

# THE ROLE OF SCHOOLS IN NATIONAL REMEMBERING I.

## THE MANIFESTATION OF NATIONAL REMEMBRANCE IN THE ORGANISATIONAL CULTURE OF SCHOOLS



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### ABSTRACT

This study is exploring by what means a school as an organization can strengthen national remembrance and national identity. In connection with this we demonstrate the obvious manifestations of a school's organizational culture, supposing with the supposition that school traditions (national holidays, school memorial days) and certain verbal, visual-material manifestations of the organizational culture function as 'lieux de memoire', or as models of 'lieux de memoire'. We are highlighting the organizational duality following from the functional differences of the 'lieux de memoire' of the distant and recent past: that is, the existence of the declared 'lieux de memoire' in regulating school documents and the practice of emphasizing certain segments of national remembrance while ignoring some others. The theoretical and practical concerns of the topic are connected with document analysis, web page analysis and field work in schools

*Keywords:* organizational culture, artifacts, socialization, traditions, national feasts, memorial days, qualitative methods

## 1. INTRODUCTION

In modern societies education-training-teaching can only be interpreted as a deeply structured and differentiated subsystem, and as such it fulfils a lot of duties (Schaffauser, 2006). Without being brought up and educated in an institutionalized way we would not be able to become a cultured and productive citizen accepting democratic values. To achieve this important social aim schools have to provide certain functions from which in this article we are focusing on the so called qualificational and integrating-legitimate functions. By qualificational function we mean that schools offer social and moral norms, transmit knowledge and aptitude. In addition, they communicate a certain disposition of values, ideologies, that is, they promote the development of certain attitudes (integrating-legitimate function). All this takes place to a lesser degree openly and directly (e.g. in school documents), but most of the time it just happens indirectly, for example due to school atmosphere, teaching methods or other secondary features. The situation gets more complex because of the fact that in our world of modern values, where the spirit of the time is more and more dominated by the frame of science-technology-society, we need to reword what the cultural and organizational roles of schools are (Kovács, Perjés, Sass, 2005). Modern schools should respond to ongoing changes which tend to break traditional frames according to a double standard: they should be able to meet the growing challenges in institution and organization, and at the same time to preserve their roles in transmitting cultural values. The aim of this study is to give with qualitative methods an insight into the dynamics of the organizational transmitting mechanisms of national remembrance and national identity in schools.

## 2. NATIONAL IDENTITY, COLLECTIVE REMEMBERING IN DOCUMENTS REGULATING SCHOOL LIFE

In a general sense identity awareness can be interpreted as a complex and layered network of the mind, which connects the individual to a family, to different communities, to a nation and to mankind, forming in the meantime complementary ties. The identity awareness – called supra-individual (collective) identity consciousness – which develops in this way may be national, gender, racial or class (Gyáni, 2008).

The emotional and rational relationship with the national community is in fact our national identity, and schools play an important role in its formation fulfilling different social duties. This idea is supported by Csepeli (Badis, 2008), who determined national identity as a kind of affective and cognitive set of knowledge, the parts of which form a hierarchical system. The bottom layer is spontaneous identity, which is topped by attitudes, values, urges and ideologies. Pataki's approach is similar (1997, p. 177). "National identity is part of our self-system which comes from the experience and awareness of belonging to a national-ethnic group – together with all its evaluating and emotional momentums and behavioral disposition". We can also say that collective identity has its *raison d'être* through interaction with others (Takács, 2007) and it is based on sharing common knowledge and memory (Assman, Gyáni, 2008).

The cognitive set of knowledge and national self-knowledge cannot come into being without collective remembrance. Theoretically a number of remembering practices can be applied to form and preserve identity in the world of school: traditions, history, literature, etc. However, in connection with teaching history at school one must be careful because of the fact that history books are not suitable to function as artificially created ‘lieux de memoire’ due to small range of schoolbook publishing and the ever changing contents (Király, 2010). Among the working mechanisms of collective remembrance public commemorations, ritual areas, written documents, different cultural activities are the most obvious in the world of school (Péter, without data).

The National Core Curriculum is the first to be mentioned from among the written documents. It determines the fundamental principles, goals and most important tasks of public education in the Republic of Hungary. It is the basic document of school education. It describes the main fields of education, the content sections and also what development tasks there should be in certain sections. The concept of national identity first appears in the National Core Curriculum among the common educational values, and it applies to both majority and minority groups. However, when it comes to the development of identity, there is a stress on collective identity which can be interpreted in a broader sense.

“The National Core Curriculum (NCC) emphasizes how important it is to know both the country and its environs, the Carpathian Basin, to know the traditions of the nation, and to develop national identity in a way which at the same time fosters the identity awareness of minority groups. It gives an opportunity to gain knowledge about the lives and cultures of minorities living in our country. At the same time, when determining its development projects, NCC pays attention to humanist European values and concentrates on contents which emphasize that we are part of Europe.” (p. 7)

The national Core Curriculum defines so called key competences as well which form a transferable and multi-functional unity of knowledge, skills and attitudes (Henczi, 2009). They are indispensable to develop successful personalities and to help to adapt to society. Certain highlighted development tasks (exactly 9) are based upon this. Among them, after self-image and self-knowledge, there is the knowledge of the home country and its people – and again, placed in a broader context – European identity awareness and universal culture:

“It is essential that our students should know the typical features of our nation’s cultural heritage and our historic values. They should study the work and activities of outstanding Hungarian historical personalities, scientists, inventors, artists, authors, poets and sportsmen. They should know our geography, literature, history and everyday life. They should learn and practice those individual and communal activities which lead to appreciating and identifying with our home country. They should get acquainted with the traditions and characteristic features of rural and city life.”

“It is very important to promote a harmonious relationship with our natural and social environment, to establish an awareness of national identity, to deepen national self-knowledge and patriotism. Appreciating the values, the history and the traditions of other peoples living in and surrounding Hungary should be equally important. NCC encourages the young to explore and foster the historical, cultural and religious memories and traditions of their

homeland and beyond it, and to take individual and community action to meet these requirements.” (p. 13)

Last but not least there can be found such descriptions in a more or less direct way among the cultural areas of NCC, too. For example the cultural area of “Man and Society” mentions three aspects: history, human studies and social studies. In connection with history it is defined as society’s common memory, “which is a means of strengthening the awareness of national and European identity.” (p. 54) Despite this it is only slightly revealed even if this cultural area is studied in details. Surprisingly enough, it is the cultural area of “Our Globe and Environment” (table 1) and its module “Orientation in Space and Time” with its sub-module “Geographical and Environmental Issues of the Homeland” that contains national identity and the relevant skills development (p. 90).

*Table 1, National Identity Awareness in the cultural area of “Our Globe and Environment” in NCC*

National Identity Awareness		
forms 5-6	forms 7-8	forms 9-12
Getting to know the natural and socio-economical values of the homeland and beyond it to develop an attachment to the home country.	Getting to know the natural, cultural, ethnographic, economic and environmental values of the Carpathian Basin and Central Europe to develop an attachment to the home country and to Europe.	Broadening knowledge about natural, cultural and economic values to deepen attachments and to strengthen national awareness based on realistic concepts.
	Learning about the role of Hungarian travelers, scientists and experts in discoveries and explorations round the Globe.	
Getting to know Hungary’s international reputation. (E.g. pivotal figures, intellectual and manufactured products, so called Hungaricums.)	Getting to know with the help of different sources the situation of the Hungarian economy and its system of relations in the Carpathian Basin and in the EU.	Learning with the help of sources about the importance of the Hungarian people and Hungary, studying the role of the Hungarian economy in Europe and in the world.
	Studying and interpreting the problems of our environment and their home and regional connections on a basic level.	Studying and interpreting the values and problems of the environment, their home, regional and global connections.

These examples illustrate quite well that it is worth studying the public and other documents of school life and to observe their inner coherence from the viewpoint of our research topic:

– *Pedagogical Program*

The Pedagogical Program is a public school document which is in accord with the National Core Curriculum. It is in fact the school’s pedagogical strategic plan concerning at least one

teaching cycle. It can also be considered the self-definition of a given institution. It has to contain the basic pedagogical principles, goals, tasks, means and methods. It includes the pedagogical tasks in connection with personality development (educational program), all the subjects taught in different forms, the compulsory and optional lessons/lesson numbers, and the specified teaching material and requirements (Local Curriculum).

It could be very illuminating to compare the Pedagogical Program parts of different Local Curricula from the point of view of national identity: goals, applied measures and effectiveness. In connection with effectiveness Mikolasek (2004) made a survey based on a questionnaire with primary school children (separated into junior and senior categories) to explore their sense of Hungarian identity and their knowledge on Europe. Some thought-provoking facts from the survey: 31% of the 2277 pupils surveyed could not name a single country neighboring Hungary, 4/5 of them could not list five Hungarian cities. Not even one child could name all the four national symbols (crown jewels, banner, arms of the nation, national anthem), although they are part of the 4<sup>th</sup> form teaching material. However, many of them considered Szeged fish soup and Kecskémét apricot brandy national symbols. From the most important historic dates the following were the most determining: 1848, 1000, 896. Other surveys conducted at home focused on the criteria of national affiliation (Szilassy, 2006), that is, they tried to trace the changes in the concept of ‘nation’. During interviews with groups of teenagers they found that there were major uncertainties in classification: even deciding who should be considered Hungarian was not easy for them.

– *Organizational Statutes*

It contains the functions of the institute, its external and internal relationships through certain issues (like workers’ protection law, training regulations, parents’ organizations, range of duties), and here can be found the school’s traditions and how they should be fostered and also the different school celebrations (Ollé, 2006).

– *Rules of the House*

It means the practical description of the school’s life. It regulates the work of the school, the expected student behavior, students’ rights and obligations, the order of disciplinary procedures, the procedure of allocating subsidies, etc.

### 3. THE ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE OF A SCHOOL

“By organizational culture we mean the coherent system of values, attitudes, customs, beliefs and ideas, which has directly and indirectly perceivable elements” (Kovacs, Perjés, Sass, 2005, p. 52). This concept is very well reflected in the literature written about organizations through the ‘iceberg’ simile. According to this, organizational culture has obvious, visible components, and also directly not manifested hidden components which remain under the surface. Organizational culture in all instances is unique and not repeatable, just like personality. It is this uniqueness that mostly contributes to the identifying process of all the members. Very typical expressions are ‘in our school’, ‘we usually’, and they all show the existence of the

above mentioned identification. A school's organizational culture conveys norms, sets examples, and makes it clear for the members what values count – which are part of the conceptual basis – thus it influences members and work in an indirect way, just like institutional philosophy and ideology. It can also be declared that school organizations convey a way of thinking, a philosophy and values that are significant educational powers in an intellectual, practical and social sense (Beare, Caldwell, Millikan, 1998).

### **3.1. The importance and functions of Organizational Culture**

According to Posser (2007) organizational culture is important in connection with schools for three reasons. The first viewpoint is that organizational culture shows how the organization functions when no one observes. Thus it can be interpreted as a phenomenon of everyday life. The second viewpoint is that it can make an impact on the successfulness of the organizational functions. Consequently, the ethos or the moral world view of the school and the effectiveness of the school are closely related. The third viewpoint is of methodological nature because this conceptual construction provides a perfect frame for the studying and understanding of school life.

According to J. Ott considering its functions organizational culture (Van Houtte, 2005)

- provides the members of the organization with common interpretations which help them find out what kind of thinking and behavior are expected from them
- guarantees a common pattern of values and norms, so the members will know what to consider valuable
- sets borders, so both insiders and outsiders can be identified
- has a controlling function, too, that is, it tells what to do and not to do.

However, the question arises: how can the organization influence its members, how does it do the above mentioned job? The answer is that the impact made on the individual prevails via the socializing process. The individual gets into the habit of certain things, accepts values and norms in order to be able to work in the given group. In addition, the group also tries to put pressure on the individual to reinforce the existing norms. This is done in a way that a non-conform member is threatened with refusal or exclusion. If the individual finds it important to be accepted and valued, the process of identification with the goals and values of the organization gets started.

### **3.2. The Visible Components of Organizational Culture as “Lieux de Memoire”**

By definition any material or non-material entity which has relevant symbolic contents from the point of view of cultural self-identity can be a lieu de memoire (Kovács, 2010). Such are certain geographical places, historic figures and even written documents, symbols and national holidays. On the basis of this we can state that certain manifestations of organizational culture may be interpreted in the above context.

The visible components of organizational culture according to Beare, Caldwell, Millikan's (1998) model can be put into three main categories (Figure 1):

1. Conceptual/verbal manifestations: here are the organizational goals, the teaching material in its broader sense beyond the officially offered subjects, the characteristic features of communication in the community, similes and metaphors which all categorize an aspect of the

school's organization. Here are also the school stories and mythologies, which – as the essence of school culture – convey value motivated morals, and they often make a direct effect on learning.

2. **Psychic/behavioral manifestations:** here are the different school rituals, ceremonies, rules, parents and the environment (consultations, open days, teacher-parent meetings, etc.). The teaching/learning process is also in this category; and also the different operational or conflict resolving institutional features, that is, the elements of functioning.

3. **Visual/material manifestations:** here are the school's equipment and available resources, its memories and objects recalling notable school events, the school's symbols, mottos and types of clothing. Visual/material manifestations – or artifacts – are organic parts of the socio-cultural conveying process of the school. Values, beliefs and norms – besides language and behavior – can be conveyed through objects (Johnson, 1980). The physical environment consequently can be the agent of socialization, so it can be interpreted as a socio-cultural message. On entering a school one can immediately experience the level of artifacts, and our first impressions are based on them (Stolph & Smith, 1995).

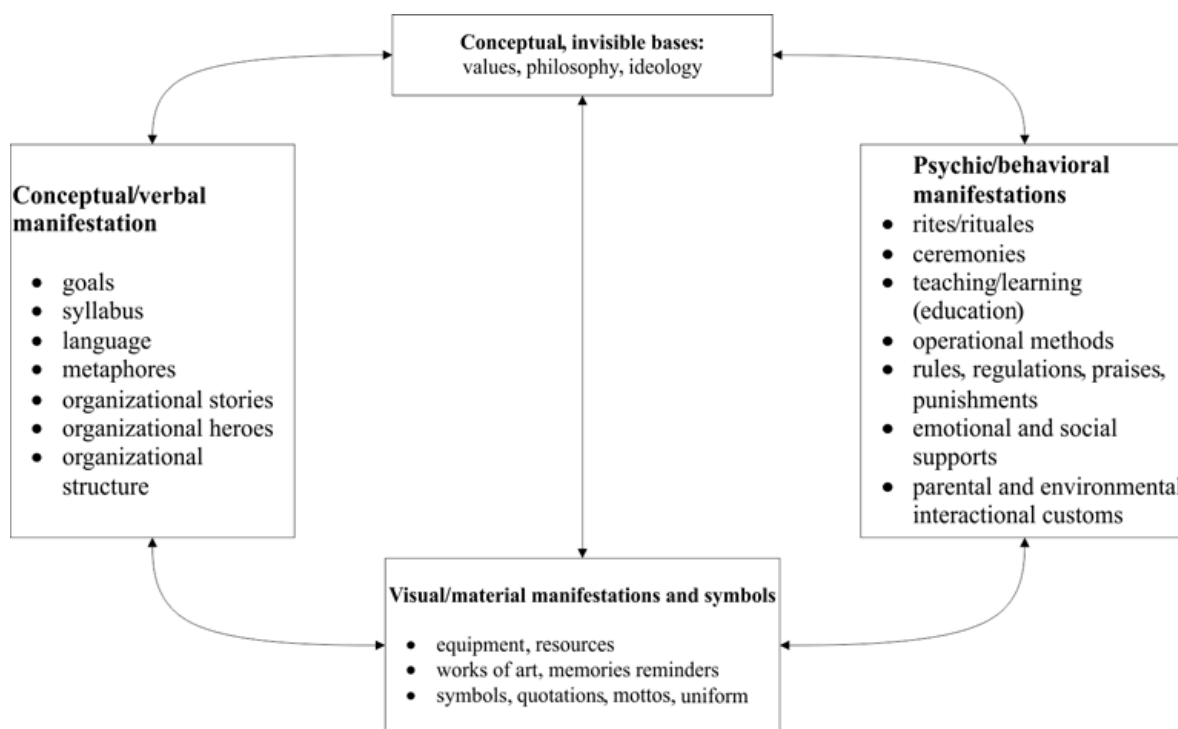


Figure 1. The Layers of Organizational Culture

However, we should know that organizational culture is an active formation, that is, there is constant fluctuation between the visible and hidden levels. As time passes the obvious and conscious elements of the present may get into the more hidden and less conscious level.

### 3.3. The observation of the elements of organizational culture relevant to the research

#### 3.3.1. *Conceptual/verbal manifestations*

Purposes and goals: in the summary table purposes and goals are of high priority. Purposes demonstrate the attempts of the institution on a general level. Their role and their importance are that they promote focusing and making efforts. Goals turn purposes into an action plan, that is, they are placed on a more exact level. These goals can be short term (a maximum of one year), average term (2-4 years) or long term (more than 4 years). School educational programs are considered to be verbal manifestations containing average term and long term goals.

#### 3.3.2. *Visual/material manifestations*

*Equipment, resources:* the material resources, the arrangement of the building, the furniture, the premises all reflect the priority of the school's curriculum, the accepted values and the philosophy of the school. The material culture of the classes shows the level of the symbolic integration of the local school community and society and national culture (Johnson, 1980). They demonstrate the dominance of the values of natural sciences (laboratories and their equipment), or of creativity (workshop, studios), or of religion (chapel). And they also give information on the importance of traditions and national culture through the local places of collective memory (school museum, memory corner, memorial park, memorial hall etc.).

Artifacts and memories of notable events: mementos, awards, diplomas, boards of honor and flags are all important sources of remembering.

*Objects and memories recalling notable events:* mementos, awards, diplomas, tables of honor and flags are important sources of remembering. Each is a part of school tradition, and they provide data about highly appreciated values in a direct way. As Cohen (1971) points out flags, pictures of heroes and leaders seen by students day after day all have one purpose: to convey a uniform set of ideas to the future members of society. National ideas and mythologies, basic value orientations can be observed on both hidden and direct classroom decorations. Pictures, topics of symbols and the way of how they are arranged reinforce as a hidden curriculum socio-cultural traditions and attitudes. Extracurricular institutional areas are also important in conveying the hidden curriculum, although in reality they are seldom in the centre of attention (Prosser, 2007). These areas are continuously formed by the everyday behavior of students and teachers, and they react on the organization members, as they are deeply embedded in the teaching-learning process due to their nature.

*Emblems and mottos:* emblems are in fact the visual summary of school values, and mottos are the same in the form of aphorisms. For example, they can express conservatism (e. g. the use of Christian symbols or medieval symbols, such as a sward). Younger schools according to the expectations of modern times rather choose logos. Just like school rules and ceremonies the school's motto also belongs to the hidden curriculum (Wren, 1999).

*School uniform:* it raises the awareness of identity and strengthens the feeling of being part of a community. At the same time it can also serve as a dress code. In the Hungarian education system it has a role mainly in ceremonies.



### 3.3.3. Behavioral manifestations

*Celebrations, ceremonies:* tribute and community occasions for special events are here. They might be occasions recalling successes of the past, but they can also be sources to solve the problems and tasks of the present or the future. They strengthen common values, and markedly show what is important (DuFour, 1988). Besides functioning as a living example of the school's declared values, celebrations reinforce the idea that the individual acts in harmony with the values. National ceremonies are a path to history and a factor of historical identity awareness. By evoking the original events and by having a link to the present, national ceremonies form the students' sense of history. As celebrations are historical remembering, with their help we can establish our own relationship with the given historic event (Szabó, 2006).

## 3.4. Research Methods of Organizational Culture

There is a wide variety of methodology in both examining and interpreting the levels of organizational culture. There are quantitative and qualitative methods alike and their application is very flexible according to the purpose of the research. In certain instances a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods seems to be adequate.

### – *Quantitative methods*

Quantitative methods mean the use of questionnaires. There is the possibility for numerical comparisons, to compare the measures of changes. And if applied to a large sample there may be an overall picture of the characteristic features of the organization (Serfőző, 2004). If behavioral norms, rules or customs are asked, or situation reports are presented, the revealed information becomes measurable, numerically comparable. However, there are two valid critical remarks on this method. First, not all organizational phenomena can be explored in this way. Second, information may get distorted in the process.

### – *Qualitative methods*

The application of exploratory and descriptive methods can be very useful in studying organizational culture from several points of view. A remarkable part of researchers think that only indirectly observed information (free of any influence) is genuine, so on the level of artifacts observation and document analysis are strongly recommended. As the active participation of the organization is not needed during their application, the researcher can get information without inducing any change in the organization. We can mention a relevant research from international literature. Johnson (1980) analyzed the classrooms of different forms in a primary school on the basis of national and local socio-cultural attitudes. He made longitudinal observations and in the meantime he put the gathered information into standardized categories. Finally he gave a summarizing qualitative analysis of the material culture of the classrooms. From the point of view of this study it is an interesting observation that in junior classes he met basically decorations made by pupils: that is, pupils took an active part in making national symbols and pictures. In senior classes, however, he could identify some more subtle methods of cognitive conditioning. In these classes uniform mass-produced wall decorations recalled different national events, national heroes and showed the relationships between the nation

and the other parts of the world. While observing the visual culture of the school Prosser (2007) took pictures of teachers and students' spaces, and he also used the technique of making a map. Thus the main purpose of qualitative researches is to describe what is going on in a given place at a given time, and then to make generalizations in an inductive way on the basis of the data. As this study has similar purposes, that is, it is trying to capture how national, collective remembering is kept alive, what kind of patterns of fostering traditions are offered by schools, we have also chosen qualitative methods.

Last but not least, fieldwork has a further advantage: with its help social phenomena (like national remembering) can be observed in their natural settings. Furthermore, "we can notice such subtle details and other phenomena as well that could otherwise remain unseen, and we would not be able to measure." (Babbie, 1998, pp. 307-308)

## 4. THE PRESENTATION OF THE RESEARCH

### 4.1 The Sample of the Research

The sample was six secondary schools in Debrecen maintained by the local government: two grammar schools, two secondary vocational schools and two vocational schools. We selected secondary schools because people aged between 13-25 are the most responsive to remembering in our culture (Pék, 2010), this is the time when "future memories" firmly become rooted.

In order to maintain ideological neutrality we left out congregational and church schools, and also foundation and art schools as well as specialized schools, because we wanted to focus on the traditional segment of the Hungarian public education. In the unit of 'research results' 'A' will stand for vocational schools, 'B' for secondary vocational schools and 'C' for grammar schools. It is important because the National Core Curriculum sets the same theoretical range on the macro regulation level (Pedagogical Program, Organizational Statutes, Rules of the House), but it allows more freedom on the middle regulation level so that schools can have their training priorities and local features. Even on the basis of international experience it can be stated that the different institutions of public education serve different subcultures and/or populations so they are integrated into the culture and society in a different degree (Wax, 1971).

### 4.2 The Procedure

#### *I) Comparing School Documents*

We studied the following compulsory public documents:

- Educational Program: basic principles, goals, values, development tasks
- Organizational Statutes: traditions, ceremonies, outer relationships
- Rules of the House: dressing code for ceremonies

#### *II) Comparing school web pages*

Web pages are more and more important on-line documents which can be interpreted as a modern means of communication for schools to have connections with the outside world.

Their task is to give wide-ranging information, to make the school attractive, and also to function as a way of community forming (Mészáros – Szatmári, 2006). So they are of high significance. Both parents and students often get their first impressions from the web page of the school. A good web page informs, directs and gives a picture of the school's working methods and spirit. There are significant differences as far as form and contents are concerned, and also in whom the web page is addressed to. That is, it is very different what a given institute would like to communicate about itself, who the message is addressed to, and how all this is done. The selected colors, the visual/audio elements (pictures, inserts, music), the arrangement of the contents, the logical structure, the quality and quantity of the communication are all information about the organization, which can be compared to the other artifacts and written documents of the organizational culture. We revealed a small segment suitable for our topic:

- Logo/emblem: do any symbols of the Hungarian nation/national remembrance appear?
- Are the public documents available?
- Event Calendar: what kind of ceremonies and commemorations are declared by the school?
- Traditions: what kind of traditions appear on the webpage?
- School history: how long is it and what is it about?
- The person after whom the school got its name: what is communicated about him/her (picture, life, works)?

### *III) Fieldwork with a diary*

This was the phase of visiting and observing the schools. We met the school principals and explained the purpose of our visit. We asked for permission to see the school and to collect data. The points for observation, the needed information were the same in each school. If we got permission, we also collected picture documents with the name of the school attached to them. The diary contained the following points:

- Objects, memories, pictures along the corridors (who, from what age)
- Board of honors – who the school is proud of (who, from what field)
- Classroom decoration
  - pictures – what they show (people, events, symbols)
  - captions/mottos (what, by whom)
- Logo, emblem, coat of arms
- Dressing, uniform, badge (what they wear, when)
- Objects in the yard, 'lieux de memoire' (statues, etc.): topic, era

## 5. PRESENTING THE RESULTS

### 5.1 Comparing the School Documents

#### *Educational Program*

The first point for observation was how often and what kind of concepts in connection with national identity and national remembrance appear in the documents (*table 2*). As the table shows there are major differences. The numbers of occurrences vary between 3 and 20.

After having a look at the documents we can see that the concept of ‘national culture’ is the only one which appears in all Educational Programs. We saw the context in which it was mentioned in the different documents (*figure 2*).

- A1 among its pedagogical principles the past and present of national culture are emphasized because a demand on familiarity with history and national self-knowledge might be an important element of patriotism.
- A2 very shortly it declares that conveying the basic values of national culture is considered to be its major duty.
- B1 it expresses its attempt to reinforce the elements of the knowledge of the homeland and people in relation to national and universal human culture according to the requirements of NCC.
- B2 the issues of the knowledge of the homeland and people among the highlighted development areas are discussed in details. The concept of ‘national culture’ appears in connection with this. It is indispensable to know its values. Being familiar with the life and work of prominent Hungarian figures (scientists, inventors, artists, writers, poets and sportsmen) is also part of this field. In addition, the knowledge of the geography, history and everyday life of the homeland is part of getting to know the national culture. At the same besides knowledge they also emphasize individual and community activities that support identification process. The role of fostering traditions is highlighted here. It is an important viewpoint that forming and deepening the sense of national identity, national self-knowledge and patriotism happen along with appreciating other people’s cultures.
- C1 The most important task is to honor the cultural heritage of our environment and beyond it, and to foster national traditions. Here, too, it is a requirement to be familiar with the most prominent Hungarian historic personalities, scientists, artists and their work; and also to know Hungary’s geography, history, literature and everyday life.
- C2 it gives practically the same description of how to familiarize students with national culture. What differs from the previous ones is the fact that it mentions patriotism as well among the highlighted values (knowledge, humanity, creativity, health, aesthetics, and democracy) conveyed by the school. There is a separate passage in the document devoted to pedagogical aims in connection with patriotism: for example the knowledge of typical natural and cultural values of a geographical region, or the clarification of our relationship to the homeland (with project work like ‘Why is it good to be Hungarian,’ or the interpretation of relationships like home country – nation, home country – family, or the knowledge of the history of the neighborhood. It should be pointed out that besides the usual special areas like Hungarian Literature, History and Geography the topic is dealt with in Ethics and Home Room lessons, too. They pay a special attention to ceremonies and commemorations (fostering traditions), to community programs, which can deepen patriotism through personal experience. There are excursions planned to major home regions, or to Transylvania to the place where the famous personality after whom the school was named was born (the school principal said).

Table 2. concepts with the frequency of their appearance in the educational programs of the three types of school

A1	B1	C1
patriotism (2) Hungarian identity traditions (2) national self-knowledge <u>national culture</u> knowledge of the homeland and people history of the school and city historical commemorations	national value (2) <u>national culture</u> knowledge of the homeland and people	national values (national) traditions (6) national holidays national identity awareness of identity patriotism (2) knowledge of the homeland and people our history national cultural heritage <u>national culture</u> (3) native country (5) nation (2) sense of national identity Hungarians national self-knowledge Hungarian identity
A2	B2	C2
national holiday (national) tradition (2) <u>national culture</u> (2) national education patriotism the past of the country history	(national) traditions (8) native country national and cultural identity <u>national culture</u> (3) knowledge of the homeland and people sense of national identity national self-knowledge patriotism cultural memories national past	<u>national culture</u> (national) tradition (4) patriotism (2) community remembrance national identity our history (2) our historic events

### *Organizational Statutes*

In educational programs the most frequent expression in connection with the topic is ‘(national) tradition’ (figure 3). It seems that it is of high importance for schools in conveying national culture. This result makes it even more justified to have a look at the data in this field.

Of the six schools five were named after a famous person (table 3), three of these names are also linked to our city (local memory). All these schools pay attention to establishing and fostering traditions based on their names: a wreath-laying at the lieu de memoire (statue or memorial hall) is very typical. In these cases we mean rituals like the opening ceremony of the academic year, the school leaving ceremony, the famous person’s birthday. Other typical events are the school-week or school days, during which students have competitions, contests and various programs. Their aim is partly to remember, partly to reinforce the feeling of belonging to the school organization, to become conscious of ‘us’. One (C1) school (both students and teachers) even has the tradition of visiting the birthplace of the name giving person in Transylvania at least once a year.

Figure 2. Expressions associated with the concept of national culture by schools

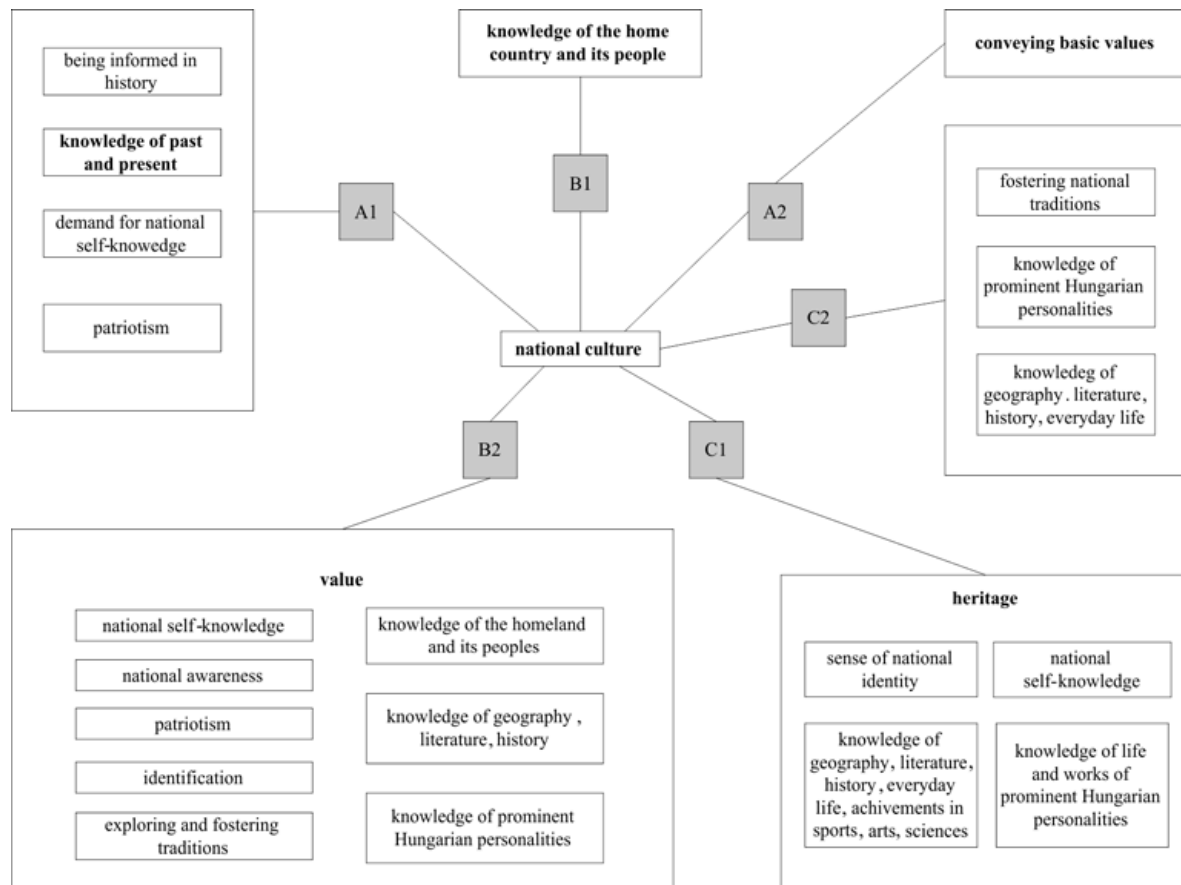
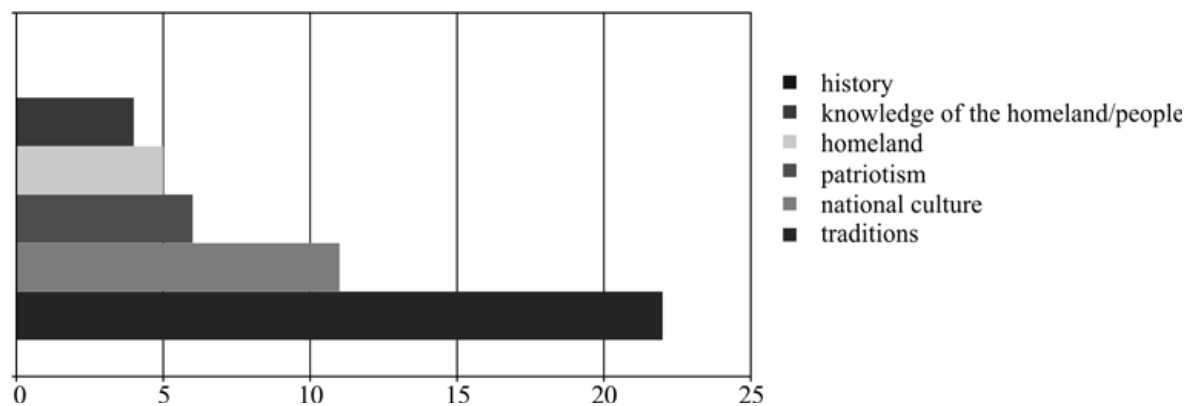


Figure 3. The most common expressions of educational programs



The most common element (in appearance beyond dressing) of fostering traditions is the school badge. In two cases there is also a school flag. In the case of the vocational schools the decoration symbolizes the vocation trained in the school (visual representation). In the case of one (C1) grammar school there is a sailing boat on the flag with the motto of the school: “the hero of the future is on board.” It is a combined case of visual and verbal representation.

As far as historical ceremonies are concerned there are no big differences: we have two national holidays that have to be commemorated appropriately on a school level (March 15<sup>th</sup>

and October 23<sup>rd</sup>). It is done accordingly. In connection with the contents of these ceremonies we should mention some typical Hungarian features. As Szabó (2006) points out in his study, so far in Hungary we have not had any crystallized social traditions for ceremonies (not only in schools). The reason for this is that earlier national holidays (e.g. April 4<sup>th</sup> – the “liberation” of Hungary after the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War, or March 21<sup>st</sup> – the proclamation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic ) simply disappeared with the change of regime, while others (e.g. August 20<sup>th</sup> – Foundation of the State) still exist though with a different message. October 23<sup>rd</sup> is a relatively new national holiday. Another complication with this holiday is that the happenings of the day have been drastically reinterpreted since the change of regime. We may even say that its image is now just the opposite of what it used to be. In addition, it is often in the crossfire of current political disputes. As a consequence public thinking does not get any starting points in connection with ceremonies (Szabó, 2006).

It is important to note that since 2000 it has been compulsory to have three memorial days in secondary schools: Holocaust, Victims of the communist regime and the Martyrs of Arad. Earlier there were no such traditions in our education system. They are not school holidays. On memorial days there may be thematic lessons, competitions, visits to memorials, or even poster making. The number of such memorial days is not finalized, this school year another memorial day has been added: National Togetherness Day. In October 2010 the Parliament passed a resolution according to which there should be a special day to express the strengthening of the relationship between the young living in Hungary and those living beyond its borders (101/2010). Therefore since the academic year of 2010/2011 on June 4<sup>th</sup>, which is the date of the Trianon Conclusion of Peace, every public school has had to organize a memorial day with the name of National Togetherness Day. (Taní-tani, online alternative magazine, 10/26/2010). **This new memorial day is so new that we did not find it in the observed documents.**

#### *Regulations Concerning School Ceremonies in the Rules of the House*

Regulations concerning school ceremonies (table 4) are not uniform about what to expect from students. In half of the observed schools there was nothing mentioned about behavior. Those that include something in their documents emphasize mainly discipline and respect. The observed schools do not have a school uniform, generally students are expected to wear a white blouse/shirt and a dark skirt/trousers.

### **5.2 Comparing school web sites**

As far as their appearance is concerned school web site are various. Still, they have common content elements (table 5). One school (A2) is totally different because its web site contains only minimal information, and most of its links are blank. Apart from this one school the others try to show as much as possible about themselves and to highlight their strengths and achievements.

The documents about school regulations can be found on all web pages. This by all means a positive feature because it means publicity for the goals and values declared by the school. Both parents and students can be informed and make comparisons.

Table 3. Fostering traditions, ceremonies in Organizational Statutes

School	Traditions in connection with the name giving person	Historical ceremonies	Commemorations	Formalities of fostering traditions
A1	School days, Maintenance of school 'lieux de memoire', demonstration of his/her works, Jubilee programs, Collection of school history memories, Corridor exhibitions	March 15 <sup>th</sup> October 23 <sup>rd</sup>	Holocaust Martyrs of Arad Victims of the communist regime Day of Hungarian Drama Day of Poetry Day of Hungarian Culture	School banner, with the emblem of vocations trained in the school, School badge
A2		March 15 <sup>th</sup> October 23 <sup>rd</sup>		School badge
B1	School-week	March 15 <sup>th</sup> October 23 <sup>rd</sup>	Holocaust Victims of the communist regime	
B2	Wreath-laying at the statue of the name giving person at the opening ceremony of the academic year	March 15 <sup>th</sup> October 23 <sup>rd</sup>		
C1	Annual celebration on the birthday of the name giving person: biographical, poem testing, quotation seeking, poem illustration competitions, poem reciting competitions Wreath-laying: statue and grave Visit to the birthplace (compulsory!) Visit to museums	March 15 <sup>th</sup> October 23 <sup>rd</sup>	Martyrs of Arad Victims of the communist regime Holocaust	School banner (with the motto) School badge School tie and scarf
C2	School-week: competitions, sports programs, wreath-laying at the statue of the name giving person	March 15 <sup>th</sup> October 23 <sup>rd</sup>	Martyrs of Arad Day of Hungarian Culture Victims of the communist regime Day of Poetry Holocaust	School badge



Table 4. Regulations of School Ceremonies in the Rule of the House

	Dress code	Behavior requirements
A1	For school events: suit, skirt, blouse	
A2		Disciplined behavior, observing the rules
B1	Clothing: white blouse/shirt, dark skirt/trousers, scarf/tie with school emblem	Respect for national flag, national anthem
B2	Uniform, not wearing it is disciplinary offence	
C1	During prominent school events white blouse/shirt, dark skirt/trousers (not jeans), school scarf/tie	Standing at attention for national anthem
C2	During major school events white blouse/shirt, dark skirt/trousers	

Table 5. Content elements of web pages

Web page contents	A1	A2	B1	B2	C1	C2
Logo/emblem National/historical symbols			X X	X		X
Public documents: Pedagogical Program Organizational Statutes Rules of the House	X X X	X X X	X X X	X X X	X X X	X X X
Event calendar/schedule ceremony/commemoration			Martyrs of Arad October 23 <sup>rd</sup> Victims of the communist regime March 15 <sup>th</sup> Holocaust	October 23 <sup>rd</sup> March 15 <sup>th</sup>	Ceremonies and commemorations not listed in an event calendar	Martyrs of Arad October 23 <sup>rd</sup> Victims of the communist regime March 15 <sup>th</sup> Day of Poetry Trianon Memory Day
National traditions: School traditions					X	
School history: Pictures, illustrations Description List of events	X X		X X	X X	X X	X X
Name giving person: Life Works Picture/photo	X X X		X X X	X X	X X X	X

We found two schools with emblems or symbols that can be connected to the local or general aspects of national remembrance. On one school's (B1) web page we saw a combined

figure which refers partly to the school's profile (chemistry), partly to Hungary (ribbon with the national colors) and partly to the global world (the Globe). On B2's web page the coat of arms of the home city can be seen.



Emblem of School B1



School B2: Coat of arms of Debrecen

In the case of one school (C2) there is a logo in which the initials of the name giving person and the initial of the home city appear forming a unity. This symbol refers to the connection of the city and the school and also to the name giving person's origin (local remembrance).

On the web pages of secondary vocational schools the event calendar and the schedule are to be found. On B1's web page they can be read in a colorful, easy interactive format. On the web page of the other school (B2) they are among the other documents and they are mainly for the teaching staff. C1 has a document with the title 'Order of the School Year', but only the school vacations and the final exams appear in it. C2 is the only school which mentions the newest memorial day, Trianon.

No direct information about national traditions can be found on the web pages. Only in the case of one school (C1) are school traditions available from a link in thematic way. With the exception of A2 there is some sporadic information in this topic. It is typically in connection with school balls, school days, the school-leaving ceremony, that is, the most important communal events for the school to remember.

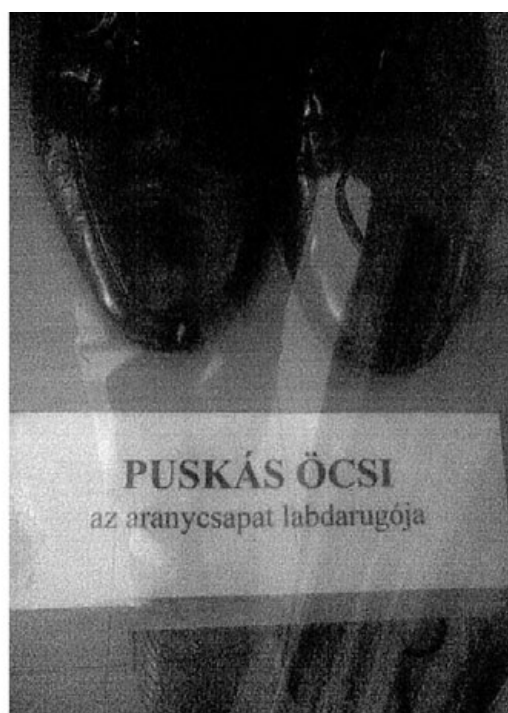
The description of the school's history appears in all cases except for A2. Time perspective is very important to show what kind of antecedents have led to the present state of the school.

The name giving person is Hungarian in all cases, a scientist, a poet or a historic figure whose life and work even today is of high value for the culture of Hungary. In the case of vocational schools and secondary vocational schools the school profile is also in connection with the choice of the name.

### 5.3 Experience of Fieldwork

After the observation of the schools (table 6) there are two major kinds of experience:

1. Vocational schools convey national remembrance in a more direct way: a number of objects, pictures on the corridors and in other communal places. The presence of visual culture and artifacts can be felt. The text of the national anthem on the wall is also a means of powerful conditioning. As in these schools the vocational training is strongly visual and manual (light industrial and building), it is quite adequate to have this kind of organizational communication pattern.



As compared to the above mentioned, in grammar schools the elements of national memory are conveyed in the form of projects (the end of the House of Árpád; why is it good to be Hungarian?), competitions (homeland history, city history), and homeroom lessons. Secondary vocational schools are between the two other types in this respect: there are

examples of both visual/material and conceptual/verbal solutions like ‘1956 seen by a teacher and by a student’ project, city history competition, pictures in the library and in some classrooms.

2. Certain segments of national remembrance are emphasized.

a) During the school visits it turned out that from the themes of declared national holidays and compulsory memorial days only the Revolution and War of Independence of 1848-49 is presented in the form of pictures, memorial corners and memoranda. **We did not find any pictures or references about the Revolution of 1956, although it is a national holiday, and nor did we find anything about the Holocaust, or the victims of the communist regime, or about Trianon.** This collective disregard should serve as a warning. Szabó Ildikó’s online study (2008), ‘Divided Society, Divided Celebration’, offers an explanation for this phenomenon also from a socio-psychological point of view. Excerpt:

*“The Hungarian society has not come to terms with certain basic national issues after all the trauma that hit the national identity. None of the political systems could give a satisfactory answer to these questions. Thus there was no opportunity to come to terms with the determining events of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (e. g. involvement in the 1<sup>st</sup> World War, the background of the Trianon decision, the foreign and home affairs – concerning national issues – of the Horthy era, Hungary’s involvement in the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War, the Hungarian Holocaust, the Revolution of 1956 and the Kádár era following it).”*

*“On the level of public thinking these indigested events are accompanied by other barely digested collective experiences (war events, deportation, labor camps, death-camps, first German and then Soviet occupation, forced labor, resettlement, internal exile, kulak persecution, escape, swapping of the population) and just slightly clarified responsibilities. National identity was weakened by losses, emigrational waves, collective offences and frustration. As far as the judgement of participation and collective experiences is concerned the Hungarians have not yet formed their historical evidence, which could serve as a reliable starting point for a common sense of history, and which could be the basis of the general thinking about the nation.”*

The above mentioned is supported by Kovács’s study (2010), which compares the functions of recent past and distant past ‘lieux de memoire’. He points out that there is a certain shift of emphasis as far as their functions are concerned. ‘Lieux de memoire’ of the distant past mainly have a cultural-national identity providing role. They play this role because they are characterized by systematization and purification. They have become independent of all layers and no desire for moral self-justification is attached to them. In contrast to this, in connection with ‘lieux de memoire’ of the recent past certain moral self-examination and experience sinking aspects dominate, occasionally accompanied by trauma treatment.

b) The pictures that can be seen in the schools show Debrecen’s past (Debrecen as the guard city of independence, its role in the events of 1848-49), and its emblematic buildings (the Big Church, the Reformed College, the old City Hall, the Small Church, etc.). In the secondary vocational schools and grammar schools we could see references to famous literary figures

whose names can be related to Debrecen (Árpád Tóth, Endre Ady, Mihály Fazekas, Mihály Csokonai Vitéz, Gábor Oláh, Sándor Petőfi, Gyula Krúdy), also to prominent scientists (Lóránd Eötvös, Jenő Wigner, Dénes Gábor, György Hevesy). But this is not by chance, this is according to training preferences.

In connection with the visit to the schools we can also state:

1. Their own history (local remembrance) is very important for all the schools. It is grammar schools that emphasize this the most: one of the two even has its own school museum, the other has 400 pages of remembering in its jubilee book to which both teachers and pupils contribute.
2. All the schools have a board of honor: that is, the schools keep a record of the students who had an exemplary and outstanding achievement either in academic or in vocational fields.

*Table 6.* The data of the visits to the schools (next page)

## SUMMARY

The school is a highly important socialization field of conveying and forming national remembrance. In our study we wanted to get an answer to how it is done and which segments of the school's organizational culture are affected in this process. After observing the different layers we came to the conclusion that besides the conceptual/verbal manifestations the behavior and visual/material manifestations can also bear – and they do carry to a different extent – national remembrance. According to the training profile of the schools different manifestations dominate in the communal and student spaces. In the case of vocational schools there is a more direct influence which is mainly visual/material. In the case of grammar schools this influence is rather conceptual. As far as national holidays and memorial days are concerned the schools reflect the same ambivalence and uncertainty that existed in our society during the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

	A1	A2	B1	C1	C2
Corridors: photos and paintings, objects	Buildings designed by the name giving person: <i>Nine-arch Bridge (Hortobágy) City Hall (Debrecen) Nagyerdei Vígadó (Debrecen)</i> Hungarian Crown Jewels Posters about the history of Debrecen made by students Pictures about the War of Independence of 1848- 49: ' <i>Debrecen the guard city of independence</i> ' <i>Military cemetery Memorial of Nagy Sándor</i>	Famous sights of Hungary: <i>Buzsák, Kalocsa, Hollókő, Szentendre, Tihany, Mátrászentiván, Eger, Kecskemét, Hortobágy, Hollóháza, Pannonhalma, Tihany, Keszthely</i> Busó carnival festivities national costume of Kalocsa Fishermen's Bastion Parliament Building Arboretum of Szarvas Aggtelek Old Debrecen Opposite the entrance: flag of Debrecen and the Crown of Hungary	Famous sights of Debrecen - student poster: <i>Big Church, Small Church, Reformed College, County Hall, inner city (Franz Joseph Street)</i> Map of Debrecen In the school library literary portraits: <i>Imre Madách, Mihály Csokonai Vitéz, Mór Jókai, János Arany, Sándor Petőfi, György Besenyei, János Batsányi, Bálint Balassa, Ferenc Kölcsey, Ferenc Kazinczy, Mihály Kiszfaludy, Gyula Krúdy, István Órkeny, László Nagy</i> Scientists: <i>Dénes Gábor, György Hevesy</i>	Corridor exhibition of the name giving person: <i>pictures, poems</i> Students' photographs and diplomas of their successes In the assembly hall: <i>the flag of Debrecen, Lóránd Eötvös poster (from a competition)</i>	Gábor Oláh, Gál Huszár, János Gáborjáni Szabó, Mihály Fazekas, György Besenyei, István Bocskai  Bertalan Székely: <i>The women of Eger (painting)</i>  György Dózsa Jenő Polyá – surgeon Ödön Krampecz – pathologist János Bok Attila József Sándor Petőfi
Board of honor – students that the school is proud of	Student lounge on 1 <sup>st</sup> floor: - winners of national vocational competitions (decorators), - winners of sports competitions - excellent student of the vocation (joinery)	Winners of vocational and sports competitions  Results of fashion shows and dress designing	Right opposite the entrance: OKTV – national academic competition in Physics, Chemistry, Biology Winners of sports competitions Place winners of the 'Mother Tongue' competition	On the corridors: photos of students who have become famous – <i>actors/actresses, media personalities</i> Diplomas of the school's girl choir Drama festival – winner places Diplomas of the bilingual education	Winners of academic and sports competitions

	A1	A2	B1	C1	C2
Memorial corner/room School museum Collection	Pictures of the name giving person's life and work Original archival materials, blueprints Old contracts	Shoe museum with famous people's shoes: <i>Puskás Ócsi, John Paul II, Klári Tolnay, Rita Kőbán, Tamás Sándor</i> Doll collection: display of national costumes	Memorial corner of the war of Independence of 1848-49: <i>1<sup>st</sup> Responsible Hungarian Government, 12 points, war reports, photos</i> Display cabinets in front of the library – old literature magazines: <i>Szép Szó, Nyugat, Erdélyi Helikon</i> Library: display board of the name giving person Corridors: display cabinets: old instruments	Assembly hall: bust of the name giving person Jubilee almanac (instead of a school museum)	School museum: <i>almanacs, photos, school flags, old uniforms</i> First floor: relief of the name giving person Temporary exhibition about Árpád Tóth (poet from Debrecen), his life and works
Classrooms Pictures	Members of the 1 <sup>st</sup> Responsible Hungarian Government Lajos Kossuth Map of Greater-Hungary Hungary's summary historical map (poster)	Hungarian stitch patterns National costumes, Old photos of Debrecen Flower festival National color ribbons Tulip motifs Batik work cloths Maps of Hungary dress designs with Hungarian motifs made by students	Remembering king Stephen I – poster Hungary's summary historical map – poster Scientists: <i>György Békésy, Jenő Wigner</i> Portrait of Ady and Kőlesey Photos of the old Debrecen	Classrooms are decorated by the students themselves, their taste is reflected in them.	Classroom posters and family trees related to the end of the Árpád House
Inscriptions	Text of the national anthem			The school's motto in the assembly hall: "Sail, my boat, the hero of the future is on board." Library: "He who opens a book opens himself."	
Logos/emoblems s/coats of arms	Coat of arms above the blackboard, logo on boards	Coat of arms above the blackboard	Half of the classrooms have a coat of arms	Coat of arms above the blackboard The different class orientations – different logos	Coat of arms above the blackboard

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