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Introduction to the Discursive Examination of
the Problems of Democratic Civic Education

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INTRODUCTION

I belong to that very lucky generation which could grow up in peace, could live through the end of the Kádár-regime as a grown up in peace, and then, through the illusion of the change of the regime¹, and now, I have the chance to interpret the following question on a somewhat wider scope: „What has actually happened to us?“, i.e., the history of the last thirty years. The theme of the dissertation is therefore a personal matter, too. (Jakab, 2013b).

I could be a direct observer, and in many respects, the party to the birth of a school area – the subject on social studies, and to its more than three decades long history.

In the last decades the development and institutional implementation of the subject on studying the present which directly help civic education of learners as well, got into the core of my heart, and, parallel, became my professional duty. Since the middle of the 1980ies I could actively participate in the development of school subjects which were named differently, but had similar functions, and, after the change of the regime, I could take part in the elaboration of national basic frame curricula and maturity standards, I wrote text books and taught in higher and public education and in various postgraduate trainings for teachers.

To some degree, the paper itself can be considered as a review of my professional career, but its objective is not merely to take account of successes and failures. I am much more concerned with the examination of the dynamics of such successes and failures, because, from this decades long perspective, not only concrete situations and events can be perceived, but, perhaps, to interpret processes on a wider scope.

This was why I chose a wider perspective of social history – in the paper it appears only immanently –, to which I selected as standard István Bibó's viewpoint, who, in his programme-setting work (Bibó, 1986), examined very consequently the events in Hungary from the aspects of chances and historical conditions of “organizing a democratic society”.

¹ The change of the regime with all its unexpectedness was a euphoric experience for me. I truly believed that we slipped out of the grip of external forces and parted from the routes forced on us. I believed that social unity that manifested itself earlier against paternalist party bureaucracy, will survive and become active. I believed in an idealized image of Europe, I believed that we shall live in a world like that. I thought that we have to make a school, because, on the long run, this will guarantee the evolution of a democratic Hungarian society. It was a nice illusion. This was the time when my children were born, it was good to believe in a “beautiful tomorrow”.)

Bibó, already in 1945, pointed out that the democratic changes in the political regime in Hungary “are burdened with democratic deficit”, because of the feudal structure of the society due to historical traditions.

„This configuration knows very well that the clearing off of the Germans was a substantial change, but sorts it into the category of political changes that repeat themselves at regular intervals, which have as a main rule that first they announce the beginning of a new world, then they put those who were powerful earlier into prison, help to power those who were chased before, make identity checks in one way or other from high-rank officials to janitors, and, as a result, move as many people out of their places and existence as possible, in order to put others into their place.” (Bibó, 1994, 312-313)

From this point of view, it is important to mention the thoughts of Jenő Szűcs (1983), who gave further considerations to István Bibó’s heritage, and said that the most outstanding feature of “intermediate Middle-Europe” is “the following of Western patterns” but “without its organic internal development”. The “Western pattern” that was called “the luxury product of history” also by Szűcs, is primarily characterized by “the separate standing of society and state”, what means that society builds itself independently from state power, in an autonomous way, and from beneath under.

Szűcs says that in our region this basic pattern could dominate only superficially, it was „deformed” and „filled up with “Eastern type elements”, and as a consequence, the processes of politics and social history in Hungary are mainly characterized by alternating phases of „urgings” and „tailbacks” „controlled from above”.

WORDING THE PROBLEM

In connection with the changes of regimes in Mid-Eastern Europe Ralph Dahrendorf recalled in 1990 the well-known thesis of the Annales School that says that the various dimensions of historical change have „different time”. His often noted statement was this (Dahrendorf, 1990. 6-7): political and legal transformation can take place during six months, namely the first parliament following free elections is capable of creating the legal framework of democracy and market economy in half a year. For the transition of the economy, six years might be sufficient. By contrast, for the evolution of a political culture which guarantees the undisturbed operation of democracy, at least sixty years, or rather two generations, are required.

Thirty years have passed, half of Dahrendorf’s prognosis. It is worth taking an account, since this story carries versatile morals for the professionals interested in the processes of education policy and democratic institutional civic education, and for laymen as well, about the nature of

such forecasts, the relationship between education policy and school system, and the „differing times” of the changes in social structure and public thinking.

The fundamental objective of the dissertation is to examine what kind of processes of social history and education policy hide in the background of the fact that the subjects and communal forms of institutional democratic civic education – despite the intentions declared with emphasis by education policy – could not organically integrate into the Hungarian school system.

How could it happen that this institutional area – irrespective of the changes in the political regime – was given a spectacular and emphasized place in the documents of education policy among ‘objectives’, as well as in researches, developments, out-of-school campaigns and programmes for teachers’ training, is practically not present in actual school practice and in the life of learners – as it was unambiguously proved by different surveys on education sociology and youth policy, as well as by my own experiences (Jakab, 2004).

If we examined a shorter cycle of public education, perhaps it would be useful to look for direct reasons, or even for the guilty ones: Were the excellent curricula not performed by the teachers, or, on the contrary, creative teachers were hindered by official instructions? The above contradiction, however, accompanies the permanent reform processes of education, which signals that this problem is much deeper roots and more complex grounding in social history. A wider scope examination of this type would obviously exceed the limits of this paper, therefore, here and now, I will undertake only the discursive analysis of the contradiction.

In this sense, the direct purpose of this paper is the discursive examination of the institutional integration problems and discrepancies of democratic civic education. This means, first of all, the elaboration of conceptual frames. Discursive approach is much helped by the fact that among various school areas, this is the one where permanent “verbal heat of reform” could be detected the most, what was manifest in the newer and newer generations of contents and campaigns, and in the permanent proliferation of subject names during the last decades.

THE HYPOTHESES OF THE RESEARCH

The discursive way of examining the integration problems of institutional democratic civic education will throw light on new correlations that are out of the reach, and cannot be relevantly explained by traditional historical approaches. If we analyse the basic concepts relevant to the subject from aspects of history of concepts and in a discursive way, we may get a picture about the implicit dynamics of the processes of education policy in various periods, about the contradictions of democratizing the Hungarian school system, and the intentions of and the

fight between the programme-setting pedagogical interest groups in the field of education policy.

1. For the complex analysis of democratic civic education in Hungary, the meaning of political culture will provide a relevant conceptual starting point and a frame of interpretation (Almond and Verba, 1963), as well as the international research series that lasted for several decades (Almond 1989), relevant analyses of the subject were also carried out in Hungary (Mátrai, 1999; Csákó, 2005, 2011).

2. For the examination of the institutional conditions of democratic civic education in Hungary, a relevant interpretation frame is provided by anomie (Merton, 1980) and the concept of „hidden curriculum” (L. Szabó, 1985), and also by the so called morphogenetic theory (Archer, 2003).

3. For the examination of the environment of civic education after the change of the regime, the concept of educational reform (Báthory, 2001) and the expression “pedagogical change-industry” (Zsolnay and Zsolnay, 1985) are relevant frames for interpretation.

II. The discursive analysis of the institutional integration problems of democratic civic education is especially suitable for depicting the basic problems facing the democratization of the Hungarian school system.

1. The introduction of the findings of sociological research of the youth and the discursive examination of various texts of education policy will provide opportunity to explain democratic deficit within the school system.

2. Introduction to the Hungarian traditions and relevant international patterns of civic education and the discursive analysis of various texts of education policy will offer chance to explain why political culture building on active and responsible participation could not take roots in Hungarian schools during the last decades.

3. The introduction to the Hungarian traditions and international patterns of civic education and the discursive analysis of various texts on education policy will offer us chance to understand why, despite the permanent educational reforms, the subjects on studying the present of democratic civic education could not take roots in the Hungarian school system in the last decades.

III. The discursive analysis of the integration problems and contradictions of democratic civic education in Hungarian schools is extremely suitable for depicting the basic contradictions in the modernization of the Hungarian school system - the problems of implementing pedagogical innovations and the disputes about the modernization of school structure and the structure of school subjects.

SETTING FRAMES TO THE SUBJECT

The most difficult problem in writing the dissertation was to set frames to the subject. Originally, I wanted to write about the integration problems of the subject „Social Studies”, but the traditional road of approaching from the history of the subject was not viable for several reasons. First of all because no antecedent, with linearly trackable history, could be found. Since in this case it is not the projection to schools of a permanently existing academic branch of science, but countless different socializing functions, which, on top of it, continuously change depending on social and political changes.

All this meant that this theme could not be seized well, because the content as a school subject, and the elements and names of it, were in constant shaping both in the various documents of education policy and in school practice (Csapó, 2000). Setting frames to the theme of the paper is worded therefore in a peculiar dichotomy. On the one hand the metaphoric concept of *democratic civic education* appears as a general conceptual frame and integrative basis, on the other hand, due to the restricted nature of the dissertation in size and chronology, there will be countless setting of limits concerning concrete education policy and school life aspects of the topic.

When drawing up the general conceptual frame I started from Émil Durkheim’s pragmatic standpoint, who says that in the upkeep of a more and more individualizing society and turning it into a community, the school has an outstanding role. He says „*society may only survive if there is enough homogeneity between its members. Education maintains and reinforces this homogeneity [...] the society is first of all consciousness: awareness of collectivity. This collective consciousness should be transplanted into the soul of the child.*” Consequently the concept of democratic civic education, in the most general sense, can be interpreted only in relation with the society as a whole (Bourdieu, 1987), in which the school system participates not only with its formal curriculum, but with its particular social space and order of interactions. Furthermore we have to speak about those concrete school areas that, although they belong to the subject very closely, were left out of the paper, exclusively for reasons of size. There are some school subjects – e.g. Hungarian Literature, Ethics, Form Master’s Lesson, Motion Picture Culture and Media Studies – the indirect or direct effects of which constitute by no means an organic part of democratic civic education.

It would be equally important to deal with communal forms that strengthen civic education – school celebrations, workshops, camps – and with communal activities – student council, school community service –, but they would explode the frames of this paper.

When listing deficits, we have to mention a particular related subject which belongs to the studies of the present, i.e. the ‘Studies on Humans’ (‘Ethics’), which for long seemed to organically integrate with social studies in the then near future, but finally became an independent subject area. Luckily, its initial history was worked up by the „founding father”, István Kamarás (2015). Unfortunately, the special programmes in higher education and in teachers’ trainings designed to deal with civic education and teaching, and the initiatives of various non-governmental organizations were also left out of the dissertation.

ANTECEDENTS AND NOVELTIES OF THE RESEARCH

From this aspect the dissertation can be divided into two separate units. The first part of the text – the discursive conceptual analysis – is a relative novelty in the pedagogical literature, while the second part is the processing and summarizing of previous researches.

In the latter unit, the general descriptions of the history of teaching concerning institutional civic socialization², the elaborations of the rich traditions of teaching history³, and the basic researches focussing on the connection between the subjects ‘History’ and ‘Social Studies’⁴ can be found and considered as antecedents of the dissertation. The direct antecedents of the dissertation include those achievements of professional literature which deal with civic education and especially with its democratic focusses on the paradigm of studying the present. These are the works of education sociologists⁵ dealing with political socialization of the youth and the activities of experts dealing directly with civic education. From among them, the works of László Brezsnýánszky, David Kerr and Domonkos Sík played an important part in laying the foundations of this paper, and I got important inspirations from László Arató, Péter Szebenyi, Márton Szabó, and then from Katalin Falus and Júlia Szekszárdi.

The first, discursive and concept analysing part of the dissertation shows a more complex picture in respect of antecedents and novelties. The processing and introduction to the basic professional literature of democratic political culture in outlines may be considered as antecedents of the research, and its direct application to institutional civic education – to some

² I relied primarily on the works of Nándor Horánszky, István Mészáros, András Németh and Béla Pukánszky.

³ I want to highlight the works by Mátyás Unger, Ottó Szabolcs, Géza Závodszy, András Katona (non-exhaustive list).

⁴ In this field I drew a lot from the works of Péter Szebenyi, Imre Knausz, Enikő Gönczöl, András Lányi, József Kaposi, László Kojanitz, György Gyarmati, Gábor B. Albert, and, last but not least, Ágnes Dárdai, my supervisor.

⁵ Here I only mention the authors of professional literature who had the greatest effect: Gábor Halász, Tamás Kozma, Benő Csapó, Imre Knausz, János Ollé, Éva Gyarmathy, István Nahalka, Peter Senge, Margaret Archer, Michael Fullan.

degree – is a novelty. The description of different types of pedagogical cultures is also dual in the dissertation.

On the one side, when drawing up the various paradigms I could rely on an abundant professional literature⁶, and on the other side, the comparison of pedagogical cultures and the interpretation of their anomic correlations may be in many respects taken for a novelty (Jakab, 2006a). Essentially the same is true for the discursive approach.

The outlining of the approach and methods used by various discursive schools - first of all in the wake of Márton Szabó's outstanding monography – was an interpretation from my side. The application of these methods to texts of education, however, possesses the value of a novelty to some extent.

The adaption of the discursive paradigm to Hungarian professional literature on political science as well as the application of its methods of analysis have already been done in wide circle, and the application of its analytical methods and their elements have also penetrated into the analyses of education in Hungary – I primarily think of the works of Miklós Szabó, Gábor Halász, Péter Tibor Nagy –, but their systematic application is rather sporadic. Thus, I consider as direct antecedents the writings listed under 'Literature' by Géza Sáska, Domonkos Sík, Gábor Erős and Annamária Neag.

THE METHODOLOGICAL BASE OF THE DISSERTATION

An Apology of Discursive Methods

The methodological basis of the dissertation is determined by two, closely interrelated preliminary aspects. One of them is, that already in the first phase of material collection it became obvious that the traditional methods of historical nature and positivist approach are not suitable for the description of the very capricious dynamics of the topic.

These methods describe the decisions of education policy and the changes in pedagogy mainly as a process of public policy which is usually transparent, or at least rationally explicable, and is planned with consciousness derived from "engineer-like" or pedagogical ethos, where the participants at different levels – in the better case relying on preliminary researches – act with the most perfect and most effective professionalism.

However, we can get much closer to understanding the permanent and rather chaotic processes of education policy of the preceding period if we suppose that the education system – based on

⁶ Mihály Csákó, Kálmán Gábor, Zsuzsa Mátrai, Antal Örkény, Ildikó Szabó, György Ligeti, Annick Percheron, László Kinyó, Anikó Zsolnai.

the society concept related to the names of Niklas Luhman and Jürgen Habermas – is a multifunctional subsystem of the society, which is moved primarily by the permanent communication, dispute, and „competitive cooperation” of various interest groups (Halász, 2001).

System approach is increasingly reasonable when it comes to the examination of institutional democratic civic education, because this area is especially sensitive to symbolic generalizations or to various political and ideological fights for interest.

These recognitions unavoidably “shepherded” this paper towards the text-focussed social sciences, the so called interpretative, or in another word discursive research trends.

It became evident that the still hardly transparent historical processes of the recent past can be approached well by analysing the changes in language usage.

The various methods of text analysis and interpretation can throw light on countless correlations and shifts in education policy that – partly due to the lack of information, partly because of the ideological nature of the subject, and partly because the author is involved in person – could not be detected efficiently by traditional historical methods. It was equally important to realize that the changes in language usage not only mapped but also shaped the history of institutional democratic civic education.

Another important preliminary methodological aspect was that I supposed that the different types of pedagogical texts were uniformly of political nature. It is also important to lay down here that the word ‘policy’ is used in two different meanings in the dissertation and sometimes it is circumscribed, because the Hungarian language still does not differentiate between the two. The English language clearly distinguishes between the substantial (politics) and the formal meaning (policy).

According to Bourdieu (1987), in the substantial meaning all actions can be considered political in which efforts for increasing power, or in which interest-boundedness can be shown.

In this sense there is inevitable political content in how the central management of education finances schools, in what ways the selection of directors and teachers are made, what formal relations are between teachers, learners and parents, what educational contents and methods are made dominant in the curricula and the text books which put certain groups into favourable, others into less favourable position.

The formal meaning of political action radically differs from this and is directly related to the activity of the (education) political system (legislation, governance, public administration). Consequently, in this paper the concept of education policy appears mainly in the substantial meaning, I will indicate if the formal meaning is used (*education policy*).

The Methods Used

Thus, the methodological means of the dissertation is based on discursive analysing models, by the help of which I will endeavour to make the processes of social history, education policy and history of subject transparent and interpretable. This means the interpretation and discursive re-interpretation of important pedagogical literature, and the analysis and interpretation of the documents of education policy and pedagogy (acts, curricula, text books, programme-setting speeches of ministers, interviews, memories, etc.). Here I only mention the three main directions that are important from the aspects of the paper. First, the history of concept school earmarked by Reinhart Koselleck (2003), which greatly helped in the interpretation of the background and the immanent meanings of „repeated to boredom” ideological concepts found in the documents of education policy. Second, the school of discursive political science, whose founder, Márton Szabó (2016) personally helped a lot in writing the paper. Third, the so called critical discourse analysis (Cochran-Smith and Fries, 2001; Harrison, 2000; Hyatt, 2013) that, with its rich approach to science and methodology, was a fundamental help for me because it expresses also the normative intention of the researcher.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION

The dissertation consists of two bigger parts that can be read as individual units. The first part is of conceptual nature and can be divided into three sections. I examined the discursive interpretation of the integrity problems of institutional democratic civic education in the framework of three metaphoric concepts – democratic political culture, anomic conditions in public education and reform processes in public education. The second part – longer and more traditionally edited – deals with the domain of meanings of civic education in Hungary after the change of the regime. First of all it introduces the relevant international patterns and the Hungarian traditions of civic education, then it enlists the main findings and conclusions drawn by researches analysing the political socialization of the Hungarian youth. Then it discusses the history and „competitive cooperation” of the subjects directly „responsible” for institutional civic education, i.e. ‘History’ and ‘Social Studies’.

THE FINDINGS OF THE RESEARCH

The main feature of discursive approach is that it is not looking for reasons, solutions and truths in a direct way, instead, it undertakes to interpret and reveal the correlations in the way the texts are organized. The basic principle of analysing discourses is that truth is not ab ovo given, it is

not something beyond human relations which becomes visible by the mediation of language, but it is the social reality coming into existence in the course of human communication. The discursive analysis therefore examines the language usage of texts appearing in the intersubjective world of common speech, while its objective and task is to make social phenomena and correlations visible by analysing the texts.

This approach distinguishes itself from those for whom „*the important thing in speech is to be right, instead of getting an insight into things*”. (Gadamer, 1984, 254.)

In the course of the analysis of democratic civic education I was convinced that the questions raised can only be satisfactorily answered in a complex manner by involving all levels of the social structure – civic culture; common thinking about history; public policy; education policy; institutional order of interactions; etc.

To emphasize or favour one or another element would unavoidably distort, simplify and personalize all what we think about democratic deficit. In this sense, the lack of democratic political culture in general can be noticed at all levels of public education. All this was apparent in the survival of paternalist and statist political patterns and hierarchically organized subject-like behaviours, which were characteristic in Hungary also earlier. To the basic question of the dissertation – i.e. despite the considerable support by education policy, why are the basic school subjects and activities of democratic civic education not present in Hungarian schools – this paper doesn't want to, and is not able to provide well-reasoned and data based evidencing or explanations. To the question „why” either the above worded simplifying answer can be given, or there would be need for a very lengthy, multi-levelled and complex description.

Here and now I only try to interpret the dualism worded in the basic question with the help of the ideology concept by Clifford Geertz (1994, 172-176.). He says that ideology “is not a system of views successfully hiding conflicts of interests”, it is more “the adequate awareness of being in a life situation” by which “a situation hard to comprehend” or “the future with uncertain outcome” can be seized by metaphoric means.

In this sense the “double transmission” logics of metaphors is the language that helps to connect organically the world of the present, which determine the texts of education policy, and the world of desired future. The dualism here refers to the paradox situation of education policy makers who play an important role in democratic civic education: their need for legitimacy supporting their position in power dictates them to put into words, again and again, and to set targets for education policy which are the most promising for the “public good”, while their actual interests and opportunities require them to preserve the existing conditions in an essentially unchanged form.

I. The Experiences Gained by Using Discursive Methods

I consider the main novelty of the dissertation the relevant use of the discursive methods. These methods helped me to interpret this very complex theme – which is in touch with many different social subsystems – within a unified conceptual frame. The analysis of the different types of texts of education policy revealed such recurring structures and language patterns with the help of which the different subsystems of the society and public education could be organically connected, and the explanation of the deeper structural background of integration problems and contradictions, became possible. The approach of concept history provided opportunity to explain the changes in context of the totality of the different level systems, to see them in one, and, the methods of discursive political science and critical political discourse analysis, to examine these problems in the entire scale of possible interpretations and along all possible intersections.

The integration problems of democratic civic education could not be approached exclusively on school subject or school level (good program, poor executives), either on the level of education policy (disintegrated education system), since the problem of latently expressed „democratic deficit” and anomy saturate into all strata of the society. The analyses of concepts and texts in the first part of the dissertation – though they do not seem to belong to the subject when taking it in the narrow sense – try to make us realize that without the wider frames of social history, neither the processes of education policy, nor school life can be really understood.

From among the direct methodological experiences of the dissertation, it is worthwhile to point out some achievements that might present an important methodological starting point for a possible future monographic research.

1. The different conceptual levels of political culture (Almond and Verba, 1963) can be very well used for describing different types of democratization processes. In case of longitudinal comparative analyses, they are applicable to the comparison and precise description of thinking and acting patterns of both individuals and different communities and institutions.
2. In the course of writing the paper it proved to be relevant to use the concept of anomy as a framework of interpretation. By the help of it, the heterogeneity of the Hungarian society and the Hungarian school system, and their very much differentiated value and interest system, became detectable at the same time when analysing the central curricula and the hidden curriculum of schools.

3. The discursive examination of the environment and texts of civic education after the change of the regime provided numerous interesting results and, perhaps, novelties.

- The fact that I considered the various texts of education policy – starting from newspaper articles, through speeches held at celebrations, to central curricula – as political texts talking back to each other, enlightened that the texts, saturated in many cases in pedagogical ethos and a feeling of missionary professionalism, are of ideological nature, which shows very well the fight fought by public education for resources.

- The discursive analysis of various texts on education policy also revealed that in the background of the permanent reform process of the last decades, fights fought for pedagogical resources are hiding which were tried to be covered up by different crisis narratives by the participants (Sáska, 1992; Bauer, 2014).

- The discursive analysis of central curricula revealed that in the last decades effective reconciliation of interests between the various political and professional groups did not take place, thus, a „closed ideological system” (Klaniczay, 1990) developed in the field of planning curricula, which meant that the ever growing curricula – similarly to the little haggis in the tale – ate up contents in contradiction with each other, and therefore more and more diverged from real school processes.

- Analyses of concept history also threw light on how the “proliferation” of concepts and programmes apparent in the field of democratic civic education is related to the power fights fought by various interest groups for resources and to the unintegrated operation of the education system.

- Analyses made in the field of concept history showed that the different (and in many cases antagonistic) interest groups usually describe their programs and intentions with the same ideological and boundary-setting concepts.

II. The discursive analysis of the integration problems of institutional democratic civic education threw light on the fact in countless cases that the basic structure and approach of the Hungarian school system is still rooted in the premodern mass school paradigm, consequently its pedagogical culture is in confrontation with the efforts made for democratization and modernization.

The discursive examination of sociological research of the youth, and the various texts on education policy, provided an opportunity to interpret the meaning of general democratic deficit within the school system.

- In the examined period the Hungarian education system as a whole was characterized by paternal nature, controlled from above and hierarchically organized, what greatly hindered the development of an order of interactions based on mutuality. Within this, the analysis of civic education also shows the well-known undulations. Soon after the change of the regime, the representatives of state education policy performed a large-scale decentralization which promised opportunity for multilevel, consensus making dialogue between the various actors of the education system, but the society of teachers and parents, who were socialized in a dictatorship, was not prepared for this.

Instead of organic construction work, as a counter-effect, from the middle of the 90's, the re-strengthening state power following a period of transitional of uncertainty – irrespective of the rotary system of party politics – gradually reinstalled the centralized and hierarchic structure of the education system, what practically put an end even to the very cautious democratization of the system as a whole.

- The lack of social autonomies, the weakness of civilian society, the anomic conditions and the consequent integration disturbances – value crisis, atomization, lack of confidence – unavoidably slowed down the democratization of the Hungarian society, and it obviously made the democratization of the conservative and “slow to move by its nature” school system even more difficult.

This is mainly apparent in the fact that interest groups of the education policy with different needs – parents, teachers, professionals, education policy makers, learners – still live in a hierarchic system of relationship in many respects: no democratic transfers or consensus-making mechanisms have developed between them which could have been able to integrate the system of public education.

- The discursive analysis of the speeches held by ministers of education at schoolyear opening ceremonies, and the texts of central curricula revealed that in the last decades an ever growing contradiction has appeared between the short-term time dimension of party politics and project financing, and the much longer time dimension of the natural shift, or the professional moving of the education system.

In the school system of a country, fundamental changes can only be achieved by decades' long organic development, if possible, by the consensus of the representatives of different interest groups (education policy makers, teachers, parents, learners). Compared to this, the activity of (party) politics is much faster in rhythm – it adjusts itself to annual budgets, short-duration projects, four years' cycles of elections – and its mode of operation is much more confronting.

If the education system must adjust itself to these short-term intentions, then, education will organize itself unavoidably in a confused, dysfunctional and unintegrated manner. In an education system operating according to the logics of (party)politics – despite the personal goodwill and intention of the participants to cooperate –, due to permanent lack of confidence and time, every change becomes unavoidably a “dragging” that leads to further democratic deficits.

- In the last thirty years the Hungarian school system had to face uncountable global challenges, too, (Gyarmathy, 2015; Jakab, 2007b) – explosion-like changes of cultures, the differentiation of social needs, the changing of the manpower market, the expansion of digital culture, the spreading of the international strategy of lifelong studying – which further increased the anomic conditions of the school system and the uncertainty felt by the community of teachers.

2. The discursive analysis of various texts of education policy and the examination of the „inner world” of schools explain why political culture based on active and responsible participation could not take roots in Hungarian schools in the last decades.

- Education sociological researches focussed on the dominance of hidden curriculum in schools (L. Szabó, 2005; I. Szabó and A. Örkény, 1998; I. Szabó, 2000) unambiguously indicate that the order of interactions in Hungarian schools (the system of relationships between leadership-teacher-learner-parent) and their selection mechanisms are still organized in a hierarchic and authoritarian way, and it determines the fundamental political socialisation of young people.

- An another factor determining the direct political socialization of Hungarian young people is, that not long after the change of the system – and it is proved by evidences –, party politics was banned from workplaces and schools. This, however, was interpreted by all following education policy courses that all activities of political nature must be exiled from schools.

- As a result of all these, political culture, which is built on active and responsible participation necessary for experiencing democratic co-existence, is missing from the political socialization of learners, and thus, institutional socialization itself sets as its own objective, essentially, the learning and teaching of the political culture of subjects.

- The publicly known fact, which is underlined also by research (Csákó, 2011), is that in the great majority of Hungarian schools the body of representation of students’ interest, i.e. the Student Council (Diákönkormányzat, DÖK) operates only formally, which, from the aspects of

democratic civic education can be considered rather counter-productive. In spite of this, DÖK is an important participant of political socialization, but the experiences gained there teach the morals of the culture of subjects as adequate to our region: they teach passivity on the one hand, and paternal-type individual enforcement of interest and „juggling” on the other hand.

III. The discursive examination of the integration problems of institutional democratic civic education is suitable, from several aspects, to demonstrate the basic contradictions of modernization of the Hungarian school system (Sík, 2013): the difficulties in implementing pedagogical innovations and the disputes over modernization of school structure and the structure of school subjects.

1. Studying the Hungarian traditions of civic education of more than one hundred years convinced me that in this field – primarily because of the frequent changes of regimes, and, in most cases, centralized arrangements in education policy – etatist and paternal pedagogical patterns are very deeply rooted. Consequently the historic tradition is also very deeply rooted which concentrates mainly on the dominance of state power and, following from this, the strengthening of political culture of subjects, instead of autonomies and a participatory political culture built on them.

2. At the time of the change of the regime which desired to exceed dictatorial conditions, a particular paradox of education policy developed in Hungary in the field of civic education. The decision makers of the age who were for the fastest possible spreading of democratic political culture (Szebenyi, 1994; Báthory, 2001), urged the spreading of pedagogical patterns representing political culture in the English language – American and English –, but these were, in many respects, in conflict with Hungarian traditions and routines.

3. The history of the collision of the two pedagogical cultures clearly shows the contradictions residing in such “coming from above downwards” and, therefore, unavoidably superficial, modernization. These intentions could not grow roots in the Hungarian school system, they could reach the “internal world” of schools only in forms of campaigns, and after the turn of the millennium, they were gradually crowded out of the main stream of education policy.

- The first National Basic Curriculum (Nemzeti alaptanterv, NAT), in contrast to the historic etatist tradition, wanted to base democratic civic education on American and English type school subjects on studying the present (‘Social Studies’, ‘Human Studies’, ‘Economic Studies’). It naturally provoked serious resistance from the representatives of the subject

'History', who were, practically, in a dominant position in this field, and who were happy then, that they got rid of the ideological subjects of the Kádár-regime ('The Basics of Our Ideology').

- The organic integration into public education of the subjects on the studying the present (for example 'Social Studies') could have taken place only if, in harmony with the plans of the time, the structure of subjects had been differentiated. The introduction of module subjects and the different ways of organizing teaching materials in alternative schools (epocha, topic week) meant a move in the same direction, but in the end, the radical transformation of the structure of subjects did not take place, and thus, in this field the dominance of the subject 'History' was reinstalled.

4. In the last decades the perhaps most interesting chapter of the history of civic education was the competitive cooperation of the subjects 'History' and 'Social Studies' (the integrating subject of studying the present) (Halász, 2005; Jakab, 2007a; Kaposi, 2016). 'Social Studies', which represents political culture with participation, tried to become part of the Hungarian education system in many ways, but in the end it could neither become an independent subject (for example together with 'Human Studies'), nor preserve its independence among the integrative forms guarantying its intrinsic nature. After 2012, some of its contextual elements were shifted to the subject 'History', which, because of its descriptive nature – and the lack of purposeful training of teachers – could only partly represent the practice of a school subject preparing for social participation.

5. Preservation of the traditionally dominant role of the subject 'History', however – besides the building in of several elements of modernization (Dárdai, 2006) – had the consequence that neither the reconsideration and modernization of the canon of history teaching having several hundred year old (preceding Trianon) history, nor the fundamental reform of the pedagogical culture of Hungarian public education could take place.

By reforms lacking the support of the society and being of paternalist nature, and planned from above, and by durations designed to gain short-term political benefits, it is not possible either to step forward in respect of selection mechanisms in schools, or efficiently implement (i.e., break down to lower levels) even the most perfectly planned pedagogical reform programs.

POSSIBLE DIRECTIONS OF FUTURE RESEARCH

The word „Introduction” in the title of the dissertation shows well the possible directions of future research. As I already noted earlier, until now, the main purpose of my work was the elaboration of the conceptual frames. I could not undertake a more detailed discussion or monographic description of the subject, among others, because of limitations in size.

1. I listed at length above that due to limitations in size many pedagogical fields – which are closely related to the subject – were left out of the paper. It naturally follows from this that in order to arrive at a more detailed picture, it would be worthwhile to draw these into the research.
2. It would be a promising undertaking to discursively analyse in details the central curricula and the speeches held by ministers at opening ceremonies. It would shade the findings of the dissertation by magnitudes.
3. It would not be without morals to introduce, either at random, or one by one, the text books “Social Studies” of the discussed period.
4. It would be an exciting „saving of relics” to collect and categorize methodically the alternative pedagogical programs and methodological novelties of the period discussed.
5. Last but not least, the monographic elaboration of the history of civic education after the change of the regime.

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