SUBJECTS OF HUNGARIAN CULTURAL MEMORY IN IMAGES

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ABSTRACT

In our study the participants made a composition out of a set of photos representing significant Hungarian symbols, personalities, traditions, artefacts and sites, as if the composition was the cover page of an album about Hungary, devoted either for foreigners or for Hungarians living abroad for a long time. They worked in groups of three.

The set of photos was created based on the results of a preliminary study asking people about for themes of the utmost importance in such an album. The participants filled in the value survey (PVQ) of Schwartz before the group-work.

Our results support our expectations based on the theory of social representations according to which people differentiate between their communication towards an out-group and an in-group member. The study called attention to the strong value expressive nature of culture-related communication which prevented the participants from presenting culture in an instrumentally effective way. This value expressive feature of culture-related communication was also reflected in the central position of national symbols in the montages, especially typical of groups of people with traditional values.

Key words: social representation; traditional values, self-presentation, self-expression

1. INTRODUCTION

Studying cultural memories usually means studying verbal manifestation of culture, appearing either in narratives, novels or in answers to questions in questionnaires. At the same time cultural references have been formulated more and more often in terms of visual manifestations nowadays. Just think of the large number of albums and films presenting cultural and natural heritage of a country or a smaller region to the audience. One can recall several advertisements persuading for the consumption of good-quality national products, or, in case of Hungary, the carpet with the images of prominent Hungarian characters, sights, products, and symbols, led down on the corridor in the Centre of the European Union during the time-interval of the Hungarian presidency also could be a good example for visual communication.

This duality offers a trivial study question: Is there any difference in the distribution of potential themes when people report verbally about the most significant memory places representing one's culture and when they turn to pictures for expressing this same thing? To study this question we turned to verbal and nonverbal answers from two comparable groups of participants. We either asked people to report themes of utmost importance in a photo-album about Hungary or to make a composition out of a set of photos representing significant Hungarian symbols, personalities, traditions, artefacts and sites as if the composition was the cover page of an album about Hungary.

The theory of social representations underpins the social nature of representations which means that true meanings in the communication are not approachable from outside, without sharing common experiences and perspectives with the members of the specific social group or community (Moscovici, 2002/1984). This notion outlines important considerations for studying cultural memory places. A somewhat similar phenomenon has been revealed by the social constructionist stream of research when communication with material objects was in the focus: One's style of clothes, haircut, colours of dresses, design of implements and furniture (etc.) have special self-expressive messages for one's own social group, and vice versa, these messages are coded best by those people who are addressed (Dittmar, 1992; Lunt & Livingstone, 1992).

Our second study question is posed relying on this social (cultural) layer of communication. To what extent do people differentiate in their communication towards in-group and out-group members when they convey culture-relevant messages (in our specific case pictures)? Developing a positive representation of a culture in the eyes of foreigners is a very demanding task in our global world, it is important to show the favourable face. Tourism competes for the attention of international tourists, the economy for international investors, researchers for work-partners, etc. Visual communication is a very natural channel for this purpose. However, recalling nice moments from the past with the help of a photo-album is a quite usual activity in one's own group too, serving the function of strengthening group cohesion.

Consequently, in our study the activity of making a composition out of a photo set of significant subjects of Hungarian cultural and natural heritage as if the composition was the cover page of an album about Hungary, was accomplishable with equal ease either with the

instruction that the album was devoted for foreigners or for Hungarians. Comparing the compositions offers good opportunity not only for comparisons of the ways people address an in-group and an out-group member of their cultural community, but we can get impressions about the laic wisdom in visual communication.

Attitudes toward cultural memory places can be influenced by such individual differences like the hierarchy of personally important values (Pántya, 2010). The challenge of developing a positive representation of one's own culture can mean quite different appeals for an individual with more traditional values and for somebody with less traditional values. Presumably, the former one is motivated by the wish of expressing national cultural heritage while the other one would like to advertise the country as a desirable place in terms of universal measures. We can test this supposition in the study. Furthermore it will be possible to look for the impact of the personal hierarchy of values on the distinction between communicating towards an in-group and an out-group member of the culture.

2. INTRODUCTION

2.1. The social representation theory in the context of collective memory

The argumentation of the social nature of memory was introduced to the sociological vocabulary by Maurice Halbwachs (1877-1945) who adopted Emile Durkheim's central dictum of the social origins of memory. According to Halbwachs the collectively manifested and shared past is assumed to serve the expression of collective identity and support solidarity.

Collective narratives represent essential attributes of the community (who they are, where they come from, etc.) and maintain a kind of continuity. The main function of remembering is to promote a commitment to the group by symbolizing its values and aspirations and not merely to "report" the past.

Although the activity of remembering takes places necessarily on the individual level as a brain function, collective memory is always socially framed. What is remembered is profoundly shaped by 'what has been shared with others'. Even one's most private individual memories derive from specific group context (Bernáth, 2010; Halwbachs, 1950/Misztal, 2003; Hunyady, 2010; Pléh, 1999).

Theory of collective remembering is not a distant construction from the theory of social representation laid down by Serge Moscovici who also referred the concept of "collective representations" from Emile Durkheim but stated that representations have a more specific social level, having their roots in interactions.

According to Moscovici people can approach socially relevant subjects with the help of social representations which are formed in the communication between the members of the community. The socially formed representations necessarily reflect the identity of the group and some special meanings of collective representations that can be grasped only by in-group members (Hunyady, 2010; Moscovici, 2002/1984).

2.2. The social characteristics of view

Studies inspired by the theory of social representation are relying on content-analysis of texts such as interviews, social interactions, articles, novels, etc. But societal, economical and cultural changes in the consumers' societies draw the researchers' and professionals' attention more and more on the criticality of social aspects of the information mediated by visual communication. As consumption became specialized, consumers' decisions are not just based on the basic function of the products; we buy symbols, group memberships and feelings too. The advertisements helps a lot in deciding what to buy while they are mediating not (only) the basic features of the products but these special symbolic characteristics. Based on the highlights from the background marketing studies they are cautiously tailored for "people like us" belonging to that group or social class which can be addressed by the specific visual expressions (Babocsay, 2003).

Approaching consumer goods as images is present in economic psychology besides marketing; it also exists in the research field interpreting psychological functions of possession on a social constructionist basis and considering consumption as a mean of self-expression. According to this notion possessions say a lot about the owner. Our clothes, jewels, articles of everyday use, decorations of our houses, etc. mediate our values and lifestyle for others. These messages are addressed to (and decoded best by) the members of our in-groups or classes, perhaps for the members of the desired one (Dittmar, 1992; Lunt & Livingstone, 1992).

According to our point of view, the identity in respect of national identity is manifested in the visualization of important images of cultural memory. Possibly the denotations forwarded to in-group members differ from denotations forwarded to out-group members, similarly when the members of a sub-culture wear different clothes for their private event, than for a common one where the participants are from heterogeneous groups.

2.3. Self-expression and self-presentation in communication

Thus people send information about their characteristics via their views, appearance and behaviour and these sources are meaningful in the eyes of others. Snyder (1974) emphasises the conscious segment of this functioning using the term *self-monitoring* relating to the extent people are concerned with impressing others. Human beings differ substantially in this respect. High self-monitors bother much about self-presentation and receiving positive feedbacks on their personality. Low self-monitors tend to exhibit their own attitudes, values, and internal states as the most important to them is to express their true selves.

Not only individuals but also situations differ in respect of need to express true messages. There are cases where self-expression is more important. In an in-group context where all people in the group know everybody self-presenting might seem as overacting. On the contrary if one faces a big audience self-presentation is adequate and the actor should behave in a manner highly responsive to social cues to impress other people. Interestingly people search for situations fitting their personality in respect of self-monitoring and they find them (Snyder, 1991).

Therefore the question arises whether people can adjust to the requirements of situations when they express or present their national cultural and natural heritage. Do they impress

efficiently the foreigners with the attractive and popular aspects of the heritage? Or do people supply them with historic and symbolic references which are effective in expressing cultural values but at the same time they are difficult to understand for a foreigner?

2.4. Traditional values and their relevancy in studying collective memory

Psychology has to accumulate information about what is really important for people in order to understand human actions, thoughts and emotions, and also to understand motives behind them. The concept of values regards these issues (Higgins, 2007). Higgins (2007) based on the notions of Rokeach and Merton defines values as desirable objectives and end states, and also desirable procedures for reaching them. Among other things (e.g., experiences or need satisfaction) he specifies shared beliefs and norms as sources of values.

The aforementioned notion of values is comparable to Schwartz's value concept: he specifies values as desirable goals that transcend situations, and their relative importance guides behaviours either on the individual or on the social level. During the research of universal values he distinguished 10 motivational types of values and assumed dynamic relationship between them. This assumption is based on the conception that psychological, social and practical consequences of actions taken in favour of realizing any value types can be either compatible or incompatible with each other. Thus this value structure can be perceived as a pattern of compatibilities (in case of types of values with similar motivational bases) and conflicts (in case of types of values with competing motivational bases) among different value priorities. The 10 motivational value types can be presented in a circle along two bipolar dimensions (as higher order value types) where competing values can be found on the end points of these dimensions. These two bipolar dimensions are as follows (examples for value types are shown in parentheses): openness to change (e.g., self-direction) *vs.* conservation (e.g., tradition or conformity); and self-enhancement (e.g., power or achievement) *vs.* self-transcendence (e.g., benevolence) (Schwartz, 1994, 2007).

Conservation includes the following three basic value types: *security, conformity* and *tradition*. These types of values share common motivations such as subordinating the self in favour of social expectations or preserving traditions and status quo. The value type of tradition has a special relevancy in our study as this value type includes particular values which emphasize the acceptance and respect of cultural, religious and/or family customs and traditions and commitment to them (Schwartz, 1994).

3. THE STUDY

3.1. Research questions and hypotheses

One of our questions regarded whether different modalities of perception and elaboration affect the availability of specific memories, in other words do different channels of responding (verbal and visual) have effect on the focus of selection from memorable symbols, characters, natural sites, buildings, traditions etc. In connection with this research question we had no special expectation.

We had expectations regarding the accommodation with the way of presentment to the target person of the interpersonal communication, i.e. we expected people to emphasize different contents for an in-group member and for an out-group member. We consider that as people and situations find each other (Snyder, 1991) situations and attitudes also find each other; situations supporting self-presentation trigger self-presentation tendencies on an instrumental basis, while situations necessitating self-expression evoke value-expressive tendencies on a self-expressive basis. According to our hypothesis the differences of target group of the communication result observable differences in the selection of pictures: references meaningful only for the members of the in-group will be applied more likely in the messages composed for the in-group members (Dittmar, 1992; Moscovici, 2002/1984).

Moreover respect of traditions as a conservative value is expected to have an effect on what an individual communicates regarding Hungarian nationality. According to our expectations the more someone respects the traditions, the more s/he will emphasize the historical-cultural and symbolic aspects regarding the past and the nation, by which people express the continuity of past and the present and the importance of the national-cultural transmission (see Halbwachs, 1950/Misztal, 2003; and Schwartz, 1994).

3.2. Method

Sixty participants took part in our study in 20 groups (3 persons per group). At the beginning of the study every participant filled in a value survey alone; this survey was the shortened version of the Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ21 – Davidov, 2008; Schwartz et al., 2001). Compared with the earlier value questionnaire (SVS – Schwartz, 1992, 1994) PVQ is easier to fill in because it requests a less abstract task from the participant who has to make decisions on a 6-points scale about the perceived similarity between him/her and a person described (i.e., portrayed) shortly in 2 sentences per items. These portraits represent the main features of the 10 basic types of values.

After completing the value questionnaire participants were informed that they got a new task which should be completed in groups, therefore we asked them to form groups of 3 based on their randomly assigned alphanumeric codes (these codes were handed out at the beginning of the session). We informed them that their task would be to prepare an A/4 sized photomontage from a certain set of photographs which montage would be used later as the cover of an album about Hungary. We chose the group activity as the main form of our dependent measures because we assumed that investigated phenomena relating to cultural-national memory would be emerged more likely if we offer a social rather than a merely individual context for the mentioned activity. Furthermore we use a manipulation in the design regarding the recipient of the photo-album: the photomontage was edited by 11 groups with the aim of addressing a compatriot now living abroad, whilst the other 9 groups edited it with the aim of addressing a foreign person (a friend) who would like to know more about Hungary and Hungarian people.

The set of photos – which served as the source of images to select from – were made up from the experience of a preliminary study (described in the next section). Our goal was constructing a photoset which offers various topics but at the same time it is still manageable

in its size. The number of the topics was limited to 28, but a topic (e.g., the Parliament) was offered in 4 different forms: we used a typical and an atypical visualization of a subject both in a small (5x7 cm) and in a big size (7x10 cm). With this variety our intention was to increase the interest and excitement in the creative process of composing the montage, and on the other hand, the size and the typicality of the images have special relevancy regarding our assumptions: a topic can be emphasized more or less with the size of the image, while by choosing an atypical rather than a typical representation one can exclusively address an in-group member.

3.3. The preliminary study and the collection of the pictures used in the study

Thirty-six persons took part in the preliminary study. Each of them had to imagine that s/he is a member of an editorial board which edits an album about Hungary illustrated with many pictures. They had to mention during the interview 20 topics of utmost importance to be included in this book. We arranged the participants answers into categories according to their subject (characters and persons, national symbols, landscapes and natural environment, buildings and other artworks, lifestyle), and we calculated the percentage of the answers from different categories. Next we translated this proportionality to a limited number of pictures (up to 30). Then the supply of the 28 subjects was developed, considering that the number of the pictures in a category can be only a whole-number. Finally the number of the subjects in the different categories was implemented with topics raised most frequently in the preliminary study. In case of characters and persons the set of subjects consists of Sándor Petőfi, Lajos Kossuth, Albert Szent-Györgyi, the Hungarian water polo team and the famous composers of Béla Bartók and Zoltán Kodály. (See the Appendix for the detailed list of categories and subjects!)

The final step of the process in inventing the set of photos was searching for typical and atypical visualisations of the subjects on the internet. Moreover two independent persons evaluated the photos in respect of ordinariness. In case of not giving corresponding answers about a picture (consistent with ours), we rejected to use of that photo.

3.4. The results

Both the task used in the preliminary study and the preparation of a montage seemed to be interesting for the participants as they get largely involved in these activities. In the preliminary study we experienced that the personal activity often spread to groups or families who discussed their opinion, and tried to develop corresponding evaluations. These observations led us to the conclusion that it is worth considering applying the task of montage-preparation as a group task.

Before presenting the specific results on the hypotheses, it is worth to note the list of the subjects with more than a three-quarter appearance on the montages. Tokaji wine and Hungarian goulash were presented in all the 20 montages, the national flag in 18 cases of the 20, The Royal Crown in 17 cases, while Sándor Petőfi, the Parliament, the Rubik's cube, and the Chain Bridge appeared fifteen times. It is noteworthy that there are no landscapes among the most popularly chosen pictures.

3.5. Results of preliminary and main study

There were more subjects from the category of landscapes and buildings and less subjects from the category of symbols and lifestyle mentioned in the preliminary study compared to the main study. Characters appeared in the two studies with identical relative frequency (*Figure 1*). We found significant difference between the preliminary and main study in case of symbols, landscapes and living style (Mann-Whitney probe; $p<0.01$). There were a marginally significance in case of buildings, too (Mann-Whitney probe; $p<0.1$).
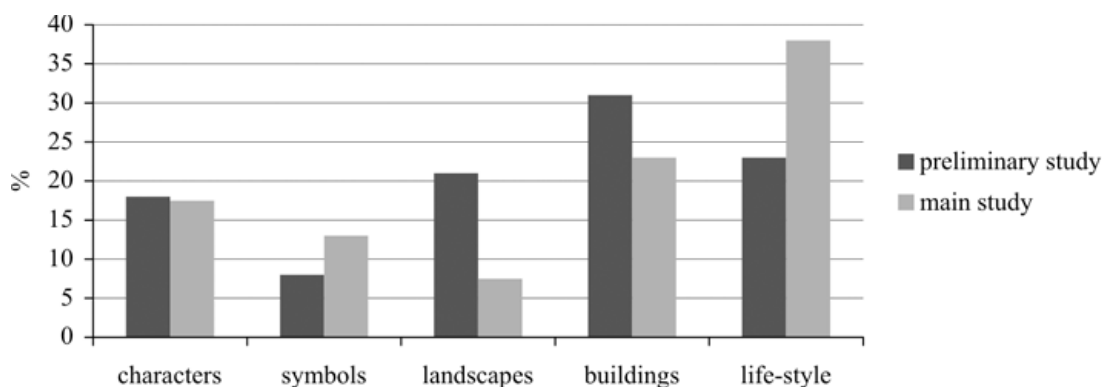

Figure 1. Frequencies of appearance of subjects from different categories in the preliminary and the main study

3.6. Differences between montages

Regarding our *Hypothesis 2* we presumed that participants adjust their choices to the instruction offering numerous attractive sights to see and experiences to try to an out-group member and supplying the in-group member with lots of symbolic and historic references. Surprisingly the montages based on the different instructions were not significantly different thematically. Moreover we cannot find differences on a broader base (landscape, buildings and life-style merged and the remaining categories merged). The montages based on the in-group instruction contained subjects from the categories of landscapes, buildings, life-style with the rate of 71.97% (SD=9.37%) while montages prepared to a foreigner with the rate of 65.29% (SD=15.12%).

Nevertheless one can find differences in the appearance of specific subjects, like in the case of the Parliament which appears on all the montages if they are prepared to a foreigner, while only in half of the cases when the montages are composed to a Hungarian (Fisher-test, $p<0.05$). The theme of the rangeman with a horse was applied only once in a montage to a Hungarian, while it appeared in almost the half of the cases in a montage to a foreigner (Fisher-test, $p<0.05$). That was the case with the theme of Bartók and Kodály with the little difference that they were let in the montage prepared to a Hungarian twice (Fisher-test, $p<0.1$).

There was also a considerable difference in the application of images presenting Hungarian folk-dancers and people wearing Hungarian national dresses. The theme of folk dance was much more frequent in the montages meant to a Hungarian (with 9 appearances out of 11 contrasting the 2 ones out of 9; Fisher test, $p<0.05$), while displaying the national dress

was more frequent in montages devoted to a foreign friend (with 8 appearances out of 9 contrasting the 5 ones out of 11; Fisher-test, $p<0.1$).

Furthermore more atypical pictures (mean=21%, SD=9%) were displayed to a Hungarian, than to a foreign friend (15%, SD=9%) however this difference does not reach the threshold of significance (t=1.37, p=0.18). Notably the application of atypical visualization is relatively rare, in general.

3.7. The role of individual value priorities

We formulated assumptions also about the role of traditionalism in the chosen communication form about our nationality. We assume that groups formed by participants with higher level of traditional values would prepare montages with using more symbols (e.g., national flag, cockade, the royal crown) and historic characters, while groups with lower level of traditional value priority would prepare montages with using more sights (e.g., landscapes, buildings) and experiences (e.g., culinary images). The type of the recipients (i.e., compatriot or foreigner) and its impact on the montage preparation was also handled.

The ANOVA-analysis resulted in no significant effect in this respect: neither the instruction, nor the group mean of the relative importance of traditionalism influences the thematic composition of the montages, and there was no interactive effect of the two variables.

Nonetheless value priority influenced two variables: the distance of the symbols from the centre of the montage and the ordinariness of the montages. The distance was measured by the distance between the centre of the montage and the centre of the symbolic image that was placed the closest to the centre of the image. It deserves attention alone that in average this distance is smaller than the one-third part of the maximal possible distance (M=28%, SD=22%), which shows that symbols are placed in the middle part of the montages frequently. According to the ANOVA-analysis where distance served as dependent variable, distance was considerably reduced by *traditionalism* (F [1, 18]=8.28; $p \leq 0.05$), but neither was influenced by the *instruction* (the type of recipient), nor by the *instruction* x *traditionalism* interaction. That is, the more the groups emphasize traditional values, the closer they place national symbols to the centre of the montage.

Ordinariness expresses the extent a montage is similar to an average montage from the sample. A percentage was determined in case of every topic which represented the frequency of a certain topic on the all 20 montages regardless of the features of its representation form (e.g., size or typicality). Then these percentages for every topic in a montage were averaged. According to the ANOVA-analysis ordinariness was significantly increased by *traditionalism* (F[1, 18]=7.01; $p \leq 0.05$), but neither was influenced by the *instruction*, nor by the *instruction* x *traditionalism* interaction.

4. DISCUSSION

To summarize, in the compositions made out of a set of photos representing significant Hungarian symbols, personalities, traditions, artefacts and sites, sites and artefacts are represented relatively in smaller numbers than they appeared in the verbal answers of the subjects. On the contrary, photos of national symbols and traditions were overrepresented compared to verbal nominations.

The dominance of presenting the Hungarian style of living (see *Figure 1*) can be illustrated with the observation that only wine Tokaji and the Goulash were presented on all of the compositions.

The instruction has had no impact on the number of historical references appearing in the compositions. At the same time, different instructions attracted specific themes with different frequencies. Foreigners were provided more often with the images of the building of the Hungarian Parliament, that of a rangeman in the Puszta dressed in traditional costume, that of people in traditional dresses of Kalocsa and the photo of Béla Bartók and Zoltán Kodály. On the contrary, Hungarian target subjects were appealed more often with the photo of people practicing Hungarian folk dance. In general the participants used typical visualization very often but they applied somewhat more atypical photos approaching a Hungarian target subject. Groups of participants with more accents on traditional values in their value-hierarchy tailored more conventional compositions and emphasized national symbols to a larger extent.

The differences between choices in the preliminary and the main study reflect differences between verbally conceptualized choices among potential subjects of photos and actual choices among photos. In the verbal processing mode, without visual information, the encyopedical knowledge base can be more accessible, and knowledge accessed in school crowds out style of life as subjects of photos. However the strong need for expressing and presenting our way of life is evident from the main study. People do it either when they are expressing their belongingness or when they are attracting foreigners. The basic emotional (visceral) experiences associated with foods and drinks could also be behind participants' choices, while they were instructed to appeal a specific person (either Hungarian or not Hungarian). Furthermore, in the preliminary study participants replied to our questions individually while in the main study they worked in groups of three, and seemingly they were even more involved than participants from the preliminary study. These differences should not avoid our notice when we are trying to explain variation in the frequency of main subject-categories of photos. Irrespective of the true explanation the door for Hungarian foods and drinks to Hungarian hearts seem to be open. Participants have shown the signs of identification and pride in respect of these typical Hungarian characteristics of way of life. It would be informative to study the reactions from the other side.

Relatively rare appearance of landscapes on the montages should be explained, because they were mentioned a lot in the preliminary study. Are the landscapes uninteresting for us, and are they considered to be the same for others? Or can the symbolism of our relationship to the landscapes be hardly represented in a picture? Or were just the collected picture "wrong"?

Notwithstanding both the built and the natural environment can be the source of the personal and collective memory, contributing to development of our personal and national identity (Lewicka, 2008; Medvés & Kovács, 2010). Natural environment has belonged to our living-space since the beginning of the existence of mankind, and because of its relative permanence they carry the marks of the past in the present. Thus we can still observe the relevant effects of the memories regarding the environment (Schama, 1996).

We often use natural environment to carry our national identity, just like in case of Mount Rushmore National Memorial's sculptures (South Dakota, United States) presenting the heads of former presidents of the United States recalling their memory since many decades. In Hungary we can mention the peninsula of Tihany pushing out into the Lake Balaton with the building of the Benedictine Abbey; which foundational certificate is one of our oldest lingual memories. But not just that natural and built environment can be the subject of our memories which was shaped by the mankind. Lots of Hungarians keep visual traces about several places belonging to the World Heritage like the Caves of Aggtelek Karst, or the Puszta in the Hortobágy National Park. In many cases natural landscapes being important for the national identity have as much honor as they are represented in the official currency of Europe, namely the euro coins. We can observe it in case of Slovakia where one of the highest peaks of Tatra mountains (Kriváň), representing the independence of the Slovaks is presented in the 1, 2 and 5 cent coins. Or the highest peak of the Julian Alps and Slovenia, the Triglav is on the Slovenian 50 cent coins.

Presumably Hungary is not a country with the most exotic natural spectaculars. Nevertheless we unquestionably have several original specialties like the before-mentioned Lake Balaton or the Hortobágy; but the importance of the national identification with these landscapes, the feeling of pride toward them and the desire to show them were manifested only in the preliminary study. The reason for not choosing them into the montage requires further empirical experience.

It makes sense that photos which are presented more frequently to foreigners than Hungarians are seemed to be more attractive than increase feelings of belongingness.

Seeing the building of the Hungarian Parliament is a must for a foreigner. The bucolic rangeman in the Puszta dressed in traditional costume can be interesting for a foreigner but is not a part of our life. This argumentation has a very said message for those who salute the heritage of Bartók and Kodály by heart, at the same time fits the truism that "Kodály is appreciated and known more abroad than in Hungary". The pattern of frequencies of photos representing people in traditional national dresses and people practicing folk dance also fits the frame of interpretation. Dancing folk dances is a vital tradition and people share personal experiences coming easily to mind after a reference (seeing the photo of dancers). On the contrary, most people have not ever dressed into a traditional, national dress, whatever fancy, rich and attractive these dresses are. Consequently, folk dance increases the feeling of belongingness in a Hungarian, traditional dresses catch the attention of foreigners.

The need for communicating with the in-group member in a special way, not fully understandable by an out-group member is also reflected in the frequency of use of atypical visualization. However it is surprising how insensitive the participants were to the instructions

when they chose the photos of significant Hungarian characters to present to foreigners without too much chance for being understood. This lack of distinguishing between subjects to convey to a Hungarian and to a foreigner appears not only in the ratio of characters had in the composition but in a more general sense. We expected more "adventures" offered to foreigners and more "memories for remembering" presented to a Hungarian. Specifically, we expected the participants to impress foreigners with scenic sites, famous buildings, highly recommended foods (etc.) and to provide for Hungarian listeners symbolic and historic hints. But the frequencies of photos belonging to these larger classes were identical across the conditions. What an explanation could we find to this pattern?

First, attractive subjects could be thought equally efficient in increasing feelings of belongingness. But the appearance of historic characters and national symbols in the compositions tailored for foreigners questions the notion of functional substitutes.

Most probably, there are subjects in culture-related communication which could be defined as "cultural minimums". On these points people perhaps are reluctant to compromise between expressing values and "selling" adventures. The portrait of Sándor Petőfi is in the composition even if a foreigner is not expected to identify him. As a result, in our specific case this adherence to the expression of historic and cultural values leads to filled areas in the composition leaving limited rooms for "adventures".

Regarding the effect of value priorities on composing montages it is specifically noteworthy that the impacts of groups' mean of individual value priorities were identified. Comparing variables measured on the individual level with each other is common in psychology, but now the case in issue is the effect of groups' mean of individual responses on group production. In our interpretation this effect fits nicely the concept of the social nature of cultural memory (Halbwachs, 1950/Misztal, 2003). Our results suggest that groups high in traditionalism (who emphasized symbols more and compose montages of higher ordinariness) tend to follow a more consensual way of national memory in their cultural references than groups lower in traditionalism. It is interesting that neither of them adjusted their communication "tools" in accordance with the instructions. This result implies that people high in traditionalism can be more successful in increasing in-group cohesion, while people low in traditionalism can be more successful in the various presentations of our manifold values.

Briefly we can say that on the one hand our results seem to support our assumption (which was delineated on the theoretical bases of social representations and social constructionism – Dittmar, 1992; Moscovici; 2002/1984) about distinguishing between the forms of communication of our national memories in the function of the recipients' group-membership. On the other hand our results highlight that handling national memories has such a strong value expression aspect that easily distracts lay people (who are inexperienced in respect of making effective advertisements) from the functional – that is effective and favourable – self-presentation to the out-group. Thus we can say that the self-presenting situation cannot really activate those self-presenting attitudes which correspond to that specific situation. This value expression aspect is supported also by the higher tendency to emphasize national symbols from the part of groups higher in traditionalism.

Finally we would like to specify some of the limitations of our study. First, further data collection would be required in order to enlarge our sample. Furthermore it would be very worthwhile to replicate the procedure of our main study in an individual rather than a group setting in order to define more precisely the features of the effects behind the difference in the ratios of chosen topics emerged in our preliminary and main studies. In the discussion we formulated several assumptions about the effects of the montages also on the side of their recipients. Our results could be also enriched by information about this latter issue.

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Appendix: Topics presented on the images classified by content categories

Topics presented on the images

Characters and persons:
 Sándor Petőfi
 Lajos Kossuth
 Albert Szent-Györgyi
 Béla Bartók and Zoltán Kodály
 the Hungarian water-polo team

National symbols:
 national flag
 cockade
 The Royal Crown

Landscapes and natural environment:
 lake Balaton
 Tokaj-Hegyalja wine region
 The Puszta (The Great Hungarian Plain)
 Hungarian Grey Cattle
 puli (medium-small breed of Hungarian herding and livestock guarding dog)

Buildings and other artworks:

    Protestant Great Church in Debrecen

    Ecce Homo! By the Hungarian painter Mihály Munkácsy

    a Parliament of Hungary

    Chain Bridge, Budapest

    Feszty Cyclorama - Arrival of the Hungarians by the Hungarian painter Árpád Feszty

    Nine Arch Bridge, Hortobágy

    Buda Castle

Life-style:

    Hungarian folk-dancers

    people wearing Hungarian national dresses

    Rubik's cube

    wines from the Tokaj wine region

    pálinka (fruit brandy made in regions of the Carpathian Basin)

    Goulash (Hungarian soup of meat and vegetables, seasoned with paprika and other spices)

    a rangeman with a horse in traditional costume

    Hungarian red paprika