Theses of Dissertation

Márta Kiss

for PhD dissertation entitled:

The collective creation and support of touristic landscape

Supervisor:

Tibor Kuczi, DSc

University professor

Budapest, 2014
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I. Antecedents of research and justification of topic

Taking into account literature from the sociology of tourism, one can observe a certain historical arc, going from the mass tourism taking form in the middle of the 20th century to "staged tourism" by the end of the century. We can see a development from the passive, locked into an "environmental bubble" mass tourist (see e.g.: Cohen 1972, Urry 1990a) increasingly heading toward the type of active traveler who seeks out and creates experiences. While mass tourists usually travel for relaxation and recreation, the "existentialist" type craves new experiences; they want to periodically immerse themselves into another culture. Hence, the "experience seeker" avoids places crowded by tourists, and searches for unique, special trips that are "about him or her." This type reflects on local culture while in the midst of searching for themselves, and in the process, is changed a little and changes the local culture a little (see: Cohen 1979, Urry 1990b, Wang 2012).

The transformation of economy and consumption is behind this tendency primarily: until the 1980s consumption was dominated by mass production, and consumers were – according to critical literature (see e.g.: Beutel 1982) – passive recipients manipulated by advertisements. Subsequently, mass production companies moved toward satisfying individual demands, which literature on economics calls "mass customization" (Szabó 2000). The same process occurred in the area of tourism, during which services satisfying a wider range of individual demands came to the foreground instead of mass tourism; this in turn resulted in improved quality and differentiation in market supply. (See e.g.: Puczkó-Rácz 2001)

The appearance of the "new countryside" concept is also a result of the post-Fordist transition, where the main source of tension is not production, but consumption. The reason for this is that a novel social layer arrived into villages: an urban middle class desiring a "country idyll," whose system of values, consumer preferences and habits differ greatly from those of the indigenous population (Csite 1999). One of the most important statements of constructivist rural sociology is that the strict boundary between village and city has been blurred; the two places of dwelling cannot be separated any longer, neither by function, nor by the activities or lifestyles of the people inhabiting them. Countryside social space has become a type of urban space, especially considering that urban dwellers frequently use it (vacationists, tourists, commuters) and it is mostly managed by urban institutions. (See: Mormont 1987 et.al.)
It is mostly from among this urban middle class that the expert intellectual layer emerges, they are referred to as cultural brokers by the literature (see: Michie 2003; V.L. Smith 2001; Bódi 2007) and participate in the production of the countryside’s tourism image, which as a tool also includes the creation, invention or revival of traditions.

According to Köstlin (1996), tourism, by promoting the invention of local traditions, does not have a negative effect on indigenous society, but to the contrary, in his opinion it is tourism that gives meaning to folk culture and tradition, since local celebrations necessitate an audience. Experts, or cultural brokers (V. L. Smith 2001, Michie 2003), have a vital role in the creation of traditions, who, due to their marginal position, can see the area from an outside perspective. Although, events placing local values in focus (community-centered) usually prove successful when they do not break away from the local communities (see: Puczkó-Rácz 2001, M. Smith 2009, Csurgó – Nagy Kalamász 2007, Bódi – Járosi 2008, et al.). Locals are indispensable because they are the ones presenting the traditions, that is, taking their lives and culture to „the stage” for tourists (see: MacCannell 1976), which in turn creates an authentic experience for visitors. As a result of successful tradition creation, the name of certain settlements fuses with certain buzzwords that behave as markers (MacCannell 1976) for tourists, concerning what to see. In addition, unique specialties and brands that are characteristic of a particular place develop, which become the trademarks of the town or region.

According to Hobsbawn and Ranger (1983), fast-paced change in a society is an advantage in tradition creation. Thus, it is no coincidence that in Hungary after 1989 – especially in the latter part of the 1990s to the beginning of the 2000s – a flare of tradition creation swept across the countryside (which continues to this day, though with lesser intensity). Events placing various local traditions and cultural values in focus – chiefly culinary festivals – have spread throughout the country, many of which have gained prominent fame. (See: Kürti 2000, Bali 2002, 2007, Pusztai 2003, Csurgó-Nagy Kalamász 2007, Bódi 2008, Csurgó 2014, et al.)

In the late 1990s, the conscious formation of the tourism image also began in the micro-region of Tiszahát, where I conducted research. Here, as elsewhere in small village areas, experts and decision-makers agree that tourism represents a „lifebelt” for locals because though the area lacks industry, it is rich in cultural and natural resources (such as wet floodplain habitats; mountainous, richly forested areas, etc.) Of the „negative qualities” determining disadvantaged socio-economic status that is characteristic of outer peripheries,
the gravest problem was posed by a lack in workplaces.¹ In light of these circumstances, it is no surprise that the livelihood strategies of those living in the region can be characterized by diversification, with social assistance benefits and programs in the foreground (cf. Kiss 2008a, Rácz 2008, Kovács, K. 2008). As a tendency in the past ten years, rural tourism has been gaining prominence among the facets of diversified livelihood (sec: Hanusz 2012), which primarily means an opportunity for the wealthier, more enterprising residents, although, due to the services associated with it, signifies a (seasonal) supplementary income for many others. Additionally, it is not only hospitality per se that denotes a source of income for tourism participants, but the sale of related local products as well.

In the region has begun tradition creation, following the example of the nationally acclaimed „miracle of Pusztamérges,” a stuffed cabbage and cock stew cooking contest, which was backed by the then President of the National Association of Rural Tourism (Pusztai 2003). Initiated in the second half of the 1990s, the Szatmári Festival was in its heyday when I conducted my research (2005-2006): this was the time when the event reached its desired week-long length. This signified that in the case of seven settlements, regional experts and mayors managed to find a tradition, around which an event could be organized, and which could be connected to local products that later meant a livelihood for residents of the settlement or the region. It was at this point that the question began to interest me: what is needed for successful tradition creation, and with this, indirectly the formation of landscape image? Why do some areas, settlements rise above others to gain national or international fame, while others, although possessing the same qualities and resources, remain unknown to the general public?

I found the answer in, to put it very simply, the success of the cooperation among participants of landscape formation. I needed many years for my general, all-encompassing perspective to narrow down and for my research to focus on the process of the collective production and preservation of tourism landscapes. The novelty of my topic is that although the importance of cooperation among actors appears in theories of other sciences dealing with tourism, none of these approaches analyze the cooperative behavior of participants during the formation of an area’s tourism image; nor do they analyze the processes of various collaboration forms. While the most prominent, paradigm-creating trend in the sociology of tourism is theoretical in nature, my dissertation deals with actual production processes I

¹ Lack of workplaces has been intensely affecting the North-Plain region’s small village areas: between 1990 and 2001, employment in the small village areas of the North-Plain decreased by fifty percent (cf. Kovács, K. 2008:10-11).
observed in correlation with phenomena denoted by concepts in the above mentioned theories (for example image production, tradition creation and staging). I strive to capture how operators, through cooperation and conflicts of interest, produce the landscape, products and folk traditions thought desirable for tourists. Therefore, I attempt to analyze phenomena of the sociology of tourism with the tools and perspective of economic sociology; to my knowledge I am the first to do this in this approach. Hopefully, for those interested in the subject, the combination of these two approaches bears novelties in both theoretical and practical respects.

I grouped the research questions consistent with the main goals of my analysis and summarize them accordingly; these also denote the topics of various chapters in my essay. I name one of the main goals of my research in Tiszahát as *the reconstruction of the collective production process of landscape image and traditions*. To do this, firstly I had to identify the participants in this process and then examine the goals and motivations of various participants, as well as what role these participants play in landscape production. Subsequently, I investigated the question of what phases can the production of landscape image, traditions and local products be broken down into, and what are its dynamics? Lastly, I dealt with the question of where the success of tradition creation lies, what are its factors and pitfalls; additionally, I posed the question: what factors bring about a change in identity among the residents of a settlement or a region, which is necessary for identifying with the created traditions and new image. As my research’s second goal I name the exploration of suitable modes of preserving the reputation of public goods (e.g. regional image, common brands) generated during collective bricolage. To accomplish this, one must examine the functioning of the tourism market and its inner mechanisms, since the protection of collective products is only possible with the cooperation of operators. Again, my questions pertain to the composition and motivations of operators: what role and goals do they have in the maintenance of tourism image and the authenticity, reputation of common brands? Furthermore, I examined how cooperation between operators forms, that is: what factors are needed for operators to begin cooperation amongst themselves? Is the community, by employing its inner resources, able to create and maintain this cooperation, or must common action be forced out? In places where community management and control does not function, what reasons does this have? Finally, I dealt with the question: if the coordination of the tourism market does not prevail among independent operators, then what other modes, means does it have? In what instances does authority gain ground in coordination and how does it work?
II. Methods employed

The information and data utilized in my essay are derived from research between 2005-2013, which I conducted in Szatmár, which is the Upper-Tisza micro-region located in the North-East Plains. More specifically, the examined settlement group is situated in Szatmár, Tiszahát, with the exception of one village, which falls under the area of Erdőhát. I chose the „Szatmár landscape” as the basic unit of the investigation; numerous reasons support the use of this category and concept. From my analysis’ perspective, the most important reason is that the locals retain a „Szatmár” landscape identity, while the statistical classifications, such as sub-region or region, are employed on a decision-making level for political and developmental goals. During the research conducted between 2005 and 2013, concerning my methods, I utilized the tools of cultural anthropology and sociology in unison. Throughout my research, I deviated from the generally employed linear model in social sciences, and adhered to the cyclical pattern characterizing ethnographical (anthropological) research. In this manner, the selection of the research topic and location predates the phrasing of research questions; furthermore, the analysis of data or even the writing of an essay may generate novel questions, which in turn may prompt a new research phase. (See: diagram 1)

1. Diagram: The ethnographic research cycle

![Diagram: The ethnographic research cycle](source: Spradley 1980: 29)
My nine-year research can be separated into two longer phases. 1) Group investigations were conducted in various settlements within the area in 2005-2007, which became the basis for my later work: as a part of a comparative OTKA study in Szatmáregres in 2005\textsuperscript{2}, and from 2006 to 2008 a NKFP data collection project\textsuperscript{3} led by MTA RKK in Túristvándi and Tiszacsécse. Both investigations were focused on exploring the livelihood strategies of selected settlements, with the employment of semi-structured interviews and structured questionnaires. 2) Between 2007 and 2013 I continued the research with my own topic and conception, mostly alone or with one assistant. The formation of my research topic and conception also fits within the general agenda of ethnographic observation described by Spradley (1980), where the focus of research is akin to a „funnel” narrowing down into smaller regions: from a „broad surface” to „in-depth analyses.”

Participant observation, as described\textsuperscript{4} by Spradley (1980:53-58), is a prominent, although not exclusive method in my research, which I employed chiefly during festivals and other events, as well as during time spent in cottage stays and with supplementary services (e.g. visiting sights, museums, buying local products, etc.). Considering the degree of involvement, I place my own method in the third, „moderate” category: this means that I wanted to keep the boundary between the insider and outsider roles, and I was not a regular, but only an occasional participant in the activities (Spradley 1980: 58). The fieldwork spans a period of nine years, from 2005 to 2013. Aside from 2010, I conducted fieldwork at least once every year, twice per year in 2006 and 2008, hence I went to the field ten times total, each for 4-7 days on average. The relatively short fieldwork was always very intense, rich with continuous observation and I conducted 2-3 interviews on average per day.

As my main research method I claim ethnographic interviews. Fundamentally, I utilized the in-depth interview method: mainly thematic, occasionally life history interviews with (1) decision-makers (mayors, local elite), tourism experts; (2) the owners of tourism-related and supplementary enterprises; as well as (3) local residents. In total I accumulated 145 interviews over the years, a large part of these are in abridged form, the rest are at my disposal word for word. I was present at 76, more than half of these interviews (alone or with a research assistant).

\textsuperscript{2} The T-48886 OTKA grant was won by the Jelenkutató Foundation, the fieldwork was conducted in close cooperation with the University of Debrecen. For full comparative study, see: Dénes-Kiss-Schwarze 2008.

\textsuperscript{3} The 2006–2008 NKFP (National Research-development Program) project was led by MTA Regional Research Center and involved several universities and students. See: Váradi (ed.) 2008.

\textsuperscript{4} My Szatmár fieldwork does not fill the requirements of the participant observation described by Malinowski (Vörös-Frida 2004), mostly in regard to the amount of time spent onsite.
1. Table: Summary of interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location of interview</th>
<th>Number of int.</th>
<th>Target group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Own</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Túristvándi</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiszacsécse</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Szatmárcseke</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panyola</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional and expert interviews</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>145</strong></td>
<td><strong>76</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Beside utilizing chiefly qualitative methods, I also employed quantitative ones, though these had lesser weight – as a supplement – in analyzing background data. The questionnaire of the 2005 OTKA investigation in Szatmáregres, which (along with my colleagues) I helped compile and which was administered by sociology students at the University of Debrecen, was aimed to give us a complex picture of the livelihood strategies. The questionnaire contained two questions pertaining to tourism specifically, which I utilized in my dissertation.

In 2008, I conducted my own survey at two major locations of the festival, Panyola and Túristvándi; the data I extracted gave me vital information about the participants. We administered 216 questionnaires at the two-day event in Panyola, and 152 questionnaires at the one-day fish soup cooking contest in Túristvándi. The questionnaire contained just 12 easily administrable and answerable questions, with the goal of obtaining data about attendees and their sociological parameters, their motivations for attending the event and its frequency. Due to the fact that the questions (although tailored to the location) were the same, we could compare the attendees of the events from the two settlements.

Beginning in 2005, I continuously performed document collection as well. These were primarily government or NGO project materials (concerning tourism or development topics), in addition to information leaflets, brochures and advertisements gathered at festival locations. A rich photo-documentation was made at festivals and settlements about event productions, participants and exhibition tents: I have more than 100 photos at my disposal. Furthermore, throughout the years I have also used the internet to keep track of a few settlements (Panyola, Túristvándi, Penyige, Szatmárcseke) that have a prominent role in my dissertation. The information obtained in this fashion also serves as background data.
III. Results of thesis

The starting point of my dissertation is one of the axioms of tourism-related literature: the tradition and image of a certain landscape or region is not self-existent, it is invented, created. According to my basic premise, one of the key constituents of successful landscape-formation is the cooperation among actors. The image of a region that is sellable on the tourism market is a collectively produced, unique product, that is, it necessitates agreement and adaptation among operators, as well as the acceptance of common values. The production of a landscape is a collective process involving many participants, requiring various levels of cooperation. Although cooperation is necessary and indispensable among regional operators and regional, state-level institutions also, my essay does not deal with this aspect of cooperation. (Others, representatives of the tourism sciences, deal with this for me.) I prove the importance of cooperation in landscape production with research on the regional and settlement level, within the phases of landscape production (1. manufacturing of traditions and products, formation of collective image; 2. maintenance of collective image, protection of common brands).

The first statement of my essay asserts: the landscape, that is, traditions and regional markers form as a result of spontaneous cooperation (not according to pre-determined strategies) among participants; this is a process of „co-shaping,” which I call collective bricolage. In my view, the long-term success of tradition creation depends on the efficiency of negotiating values and interests among participants, and also depends on whether or not the residents can identify with the novel image formed during collective bricolage.

- As a first step, I investigated my claims on a regional level, via examining cooperation at the Szatmári Festival, whose overall objective was the production of a landscape attractive to tourists, which participants tried to achieve through the invention of traditions for participating settlements, and the manufacturing of local products connected to these. During analysis, I first identified the participants in tradition creation, as well as their goals and roles. The „creative process” proved to involve a wide range of people: tourism experts, mayors, entrepreneurs and residents, while all involved had different motivations and concepts concerning realization.

- The tourism expert expressed a distant goal, a vision: „we must boost the region’s tourism,” but he did not have any specific strategies for realization (similar to that bricoleur, who founds an enterprise upon improvisation, cf. Baker et al 2003). The vision brought forth by the expert was then interpreted according to their own concepts and interests by the mayors
and residents who were active participants in its realization. Finally these individual actions and results accumulated: in some cases they resonated, in others they countered each other. In all instances, the outcome came gradually, step by step, and the success of common action was only revealed subsequently, even to those involved. Thus the manufacturing of traditions, and with it landscape image, bears close resemblance to the process of collective bricolage used primarily for the analysis of the formation of enterprises and innovations (see: Baker et al 2003; Duymedjian – Rüling 2010; Garud – Karnoe 2003), whose economic sociological literature lends great help in understanding success in tradition creation as well. (Considering further the fact that the settlements participating in the Szatmár Festival reached different amounts of success in tradition creation.)

- Examining the success of various settlement festivals (whose only criterion in analysis was staying in existence), I found that it is in close correlation with the efficiency of interest- and value-negotiation among participants, and with whether the residents go through an identity change during collective bricolage or not. Thus the question is whether the locals are capable of, or intend to identify with the newly produced image. My analysis shows that success in tradition creation within a settlement necessitated that the concepts of participants be dissimilar enough to achieve innovative results, and yet retain sufficient inter-group coherence (among experts, decision-makers and residents) for the cooperation to function (see: Stark-Vedres 2013). These settlements included Túristvándi, Szatmárcseke, Penyige and Panyola.

- The strategy of leaving professional considerations in the foreground, while resident demands were overshadowed by visitor interests, proved unfortunate, as in the case of Penyige for example. Even though the grand fair was the highlight of the festival series (in the regional participants’ opinion and according to my fieldwork experience as well), it had to be temporarily suspended due to conflicts of interest. Never-the-less, as the identity change had taken place in Penyige among residents, the tradition of the event was reinstated, though on a diminished level. Yet in the settlements where participant concepts were too different and what would have been the foundation for cooperation, inter-group coherence, never formed, collective bricolage (that is, dialogue among parties) is, as of now, at a long-term standstill. Tradition creation was not successful in these settlements (e.g. Tiszaköröd), and even if it was, identity change never took place among residents (Milota). It can be said about these settlements that the leaders did not have it easy, as tourism had no tradition: it is much harder to get residents to accept a novel image and source of livelihood than in places such as Szatmárcseke or Túristvándi, where tourism has always been prominent due to the cultural
and natural characteristics of the area. However, it is not an impossible feat; the perfect testament to this is the case of Panyola.

- My analysis shows that in Panyola, where tourism had no tradition, tradition creation was successful mainly thanks to the inter-settlement consensus achieved by the mayor’s „bridging role” between residents and a group of cultural brokers who settled in. The nationwide famous Panyolai Pálinka, that is, the marker of the settlement, is the achievement of these outside experts; though in the end, the participants needed to work together in order for the residents to accept and be involved in the novel image and the world music festival connected to it. Without the locals Panyola would not be „authentic” and attractive to visitors.

My second statement is that the collectively formed image and collective brands must be protected because actors of tourism may be tempted to increase their own profit at the cost of quality. In the name of brand protection, activities of tourism market participants must be organized, coordinated and controlled, which tasks, I assume, can be fulfilled by the community under given conditions. While my former statement aimed to prove that the successful manufacturing of a landscape and its markers depends on the efficiency of cooperation among participants, my latter statement aims to analyze the conditions of the successful preservation of common goods created during collective bricolage. The starting point is the paradox of collective action (cf. Garrett Hardin 1968, Campbell 1985, Olson [1987] 2006), the essence of which is that individual and collective interests are often in conflict with each other.

- To the problem above, recognized by regional tourism operators also, different communities have different answers. The specific modalities concerning cooperation and control are determined by the local society’s past, value system and ability of self-organization. I placed the modes of cooperation unearthed during my research onto a scale. On one end of the scale is the voluntary cooperation of independent operators, on the other is collective action forced out by tools of authority, close to hierarchy. Based on this, I identified three forms of cooperation: 1.) the cooperation attempts of individual entrepreneurs in Túristvándi; 2.) a cooperation among independent operators, coordinators (based on the example of a regional entrepreneur and a Panyola Cooperative); and 3.) a centralized, patron-client type, systematically organized market in Szatmárcseke.

- In Túristvándi I examined instances of cooperation among individual operators which, despite being short-lived, still testified about the community’s ability and willingness concerning self-organization. While researching in this settlement, I came across many examples where if legal regulations did not function, the locals were, with their own means,
able to stop any opportunist activities posing a threat to the community’s interests. None-the-less, they were not able to form a grassroots, community-led, wide-ranging organization – Ostrom (1990) calls this CPR – which in the long run would have provided a frame for synchronizing actions of tourism operators and eventually would have aided the preservation of settlement traditions and markers. I identified several reasons for this, of which I will highlight the following: there was no mutual trust among operators, which would have ensured the conditions for successful communication. Lacking this, an environment governed by common norms could not form, which is, according to many researchers (Ostrom 1990, Elster 1990, Coleman 2006, etc.) the key to solving problems concerning collective action. It is my contention that the combined presence of criteria stated by Ménard (2008), that is, the uncertain quality of the market and the danger of opportunism, at this point in time predestines the Szatmár tourism market to necessitate coordinators who can organize broader cooperation.

- I identified several types of coordination among actors of economy: such as the water tour organizer entrepreneur, who, due to the traffic reduction caused by the deterioration of the economic situation was forced to expand the profile of his business and „tap into the Szatmár market,” and who ended up creating a cooperation among individual operators. This means that with the expansion of his services he, on the one hand, takes advantage of the Szatmár area’s reputation, but on the other, preserves it also. This is because the man, via his authority and through informal regulatory tools (not written contracts), is capable of controlling the quality of outsourced services and sanction any problems that may arise. Due to this, (the fairly large amount of) tourists participating in water tours receive services that preserve the reputation of the area and which, without any other points of reference (lack of quality control), they may not have come into contact with on their own.

- The cooperative of Panyola also coordinates individual operators, but unlike the above elaborated informal regulation of the entrepreneurial cooperation, the enforcement of collective action in this case is mostly founded on given rules. In contrast to the previous example, the preservation of collective image and brands here manifests directly, as the social purpose of the cooperative. Although the cooperation is only a few years old and thus its results cannot be analyzed just yet, it is still a testimony to the self-organizational abilities of the area, similar to the spontaneous organizations of Túristvándi. Additionally, in my opinion, this cooperation coordinates the actors of economy in an exceptional manner, with the aims of shaping the area’s image through manufacturing high-quality brands and positioning them aptly. Even in this short period of operation, it is already evident that this cooperative is also
threatened by problems accompanying collective action, however Juhász (2011) believes that the key to solving cooperative problems may lie precisely in their collective nature.

- The examined settlements in Tiszahát stand out on a national scale with respect to governmental efforts which are aimed to help the welfare of residents with activities, such as public works, social land programs, cooperatives, and other projects (cf. Kovács 2008, Kiss 2008a,b,c, Rácz 2008). Tourism organization is one among the undertaken tasks in many settlements, during which the mayors (are forced to) become the coordinators of operators (e.g. festival organization). However the tourism market systematically organized by the mayor of Szatmárcseke embodies centralized management in advanced form, which can also be seen as the coordination of collective action of some type. In this case, the market is organized along patron-client relationships, unlike the previous, symmetric ones. This system of relationships bearing signs of hierarchy can be more precisely described with Ménárd’s (1997, 2008) notion of authority, who believes this coordination tool is more prevalent among hybrid forms between market and hierarchy. Although exhibiting many similarities to its traditional forms (see: Eisenstadt–Roniger 1980; Hofer 2001), the Szatmárcseke patron-client relationship cannot be considered as such, because here exchange does not solely take place within the confines of the patron-client relationship. The need for control by Szatmárcseke society can be traced back to the past, where the necessary models for autonomy and entrepreneurial incentive never developed. The leader believes „teaching autonomy” to the residents is also one of his tasks, thus he „helps” people out onto the tourism market who would otherwise be incapable of making this move (e.g. convincing them to receive guests). As a patron, he takes part in the allocation of accommodation, the acquisition of product distribution channels, the acquisition and mediation of information, as well as taking part in brand preservation both in quality control and sanction execution.

- In sum, it is not by chance that authority receives such a prominent place in the case of informal organizations forming to preserve a common Szatmár brand. Uncertainty, the lack of quality assurance, and the danger of opportunism are all factors that predestine (see: Ménard 2008) this prominent place authority gains, and that „force” qualified leaders into the coordinator role. Though it must be stated that there are attempts exhibiting the inclination for self-organization among Szatmár communities. Whether these will develop into the realization of a CPR-type widespread cooperation described by Ostrom (1990), we cannot see today, but does show us new directions of research.
IV. Main references


V. Main Publications

Articles in books:


Books edited:


Articles in journals:

- Kiss Márta: The coordination of tourism market along patron-client relations. Corvinus Journal of Sociology and Social Policy – accepted publication (2014/vol.5, no.2)
Conference publication:


Articles in Curriculum:


  - Own chapters:
    - Example of Paternalist Local Government: Szatmárcseke.
    - Inside and over the village. Examination of kinship, favor and work relations with network analyzing methods.
    - Túristvándi: small village with big plans (brief version).

Other Publications:

- Dr. M. Kiss, J. - Kiss, M. – Rácz, K. (2006): „*Combating against the Combating against the exclusion from the world of work –*” Phare program professional evaluating team (co-author) Mc Shannon Communication, Budapest