). The new electoral system allows minority groups to establish ethnic minority national lists to replace party national lists. Voters can cast a vote on a particular minority national list if they have identified themselves as members of the given ethnic minority group and pre-registered accordingly. This seemingly positive form of discrimination hides real discrimination. By voting for the ethnic minority national list, voters lose their right to participate in the politically relevant party national list vote. Moreover, in the case that a minority list fails to meet the threshold requirement – as in fact happened with all the 13 minority lists – their voters' political representation is seriously affected. Instead, a so-called minority spokesperson is invited to participate in parliament – with limited rights – from the top place on the ethnic minority list.

The question rightly arises: how do the above changes relate to more pragmatic problems such as redistricting and campaign financing concerns, as they occurred in relation to the old system?

The need for redistricting was already evident with the old electoral system and the reduction in the number of parliamentary seats also called for enlarged constituencies. When setting the boundaries, the (previously mentioned) suggestions of the Venice Commission were taken into account. Accordingly, the Hungarian Election Law (Act CCIII of 2011 – section 4(4)) mandates that the population of districts should not vary by more than 15 percent, allowing a more lax requirement of 20 percent variability for prospective revisions in the future. Unsurprisingly, the actual definition of boundaries became highly debated as left-leaning districts tend to have 5,000-6,000 voters more than right-leaning districts (László 2012:9), and in some cases extreme and inexplicable disparities remain or were created (Scheppele 2014). The electoral law also lacks detailed requirements for future redistricting, and thus confirms the findings of earlier academic analysis; namely, that redistricting is based on "authoritarian-like provisions" in Hungary (Popescu – Tóka 2008:262). More concretely, a qualified parliamentary majority is entitled to decide about redistricting, in spite of the ruling of the Constitutional Court that asked for clear outlines about basic requirements, and in spite of the concerns expressed by experts over the lack of application of a specific algorithm (Bíró – Sziklay – Kóczy, 2012).

The rules of campaign financing were modified with the aim of ensuring the greater transparency of party campaign spending. Formerly, the main problem with campaign financing had been the distance between codification and reality. Parties tended to exceed their legally defined budgets for campaigning, and presented stripped-down financial reports to the State Audit Office. In order to bring the legislation more into touch with reality, the new ceiling for campaign

expenses was increased. Parties are now entitled to financial resources depending on the number of SMD candidates they can field. For example, if a party manages to field candidates in all 106 voting districts, it will be eligible for 600 million HUF. Private financial resources are also available to parties. In the case of SMD candidates, one million HUF is allocated to a treasury card issued by the State Treasury which can be used for campaign financing, only through transfers. If the candidate does not manage to get at least two percent of all votes, they are required to refund the whole sum to the State Treasury. Most importantly, however, parties are not required to provide precise details about their spending. Parties do not have to pay back any state contributions, even if they do not get any votes at all – an exaggerated example, of course, although one which does not sound that extreme when one learns that fake parties have actually run for business reasons.

As a report by Transparency International points out, the problem with the new regulation is not the fact that expected campaign costs are significantly higher than before, but that the spending of this money cannot be controlled. "… around 8 billion HUF went toward the parliamentary elections. The organizations operating the civil campaign monitoring site have earlier already shown that the parliamentary election campaign of the governing parties cost close to 4 billion HUF, Jobbik's a little more than 1.2 billion HUF and that of left-wing parties close to 1.6 billion HUF. According to the law, one party is allowed to spend no more than HUF 995 million on their campaign, of which maximum HUF 703 million can come from state funding" (Transparency International 2013).

Thus, while an increase in the ceiling for campaign spending was necessary in order to better match the reality of the cost of campaigning, the parties still overspent and could not be held responsible due to the very limited power of the State Audit Office (Vértessy 2015). Furthermore, such generous financing also motivated the emergence of so-called fake or 'business parties' that were created for the sole purpose of accessing financial resources, with no intention of participating in political competition. The restrictions are lax, not only regarding expenditure but also contributions. While state funding is the most important source of income for most parties, the amount of private donations is hard to assess as cash may be transferred in support, and there is no limit on donations from individuals. Expert assessments suggest that the financial reports of parties are inconsistent, lack standardization, offer very minimal information and are not easily accessible to the public (Money, Politics and Transparency project database, 2015).

Regarding campaign regulations, the issue of access to media has surfaced in various debates and has provoked criticism and opposition in many instances. Indeed, the first version of campaign regulation simply banned paid political

advertisements on commercial television channels, while mandating a specified number of (free) minutes on public television for each party. As the main source of political information in Hungary is commercial television (Medián 2014), this kind of strict limitation on the flow of information was struck down by the Constitutional Court as a violation of the right to free speech. Then the government tried to introduce this regulation into the Constitution, but an increase in national and international pressure prompted a revision permitting all parties to advertise in commercial media – but included the stipulation that these advertisements could not be paid for. As a result, not surprisingly, commercial television channels basically chose not to run campaign ads during the 2014 campaign.

The above points demonstrate that the necessary and expected improvements in the old regulatory framework became distorted by political will and/or interest. First and foremost, the new electoral design favors the dominant party in almost all of the above-mentioned dimensions. In terms of disproportionality, the dominant party is overrepresented and will enjoy a stable position while the opposition remains fragmented. Although the existence of clear instances of gerrymandering has been debated in terms of the redistricting process, the winner is certainly not hurt by the new setup. As for campaign finance and other campaign practices, even the rule-makers themselves chose to ignore them, sending an alarming signal about the state of democracy in Hungary. These conditions confirm the claims made in the academic literature that the dominant actor is liable to introduce restrictive rules when its aim is to (re) define the rules of the game. Otherwise, when multiple actors are present in the process of negotiation, institutions that support proportionality are favored to avoid "the risk to become an absolute loser" (Colomer 2005:17).

PROMISES AND RESULTS – THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM IN THE CONTEXT OF ELECTORAL INTEGRITY

The first trial of the new electoral system took place during the 2014 parliamentary elections when Fidesz-KDNP successfully won 67 percent of mandates, with the Socialist party, Jobbik and LMP winning 19 percent, 11 percent and 3 percent of seats, respectively. During the campaign process it became apparent that the new set of rules made the political campaign process more opaque. First of all, due to the transformed nomination process many new parties were created. As a result, in 2014, 18 national party lists existed, as opposed to 6 in 2010. Generous financing attracted fake parties which operated

not only financially but also politically in a mischievous way: by confusing voters with similar party names to those that "viable" opposition forces used, or just by appearing in SMDs where the competition was more intense. The share of votes given to the small parties that did not get into parliament was not high. At merely 3.6 percent it was very similar to the figure for 2010, while the voting pattern was significantly different: formerly 'really existing' parties were locked out of parliament and in 2014 only a few of the 14 non-parliamentary parties showed the features of real parties at all: putting it more specifically, they did not campaign to win votes. Also, many scandals arose which resulted in complaints being filed to various authorities in relation to the new nomination process: allegedly, parties collected voters' signatures for candidates in misleading ways, and some were accused even of counterfeiting signatures. While cases of major misconduct were not revealed, these problems did not contribute to the legitimacy of the process,[5] thus the normative claim of an increase in transparency is unsupported.

As the pre-registration criterion was eliminated through the reform process, the voting process itself was similar to that used in previous elections, but the distribution of mandates differed significantly. Table 2 provides an overview of the number and share of votes and mandates for the parliamentary and non-parliamentary parties, together with the proportionality coefficient. The rule-maker clearly enjoys an advantage: with approximately 45 percent of the vote, it gained more than a two-thirds majority of all seats.

Table 2. *Election results in 2014*

	% of votes cast for party list	No. of SMD mandates	No. of party list mandates	Total No. of mandates	% of mandates	Coefficient of proportionality
Fidesz-KDNP	44,87	96	37	133	68,83	1,49
MSZP-Együtt-PM-DK-MPL	25,5	10	28	38	19,10	0,75
Jobbik	20,22	0	23	23	11,56	0,57
LMP	5,34	0	5	5	2,51	0,47
Other	4	0	0	0	0	
Total	00	106	93	199	100	

Source: Választás 2014:16

5 See the OECD/ODIHIR report on the 2014 elections for more detail about complaint management.

The data in Table 2 clearly demonstrate that the winning party is significantly overrepresented in terms of mandate share in parliament. Clearly, the increased relevance of the majoritarian tier (SMDs) plays a role in this respect, but one new element, the allocation of surplus votes from SMDs to the national list, further strengthened disproportionality in 2014. Table 3 illustrates the size of the lost 'fragment' votes (that originate in lost SMD votes; i.e. ones that did not earn a seat) and winner fragment votes (originating in SMD votes that earned a seat and contributed to reaching the number required to win a mandate). As the numbers show, nearly all surplus votes were used to support the rule-maker.

Table 3. *Structure of Votes on the National List for each Party at the 2014 Elections*

	No. of votes cast for national party list	Non-winning votes cast in SMDs	Surplus votes cast in SMDs	Votes cast through postal ballot
Fidesz-KDNP	2 142 142	176 193	766 708	122 588
MSZP-Együtt-PM-DK-MLP*	1 289 309	1 119 320	22 374	1495
Jobbik	1 017 550	1 000 636		2 926
LMP	268 840	244 191		573

**From the parties that constituted a left-wing block and established a common national list and also ran common candidates in SMDs, only MSzP had a pre-electoral reform history. Introduction of the diverse background of these new parties would exceed the limitations of this article. Source: Választás 2014:19.*

The last column in Table 3 contains a further element that does not directly demonstrate the majoritarian turn, although it illustrates the vote-maximizing intentions of the law-maker. For the first time in 2014, non-resident ethnic Hungarians who had applied for citizenship (granted by the new Basic Law) were allowed to vote at parliamentary elections. This brought in an additional 128000 votes, 95 percent of which were cast for the governing Fidesz-KDNP coalition, securing them one additional parliamentary mandate. Although granting the right to vote to ethnic Hungarians did not affect substantially the outcome of the elections, it sent a strong symbolic message. The voting procedure applied to ethnic Hungarians living abroad created controversy as these individuals were permitted to vote through postal ballot – unlike the couple of hundred thousand Hungarians working in other European Union countries.

Both the surplus votes that compensated the winner and the votes from non-resident ethnic Hungarians strengthened the dominant party's position. Without these votes, the Fidesz-KDNP coalition would have won 30 mandates on the national list, instead of the 37 mandates they actually acquired. All

these characteristics indicate a weakening of the compensatory potential of the electoral system, which increases disproportionality.

The overall result of above-mentioned changes is that proportionality substantially declined in 2014. Looking at the Loosemory-Hanby (L-H) index of proportionality, a further feature may be observed: the new electoral system indeed lessens proportionality in mandate distribution (with the L-H index increasing to 21.77 from 15.4).[6] We should note, however, that proportionality is not only determined by instrumental tools such as the L-H index – which shifted significantly during the first two decades of democratic elections (ranging from 21.15 in 1994 to 6,5 in 2006): this is the party system, whose features have explanatory value as well.[7] The finding is consistent across different indices of disproportionality (see Gallagher 2017).

The spectacular impact of the electoral system may be observed in the opposition parties' troubled electoral strategies. As already mentioned above, the one-round electoral design of SMDs forced the fragmented left to run one common candidate to potentially challenge the dominant party, but the two-sided, polarized opposition (the left and the extreme right) could not cooperate. In fact, they were the strongest rivals; the difference in votes between the left and the extreme right candidates being less than 10 percent in approximately two-thirds of the SMDs (70 from 106). This context clearly demonstrates that parties who implement electoral system changes "may want to change the whole format of the party system including both the identity or the number of the parties and the patterns of competition among them" (Katz 2005: 62). In fact, the left-wing parties chose to run common candidates in SMDs, as well as a joint list, which did not promote their electoral chances (and results) in the face of programmatic differences and personal conflict. These problems clearly benefited the dominant party which was able to win a relative majority in the face of two, almost equally strong, alternatives – and with the help of new regulations, transform the win into a two-thirds majority.

Having examined the mixed and controversial outcome that evolved from a combination of normative and partisan claims, an internationally focused general analysis also helps in this evaluation. For this purpose we have used the electoral integrity frame. Table 4 provides an overview of the evaluation of the

6 The higher the index, the lower the level of disproportionality.

7 Stumpf and Kovács emphasize that the transfer of surplus votes only has a significant effect if there is a dominant party in the electoral race. When the competition is tight between – usually two – candidates, the winner's small margin of victory does not translate into a significant number of votes for transferring (2015:57). However, if there is a dominant party which has a significant margin of surplus votes, such transfers further strengthen its parliamentary position. Indeed, the L-H index would have decreased to 18.75 (instead of 21.77) without the effect of the surplus votes.

15 elections held in European countries in 2013-14.[8] The project measures using indices eleven different aspects of an electoral system, which are as follows: electoral law, electoral procedures, voter registration, party and candidate registration, media coverage, campaign finance, voting process, vote count, results, and electoral authorities. As Table 4 shows, Hungary's ranking is strikingly low for almost every element – often last –, and always less than the mean value for other European countries both in Western Europe and Eastern Europe.

Table 4. *Overview of most Important Indexes of Electoral Integrity for Selected Western and Eastern European EU Member Countries*

	West European countries*			East European countries**			Hungary
	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean
1-4. Electoral laws index (20-100)	7	76.6	12.4	7	69.7	15.9	44.5
2-5. Electoral procedures index (25-100)	7	88.0	6.1	7	78.7	11.2	74.3
3-4. Voting district boundaries index (20-100)	7	71.3	10.8	7	67.3	17.6	45.7
4-4. Voter registration index (20-100)	7	82.6	6.2	7	73.9	21.2	79.4
5-6. Party and candidate registration index (20-100)	7	78.3	4.7	7	77.7	10.5	66.5
6-6. Media coverage index (20-100)	7	63.8	4.5	7	56.9	8. 8	44.9
7-6. Campaign finance index (20-100)	7	62.1	9.9	7	57.5	10.5	46.9
8-9. Voting process index (20-100)	7	75.4	6.4	7	71.0	10.2	70.0
9-6. Vote count index (20-100)	7	87.8	9.1	7	86.5	9.8	85.3
10-5. Results index (25-100)	7	83.0	6.1	7	74.0	12.1	79.2
11-5. Electoral authorities index (25-100)	7	84.6	5.6	7	75.7	12.3	65.9

** Western European countries include: Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, Germany, Italy, Malta, and the Netherlands.*
*** Central/Central-Eastern European countries include: Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia.*

Source: Pippa Norris, Ferran Martínez I. Coma and Richard W. Frank. 2014. The expert survey of Perceptions of Electoral Integrity, Release 2.5, (PEI_2.5) July 2014: www.electoralintegrityproject.com.

8 About the project details, see www.electoralintegrityproject.com

The most critical points in the assessment (those areas in which Hungary scored less than 50.00 points) are the electoral law itself, the voting district boundaries, media coverage and campaign finance. These are poorly ranked, not only compared to Western European democracies but also to Eastern European countries. The assessment of these dimensions is in line with our analysis and supports our findings. Within the integrity framework, electoral law is judged according to how unfair it is to smaller parties, and whether it favors the governing party. The dominance of the majoritarian mechanism, along with the allocation of surplus votes, is detrimental to smaller parties and favors the dominant party – a fact which is mirrored in the disproportional results of the 2014 election. The assessment of voting district boundaries is also based on their level of impartiality, their tendency to support incumbent parties, and to discriminate against others. Campaign financing results are based on experts' views about the accessibility of funds, transparency of usage and proper use of campaign money. As we have argued above, problems in Hungary were not new in this respect, but the indices show that the new regulatory framework did not solve these shortcomings. Analysis of how the media was used during the campaign exceeds the limits of this paper, but the low score suggests that public access to political information is far from satisfactory. In addition to these dimensions, the party and candidate registration index is at rock bottom. In contrast, the voter registration index occupies nearly the highest position – an element that was meant to be eliminated by the first version of the new electoral law. Procedural elements (electoral procedures, voting process, vote counts) are also ranked highly, warning that the low scores concern the political, not the technical aspects of the electoral system.

CONCLUSION

The integrity of elections has been reduced at several points of the election cycle in Hungary. This case study can add to the ongoing debate about electoral system change in three respects. First, it draws attention to the fact that the value of the electoral integrity frame can be enriched if an electoral system is simultaneously examined as an independent and a dependent variable. Electoral systems have far-reaching social, political, and even systemic consequences, but for a thorough analysis the reasons and intentions behind the design must also be considered.

Second, this analysis of the change of the electoral system in Hungary confirms that electoral systems are "quintessentially distributive institutions"

(Benoit 2004:366) and efficiency perspectives – our first claim, regarding the necessary corrections to the old design – are only of secondary importance, and are overwritten by partisan interests.

Finally, the majoritarian turn in Hungary has proved to be a device with which to cement the dominant actor and in itself can be evaluated as a move away from established democratic practices (Blais – Massicote 1997). The primary strategic actor appears to be certain of its long-lasting and dominant position which will ensure a reinforced supermajority with the help of the new electoral system rules. Moreover, several elements of the current institutional framework (in addition to, and far exceeding the electoral system) automatically favor the dominant party's interests. In the face of the divided and fragmented opposition, we may be witnessing the construction of a predominant party system (Sartori 1976) on the ruins of failing former institutions. The concern that the monopolies present in predominant party systems are barely affected by democratic processes extends beyond the frame of electoral systems themselves (DiPalma 1990:163).

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THE DOUBLE-DEPENDENT MARKET ECONOMY AND CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY IN HUNGARY

DÉNES BANK[1]

ABSTRACT *In the different varieties of capitalism (VoC) different types of corporate social responsibility (CSR) exist (Matten – Moon 2008). In order to identify what CSR is like in Hungary, all the five institutions that are relevant to the variety of capitalism in this country are analyzed and a new concept is introduced by the author: the double-dependent market economy (DDME). This new concept allows for further exploration of the general type of CSR in Hungary and answers the question whether it is similar to the CSR of the European coordinated economies or the liberal Anglo-Saxon market economies, or is something completely different. The results of quantitative and qualitative research show that CSR in Hungary has some similarities with the CSR types of both the liberal and coordinated economies, but on the whole it is fundamentally different from them, due to the dissimilar institutional setting of capitalism in this country.*

KEYWORDS: *corporate social responsibility (CSR), varieties of capitalism (VoC), double-dependent market economy (DDME), implicit CSR, explicit CSR*

For a better understanding of the peculiarities of corporate social responsibility (CSR) in Hungary, it is necessary to compare the institutions in which CSR is embedded with those of some other countries. Matten–Moon (2008) addressed the question of how and why corporate social responsibility (CSR) differs among countries and found that the institutional context determined by the different varieties of capitalism has a great influence on the actual CSR of the given country. In the first part of this paper I supplement theoretical considerations about the varieties of capitalism (VoC) with some determinants typical of the

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Hungarian market economy in order to identify the institutional setting of CSR. In the second part, the results of quantitative and qualitative research are presented and the general type of CSR in Hungary is identified within the conceptual framework of the Hungarian variety of capitalism.

CSR IN THE VARIETIES OF CAPITALISM

In the 1990s some comparative economic analyses entered the limelight (e.g. Albert 1993, Whitley 1999) that compared the institutions of different countries or groups of countries. In this respect, the authors most often referred to are Hall and Soskice (2001) who analyzed the institutional settings of comparative advantages in different market economies. These authors found that the institutions of capitalism differ systematically in the individual countries. In the theory of varieties of capitalism, Hall and Soskice identified two main types: the liberal market economy (LME), most typical of the USA, and the coordinated market economy (CME), best corresponding to the European type of economy.[2] In the LME the most important coordination mechanisms include market competition and formal contracts, whereas in the CME non-market-oriented market coordination prevails. In this latter case, networks of companies, different unions and coalitions, (stakeholder) representation and extensive regulation play the main role. Just as the market economy in Europe differs from that inherent to the USA, CSR is also different in these economies.[3]

According to Matten – Moon (2008), in liberal market economies it is mainly 'explicit' CSR that prevails, whereas in coordinated market economies, CSR is predominantly 'implicit'. The explicit CSR most typical in the USA is based on voluntary activities initiated by companies, on programs that go beyond legal regulation, and on the commitments made according to the identified or perceived expectations of stakeholders. CSR is usually also an important part of business strategy. The implicit CSR typical of Europe is based on meeting legal requirements and on formal and informal institutions. In this case, socially responsible business activities are shaped by legitimate and institutional expectations based on social consensus. For implicit CSR, well-founded, unambiguous and predictable

2 According to Hall and Soskice (2001), the CME is most typical of Western Europe, the best example being Germany.

3 In Europe, patterns of CSR differ fundamentally from those of the United States due to different institutional legacies and cultural peculiarities embedded in their typical types of capitalism (e.g. Campbell 2007; Gjolberg 2009; Jamali – Neville 2011; Witt – Redding 2012; Carson et al. 2015).

regulations and norms are needed that contain mandatory collective expectations towards companies. Not living up to these expectations usually results in unfavorable repercussions, and efforts to avoid these negative effects can be considered the main motivation for CSR activities. In the case of implicit CSR, national institutions support collectivism, solidarity and partnerships through coordinated, compulsory and program-based incentives, whereas in the case of explicit CSR, institutions lay emphasis on individualism, liberalism, and discretional programs, and on insulated or network-based coordination (Matten – Moon 2008: 410-411).

Due to the different varieties of capitalisms and institutions in Europe, different types of CSR can be identified. Authors have examined the types of CSR formed by the specific institutional background in France (Kang – Moon 2012), Germany (Witt – Redding 2012, Hiss 2009), and the Scandinavian countries (Carson et al. 2015). It is particularly relevant to examine the specific types of CSR in the CEE region where significant differences exist in the institutional settings compared to those of Western Europe or overseas countries because of the specific historical features and heritage. However, there has so far been no research that defined the type of CSR in Hungary (and in CEE) in the context of the variety of capitalism.[4] In the next section of the paper the main characteristics of VoC in Hungary are presented through an analysis of the relevant institutions.

THE INSTITUTIONAL SETTING OF THE ECONOMY IN HUNGARY

According to Nölke and Vliegenthart (2009), CEE countries cannot be described well using LME or CME models since their institutions are fundamentally different to the dimensions defined by the liberal and the coordinated type of capitalisms. The major reason for this is the considerable amount of foreign direct investment (FDI) by multinational companies. Nölke and Vliegenthart (2009) maintain the view that in Central and Eastern Europe the international corporate governance culture of multinational companies pervades the relevant institutions and meanwhile constructs a dependent linkage between the economy of the country and the FDI of these companies. Nölke and Vliegenthart (2009) have defined these economies as dependent market

4 Earlier relevant work includes research by Bluhm and Trapmann (2014) who examined CSR in CEE using the cognitive concepts of business leaders, Lengyel and Bank (2014) who explored the institutional settings that determine the Hungarian economy, and Géring (2015) who analyzed the explicit and implicit dimensions of the online communication of CSR in Hungary.

economies (DME) and claimed that this type of capitalism can be considered a new variety, according to the institutions analyzed by Hall and Soskice (2001).

After the transition from socialism to a market economy, strong competition emerged among the countries of the region to attract more FDI (and thus reduce state debt) that gave foreign investors the opportunity to exert their interests in the institutions of these countries by influencing important local decision-makers (cf. Drahokoupil 2009, King 2007; Morgan – Whitley 2003). After having avoided increasing gross government debt to unsustainable levels, the need for the stronger engagement of the state in these economies increasingly came to the forefront with a view to reducing the risk of depending on FDI to a large extent. Regarding the post-socialist countries, the economies of the CEE countries are most similar to coordinated market economies, but the role of the state in Central Europe is both more extensive and intensive than in Western Europe (Lane 2007). Furthermore, the heritage of state socialism can still be identified (Knell – Shorlec 2007). However, the role of the state is not included in the DME model as it only focuses on the dominant role of multinational companies. The market economy typical of Central Europe can be defined more precisely by the term 'double dependence' (Lengyel – Bank 2014; Lengyel 2016). This concept does not reject the assumptions of the dependent market economy, but it amends them with findings related to the role and the influence of the state after the post-socialist transition.[5]

Nölke and Vliengenthart (2009) analyzed the role of multinational companies in the CEE economies in detail, which analysis was the basis of the framework of their DME model. Since these findings hold true for Hungary as well (cf. Lengyel – Bank 2014), these aspects will not be touched upon in this paper. In the next section, however, the other elements of double dependence are discussed; namely, the influence of the state on the institutions that are most relevant to the economy.

The determining role of the Hungarian state in the economy rests on four pillars. These include the position of state-owned enterprises, the allocation of resources, regulations affecting the market economy, and the preferences and sanctions addressed to the different economic groups. These roles affect all five dimensions relevant to the varieties of capitalism – namely, sources of investment, corporate governance, industrial relations, educational and training systems, and the transfer of innovations. In this section, these institutions are analyzed from the point of view of the above-mentioned roles of the state. The conclusion is that, besides multinational companies, the actual variety of capitalism also depends to a large extent on the state in Hungary.

5 Besides a post-socialist legacy, dependence also involves the international requirements (of the EU or other international agreements) followed by the state that the government has implemented through legislation after the transition, or any other activities at the national level.

Sources of investment

In terms of ownership in enterprises, the role of the state was not significant in Hungary, since 57 per cent of GDP was produced by companies owned by foreigners (including multinational companies), whereas this proportion was only 7 per cent regarding state-owned companies in 2014.[6] Nevertheless, a gradual increase in state ownership has been recorded in recent years, and state ownership reached more than 20 per cent in nine sectors (from a total of 74). The role of state-owned enterprises in investment is spectacular only in some specific sectors (e.g. the energy sector). However, in terms of the sources of investment the distributive role of the state is much more significant than with ownership.

The role of the Hungarian state in income and expenditure is greater at the level of the national economy than in Western Europe (OECD 2015). In 2012, general government revenue totaled 47 per cent of GDP, whereas general government expenditures were 49 per cent. [7] Sixty-two per cent of government investments were centrally coordinated (the remaining part was allocated by local governments and authorities) – a figure significantly higher than the 25 per cent of Germany or the 33 per cent of Austria (OECD 2015). However, the distributive role of the Hungarian state does not only involve the reallocation of tax revenues. A great proportion of investments in Hungary are financed using EU funds that are allocated by the government and its institutions and agencies. Nearly half of all government investment has come from EU funds since 2010, and 7 per cent of all private investment (Boldizsár et al. 2016). The proportion of EU funds in public and private investment was as high as 27 per cent in 2015 because of payments cumulated at the end of the EU budgetary period.[8]

The amount of EU funds arriving to Hungary is also significant compared to FDI, since in the budgetary cycle from 2007 to 2013 some EUR 35 billion were transferred by the EU to Hungary, whereas the total inflow of FDI amounted to only EUR 28 billion in the same period.[9] As a result, EU funding contributed to the development of the Hungarian economy more than FDI, thus the distributive role of the state is at least as determinant as the role of the multinational companies that account for the major part of FDI inflow.

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6 Calculation of the author using the database of the National Tax and Customs Administration of Hungary (NTCAH).

7 From an institutional perspective, a government is a part of the state-representing executorial power.

8 Calculation by the author using the database of the National Bank of Hungary (NBH) and the Hungarian Central Statistical Office (HCSO).

9 Calculation by the author using the database of Eurostat, NBH, NTCAH and the State Audit Office of Hungary (SAOH). FDI data do not include the capital flows of so-called special purpose companies designed for tax optimization.

The Hungarian government plays an important role in allocating EU funds by channeling funding into specific industries and activities. The allocation of general government expenditures and EU funds is frequently carried out according to political or personal preferences rather than rational economic considerations.[10] In addition, the Hungarian government allocates available funds so as to favor selected social groups and entrepreneurs with the aim of creating a loyal clientele (Lengyel 2016; Jancsics 2016). According to Dávid-Barett and Fazekas (2016), political influence is widespread, legal, and systematic, and as a consequence of this, companies favored by the government account for 50-60 per cent of the orders obtained through public procurement. This proportion is significantly higher than (for example) the 10 per cent share calculated for the United Kingdom. Furthermore, state-owned banks assume a major role in the financing of sectors and firms that are considered to be important by the government.

Corporate governance

The government has a central, direct and dominant influence on the corporate governance of state-owned enterprises. According to formal and informal regulations, a significant proportion of the contracts of these firms need to be confirmed by government institutions, irrespective of the order of magnitude. However, the influence of the government on corporate governance is not limited to state-owned enterprises but concerns all other companies due to the presence of regulation, allocation, subsidization and different sanctions.

The government can fundamentally change the operational environment of companies through regulations and distributive mechanisms. The Hungarian government intervenes in the business environment of selected sectors by imposing special taxes on them, offering special tax benefits to others, applying sector-specific positive or negative discrimination and providing different economic participants with selective advantages and disadvantages (Lengyel 2016). In Hungary, important changes have occurred in the taxation and regulation of many sectors such as banks, retail trade, energy distribution, tobacco, private utilities etc. that affected their operations and thus restructured

10 Both the personal and institutional embeddedness of corruption related to the allocation of EU funds is present in Hungary (Szántó et al. 2011). The strong presence of corruption can be found in the fields of capital and workforce too, and due to the institutional setting, among CEE countries it was only Hungary in which the extent of corruption did not decrease between 2002 and 2013 (Gamberoni et al. 2016).

the market. In many cases, this made big multinational companies leave the Hungarian market because of the financially unsustainable business conditions they created, and related government pressure, although some left voluntarily (when the government made a generous offer for their shares). In the private sphere, corporate governance was required to establish direct or indirect institutionalized relationships with the government in order to obtain allowances (even EU funds), to avoid unfavorable market intervention, or to remain informed about forthcoming changes in regulations well in advance.

Industrial relations

Every third active citizen works at an institution that is linked to the general government in Hungary; a significantly higher fraction than in Western European countries. In general, according to the OECD (2015), employment in the public sphere is typically higher in CEE countries compared to other EU member states, or the average of the OECD countries. Furthermore, the significant role of the government in industrial relations does not originate only in the high proportion of public sphere employment, but also in the fact that public employment is very much centralized in Hungary, leading to greater and more direct dependence on the government.

Furthermore, legislation also has a notable effect on employment in both the public and private sphere in Hungary. The labor law in Hungary (law No. I/2012) has influenced the working conditions and bargaining power of employees according to both the codified text and actual practices (Laki et al. 2013), and has also reduced the opportunity for the reconciliation of employee and employer interests and affected trade unions with weak bargaining positions the most (Neumann 2014). These provisions can be regarded as favorable for employers in general and companies with foreign participation in particular, while they also indicate the significant role of government regulation in employment.

Educational and training systems

In Hungary, average expenditure on education per capita has been lower than both the EU and CEE average since 2000. Disbursement of money on public education dropped most between 2008 and 2011 due to budgetary restrictions, whereas it increased continuously in almost all neighboring countries (OECD

2015). As part of the reform of the educational system, decision-making and other competencies have been merged since 2010 in order to increase efficiency. These provisions focused not only on financing and controlling, but on areas such as the centralized textbook market and the single teacher career-path model as well. Meanwhile, private education systems are still marginal in Hungary compared to Western European countries. Besides public education, the role of the government has been notable in external training too. Since 2007, much of this training was supported by EU funds and thus the government had a major role in determining the scope and targets of these events. The traditionally dominant role of the Hungarian government in education has grown even more prevalent despite reductions in the related budgetary expenditure, and lately has spread to areas such as training, too.

Transfer of innovation

In Hungary, direct government funding of research and development (i.e. the most important components of innovation) was 36 per cent of the total for all such expenditure in 2013. This amount is just 1 per cent less than the average of the CEE countries, but 15 per more than the average of the non-CEE EU member countries.[11] In Hungary (and in nearly all CEE countries), the role of the state in R&D expenditure is significantly higher than in most Western European countries. Furthermore, the share of government resources in Hungary has been significantly higher for R&D compared to foreign resources since foreign R&D-related investment covered only 18 per cent of all such expenditures[12] (i.e. about half of the government funding).

Besides expenditure, the incumbent Hungarian government has a significant role in the coordination and transfer of innovation activities, especially in terms of defining the R&D areas that are considered to be a priority. The National Research, Development and Innovation Office of Hungary plays an important role in the transfer of innovation, and besides sharing information also supports and coordinates innovative activities.[13] Considering the above, the government

11 Calculation by the author based on the dataset of 'Gross domestic expenditure on R-D by sector of performance and source of funds' published by OECD (available at stats.oecd.org).

12 Furthermore, one-fifth of foreign R&D expenditure that was allocated by the government was actually funded by the EU.

13 For example, the Jedlik Ányos Cluster that identifies companies with electric mobility innovations was funded under the supervision of the National Research, Development and Innovation Office of Hungary.

plays an important role in both providing resources and establishing a platform for the transfer of innovation activities.

As a result of the aforementioned institutional settings, it can be stated that, besides multinational companies, the government also assumes an important role in defining the variety of capitalism in Hungary. This means that the term 'double-dependent market economy' (DDME), which can also be interpreted as an extension of the DME concept of Nölke and Vliegenthart (2009), is more appropriate for describing the Hungarian variety of capitalism. In the table below, the DDME concept constructed by the author is presented. It contains the elements of dependence both relating to multinational companies (as described in the DME concept) and the state in general and the government in particular on different institutional levels.

Table 1. *Institutional setting of the double-dependent market economy (DDME)*

Institution	Dependence on multinational companies*	Dependence on the state**
Distinctive coordination mechanism	dependence on intra-firm hierarchies within transnational enterprises	dependence on relationship with government
Primary means of raising investment	foreign direct investment and foreign-owned banks	resources of central government and EU funds allocated by government; state-owned banks
Corporate governance	control by headquarters of transnational enterprises	necessity for direct or indirect attachment to government; centralized control over state-owned companies
Industrial relations	appeasement of skilled labor; company-level collective agreements	strong influence of government regulation; high and centralized employment in the public sphere
Education and training system	limited expenditure on further qualification, adult education	dominant role of state
Transfer of innovation	intra-firm transfers within transnational enterprises	government resources, coordination and transfer
Comparative advantages	assembly platforms for semi-standardized industrial goods	easier to implement economic policies and political priorities; better environment for sectors and companies favored by government

*According to the DME concept of Nölke – Vliegenthart (2009: 680).
** Findings of the author.

The most important coordination mechanisms in a DDME country are the hierarchies inside the multinational companies and the dependent nature of relationships with the government. The comparative advantages of the double-dependent market economies compared to other varieties of capitalism can be witnessed mainly in the manufacturing sector because of the relatively well-trained and cheap workforce, and in the sectors that are favored by the government. Furthermore, some bigger enterprises benefit from a more favorable market environment or better market positions in these market economies as a result of effective bargaining with the state.

The DDME model introduced above is not designed to describe all the trends of the Hungarian market economy but rather to reveal the most important institutional settings of the dependence typical to Hungary.[14] The DDME concept was introduced to create better understanding of the Hungarian variety of capitalism; however, it may also be valid for many other countries in the CEE region, though further research is needed to verify this assumption.

Double dependence not only affects the economy, but also the areas that are related to it, like corporate social responsibility. In the next section, the main features of CSR in Hungary are discussed in the context of the double-dependent market economy.

CSR IN THE HUNGARIAN DDME

The institutional system of a DDME country differs significantly from those of coordinated or liberal market economies. Therefore, it is reasonable to examine which combination of explicit CSR (typical of LMEs) and implicit CSR (typical of CMEs) exists in a DDME country, and which specific type of CSR can be identified in Hungary. For this purpose, both quantitative and qualitative research was conducted among Hungarian companies. The reason for using mixed methodology was that quantitative research facilitates the identification of the main aspects of CSR in Hungary, whereas qualitative techniques provide an opportunity to learn more about the factors affecting the decisions and attitudes of business leaders.

The Hungarian database used in this research was part of the outcome of an international survey conducted in 2009 and 2010. The quantitative research

14 For example, informal institutions also play an important role in the economy of Hungary and other CEE countries, and even if they may be considered responses to formal institutions, their analysis may be considered relevant – but this proposition requires further research and investigation.

was coordinated by the German Friedrich-Schiller University (FSU Jena) whose partners were the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAS) and Corvinus University of Budapest (CUB). The research project focused on examining economic elites and institutional changes, while the survey also contained a number of questions about CSR. In Hungary, 285 companies responded to the questionnaire. During the qualitative research phase in September 2016, I undertook 21 face-to-face interviews with business leaders. To learn more about the double-dependence feature of CSR, I completed interviews with managers of seven multinational companies, seven Hungarian state-owned enterprises and seven Hungarian private firms operating (also) in Hungary. The interview questions were composed with regard to the results of the quantitative survey so that the decisive factors behind the figures could be identified.

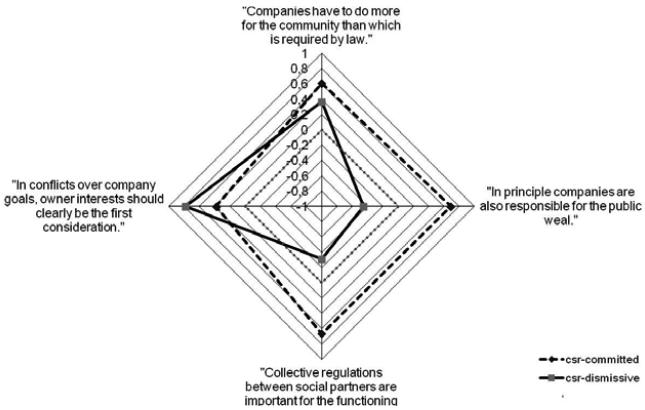
Results of quantitative research

According to the material presented above, one can presume that in a DDME country business leaders will have a different conceptual idea about CSR than in countries with other varieties of capitalism. In this respect, CSR commitments and attitudes in Hungary and the eastern part of Germany were analyzed. East Germany has a coordinated market economy (CME) and can be considered a relatively newly integrated part of Western Europe and is thus ideal for inclusion in a comparative analysis of the effect of the different market economies. Using principal component matrix analysis, two groups were constructed. The first was named 'CSR-committed companies', and the other 'CSR-dismissive companies'. I analyzed the attitudes of these groups in terms of the four different statements that were included in the survey concerning CSR on a normalized scale: from -1 (completely disagree) to +1 (completely agree) (the exact statements are indicated on the axis of Figure 1). Analysis of the responses to the statements allows us to compare cognitive conceptions about CSR in a CME and in a DDME country in terms of voluntary CSR, collective regulation, interest priorities in conflict situations, and the company's public responsibilities.

In Hungary, CSR-committed and CSR-dismissive companies agree with the statement that "companies have to do more for the community than required by law", and "in conflicts over company goals, owner interest should clearly be the first consideration" to a similar extent. CSR-committed companies agree with the statements that "in principle, companies are also responsible for the public weal", and "collective regulations between social partners are important for the

functioning of the economy", whereas CSR-dismissive companies thought the opposite (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. *CSR-committed and CSR-dismissive companies in Hungary*



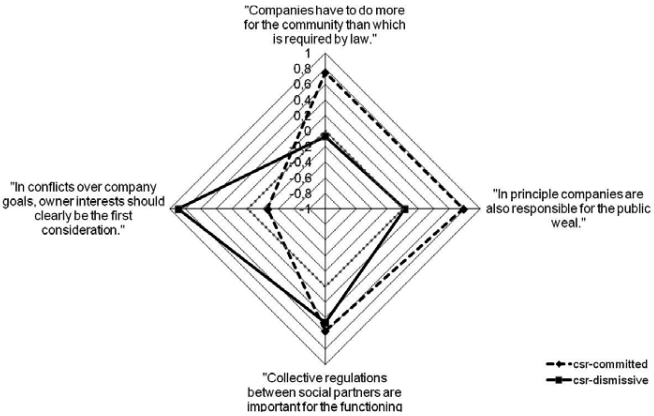
Source of data: FSU Jena – PAS – CUB, N=285

I also analyzed the answers of the companies from East Germany with the same methodology so they could be compared with the Hungarian results. In East Germany, CSR-committed and CSR-dismissive companies agreed only with the opinion "collective regulations between social partners are important for the functioning of the economy". CSR-dismissive companies were neutral regarding the statements "in principle, companies are also responsible for the public weal", and "companies have to do more for the community than required by law", whereas these statements were strongly supported by the CSR-committed companies. CSR-committed companies slightly disagreed with the statement "in conflicts over company goals, owner interest should clearly be the first consideration", whereas CSR-dismissive ones totally agreed with it (see Figure 2).

One of the main differences between the above-described results of the two countries was that not only CSR-dismissive firms but also CSR-committed companies agreed with the statement "in conflicts over company goals, satisfying the interest of owners should clearly be the first consideration" in Hungary, which was not the case in Germany. The other main difference was that CSR-dismissive companies disagreed with the opinion that "collective regulations between social partners are important for the functioning of the

economy" in Hungary, whereas in East Germany both groups strongly agreed with it. In three out of four dimensions, companies from East Germany seemed to be more CSR conscious, but regarding the question of public weal, Hungarian companies were more positive regardless of whether they were CSR committed or dismissive. Considering the above, it can be stated that the implicit CSR of Germany (with its coordinated market economy) and the CSR of Hungary (with a double-dependent market economy) are fundamentally different according to the cognitive perspectives of business leaders.

Figure 2. *CSR-committed and CSR-dismissive companies in Eastern Germany*



Source of data: FSU Jena – PAS – CUB, N=285

I analyzed the results of the quantitative survey to learn whether the CSR in Hungary is explicit or implicit, a mixture of these, or something different from these ideal types. According to Matten and Moon (2008), explicit CSR involves mostly voluntary and strategic socially responsible corporate activities, whereas implicit CSR basically refers to legal compliance. According to this research, the 'explicit CSR' category may be applied to firms from our survey that have both a dedicated budget and a strategy for CSR activities. Some companies claimed to do CSR, but did not have a budget or a strategy for this purpose and were not engaged in voluntary activity, thus these companies could be categorized as practicing implicit CSR. However, in Hungary legal compliance is not generally

guaranteed among companies[15] (cf. Transparency International 2016; Lengyel 2016; Jancsics 2016) and thus I employ the term 'basically implicit CSR' rather than the term 'implicit CSR' in the analysis. As a consequence of the results of the quantitative analysis, it was necessary to introduce a third category since there were also companies[16] that had a dedicated budget for CSR, but CSR was not present at the strategic level. I use the term "tends to be explicit CSR" for this group as they also do CSR on a voluntary basis, but this CSR can be considered rather ad hoc than strategic.

The CSR categories used in this research are thus the following: [17]

- 'basically implicit CSR': the company has CSR activities but no dedicated budget or strategy for these,
- 'tends to be explicit CSR': the company has CSR activities and a dedicated budget for them, but no CSR strategy,
- 'explicit CSR': the company has CSR activities, a dedicated budget, and a strategy for CSR.

As described above, it was necessary to supplement Matten and Moon's (2008) distinction between implicit-explicit types of CSR to describe the CSR in Hungary in two ways (using 'basically implicit' in place of 'implicit', and adding the category 'tends to be explicit') to reflect the special institutional setting in Hungary. The CSR typical to Hungary cannot be categorized simply into explicit or implicit ideal types, but is in many respects fundamentally different. Below, I present some of the main differences between the CSR in a DDME country and the implicit CSR of the European CME countries and the explicit CSR of the Anglo-Saxon LME countries.

The results of the quantitative survey show that 95 per cent of the companies in Hungary engage in CSR activities (including legal compliance, as well as voluntary CSR). 73 per cent of these companies have 'basically implicit CSR', 12 per cent of them practice 'explicit CSR' and the remainder (15 per cent) can be located between the two types; i.e. in the 'tends to be explicit' category.

Results indicate that CSR in Hungary is not only a mixture of implicit and explicit types because the two most frequent forms of CSR (namely, 'basically implicit CSR' and 'tends to be explicit CSR') are not included in the CSR typology

15 This was also verified in the qualitative research phase when many companies – mostly private Hungarian ones – stated that they did not strive to meet all legal requirements because this would affect their operations unfavorably.

16 As described later in the analysis, 15% per cent of companies fit the criteria for this group.

17 In the questionnaire, whether the company had CSR activity, and whether it had a budget and/or strategy for CSR were identified using 'yes or no' questions.

of Matten and Moon (2008) based on the liberal and the coordinated varieties of capitalism. Since in the double-dependent market economy both multinational companies and the state have a significant influence on the relevant institutions, I also analyzed CSR practices in Hungary with regard to the owners of the companies to identify whether distinctive patterns could be identified in terms of ownership: multinational, state-owned or private (Table 2).

I found that 84 per cent of the Hungarian private companies that have CSR activities belong to the 'basically implicit CSR' group. According to the survey, explicit CSR is most frequently practiced at Hungarian state enterprises and multinational companies in Hungary. One-third of all state enterprises practiced explicit CSR: a level even higher than that of foreign companies (27 per cent); however, survey results do not show the intensity or the extensiveness of these activities which may well tell another story. Eighteen per cent of foreign companies and seventeen per cent of (Hungarian) state-owned enterprises in Hungary had a dedicated budget for CSR but no CSR strategy, and thus fell into the 'tends to be explicit CSR' category.

Table 2. *Frequency of CSR types in terms of the different forms of company ownership among companies that are active with CSR in Hungary*

	Ownership			Total
	Foreign enterprise	Hungarian state enterprise	Hungarian private company	
Basically implicit CSR	55.2%	50.2%	83.7%	73.0%
Tends to be explicit CSR	17.6%	16.6%	13.5%	14.9%
Explicit CSR	27.2%	33.2%	2.8%	12.1%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source of data: FSU Jena – PAS – CUB, N=285, Cramer's V: 0.278, Sig.: 0.000

Company ownership has a significant but not very strong effect (Cramer's V: 0.278, Sig.: 0.000) on whether a company practices 'explicit', 'tends to be explicit' or 'basically implicit' CSR. According to the results, the most typical type of CSR among Hungarian private companies is 'basically implicit CSR'. Explicit CSR is more typical among the Hungarian state-owned enterprises and foreign-owned companies than among the Hungarian private companies in Hungary, but even at these enterprises explicit CSR remains a minority compared to the

other CSR types. In Hungary, 55 per cent of foreign companies and a little more than half of state-owned companies carry out 'basically implicit CSR'.

There were at least two unexpected results of the analysis. First, even foreign companies did not generally have a dedicated budget or strategy for CSR activities in Hungary. One reason for this may be that the owners of such companies (typically parent companies) did not require their Hungarian subsidiaries to be active in this respect, implying that global CSR trends that mainly spread through the intra-firm hierarchies of multinational companies are still not as prevalent in Hungary as they are in liberal or coordinated market economies. This assumption will be further elaborated on in the next section. Second, Hungarian state-owned enterprises were most active with the explicit type of CSR. One explanation for this (besides the unexpectedly low level of explicit CSR among foreign companies in Hungary) may be that the current government is trying to develop a favorable image of these companies among voters.[18]

The results of the quantitative research revealed that foreign companies and Hungarian state-owned enterprises were most active with explicit CSR (and also with 'tends to be explicit CSR'), implying that state-owned enterprises and foreign companies play an important role in the actual patterns of CSR in Hungary. This finding is in line with the concept of the double-dependent market economy that claims that the Hungarian economy is dependent on the government/state and multinational companies. However, the analysis also indicated that the CSR type typical of Hungary cannot be described well solely using Matten and Moon's (2008) terms 'explicit' and 'implicit' CSR, as most companies in Hungary did not match these ideal types.

Results of qualitative research

The qualitative research was designed to identify some of the features of the above-outlined specific CSR type in Hungary from the perspective of business leaders. In the following I describe what differences exist in terms of multinational companies, Hungarian state enterprises and private Hungarian companies in Hungary.

Leaders of multinational companies said that legal compliance (thus mainly implicit CSR) is important for their company because they consider avoiding

18 Another interpretation is that Hungarian state enterprises are generally bigger, and state-owned financial institutions were slightly over-represented in this sample too. Concerning this issue, more detailed analysis is included in the PhD dissertation of the author (Bank 2017).

scandals to be very important. Many of the multinational companies taking part in this research had already experienced what it meant to have such an issue (i.e. non-fulfillment of legal requirements) appear in the media, not only affecting the subsidiary company but the whole international company group, causing significant harm to their business.[19] Such issues make investors more careful and conscious about maintaining legal compliance on an international level due to the risk of a possible decrease in the value of their shares. This means that owners and investors compel even subsidiary companies to fulfill all related legal requirements, leading to socially more responsible multinational companies. Accordingly, this results in an implicit type of CSR among these companies in Hungary due to the presence of European-type legislation. However, many voluntary CSR or sustainability activities were also present at the companies which were investigated, and some even had related strategies that show signs of explicit CSR too.

Among state-owned enterprises, legal compliance is considered to be fundamental because of the requirements of the owner. Interviewees said that the owner was the legislator as well, so it is not a question whether the company should fulfill legal requirements. However, corruption can be detected both with tendering and at state-owned enterprises (cf. Dávid-Barett – Fazekas 2016; Gamberoni et al. 2016) which means that state-owned enterprises do not fulfill all legal requirements in reality. One may admit though, that in most areas, especially with taxation and labor, state-owned enterprises intend to meet all the legal requirements.

Fulfilling all legal requirements was not considered to be as important among the Hungarian private companies I interviewed as it was among the multinational companies or the Hungarian state-owned enterprises. Answers suggest that business reality in Hungary means a focus not on legal compliance but rather market gains, reducing the effects of excessive regulation and fighting for survival above all. Some respondents said that not meeting legal requirements could even be considered fair in some cases, especially when they affected the continuing existence of the company (i.e. as concerns the wellbeing of employees and their families). Others said that being the least unfair among competitors can be considered socially responsible business behavior. This reflects a difficult market situation for Hungarian private companies and also shows that their approach towards CSR does not fit any of the categories defined in the typology of Matten and Moon (2008).

19 Many such scandals have been reported in international media concerning issues such as Shell and environmental protection in Africa, Nike and child labor in Asia, and Volkswagen and the falsified reporting of harmful emissions.

In line with the quantitative research, explicit CSR was most present among multinational companies according to the interviewees, but only a few had dedicated budgets or strategies for CSR. Some said that it had just appeared in the global strategy of the parent company, but still had not become an issue at the Hungarian subsidiary in practice. One reason for the spread of CSR among multinational companies is a desire to follow industry leaders which stimulates companies to tackle the issue at the level of corporate culture and strategy. The motivation for this may be, on the one hand, that managers and owners recognize the direct and indirect benefits of CSR for their companies and, on the other, that they are afraid of losing their market position if they lag behind in this respect. This kind of replication (cf. 'isomorphism'; DiMaggio – Powell 1983) of industry-leading practices can result in the wider diffusion of CSR, but according to the interviewees, embedding CSR into corporate culture would be a rather time-consuming process.

The tendency to explicit CSR was mixed among the representatives of state-owned enterprises that were interviewed, as there were companies that acted like multinational companies in terms of CSR, and others that focused mainly on legal compliance. Profit-oriented Hungarian state-owned enterprises are much more likely to have explicit CSR than public service operators, for whom the biggest emphasis appeared to be placed on legal compliance, especially concerning labor regulations.

The CSR at Hungarian private companies involved in the qualitative research did not match either the explicit or the implicit CSR of Matten and Moon (2008), although some components of them could be identified according to respondents' answers. Many Hungarian private companies engage in voluntary CSR activities (mostly in the areas of labor care and donations), but these occur rather occasionally or in an ad hoc manner, depending on the situation, and are shaped predominantly by the personal attitudes and decisions of the leaders of companies.

CONCLUSION

In this paper I have demonstrated that, besides multinational companies, the state/government plays a significant role in all of the five institutions that are relevant in terms of the variety of capitalism in Hungary. For this reason, I introduced a term for a new variety of capitalism, the double-dependent market economy (DDME), to expand on Nölke and Vliegenthart's (2009) concept of the dependent market economy (DME). Hungary as a DDME country has a

fundamentally different institutional setting compared to the liberal (LME) or coordinated (CME) market economies. It is probable that the DDME model is valid for other CEE countries (especially the V4 countries), but verification of this would need further research.

In the different varieties of capitalism there are different types of CSR (Matten and Moon 2008) thus I analyzed what combination of explicit (typical of LMEs) and implicit (typical of CMEs) CSR was present in Hungary. Findings indicate that some patterns of both implicit and explicit CSR are present in Hungary due to the significant role of the state and multinational companies in the formulation of institutions. However, in the double-dependent market economy of Hungary, CSR is distinct from that of Western European countries. Implicit CSR does not prevail as a general rule, mainly because of the private Hungarian companies that are the most numerous in the country and that fulfill legal requirements selectively. Explicit CSR can be found among some big global multinational companies in Hungary, but there are also many big subsidiary companies that have no explicit CSR at all. Many of these multinational companies can be identified as 'tends to be explicit'; a situation that cannot be defined as implicit or explicit CSR, but rather lies between the two.

In Hungary, many formal institutions that are of great importance to both the economy and society are rooted in the strong conceptual heritage of socialism. After accession to the European Union, Hungary began to harmonize its law to the *acquis communautaire,* so its legislation is basically identical to that of the other EU member states in most areas (for example, in competition law, environmental law, and employment law). The so-constructed strong regulatory background and the relatively coordinated market economy could give space for implicit CSR in Hungary, as it does in most Western European countries according to Matten and Moon (2008). However, informal institutions (for example, the presence of NGOs) are much weaker in Hungary than in Western Europe and their role in society is marginal, thus they cannot contribute to the spread of implicit CSR. Furthermore, fulfilling and enforcing formal requirements is not as common as it is in Western Europe, which also leads to the more moderate presence of implicit CSR practices. On the one hand, this can also be regarded as Hungary's communist-era heritage (when informal institutions contributed to the presence of the shadow economy and the flexible use of the resources of state-owned enterprises). On the other hand, frequently changing and thus unpredictable legislation and a challenging business environment (especially for private Hungarian firms) may also contribute to a greater willingness to ignore legal requirements. All these factors result in the existence of a rather different form of implicit-like CSR in Hungary than that of Western European countries.

Considering the above, the general outcome of CSR practices in Hungary eventuate in a type of CSR that is distinct from the ideal types of Matten and Moon (2008). It is not possible to assess using the results of the current research whether this Hungarian type of CSR will develop in the direction of the ideal types of implicit or explicit CSR in the future, and if yes, in which direction. This issue remains for future research. However, it can be stated that such a development would require fundamental changes in the institutions of the Hungarian double-dependent market economy.

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OPPORTUNITY, OBLIGATION, RISK – THE REPRESENTATION OF PREIMPLANTATIONAL GENETIC TESTS IN THE HUNGARIAN ONLINE NEWS MEDIA

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ABSTRACT *Preimplantational genetic tests (PG tests) used in the processes of reproduction under laboratory conditions are considered to be one of the most controversial fields of gene technology. These tests are performed on embryos and result in the selection of the most capable embryo, while the rest are destroyed. Numerous moral questions arise regarding the ethical application of these procedures. This study investigated the representation of this topic in the Hungarian online media, applying (qualitative) Foucauldian discourse analysis. The results suggest that the narratives related to the topic can be organized according to their subjects around three discourses: those surrounding parents, those surrounding the embryo, and those surrounding the application of PG tests. It was also revealed that narratives of risk, responsibility and the freedom of autonomous decision-making play an important role in constructing the representations of PG tests in the Hungarian online news media.*

KEYWORDS: *science communication, discourse analysis, reproductive technologies, human genetics, public understanding of science*

1. INTRODUCTION

The development of reproductive technologies has made it possible for parents who long for the healthiest offspring to use selective reproductive technologies that involve the selection of embryos (Navratyil 2012). However, these procedures raise difficult ethical questions, such as what we consider to be the beginning of human life, what the appropriate conditions of selection are, where the boundaries of individual autonomy are, as well as whether society

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has the right to define the criteria for a worthy life. Therefore it is particularly important to define the legal applicability of these technologies. Zoltán Navratyil refers to a series of international agreements that define the internationally recognized standpoint of embryonic research. At the same time, country-specific regulations may differ depending on whether autonomy, individual freedom, common good or the scientific assessment of advantages and disadvantages are of greater importance to legislators. Thus, this assessment also determines how the moral status of the embryo is perceived in the given society (Navratyil 2012).

The Human Reproductive Committee (HRB)[2] lists the terms related to the application of selective reproductive technologies in Hungary. Parents who have a high risk of conceiving a child with a genetic disorder that is likely to significantly impair the child's life expectancy can choose to use preimplantational genetic diagnosis (PGD). In contrast, preimplantational genetic screening (PGS) does not target the diagnosis of rare, single-gene disorders but contributes to identify the risk of common diseases. Furthermore, the application of PGS in principle makes it possible to scan for desired characteristics such as hair color or sex. As a result, the committee claims that PGS is in the research phase and its routine use is not recommended.

Social scientists have been investigating the social aspects of the development of reproductive technologies for a long time. However, the critical sociological analysis of the moral considerations related to these technologies has been carried out in the Anglo-Saxon and Western European context so far, with few exceptions. These exceptions include qualitative research related to other types of biotechnology in Hungary. For example, Lilla Vicsek examined the media representation of stem cell research and public attitudes towards this topic (Vicsek 2011, Vicsek – Gergely 2011). Vicsek also examined the connection between media-constructed representations of biotechnologies and public attitudes related to the topic (Vicsek 2015). This research shows that the media do not emphatically represent moral issues related to gene technology topics. Zsófia Bauer's research analyzed the online forum discussions of patients who were involved in assisted reproductive processes. This study was one of the first pieces of sociological research in Hungary to examine the social implications of reproductive technologies. However, after analyzing the results the author concluded that the contributors to the observed online forums did not touch on ethical issues (Bauer 2013). Lilla Vicsek and Noémi Szolnoki analyzed interviews with women who took part in assisted reproductive procedures. The authors concluded their research with similar results to Bauer's (Vicsek –

2 For details about the ETT Human Reproductive Committee's position on Preimplantational genetic diagnosis and scans: http://www.ett.hu/hrb/pgd_pgs.pdf. (last opened: 2015. III. 25.).

Szolnoki 2015). Thus, these results suggest that the ethical dimension regarding medical biotechnologies might be less prevalent in Hungary than in some other societies; for example, the UK and the US (e.g. Robertson 2003; Sadler – Zeidler 2004; Frewer et al. 1997; Frewer & Shepherd 1995).

This study uses qualitative discourse analysis to investigate online press materials that interpret the topic of selective reproductive technologies. The focus is on online materials because little research interest has been dedicated to this emerging, increasingly commented on component of news media (Brossard 2013). Research that has sought to analyze the media representation of human genetics and reproductive technologies so far has mainly focused on print media (e.g. Brandenburg 2011, Condit et al. 1998, Conrad 2001, Hughes – Kitzinger 2008, Michelle 2007, Petersen 2001, Petersen 2005). First, we believe that through the analysis of online news media the knowledge base can be broadened in important ways. Second, we aim to take the first step towards exploring the Hungarian media image of PG tests.

Kellie Brandenburg's qualitative discourse analysis regarding Australian printed news media's interpretation of the topic of PGD served as the theoretical and methodological inspiration for this study. In Brandenburg's study, great attention was dedicated to the all-pervasive presence of risk. The author concludes that certain aspects of risk become outlined in discourses, such as the risk of free reproductive parental choice, the risk of naturally conceiving a child with gene-related disorders, as well as the risk of a dystopian, gene-engineered future through the application of selective reproductive technologies. Moreover, Brandenburg identified three groups of discourses according to the subject in focus. The author stresses that the identified groups of discourses are not separate from each other, but intersecting (Brandenburg 2011).

The identified groups were the following:

1. Discourses surrounding parents
2. Discourses surrounding children
3. Dystopia and critiques of PGD

With this study we aim to identify discourses that construct the image of selective reproductive technologies in the two most commonly read Hungarian online newspapers, as well as to compare the discourses identified by Brandenburg (2011) with the ones identified within the frames of this study.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1. Media image

New (gene) technological innovations such as PGD or PGS are increasingly raising ethical questions that the media interprets on the basis of scientific arguments and moral principles. Brigitte Nerlich et al. argue that the media often rely on pop cultural and literary references to aid understanding and communicate the ethical issues that arise in relation to the discourses. The selection and placement of metaphors is a conscious process as it underlines the complexity of the communicated message (Nerlich et al. 2003). In the media discourses, new discoveries about human genes are often referred to as part of a rapidly developing science that is bringing with it the risk of a eugenic future (e.g. Conrad 1999; Paul 1992; Petersen 2001; Nerlich et al. 2003; Hughes & Kitzinger 2008).

Bogner & Torgersen (2015) giving heed to Michel Foucault's theory of problematization, when identifying the characteristic forms of interpreting and legitimizing knowledge in the field of biotechnology. Foucault's notion of problematization can be defined as a process through which something becomes a phenomenon that previously was not perceived as coherent. Thus, problematization defines the way, how a given topic can be addressed in discourses (Foucault 1985 in Bogner & Torgersen 2015). The findings of Bogner & Torgersen (2015) show that biotechnology is not being problematized based on its objective properties but based on what is considered as a relevant issue related to it. These relevant issues were typically found to be moral issues, risks and economic aspects. Accordingly, the problematization of this topic affects the tools of interpretation in public debates therefore on the media platforms too.

Emma Hughes and Jenny Kitzinger found that in press articles dealing with human genetics or PG tests, so-called 'slippery slope' metaphors were often used. These metaphors suggest that scientists who apply these technologies are pushing "natural" limits and playing God. In the analyzed articles, the journalists tried to point out that the current use of human genetic technologies in the future might result in unforeseen, unintended and irreversible consequences. This dreadful future is often portrayed as the genetically engineered world pictured in Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World,* or in the popular movie *Gattaca* (Hughes & Kitzinger 2008). However, Tania M. Bubela and Timothy A. Caulfield concluded that, in spite of the obvious presence of moral hazards, it is difficult to demonize these technologies since the media is more prone to emphasize

the benefits of the innovations than their risks and disadvantages (Bubela and Caulfield 2004).

2.2. Risk, autonomy, responsibility

The moral issues related to the application of the technology are linked to the uncertainties regarding the technology's development, as well as to the risks of abuse, individual autonomy and responsibility. The central idea behind Ulrich Beck's *Risk Society* is that, as a result of modernity's development-oriented perspective in terms of socio-economic progress, we create unintended risks as side-products. Thus, modernization becomes reflexive (Beck 1992). Risks connected to PG tests are interpreted using multiple dimensions. First, the individual's real-time perceived personal health risks create uncertainty. While PG tests promise certainty in the future by eliminating uncertainties in the present (i.e. by detecting potentially emerging diseases in future), the application of these technologies opens up hitherto unimaginable, intergenerational health control opportunities. However, with the use of these technologies new uncertainties and moral issues both arise, together with dreadful prognoses regarding the future of humanity. Thus, as Anne Kerr and Sarah Cunningham-Burley (2000) also remark, PG tests embody the contradictions of reflexive modernity, as the application of PG tests imply the conflict of autonomy and responsibility taken..

In the present study, risk is defined based using Michel Foucault's constructivist approach. As opposed to Beck, Foucault emphasizes the risk and the power techniques of the state. Foucault claims that risk is not an objective, external entity, but can be understood as a dispositif that consists of various discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral, and philanthropic propositions (Foucault 1980:194). Thus, the Foucauldian approach focuses on examining risk in relation to the political ethos of the neo-liberal state (Gabe et al. 2004). In Foucault's vision it is not possible to examine the given power techniques without taking the supporting political rationalities into account. *Govern*=government and *mentalité*=modalities and variants of thought are power exercising techniques that exist in interaction and create governmentality. Governmentality refers to the power exercising techniques of the state that help to conduct and influence the conduct of citizens (Foucault 1991). Thomas Lemke states that in opposition to earlier times, the power exercising tools of the modern state are not only tools of direct intervention and coercion but also indirect exercises of power technologies, through which

the state is capable of 'leading' its citizens without also taking responsibility for them. The neoliberal state defines individuals as responsible citizens, thus social risks such as diseases, disabilities, etc. are framed as and turned into individual risks. Accordingly, citizens of the neoliberal state base their decisions on perpetually making risk assessments across spheres of social existence (e.g. family life, professional life, etc.) (Lemke 2001). Carlos Novas and Niklas Rose claim that the perception of the body as genetic risk determines the self-definition of the individual. At the same time, the body-centered self-definition fits with the norms of advanced liberal societies that support entrepreneurship, self-actualization, and responsible behavior, which results in the pursuit of health and the intention of preventing future diseases (Novas and Rose 2000).

Several authors suggest (e.g. Bunton and Petersen, 2005; Brandenburg 2007) that it is worthwhile using the concept of governmentality as a tool to conduct a critical analysis of the representation of PG tests, since the governmentality concept helps to understand the impact of all-pervasive risk on the conflictual relationship between autonomy and responsibility. Following this advice, in this discourse analysis Foucault's governmentality concept was adopted and applied as a methodological tool.

3. DATA AND METHOD

3.1. Data

Helene Starks and Susan Brown Trinidad (2007) state that the most commonly used qualitative approaches in health research are phenomenology, discourse analysis and grounded theory. While phenomenology focuses on how people make sense of their own experiences, grounded theory is used to develop explanatory theories of social phenomena (Starks and Trinidad 2007). In the research described in this paper qualitative discourse analysis was performed. This method was considered the most appropriate as we wanted to understand how language is used in the process of making sense of PG tests. As source materials, the archives of the two most frequently read Hungarian online newspapers were used. Based on the database[3] of *ite.hu,* the two most often read online news sites in Hungary were *origo.hu*[4] and *index.hu*[5]. The creators

3 Source: http://ite.hu/legnezettebb-hazai-weboldalak-rangsora/

4 daily visitor: 579 213

5 daily visitor: 492 072

of the database compiled their list based on the available public databases of web-audit suppliers such as Gemius-Ipsos. The list contains the hundred most visited websites averaged on January 2014. In the first step of the analysis, a keyword search was performed in order to define the composition of the sample. The keywords applied were the following expressions, in Hungarian: "preimplantational", "reproductive", "test-tube baby, "test-tube process", "assisted reproduction", and "gene test". In order to be included in the sample, PG tests also had to be mentioned – this was discerned by reading through the texts. The search was not limited in time, being performed from the year of launch of each site (origo.hu: 1998, index.hu: 1999) until March 2015. A total of 59 articles were analyzed, of which 38 pieces were from *origo.hu* and 21 from *index.hu* or from the thematic blogs related to these online newspapers, whose content was also archived. Tamás Bodoky argues that among leading Hungarian news portals, origo.hu and index.hu – similarly to the printed press – can be defined as mass media, hence the theoretical framework of mass media can be applied to them (Bodoky 2005). In accordance with this, the online news media sources were considered to be standard forms of press.

3.2. Method

Discourse analysis was carried out based on the genealogical discourse analyses performed by Jane Carabine (2001). Following Carabine's example, the concept of "normalization" developed by Michel Foucault was applied (Carabine 2001). As Foucault states, normalized conduct is also defined through the branding of abnormalities (Foucault 1977). Therefore it was assumed that the discourses determined the group of normalized, accepted PG tests, as well as the recognized behavior of actors involved in the procedures (patients, clinics, and specialists). In the first step of the analysis, repeated, in-depth reading of the articles was undertaken. The original linear structure of the texts was disrupted and the selected parts were reorganized along a newly developed logical structure. Similarly to Brandenburg's analysis (2011), the topic-related statements were grouped based on their subjects. Taking Carabine's methodological recommendation into account, the data was interpreted using category-assigned terms. Thus, the hidden content of the texts was revealed. Additionally, the discursive construction of the actors taking part in PG tests was examined (Carabine 2001). Similarly to Brandenburg's analysis (2011), actors (including journalists) were recognized as participants who also take part in the construction of the media discourses. Keeping in mind a recommendation

from Nerlich et al. (2003), special attention was dedicated to the discursive application of science-fiction metaphors and similes. Following the guidelines of Carabine (2001), gaps surrounding the representation of the topic were detected.

4. RESULTS

The results of this research reveal that in the period under review, the discourses of the analyzed media show similarities to the discourses of the Australian print media (Brandenburg 2011). The groups of discourses that Brandenburg identified are dominant in the Hungarian sample as well, although the discursive strategies that construct the discourses of the analyzed Hungarian online news portals show some remarkable differences. Therefore, we adopted Brandenburg's grouping, while giving heed to reveal the country-specific/unique discursive strategies and narratives. However, as a result of the technological development in the years following Brandeburg's study, in addition to PGD, other selective reproductive procedures, such as PGS or mitochondrial DNA test6 are also in use. Therefore, the concerns and critics related to the use of these new procedures are also part of the online media discourses.

Thus, we identified three groups of discourses that occasionally overlap with each other:

1. Discourse surrounding parents
2. Discourse surrounding the embryo
3. Discourse surrounding the application of PG tests

6 The mitochondrial DNA test is considered to be a relatively new technology. HRB Comittee describes the technology as a procedure that enables during the IVF the exchange of the fertilized egg's mitochondia and thus a small part of the DNA too. The intervention does not affect the nuclear DNA that forms the majority of the genome. It also does not modify the mitochondrial DNA, but replaces it entirely with another, stem from „another mother". It is known that the majority of the genome is found in the nuclear DNA. However, the mitochondria's seemingly insignificantly small DNA also have improtant qualities. Their flaws cause rare but severe congenital diseases (ETT, HRB, 2015c, pp. 1). According to the Comittee's statement, the technology's risks are dwarfed by it's offered benefits. Therefore the mitochondrial DNA test is proved to be a promising therapeutic option (ETT, HRB, 2015c, p. 2).

4.1. Discourses surrounding parents

Texts that referred to parents or patients as their subjects were grouped into category one [1], and through which discursive strategies are the representations of parents, patients or women constructed was examined. The construction of parents – similarly to Brandenburg's analytical process (2011) – was grasped through the discourses of responsibility, as well as free, autonomous decision making and its limits. Parents using PG tests were portrayed as people with health risks.

> "My father suffered from a severe bleeding disorder, hemophilia A. This was found out when I was a little girl. A blood test revealed that I myself carry gene variants responsible for causing the disorder. This means that if I give birth to a boy, he will be at high risk of being sick as well."[7]

The parents' self-definition as a health risk affects their reproductive decisions. Thus, parents were often portrayed as actors who – through responsible choices – resort to all accessible means of decreasing intergenerational, inherited health risks and maximizing the health of their future offspring. This responsible choice is expressed through the application of PG tests.

> "... The 27-year-old mother got her ovaries checked because in her husband's family many women had breast cancer. The same method was used [PGD] in her case as with the IVF program as concerns implanting the fertilized egg into the uterus. With this test the risk of certain genetic diseases such as cystic fibrosis is lessened."[8]

The analyzed Hungarian online media judged the PG tests based on their efficiency; in particular, the degree to which they enabled the identification of disability. Parental autonomy – similarly to Brandenburg's findings (2011) – was found to be observable in the responsible acts of parents. To avoid giving birth to a child with a disease, parents used PG tests. In the discourses, this decision was interpreted as the easier and more ethical decision compared to abortion in a later period of pregnancy.

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7 Pesthy, G.: Instead of popular practices, embryo screening to filter hemophilia; origo.hu, 2010. November 24., http://bit.ly/1MuJsJu (last opened: 2015. XI. 08.)

8 Independent News Agency: Baby was born free from breast cancer risks in Great Britain; index.hu, 2009. January 09., http://bit.ly/1NEzfLE (last opened 2015. XI. 08)

> "The process [PGD] is beneficial because examining the embryo is less risky than examining the fetus. If any abnormality is found, then the parent does not have to terminate the pregnancy."[9]

Similar to Brandenburg's findings (2011), PG tests were interpreted in the discourses of the analyzed articles as market services. Using the term 'service' refers to freedom of choice. It also involves the handling of embryo as a market good, since it implies that using PG tests makes it possible to 'buy' an embryo with the best genetic characteristics.

> "It has been also suggested that in the future those who can financially afford it will be able to select among their offspring, and only the best ones or only the ones with desired external characteristics will be chosen."[10]

The legal terms for applying PG tests are strictly defined, and currently these technologies may only be used to diagnose genetic diseases. However the narrative that emphasized the importance of restricting parental autonomy was significant. The narrative of the inherent risk of free parental decisions often highlighted the danger that parents would take advantage of the opportunities offered by the technology. Accordingly, in the future parents would be able to select a perfect successor in terms of a range of characteristics.

> "With the new method inherited diseases could be prevented. Nevertheless, critics say parents would rather opt to choose hair color."[11]

At the same time, an opposing narrative was also present in the analyzed articles. In particular, index.hu promoted the concept of unlimited parental autonomy. According to this narrative, parental autonomy serves societal interests such as population growth. Generally, the advantages of PG tests were stressed more than the hazards. However, this narrative – unlike the Australian study results (Brandenburg 2011) – appeared to be isolated, weak, and unable to promote public discussion on the topic. The emphasis on free parental choice

9 Origo: Sick embryos are being filtered out; origo.hu, 2012. July .28. http://bit.ly/1La5ETX (last opened: 2015. XI. 11.)

10 Fessler, Emma: Will they really create superhumans in the future?; life.hu, 2012. September .04. http://bit.ly/1Y4o0Pq (last opened: 2015.XI.11.)

11 Strovecz, Adrián: The latest steps in baby-design: Preview of the child; origo.hu, 2014. April 10. http://bit.ly/1koYrdS (last opened: 2015. XI. 11.)

in the discourses may lead to the indirect discrimination of people living with disorders or illnesses diagnosed by PG tests. In the analyzed sample, parents using PG tests to transmit their own disabilities were constructed as norm-breakers. This is also suggested by the following quote that defines the appropriate use of PG tests, and suggests deviant ways of applying it too:

> "The preliminary genetic examination of test-tube babies has been developed in order to reduce the number (tens of thousands) of disabled children born each year."[12]

In narratives interpreting the issue of disability transmission, parents living with disabilities were not constructed as decision makers with a strong group identity who sought to reject the accepted health norms of society. Unlike parents in some other countries, Hungarian parents with disabilities do not see their otherness as a means of identity construction, but as an obstacle. Therefore, their disabilities influence their reproductive choices. Parental responsibility is depicted in these cases as parental decisions that increase the chance of conceiving a child whose characteristics match the dominant health-related norms.

4.2. Discourses surrounding the embryo

Texts interpreting the embryo were classified into group two [2]. These were examined through investigating which discursive strategies constructed the representations of the embryo.

Similarly to Brandenburg's results (2011), discourses surrounding the embryo were found to be constructed in the analyzed sample through narratives that expressed the passivity of the embryo. Embryos were often referred to as objects of examination, abnormalities, risk carriers and complications. However, this passivity implied a certain ambivalence regarding the Hungarian sample. This ambivalence stems from the unclear moral status of the embryo which was discernable through the parallel use of a duality of approaches. As Brandenburg states, the embryo is on the one hand the object of parental responsibility and PG tests, but on the other also gains subjectivity through these (Brandenburg 2011). This duality was also present in the analyzed sample. Typically, the expressions

12 MTI: Transmissible disability, index.hu, 2006. October 03. http://bit.ly/1PoFvIL (last opened: 2015. XI. 11.)

"embryo", "fetus" and "already born children" were used interchangeably in the articles regarding the subject:

> "... The first healthy newborns for whom the entire genome of the oocytes had been screened were recently born."[13]

In the quotation above, the genetic testing of the already born child is referred to. As the quote is about children already born, it may be beyond dispute that the use of the relative pronoun "who" is valid. However, the question of the embryo's subjectivity during the PG tests is left unclear.

Framing the narrative using the abnormal-normal duality to interpret the status of the embryo was a frequent motif in the Australian sample (Brandenburg 2011). Similarly, in this study "a healthy child is born" was a very common phrase that appeared in the titles or in the main texts of the analyzed articles. At the same time, underlining that the child was born healthy can be seen as a kind of implicit dichotomy (the desirable, healthy offspring is contrasted with a risky and abnormal one). Thus, PG tests are a guarantee of healthy offspring, according to this narrative.

Selection and decision are of great importance when interpreting the discourses surrounding the embryo. Indeed, selection raises several moral issues. It was expected that, similarly to the Australian print media, the two most-read Hungarian news portals would reflect upon these issues. In contrast, strong expressions of opinion were rarely found in the analyzed samples. In the period under analysis the articles on the two most often read news sites consistently neglected the moral issues relating to totipotency[14]. The following quote is an example of the dominant narrative that focuses on the health of the implanted embryo or the already born child (stressing that cell removal does not cause disorders), without reflecting upon the ethical issues related to the fate of the unused embryos. The neglect of ethical issues was also an element of the pragmatic narrative that focused on the effectiveness of the technology. However, the analyzed articles typically highlighted only one aspect of risk: the health risks of the unborn child. Future risks created by the use of PG tests, such as the risk of reproductive parental decisions, or the future risks of abusing the technology (eugenics, genetic engineering, issues concerning the fate of unused embryos) were not stressed to an equal extent:

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13 MTI: First healthy test-tube babies to undergo complete genetic testing have been born; origo.hu, 2010. December 5., http://bit.ly/1MAnZyZ (last opened: 2015. XI. 11.).

14 Totipotency refers to a condition in which the embryo can develop into a viable human body. When the pre-implantation genetic tests are performed, each of the tested embryos are totipotent. Thus, considering the criterion for viability that determines the status of the embryos, they must be considered humans (Navratyil 2012).

"So-called pre-implantational diagnosis is a new approach in the field of gene diagnostics. The essence of this is that every cell of the eight-cell human embryo has the ability to create a whole human body (this is called totipotency), thus removing one cell does not cause birth defects"[15]

The motif 'outside of the body' is of particular importance in the discourses surrounding the embryo. The sharp distinction between the laboratory and the intrauterine processes implies that inception of pregnancy is calculated from implantation. Based on the fact that the cited article argued that the sampling did not affect the further development of the embryos, we can conclude that the unselected embryos were not yet seen as living creatures. In addition, the perception of the status of the selected and non-selected embryo was also different in the discourses surrounding the embryo. The embryo was retroactively given the moral status of a human when it had developed into a healthy child.

> "We got back a five-day-old girl embryo who was finally born healthy. All the inconveniences of the test-tube programs are dwarfed for those who want a healthy child, and this is possible with this method."[16]

The analyzed sample in the examined period was characterized by inconsistent use of terminology. The articles often did not sharply distinguish between the fetus and the embryo. Consequently, PG tests were also mentioned among prenatal (in-utero) tests. However, lack of this distinction leads to the neglect of ethical issues, risks and uncertainties related to PG tests.

> "In Hungary, fetal examinations such as PGS: a-CHG are not used, but other prenatal diagnostic methods are available. These include the conventional fetal karyotyping, fluorescent and real-time PCR, fluorescence in situ hybridization (FISH), a variety of isotopic studies and the above-mentioned preimplantational genetic diagnosis (PGD)."[17]

In Brandenburg's study the contrast between naturally conceived children and those ones who had undergone gene tests – as part of in-vitro fertilization – was a common element of discourses surrounding the embryo. This oppositional

15 Dr. Boldogkői, Zsolt: The fetus can already be tested using the mother's blood; origo.hu, 2013. January 2., http://bit.ly/1Y4qcqg (last opened: 2015. XI. 11.).

16 Pesthy, Gábor: Instead of popular practices, embryo screening to filter hemophilia; origo.hu, 2010. November 24., http://bit.ly/1MuJsJu (last opened: 2015. XI. 08.)

17 Illyés, András: Fetal genetic tests: new opportunities and threats; origo.hu, 2010. October 28., http://bit.ly/1WMCnLk (last opened: 2015. XI. 11.).

stance emphasized the unnaturalness of the PG tested embryo (Brandenburg 2011). This strict distinction was present in the sample of the Hungarian online media as well. In addition, the articles also differentiated between so-called "donor babies" and "designer babies" according to the purpose of the test. Donor babies were associated with positive terms such as giving, donating, helping and curing.[18] Thus, PG tests gained legitimation when the fact of donation was emphasized. Furthermore, donor babies were often characterized as those who were born in order to save another life, but not according to their own rights. Expressions like "test-tube sibling" and "savior sibling" were very often used in the analyzed sample. This suggests that, according to the donor baby narrative, the newborn gains subjectivity through a sibling. However, and in contrast with the donor baby concept, the designer baby was associated with negative connotations such as artificiality, engineering and abnormality. As a result, the oddity and otherness of the PG tested newborns were stressed in the discourses. This artificiality was often associated with mass production. These associations, through different discursive strategies – similarly to Brandenburg's (2011) findings –, constructed the embryo as a commodity on the market (e.g.: "Smart babies are produced in China"[19], "I'll take a boy around 3500 grams"[20]). These narratives stressed the immorality of commodification through absurd exaggerations.

The selection of the donor embryo raises ethical questions that the discourses of Hungarian media – in contrast to Australian ones – treated at a distance. It was typical of the dominant narrative of the discourses that they mostly covered news related to PG tests from Western Europe and the USA. The news sites treated the moral risks of PG tests primarily as the subject of public debate outside Hungary. The Hungarian context remained unreflected on, although such procedures have been used in that country. It was typical of the analyzed articles that they debated the moral risks of the procedures, but concentrated on current events and set aside the authors' critical stance. Articles dealing with the international scientific breakthroughs primarily referred to the legal conditions and limitations of application in Hungary. Moreover, in the analyzed articles the fact that moral issues related to PG tests could be the subject of public debate did not emerge.

18 MTI: An infant cures with their umbilical cord blood; index.hu, 2009. March 13. http://bit.ly/1PoHa13 (last opened: 2015. XI. 11.).

19 Molnár, Orsolya: Smart babies are produced in China; origo.hu 2013. March 23., http://bit.ly/1SiDT11 (last opened: 2015. XI. 11.).

20 Velvet: Third child on order; velvet.hu, 2005. July 19., http://bit.ly/1lkccuA (last opened: 2015. XI. 11.).

4.3. Discourse variations

Discourses that focused on views about the application of PG tests were grouped under category three [3]. These were examined through investigating which discursive strategies constructed the representations of these technologies.

The results of this study show – similarly to the results of an examination of Australian print media (Brandenburg 2011) – that the dominant discourse in news coverage portrayed PGD as a source of risk, preying upon humanity's future. These risks were constructed as a vision of a dystopian genetically engineered future created by the abuse of PGD. This narrative was argued on an abstract level and involved fears for the future of humanity. Typical of this discursive strategy was the use of pop cultural and science-fiction references, as well as slippery slope metaphors. This emphasizes the results of Hughes and Kitzinger who found that these references shape the media representation of human genetics (Hughes and Kitzinger 2008).

> "One of China's largest biotechnology companies is conducting research on thousands of people to identify the genetic background of intelligence. Many people fear that due to these results Pandora's Box will be opened and the selection of smartest embryos in artificial insemination programs will begin [...] The studies could lead to genetic manipulation over time (genetic engineering) as well. Andrew Nicol's sci-fi movie from 1997 (The Gattaca) was based on a similar concept."[21]

In contrast to the critical narrative, a supportive narrative that emphasized the current and practical advantages of PGD was also present. In discourses surrounding PGD, the technology was described as a milestone in preventative medicine. It was often emphasized that PGD, compared to prenatal tests, is less invasive and safer since the health of the newborn child is not at risk:

> "An embryo biopsy does not adversely affect the health of newborn PGD-children. It is important to let parents know that the PGD method is safe."[22]

Personal interest stories play a significant role in the construction of the supportive narrative. In these stories the advantages of PGD are emphasized

21 Molnár, Orsolya: Smart babies are produced in China; origo.hu, 2013. March 23., http://bit.ly/1SiDT11 (last opened: 2015. XI. 11.).

22 MTI: Genetic screening of embryos is safe; index.hu, 2012. July 4. http://bit.ly/1O3yZUE (last opened: 2015. XI. 11.).

through underlining the personal benefits obtained by patients who use PGD as a part of assisted reproduction. This contributes to the normalization and acceptation of the technology. Similarly to Brandenburg's findings, there is an epistemic divide between the supportive and critical narrative. Personal interest stories link the application of PGD to concrete and sorrowful personal experiences. These stories stress the rationality of patients in choosing PGD and thereby establish a supportive narrative, building upon the reader's empathy. In contrast, the critical narrative judged the conduct of patients using PGD on behalf of the interests of mankind. However, this abstract level of social responsibility was lacking the motif of compassion.

The construction of PGS had many similarities to the construction of PGD. Besides the dystopian narrative, the construction of PGS as an effective technology which may be able to increase the number of births was also dominant. PGS was constructed in the reports as a novelty compared to PGD, and a well less normalized technology, which raised more doubt. Nik Brown has described the phenomenon of "hype" around innovation. This hype indicates that expectations and uncertainties associated with new technologies have a strong impact on the construction of discourse (Brown 2003).

> "Numerous researchers agree that the new method has great potential, but they are also concerned that it is still too early. One reason for this is that genetic tests may reveal deviations that can be difficult to interpret correctly, which could trigger unnecessary worries in parents."[23]

The construction of the PGS narrative regarding the Hungarian context was mainly defined by articles which interpreted the practices of a specific private reproductive institute in Budapest. The risks of PGS in this narrative were not constructed with reference to often-cited moral risks – such as the threat of a dystopian, gene-engineered future –, but as concrete and tangible present-time financial risks. PGS was very often referred to in the articles as an unethical practice of the clinic. This reference rather referred to the supposedly deficient information provided to patients, and the ignorance of HRB recommendations regarding PGS than moral issues related to the technology:

> "Infertile couples who might have been waiting for years to have children can easily think that they will do whatever it takes to finally have a child. However, if they need to spend their money on examinations that impair

23 Illyés, András: Fetal genetic tests: new opportunities and threats; origo.hu, 2010. October 28., http://bit.ly/1WMCnLk (last opened: 2015. XI. 11.).

> their chances and they are not even informed about the experimental nature of the procedure, the term 'scam' mentioned in the title of the article may actually be accurate for describing this practice."[24]

In discourses focusing on the Hungarian context, the interpretation of uncertainties related to PGS were channeled into a pragmatic, efficiency-driven narrative. Thus, most critics of the application of PGS sought to emphasize the unproven efficiency of this new technology.

5. CONCLUSION

Findings of the study described in this paper show that the discourses of the two most frequently read Hungarian online news sites around PG tests could be grouped according to their subjects – similarly to the results of the Australian study (Brandenburg 2011). These subjects were identified as parents, embryos and PG tests. Although the subjects of the discourses were found to be identical in the Australian and Hungarian samples, some major differences could be identified regarding the discursive strategies.

Lemke claims that, due to the advances in gene technology, the genome no longer represents ready-made destiny that is outside personal control. On the contrary, genetic tests are based on the logic of prevention and anticipation. Therefore their utilization by the individual has exploitable potential (Lemke 2004). Thus, if we accept that in neoliberal societies the state indirectly exercises power over technologies, we can also conclude that the state's regulatory competence is expressed through the responsible choices of rational individuals. In this regard, the definition of parents as autonomous, rational decision-makers suggests that responsible citizens take action to preserve their own and their family's health and minimize the risks of developing a disease now or in the future. Accordingly, the results of the present research show that, in the discourses of the analyzed news sites, parents were constructed as potential objects of health risk who regulated their conduct in order to reduce these potential risks.

The embryo was constructed as a hybrid subject in the discourses whose status could be interpreted in a complex way. On the analyzed news sites its representation was constructed as the object of parental responsibility and

24 Origo: The In-Vitro Association passes criticism on the reproductive clinic's practice; origo.hu, 2013. September 23., http://bit.ly/1Y4rp0M (last opened: 2015. XI. 8.).

PG tests. However, moral status could change according to the results of the embryo's 'performance' on a PG test. The chosen embryo was constructed as an entity endowed with the subjectivity of a potentially healthy child, and the non-chosen embryo as complication that could be eliminated through rational parental choice (the use of a PG test). The status perception of the embryo changed according to the aim of the procedure that was applied. When the purpose of the PG test was to help the already born but sick child, the embryo's construction as a 'donor baby' gained positive meaning and was interpreted through phrases like "helper" or "savior". In contrast, the construction of a 'designer baby' was strongly connected to genetic engineering. With the term 'design' the narrative aimed to emphasize the PG test's dehumanizing and abnormal nature. Thus, in interpreting the concept of designer baby the embryo is constructed as the symbol of society's teleological, future-oriented perspective, and expresses human society's desire for perfection.

As part of this study, besides the construction of PGD, the construction of other selective reproductive procedures – such as PGS – were examined. Regarding the analyzed sample I conclude that the discourses surrounding PG tests were characterized by a lack of timeliness and information compared to the results of Australian research. The Hungarian online news media typically lacked critical reflection about ethical issues related to PG tests. Besides a critical, dystopian narrative, a pragmatic approach defined significantly the discourses of the Hungarian online media. In this pragmatic interpretation, the most important element was the commencement of a successful pregnancy. Therefore the ethical issues surrounding embryo selection did not represent a critical feature of narratives supporting or criticizing the application of PG tests in Hungary. It was observable that the discourses of the articles dealt with moral issues on an abstract level. The articles reviewed and summarized the arguments of critical groups, but opinion regarding these issues was not expressed. Similar to Brandenburg's research findings (2011), the fault-line between supportive and critical narratives was defined by an epistemic divide. Supportive narratives aimed to normalize the technology through telling concrete personal stories (e.g. about family tragedies), while the critical narratives relegated the issue to an abstract level. These narratives constructed the technology as a potential threat to the future of humanity. Paradoxically, these narratives lacked compassion on an individual level. Thus, the reflexive modern problematic embodied by PGD was identified through the presence of the two opposing and dominant narratives (Kerr and Cunningham-Burley 2000).

A wide range of Hungarian online news articles deal with the problems that are raised in relation to the use of PGS. One of the reasons for this is that a Hungarian private human reproduction institute has started to use this form of technology, although the legal conditions for its application were antinomic. In addition, there was no prior public discussion about the topic in Hungary. Moreover, the news coverage of the clinic's unique practices allowed special insight into the competitiveness of actors on the Hungarian reproductive market. It would therefore be worthwhile revealing the narratives of different actors such as lawyers, doctors, patients and psychologists in terms of various epistemological positions in a further study.

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APPENDIX

Definition of applied medical terms

Assisted Reproductive Technologies: "All treatment or procedures that include the handling of both human oocytes and sperm or embryos, for the purpose of establishing pregnancy. These includes but not limited to in-vitro fertilization and embryo transfer […]" (Zegers-Hochschild et al. 2009)

Selective Reproductive Technologies: In-vitro fertilization procedures that involve the selection of a certain pre-embryo to implant in order to avoid the birth of a child with severe diseases and life-shortening disabilities (Wilkinson and Garrard 2013).

Preimplantational Genetic Diagnosis: a selective reproductive procedure that aims to diagnose rare genetic (monogenic, chromosomal) abnormalities before the implantation of the pre-embryo. It is applied on individuals with high risks to conceive a child with genetic illnesses that significantly impair life expectancy (ETT, HRB 2015).

Preimplantational Genetic Scan: a selective reproductive procedure that aims to enhance the success of the in-vitro fertilization in general by detecting genetic mutations, chromosomal aneuploidies that in random incidence may lead to the destruction of the embryo (ETT, HRB 2015).

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FORUM

BULGARIAN PLAYGROUNDS IN TRANSITION: DO CHILDREN'S AND PARENTS' PERCEPTIONS DIFFER?

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ABSTRACT *Focusing on ideological dualism reflected in children's playgrounds in Bulgaria, this paper examines cross-generational differences in parents' and children's perceptions of playgrounds and their equipment designed during the Cold War and post-Cold War periods, respectively. This political conception of playgrounds evokes and aligns with Winner's (1980) theory and work, "Do artifacts have politics?" Both qualitative and quantitative methods were used within a mosaic approach that incorporated a range of techniques for eliciting young children's views about extant playground models. The findings of this descriptive analysis provide evidence that both children and their parents endorsed post-Cold War playground designs in Bulgaria because of their better functionality. However, their perceptions differed on functional playground dimensions such as joy, safety, nature, socialization, and design. Significantly, Cold War playground designs were praised for their notable affordance of children's socialization.*

KEYWORDS: *ideology, children's participation, playground design, mosaic approach, functional playground dimensions*

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INTRODUCTION[2]

The collapse of Communism and the shift to a liberal democracy completely transformed Bulgarian society and dramatically affected people's social, political, and economic existence. Moreover, it influenced children's social and physical environments.

Recent studies have reported that following the collapse of Communism, socialist-influenced urban planning in Bulgarian towns has been abandoned (Hirt 2005, Holleran 2014). The resulting loss of children's play environments has been a negative outcome of this shift (Raycheva et al. 2004). A significant proportion of inter-building areas, used by children for playing games, have been converted into shops, apartment blocks, or parking lots because of legislative discrepancies in the rules for restituting real estate to former owners. Moreover, the official Bulgarian State Newspaper published an ordinance in 2009 detailing terms and conditions regarding playground equipment and safety. Under the new guidelines, playground equipment must meet specific EU standards. Existing equipment at the time of the ordinance, mostly reflecting designs of the Cold War period, did not meet the new standards. Consequently, 2014 was set as the deadline for their replacement.

This mandatory collective revamping of playgrounds, initiated by the Bulgarian government, is a massive project that has contributed to the hybrid appearance of many playgrounds. In light of the importance of this moment in Bulgarian history, and focusing on the ideological dualism reflected in playgrounds, the research this paper describes examined cross-generational differences in children's and parents' perceptions of Bulgaria's playgrounds, where children play using old and new equipment designed during the Cold War and post-Cold War periods, respectively. The main question addressed by this study is: Do children's perceptions of old and new playground designs differ from those of their parents?

The changing policy context in Bulgaria raises new questions. First, children are not usually included in decision-making processes within landscape planning which is mostly managed by adults, for adults. This, we argue, is unsustainable both in the short- and long-terms. Apart from typically being a dull environment, the school playground is an adult-controlled setting where restrictions are often shaped by safety concerns. Children are thus relatively powerless in the face of adult control (Meire 2007). However, greater involvement of children in the

2 Acknowledgements: I would like to thank Georgi Stankov, a Bulgarian psychologist, and all of the volunteers in Haskovo who made the fieldwork for this study possible. I am especially grateful to my husband and daughter for their patience and support.

design process could allow for more engagement with the actual users of these spaces – those who push the boundaries set by adults – and who themselves experience play activities.

Importantly, Bulgarian playgrounds are in a state of transition, and little is known about the perceptions of children and their parents toward them. During a period of more than 30 years, children's participation in spatial designing has attracted increased attention among policymakers, designers, and researchers in Western countries (Keenan 2007; Roe – Scott 2008). Hasirci (2008), who examined children's perspectives in architecture, showed that eliciting children's views of their own childhood and daily experiences was particularly significant. For example, young children can make insightful comments about their indoor and outdoor spaces. Such information can inform changes to existing facilities or contribute to new building designs. Thus, soliciting children's and parents' perceptions of existing playground designs could facilitate policymakers and designers in incorporating children's needs into equipment design and improve the functionality and sustainability of playgrounds.

Various studies on play have shown that adult-designed spaces do not maximize the potential for children's engagement in active types of physical and mental play (e.g., Cunningham et al. 1996). However, parental influence is one of the major determinants of children's outdoor play behaviors (Valentine 2004). Therefore, much of the research has sought adults' perspectives on the suitability of children's play spaces – particularly focusing on why they would choose to allow, or disallow, their children from playing in them (Herrington 2008).

Several qualitative studies aimed at providing an evidence base for improving children's play areas have been conducted. These applied ethnographic methods (Gharahbeiglu 2007) and in-depth interviews focusing on users' needs for gathering data from children, parents, and teachers (Percy-Smith 2002, Herrington 2008). Application of quantitative techniques has also revealed that colorful playground settings can increase children's physical activity levels (Herrington 2008).

Research findings further suggest that nature constitutes an important dimension in children's play spaces. Groves and McNish (2008), for example, have found that children frequently mention natural features as part of their discourse on play spaces. By contrast, despite children's enjoyment of being in nature, and its positive effects on their physical well-being and creative play (Frost 2006, Parsons 2011), nature is often a missing component in adult-designed playgrounds.

There is also a significant body of research on playground safety, focusing, understandably, on the need to decrease the risk of injury. However, scholars'

attitudes toward safety reflect ambivalence. Sandseter and Kennair (2011), for example, opposed a safety focus, claiming that children's risky play behavior in the playground, which mirrors effective cognitive behavioral therapy for addressing anxiety, could positively influence their development.

Developmental psychologists often focus on children's socialization associated with playgrounds (Butcher 1993, Soler-Adillon et al. 2009, Solomon 2014). That is, opportunities to interact, communicate, exercise, and improve their social skills in the playground enable children to connect with their peers. In a constructivist model, children are considered active agents and eager learners constructing their social world (Corsaro 2011:9). Furthermore, hanging out, talking with each other, or playing sedentary games constitute 19% to 30% of activities in places within the habitual range of children (Korpela 2002), highlighting the importance of social interaction for children.

Studies have shown that playgrounds have the greatest impact on child development. They suggest that playground design affects children's social and physical development (Barbour 1999, Ginsburg 2007). A well designed playground should stimulate four aspects of a child's development: physical, emotional, social, and cognitive.

While both qualitative and quantitative studies of playgrounds have attended to the motives of children and/or their parents, individual studies have tended to focus on just one aspect of playground functions. Rather than focusing on a particular functional dimension, this study adopted an integrated approach encompassing five dimensions: joy, safety, design, nature, and socialization. These five components, which were the study's main variables, were conceptualized as functional playground dimensions (FPDs).

The finding of Gantcheva and Kolev (2001) that programs initiated by international organizations have provided extensive support for Bulgarian children in tackling the problems they faced after the collapse of Communism has stimulated a number of studies. However, most of these studies have focused predominantly on specific groups of children, and have not addressed their overall environment.

This paper first provides a brief historical background of Bulgarian playgrounds built in both the old and new styles, and discusses their ideological character in light of Winner's (1980) argument about the relation between politics and artifacts. The next section introduces a mixed methods research design aimed at comparing the perceptions of Bulgarian children regarding existing playground designs with those of their parents relating to their own kindergartens and/or neighborhoods. Cross-generational differences between parents and children are explored in the data analysis and findings addressing the study sub-questions in the following section. Last, the paper offers conclusions and recommendations for future research.

HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXTS

The first playgrounds, comprising separate sand areas developed for very young children, are thought to have originated in Germany (Frost 1985). Playground rhymes also evidence a firm historical grounding, and while some of these have hardly changed over successive generations, others have adapted easily to a changing world (Meire 2007). In general, playgrounds have changed substantially over several decades, mainly for safety reasons (Pursell 2011). Specifically, the height of playground equipment has been reduced, and asphalt or concrete plates have replaced cinder/clay surfaces. The stress on playground safety has led to continued design improvements that are reflected in various trends, especially in the Americas.

In his extensive historical evaluation of American playgrounds, Pursell (2011) revealed a dense underlying tangle of technology, politics, economics, class bias, professional aspirations, and cultural idealism behind their construction and design over the past century. He viewed technology as both a cultural process and a cultural product. From the beginning of the last century until the 1920s, children's play was driven by ideologies of science and technology. However, by the mid-century, a shifting trend reflected the presence of new media and child consumerism. Disneyland can be viewed as a concrete outcome of this trend. Thus, playgrounds of the post-Cold War era, regardless of whether they belong to classical schoolyards, European adventure parks, play areas at McDonalds, or reflect other contemporary designs, present a conglomeration of philosophy and/or ideology, design, and equipment.

Over the last century, some types of playground equipment in Communist countries, notably in the Soviet states and Eastern Europe, have been marked by Cold War ideological passions and trends. These include: climbing frames shaped like rockets and earth-like spherical structures, together with swings, slides, and carousels. Following the traditions of Cold War societies, this equipment was designed and produced by state-owned factories. Emulation of the Soviet playground model was apparent in the details of Bulgarian playground equipment and contributed to the creation of special cultural perceptions of outdoor play. In 1979, the first Bulgarian astronaut, Georgi Ivanov became a hero within social narratives. During this period, many children dreamed of becoming astronauts. Thus, the rocket design of the old Bulgarian playgrounds can be interpreted as a direct representation of Cold War ideology.

Not only rockets and earth-resembling climbing frames, but also double-seated swings, usually in back-to-back positions, characteristically reflected the social and moral codes of Bulgarian society, namely that every child was expected to share their seat with another child while swinging. Following Bulgaria's social

transformation toward a liberal democracy, renovated playgrounds representing the post-Cold war spirit in relation to children's spaces evidently portray a far more individualistic approach than the old equipment (Firinci – Stankov 2013: 3–4). Thus, the conceptual opposition between playgrounds of the Cold War and post-Cold War periods is based on their respective historical backgrounds and designs. Existing Bulgarian playgrounds of the Cold War period, reflecting a collectivist style, were constructed during the late 1960s, whereas renovated post-Cold War playgrounds reflect an individualistic and contemporary design.

The collectivist versus individualistic conceptual opposition is grounded in social and cultural inquiry and refers to a variety of phenomena such as social systems, morality, religion, cognitive differentiations, economic development, modernity, social pathology, and psychological well-being (Hofstede 1991, 2001). The conceptualization of collectivism pertains to societies in which from their birth onward individuals are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups, which continue to protect them throughout their lifetimes in exchange for unquestioning loyalty. By contrast, individualism is conceived in relation to societies in which ties between individuals are loose, with the expectation that each individual will look after himself or herself and his or her immediate family. Within this definitional scope, Solomon (2014:28) claims that playgrounds reflect societal values and attitudes. In Scandinavia, for example, the collectivist ethos entails individuals supporting and aiding each other, whereas in the individualist mode, each individual only watches out for himself or herself. Shaped within a collectivist mold, Nordic societies emphasize life skills and socialization in playgrounds. By contrast, in the English-speaking world, and especially in the United States and Australia, an individualistic focus and an early education prototype that values content and testing over socialization or communal understanding prevail (Solomon 2014:29). Thus, collectivist cultures stress communal needs, shared goals, and cooperation, while individualistic cultures focus on individuals' desires and benefits (Cox et al. 1991).

Along with playgrounds' historical backgrounds, their political faces also merit attention. This raises the question of what really shapes the distinction between playground designs of the Cold War and post-Cold War periods. However, any conceptualization of the political qualities of playgrounds should avoid extreme technical determinism, social constructivism, and noetic flatness. In his essay, "Do artifacts have politics?" Winner (1980) presented a comprehensive analysis, identifying the ways in which artifacts can demonstrate politics. According to Winner (1980:123), there are "two ways in which artifacts can contain political properties. First are instances in which the intervention, design, or arrangement of a specific technical device or system become a way of setting an issue in a particular community." Winner considered such examples to often be obvious,

easily identifiable, and understandable. "In the design version, someone wills a specific social state, and then suitably transfers this intention into the artefact" (Jeorges 1999:412). Winner (1980:123) described the second type of artifact as "inherently political technologies, man-made systems that appear to require, or to be strongly compatible with, particular kinds of political relationships."

Considering the importance of design and its reflection of a specific society – Winner's first type of politically infused artifacts – we can argue that Cold War playground designs promoted collectivist behavior among children while conveying the same message to the wider community. By contrast, post-Cold War playground designs could be interpreted as promoting individualistic behavior in children and, thereby, child consumerism (by supporting the ideas of a consumer society). Thus, ideology, as a symbolic power, is visible in the different styles of Cold War and post-Cold War playground designs, offering important insights.

METHODS

Study Questions

This study was designed to compare perceptions of young children and their parents regarding Cold War and post-Cold War playground designs in the context of dramatic processes of societal change within Bulgaria. A special model combining quantitative and qualitative methods was developed to answer the following questions:

1. Is there a significant difference between children's and parents' perceptions of FPDs?
2. Do playground equipment designs (of the Cold War or post-Cold War periods) affect children's and parents' prioritization of FPDs?
3. Of the two kinds of playground designs (those of the Cold War and post-Cold War periods, respectively), which is more responsive to children's and their parents' needs/expectations?

Because study participants included both children and adults, it was necessary to combine qualitative and quantitative techniques for gathering data from both groups. Children's perceptions of extant playgrounds in Bulgaria, and those of their parents, were evaluated based on the prioritization of FPDs. Qualitative

methods were used to elicit children's views, and the findings were then quantified by applying special tools. In this way, data gathered from parents using quantitative techniques were calibrated with data collected from the children, enabling a comparison of their respective perceptions.

Studies applying diverse methods have revealed that young children are reliable informants and provide valuable and useful information (Clark – Moss 2001, 2011; Einarsdottir 2005, 2007). Studies focusing on children's views of their playgrounds are remarkable for their unique qualitative mosaic methodologies that offer ways of listening to young children (Waller 2006; Jansson 2008).

Mosaic Approach

The mosaic approach, adopted for this study, is an integrated research approach that combines visual and verbal components (Clark – Moss 2011:1). It thus entails a child-centered and nontraditional methodology (Corsaro 2011:58). Starting from the viewpoint that young children are competent meaning-makers and explorers of their environments, the mosaic approach brings together a range of methods for listening to young children talk about their lives (Clark 2005). This study emphasized children's participation, especially in relation to their perceptions of their own play environments.

Sampling

The study sample was derived from two pre-selected pilot kindergartens – with playgrounds designed during the Cold War and post-Cold War periods, respectively – in Bulgaria's Khaskovo District. Given that the playground tradition is a common feature of in all of Bulgaria's cities, Khaskovo District was assumed to represent the wider population. Based on visits to various kindergartens in Khaskovo, the schools were selected according to the criteria that playgrounds were places where children played under the supervision of their teachers during certain hours. Moreover, playground equipment design should almost completely reflect the old designs characteristic of the Cold War period or the new, renovated designs of the post-Cold War era. It should be noted that such playgrounds typically entail open access and function as public playgrounds for children in their neighborhoods after kindergarten hours.

This study primarily focused on two sets of data obtained from two different sources – children and parents. Sources were divided into two groups, based on the type of playground equipment on which children usually played: Group 1 comprised those using playgrounds reflecting a post-Cold War playground design and Group 2 comprised those using playgrounds reflecting a Cold War playground design. Thus, pilot kindergartens were selected to collect data from children, and various other public playgrounds in Khaskovo were selected to collect data from parents. The selection criteria for both schools and public playgrounds were intended to identify equipment that was exclusively of the Cold War or post-Cold War periods, respectively.

Forty parents (mostly women aged 35–50 years from heterogeneous socio-economic classes) and 40 children (aged 6–7 years from heterogeneous socio-economic classes, of whom 65% were female) actively participated in the research activities and prioritized the FPDs of public playgrounds in Khaskovo. As a complementary resource within the mosaic research design, 16 female teachers from the pilot kindergartens, aged 35–50 years and with 10+ years of professional experience, also participated in the study.

Data Collection

In compliance with the mosaic approach, several participatory activities were conducted with children in the pilot kindergartens to collect data. These activities, which included clay modeling by children to sculpt their favorite playground equipment, drawing pictures to illustrate their kindergarten's playground, being interviewed about their own play experiences, and planting flowers in groups in their kindergarten's yard where the playground was located, focused on children's lived experiences (see Table 1).

The activities provided opportunities to collect qualitative data on children's perceptions of their own playgrounds. Moreover, the outputs of the activities, for example, drawings, sculptures, declarations, and insights were used as data sources. Additionally, activities with the theme of a child's "dream playground" were conducted. Interviews and teachers' comments drew on these activities to better understand children's needs and expectations of their current playgrounds.

A special tool was also developed that enabled the transformation of qualitative data into data that were more quantitative in character. Thus, systematic observations from the activities, as well as data from personal interviews held with children, were noted in semi-structured documents maintained for every child. Details of children's preferences were also noted on evaluation documents

in the context of each FPD. These included their most frequently mentioned (favorite) equipment, and the most visible or conspicuous equipment identified by their activity outputs (e.g., drawings and clay works). If a child's narrative about their favorite equipment (e.g., swings) was mostly in the context of enjoyment, then a joy dimension was favored. If the words were about the colors and shapes of the equipment, then a design dimension was favored. Thus, the data were categorized in these documents before implementing the final phase of the analysis. Last, based upon these contextualized frequencies, FPDs were ordered (prioritized) within each child's information document. In this way, the qualitative data obtained from the children were standardized with the data collected from parents' questionnaires and converted into a numerical format.

The study also explored parents' perspectives on playground equipment of the Cold War and post-Cold War periods in Bulgaria. A special questionnaire was administered to parents based on five FPDs, and development was ranked as an additional dimension to obtain further information about the parents' views on existing playgrounds and about their children's overall development. The questionnaire consisted of 24 positive statements on playgrounds, which parents were asked to rate on a Likert scale. Each parent was then asked to prioritize the FPDs. After conducting a peer-review process, the questionnaire was pilot tested on a few parents/adults to ensure language clarity. A similar (or parallel) questionnaire was prepared for teachers with the same purpose as part of the mosaic methodology.

Observations are an appropriate and important entry point for listening to children, whatever their age. As Clark and Statham (2005) have noted, they are of particular value for gaining a better understanding of younger or less articulate children. Additional data collection tools used for the research activities included notes on declarations, systematic observations on trends, questionnaires, and standardized documents (see Table 1).

To identify general trends within the children's groups, personal interviews were conducted in which children were asked about their dream playgrounds, highlighting the FPDs. Interviews can provide a space for formal conversations with children about their opinions, thoughts, and wishes. In this study, the questions posed to children focused on their personal preferences, and opportunities were available for them to add any other information about their dreams that could then be used for in-depth analyses. The interviews about "my dream playground" were semi-structured to explore children's preferences about the look and content of the ideal playground in which they would like to play. Entailing a set of basic questions, they allowed for flexibility and adjustment according to each child's specific character and situation. Fourteen children – seven from each group – were interviewed as a part of this activity. The interviews were structured as follows; 1) Introduction: start a casual

conversation, depending on the specific situation; 2) Direct conversation to the topic: connect to previous mosaic-related activities, or mention a specific observation relating to the child during those activities; 3) Main part: ask open-ended what, how, in what way, and more rarely, why questions.

Data Analysis

Data analysis entailed horizontal and vertical comparisons made between the two sets of evidence. That is, comparisons were made between Groups 1 and 2, or between children's and parents' perceptions. Two datasets were collected revealing children's and parents' perspectives. The name "mosaic" refers to the bringing together of different pieces of information from various sources to create a holistic picture of children's views. The accumulated data were then ordered numerically in terms of children's FPD prioritization within each group. To calculate this prioritization, a score ranging from 5 (highest priority) to 1 (lowest priority) for every playground dimension was applied; the total score represented the children's priorities.

Parents' perceptions were calculated as total scores derived from the questionnaires. Each questionnaire item was ranked from 5 (highest) to 1 (lowest), and the total scores from both groups were calculated, compared, and evaluated according to their highest and lowest levels. Moreover, parents' prioritization of FPDs was also graded from 5 (highest priority) to 1 (lowest priority) for every dimension, with the total scores representing the parents' priorities.

Ethics

Ethical considerations delimited this study, as researchers had to support the best interests of each child. For example, activities such as flower-planting and drawing pictures were restricted by a child's curriculum and also had to be sensitive to the child's interests. Both the research timeframe and data collection were planned to accommodate these considerations.

Strict ethical principles are especially important when working with children because of power differences between participants and investigators (Meg 2005). An ethical approach was adopted during the study's implementation, with only children who were willing to be interviewed being asked to take part in the activity.

RESULTS

Question 1: Is there a significant difference between children's and parents' perceptions of FPDs?

There was a significant difference between parents' and children's perspectives in terms of FPD prioritization. In both types of playgrounds, the highest total score for the parents reflected their emphasis on safety as a basic dimension, whereas children appeared to seek joy. In almost all cases, the term "joy" (e.g., expressed as "I love to...") related to play (see Table 2).

Question 2: Does playground equipment design – of the Cold War or post-Cold War periods – affect children's and parents' prioritization of FPDs?

The type of playground – of the Cold War or post-Cold War period – did affect children's FPD prioritization. The children's interview data were summarized after conducting the picture-drawing, clay-modeling, and flower-planting exercises, play observation, teachers' questionnaires, and the "my dream playground" interviews. The data were quantified from the children's individual documents, in which the frequencies of their narrations were evaluated together with visual outputs of their activities. These qualitative data were arranged in numerical order and FPDs in each child's information document were prioritized. Both groups prioritized joy, but the following dimensions were ranked differently. Two sets of dimensions that changed places in the groups' priority hierarchy were socialization-design and nature-safety (see Table 2).

Socialization was relatively important for both groups, and children showed a strong sense of togetherness:

> "I like to sit on the bench with Ismail and talk with him." (6-year-old boy in Group 2)
> With some boys, we play at the tires with sand. With others, it is more entertaining. Alone it is really boring." (6-year-old boy in Group 1)

The new playgrounds seem to afford fewer opportunities for children to communicate and interact with each other. Single-seat swings are an example of an individualistic design that decreases social interaction and sharing between children. This could help to explain why children who frequented playgrounds of the post-Cold War era expressed a stronger need for socialization while playing.

By contrast, children who frequented playgrounds designed during the Cold War period appeared to have a stronger need for well-designed and colorful equipment, because the current equipment was old and badly maintained. One child, comparing two different types of equipment, explicitly stated:

> "The plastic slide here is more beautiful than the iron slide in our neighborhood as it has colors. The one in the park does not have [colors]." (7-year-old boy in Group 1)

Moreover, children in Group 2 directly stated what should be changed:

> "Let's replace them all [the old equipment] with safe, newer, and nicer [equipment]!" (6-year-old boy in Group 2)
> "I want the whole playground with all colors!" (6-year-old girl in Group 2)

These opinions reveal why design was the second most preferred dimension after joy within Group 2. The design and socialization dimensions of the equipment are closely linked because designers can improve both the style and the communication potential of the equipment for the children. One child connected these dimensions as follows:

> "I like most the swing with two seats because I can play with other children, not alone." (7-year-old girl in Group 1)

While nature was represented in both types of playgrounds, more recently, the maintenance of natural elements in many of Khaskovo's playgrounds with old equipment has been neglected.

> "I want a lot of flowers." (6-year-old girl in Group 2)

Interestingly, children in Group 2 (associated with playgrounds designed during the Cold War period) prioritized safety over nature. This choice was probably associated with memories of getting hurt while playing on old playground equipment. However, this problem should importantly be considered one of unsatisfactory playground maintenance rather than a design problem. Therefore, safety was valued more by children using old (Cold War) playgrounds, because their designs were considered more dangerous than those of playgrounds of the post-Cold War era.

Both children and parents accorded low priority to nature's inclusion, indicating a generally low valuation of this dimension within society. This finding could be attributed to the longstanding Bulgarian design tradition according to which nature within playgrounds is accorded secondary importance as a background to rather than as a primary element of children's spaces. Very few items of playground equipment are made entirely of natural materials. Moreover, the

landscape is not seen as a play-scape, and the opportunities that nature offers for play are not fully exploited. Generally, children love to be surrounded by trees and flowers. However, when asked to compare artificial playground equipment with natural elements, they tended to prefer the former to the latter.

> "These trees and flowers are enough." (7-year-old girl in Group 1)
> "There should be fewer trees and bushes. In the bushes' place, they should put more swings." (6-year-old boy in Group 2)

The following statement illustrates the positive relation between the design of playgrounds of the post-Cold War era and an increased level of safety:

> "I prefer the equipment to be made of plastic, because then we can't hit our heads and feel pain." (6-year-old boy in Group 2)

The type of playground also influenced parents' FPD prioritization in Groups 1 and 2. As expected, the most dramatic difference in FPD prioritization centered on the design dimension (see Table 2). Adults who brought their children to playgrounds with equipment designed during the post-Cold War era regarded design as the least significant dimension of playground functionality. This low prioritization could be related to the condition of the new and brightly colored equipment, which appeals to their children. However, for parents in Group 2, who brought their children to playgrounds with old, neglected, and damaged equipment from the Cold War period, design appeared to be a considerably more important dimension.

An important consideration is that parents' safety-related concerns may be rooted in Bulgarian cultural traditions. Safety encompasses adults' fears, their caretaking conventions and judgments about the degree of their children's maturity and competence, and gendered expectations.

Question 3: Which playground design (from the Cold War or post-Cold War period) is more responsive to children's and their parents' needs/expectations?

The findings showed that playground designs from the post-Cold War era met parents' expectations and needs to a greater extent than those designed during the Cold War period. The parents' questionnaire included an additional dimension, development, to assess their concern regarding overall child development. This playground dimension was not measured among the children as 5- to 7-year-olds are clearly not able to evaluate their own development. A comparison of total FPD scores derived from the questionnaires revealed that parents valued post-Cold War playground designs more than those of the Cold War period. On a scale

of up to 2,400 points, the total FPD score for post-Cold War playground designs was 2,120 points, while the total FPD score for Cold War playground designs was just 1,386 points. Further, for parents utilizing playgrounds designed during the post-Cold War era, the total score for the joy dimension (363 points) was the highest while that for the nature dimension (324 points) was the lowest. For parents who frequented playgrounds designed during the Cold War period, the total score for the socialization dimension (298 points) was the highest and that for the safety dimension (177 points) was the lowest. These total FPD scores, indicating parents' perceptions, clearly revealed that renovated post-Cold War playground designs in Bulgaria were better suited to their needs.

The findings for children, based on behavioral observations, teachers' questionnaires and extracts from "my dream playground" interviews, were similar. Playground designs of the post-Cold War era better met children's expectations and needs than those of the Cold War period. Total FPD scores derived from the teachers' questionnaires revealed that teachers at kindergartens with playground equipment designed during the post-Cold War era ranked all dimensions higher (the total score for all FPDs was 367) than those at kindergartens with equipment designed during the Cold War period (the total score of all FPDs was 241).

Observations, considered as an alternative indicator, supported these results. Between November 2012 and June 2013, observations were conducted in 20 public playgrounds in Khaskovo. These revealed that increasing numbers of children and parents were visiting renovated public playgrounds. This trend suggests that playgrounds and equipment reflecting post-Cold War designs are perceived as being more attractive in terms of enjoyment and design, and as safer in terms of materials and facilities than older ones.

Teachers' questionnaires administered for two pilot kindergartens were used as alternative tools to compare teachers' perceptions regarding opportunities that their playgrounds provided children in relation to the five functional dimensions. Similar to the parents' questionnaire, the teachers' instrument included the development dimension. Based on their prioritization of FPDs, teachers' perceptions of post-Cold War equipment design were that it enhanced joy, safety, and nature involvement, but could not ensure complete socialization. By contrast, Cold War playground equipment designs were perceived by teachers as being more thoughtful and functional for achieving socialization, creativeness, and learning.

Thematic interviews on "my dream playground" enabled direct elicitation of children's opinions. The interviews included the following question: "Which are your three favorite playgrounds in your neighborhood?" The respondents' answers predominantly supported the identified trend that children preferred neighborhood

playgrounds designed during the post-Cold War era. Of the 14 children interviewed, 12 identified playgrounds with new/renovated equipment as being their favorites. The playground at McDonalds featured among these. Additional findings that supplemented the mosaic design enabled the initial qualitative data to be transformed into measurable quantities by integrating them into semi-structured forms documenting observations of children at play (see Table 1).

Children's rankings of their favorite kindergarten playground equipment provided a better understanding of their perceptions. Two activities were associated with the phase, "my most favorite playground equipment": a modeling clay activity and interviews conducted with children. For the first activity, children were invited to sculpt their favorite playground equipment out of clay. For the second activity, children were interviewed about their personal preferences regarding playground equipment. The results obtained from these activities showed that based on frequency of mention, the swing was the children's most favored kindergarten playground equipment, regardless of Cold War or post-Cold War designs. Almost 50% of children from Group 1 stated that the swing was their favorite playground equipment. Significantly, four children identified "swings with two seats" as particular favorites. Subsequent interviews revealed that the swing is associated with communication and interaction. For example, it was common to hear phrases such as "I like to be on the swing with friends". Evidently, 6- and 7-year-old children desired to share and be together as part of a group. In other words, the swing was favored because it was perceived as an appealing artifact as well as a mechanism for nurturing children's collectivist spirit. Both groups also stated that they loved items that were absent in their playgrounds. Children in Group 1 specified water pools, live animals, hammock climbing walls, and trains, among other items. Children in Group 2 mentioned rockets found in public neighborhood playgrounds designed during the Cold War period but absent in their yards. The latter revealed that their yard used to have a rocket up to a year ago, but this had been removed because it was broken and shaking. Many of the children mentioned that they missed the rocket. One year later, which is a long period for 6- and 7-year-olds, two children recalled the rocket as their favorite piece of equipment.

It should be noted that the activity centering on "my dream playground" may have been influenced by the context in which it was experienced. That is, the findings suggest that the environment and/or order of activity implementation may have significantly influenced children's perceptions. For instance, "my dream playground" interviews on the children's favorite equipment were conducted with children in Group 1 immediately after the modeling clay activity. During these interviews, they, therefore, talked about a wide variety of play facilities.

By contrast, for children in Group 2, the "my dream playground" interviews were conducted immediately after the flower-planting activity, generally increasing their sensitivity to the appearance of flowers and plants in their playground area. Without exception, when interviewed, all seven respondents in this Group mentioned flowers. By comparison, four of the seven children in Group 1 viewed flowers as a necessary element of their dream playgrounds.

DISCUSSION

A range of methods were brought together within a mosaic approach to listen to young children's opinions, and those of their parents, on existing playground models. Three research questions were addressed using data derived from children's and parents' views on playground designs of the Cold War and post-Cold War periods in Bulgaria.

In general, cross-generational differences in perceptions of FPDs were strongly aligned with traditional Bulgarian societal values as children prioritized joy, while their parents prioritized safety. However, parents who brought their children to play in neighborhood playgrounds reflecting Cold War designs stressed safety issues over other FPDs, as they had witnessed injuries resulting from poor maintenance and inappropriate equipment materials. This conclusion confirms the findings of other studies on parents' playground safety perceptions, namely that children's play spaces must ensure a decreased risk of injuries.

Overall, this study found that both Bulgarian children and their parents prefer playground designs of the post-Cold War era. However, children's perceptions and preferences regarding playground equipment were mainly influenced by its attractiveness, while those of their parents were primarily influenced by the safety dimension. These findings support studies showing how colorful playgrounds attract children, therefore helping to increase children's physical activity levels.

Playgrounds of the Cold War period appear to better promote socialization, as the design itself stresses togetherness and sharing (e.g., the swings are always double-seated). Significantly, Winner's (1980) theory of the politics of artifacts is perfectly aligned with the playground situation in Bulgaria, with ideological elements of the equipment design being clearly visible. Furthermore, the findings of this study suggest that the messages conveyed to children by playground designs – through both implicit and tacit symbols – and the arrangement of the facilities that affect their play practices, directly influence their socialization. It can be argued, then, that children and parents who spend time in playgrounds

designed during the Cold War period are being enculturated by their physical environment, which helps to promote collectivism (and ultimately, a collectivist culture). Thus, we can understand how playground design and socialization practices have the power to define how children should act in their play practices. This study has also revealed that children's imaginations are limited to what they have previously experienced in their neighborhood playgrounds. Hence, their perceptions are shaped by stimuli received from their physical play environments.

By contrast, playground equipment designs of the post-Cold War era better meet the aesthetic expectations of children and their parents. One plausible explanation for this could simply be that Bulgarian playground equipment from the Cold War period is very old and badly maintained, and is, therefore, less attractive than the colorful, newer equipment. It is important to remember, too, that Bulgarian society is facing physical and social changes, and that the promotion of liberal democracy is transforming the overall mentality. It is interesting, then, that the design heritage of the Cold War period, including that of playgrounds, still endures in Bulgaria, continuing to have a significant impact on children's behavior. Despite this influential legacy, many parents who grew up using these same playgrounds now prefer to bring their children to playgrounds designed during the post-Cold War era. The new ordinance on playgrounds, and the general process of social transformation and environmental renewal in Bulgaria, is predicted to affect not just children but the entire society in the near future.

Another conclusion from this study is that the low priority given to nature by both children and parents indicates a generally low level of societal awareness of the importance of this dimension. Nature was seen as a background as opposed to a primary playground element. However, when children spoke about their play spaces during interviews, they tended to emphasize natural features. In spite of children's enjoyment of being in nature, adult-designed playgrounds often omit this element.

Interestingly, children in both groups tended to like playgrounds that were aligned with their previous play practices, and their descriptions of a "dream" play-scape were mostly limited to what they had been previously exposed to in their neighborhood playgrounds. This suggests that children's imaginations are manipulated by their play environments.

It is important to stress that the study had various limitations stemming from exogenous factors such as traditional childcare practices and the educational culture. Recent studies suggest that teaching young children is mainly viewed as women's work, and the number of male teachers involved in early childhood education is very low, worldwide (Cameron 1997; Cihanoglu 2012). In this

study, the kindergarten teachers and the primary caregivers (e.g., mothers, grandmothers, or aunts) during after-school hours were all female. Male caregivers (e.g., fathers or grandfathers) were rare. Therefore, achieving a balanced sample of male and female sources was not possible. However, sex representation during interviews (children and parents) was more balanced.

One other relevant exogenous factor was the ongoing transformation process itself, which has affected Khaskovo District. Many kindergarten playgrounds were observed to be hybrid in character. Thus, it was difficult to find a playground with equipment reflecting exclusively Cold War designs. This consequently limited the number of participants (children and parents) in the study.

As previously discussed, children's participation in design processes has recently attracted increased interest. The findings of this study reveal that eliciting both children's and parents' perceptions on playgrounds could be useful for local Bulgarian authorities in deciding on future playground designs. The following recommendations derived from this research are intended for researchers, policymakers, and designers.

It is important that future studies on this topic are gender-sensitive, as it is rare to find fathers/grandfathers supervising their children/grandchildren in playgrounds. Additionally, there are fewer male than female kindergarten teachers.

Limited information resources are available on playground designs. Consequently, more post-Cold War studies on playgrounds, adapting ethnographic and historical methods, should be conducted.

An important finding of this study was the widely held opinion of children that swings are the best playground equipment. Swings could therefore receive priority in future designs.

Given that neither children nor their parents prioritized the nature dimension in their perceptions of playgrounds, the integration of nature into playground design should arguably be more seriously considered.

Last, because the scope of children's imaginations is quite restricted within traditional and modern types of playgrounds, equipment design should provide considerably more space for enhancing children's creativity and sense of adventure.

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TABLES

Table 1. *Mosaic Design*

Activity	Theme	Data Type	Data Tool	Findings
Drawing pictures and modeling clay	Children's own playground	Videos, photos, and interview notes	Standardized documents	Prioritization of the FPDs (the grid with total scores)
Modeling clay	Children's favorite equipment in their own playground	List of verbal declarations	Written notes	Frequency of each specific type of equipment mentioned
Interviews	Children's dream playground	Videos	Observations on a specific trend	Quotations from children supporting the trend
Flower-planting	Children's own playground	Videos and photos	Observations on a specific trend	Quotations from children supporting the trend
Survey of teachers' opinions	Children's own playground	Completed documents	Teachers' questionnaires	Teachers' perspectives on prioritization of the FPDs
Teachers' comments on prioritization of FPDs	Children's dream playground	Written declarations	Standardized cards	Prioritization of the FPDs (the grid with total scores)
Children's free play	Public playground	Estimations	General observations	Comments on general trends

Note: FPD=Functional Playground Dimension.

Table 2. *Prioritization of FPDs*

	Group 1: Prioritization of FPDs for a post-Cold War playground design		Group 2: Prioritization of FPDs for a Cold War playground design	
Children's perceptions	1. Joy	(127)	1. Joy	(59)
	2. Socialization	(86)	2. Design	(47)
	3. Design	(85)	3. Socialization	(42)
	4. Nature	(50)	4. Safety	(27)
	5. Safety	(46)	5. Nature	(20)
Parents' perceptions	1. Safety	(91)	1. Safety	(91)
	2. Joy	(64)	2. Joy	(71)
	3. Nature	(59)	3. Design	(49)
	4. Socialization	(47)	4. Nature	(46)
	5. Design	(39)	5. Socialization	(43)

Notes: The total score for each FPD is indicated in brackets.
FPD=Functional Playground Dimension.
N=80

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CHALLENGES ENCOUNTERED AND COPING STRATEGIES USED BY FINAL YEAR UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS OF SOCIOLOGY IN PROJECT WRITING AT KOGI STATE UNIVERSITY, ANYIGBA, NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT *The research described in this paper investigates the challenges encountered and the coping strategies used by final year undergraduate students of sociology with regard to project writing at Kogi State University, Anyigba, Nigeria using both case study and ex-post facto design. The sample comprises those 2015/2016 final year undergraduate students of sociology at the institution, who have registered for the project course (Soc 406), carried out field work, and made ready final copies of their project work for submission. Results of the study show that, of all the challenges encountered by respondents in relation to project writing, a lack of money for meeting the financial demands of project work was most common. Likewise, of all the coping strategies used by respondents, sourcing material from cybercafés and libraries with the help of cybercafé and library attendants was of primary importance. The results of hypotheses testing revealed that there is no significant difference in the challenges encountered by male and female respondents, or in the coping strategies used in project writing. In view of these findings, the study recommends that parents should always strive to meet the financial needs of their wards in school. Likewise, the government should complement parents' efforts, as university expenses in Nigeria are a burden many parents can presently hardly afford.*

KEYWORDS: *challenges, coping strategies, undergraduate students, sociology, project writing, Kogi State, Nigeria*

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INTRODUCTION

Historically, sociology as a discipline has its origins in Western Europe during the eighteenth century. It emerged in response to the failure of the earlier existing schools of thought or disciplines to capture the nature of socio-political crises in Europe at that time (Erinosho 2005). Sociology thus served as the best alternative field of science to proffer solutions to the socio-political problems of the time (Erinosho 2005). In Nigeria, the first university to establish a separate department of sociology was the University of Nigeria, Nsukka in 1960 (Ogunbameru 2008). At present, almost all the universities in Nigeria have a separate sociology department.

To earn a bachelor's degree in sociology from any of the Nigerian universities, students, apart from completing and passing all the required and compulsory courses, are also required to write and submit a research project to the relevant department. The research project involves systematic inquiry into an approved topic or theme based on either library or field work, and is conducted under the supervision of teaching staff. The process of project creation by students is known as project writing.

Project writing involves undertaking an empirical investigation into an issue of social concern in the area of culture, gender, inequality, health and aging, population, politics, globalization, economic life, crime, the environment, etc., and is designed to give students the opportunity to put into practice earlier learning about statistical and research methods. Project writing is different from dissertation writing (which is done by Master's students or Master of Philosophy students) and thesis writing (by PhD students) at Nigerian universities. However, projects, dissertations, and thesis are all presented and defended before a panel of experts.

Despite the importance of project writing, it is observable that students always view it as something difficult. The reason for this may be that which students insinuate: since project writing involves steps/procedures that require time, money and commitment, it is sometimes difficult. This means that students fear facing the challenges associated with project writing.

Studies (Olaitan et al. 2009; Tichaona – Onias 2012; Asogwa et al. 2014) have been conducted about the challenges and coping strategies adopted by students during project writing. The findings of these studies have revealed the fact that students face challenges that range from inability to select a researchable topic, a lack of resources/materials, the hostile attitude of supervisors, a lack of will power, a lack of money, and ill health (Olaitan et al. 2009; Asogwa et al. 2014). Tichaona and Onias (2012) have classified project-writing-related challenges into three categories; namely, supervisory, institutional and student-related.

Supervisory-related challenges include research topics being imposed on students by supervisors, the failure of supervisors to return students work promptly, and a lack of research experience and relevant research skill/knowledge on the part of the supervisor. Institutional challenges include a lack of internet services or research materials in school libraries. Student-related challenges include a lack of time, money, and library resources, a lack of commitment and motivation to do research, a lack of adequate theory for the area under research, and family problems/commitments.

As regards coping strategies, Asogwa et al. (2014) in their study identify strategies such as seeking help from lecturers other than the students' supervisors (from topic selection through to the completion of project writing), borrowing money to cope with financial challenges, and constant visits to supervisors' offices to check project files as the main strategies adopted by students to cope with the challenges encountered in project writing.

In spite of the efforts of earlier researchers, related studies have focused on students in disciplines such as educational management (Tichaona – Onias 2012) and agricultural education (Asogwa et al. 2015), and none on undergraduate students of sociology, suggesting that further study is required in this area. As a result, this present study investigates the challenges and coping strategies used by final year undergraduate students of sociology as regards project writing at Kogi State University, Anyigba, Nigeria. The outcomes of this study will be useful in understanding the challenges faced by sociology undergraduate students in project writing, and also provide some ideas about the management of such challenges.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

Specifically, the study sought:

(i) To identify the challenges encountered by final year undergraduate students of sociology in terms of project writing

(ii) To investigate the strategies used by final year undergraduate students of sociology in terms of coping with the challenges encountered in project writing.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study is anchored in expectancy-value theory. Expectancy-value theory was developed by John William Atkinson in the 1950s and 1960s in an effort to understand the achievement motivation of individuals. In the 1980s, Jacquelynne Eccles expanded this theory to the field of education. According to expectancy-value theory, students' achievement and achievement-related choices are primarily determined by two factors; namely, expectancies of success, and subjective task values. Expectancies are specific beliefs individuals have regarding their likely success with certain tasks they plan to carry out, while task values refers to how important or useful the individual perceives the task/s to be (Eccles – Wigfield 2002). Theoretical and empirical (Nagengast et al. 2011; Trautwein et al. 2012) work suggests that expectancies and values interact to predict important outcomes such as engagement, continuing interest, and academic achievement. Other factors, including demographic characteristics, prior experience, and perceptions of others beliefs and behavior affect achievement-related outcomes indirectly through these expectancies and values.

In applying this theory to the study, we observe that students often believe that project writing is difficult to accomplish because of the cost/challenges (loss of time, overly high-effort, negative psychological experiences such as stress, etc.) associated with it. This belief leads them to expect that they will perform poorly on project writing tasks. However, subjective task value relates to the motivation that shapes how an individual answers the following question: 'Do I really want to do this task, and why?' Subjective task values can be categorized into attainment value (importance for identity or self), intrinsic value (enjoyment or interest) and utility value (usefulness or relevance) (Eccles 1983). The subjective value students award to project writing is typically, however, tied to utility value. Students see project writing (despite its perceived difficulty) as a useful and relevant component of the work needed to earn a degree in sociology. This task value motivates them to use different kinds of strategies to counter the challenges associated with project writing.

METHODOLOGY

Brief Description of Kogi State University (KSU), Anyigba, Nigeria

This study was carried out at Kogi State University, Anyigba, during the 2015/2016 academic session. The institution was established in 1999 by the

Kogi State Government, and is located at Anyigba, but commenced academic activities in April 2000 with six faculties including Agriculture, Arts and Humanities, Law, Management Sciences, Natural Sciences, and Social Sciences. The university offers many courses such as Law, Biochemistry, Microbiology, Business Administration, Accounting, Agricultural Economics, Sociology, etc. As of the 2014/2015 academic session, 17,390 undergraduate students were enrolled (Kogi State University 2015), and the university is ranked as Nigeria's (and one of Africa's) fastest growing universities (Kogi State University 2015). Kogi State University was purposely chosen for this study because it is one of the universities in Nigeria that offers sociology as a course of study.

Research design, Study population, Sample size and Sampling technique

This study used both case study and ex-post facto design. These designs are considered appropriate for use in this study since it solely focused on undergraduate students of sociology in Kogi State University and because the fact of the study (of challenges and coping strategies) occurred prior to this research work.

The study population comprises of all the 2015/2016 final year undergraduate students of sociology at Kogi State University, totaling two hundred and twenty one (221). However, to qualify as part of the sample the students had to have registered for the project course (Soc 406), carried out field work, and made ready final copies of their project work for submission. Those meeting these criteria totaled one hundred and sixty three (163), and were chosen as a sample for the study using a purposive sampling technique.

Method of Data Collection

Data were collected using a structured questionnaire divided into three sections. Section A consisted of questions about the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents (namely, gender, age, religion, ethnic group, and place of residence). Section B focused on the challenges encountered by respondents in project writing. There were 18 items in this section of which 14 were adapted from Asogwa et al.'s (2014) Challenges and Coping Strategies Questionnaire (CCSQ), while the remaining four were provided by the researcher. Respondents were instructed to indicate the extent of their agreement with each item using a four-point scale (where 1 means strongly disagree, 2 means disagree, 3 means agree, and 4 means strongly agree). Section C centers on the strategies used by respondents to cope with the challenges encountered in project writing. There were ten items in this section, all of which were adapted from Asogwa et al.'s

(2014) Challenges and Coping Strategies Questionnaire (CCSQ). Respondents were asked to rate the items using a three-point scale (where 1 means never, 2 means sometimes, and 3 means always).

The instrument adapted in this study had a Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient of 0.85. However, in the current research a Cronbach's alpha coefficient of 0.73 was obtained.

Methods of Data Analysis

The data were processed using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software, version 20. The data were statistically analyzed using descriptive techniques such as frequency count, percentage and weighted mean. Weighted mean was used to determine the relative importance of each of the challenges and the strategies used by respondents in project writing. Hypotheses were tested using the Levenes independent sample t-test for equality of variance.

The study conformed to the guiding principles of social research ethics which include autonomy, justice and avoidance of malfeasance. Respondents were given leeway to decide whether to participate in the research.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A total of one hundred and sixty three (163) questionnaires were administered, out of which one hundred and fifteen (115) – representing 70.6 percent – were suitable for analysis while the remaining forty eight (48) – representing 29.4 percent – were invalid and not used in the analysis.

Table 1. *Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Respondents*

Variable	Characteristics	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Gender	Male	59	51.3
	Female	56	48.7
	Total	115	100.0
Age (in years)	20-22	15	13.0
	23-25	40	34.8
	26-28	38	33.0
	29 and above	22	19.1
	Total	115	100.0

Religious Affiliation	Christian Islamic Traditional African Religion Total	52 49 14 115	45.2 42.6 12.2 100.0
Ethnic Group	Igala Yoruba Ebira Other Total	52 27 14 22 115	45.2 23.3 12.2 19.1 100.0
Residence	Hostel Off campus Total	46 69 115	40.0 60.0 100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2016

Table 1 shows the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents. From the table it can be seen that a little more than half (51.3 percent) of the respondents were male, while the remaining (48.7 percent) were female. This result is not surprising because Kogi State (where the school is located) is one of the states in northern Nigeria where preference is given to educating male children. However, a critical look at the data in Table 1 above shows that the difference between male and female respondents in percentage terms is 2.6%. This indicates that the preference for educating male children is gradually disappearing. This may be due to the realization among parents of the many benefits of educating female children. Adult females have proved to be more caring for parents and to give them more financial and emotional support (Edewor 2001 cited in Isiugo-Abanihe – Adegbola 2007:46). Education equips female children to better perform these functions, especially providing financial support.

That majority of respondents (34.8 percent) were between the ages of 23-25 years, 33.0 percent were between the ages of 26-28 years, and 19.1 percent were 29 years or older, while 13.0 percent were from 20-22 years old. This finding shows that more respondents were aged between 23-25 years than those in other age categories. Although most of the respondents in that age group (23-25 years) gained admission to university when 16 years old, as stipulated by the Joint Admission and Matriculation Board (JAMB), (the federal government agency responsible for the conduct of university entrance examinations in Nigeria), and would be expected to have already graduated from university (the length of the sociology course is four years), their still being at university may be due to delays stemming from the students themselves in the process of meeting graduation requirements, or delays due to the prolonged strikes of the organized labor unions such as the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) and the Non-Academic Staff Union of Universities (NASU). These events sometimes

prolong students' stay on campus and thus their age at graduation to between 23-25 years.

Data about respondents' religious affiliation shows that the majority (45.2 percent) were Christian, about 42.6 percent were Muslims, and the remaining 12.2 percent belong to various traditional African religions. This result indicates that the respondents' sociology department is a mixed religious one, dominated almost on equal terms by Christians and Muslims, with few practitioners of traditional religions.

In terms of ethnic group, the majority (45.2 percent) of respondents were Igala, about 23.3 percent were Yoruba, and 12.2 percent were Ebira, while the remaining respondents (19.1 percent) were from other ethnic groups from the state and Nigeria. The high proportion of respondents from the Igala ethnic group is not surprising in view of the fact that the university is sited in Anyigba, one of the more densely populated regions of Igala land. Generally, among the three most prominent tribes in Kogi State (Igala, Ebira, and Okun), the Igala are the most numerous. This is also reflected in the results of this study.

The majority (60.0 percent) of respondents reside off-campus, while the remaining (40.0 percent) reside at a university hostel. This result is surprising as a majority of respondents were expected to be resident at the university hostel as the university authority favors freshmen and final year students over other categories of students in terms of the allocation of bed spaces at the hostel (because it is assumed by university management that the hostel provides a conducive environment for studying, especially for freshmen and final year students who need to be close to university facilities). Accordingly, it is amazing that not even half of all respondents were living at the university hostel. Further enquiries were made from respondents about why most of them preferred off-campus living. Many of the respondents cited overcrowding and the unsanitary condition of the hostels, cultism and other social vices, as well as the lack of academic focus of on-campus students, and inadequate on-campus security as the main reasons for disliking on-campus living. An inquiry into the methods of securing such off-campus accommodation indicted that many respondents had secured such accommodation through friends, parents/relations, estate agents' advertisements, or students who served as agents, and through their own efforts.

In sum, the demographic profile of a typical respondent is male, 23-25 years old, Christian, Igala by tribe, and residing off-campus.

In addition to the foregoing, efforts were made to identify the challenges encountered by the respondents in terms of project writing. Results are presented in Table 2 below.

Table 2. *Project-writing related Challenges encountered by Respondents*

No in the Questionnaire	Items	SD	D	A	SA	Fx	N	$\bar{X}$	Rank
		1	2	3	4				
5	Inadequate funds for meeting financial demands of project writing	6	12	62	35	356	115	3.10	1st
3	Inability to source materials relevant to research topic from library	13	29	52	21	311	115	2.70	2nd
2	Inability to understand and cope with the relationship between concepts as applied to the approved topic	11	35	56	13	301	115	2.62	3rd
6	Approved topic is complex and lacks literature	9	49	37	20	298	115	2.59	4th
4	Inability to cope with other academic assignments assigned by supervisor in addition to course work or projects	18	38	40	19	290	115	2.52	5th
11	Respondents demanded money to respond to data collection instrument	22	37	36	20	284	115	2.47	6th
15	Natural phenomena interfered with research work	20	38	43	14	281	115	2.44	7th
8	No interest in topic approved for respondent by supervisor	24	37	45	9	269	115	2.34	8th
1	Inability to select a researchable topic for project writing	28	47	25	15	257	115	2.23	9th
16	Excessive use of social media left no time for project work or writing	22	54	30	9	256	115	2.23	10th
18	Social activities such as clubbing, partying, etc. slowed down project work / writing	37	40	22	16	247	115	2.15	11th
17	Suspected hindrance of project work or writing from the spiritual realm	33	43	29	10	246	115	2.14	12th
14	Target respondents denied access for data collection	25	58	27	5	242	115	2.10	13th

10	Supervisor asked respondent to write and submit project without supplying any guide or materials	28	54	29	4	239	115	2.08	14th
9	Lack of computer literacy/ internet access	41	52	16	6	217	115	1.89	15th
12	Demand for cash or materials from supervisor as condition of paying attention to work	45	53	11	6	208	115	1.81	16th
13	Sexual harassment by supervisor	46	53	11	5	205	115	1.78	17th
7	Supervisor has poor knowledge of topic and cannot provide suitable guidance	46	60	4	5	198	115	1.72	18th

SD = Strongly Disagree, D = Disagree, A = Agree, SA = Strongly Agree
Source: Field Survey, 2016

Table 2 shows the challenges encountered by the respondents in the course of writing their final year undergraduate project. From the table it can be seen that the majority of the respondents agreed that they encountered one or more of the following challenges: lack of adequate funding, inability to source relevant materials for their research topic, inability to understand and cope with the relationship between concepts as applied to the topic approved for them by their various supervisors, and inability to cope with other academic assignments assigned by supervisors in addition to their course work/project. These findings are consistent with those of Olaitan et al. (2009), Tichaona – Onias (2012), and Asogwa et al. (2014).

On the other hand, most of the respondents disagreed that they faced challenges such as 'the topic approved for me is complex and has scanty literature', 'social activities such as clubbing, partying, etc. slowed me down in my project work/ writing', 'target respondents denied me access for data collection', 'my supervisor asked me to write and submit to him/her without any guide or materials', 'I am not computer literate enough to access the internet', 'sexual harassment from my supervisor', and 'my supervisor has poor knowledge of my topic to guide me properly'. These findings contradict those of Olaitan et al. (2009), Tichaona – Onias (2012), and Asogwa et al. (2014) as these researchers found that students encountered the aforementioned challenges.

From among the challenges encountered by respondents in project writing as listed in Table 2 above, 'inadequate funds for meeting financial demands of project writing' was most commonly encountered, with an overall mean of 3.10, while 'supervisor has poor knowledge of topic and cannot provide suitable guidance ' ranked last with a mean value of 1.72

Efforts were also made to understand the coping strategies used by respondents to counter the challenges experienced in the course of their project writing; the results of this inquiry are presented in Table 3, below.

Table 3. *Coping Strategies used by Respondents*

No in the Questionnaire	Items	Never	Sometimes	Always	Fx	N	$\bar{X}$	Rank
		1	2	3				
4	Sourcing materials from cybercafés and libraries with help of cybercafé and library attendants	13	49	53	270	115	2.35	1st
6	Consistently visiting supervisor's office without invitation to check on status of project work	13	62	40	257	115	2.23	2nd
1	Seeking help from lecturers and students other than supervisor, from topic selection to end of project writing	20	61	34	244	115	2.12	3rd
9	Rewarding respondents materially to facilitate data collection.	26	60	29	233	115	2.03	4th
2	Sourcing materials for project with the help of classmates	17	81	17	230	115	2.00	5th
5	Learning how to browse and analyze data on computer	22	80	13	221	115	1.92	6th
7	Collecting data from respondents with the help of classmates.	33	62	19	214	115	1.86	7th
3	Borrowing money to deal with the financial challenges of completing project writing	37	65	13	206	115	1.79	8th
8	Appreciating supervisor periodically with cash or material gifts	69	33	13	174	115	1.51	9th
10	Petitioning the appropriate quarters about supervisor's style of supervision	97	15	3	136	115	1.18	10th

Source: Field Survey, 2016

Table 3 shows the coping strategies used in response to the challenges of project writing encountered by respondents. It can be seen that the majority of respondents consistently visited their supervisors' offices without invitation to check on their project work, sought help from lecturers and students other than their supervisors, rewarded their respondents materially to facilitate data collection, and sourced material for their projects with the help of classmates, learnt how to browse and analyze data on computers, collected data from respondents with the help of classmates, and sometimes borrowed money to cope with the financial challenges of project writing. These findings confirm those of Asogwa et al. (2014). For instance, these researchers found that students, among others, also sometimes rewarded their respondents materially to facilitate data collection, sourced material for their projects with the help of classmates, never petitioned the appropriate quarters about their supervisor's style of supervision, etc.

A further look at Table 3 reveals that most respondents never rewarded their supervisors with cash or material items. This may be due to the fact that there is zero tolerance for any acts of corruption at Kogi State University. Students and lecturers are always warned and encouraged through various school-organized seminars and programs to eschew vices such as corruption, dishonesty, etc. and be to responsible, disciplined, honest, hardworking and patriotic. This finding, as contained in Table 3, contradicts that of Asogwa et al. (2014).

Further enquiries were made from respondents about whether they used any other strategies apart from the ones listed in Table 3 to cope with the challenges encountered in their project work. Many respondents answered in the affirmative. The other coping strategies they claimed to use include allocating lecture-free days to project work, improving the quality and quantity of food intake so as to stay stronger and healthier and thus prevent physical and mental breakdown, engaging in part-time work to raise the money needed for carrying out project work, typing up project work themselves to save on typing costs, reducing participation in non-mandatory social and religious activities on campus so as to stay focused on project writing, and taking browsing-enabled gadgets such as phones and laptops to school to charge them (to counter the challenge of dealing with the irregular electricity supply in their lodging places and thus create the opportunity to access the internet to obtain academic materials). This shows that respondents used a combination of strategies to make their project work easier.

From among the coping strategies used by the respondents (as listed in Table 3), 'sourcing material from cybercafés and libraries with the help of cyber and library attendants' was the most common, with an overall mean of 2.35, while 'petitioning appropriate quarters about supervisor's style of supervision' was least common with a mean value of 1.18

Further efforts were also made to examine statistically whether there was a significant difference in the challenges encountered and the coping strategies used by the respondents in project writing by formulating two hypotheses, as described below:

Hypothesis 1

H_o: There is no significant difference in the challenges encountered by male and female final year undergraduate students of sociology in terms of project writing.

Hi: There is a significant difference in the challenges encountered by male and female final year undergraduate students of sociology in terms of project writing.

The results of Hypothesis 1, formulated above, are presented in Table 4.

Table 4. *Difference in Challenges Encountered by Male and Female Final Year Undergraduate Students of Sociology in Project Writing*

Gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	P value	t – value	Decision
Male	59	40.4746	5.33807	0.69496	0.233	-0.949	NS
Female	56	41.375	4.80364	0.64191			

NS = Not Significant, p>0.05

The negative *t – value* implies that the challenges encountered by final year undergraduate students of sociology of either gender have an inverse effect on their project writing. The *p-value* of 0.233, which is greater than the level of significance ($\alpha = 0.05$), implies that there is no sufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis, H_0. Hence, it is concluded that there is no significant difference in the challenges encountered by male and female final year undergraduate students of sociology in terms of project writing at the 5 percent significance level. In other words, male and female final year undergraduate students of sociology encountered similar challenges with project writing.

Hypothesis 2

H_0: There is no significant difference in the coping strategies used by male and female final year undergraduate students of sociology in terms of project writing.

Hi: There is a significant difference in the coping strategies used by male and female final year undergraduate students of sociology in terms of project writing.

The result of Hypothesis 2 are presented in Table 5.

Table 5. *Difference in Coping Strategies used by Male and Female Final Year Undergraduate Students of Sociology in Project Writing.*

Gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	P value	t – value	Decision
Male	59	18.9492	2.38836	0.31094	0.262	-0.426	NS
Female	56	19.125	2.00964	0.26855			

NS = Not Significant, p>0.05

From Table 5 above, the *p-value* of 0.262 which is greater than the level of significance ($\alpha = 0.05$) implies that there is no sufficient reason to reject the null hypothesis, H_0. Hence, it is concluded that there is no significant difference in the coping strategies used by male and female final year undergraduate students of sociology in terms of project writing at the 5 percent significance level. In other words, the coping strategies employed by male and female final year undergraduate students of sociology in terms of project writing are of the same efficiency.

CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS

The study described in this paper investigated the challenges encountered and the coping strategies used by final year undergraduate students of sociology during their project writing at Kogi State University, Anyigba, Nigeria. Results of the study show that of all the challenges related to project writing encountered by respondents, a lack of money for meeting the financial demands of their projects is most common. This finding implies that parents have not done enough financially to support their wards at university. A further result of the study is

that of all the coping strategies used by respondents, sourcing material from cybercafés and libraries with the help of cybercafé and library attendants was first. This finding implies that both cybercafés and libraries are the best place for sourcing materials for research work. The results of hypotheses testing reveal that there is no significant difference in the challenges encountered by male and female respondents, or with the coping strategies used in project writing.

In view of the aforementioned findings, the study concludes that challenges are an inspiration to hard work and achievement, hence students should learn to innovatively improvise to overcome difficulties encountered at any point in any situation as nothing good comes easily. Correspondingly, it is hereby recommended that parents should always strive to meet adequately the financial needs of their wards in school, since it is their responsibility to do so. Likewise, the government should complement parents' efforts, as university expenses are a burden many parents can presently ill-afford in Nigeria. The government can do this by supporting students financially, either in the form of loans (student loans at low or zero interest), scholarships, or grants to offset their educational expenses or to help them acquire the academic materials needed for their studies. Finally, students wishing to carry out research should always make use of cybercafés and libraries to source the material they need for their studies as they are the best sources of relevant information for research work.

LIMITATIONS AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The results of this study are limited to the department of sociology where the data was collected. Additional evidence will therefore be required prior to generalizing findings to the university as a whole. In this respect, further research is needed to investigate the project-writing-related challenges and coping strategies adopted by final year undergraduate students at Kogi State University. The finding of such studies will help to either support or refute this study's findings. Notwithstanding this limitation, the study described in this paper has addressed an important issue related to the project writing of current and prospective final year undergraduate students of sociology at a time when such empirical research is otherwise not available. As a result, this paper has contributed to the discipline of sociology in particular, and higher education literature in general.

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NETFRAMEWORK AND THE DIGITALIZED-MEDIATIZED SELF

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ABSTRACT *Users leave digital footprints behind via online systems. Mediatized self- representations by human (inter)actions and digitalized automatization imply decisions and dilemmas on account of online participation. Chains of decisions and network impact produce online mediatized selves embedded in the NetFrameWork where net is the internet, the frame is the context by it and work implies the flow process of "always on" (inter)actions. Users learn to adapt and to handle the blended online-offline existence. Consequences are unpredictable: both former and updated records are available in an infinite digital present.*

The first part of this paper introduces the conceptual approach of the digitalized and mediatized self in NetFrameWork. The second part provides an insight into our research-in-progress of personal/professional digital strategies. The qualitative research has focused on strategies with their decision points and interpretation via storylines and metaphors by two segments of different generations. Where is the boundary between personal publicity and privacy in online hyper-connectivity? What are the typical conflicting issues in human/automatized (inter)actions on the Internet and what dilemmas do users have to face in their online self-representation? What is the difference among the observed age groups in online strategy? How can metaphors and storytelling reflect to various digital challenges? The goal of this summary is to present the first results of our research project about digital identity in order to prepare the next research milestone.

KEYWORDS: *digitalized-mediatized self, digital footprint, personal/professional online strategy, NetFrameWork*

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INTRODUCTION

The term NetFrameWork as used in reference to the digital networking side of life refers to the internet as an indispensable tool. The term represents a metaphorical-philosophical approach and is first used with this meaning by the author to highlight users' perspectives in digital contexts. This framework is used to describe web-based digital platforms with online representation and online interconnectivity. The concept of the NetFrameWork also heavily reflects on digitalized and mediatized selves with their activities, representations and offline extensions.

Digital self-representation in the NetFrameWork has become a personal and/or professional strategic issue. Behind the footprints that users leave on online platforms/applications and automatized systems are decision chains relating to the control of public and/or private data and the (self-) consciousness/awareness of digital activities. Privacy is one of the most emphasized issues in this context due to a mixture of traditional and socio-technological norms (Dijck 2013; Hetcher 2004).

Users face various dilemmas and problems in this ongoing process, and are looking for key solutions or best practices for making successful decisions through their personal experiences and through other users' experiences, and by following emerging trends and via examples, storylines and metaphors which are branded on their minds. Our goal is to map these phenomena, relying on a selection of relevant literature to provide a conceptual framework for our inquiry; and second, to give an insight into the present author's research-in-progress that examines personal/professional online strategies.

CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Digital footprints are generated by platforms, applications and binary coding. The coded representations produce different (target) audiences and information sharing (Ujhelyi – Szabó 2014) of online selves that observe and interact with other selves. The context is mediatized and digitalized: coded by computers and facilitated by cultural-social-visual effects and contents (among others, Hjarvard 2013). The result is the new media which surrounds us with its constant staging: users try to manage their identities via public roles and also through hidden information.

As Conlin (2006), when describing the essence of online self-representation,

put it: "You are what you post". Online social roles and activities via internet and interconnectivity (Burnett et al. 2003; Rheingold 2002) develop blended online-offline networks (Wellman 2001). Digital identification comes from the impact on the network of data/content/user. Diverse interpersonal goals facilitate the information-related process (Papacharissi 2011) of building connections or personal brands on professional and social platforms. Social media platforms, search engine hits, blog posts, selfies, transactions and further footprints are the digital versions of the early idea of mass media, and a product of automatized systems. Users have audiences and are targeted via the platforms/applications of the new media and analyzed via big data services. The digitalized-mediatized self locates itself and is also localized by user/system activities at different levels of transparency.

Our focus is on online self-representation (among others, Lundby 2008; Qui 2012; Schwartz – Halegoua 2014), on social roles (Goffman 1959), on social identity (Erikson 1968; Tajfel – Turner 1986), and on self-concept as the totality of a person's thoughts and feelings about oneself as an object (Zhao et al. 2008). The major theme of the conceptual background is the strategy of online self-representation for digital identification. Various generations of users learn to develop this phenomenon (Blanchard – Markus 2007) with different perspectives, using different means (Howe – Strauss 1992). Blended offline and online identities (Baker 2009; Walther – Parks 2002) can be viewed from various points of view– from online vulnerability to digital reputation management. The digital data landscape defines and designates users (Sarma – Girão 2009). Observers cannot see the same data sets. They instead perceive different "reality shows" or digital illusions because of the interference of automatized systems (Manovich 2001), and because of various user habits detected by algorithms (Pariser 2012).

Egosurfing and an awareness of internet usage have demarcated the digital scene. Self-generated and auto-represented interactivity are built via online communities (Buss – Strauss 2009) and via scattered digital footprints (Feher 2015). Self-expression (Pagani et al. 2011), the increasing number of hidden profiles (Puzis – Elovici 2015), and higher levels of online awareness (Phillips 2014) can promote self-representation and digital identification to achieve users' goals. Current habits mainly involve observation and participation. Ninety percent of users are thus engaged, while nine percent collect and share content or data, and only one percent create user-generated content (Schindler – Liller 2012). However, observation also leaves footprints in the form of clicks, hits and further activities. In this case, the lack of a (real) visible online presence may appear strange to some audiences and networks.

Personalized media (Aaltonen et al. 2005) in the form of smart phones/mobile devices/sensors and digitalization via self-strategies have ontological

consequences for mediatization: “we are the message” (McConnell – Huba 2006), and “whoever is not available on the internet does not exist” (Feher 2015). Continuous self-improvement has become a fundamentally important goal (Rab 2016).

Impression management extends this view: self-representation enters the stage with the goal of manipulating information and producing edited images/illusions (among others, Strohmeier 2002; Dörner 2005; Merkl-Davies 2011). The expectation of positive feedback (Dörner 2005) is based on raising online awareness with targeted activities for users to perceive through displays (Davies 2007).

To understand these phenomena it is important to explore and map the emerging field of digital awareness. Which points of view, or what kind of values, are the focus of the users, and why?

RESEARCH-IN-PROGRESS: PERSONAL ONLINE STRATEGIES

Our work-in-progress research report describes part of a hybrid research design related to personal digital/online strategies. The first stage involved an exploratory phase with a qualitative design using in-depth interviews in preparation for a large-scale quantitative survey. The goal is to define the research framework and prepare exact questions for defining the next milestones.

The research has been hosted by the Budapest Business School, University of Applied Sciences Research Centre, Hungary. Before the empirical research project we tested the relevance of the research questions in cooperation with research partners from Central Eastern Europe, including Uniwersytet Jagiellońsky, Eötvös Loránd University, Kürt Academy, and Mathias Corvinus Collegium, which provided access to carefully selected, versatile samples from two segments: graduate students from different university faculties who had not yet found a job, and corporate CEOs/decision makers from a selection of the TOP500 companies, according to the Kürt Academy, of varying company size and different industries/markets. The in-depth interviews with 15 graduate students captured the views of the millennial generation, with a lifestyle typical of young people and with social roles as yet undefined. CEOs/decision makers represented a sample of Generation X with responsible social/professional roles and corporate positions, highlighting their more dedicated digital footprints.

The empirical research focused on the phenomenon of the mediatized self in the NetFrameWork in order to complete the exploratory phase of work. The aim

of the in-depth interviews was to map general and universal decision-making circles in an online context with reference to their online representations and control strategies geared at leaving/hiding digital footprints in networks. Because of the concept of the mediatized and networked self, we also studied metaphors, expressions and self-reflexive storytelling. Our assumptions for these segments included the following claims:

A1) The digital projection of self-representation has become a personal strategic issue in the form of the need to avoid lagging behind new digital trends and fashions.
A2) Digital footprints that are partially controlled by users cause a variety of dilemmas, both in personal and professional life.
A3) Conscious decisions support the effective use of online network transparency as regards the mediatized self.
A4) Respondents try to maintain non-mediatized forms of privacy
A5) Participants use interpretative metaphors/expressions and spontaneously engage in self-reflexive storytelling in interviews to expand on their personal digital strategies concerning the digitalized-mediatized context.

We undertook 30 semi-structured in-depth interviews of 60-90 minutes per respondent. To verify our assumptions, we provided guidelines for the topics, as listed below:

– platforms and tools of online communication for the digitalized-mediatized self,
– consequences of reputation management, control, security and the surveillance of online data sets,
– advantages and disadvantages, possible risks and vulnerability in digital networks.

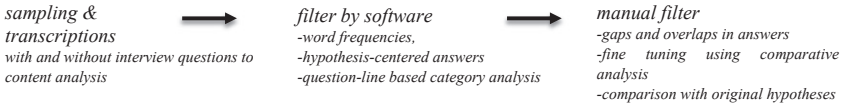
The recordings of the in-depth interviews were transcribed for content analysis using software (Sporkforge, Tagxedo, MAXQDA). The use of software tools focused on word frequencies, highlights as assumption-centered answers, and a comparative analysis of elements based on the following categories:

– terminology in transcripts with cognitive and emotional relationships to the topic, elements of a strategic approach: gaps and overlaps,
– a direct focus on the context of identity, control and security, reputation, online visibility, privacy, network impacts, following best practices,
– the filter of metaphors/expressions, and personal/representative storytelling.

After the first software filtering step, the methodological approach required comparative manual analysis using eight categories: sample details,

word/terminology frequencies as contexts, strategies, focus on reputation, highlighted control/security subjects, focus on privacy settings, metaphors, and personal storytelling. These categories provided the framework for fine-tuning overlapping findings and differences.

Flowchart of content analysis based on answers in the interviews:



The research was limited in terms of the number of interviews, but the 'a minimum of 15 interviews' rule of Bauer and Gaskell (2007) was met twice over. The procedure for preparing and working through the empirical project proved appropriate.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

From our qualitative research, results identified a sample of restrained, characteristically conscious, congruence-focused participants with dilemmas and uncertainties relating to internet usage.

There were already differences between generations. The focus of graduate students was rooted in themselves and in their social embeddedness. These individuals identify themselves as much as 70-80 percent with how they see themselves in the NetFrameWork. Some participants have already used fake identities to make observations, save personal data, or for university tasks. Other users/digital forms of automatization also leave digital footprints of their own behind–concerning the remaining 20-30 percent of the sample. Their observations defined them as living a temporary student lifestyle, and their spontaneous statements relating to common patterns of online self-representation emphasized the virtualized self and the desire for protection of privacy and control over the internet, as the following sentences show:

1. *Whoever is not available on the internet does not exist.*
2. *Whatever comes out on the internet with reference to me, and whatever is missing concerning me, is important on account of my personal life.*
3. *I am mostly in control of the information concerning me on the internet.*

Decision-maker/CEO respondents focus on their visible/transparent/responsible/sample-giving professional role and on the authenticity of their profiles. They do not highlight the use of social media and do not connect the informal style of social platforms with their formal business roles. The scope for this generation is the whole internet, and their responsibility within it. Professional/career status and goals are listed in first and third place in importance, and these individuals prefer online monitoring over offline processes.

1. *Data produced on the internet with reference to me and data that stays hidden or is lacking on the internet concerning me are important because of my (socio-cultural) status and career.*
2. *We have to monitor our online presence more carefully than we do our offline one.*
3. *I use the internet in order to reach my goals efficiently.*

Based on these statements and on research assumptions (see above) we summarize respondents' replies in the following sections.

A1 The digital projection of self-representation has become a personal strategic issue in the form of the need to avoid lagging behind new digital trends and fashions.

The first assumption was confirmed. The NetFrameWork has become indispensable and respondents have strategies for online self-representation. The major issues for them are control and the ideal reputation (Oravec 2012). However, the need to reduce potential risks is also important on platforms. A majority of their decisions concerning self-representation are focused around timelines. Respondents emphasized in most interviews that once something appeared on the internet it would leave digital footprints behind forever. "To be digitally" refers to an ongoing vulnerability in a surveillance culture. There are no relevant differences between age groups: both view and manage online self-representation via (self-)control as a strategic issue, and in most cases their decisions take that into account.

However, their focus is not the same. Millennials highlighted the importance of the "keep in touch" factor concerning social media compared with the "reference" factor of decision makers concerning the total internet in terms of strategic thinking. Millennial participants, who were born between 1982 and

2004 (Howe – Strauss 2000), focused on their own strategies with fledgling habit. Decision-maker respondents are concerned with collective, personal and professional strategic issues. They mostly follow networks for the purpose of establishing references, checking competitors and communicating within corporate networks of their own. Their personal and non-corporate professional strategic principles are intertwined with collective complex networks. The results, besides personal strategy, are policies, rules and recommendations.

All participants from both segments are working on creating a more effective strategy to meet their goals and challenges in the future. Most of them declared that "you have to plan for the impossible." They are following peers and experts to identify role models, patterns and best practices for themselves.

A2 Digital footprints that are partially controlled by users cause a variety of dilemmas both in personal and professional life.

The second assumption was also confirmed. Respondents know that the impact of digital system automatization and other users' activities in transparent or semi-transparent networks cause random effects and online accidents. Participants cannot manage and control these situations, which creates dilemmas and problems for them. Their ambition to manage all digital footprints is a never-ending task associated with successes, challenges, and also with failures. Their status as observers is normal: they report that they only engage in a few activities online in comparison with their typical position as observers (as validated by the related literature).

The topic of identity theft cropped up in several interviews. Sites with adult or political activism-related content reportedly used respondents' names and photos in some cases. Self-updates were sometimes intentionally destroyed this way (deleted by respondents) who then needed to build new accounts/profiles. The information labyrinth of online services and extreme posts by family members were other problems that were mentioned.

The sample of decision makers emphasized the human factor. To an information technology specialist all systems are vulnerable, and using automated protection systems is like fighting windmills. In contrast, the human factor may really create unexpected situations. The biggest problem is that human behavior cannot be completely forecast and controlled. A CEOs junior family members are sometimes victims of cyberbullying because of human factors. This type of vulnerability also appears in the delegation of online communication activities: data and content may be handled by assistants,

colleagues or family members. “Being on the wrong side is a major risk” – as a respondent claimed in one of the interviews. The advantage of delegating tasks may generate more noise around several points of identification. In this case, control is applied in an indirect way.

A3 Conscious decisions support the effective use of online network transparency as regards the mediatized self.

Respondents are generally confident and self-conscious, so they do not really worry about their digitalized-mediatized selves. However, others, especially younger members of families and friends or colleagues with more extreme behavior, may reject collaboration or attempts to increase efficiency through raising awareness. Their own conscious decisions support their mediatized selves in terms of online network transparency, but this support is not always successful because of network effects, automatized services and further factors. When their real selves are confronted by additional challenges, they are semi-intuitively responded to based on an associated/unconscious background or on familiar patterns. The mediatization of the self underlines the process of identification, online activities and behavior, as well as the creation of interesting stories and mistakes via online communication. Conscious decisions are necessary but not sufficient to sustain respondents’ online transparency.

A desire to maintain privacy and protect themselves and their connections from publicity and manipulation is definitely consciously pursued by both samples/generations. Millennial participants showed a higher level of awareness in terms of online mediatized networks than the younger generation, and also higher level than their parents. They interpreted themselves as links between users of varying age groups, and as having a mission to advocate for digital security and a trendy online communication style.

Decision-maker respondents use corporate policies and recommendations as a form of collective consciousness. One of them emphasized her main rule thus: “do not waste your resources for busy online communication”. These respondents have a level of personal awareness about (1) informal connections, and (2) future career plans. Almost half of all participants are very active online, are early adopters of digital developments, and are building professional self-brands via online business network services. Some of them have future career plans, but these are not transparent, and neither are these updated self-representations maintaining the image of a corporate background. The third assumption is confirmed.

A4 Respondents try to maintain non-mediatized forms of privacy.

The fourth assumption was confirmed. All respondents want to hide at least one component of their private life. Full publicity seems to be associated with the potential for vulnerability. Bank transactions, registration data, and consumption of content via the deep web, adult content, torrent peer-to-peer networks, use of dating sites, and connecting to sites related to political or religious activism are sensitive personal issues, according to respondents. Respondents do not have enough skill nor time to protect all these personal/sensitive data. This result is different to Livingstone's findings (2014) which identified the result as changes in privacy settings. The hard data used in this latter study compared to our soft data may be the reason for this difference, self-observation being more subjective–which may also be considered a weakness of qualitative research.

Millennial respondents commonly use social media services to track others. They are curious about others' private lives, and are at the same time increasingly keen to protect their own private affairs. The current results show marked differences as regards monitoring their ex-partners' online activity. Respondents are repeatedly confronted online with situations featuring intimacy. Decision makers try to protect their own and their family's privacy. As one of them stated: "I try to hide my divorce and my dating site activities". Most of the respondents had defined rules with family members to protect their privacy. To their knowledge, their limits of access to devices reduce risks.

A5 Participants use interpretative metaphors and spontaneously engage in self-reflexive storytelling in interviews to expand their personal digital strategy concerning digitalized-mediatized context.

The fifth assumption was also confirmed. All respondents had stories, and most of them also used metaphors and expressions to describe them. The stories and metaphors came from random topics, and were spontaneous. The common metaphor was that of "big brother", used to refer to surveillance: everybody is watching everybody else.

Millennials used the expressions "digital footprint" and "voyeurism" with reference to self-representation and to observation status (see the conceptual framework). Decision makers preferred expressions with potentially multifocal interpretations, such as "cruel weapon," "stamp", "long-term practices", and

"bunch of grapes". 'Bunch of grapes' and 'long-term practices' emphasize possibilities, complexity and challenges. 'Cruel weapon' and 'stamp' refer to risks that apply to all network participants, all the time. Decision makers often employed a more complex interpretation of their strategy via digital tools, while the younger generation focused solely on the use of digital tools.

Storytelling offers a different proposition. Millennial respondents had many more stories with which to interpret the NetFrameWork using self-reflexivity. Many of them do not remember how they used to search for people and content before the era of NetFrameWork.

At the same time, through egosurfing they monitor other users' activities and other users' effects. Based on observations, participants modify their self-representation attitudes and activities by posting content from their everyday lives, or taking more secure control of sensitive data. Some of the Millennials in the sample also extended such modified behavior to offline situations to avoid records being made or the sharing of awkward moments with other users. Some of them do not display a sense of humor in their feedback or comments in social media, which makes their decisions about their online presence more complicated. For instance, one post of a certificate not only received praise but also the witty question, "where did you buy it?" Respondents prefer humor when it can be used against others in their own posts. The majority take posting about personal success seriously, and do not joke about it.

Most of this age group emphasized self-reflection as it related to relationships and to love. This causes dilemmas for the group because of online dating services and timeline transparency in social media. Dating sites and applications often created disappointing experiences because of fake, outdated or non-relevant profiles. One of the participants was worried about splitting up with a partner in the future: her shared post captured a celebrated moment from a memorable date from a new relationship, but if the relationship ends this will become an awkward topic for her social media audience/network. The dilemma thus relates to future/expected timeline activity.

Decision-maker respondents had fewer stories and presented different views. Only two typical personal forms of self-reflection appeared in their storylines: one concerning the online transparency of a family member leading to cyberbullying, and another concerning their future career plans via a non-independent profile. In some cases, decision makers asked for deletions of the media records: the reason was sensitive stories about a family member, or negative experiences with sensitive topics. Due to their requests, these storylines are not included in the corpus.

DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

Digitalized-mediatized selves decide about the shaping of their representation via the tools of online control and self-representation in NetFrameWorks. Conflicting issues and dilemmas force individuals to make decisions in digital environments. Awareness, examples, and also intuition support their choices, activities and projections. Meanwhile, the impact of networks is also defined by accidental and random events. The pursuit of self-identity and the maintenance of reputation are the focus of participants' everyday routines. The second level of preferences highlights the importance of control and security. Reference to strategic issues appeared frequently. Taken together, this appears in the form of ambition rather than implementation. The reason behind such uncertainty and incompleteness is the rapidly changing digital environment, and the difference among generations. Interviewees are learning the role of mediated selves in a renewable online environment in which privacy is gradually disappearing. Expressions, metaphors and storylines capture these situations using positive, neutral or negative overtones and help interpret users' online vulnerabilities and challenges. We have mapped several elements of these so as to identify patterns and questions which can encapsulate personal online strategies in our segments.

This study was designed to assess the effects of digital identity. Revealing statements can be made based on the results of qualitative research. The major questions are the following: how can we exist in terms of internet information flow, how important is it to control digital identity, and how significant is it to hide one's personal life.

To conclude in a nutshell, offline and online identities converge and blur. This finding is in line with those of similar research projects and reports about trends (among others, Foresight Future 2013; Lindsay et al. 2012; Hongladarom 2011). This result supports the aforementioned claim: both older and updated online records are available in an infinite digital present. Users face various dilemmas and problems in the ongoing process of building their own digital identities. The most important questions for both generations are related to control and privacy. The younger generation is more self- and future-oriented, while decision makers are driven by human factors and organizational policies. With a higher level of responsibility and extended networks, the perspective widens, and with it, the degree of self-reflection decreases.

Decision-maker/CEO respondents focus on their visible/transparent/responsible/sample-giving professional roles and on the authenticity of their profiles. In this attempt, the use of social media is not highlighted. Such individuals disconnect the informal style of social platforms from their formal

business codes. For this generation, with their responsible roles, the scope of use is the entire internet. Professional/career status and goals are in first and third place, and these respondents prefer online monitoring to offline.

As regards further research, we are working on a similar research project in South-East Asia with two similar segments: higher education students and CEOs/decision makers. At the end of the exploratory phase we will possess a 60-interview unit from two major regions that will support a comparative analysis and the preparation of a large-scale piece of quantitative research with a focus on personal online strategies. The hybrid design research project will generate quantitative and qualitative findings in preparation for a final control study. The goal is to define the scope of personal strategies of self-representation and online control.

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REVIEW

A STUDENT-FRIENDLY AND CRITICAL BOOK ABOUT VISUAL METHODOLOGIES. PRAISE AND CRITIQUE.

Visual Methodologies. An Introduction to Researching with Visual Materials by Gillian Rose (4th Edition. London, Sage, 2016)

ZSUZSANNA GÉRING[1]

Gillian Rose's book is a very important and unique overview of visual methodologies. One of its novelties is the very list of the methods that are introduced. This is because it contains methodologies which are not typically visual at first glance, like content analysis and discourse analysis. Another significant and unusual characteristic of this book is its critical and self-reflexive approach which is reflected not only in the assessment of the methods which are discussed, but in the examples which are introduced. Moreover, this volume is in its fourth edition, which indicates persistent interest in the topic. Furthermore, the author continuously develops the content of the book to keep pace with new technologies and new areas of related research.

The goal of the book is to provide a comprehensive overview of visual methodologies to undergraduate students. Additionally, Rose offers not only methodological descriptions but a critical assessment too, based on her own critical approach. The volume clearly keeps these promises: both structure and language are extremely student-friendly, clear and transparent, and Rose applies her critical approach to every segment of text. However, in my opinion the flip side of these advantages are the primary shortcomings of the book. Namely – and probably due to its target group – at some points the reader has the feeling that the discussion of the methods lacks theoretical depth. Furthermore, when reading the whole book its critical tone becomes overwhelming, and from chapter to chapter it seems that nothing is good enough for the author.

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But let us return to the first pages. Scanning the table of contents, the reader finds topics which may surprise them at first in a book about visual methodology. For example, content analysis and discourse analysis are typical chapters of books about textual methodologies, but not visual ones. This in itself makes the book uncommon. Moreover, the fact that this is the fourth edition of the book shows not only its success, but its up-to-date features. Indeed, Gillian Rose makes considerable effort to integrate new technologies and areas of research into the book. Therefore, she has expanded the discussion on digital media platforms (e.g. by including Twitter and Facebook), and incorporated a chapter on digital methods which deals with online image analysis. Another new topic (and chapter) appears in this edition: the visualisation of research results, which reflects an increasingly pronounced phenomenon and demand; namely, that the results of academic research and their dissemination could and should be visual (such as interactive documentaries or photo-essays).

The student-friendly features of the book become apparent even in the first chapters. In the introduction, Rose describes the structure of the book, introducing in brief the goals and content of every chapter. Additionally, there are 'instructions' about how to read the book in two places: at the end of the introduction there are details about the 'must read' parts, and there is also a whole chapter entitled 'How to use this book'. This latter proposes different selection methods for the chapters which take into consideration the goal of the reader's research topic and methodological interests. Furthermore, the structure of the methodological chapters are similar. All of them start with a short introduction of the goal and key points. This is followed by a discussion of the theoretical and then the methodological framework of the given method, illustrated using a lot of examples. Every methodological chapter contains an assessment of the method under discussion using the authors own critical framework, and closes with a summary of the main points. There are independent boxes in the text in which the reader can find additional examples, interesting and sometimes even controversial questions, and topics for debate. These might be of great help to teachers in the classroom for involving students in a conversation about research themes and methodological issues.

Additionally, there is a website for the book which includes an ample amount of student resources, such as sample materials, further reading, videos, and even exercises for the interested reader. This feature is a further example of the student-friendliness and modern approach of the book, and contributes to creating an excellent teaching resource.

Now, let's take a closer look at the theoretical and methodological content. Gillian Rose starts her book with a brief overview of the field and description of the main concepts, such as 'visual' and 'critical'. In the second chapter she

introduces her critical visual approach, which serves as a reference point for every method discussed in the book. She has elaborated a complex framework which includes four sites of critical visual methodology: production, the image itself, its circulation and its 'audiencing'. These sites of visual methodology can be interpreted in three dimensions: technical modality, compositional modality, and social modality. The author assesses every method in the later chapters against this model (the model figure can be found on Page 25), and assesses them according to which points are addressed, and which sites and dimensions are lacking. These chapters are somewhat abstract – as Rose herself admits – but they are nonetheless important for understanding the theoretical framework and reflective approach of the author.

After these introductory chapters, Rose describes seven methods using the previously mentioned analytical structure. These methods include compositional interpretation, content analysis, semiology, psychoanalysis, discourse analysis (in two chapters), audience studies and digital methods. The twelfth chapter deals with visual images as research findings, while the next chapter addresses visual images as tools of research dissemination. Rose pays particular attention to the ethical issues concerning research ethics and the use of visual materials in Chapter 14. The book closes with a brief review and raises the issue of mixed methods, which is nowadays another popular and forward-looking methodological area. Additional reading lists, references, key terms, name- and subject-indexes are contained at the end of the book.

All of the methodological chapters contain a lot of visual examples and research descriptions. Moreover, every one of them starts with a key example which is referred to throughout the chapter (such as during the description of the methodological process, the critical analysis, and so on). Rose describes not only the theoretical background and main definitions, but the basic methodological steps and questions as well. Although the theories and methods are not too deeply elaborated, sources and additional reading materials are mentioned in every case (not only in the book, but on the website too), so the interested reader can investigate further. Rose not only introduces the methods, but raises thought-provoking questions and initiates discussions about methodological and ethical issues. Moreover, she appraises every method using her own critical visual model, and assesses them regarding their efforts to incorporate the critical and social aspects of their subjects.

There are two chapters (the before-mentioned content analysis, and discourse analysis) which will especially capture the attention of those who are familiar with these methods as tools of textual analysis, as they are here interpreted as visual ones. Rose gives us a clear and structured overview of content analysis (CA), mainly based on one of the famous CA scholars, Klaus Krippendorff.

She defines four steps of CA, from sample through to creating categories, then coding and analysis of results. Every step is illustrated with examples from key research or other pieces of research. As a key example, she applies research by Catherine Lutz and Jane Collins (*Reading National Geographic,* Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1993). These authors analysed nearly six hundred photographs from National Geographic magazine from 1950-1986. Although Rose is critical about this research, it serves as an excellent illustration of the logic of content analysis, which "is based on counting the frequency of certain visual elements in a clearly defined population of images, and then analysing those frequencies" (p. 88). Lutz and Collins were interested in how the non-Western world is illustrated in this magazine, especially with regard to topics such as race, history and power. In this chapter Gillian Rose broadens her field of attention to include a new, computer-based, visual CA-approach called cultural analytics, which is an automated method of analysing huge amounts of digital images from a specified viewpoint. Its founder and main protagonist is Lev Manovich (*The Language of New Media,* Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, 2001, and *Software Takes Command,* London, Bloomsbury, 2013).

The chapters on discourse analysis (DA) (Chapters 8 and 9) show how Rose is not afraid to deal with difficult methods and questions, although she takes two chapters to provide even a very basic summary of discourse analysis and its different streams. The length of these chapters and the greater number of examples indicate that this was not an easy task. And, despite these heroic efforts, these chapters remain somewhat vague – partly because these approaches lack easily structured theoretical and methodological processes (unlike the situation with content analysis), and the relevant research is so complex that summarizing it in a few sentences unavoidably leads to simplification. Additionally, understanding of these chapters is made even more complicated due to Rose's critiques of the method and its weaknesses. Nonetheless, these chapters may serve as the first steps into the 'realm of discourse analysis' which involves stimulating and complex approaches to language and society and their much-layered relationships. Rose introduces two areas of DA, one of which focuses on the rhetorical organisation of discourses, and the other on institutions. Both of these are based on Foucault's approach, but while in Chapter 8 the main focus is on examining how specific views are constructed by referring to them as truthful or natural, Chapter 9 deals with the practices of different institutions as production sites for human subjects. In the latter chapter the key example involves research about museums and archives, and how these serve as sources of authority. In Chapter 8, meanwhile, the main illustration is a piece of research which analysed a lot of images about the East End of London in the 1880s, which was that time an area where many poor people lived. The research analysed how

these images (paintings, maps, etc.) produced the so-called 'true' nature of these people, which was a one-sided and prejudiced picture, and how different related topics (like prostitution) were constructed discursively by them.

These two methods demonstrate the interesting and unique visual approaches of Rose's book and clarify how she introduces readers to this methodological field: she provides the basics both methodologically and theoretically, and presents numerous examples from previous research. In my opinion, she succeeds in addressing her target group (that is, undergraduate students) and the book should serve as a starting point even at the graduate or post-graduate level. Nonetheless, for use in more complex research it should be supplemented, not only theoretically, but methodologically too.

Despite this praise, there is one feature of the publication that could disturb the reader: namely, the overwhelming critical focus of the book. Rose introduces her critical approach at the very beginning of the book and emphasises the importance of self-reflexivity. These issues are extremely important and commonly under-discussed in modern methodological books and courses. Accordingly, it is refreshing to read a book which is based wholly on this approach. Nonetheless, even for a reader with a critical attitude (like the writer of this review), Rose's highly critical approach becomes overwhelming after some chapters. Rose is critical not only about different methods, which is typical of methodological books, but of the key examples and previous research which she herself cites as illustration. At some point the reader may feel that no method can reach the standards of completeness her model describes, and thus they all are lacking something. This conclusion stems from the extreme complexity of the framework, and leads to Rose's appraisal of the inadequacy of the methods, despite the advantages and different types of applicability she discusses.

All in all, I recommend Gillian Rose's *Visual Methodologies* to anyone who would like to investigate atypical forms of visual methodology, and/or examples of critical visual research. The content – or the specific chapters – could be used as a methodological guidebook. The book is an appropriate resource for teaching at an undergraduate level, or as an introduction at higher levels. Another important and unique feature of the publication is its critical approach – however, because of the overwhelming nature of this, the book is recommended only in smaller doses.

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DIGITAL ETHNOGRAPHY: PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE BY SARAH PINK, HEATHER HORST, JOHN POSTILL, LARISSA HJORTH, TANIA LEWIS, JO TACCHI (1ST EDITION. LONDON, SAGE, 2016)

ANNA FRUZSINA GYŐR[1]

In his seminal work, *Netnography: Doing Ethnographic Research Online*[2], Kozinets ascertains that we have reached a point of no return: social scientists can no longer regard the internet and computer-mediated communications and all their affordances as esoteric phenomena. The distinction between online and offline (or 'real world') has become a false dichotomy as they are seamlessly blended together to form the social worlds we inhabit. The sheer size of the tome, *SAGE Internet Research Methods* (1682 pages)[3], proves that the last decade has seen a substantial surge in internet-related social research and that the field has matured.

Christine Hine – perhaps one of the best-known scholars to write about the methodologies for sociological and ethnographic understanding of the internet – has emphasized that tackling the 'virtual' entails much more than simply transferring methods 'online'; it forces the researcher to become reflexive in terms of what constitute the core principles of social research.[4] As Hughes writes, researching the internet and through the internet raises a wide range of ethical, epistemological, ontological and methodological issues, along with debates and controversies that may force us to consider anew how such research differs from conventional social research methods.[5]

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2 Kozinets, Robert V. (2011). Netnography: doing ethnographic research online. London: SAGE. (First edition, published in 2010).

3 Hughes, Jason (ed.) (2012) SAGE internet research methods. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.

4 Hine, Christine (2005). 'Research relationships and online relationships: Introduction', in C. Hine (ed.), Virtual Methods: Issues in Social Research on the Internet, pp. 35-50. Oxford: Berg.

5 Hughes, Jason (ed.) (2012) SAGE internet research methods. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.

Following this line of thought, the central tenet of *Digital Ethnography Principles and Practices* is that digital ethnography is fundamental to our understanding of the social world. While technological progress is often framed in laudatory or critical terms, this book does neither: the broader argument of the authors is that the digital must be understood as situated in the everyday world.

The authoritative team of authors – Sarah Pink, Heather Horst, John Postill, Larissa Hjorth, Tania Lewis, and Jo Tacchi – each bring different disciplinary influences, from sociology and ethnography to anthropology, media and communication studies, and design. Drawing on their diverse research topics and trajectories, they have collaborated to explore and define what digital ethnography means to them as a collective.

Building on works such as Hine's *Virtual Ethnography*[6], which begun the consolidation of the digital theme in ethnographic research, the main aim of the book is to re-examine fundamental conceptual and analytical categories inherited from a pre-digital era of social and cultural research, and to reconceptualize them in accordance with our changing social worlds. The authors stress that this is a work in progress, and as "new technologies offer new ways of engagement with emergent research environments, our actual practices as ethnographers also shift." (p 3) The book focuses on – as the title makes apparent – ethnography, but the questions raised and arguments made are of undisputable relevance to all fields of social inquiry.

The most salient feature of *Digital Ethnography* is the authors' clearly non-digital-centric approach to investigating the digital. Instead of situating the digital at the center of the research, they invite us to explore the relationship between the digital, sensory, atmospheric and material elements of our everyday lives and the social worlds we inhabit, and to consider the implications such interconnectedness have for ethnographic research practice. They offer a framework that accounts for the digital as part of our world(s) from both a theoretical and a practical perspective, and emphasize that such an approach has the potential to produce novel insights into how the digital is a part of wider configurations.

The authors clearly outline the five principles that guide their digital ethnography practice. While acknowledging that creating and following the ideal model of research is not always achievable, or even desirable, they hope to offer a framework that can be adapted to diverse research contexts and goals. The principles they advocate for are: 1, multiplicity, or the acknowledgement that digital ethnography research is always unique to the research question or

6 Hine, Christine (2000) Virtual Ethnography. London: Sage.

circumstances at hand – with an added emphasis on accounting for the state of the infrastructure that exists to support a given digital media use; 2, non-digital-centric-ness, or considering digital media as inseparable from the activities, technologies, materialities, relations, and feelings through which they are experienced; 3, openness, or regarding the digital ethnography research processes as open, and accounting for the heightened opportunity to co-produce knowledge through collaboration and digital sharing among both researchers and participants; 4, reflexivity, or examining how our relationship with the digital as researchers shapes our production of knowledge; 5, unorthodox communication and dissemination methods, or the importance of making use of visual and digital tools to evoke the complex mix of feelings, relationships, materialities, and activities that constitute the research context, and to challenge the typically disseminated model of knowledge distribution.

The book has a very consistent structure. Each chapter takes as its focus one of seven key concepts in social and cultural theory and examines how it can be incorporated into digital ethnography research. The seven concepts – namely experiences (what people feel), practices (what people do), things (the objects that surround us), relationships (our intimate social environments), social worlds (groups and wider social configurations through which people relate to each other), localities (the shared physical contexts we live in), and events (the coming together of diverse processes in a public context) – represent a variety of ways through which it is possible to relate to the social world. After a brief historical overview of how a given concept has been used in social science research, and which key debates have influenced its conceptualization, each chapter is dedicated to an exploration of how the presence of the digital makes necessary an adjustment or rethinking of the concept in ethnographic inquiry, and what such a shift means for the research process in a given environment. The work consistently examines both sides of the equation, focusing on researching how we live in our contemporary digitally entangled world, and reflecting upon the presence of digital media in shaping the methodological, practical, and theoretical dimensions of social research. Each chapter offers three examples – mostly from the authors' own earlier research – to illustrate the diverse challenges that an environment partially constituted by digital media raises, and the variety of innovative methods a researcher can employ to understand the role the digital plays. The book does not offer in-depth methodological guidance: the aim of the authors is to highlight the importance of reflexivity when researching varied digitally entangled environments, and to emphasize that much of how we experience the digital and how meaning is attributed to the digital happens at a subliminal level. In other words, they acknowledge the intangible features of the digital whose uncovering calls for carefully constructed research methods. The

authors stress the importance of designing methods and questions together, and the need for developing new methods and adopting existing ones in response to new questions.

After a more general introduction to how the authors conceptualize the field of digital ethnography, the second chapter examines how digital ethnographers might explore experience, particularly sensory experience. The authors emphasize the role of the senses in permitting the experience of things that might be difficult or impossible to articulate through words, and underscore the vital importance to ethnographic practice of immersion in other people's experiences. Living in an environment where digital technology and media is abundant, ethnographers – in expanding the focus from only the content and audience of digital media – must attend to how these devices affect our sensory embodied experience of the world. On the other hand, new technological platforms – e.g. virtual realities – also make possible new modes of lived experience that also become sites for ethnographic fieldwork.

Applying the sensory ethnographic and non-digital-centered approach to the analysis of access to mobile phone in an Indian slum, for example, a social, cultural, and moral landscape emerged in which structures of power, gendered oppression and violence were intertwined with digital technology use.

The third chapter examines how digital ethnography can use the concept of practice to research everyday habits and routines as they are played out in everyday contemporary environments. Applying the tenet of practice theory – which sees social order as being produced and enacted through everyday practices – to digital media, here too the focus shifts from media production and consumption to a broader notion of an ensemble of practices that are shaped by non-human actors such as technologies and material objects. The image of a couch-bound passive consumer of ready-made media content becomes obsolete in a digital media world. People are producers and shapers of media content and media technologies. Also, many elements of digital technology have become ubiquitous (for example, mobile phones and social media have widely become taken for granted). Interaction with such technology has also become a highly personalized experience that is embedded in our daily lives, routines and interpersonal relationships. This enmeshment and omnipresence, as the authors point out, presents researchers with the challenge of separating out the ways that people use digital media from the wider rhythms and routines of everyday living and embodied senses of self, especially when many of these practices are habitual and unconscious. Also, although analytically a practice may be conceptualized as a unit, in real life practices are not 'naturally' bounded.

As the authors point out, the ability to uncover the habitual and unconscious is the key advantage of practice-led ethnography; both researchers and

participants have the possibility to become reflexively aware of hidden habitual and embodied digital practices and meanings. When used as a research tool, mobile technologies such as video cameras and mobile phones also make it possible for researchers to engage with and articulate the visceral nature of the everyday – the sights, sounds, tastes, smells, feel, rhythms, and temporalities of a range of actors, spaces, and practices.

Chapter Four gives a brief overview of how media and media technologies have been approached as things that are produced, consumed, and circulated. A particularly important concept the authors highlight is how media technologies are objects that link the private and public sphere and, in turn, facilitate the negotiation of meaning both within and through their use in domestic settings. Another relevant point is that through customization, for example, media technologies can also become extensions of the self. With the convergence of devices and software, shifting the focus to media ecologies instead of individual digital tools or platforms has the benefit of emphasizing the diversity of contexts and practices. Furthermore, as the writers point out, digital media technologies have also become spaces that we move in, through, and between. With the use of avatars, we can explore what the digital form means for our understanding of the human body, other forms of materiality, and also our connection to other people.

The central focus of Chapter Five is understanding the use of digital technology in the context of relationships. The main question examined by the authors relates to the shifting definition of co-presence and intimacy in light of the digital era. Traditionally, proximity has been the key component of co-presence but the affordances of digital media have created new opportunities for being present. The chapter describes two primary approaches to understanding the influence of digital technologies on creating and maintaining personal relationships. The first concept stresses that, instead of focusing on the constraints imposed by an individual medium, the emphasis should center upon the social, emotional, and moral consequences of different media. The second highlights the importance of the "ambient virtual co-presence" that digital technologies enable through channels in the form of a continuous flow of small communicative acts that help maintain an ongoing background awareness of others (e.g. by keeping a webcam turned on). This type of co-presence breaks down the binaries between here and there, virtual and real, online and offline, absent and present.

The sixth chapter explores how digital ethnographers research social worlds. The writers criticize the concepts of 'community' and 'network' because of their limited applicability due to their vagueness, normativity, and overexposure. They argue for the more neutral term 'social worlds' that can be conceptualized as relatively bounded – but never airtight – domains of social life that exist in great diversity and can also freely intersect. 'Social worlds' is a heuristic concept that

invites empirical investigation and comparative analysis. The writers also find the concept of 'networked individuals' and Kozinets' 'netnography' approach useful in the analysis of online communities. The first describes how in the age of the internet communities have been reconfigured around an individual's personal networks, often in geographically dispersed 'personal communities', while the second characterizes online communities as sharing a computer-mediated space and proposes using a 'continuum of participation' to define community membership. The examples provided in the chapter investigate the role of technological mediation in the construction and maintenance of social worlds, and examine questions of identity, sociality, boundaries, change, and continuity.

Chapter Seven is an inquiry into the digital ethnographic dimensions of the production of locality. Localities as inhabited places, as Sarah Pink argues, generate particular qualities because they are forged through the closeness or intensity of their elements. Localities are knowable to people and are experienced as entities. The authors suggest that there is little merit to separating the digital from the non-digital when we theorize about locality; for the digital ethnographer, the digital and material are brought together as part of the same world to create new ways of knowing and being. Today, digital technologies play a key role in shaping the immediate environments in which we live, and local contexts and local knowledge are shifting towards referring not only to the material physical but also the digital environment. The examples demonstrate how local issues and activism, or ways of representing the experience of locality, combine digital and material worlds. The studies cited highlight the epistemological implications of the study of the digital in reshaping the concept of 'being there'. The authors advocate for the rejection of the inherent notion of superiority of unmediated physical co-presence, and instead call for triangulation in research which uses as rich a variety of resources as possible.

The last chapter focuses on events. The authors emphasize that in a contemporary context media and events are interwoven in multiple ways: "digital media are part of how events are conceptualized, made, and experienced by participants, viewers, and users." (p 165) While media events in the past were often tied to public interests – like watching the Olympics – and could be interpreted as processes of ritual reaffirmation, the production, consumption, and dissemination of media have now been decentered, so – along with the digital convergence and the growth of mobile and locative media – how media events occur has changed considerably. The writers stress that with the transformation of how media events play out spatially and temporally, and the expanded ways in which participants can intervene through them, media events should be examined in terms of their role in the processes of change.

Digital Ethnography thoroughly examines many methodological, practical and theoretical questions that social researchers face in a digitally enmeshed environment. Perhaps one area of inquiry somewhat neglected is the ethical dimension of research that incorporates the virtual. For example, when researchers immerse themselves in virtual environments without disclosing their identity and goals, the implications of 'cyberstealth' must be examined. Also, the internet should never be understood as a neutral observation space for it represents power relations: as with all fieldwork the researcher's selection of data and analyses are always biased by agendas, personal convictions, and social norms (Hughes, 2012:56).

Considering that the pace of technological advancement is predicted to increase and more and more people are acquiring a connection to the internet (in 2016, 47% of the global population were connected[7]) digital ethnography will likely become even more central to our understanding of the social world and our place in it. The argument that Hine makes in her new book *Ethnography for the Internet*[8] that the internet has become 'embedded' in non-virtual activities, 'embodied' in our daily actions, and the 'everyday' – mundane to the point of near-invisibility – will hold even more true. Digital ethnography will remain an exciting field of inquiry that is continually shifting and adopting to its evolving environment for many decades to come. Precisely because of its emphasis on reflexivity and openness – instead of a narrow focus on some specific technologies –, this volume has the potential to maintain its relevance for a long time to come and provide an adaptable framework for any researcher who wishes to gain a deeper understanding of the complex and nuanced ways the digital can be conceptualized. The many examples of research the book presents also make it an inspiring read, demonstrating that the exploration of the digital offers practically endless and thrillingly diverse opportunities.

7 "ICT Facts and Figures 2016". Telecommunication Development Bureau, International Telecommunication Union (ITU). Retrieved 2017-03-02.

8 Hine, Christine (2015). Ethnography for the Internet: embedded, embodied and everyday. London: Bloomsbury.

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MOBILIZING ON THE EXTREME RIGHT. GERMANY, ITALY, AND THE UNITED STATES BY MANUELA CAIANI, DONATELLA DELLA PORTA, AND CLAUDIUS WAGEMANN (OXFORD, OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2012)

GÁBOR FERENCZ[1]

There has been noticeable revival of research into the extreme right over the past decade. This attention has been triggered by a sense of helplessness in relation to the growing power of populist parties in Europe. Correspondingly, most such studies were limited to examining the institutional sphere. Starting points of explanations generally included individual properties (e.g. psychological traits, socio-economic status), or social and economic conditions. Unlike these approaches, the authors examine the extreme right as a social movement, for this reason using concepts and methods developed from the study of social movements. Describing the mobilization of the extreme right, the focus is on mid-level factors (organizational structures, collective action repertoire, and discourses). The main aim of the book is to explain the extreme right as a complex phenomenon, not limited to the institutionalized/political arena.

The authors are well known, qualified experts from the field of the study of social movements. Manuela Caiani is currently associate professor at the Scuola Normale Superiore in Pisa-Florence. She has undertaken research for numerous comparative projects on contentious politics and European integration (with Donatella della Porta: *Social Movements and Europeanisation*. Oxford University Press, 2009) and right-wing extremism in Europe and the United Sates (*The Dark side of the Web: European and American Right-Wing Extremist groups and the Internet*, Ashgate, 2013). Donatella della Porta is a professor of political sciences and sociology at the European University Institute (Florence), and one of the most productive authors in the research of social movements (*Social Movements in Times of Austerity,* Polity, 2015), and political violence

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(*Clandestine Political Violence,* Cambridge University Press, 2013). Claudius Wagemann is a professor at Goethe University (Frankfurt), and an expert on qualitative comparative analysis (with Carsten Q. Schneider: *Set-Theoretic Methods for the Social Sciences. A Guide to Qualitative Comparative Analysis and Fuzzy Sets in Social Science,* Cambridge University Press, 2012).

The book consists of eleven chapters, including an introduction and conclusion. The chapters in between discuss the organizational structures, collective action repertoire, and various aspects of extreme right-wing discourses, such as collective identity, old and new forms of racism, anti-modernism, anti-globalization and populism. All of these features are presented in the political context of three countries. Highly praised is the fact that the authors describe in detail the methodological procedures they employ, and sufficiently illustrate their explanations with diagrams and tables. The research methodology is also very sophisticated (Chapter 2). The authors wanted to supplement and synthesize different forms of data collection and analysis, and furthermore to examine phenomena using multiple perspectives (triangulation). The three main research methodologies accord with the theoretical framework (see below). Using network analysis the authors outline inter-organizational and structural characteristics of extreme-right organizations (networks were examined through related website links). Protest event analysis summarizes, on the basis of articles, the activity of the movement from 2000 to 2007 and features of events (participants, recipients, forms of action, etc.). Finally, written organizational documents were analyzed in the form of frame analysis so as to provide insight into communication strategies.

The third chapter outlines the political context of the extreme right. The political opportunity structure (POS) determines the collective action repertoire directly, or through organizational resources and networks which tend towards radicalization in the case of excessive closeness. In addition, discursive opportunities also play an important role in terms of how well the claims of movements are accepted in a wider cultural context. Through the cross-national comparative approach of the research we can examine the POS in three countries. In European countries, legal instruments hinder racist ideas from spreading, while in the US freedom of speech has priority. Overseas it is easier to make radical statements concerning Afro-Americans, immigrants and homosexuals. In contrast, in Germany such statements are censured, both by state institutions and public opinion; accordingly, they are latent on the subcultural level. The situation in Italy lies somewhere between these – here the system is most open, because rightist parties (e.g. Allenza Nazionale) have been present in the Italian parliament for decades (the legislatures of Germany and US exclude right-wing extremism).

In the fourth chapter the authors examine the networking of the extreme right. Use of the internet represents, for social movements, a significant opportunity to reach supporters and obtain assistance despite their typically poor resources and looser organizations, to mobilize, to build contacts with other organizations, to develop the identity of their social movements and their supporters' commitment. In the fourth chapter researchers reference several websites that refer to live online activity. However, different political possibilities are variably followed up in *organizational networks.* In the politically more open Italy, we can identify a fragmented and diversified network similar to that of the US, where the space for radical discourse is wider. In turn, German extremist websites are organized in a star-like fashion: they are thick and centralized.

The fifth chapter describes the action repertoires of the radical right. The current state of the POS is reflected in those forms of protest through which social movement actors articulate their claims. The fact that in democratic societies some topics are banned from the political arena and the political elite constrains their exposure to the public, so social movements choose more radical forms of action to get public attention. In general, the protests of social movements (which are disseminated over a wide societal basis and act like an extended network), are non-violent, in contrast to the activities of marginal groups. Extreme right mobilization in Italy involves a wide range of *collective action repertoires*, while in Germany and the US it is characterized by demonstrative forms of action (e.g. street demonstrations and public meetings). The greatest proportion of violence is characteristic of the latter country (21%). A key conclusion is that the level of violence is associated with the degree of discursive openness: it is highest in the US, the most permissive country, and lowest in Germany, where there is nearly complete consensus about the need to condemn extremism. In the case of Italy, the authors state that the approach to institutionalization slightly moderates the extreme forms of action repertoire and encourages the development of division of labor within the movement.

Protests are addressed to power and audience, but these events also serve to strengthen *collective identity* and create a sense of solidarity (Chapter 6). The division of labor here is obvious: movement and subcultural levels are characterized by expressive events in which the focus is on the construction of identity. This contrasts with the goals of political parties whose predominantly political themes stress their institutionalization and embeddedness. How do the activists see themselves? One typical feature is the communitarian tone of their statements and the emphasis that members act for good reasons and are fighting to change society – these topoi appear across countries. Members consider themselves an elite group which practices specified virtues (honesty, loyalty, self-sacrifice, and strength), resists the pressure of globalization, and protects

tradition. Members resolutely fight to protect people and nation, but oppression and contempt afflict them. Nevertheless, there is a noticeable dichotomy between masculine, chauvinistic, xenophobic and violent groups and ideologically oriented political organizations. In the US the key issue is racial, ethnic relations (contrasts between black and white), whereas in European countries the desire for a construction of a collective identity is more ideological.

Right-wing extremism is interested in several discourses (Chapters 7 to 10). The frames are connected to each other, and sometimes refresh or transform old ideas; the anti-modernist view is coupled with a wish to protect *traditional values*. A family-centric, Christian, national identity is a positive element of the movements' rhetoric and constitutes the basis of the envisaged social change; this does not simply serve to promote emotional identification with a specific set of values, but also defines the scope of a personal search for identity. *Migration* is a new threat because it destroys a state's ethnic unity, and the demographic and cultural status quo. These frames emphasize isolation and the "clash of civilizations" instead of the hierarchy of races ('old' racism). Migrants are simultaneously viewed as an economic and cultural danger which is forcing the native white population to defend itself *(nativism)*. Migration embodies the near, ordinary enemy, but *capitalism* and *globalization* are entities which are less obvious, having hidden real motives involving "us" and "them". "Them", who seek to be invisible, are present everywhere, pushing their economic interests through international organizations (IMF, WTO, the World Bank), and political elites are also their servants. And what kind of answers does right-wing extremism supply? They want to restore order, not only in a participatory democratic way, but through the creation of an authoritarian society led by a new elite. *Elitism* is mixed with a black and white perspective of *populism* (the "corrupt elite and spotless people") with strong nationalist and anti-establishment tendencies.

The authors' work emphasizes the appropriateness of social movement studies; their data and conclusions are innovative and important for understanding right-wing extremism. However, as with any research, it has its limits. Online networks are only proxies of inter-organizational relations, newspaper articles about social movement events are selective, and the quantitative analysis of framing is not really relational and dynamic. Aside from these limits, it is very important to understand right-wing movements in the political and discursive context in which they are evolving – with their own dynamics, grass-roots facade, and broad action repertoire – ; more specifically, we should take into consideration the complexity of social movements. This book is strongly recommended to students of social movements and the wider academic audience which is interested in extreme-right politics.

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FRONTLINE UKRAINE: CRISIS IN THE BORDERLANDS BY RICHARD SAKWA (LONDON, I.B. TAURIS, 2015)

VOLODYMYR SOLOVEY[1]

The great powers remain the primary actors in international relations in the modern world. This is proved by the continuous competition between them for spheres of influence. The great powers possess political and diplomatic, as well as military and economic strength which may cause the rest of the world to take into consideration their interests. This is also true in the case of Ukraine when the crisis of 2013-2014 brought the world to the edge of a new Cold War. On the one hand, Ukraine has an important geopolitical position which gives it the opportunity to maneuver, but on the other, Ukraine has to consider the great powers' opinions before taking action of its own. It is in Russia's interest to maintain Ukraine within its sphere of its influence – political, economic and cultural. The European Union, however, is tending to gradually attract Ukraine into its structure through the creation of a political association and free trade area.

In the book *Frontline Ukraine: Crisis in the Borderlands*, the author Richard Sakwa examines the causes of present crisis in Ukraine which is centered on the disputed territory of Crimea and the eastern regions of Donbass. Richard Sakwa is Professor of Russian and European Politics at the University of Kent, United Kingdom. He writes books about Russian and Eastern European communist and post-communist politics. He is also the author of *The Rise and Fall of the Soviet Union* (1999), *Putin: Russia's Choice* (2007), and *Russian Politics and Society* (2008). In his most recent book, he follows the origins, developments and significance of the conflict from the protests in Kiev until the parliamentary elections of October 2014. He describes the conflict as the result of two interacting processes: an internal conflict over the nature of the Ukrainian state, and an external contest for influence over its future.

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In the introduction and first chapter the author provides a brief background to the Ukrainian crisis and important moments from its history. He indicates that for centuries Ukraine has always been a source of rivalry between strong neighbors who competed for its land. And that in the modern era, the country has enjoyed only a brief period of statehood following the collapse of Russian empire in 1917. According to many Russians, Ukraine and Russia are just two components of a single civilization, Ukrainians, though, argue that their country long ago set out on its own path of development. Based on these opinions the author shows that there are two models of Ukrainian statehood, and ultimately the Ukrainian crisis (2013-2014) represented a battle between the two. The first model is driven by the idea of Ukraine as a nation state, officially monolingual, culturally autonomous from Russia, aligned with Europe and the Atlantic community. The second is the idea of Ukraine as state nation, an assemblage of different traditions, where Russian is recognized as a second language and economic, social and cultural links with Russia are maintained.

In the next chapters the author analyzes the international context of the Ukrainian crisis with the help of the concept of "Two Europes" (Chapter 2); namely, "the Wider" and "the Greater". He believes that the first, based on the model of Western democracy, is expanding eastwards, assisted by NATO, and has an anti-Russian orientation. The second entails a concept of Europe that stretches "from Lisbon to Vladivostok", the "common European home" that was defined by Charles de Gaulle and Mikhail Gorbachev during their times. He defends the second version (that is, the "continental" concept of Europe) and criticizes wider Europe. Sakwa states that the conflicts in the post-Soviet space should be explained by the aggressive expansion of the Western model eastwards which culminated in the Ukrainian crisis.

The author shows that the European Union's attempts to draw Ukraine into its orbit were instrumental in tipping the country into conflict. He stresses that the misguided policies of the European Union and its inability to take decisions about European affairs independently of the United States are the key reasons that the crisis in Ukraine remains unresolved. Therefore, in his opinion, steps towards further development of the EU's Eastern Partnership (EaP) – intended to absorb former soviet countries in the borderlands between the EU and Russia – were counterproductive. He indicates that nowhere was this dilemma felt more than in Ukraine. The other post-soviet countries are also potential conflict hotspots.

The author indicates that the Ukrainian crisis cannot be understood unless the evolution of Russian thinking is analyzed. He cites publications by Russian writers such as Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn who advocated for the creation of a Russian union with Ukraine as its heart. Solzhenitsyn wrote that "Ukraine

matters to Russia as an issue of survival, quite apart from a thousand years of shared history and civilization." (p.75)

Despite the many interesting facts, the author presents a one-sided interpretation of Russian politics which contains contradictory arguments. On the one hand, he argues that Europe has become "hostage to a faraway country" (i.e. Ukraine). But on the other hand, he defends the concept of "the Greater Europe" (the idea of an extended Europe which includes Russia). The author identifies Eastern European countries as being responsible for anti-Russian sanctions. He favors Russian foreign policy and argues that Russia under Vladimir Putin is not a land-grabbing state but a conservative power whose activities are designed to maintain the status quo. In his opinion, Russia is constantly defending itself against an offensive West, and the Russo-Georgian war of August 2008 was in effect the first of the wars intended to stop NATO enlargement, while the Ukrainian crisis of 2014 was the second.

As for the Russian annexation of the Crimea, the author's attitude is characterized by understanding and attempts at justification. In his opinion, Russia was forced into both the annexation of Crimea and opposition to the Kiev government due to perceived aggression and threatening behavior on the part of NATO, the EU and Ukraine. The author leaves out reference to the role of Russia and the action it played in escalating the conflict in Ukraine. In particular, he ignores the impact of Vladimir Putin's presidency and the subsequent dramatic weakening of Russian opposition, civil society and the media. The more authoritarian approach of the Russian political elite has contributed to the country's aggressive reaction to events in Ukraine. How the West and Ukraine have failed to handle the crisis is the key focus of the book.

To sum up, in the book *Frontline Ukraine: Crisis in the Borderlands* the author Richard Sakwa goes into the history and society, as well as the domestic and foreign policy, of Ukraine. He describes the Ukrainian crisis as a complex problem which did not develop out of nowhere. He points out that it originated in a geopolitical contest, critical problems with administration, corruption, and a weak democracy, as well as in the country's cultural, regional and ethnic diversity. In his opinion, this led to regime change in Kiev, the Russian annexation of Crimea, and the armed conflict in the region of Donbass.

The book contains many valuable facts and reflections about current Ukrainian-Russian relations, but lacks a significant degree of objectivity. It largely places the blame for the conflict on the countries of the West and Ukraine itself, while Russia's role is justified and rationalized. However, the book can be recommended to social scientists, as well as anyone else who is interested in reading about Ukrainian-Russian relations and the Ukrainian crisis of 2013-2014.

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THE AGE OF SHARING BY NICHOLAS A. JOHN (CAMBRIDGE, POLITY, 2016)

FANNI BÁRSONY[1]

The term 'the sharing economy' has recently appeared in the social scientific literature to describe an influential and competitive business model that is no longer a niche trend, but is becoming a relevant and widespread model for both social and economic activity. Companies such as Airbnb[2] and Uber[3] are some of the most well-known businesses that are positioned under the umbrella term 'sharing economy'. Other on-line platforms that provide peer-to-peer services are rapidly expanding around the globe. Smaller-scale initiatives, such as tool libraries, time banks, and co-housing projects, might not currently have major financial power, but are increasingly influential actors in modern economic life. Though the 'sharing economy' is the term most commonly used to describe practices in which peer-to-peer services are exchanged, connected consumption, collaborative consumption and platform economy also occur, and are often used interchangeably.

The different kinds of businesses considered part of the sharing economy are associated with complex economic, regulatory, technological and social issues. A growing number of sharing economy businesses provide alternative services that fulfil a variety of consumer needs but often come into conflict with existing regulations and with the interests of established business actors who provide the same or similar services. There is an increasing economics literature that includes research designed to measure the impact of the sharing economy on economic growth (the effects of sharing on traditional service providers is a common subject of study). Beside impacts on productivity, such research also

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2 Airbnb is a lodging site: Individuals rent out rooms in their own homes, their entire homes, or other properties they own. https://www.airbnb.com/

3 Uber is a company that operates a mobile application which allows consumers with smartphones to submit requests for rides to drivers who use their own cars. https://www.uber.com/

examines how the sharing economy influences consumption patterns and fuels practices that promote environmental consciousness, solidarity-based consumption and more personalized exchanges. When it comes to the social aspects of the sharing economy, reputation and trust are the concepts most often discussed. Due to the fact that transactions often take place between strangers, none of the sharing economy platforms can operate without a sufficient level of trust between actors.[4] Thus sharing solutions may require some level of trust, but to what extent they contribute to the formation of trust and other forms of social capital is an interesting question. Some initiatives promote sociability and advertise themselves as places for meeting people, making friendships, and growing a community.

There exist both more optimistic and rather critical narratives about the sharing phenomena of our times. According to the former, actors have the conscious intention to contribute to creating fairer, more sustainable and socially more connected societies. The latter perspective is skeptical about whether these businesses truly represent alternatives and questions if they are really less interested in growth and profit maximization than their traditional competitors. Some argue that businesses such as Airbnb are more concerned with economic self-interest than sharing, while other forms of sharing have often been described as predatory and exploitative too.[5]The question is also raised whether the actors in the sharing economy are driven by utopian goals or rather by purely rational economic behavior, meaning they are simply looking for cheaper alternatives to conventional services.

This narrative of the sharing economy is rooted in the term ‘sharing’ which is often associated with positive and symbolic meanings and values. These features are the roots that Nicholas A. John explores in his book. The author, an assistant professor at the Department of Communication at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, holds a PhD in Sociology and Anthropology, and in earlier publications mostly dealt with the diffusion of global technology. His first book, *The Age of Sharing* (published by Polity) is an ambitious attempt to theoretically and historically analyse and contextualize the concept of sharing. This work is in line with some of his previous attempts to investigate

4 Schor, J. B., Fitzmaurice, C.: (2015), “Collaborating and Connecting: The Emergence of a Sharing Economy”, in Reisch, L. and Thogersen, J. ed., Handbook on Research on Sustainable Consumption, Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, available at: https://www.bc.edu/content/dam/files/schools/cas_sites/sociology/pdf/SchorElgarHandbook.pdf, viewed: 14 January 2016.

5 Schor, J.B., Fitzmaurice, C.: (2015), “Collaborating and Connecting: The Emergence of a Sharing Economy”, in Reisch, L. and Thogersen, J. ed., Handbook on Research on Sustainable Consumption, Cheltenham, UK:Edward Elgar, available at: https://www.bc.edu/content/dam/files/schools/cas_sites/sociology/pdf/SchorElgarHandbook.pdf, viewed: 14 January 2016.

the impact of digital technologies on interpersonal communication and the private sphere.[6]

John is now extending the scope of his investigation by looking at sharing not just as a value or means of organizing a new economic segment. Throughout the whole book he argues that sharing is more than just the common practice of exchanging goods, or social interactions, but is an important keyword and a metaphor for our times. The values attached to sharing are not only influential in the digital-media dominated capitalist economy, but serve as an important organizing principle for many non-economic human forms of interaction. This in-depth and reflective approach of John's makes the book of interest to any sociologist or economic sociologist who seeks to interpret social and historical processes and the value- and ideological components underlying the increasing presence of sharing in public discourse and the different spheres of life.

The author distinguishes three spheres in which sharing has become an organizing pattern: it is the main activity on social media platforms, a model of economic behavior, and a way of communicating, especially in therapeutic discourse. Although the author underlines that sharing is a term that refers to different social forms of action, and we use it in different contexts with completely different meanings, there is a link between the narratives which is due to the set of values attached to the act of sharing. These values include openness, honesty, mutuality, equality, empathy, equality and trust. These are the links, in John's view, that make sharing a positive and ideal social behavior in contemporary societies. One source of the positive associations, as John argues based on his extensive literature review, is that sharing things with our fellows is a pro-social behavior: from our early childhood onwards we have a natural and universal inclination to share. The act of sharing is presented by the author as a social activity that has always existed, although sharing as a communicative act is a relatively new phenomenon (talking about our own troubles, emotions and intimate relationships became important only in the first half of the twentieth century when caring also became associated with sharing). Taking a historical perspective, the even more obvious contribution to the current practice of sharing occurred due to digitalization and the spread of the internet which established the technological background for online sharing.

Since the internet was created, argues John, its use has involved activities that are associated with collaboration, cooperation, connectivity and communication. Since the early 2000s, social media sites made sharing a core element of interaction between users. John holds that sharing evokes ideal

6 CV of Nicholas A. John: http://nicholasjohn.huji.ac.il/sites/default/files/nicholasjohn/files/curriculum_vitae_nicholas_john.pdf

values that can make the lives of people in the digital area more human and communicative. What he questions is whether social media sites are genuinely or rather purposefully using the word 'sharing' due to its positive connotations. John critically elaborates how social media actors promote sharing to encourage users to provide information which they can easily sell to third parties. Though John is certain that social media sites use the concept as a marketing tool and create mystique about the idea of sharing to make a profit, he does not doubt that what users actually do relates to sharing and building relationships.

The concept of sharing is described by the author as a collection of social practices linked with positive values that provide an alternative to the functional, impersonal relations associated with capitalism. The motivation to share and the behaviors that the aforementioned positive values make manifest can help build trust and a sense of community, and result in more authentic forms of communication. Sharing appears as a "Zeitgeist" (op cit) which is fuelling ideal human relationships based on communality and collaboration, and also motivates people to communicate in a more open and honest way and increases the level of self-expression in the public sphere.

John's key message is that the reader should distinguish between the ideal concept of sharing and actual human transactions that are labelled as sharing. The former incorporate the desires of modern people for mutuality, connectivity and a sense of community, whereas the latter are influenced by commodification that is no less exploitative and alienating than the structures that the idea of sharing attempts to resist. John is also certain that it is disappointment with commodification and marketization that feed the desire for a more trust-based and communal society, as well as for the expression of critiques about practices that do not represent the true value of sharing.

Also shared – in John's perspective – is the pattern of organization in the sphere of communication and in therapeutic culture in the form of the transition towards greater intimacy and self-expression in the public sphere. The author distinguishes between an increase in the appearance of sharing in therapeutic discourse and in social media. The two fields are treated separately in his analysis, and his argument is that sharing has appeared in both as an important concept, supporting the idea that sharing is the comprehensive metaphor for our times. Eva Illouz dealt with similar phenomena in 2007 in her influential book in which she introduced the concept of "emotional capitalism"[7]. Her key message is that we live in an emotional culture, and similarly to John, Illouz thinks that the division between the public and the private are no longer relevant since

7 Illouz, E. (2007), Cold Intimacies: The Making of Emotional Capitalism. Oxford, and Malden, MA: Polity Press, 134 pp.

personal emotions and motivation appear everywhere, even at the workplace and in economic relationships. In the new culture of emotionality, Illouz also dedicated an important role to the language of therapy and psychology, but in spite of emphasizing the motive of sharing, she highlighted the concept and pattern of communication. It is the new communicative competence – according to Illouz – that shifts the focus to personal emotion, motivation, and self-expression. Sharing can be seen as an important source of motivation in Illouz's communicative model. Her findings do not contradict John's arguments, but perhaps clarify some links and place a somewhat different emphasis on John's distinction: the emerging importance of sharing as a communicative act has similar roots and drivers in the world of social media and in therapeutic discourse, while sharing is more about distribution when it comes to the sharing economy.

In his book John brings social media, therapeutic discourse, and peer-to-peer transaction-based production and consumption together using the concept of sharing, and suggests that sharing is a process that occurs within the language and which has ignited these three semantic fields. His analysis is thus linguistic, and in some places relies on discourse analysis and other less well known qualitative methods (e.g. text corpus analysis). Throughout the book he seems to relax this methodological rigor and focus, which also raises questions.

Being an expert in the field of communication, the author still claims to be using his "sociological imagination", and without referring to any sociological concepts or citing sociological theorists addresses a number of phenomena that have been (or could be) the object of sociological investigation. When it comes to the reason for the spread of sharing in the production and consumption of goods, John's focus is restricted to the effects of digital technology, thereby neglecting the other common explanatory factor that connects the rediscovery of exchanges based on mutuality and reciprocity caused by scarcity; namely, the recent economic crisis. I assume that this factor should also appear in the narratives. It would have been interesting to explore if economic necessity and cultural change can explain the phenomenon of sharing, and how they are related to each other.

The author does not usually fall into the trap of romanticizing the concept of sharing, although in some parts of the book he tends to focus too much on the bright side and the "ideal society" approach to sharing, thereby neglecting phenomena that have been proven using empirical studies. Viewing social media sites as places where people freely express their emotions, and not considering the saliency of individuals' need for validation and affirmation by a network is

one example of these biased interpretations.[8] He also makes claims about the ability of the sharing economy to build social ties and maintain connections, although some empirical studies have proven that transactions between strangers enabled by sharing platforms are not necessarily durable (lasting only for the time of the transaction) and thus cannot be compared to real connections.[9]

When it comes to the motivations behind and conditions for people's participation in sharing action, John's focus is on the counterculture effect and on the natural inclination to share things with others. However, we may also find it necessary to consider other potentially neglected factors (such as trust and reputation) that are probably preconditions for interaction.

John refers to sharing as a universal phenomenon in our lives, and from reading the book we may obtain the impression that sharing is part of a common global culture and something that everyone can benefit from. This may be true if we think of sharing as a communicative and not as a distributive act, although access to social media is not equally distributed among people of different social status. The problem of inequality is even more relevant in terms of participation in sharing economy transactions. John seems to ignore these considerations, although all relevant research has proven that people who have access to the most advanced technologies are more likely to have an interest in the sharing economy. The sharing economy, in fact, can be said to have an elitist character and its platforms tend to involve the activities of well-educated and relatively well-off consumers. In spite of the fact that sharing economy services are said to offer low-cost alternatives, they are not necessarily utilized by people who have low incomes.[10]

The Age of Sharing is an important book and is recommended to anyone who is seeking to understand more about the values and historical development behind the concept of sharing. The author fulfils his goals and stays focused on the interpretations and meanings of sharing. He also convincingly proves how sharing has become a core value and way of thinking in three different spheres of contemporary life. The book can be seen as a semantic analysis; furthermore, due to the rich set of citations from various fields, it has an interdisciplinary character and can serve as a reference point for different disciplines. This review

8 Bazarova, N.N., Choi, Y.H., Cosley, D., Sosik, V.S., & Whitlock, J. (2015), Social Sharing of Emotions on Facebook: Channel Differences, Satisfaction, and Replies. Proceedings of the 18th ACM Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work & Social Computing (CSCW '15). ACM, New York, NY, USA, 154-164. DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1145/2675133.2675297

9 Möhlmann, M. (2015). Collaborative consumption: determinants of satisfaction and the likelihood of using a sharing economy option again. Journal of Consumer Behaviour 2015 Vol: 14 (3), pp. 193-207. doi: 10.1002/cb.1512

10 Idem.

has placed emphasis on the issues the book raises from a sociological point of view, but claims that some of the main assumptions could be refined and confronted with some findings from sociologists. If we accept that sharing tells us a lot about our 21st century lives, it would also be interesting to compare the similarly important keywords and metaphors of earlier times to understand how they can help us predict the influence and durability of sharing in our everyday interactions. It is a question whether the book is written to address a scientific audience or the wider public. In my opinion, John's book is an interesting but not easy general knowledge book about sharing that helps the reader to reflect on an important phenomenon of our times. It could also be used as an interdisciplinary introduction to the topic of sharing and a good starting point for deeper scientific investigation.

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THEORIZING IN SOCIAL SCIENCE: THE CONTEXT OF DISCOVERY BY RICHARD SWEDBERG (STANFORD, STANFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2014)

ÁDÁM KORNÉL HAVAS, SEDEN SAFAK EREN, SZIDÓNIA KATALIN NAGY, GARGI ROY, MOUNIA UTZERI AND ALI WAZIR[1]

Richard Swedberg, well known for his work in economic sociology[2] and one of the doyens of the rising movement in analytical sociology[3], offers the reader a pessimistic view of the current state-of-the-art about sociological theorizing. Indeed, compared to empirical methods or other sciences such as cognitive science, sociological theory has advanced little over the last decades. The prognosis is simple: students and researchers are taught theories but cannot theorize. If this is the case, then what is to be done? What does 'theorizing' mean exactly?

In an earlier publication, *The Art of Social Theory*[4], Swedberg attempted to provide an overview of the state of theorising in social sciences and offered practical tips and techniques for initiating theorizing. Here he strikes a second time and deepens the investigation of the topic with the ambitious *Theorizing in Social Science, the Context of Discovery.* The book*,* as the subtitle explicitly indicates, focuses on the context in which *creativity is primarily what matters when a theory is devised.* Grounding his argument upon the work of the forefathers of sociology such as Weber, Popper, and Durkheim, Swedberg punctures the myth of logical and rational thinking, arguing that the process of theorising is imperfect, and in which creativity, inspiration and intuition play a

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2 Granovetter, M., & Swedberg, R. (2011), "The Sociology of Economic Life", 3rd edition. Boulder, CO. Westview Press.

3 Hedström, P., & Swedberg, R. (1998), "Social mechanisms: An analytical approach to social theory". Cambridge University Press.

4 Swedberg, R. (2014), "The Art of Social Theory". Princeton University Press.

significant role. This proposition is rather unusual in the world of social science. At this point, we may all ask: 'Well then, how shall we theorise?' The answer is the strength of *Theorising in Social Science*, as the volume suggests not one single approach, but proposes various pathways for the different disciplines of social sciences, as briefly discussed further. Supported by an eclectic cohort of eminent researchers from diverse fields of sociology, such as sociology of knowledge, sociology of organisation and economic sociology, the goal of the monograph is to suggest potential ways of going beyond sometimes rigidly defined academic frameworks towards more flexible and adaptive theorizing that is open to new perspectives.

The book is divided into nine chapters, in which each contributor describes their own set of tools for unpacking the process of theorising. Swedberg's first chapter lays the ground for dissecting the very process of thinking while researching social phenomena. The author draws an analytical distinction between the two phases of scientific research; namely, between *pre-study,* in which creative, unorthodox ways of observing a social phenomenon are allowed, and *main study,* characterised by rigorous empirical justification. 'Intuitionist theorizing', written by Karin Knorr Cetina, an Austrian sociologist active in the fields of sociology of knowledge and economic sociology, problematizes the role of intuition in the complicated process of (social) scientific inquiry. Examples from the author's earlier research illustrate that intuition is not the antonym of rational thinking; rather, it is a system of information processing which operates on an unconscious basis. Integrating the findings of neuro- and psychological literature, the author suggests that the rise in awareness of the interplay between adequate theorizing and intuitional theorizing implies a shift from bureaucratic scientific activity to more flexible work; one which allows room for the creativity necessary to advance science.

Diane Vaughan, a sociologist of organisations who has worked on analogical theorizing for decades, argues for the need to develop theory from qualitative data based on cross-case analysis. Drawing on her own research into organizations, she argues that comparing similar events, activities or phenomena across different organizational forms can help with the elaboration of general theory or concepts. The structure of her main thesis is adopted by Reed and Zald, who pinpoint the collective and embedded dimensions of theorizing by taking 'communities of inquiry' (networks of researchers), as the basic unit of analysis. First, the construction of theory is not solely an individual activity. Second, internal (individual) and external (social) forces shape in many complex ways the process of theory building. According to the authors, because social science is rooted in the "civilizational" context, theorizing social science is nothing more than social theorizing. Accordingly, the authors call for self-reflexivity

by emphasizing the social and civilizational embeddedness of the theorizing of social science. Considering this, the authors propose the formulation of a model of theory development in communities of inquiry (i.e. collectively) that includes variations, and "different pathways" (p. 93) and which allows for more flexibility.

The fifth chapter instead offers a rather pragmatic tool for assessing and screening what is often and cursorily called "theory", but which is in fact a model, especially in the field of economics. Klein's threefold question re-centres the debate around how to handle theory and make sure that we theorize well. Stephen Turner in the sixth chapter distinguishes between three forms of theorizing; namely, (1) *mundane theorizing,* and (2) *bricolage* – which are the starting points for – (3) developing ideas. Neither mundane theorizing nor bricolage demands the highest level of creativity. *Bildung*, the most creative and advanced form of theorizing, creates new ideas. It understands established ideas and comes up with something fresh, often challenging accepted theories. Paulsen's seventh chapter discusses the heuristics-based counterfactual imagination as a useful instrument of theory construction. These approaches are mostly ignored by established sociology because of their non-scientific methods. They can, however, be seen as empirically grounded tools because they follow regular patterns and have a rationality of their own. As a result, some stages of counterfactual imagination may be of some importance in helping the theory-building process.

K. Weick views theorizing – earlier described as a process that causes one to "rack ones brain" – as a complex and difficult activity for scientists. The effortful "anguish of the theorist" can be grasped in dualities such as variation and retention, living forward while understanding backward, perception and conception, concreteness and abstraction. Through these pairs the process of theorizing can be broken down and become more explicit. In the last chapter, J. March calls for more interpretation in social science instead of only seeking to understand social life. The technological improvements of the last decades have enabled scientists to dissect and search for the mechanisms which explain behaviours. To better interpret life and generate valid social theories, art and its elements ought not be neglected. For this reason, the author argues for the development of a technology of interpretation. How? By paying attention to the role of ambiguity in purposive action, the role of contradictions in intelligence, the role of context in meaning, and the role of affirmation in construction.

With *Theorizing in Social Science*, Swedberg not only manages to describe and summarise the wide range of currently existing innovative methods and techniques for understanding and uncovering the context of discovery, but

weaves the contributions (which all strive to change 'mainstream' thinking about how theory building is carried out) together through reference to a common goal, making this volume a coherent corpus of work. This is an ambitious and vibrant project as it concludes that the researcher's – and thus the theorist's – education must be changed in a more flexible, less bureaucratic direction. Swedberg's project simply calls for the democratisation of the activity of theorizing, claiming that theorising is no longer the property of a few talented scientists. In this, Swedberg quotes Kant: "Everyone who can think can ultimately also theorize; and the project of theorizing is inherently democratic" (page 27).

Despite the successes of the volume, certain limitations and concerns arise as to the viability and feasibility of such a project in the current academic and scientific environment. The present authors fully understand and agree with the demand the book contributors make for the importance of intuitionist inspiration, counterfactual imagination, multiple analogies, and the dissolution of the boundaries between interpretation and observation (and so forth) when elaborating theoretical accounts. The contexts of discovery and justification are not so clear-cut, and are iterative by nature. However, the major question that still arises, no matter how passionate and committed the social scientist, is the following: "How can I incorporate and implement the techniques specified in this volume, notwithstanding the actual social structure of American and/or European sociology?" Social Sciences and the humanities are characterised by a trend to ever-increasing sub-specialisation that inevitably leads to the fragmentation of knowledge and practice. Swedberg's book by no means delivers a straightforward answer to these crucial questions – but it has enough merit to spur the required discussion and debate, be this at the collective level of scientific inquiry, or at the individual level of the social scientist. For all these reasons, the authors of this review recommend the monograph to social scientists (and not 'only' to sociologists) from various fields – both qualitative and quantitative – who are consciously seeking to improve their theory-building practices by (self)-reflecting on the pre-existing institutional and academic constraints that channel and shape the theory construction of a fragmented scientific community.

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