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**School rituals, heretofore and today, have an impact on
education - especially the development of girls' and
women's education in the first half of the 20th century.**

Thesis of the PhD dissertation

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Budapest

2020

Justification of the choice of topic, structure of the dissertation

My dissertation summarizes the results of nearly a decade of school ritual research. The first stage of this was represented by my master's theses in pedagogy and education, as well as my TDK dissertations summarizing my further sub-research in this field, with which I won a special prize and a special internship prize at the National Scientific Student Conferences. My undergraduate dissertation was based on a one-year participant observation, and undertook to explore the peculiarities of the micro-rituals of a primary school in Budapest. In my master's thesis, I examined the phenomenon of school ritual based on a hermeneutic analysis of photo collections of school celebrations on school websites.

I deepened this research direction as a scholarship holder of the Doctoral School of Education at Eötvös Loránd University. I presented the results of my research in this field during the years of doctoral training at several domestic and international scientific conferences (eg National Conference on Education in 2018/2019, International Standing Conference for the History of Education in 2018/2019) and in the form of studies. It was at this time that I began to study adolescent rituals, in which I also analyzed the ritual world of a specific youth cultural event (MondoCon) using the participatory observation method, specific manifestations of adolescent liminality. In a review entitled "Ritual Research in the Symbolic World of "MondoCon"" (Szente, 2016).

It was at this time that my research on the life reform movement, which also determined the choice of the topic of my dissertation from a historical direction, began. Since 2015, I have been participating as a doctoral researcher in the research of the Doctoral Program in Theory and History and the Research Group of Theoretical History and Comparative Pedagogy. As part of this, from 2016 "Surviving Utopias: Life Reform and Life Reform Pedagogy - Austro-Hungarian Comparative Studies." As part of the OMAA research project, I dealt with the ritual world of the Gyöngyösbokréta folk dance movement that unfolded in the 1930s. (Szente, 2017) During these years I was actively involved in the research group's OTKA research entitled "Reform Pedagogy and Life Reform - Reception Tendencies, Institutionalization Processes (No. 11833)" and the related "Hidden Stories" held in the Art Gallery between October 2018 and January 2019. organization of an exhibition.

In connection with this, photography came to the forefront again as an important source in historical ritual research. . The results of this will be published in the near future in a study

volume examining the peculiarities of body use and education in different countries of Europe in the first half of the 20th century, in the form of a joint publication with my supervisor Prof. Dr. András Németh. (Szente, 2020; forthcoming) In 2018, under the leadership of Dr. Zoltán András Szabó, in the international CENTRAL-Colleague research project entitled “Cultivating Cosmopolitanism in the Nationalist Era: Central European Capital Cities (1870-1940)”, world citizenship with the help of the Fortepan image collection I examined the specific manifestations of the emergence of world citizenship.

To conclude my doctoral program, I received a scholarship entitled “Ritual-Centered Examination of the Fortepan Image Database” in the 2019/2020 academic year with the support of the New National Excellence Program. My doctoral dissertation is at the intersection of the two research directions presented above. On the one hand, it continues the research examining the peculiarities of earlier school and youth rituals, and on the other hand, by examining the ritual manifestations of girls' and women's education in the first half of the 20th century on contemporary women, it also places them in a broader historical dimension. Thus, the research includes the examination of the effect of the body's conception of life reform on the image of the contemporary girl or woman, and its effect on the upbringing of the contemporary girl. However, since ritual manifestations - performative manifestations that always appear in the present, their past patterns can be examined mostly with the help of hermeneutic methods, qualitative content analysis of contemporary documents, and pictorial documents related to the topic. This determines the research strategy of the dissertation, as well as the main directions of its exploration and analysis methods.

The structure of the chapters of my dissertation may not follow the usual dissertation structure, but this decision is conscious. The dissertation examines the significance of school rituals from a new perspective. With this in mind, the dissertation is divided into the following parts: In the introductory theoretical part, the three anthropological topics that form the backbone of the dissertation; the main theories of culture, ritual and body anthropology to be used in the dissertation will be presented. The aim of this chapter is to introduce the great theoretical overview on which my further analysis is based, the understanding of which facilitates my further research and analysis on the topic. This is followed by a summary of the major domestic and international publications on the topic that form the basis of the present research, which were important to me either in terms of research methodology or in terms of research area. Then the theoretical background of the research methodological possibilities of pedagogical ritual research will be explained. I then introduce a topic chosen as the focus of my dissertation through the traditional social space and the emancipation that unfolds in it, highlighting the

changes in the upbringing of girls and women in the first half of the 20th century, including the impact of life reform movements on the female body. I observe all this through the analysis of photographs published in the school bulletins of the Erzsébet Women's School.

Theoretical background

In the course of my research, I considered it important to learn about the more comprehensive theories that determined the choice of my topic, providing a framework for the conceptual web within which I define the educational significance of school rituals. In the field of social sciences, anthropological and pedagogical anthropology studies are becoming more and more important nowadays in educational research as well. In historical anthropology, the body, culture, plays a central role, for which numerous definitions can be read depending on the direction from which we approach it.

Nowadays, the definition of culture is made more difficult by the fact that we can come across different formulations and approaches in our research. Social science defines it as a phenomenon that is an important corollary of being in society. This interpretation is most apparent in the interpretation of researchers in cultural anthropology, who view culture as a whole form of life. (Kroeber-Clyde, 1952) According to another approach, culture is a complex whole, which includes all the skills and abilities that a person acquires as a member of society (Tylor, id. Sebök, 2000) For my research, culture is symbolic, symbolic, performative. approaches emphasizing the nature of My point of view was oriented by the interpretations of the following researchers, which are strongly dominant in the topic. I start from the approach that “We call the totality of nature adapted to serve life culture, and the world of culture is the human world”. So everything a person does to stand up to their natural and artificial environment. Write by Arnold Gehlen (1974) in *Man's Nature and Its Place in the World*. Gehlen, a German philosopher, sociologist, anthropologist, thinks about nature, arguing that culture can be approached as a kind of “second nature”. So man, as a plastic “deficient being” open to the world, is forced to “create himself and his own world” to create culture.

"Culture means historically conveyed patterns of meanings embodied in symbols." writes Clifford Geertz (1994), an American anthropologist, in “The Power of Interpretation”. By this is meant a system of inherited concepts expressed in symbolic forms by which people communicate with each other, perpetuate and develop their knowledge and attitudes about life. “Man is an animal that hangs in the web of meanings itself,” writes Geertz, in which he sees

culture as the web and his analysis as the interpretive science that follows the meaning. George Herbert Mead (1973), an American sociologist, philosopher, psychologist, was the founder of the influential trend of so-called symbolic interactionism, who perceived human behavior as a symbolically mediated interaction. According to him, based on man's instinct poverty and openness to the world, his behavior, unlike other living beings, is not determined by natural instincts. This behavior is symbolically mediated, driven by linguistic communication. Its evolutionary adaptation is not due to coincidences, but to the expedient invention and systematic testing of solutions to adaptation problems. It traces the ability to consciously adapt to the ability to apply symbols, which allows for conscious behavior and self-interpretation. The interaction between the individual and society, social behavior is a symbolically mediated interaction. An important element of this is meaningful movements, gestures, which can fulfill the function of organizing behavior if the whole group has the meaning of symbols, ie the existence of common, meaning-bearing symbols (mainly in the form of linguistic expressions) is a precondition for interaction. Mead also examines at the individual level the process of behavior and signaling symbolism that connects the individual to society. (Mead, 1973)

As reality is articulated in the high-impact phenomenological work of Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1998), what man considers to be his own world is a social creation. In their work, also referring to Mead's theory, they write about how people create the interpretation of objects and thus the "real world," that is, how each person becomes a society. According to Merlin Donald, human culture and, as part of it, thinking developed in parallel with the evolutionary process of becoming human, in which, in addition to the morphological physical changes of humanization, symbolic forms of community action and communication, the so-called semantic memory. Merlin Donald (2001) divided this process into four main "culture stages" in the light of human thinking and signaling and evolutionary change. The word ritual can be derived from the Latin word *ritus* and was used in the context of a religious ceremony, a symbolic communication which, like all cultural communication, is sign-like in nature. They were mostly based on repetition, conscious participation, tradition. Rituals, then, are symbolic, rule-driven activities that direct participants' attention to thoughts and feelings that they consider particularly important. These are formalized actions, of a repetitive nature, not only out of momentary inner agitation, but performed for the purpose of evoking feelings.

Arnold Van Gennep (2007) is the founder of ritual research, the so-called regulation of the ritual manifestations of different natural peoples, the different phases of the human life path. Examining its transitional rites, he distinguishes three stages of the transition that accompanies status changes. The first stage is called separation, when one breaks away from an earlier, fixed point in the social structure. In the second stage, the characteristics of the ritual subject are uncertain, that is, it passes through a cultural sphere that has little or no such qualities. Finally, in the third phase, the reunification or readmission phase, the transition is completed. In his work on transitional rituals, Victor Turner (2002) carried on Van Gennep's theory, supplementing it in order to explore the process of social continuity and change. His contribution to the science of anthropology was fulfilled in his work on liminality and *communitas*.

The research group led by Christoph Wulf of the Freie Universität Berlin has played a significant role in the use of cultural and historical anthropological perspectives in education, and its decades-long international research has covered many areas of pedagogical anthropology and historical anthropology. Wulf and colleagues played a significant role in establishing the mimesis, performativity gesture, and ritual research that took on an educational perspective. (Wulf, 1997; Wulf - Gebauer, 1998; Wulf - 2001; Wulf - Kamper, 2002; Wulf - Gebauer, 2003; Wulf, 2004; Wulf, 2005; Wulf, 2006; Wulf, 2007a; Wulf et al., 2007, b ; Wulf - Brandstetter, 2007c; Wulf - Zifras, 2007d; Göhlich - Zifras - Wulf, 2007e; Wulf 2010, 2013a, 2013b, 2014a, Wulf - Zifras 2014b) Consequently, I also rely heavily on the research of Wulf et al.

The types of ritual acts were grouped by several into different categories. Ritual scholars examined the connections between religion, ritual, and myth that may have served to interpret social structures. At the heart of their field of research may have been convention, the ordinary ritual acts in which an individual learns the forms of contact necessary for his or her own life, practical knowledge of how one behaves in social relationships.

Christoph Wulf (2007a) classified everyday rituals into six groups (temporary, seasonal, institutionalization, rebellion, efficiency-enhancing, interactive rituals). According to Catherine Bell, it is a successful ritual in which both cultural and sociological aspects come together. Using a typology similar to Wulf, he also divides the rites into six groups. According to him, they are discriminatory, anniversary-related, exchange and community-building, suffering-related, fasting and festival-related, and political rites. (Bell, 1992; 2007)

The concept of the body can be examined from a number of perspectives. From a philosophical, religious-historical point of view, the body as an illusion, as an independent unit, appears as a triple unit of body, soul, and spirit. Due to the strong connection to the German cultural circle in the development of science in Hungary, two concepts are worth mentioning. One is the “Circle,” which refers to the material body of man, which is realized in action. The other is the “Leib,” which we are ourselves, that is, the types of bodily states that can be perceived in our own bodies without the involvement of sight and touch. (Gita-Kälbli-Rigler, 2005)

Michael Foucault (1975), a French historian and philosopher who was a high-profile thinker in the social sciences of the 20th century, should be highlighted in the line of theoretical work. He wrote about the disciplined body in terms of power and obedience. In my research, Foucault’s philosophy appears in relation to disciplinary mechanisms, the disciplined body. (S. Turner, 1997 p. 7)

Marcel Mauss (1936), a French sociologist, and Norbert Elias, a German sociologist (1939), wrote about the change of the body in communities, the imitation nature of effective action, the social formation of behavior, and its psychological factors. Canadian sociologist and social psychologist Erving Goffmann (1956) emphasizes the role of physical communication in the light of compliance with social norms. Mary Douglas (1970), like English anthropologist Clifford Geertz, thought about the role of the body and society, the body in culture, and the interpretation of the body and movements as symbolic text.

In the next “research historiography” part of my dissertation, I review the most important works that contributed to the positioning of my research topic on the one hand, and to its theoretical foundation on the other. In the field of social science research, more and more work is dealing with the phenomenon of ritual. It is mostly in the approaches of the postmodern conception of science and sense of life that new meaning is gained, and today's educational science also deals with the topic more and more often and in several approaches.

As I wrote about it earlier, the concept of ritual was used in the context of a religious ceremony. Mircea Eliade (2009), among others, dealt with the study of religious character and the connections between ritual and myth, who analyzes the differences, symbols and rituals of sacred and profane spatial perception. Research on the interpretation of the social structures of ritual includes Arnold Van Gennep (2007) or Victor Turner (2002), mentioned earlier, who analyzed the rituals of transition that formed the basis of many studies. A further aim of ritual research is to understand the significance of cultural symbolization, in which Catherine Bell (1997, 2007, 2009), among others, took part in her research.

Christoph Wulf (2001, 2004, 2005, 2007a, 2007b, 2014) is the first of the practice-oriented researches to present the social and pedagogical role of rituals with his research colleagues in many of his researches.

Like Wulf, school rituals were examined by Charlotte Mohnhoff (2007) in her case study “Rituale in der Grundschule. His research focused on in-class rituals to help teach, based on Arnold Van Gennep’s theory.

György Mészáros (2003, 2009, 2014, 2017) also emphasizes the role of school rituals in his research examining the pedagogical ethnography of the school micro-world using the method of participant observation.

Historical pedagogical anthropological research, which reconstructed the phenomenon of school rituals by analyzing photographs, has significantly contributed to the methodological and conceptual foundation of my research. For example, Su Ouyang (2010) explores, by analyzing and comparing the class images of a German and a Chinese school, the characteristics of the appearance of rituals within the school, their regulatory mechanisms, their impact on social relations between teachers and students, the school's inner world, the different and common features. Adrian Schmidke (2007) also examined the impact of German pedagogical practice on contemporary body perception through the analysis of photographs.

The focus of my research

Using the anthropological-pedagogical anthropological theoretical background presented in the introductory chapters of my dissertation, I will undertake to “observe” the pedagogical anthropological changes in the education and social role and body image of girls and women in the first half of the 20th century. Given the theoretical background, it can be stated that the individual's relationship with himself and his environment is influenced by the disciplinary mechanisms that provide a framework in the reality of everyday life through ritual processes. As a result of the era I am examining, the changes at the turn of the century and the internal tensions created by industrialization, various counterculture, life reform movement and emancipation efforts come to the fore, which show exciting content at the level of both society and the individual. In order to narrow down my field of research, I chose to educate women and girls, to examine the changes that appear in it and the symbolic contents that appear in a deeper layer.

In my research, I am looking for the answer to what is the role of school rituals? What were the peculiarities of the chosen period and how did the situation of women's education change? What

were the main social, political, economic factors that underpinned the change? How did all these changes affect the situation of the girls, their relationship to their own bodies, their social situation? A complex question is how to grasp the rituals of the past, how to “observe” them. My goal is a structural analysis of the most important social, economic, and political changes known from pedagogical history research, which present the process that leads to changes in the female body image. My research is based on deductive, qualitative, understanding hermeneutics. My methods include contemporary journals, document analysis and content analysis of Erzsébet Women's School school bulletins, and photo documents appearing in school bulletins.

As I referred to at the time, the most suitable method for the realization of ritual processes is observation, the method of participant observation, and the condition for this is the presence in space and time of the event to be observed. However, in case the researcher wants to “observe” the events and ritual, symbolic contents of the past with the method of hermeneutics, the image, as a means of representation, can be used as a pictorial imprint of the ritual action of the given age.

In the course of my research, I sought, among other things, to observe the rituals operating within the institutional framework of the school through the education of the girl and women of the selected period. As I pointed out earlier, the method of observation here does not mean participatory observation in the traditional sense. The observation in this case takes place on two levels. The first is the photograph, which appears as a pictorial imprint of the ritual action that appeared in that space and time. The body moving in the past, bodily discourse, can be observed through images on the one hand. The second level is abstraction at the level of texts, the concept of narrative knowledge that can be observed in linguistic discourses. Donald (2001) interprets the role of mimetic, bodily representation and the emergence of mythical, i.e. narrative, conceptualization as separate stages. Based on these principles, one can understand the ritual events of the past through photographs and age documents. My research is based on qualitative, deductive, understanding hermeneutics. To analyze the photographs, I use Pilarczyk and Mietzner's image analysis method, which is based on Panofsky's three-step analysis method. Because of the duality of intentionality and chance, the details show the hidden dimensions of reality. Complemented with the texts of school bulletins and magazines, the subject of the photograph can be related to the influence of deeper cultural history and life reform movements. (Panofsky, 1984; Pilarczyk-Mietzner, 2005, 2013)

There are nearly 210 photos in the remaining school reports. Of these, it depicts about 21 portraits, paintings and sculptures. There were 15 class photos of the group of students, about 11 photos of posters, whiteboards, and drawings made by students. 22 photos show the folk room interiors furnished in the school, the dining room, the details of the garden. Most of the pictures, nearly 140 pieces depict the students during some activity. Most depict snapshots of dance lessons, theatrical entertainments, and then students' activities while studying, preparing for exams, various sports events and demonstrations, commemorations, school celebrations, visiting highlights, field trips, community work, and school gardening.

The photos include both a set group photo and a random snapshot. The pictures are meant to document the life of the school. In the course of my research, I sought to select images that show the relationship between nature and the body, the diverse symbolism of the moving body, and the ritual nature of school celebrations. One of the main aspects of my analysis is the observation of the body, its relation to the environment around it, the relationship between the actors, the attire, the symbols worn on the body and mediated by its movement, the signs of the body's beauty, ideals and discipline. My second main aspect is the ritual action, including the nature of the ceremony, the disciplining, sacred power of the space, the various pedagogical rituals.

The image, as a mimetic representation, depicts the appearance of events that refer to the real world. It is not a copy that is created, but a mimetic shaping of the world, it is not a question of similarity, but of the creation of an appearance. The creation of representations is an elementary anthropological ability. The human body is one of the central themes nowadays captured by photographs. Photographs depict people in the form of body images, in the most important situations of their lives. To interpret representation, it is important to highlight the human self-perception of a given age. These images are meant to depict the history of the human body and the age, the image of man appearing in it. From this it can be concluded that man is as he appears in his body, and the body can be interpreted in the same way as an image, which represents the traditions and customs of the age and the social expectations. (Wulf, 2007a)

Changes in the social situation of women in the first half of the 20th century

In order to examine the changes in the upbringing of girls and women, their social role and body image in the first half of the 20th century, selected as the focus of the dissertation, I consider it important to review the traditional, closed social world of the age. The first aspect of this is the change of forms of cohabitation. The traditional Hungarian family had paternity. The abbot deserved respect for the head of the family, which gave him almost unlimited power over the other members of the family. He took care of the maintenance of family members, represented them before the outside world, in firm finances, marriage matters, and so on. (Gergely, 2003; Bódy-Ö. Kovács, 2006; Kövér - Gyáni, 2006) In the second half of the 19th century, the social situation, upbringing and education of women underwent constant changes. With the establishment of girls' schools, the possibilities and frameworks for the education and upbringing of women within the education laws and program proposals were a constant issue. The regulations for elementary schools, established in 1845, place special emphasis on elements of the curriculum required of peasant girls, such as the acquisition of religion, reading, writing, arithmetic, singing, handicrafts, and economic and technological knowledge. In 1848, József Eötvös's bill on public education on compulsory education was published by gender. (Kéri, 1999, 2000, 2008, 2018; Pukánszky, 2006, 2013)

The processes of modernization accelerating in the last third of the 19th century have radically reshaped not only the natural environment but also the structure of traditional societies, the lifestyles, private lives and ways of thinking of individuals and social groups, and their attitudes toward religion. They changed and reorganized the traditional order of work and housing, social relations, leisure, food and clothing, community customs, and religious practice with unprecedented speed. These processes appeared not only in the focus of development, in the Western European and transatlantic region, but also in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. In the factories, the woman and the child appeared as workers. As a servant in agriculture, women's paid work was also a common and accepted thing in Hungary. Becoming a factory worker resulted in a transformation of the situation of women, for which the social consciousness and the institutional system were not prepared. Until 1890, there were few female workers, at first they were able to take on unskilled jobs as domestic servants, then they found a place in

industrial and agricultural production and trade in the 1990s. (Németh - Skiera 2018, Pukánszky, 2006)

In the relationship between the sexes, the pre-existing inequality, the dominance of men, continued to prevail in many areas of life. Public opinion considered men to be independent members of society, a woman was only given an accepted place in society as a member of a man's family. The situation of women was also influenced by elements of the religious worldview that suggested acceptance of the ordered situation. (Gergely, 2003; Bódy-Ö. Kovács, 2006; Kövér - Gyáni, 2006) The radical changes of the turn of the century and then of the World War contemporary social discourses on the body. For women, the 20th century brought with it the opportunity for self-reliance, in which the two world wars played a major role. During this period, there was as much need for female labor as for men's military service. Women served as volunteer nurses on the battlefield, serving as educators in schools, and more and more people worked in the service industry, coffee shops, hotels, shops, banks, factories. More and more young girls got into universities or continued their studies. Behind the independence of women, the change in their living conditions, the fear of an unpredictable future, re-evaluated the image of women so far. (Pukánszky, 2006; Tésabó, 2017)

An important pole of life reform efforts was the ideal female body, depicted on the one hand by the body culture movement that made the naked female body visible, and on the other hand by the reform dress emphasizing the naturalness of the dressed female body. The ensuing clothing reform is linked to a number of contemporary reform efforts, such as women's emancipation movements in which women could work, or various health, hygiene, women's and youth movements, sexual reform, and female body culture emphasizing the beauty of the naked female body. movement. One of the central motifs of contemporary discourses related to the reform of women's clothing is the liberation of the female body from the corset of the corset. This aspect of health is also related to the altered role of women as reflected in the liberation of the body. Fashion reform emphasized not only the hygiene and health of the female body, but also its naturalness and natural beauty. The influence of the movement, which initially conquered among urban elite groups, soon spread to a wider range of social groups, especially young girls, by which it more and more widely displayed the female ideal emphasizing naturalness and natural beauty.

Summary

The social situation of women changed a lot during the 19th and 20th centuries. Legislation favored girls' education, further education, higher education and employment. Girls' upbringing has been refined accordingly, and the issue of gender education together and separately has been increasingly explored. The life reform movements that had matured by the 20th century all shaped the relationship with women, the female body and body image. Society has recognized the need to change old habits in order to live happier and fuller lives. The women took off their corsets, cut their hair and tried to make their bodies beautiful through sports and meals. The disintegration of traditional roles is well exemplified by articles in contemporary journals, medical advice for women, health, upbringing, fathers' accounts, advice on each other's family life. The photographs selected for the research, which appeared in the school bulletins of the Elizabeth Women's School, show well the institutional life of the age. Some of the photographs depict school celebrations, dance performances, sports activities, and some show the works, drawings, paintings that the citizens of the school are proud of. Through the photographs, we were able to gain an insight into the life and highlights of the school. All this was complemented by the texts of the school bulletins, the documents of the National Journal of Women's Education discussing issues of women's education, which dealt with the ideal woman, women's roles, and the education and upbringing of women. Through the contemporary social discourses, the intellectual currents and specific social processes that also determine the life reform movements can be observed. My goal was to support the impact of the selected magazine with details and photographs that shaped the female body, the social space in which women played an increasingly active role. The unfolding of body culture reforms, life reforms and clothing reforms affecting the female ideal after the turn of the century appeared in everyday life as a whole, in art, science, philosophy and pedagogy.

I consider my doctoral dissertation to be a foundational theoretical work that can provide a suitable starting point for my later research. For the future, my goal is to conduct research using the participatory observation method, in which the school rituals of the present are focused. My goal is to present the significance of Hungarian school rituals through their role in education, building on the work of Christoph Wulf.

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