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**Secondary military education in Hungary from
Conciliation until 1945**

**- Examining the characteristics of disciplinary power and
the total institution -**

Thesis of the PhD dissertation

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Reason for choosing the topic, structure of the thesis

The military schools are an exciting point of intersection for the military, the school and the boarding-house, which means that they provide abundant pedagogical research opportunities. Despite this, there is very little pedagogical approach research to military education in both domestic and international terms. Most of the Hungarian technical literature uses the classic historical narrative to summarize the institutionalization of military training and thus its professionalization (for instance, *Lengyel* and *Szántó*, 1996; *Holló*, 2009; *Martinkó*, 1996 and 1998, *Miklós*, 2004). The other large section engaged with the present topic - related to the classic historical narrative - deals with the history of the mentioned military schools. These school history works were mostly written by students or teachers, but this does not mean the usage of a personal tone as their summative work is based on historical facts as the authors pay tribute to their alma mater. Such summary - covering the history of the institutes - was written on the Hungarian royal army school of Pécs (*Gál*, 2011; *Garay*, 1939; *Nemeskürti*, 1985), the royal high school of the Hungarian army in Sopron (*Cseresnyés*, 1995; *Péterfy*, 1934), the imperial and royal military school in Kőszeg (*Hidvégi*, 1937; *Nagy*, 1982; *Ráskay* and *Szabó*, 1995), the Görgey Artúr technical defense school in Budapest (*Major*, 1993), the royal army school of the Hungarian army of Nagyvárad (*Tóth*, 1998) and the Ludovika Academy (*Dezséri*, 1930; *Miklós*, 2004b; *Rada*, 1998). In addition to school-oriented works of objectivity, many personal recollections and autobiographies have been published on the subject. For instance, several recollections were written of the Kőszeg (*Galántay*, 2011; *Kazinczy*, 2005; *Lászay*, 2008; *Say*, 2002) and the Sopron (*Kádár*, 1978) military schools. Some doctoral theses have been published in the past decades in relation to military schools, but they are either covering a special area – for instance *Olga Szabó Sárkányné* (2004) researched the foreign language training of the army during the monarchy - or only tangentially dealing with military schools like *Szilvia Závodi* (2012), who studied the lifestyle of military officers in the first half of the twentieth century.

International literature mainly deals with the challenges and issues of today's military education. These issues include ethical and moral issues; psychology of warfare; questions of responsibility; issues of modern warfare techniques; abuse of military forces; philosophical issues; questions of personality; the issue of national identity; the aims of military education; leadership culture and leadership theory (*Annen* and *Royle*, 2010; *Annen*, *Nakkas*, and *Makinen*, 2013; *Florian*, 2002; *Kvernbek*, *Simpson* and *Peters*, 2008 ; *Micewski* and *Annen*, 2005).

In the light this, the first part of the dissertation aims to provide a summary of the national military training from an educational perspective; reflecting to changes in the public affairs of the era and to the (changing) role of officers in society by using the listed literature and supplementing them with primary sources that were discovered during archival research.

The second part of the dissertation is based on contemporary archival sources and presents the everyday life of military schools. In this section - based on the approach of Michel Foucault and Erving Goffman- I examine the emergence of micro-techniques of disciplinary power and the emergence of total institution nature of military schools.

During the next part - in line with the aims and theoretical framework of the research- three literary works, known as the military school novels are analyzed - *Géza Ottlik* (2007) *School at the Frontier* *Robert Musil* (1980) *The Confusions of Young Törless* and *Mario Vargas Llosa* (1976) *The City and the Dogs*.

Theoretical framework

The theoretical foundation of the analytical part is based on the Foucauldian Theory of power *Michel Foucault* (1990, 1998a, 1998b, 1998c, 1999, 2000) and work of *Erving Goffman* (1991) on the functioning of total institutions. Since the 1980s, these theories have also had a significant impact on the attitudes of educational history research (*Sarasin*, 2001; *Caruso*, 2003; *Weber* and *Marer*, 2006). I believe that the theoretical work of Foucault and Goffman - as well as the approach of their former educational science reception- provide a solid theoretical basis for examining Hungarian military education and the life of Hungarian military schools on the basis of new research dimensions. By the application of the Foucaultian power theory, the interpretation of the mechanics of power and discipline micro-techniques become easier to understand and it makes the over-disciplined, strict atmosphere and everyday life of military schools more comprehensible.

In addition, the theory of Goffman gives a sociological interpretation of the overregulated institutions, not primarily from the authorities' point of view but of the individuals.

Thus, the theory of the total institution also helps to understand the everyday functioning mechanisms of military schools.

Research methods, subjects, sources

The present dissertation primarily uses the analysis of qualitative paradigm to apply source analysis including document analysis, occasionally involving elements of content analysis as well. The starting point of the research was that the researcher wanted to have a better and deeper insight into the inner world of military schools, as the internal life and habits of these institutions are under researched concerning both the history of pedagogy and military.

Archival sources focused the researcher's attention on disciplinary issues that raised a number of important issues. The first question is that, 'on the basis of disciplinary matters and other documents how can the discipline power and its micro-techniques be noticed in military schools'. The second question is whether the basic structure and basic level of discipline of the institution had been influenced by various micro-historical events. The third research question is 'to what extent were the features of total institution present within the military schools'. The fourth question is 'what additional information can the literary works add to the inner world of military schools'.

The primary and most important location of the research was the Archives and Library of the Institute of Military History and Museum (a Hadtörténeti Intézet és Múzeum Levéltára és Könyvtára). There were very few documents left in connection to the Hungarian High School of Defenses in Sopron (Magyar Király Honvéd Főreáliskola) - only 2.12 document flow meters - however, it was possible to answer important research questions on the basis of the relatively few sources. Parental declarations, birth certificates, memoirs, institute stories and school commands remained about the life of the soldier school in Sopron. (*Farkas*, 2004, 39-41.p) Another significant source of research were the surviving regulatory documents - a total of ten - kept by the Military History Institute and Library (Hadtörténeti Intézet és Múzeum Könyvtára). A detailed list of these can also be found in the Used Archives sub-section.

Another important site of the research was the National Pedagogical Library and Museum (Országos Pedagógiai Könyvtár és Múzeum), where the reports of the military schools of Sopron and Pécs were researched. Throughout the research, literary works that had been laid in military schools have also gained significant importance, as these works make the world of military schools comprehensible. In the course of the research, three works of fiction were analyzed: *Géza Ottlik* (2007) *School at the Frontier* *Robert Musil* (1980) *The Confusions of Young Törless* and *Mario Vargas Llosa* (1976) *The City and the Dogs*.

Main results of the research

In the historiographic section, the history of domestic secondary military education was presented, highlighting the history of the Sopron military school at the center of research. The history of military education is divided into three main periods, described in three subchapters, with a brief overview of social history at the beginning of each chapter. The three chapters present the major military educational changes and laws of the pre-conciliation period, the era of dualism and the era between the two world wars. The Sopron military school operated between 1897 and 1945 and was a prominent defense institution of the era. Although there have already been conceptual works on military training in Hungary and the history of the institution highlighted in the research; these works are primarily written by former students of institutions who wanted to pay tribute to their alma mater (see *Cseresnyés*, 1995, Foreword; *Ráskay* and *Szabó*, 1995, Foreword). Although school history is a popular topic in pedagogic history research, the topic of military schools is very little researched in both educational and military terms. The new research value of the historical part is that it also contains archival sources - such as educational instructions - which are not published in the Hungarian literature, therefore are not analyzed. In addition, the history of secondary military education was summarized in parallel with the most important changes in general education history, while the social situation of the military was also studied briefly during the presentation of each era.

The second part of the dissertation which mainly consists of the results of the archival research, can be divided into four smaller units. The first part examines disciplinary power, the second part is the longitudinal analysis of disciplinary matters in school, the third part is the study of the total institution, and the fourth part analyzes three literary works.

The first part of the archival research is the analysis of the appearance of the Foucaultian disciplinary power- which provides one of the theoretical frameworks of the dissertation-. In this part of the research, the micro-techniques of disciplinary power were analyzed in detail, based on disciplinary documents, the agenda of the institution and disciplinary matters of the military school in Sopron. The documents analyzed and the rule books illustrate the disciplinary machine nature of the Hungarian defense forces. The rule books cover all aspects of life from clothing and dormitory temperatures to forms of disciplinary punishment. The agenda of the military schools was also very strict, every minute of the pupils was mapped out, they lived their daily routine according to an exact schedule. The most outstanding segment of this stage of the research is the examination of disciplinary

affairs of the institution in the light of the appearance of disciplinary space and time. A category system can be established on the basis of Foucault's theory of power, which categorizes the micro-techniques of disciplinary power. Techniques of disciplinary space: blockage, quadrature, functional placement and interchangeability. Techniques of disciplinary time: scheduling, organizing activities, combining body and gesture, connecting body and object and exhausting use of time. 279 disciplinary cases -appearing in the daily command books between 1897 and 1914- were examined to determine whether the offense committed and the punishment imposed could be clearly classified in accordance with the established classification system. Frequently, in the case of categorization, it was a problem that the offenses were so complex that it was difficult or impossible to categorize them. With regard to penalties, categorization was easier, and it was possible to classify individual penalties into one category. In this case, the difficulty was that an offense often accompanied several kinds of punishment. Although rigid categorization was difficult due to the complex nature of the offences, the answer to the first question -regarding on how much discipline power and micro-techniques of disciplinary power are to be noticed in the remaining documents- is that they are fully embedded in the everyday life of military schools.

The first part of the research brings new results in several aspects. Even sources of the research are a novelty, no one has previously analyzed either the command books or the regulatory documents presented. Even the approach of the research - the Foucaultian approach- is a novelty in domestic educational research.

The second sub-unit of the research was the longitudinal investigation of disciplinary cases. We were looking for the answer to the question whether the basic structure and basic level of discipline of the institution was influenced by various events of micro-history (political, historical, school structure). We had a database of 777 disciplinary cases of the institution covering 46 years. Conversely, the question of research was whether the academic years when the number of disciplinary cases was extremely high or low could be linked to some historical changes. Sixteen academic years were analyzed based on the criteria. In the course of the study, our hypothesis was only partially verified. The extremely high number of disciplinary cases can only seldom be justified by micro-historical changes, and in some cases, there were some inconveniently messy classes or students behind the large number of outbreaks. However, in the case of the extremely low number of disciplinary cases, there were several correlations with micro-historical events.

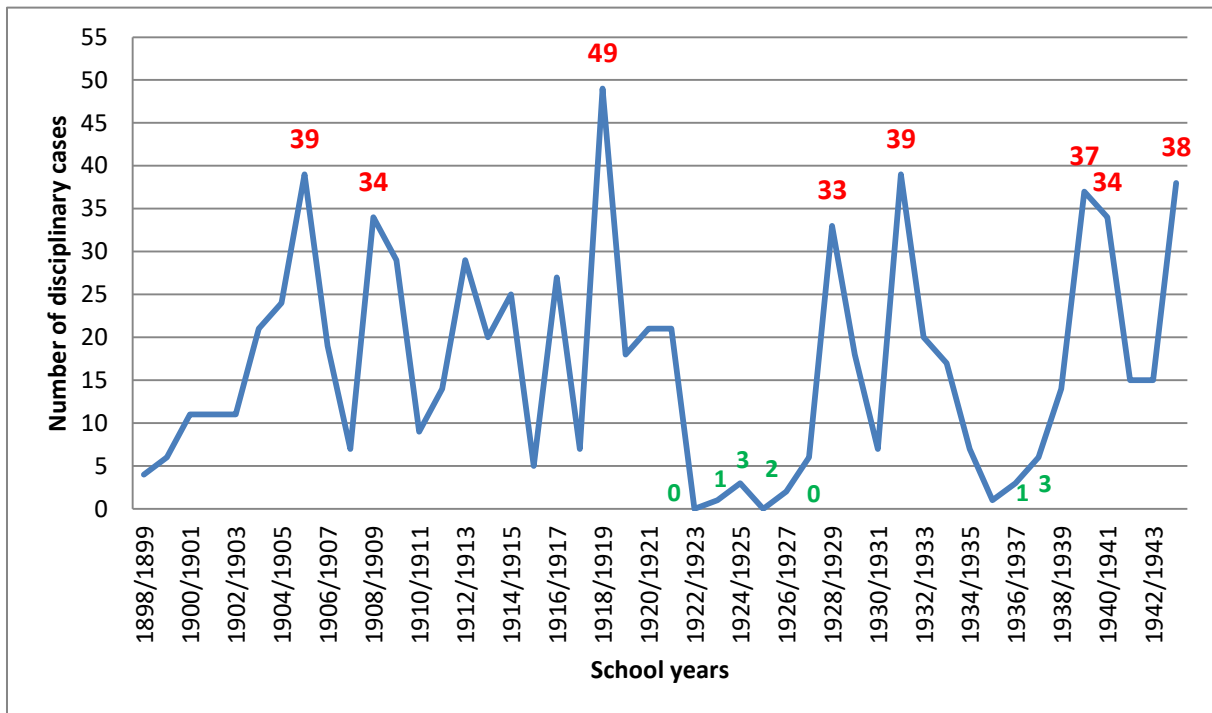


Diagram 1: The number of disciplinary cases per school year

At this part of the research, the whole study is a novelty. Disciplinary cases appearing in the archival sources have never been processed at any level, so no database was made of them and there was no previous example of their longitudinal analysis.

The third part of the archival research was to examine how the military schools corresponded to the total institution described by Goffman, thus in this chapter the third research question was examined. In the course of the research, eight most important features of total institutions were analyzed based on archival resources and literary works. The eight features: physical separation, all aspects of life happening in one place, a clear distinction between the world of staff and occupants, the attitude to work, discourse, degradation of the self, privilege system and adaptation methods. In the course of the research, we have found that soldier schools can be considered as total institutions along with their own characteristics, as almost all of the basic attributes are featured in military schools as well.

This stage of the research is also entirely novel. Neither in the case of domestic, nor in international research it is not typical to use Goffman's theory in the examination of closed institutions, although his theory provides very exciting aspects that can be applied in educational history research.

The fourth chapter of the research provided a comparative analysis of three literary works. The three most outstanding military school novels of world literature have been

analyzed for comparative analysis: *Géza Ottlik* (2007) *School at the Frontier* *Robert Musil* (1980) *The Confusions of Young Törless* and *Mario Vargas Llosa* (1976) *The City and the Dogs*. The three novels were analyzed and compared in three aspects. Firstly, it was examined what additional information the novels provide about the everyday life of the military schools. Secondly, it was briefly compared how the micro-techniques of disciplinary power appear in the individual works, and thirdly, the eight main features of total institutions were analyzed in all of the novels. The results were also summarized in tabular form. Analysis shows that Musil's novel contained the least information about military schools, but Ottlik's and Llosa's novels provide a detailed insight into the inner world of military schools. The use of literary works in educational history research is rare, although autobiographical-inspired novels can be used as a source.

The dissertation has undoubtedly not exhausted all the research possibilities of the topic. For instance, the statistics of school bulletins and their studies carry a myriad of research opportunities, yet in this research they only served as additional resources. It would certainly be possible to analyze the entries of command books in a different way, by using different focus points. However, the dissertation covered a less well-known and researched topic with many new sources and themes that have brought new results.

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