

The Prominent Csángó Hub

Key Actors in the Network Structure of the Csángó Elite

Eliza BODOR-ERANUS and Hanna KÓNYA

eliza.eranus@uni-corvinus.hu; hanna.konya@uni-corvinus.hu

ABSTRACT: The main question this article addresses is what characteristics should actors have to be recognized as prominent figures by the Csángó minority in the collaborating network of “Csángó matter”. To answer the question, we have analyzed the relations between actors – individuals and organizations – of this ethnic minority. The results show that a small and prominent hub of the Csángó elite has a remarkable role within the collaboration network of the “Csángó matter”, and their network position correlates with the interlock organizational membership as well.¹

“It should be noted that to say we are studying social structures is not exactly the same thing as saying that we study social relation.”

A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, 1940

Introduction

The Csángós are an ethnic minority in the eastern part of the Carpathians in Romania. There seems to be more or less agreement in today’s scientific literature that Catholics from Moldova are of Hungarian origin, but are strongly assimilated into Romanian culture. At least three features need to be considered when speaking about the identity of the Csángó minority from Moldova: geographic location, religion and language, and self-identification. There are about 250.000 Catholics in Moldova, out of which approximately 60.000 speak Hungarian.

Scientific interest toward Hungarians from Moldova arose in the 18th century and for more than a century it only focused on their origin (Benda 1989:12). When trying to present an overview of the Csángó origin based on scientific literature, it is inevitable to speak very briefly about the history of Romanians and Hungarians from Moldova. According to Benda (1989) Romanians have been known of in

¹ This research is part of 4.2.1/B-09/VKMR-2010-0005. TÁMOP program, under the subproject, “*Hatékony állam, szakértő közigazgatás, regionális fejlesztések a versenyképes társadalomért*”, and workshop, “*Társadalmi és kulturális erőforrások, fejlesztéspolitikák, helyi fejlődés*”. The research coordinator is Zoltán Szántó. Eliza Bodor-Eranus wishes to thanks for the support of the Magyar Állami Eötvös Fund. Hanna Kónya wishes to thanks for the support in her research of the Ferenc Deák Fund. We thank to Jose Luis Molina and László Letenyei, for helping our work with precious professional observations.

Moldova since 1164, in the 12th century “a group of people called Vlach” were the majority in Moldova. The first certified mention of Hungarians in Moldova is dated to the 13th century i.e. 1225, when Hungarian King Endre II established a military presence of Hungarian mercenaries and their families. By the last quarter of the 14th century Petru Schiopu estimated that there were 20.000 Hungarians in Moldova. At the very beginning of the following century their number rapidly declined due to the Tartar ravages, even though the Hungarians populated more than a dozen of towns and 16 villages. In the middle of the 17th century there were about 12000 Hungarians for whom the ruler of Moldova requested a religious leader from Rome. Survivors of the 1764 Siculicidium² fled to Moldova and Bucovina. At the beginning of the 19th century the Austrian Consul from Jászvásár, reported to Vienna about 21.307 people; twenty years later their number was more than double. In the 1905 yearbook of the Romanian Academy, Radu Rosetti estimated that there were about 50–60.000 Hungarians in Moldova.

However, there is considerable debate in the historical literature concerning the identity of Csángós (Benda 1989; Baker 1997; Mikecs 1989; Domokos 1940, 1987; Cosa 2007; Mărtinaş 1985). While some researchers are convinced about the Hungarian origin of Csángós, mainly due to cultural aspects, others emphasize their assimilation into the society of the Romanian majority, or even acclaim their Romanian origin.

It is due to these investigations, as well as to a wide number of ethnographic researches, that we have an extensive knowledge of the minority's origin, historical background, cultural heritage, language - especially their characteristic dialect -, identity, and the institutions that play an important role in their life: church, school, etc. (e. g. Arens–Bein 2004; Kinda–Pozsony 2005; Pozsony 1996, 2003, 2005; Peti 2006; Tánczos 1996, 1997; Halász 2002).

As far as the migration of the Csángó population is concerned, two studies need to be mentioned: the one conducted by Larissa Adler-Lomitz among Csángó guestworkers living in Budapest, focusing on their information channels (Adler-Lomnitz–Gonzalez 2007) and the empirical study by Mohácsék–Vitos (2005) on the consumption patterns of migrants from one particular Csángó village, differentiating between productive and unproductive personal consumptions.

In spite of these very informative investigations, very little is known about the structural characteristics of this society, the people who play important roles in the preservation and the transfer of the Csángó identity and culture. Sociological literature is very limited regarding the Csángó minority, especially the characteristics of its social network.

The 1989 regime change in Romania can be considered as a historical fact which favored Csángó's self identification, when members of this community mi-

2 Also called the Massacre from Mádéfalva (mádéfalvi veszedelem), when under the order of Maria Theresa, about 400 Széklers were massacred. The reason was, that they were not obeying the order of the Habsburgs, and they resisted the forced military draft and organized a revolt.

grated abroad either to work or to study at Hungarian universities. Some of these people settled in Hungary others returned to Moldova, and in many cases they identify themselves with the cause they call the “Csángó matter”. The “Csángó matter” includes a vast array of events ranging from the international Csángó ball to various debate forums: cultural events, exhibitions and publications. All these activities are claimed to serve the purpose of preserving the Csángó-Hungarian society, its language and cultural heritage. Several formal or informal groups and organizations are active in the Csángó matter in Romania and Hungary as well.

Neglecting outsiders, or people who have a certain level of involvement, but who are not really actively involved, the most active groups in considering the Csángó matter are as follows: The first group needed to be mentioned is the formal organization representing Csángó Hungarians, the MCSMSZ, (Association of Csángó-Hungarians in Moldova) which first of all focuses on the Hungarian education of the young generation. The second group is the KEMCSE, geographically situated in Hungary, (the Association of Godparents for Csángó-Hungarians from Moldova) a support institution for the large educational program. Nearby there is a branch of MCSMSZ called Pusztinai Házért Egyesület, having even common members with it. Another social group is the Szeret-Klézse Alapítvány also involved in Hungarian education and extra-curricular activities in Klézse. Beside KEMCSE other organizations such as the AMMOA (Foundation for the Hungarian education from Moldova) and the Foundation of Pál Péter Domokos are also sustaining the economic aspects of the educational programmes We can find the social group consisting of those young Csángós who settled in Hungary (mostly in Budapest) upon graduation, keeping in regular contact with Moldova as well: the Csángók a Csángókért Baráti Kör. Several members of this later group are involved in the publication of the only Csángó journal, the Csángó Tükör, which is entirely written and edited by Csángós. An important event that brings together people and also sponsors interested in the matter is the Csángó Ball, organized yearly in Budapest, bringing together artists, musicians, social scientists and everyone supporting the preservation of this culture. Again there are people involved in the organization of the Village days in Magyarfalu and the Village Week of Somoska (both held in Moldova). One important issue of the Csángó matter – the most argued as well – is the introduction of the Hungarian language into religious life. While many support the idea of having Hungarian masses, there are just as many if not more who are in opposition, arguing that people would not understand it. Two important actors are the two priests who were delegated by the Episcopate of Iasi to Budapest in order to pave the way for introducing Hungarian masses in Moldova. Priests always had and have an important role in Csángó communities, yet as several interviewees recall, they often see things differently and are not necessarily supporting the so called Csángó matter. Another important group or organization is the Dumitru Mărtinaş Association that represents the idea that Csángós are of Romanian ori-

gin. Foundations like the Pro Minoritate and the Teleki Foundations are also very active in the Csángó matter, organizing festivals, conferences, publications that focus mostly on cultural aspects.

It can be concluded from the broad number of organizations and events involved, that lots of different people contribute to the preservation of the Csángó culture and language, yet there is no example in the literature about a thorough investigation concerning the social network that maintains and operates the Csángó matter. The aim of this article is to analyze the people engaged in activities related to the Csángó matter from the point of view of their social network. In order to meet this goal we study both the relationship among people and among different organizations involved.

During the first (exploratory) stage of the research, actors were selected through 'snowballing', namely a nonprobability sampling technique where existing study subjects recruit future subjects from among their acquaintances. Thus the sample group appears to grow like a rolling snowball; further interview subject were identified through Csángós living in Budapest and in Moldova. During this research we use 'Csángó elite' as a term, for those who were named and identified as elite through the snowball sample. Elite definitions and expected characteristics were also collected from all interview subjects.

Our hypothesis in this article is that the network properties of opinion leaders and brokers are in strong relation with the organizations and events they are enrolled in, so that those people will be the most visible in the Csángó matter, who are involved in the most organizations, thus providing the social structure of the "Csángó matter". As such we suppose that there will be a couple of individuals who are active on several fronts and will be seen as key figures – named by many individuals as collaborating with – rather than those who are concerned on only one aspect even if they are working on that everyday. To test our hypothesis, we first examine the relation between the most active members of the Csángó elite – a group defined with snowball sample through group members, – then among the most active organizations, and finally, we try to combine these two types of relations, presenting the relation between people and social groups that constitute the social structure of the Csángó matter. Our results show that few members of the elite with significant influence – the opinion leaders (see Katz-Lazarsfeld 1955) – also have an important role through organizations.

The next section includes the literature review, then we present the methodology and data, followed by the discussion of the results and conclusion.

Theoretical background

Similarly to Szántó-Tóth (1993), in our approach micro level includes the relations among individuals and it is based on the theories about social capital, embeddedness, opinion leader and brokerage. Meso level is constituted by the social network theory frame and the social network of individuals and organizations themselves, while Macro level includes the relation between social groups within the larger society and the relationship between the two states involved.

The relation between social interactions and social structures is firstly associated with Radcliffe-Brown (1940) and the Manchester school, who defined societies as the system of social relationships, emphasizing that observing events in a specific social group cannot clarify the social structure when the society crosses group boundaries. In order to reveal the actual system functions we should concentrate on people and their interactions.

At Manchester University in the 1940s and 1950s Barnes (1949), Mitchell (1969) and Bott (1955) developed theories based on the structural models of social relations, interpreted the social structure as a network of relations and reloaded the network analysis methods with real sociological content. They collected data focusing on the relations of a central individual, instead of concentrating on the whole network i.e. their primary interests were one's personal relationships. The complete network of a society is built on ego-centered networks, a concept suggested by Mitchell who discovered how interactions and relations could be analyzed from micro to the macro level This influence can be observed in further literature (as it is described by Némedi 2008), especially from the Harvard school, e. g. Mayo (1945), who focused on the social problems of the industrial civilization and Warner-Lunt (1941, 1942), who researched the principles of community organizations.

Previously, Jacob Moreno contributed to the development of the field with the idea of representing social interactions with dots and arrows: the sociogram (1937). Moreno's starting point was the informal networks in educational institutions. He presented these relations in graphs and this has become the basis of social network analysis applied in social sciences. (In other sciences like mathematics, graph theory appeared sooner).

Relevant literature also takes into consideration that people can be engaged in more social structures or organizations, for example Scott (1997) who investigates corporate power and the formation of the business elite, and in Hungary Gerő-Vedres (1997), using block model analysis to determine the relationship of a company with politics and finance, focusing on board interlocks rather than ownership ties.

Another aspect of relations between individuals is given by embeddedness and social capital theories (Granovetter 1973; Coleman 1990). Granovetter's theory of embeddedness, specially the idea of the strength of weak ties, says that people

who are weakly embedded in society are more likely to spread information among different groups of the society, namely they fulfill the bridge role in a society. As about Coleman's social capital concept, integration is one important dimension, since it is significant in the flow of information. For instance, in a more or less close group (such as a club or class) the actors are more quickly informed than non members. With the spread of the social network analysis paradigm, social capital theories were reconsidered, and they originated social capital in social relations (e. g. Lin [2001]).

Social capital and embeddedness can have another meaning in studies concerning the main actors of networks, such as opinion leaders and brokers. Opinion leaders were first associated with the two-steps flow of information theory: opinion leaders spread information about politics, fashion, movie attendance from media to their closest "ties": their family, relatives and friends (Katz-Lazarsfeld 1955). In other domains, such as medicine (Coleman et al. 1957), the role of opinion leaders proved to be very important. While first researches related to opinion leaders focused on classification (Katz 1957; Merton 1949; Katz-Lazarsfeld 1955; Katz 1963; later Weimann 1994), and on methodology (Rogers 1962), with the spread of the social network analysis paradigm the concept of opinion leaders was revisited. As such, the opinion leaders were defined as central figures of the group (for example Burt 1999, 2005), and besides them another important actor emerged: the broker, who can spread information between different social groups (Fernandez-Gould 1994). Ronald Burt (1999) introduced the term opinion broker, regarding the role of actors, not only on an individual level, but also among groups. According to this concept, opinion brokers are those persons who are using structural holes to spread information from one opinion group to the other. The specific feature of opinion brokers is that, while they are active in their own group, they have strong connections with other groups as well. Thus opinion brokers benefit from structural holes, just like the *tertius gaudens* (ex. Merton 1957).

Groups of people, such as organizations (for example at Kilduff-Tsai 2003) or even states (Walker 1966; or Gray 1973), can have the same network function as individual actors, and this leads back to the meso and macro level of relations, mentioned by Szántó and Tóth (1993). When interpreting social structures as a set of relations, the aim of the research is more and more a description and scientific explanation of social networks (Szántó-Tóth 1993: 45). The authors differentiate three types of networks: when the social entities are persons, they speak about networks of interpersonal relations; when the entities are social groups they refer to the network among social groups, classes or organizations, and when the entities are countries or regions, the network is among these entities.

This article takes into consideration both the relation between people and relation between social groups, emphasizing the role of key actors. The data and methodology used during the investigation at micro and meso level can be read as follows.

Methodology and data

27 subjects were questioned with life-path interviews, using the snowball method among the Csángó elite, between November 2009 and August 2010. At the end of the interview, relational data was collected: all subjects named their relations with whom they work together regularly at events of Csángó concern. The total number of relations mentioned was 342. Subjects were also asked to name organizations and foundations they are members of. During the interview it became evident that being very active in the Csángó matter is not a prerequisite of being member of the elite, hence only the indegree (number of relations showing to an actor) indicator was used in the social network analysis. Costenbader and Valente (2003) debate the importance of indegree indicator which can be used even at a low sampling level, although the authors speak of randomly missing data.

During the data collection our questions referred to four important aspects: 1. who can be considered elite or opinion leader among Csángós. 2. who plays an important role in the Csángó matter, 3. whom the others engaged in the Csángó matter regularly collaborate with, and 4. which organizations are they the members of.

As a result, we could outline three networks: relations between the members of the elite, relations between most important people involved in the Csángó matter, and relations between organizations and social events (referred to as social groups) they are involved in. In this article we use social network analysis as a representation; the explanatory causes can be found qualitatively in the life interviews of the questioned people. Network analysis was performed with UCINET. In identifying the key figures of the Csángó matter we used centrality and betweenness (betweenness centrality of an actor is the number of shortest paths that pass through that actor). As far as the methodological aspects are concerned, we relied heavily on Letenyei (2005).

Results

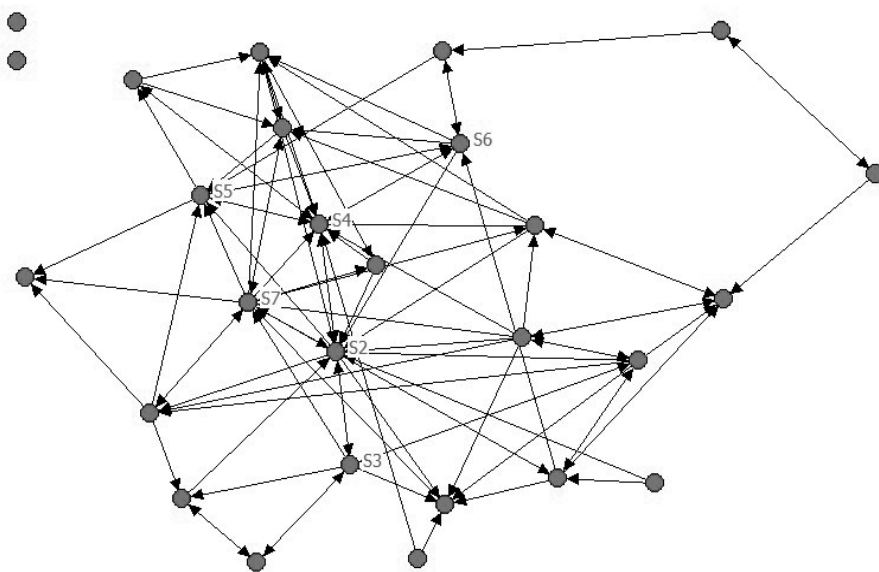
Taking into consideration that the Csángó matter mainly contains cultural events and organizations with the goal to maintain and preserve, Csángó people who identify themselves and others as elite, during the fieldwork and interviews, were mainly part of the Csángó cultural elite. That explains why our research primarily focuses on the Csángó elite and their relations. Nevertheless, with the interpretation of the results, we should always remember that the Csángó matter has a

considerable number of members and sympathizers, and if we extend the analysis to all people involved in the Csángó matter (not only Csángos), the patterns might, and probably will change. That is why our results must be interpreted only in the limit of the Csángó elite involved in Csángó matter. At the same time, since the Csángó matter is so diversely interpreted, we consider not only the relation between people, but also the relation between social groups (such as organizations and events), representing the social structure of the Csángó matter together, which consists of the same or similar goals, of people and social groups that take an active part.

Micro level analysis

The first network represents the relation between the interviewed Csángó elite. The network consists of 27 subjects and a total number of 96 directed relations. Key actors were coded S1, S2, S3, S4, S5, S6, and S7.

Figure 1: Cooperation network among questioned elite actors



Source: Social network analyze based on data collected November 2009–August 2010. The illustration was made with NETDRAW.

According to Costenbader and Valente (2003), when we analyze the key actors, we take into consideration the indegree network indicator which is usable even with significant missing data. The key actors in the cooperation network

of the Csángó elite regarding the Csángó matter are S2 (11), S4 (11), S5 (7), S7 (7). The centrality (betweenness) indicator partly supports this: S2=126,692, S7=111,132, S3=61,142, S6=59,958, S4=57,183. In Burt's (1999) terms S2 and S7 can be considered both opinion leaders and opinion brokers as well. The number of non-directly connected pairs was high in the case of S5 (17) and S6 (16).

Table: Indicators of cooperation networks related to Csángó matter

Indicators	Figure 1	Figure 3
Centrality (degree) According to the total number of relations (assuming symmetric networks)	S2=14 S7=13 S4=11 S5=9	S2=34 S7=32 S3=31 S1=22
Centrality (In-degree)	S4=11 S2=11 S7=7 S5=7	S4=11 S2=11 S7=7 S5=7
Centrality (betweenness)	S2=126,692 S7=111,132 S3=61,142 S6=59,958 S4=57,183	S2=1604,735 S3=1001,724 S7=842,698 S4=581,405 S6=527.856
Egonet Broker: the number of non-directly connected pairs.	S5=17 S6=16 S7=49 S2=44 S4=33	S5=89 S3=75 S6=52 S2=241 S4=107 S7=171

Source: Based on data collected November 2009–August 2010

According to the relation between the interviewed people we can say that these actors have a prominent role in the Csángó matter: they are responsible for spreading information from one social group to another, while being the opinion leaders of their own social groups as well. It is natural to question the reason why these particular actors have a key role in the Csángó matter. What kind of qualities they have when compared to others (also important figures, also part of the elite)? To satisfy partly the curiosity of the reader, we give an overview of the most important actors. S1 after working together with an organization in Moldova, started his own foundation in a neighboring village, focusing on cultural – mostly folk music and dance – aspects. S2 after graduating, settled in Hungary, regularly works together with the Pro Minoritate Foundation and the Teleki Foundation, and has an active role in the organization of the Csángó Ball as well as several other festivals and exhibitions concerning Csángós. S2 also participates in the organization of village days in Moldova on a yearly basis, keeps regular contact with Moldova, and participates in events both in Moldova and Hungary, building a bridge between the geographic regions. S3 is a teacher in the MCSMSZ, has an

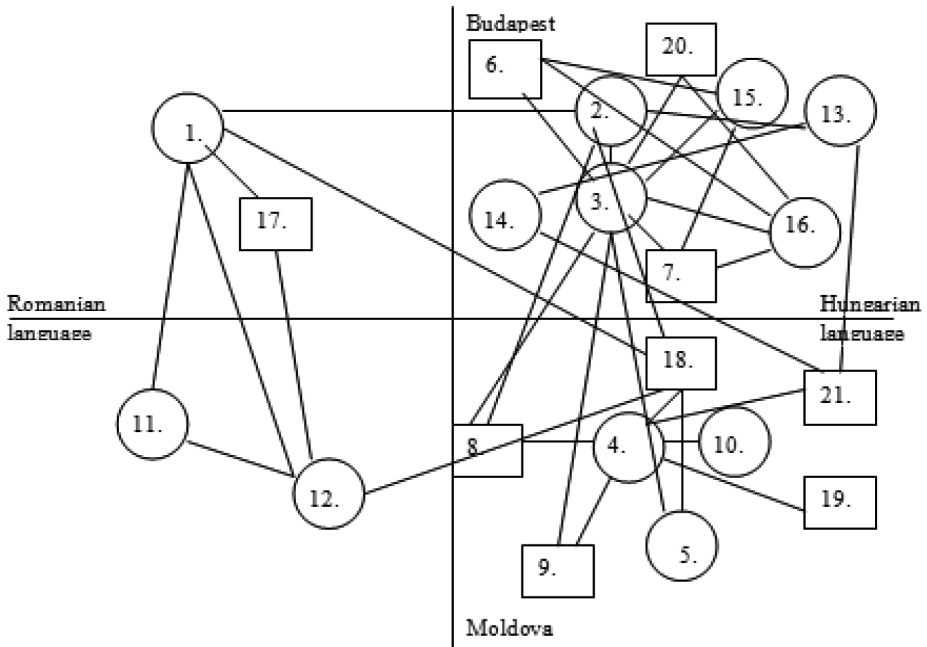
active role in the organization of the Csángó Ball and in village days, representing Csángós at festivals on a regular basis. S4 is the Csángó representative of the Maltese Charity Service in Hungary, organizes village days in Moldova and was one of the main figures in the Csángó Tükör Journal. (Later he started the first Csángó radio, broadcasting via the internet). S5 also settled in Hungary, published several books regarding Csángós, represents them in several occasions – even on a political level – regularly wrote in the journal. S6 is a priest in Hungary, who in some aspects builds a bridge between the Csángós in Hungary and the MCSMSZ. Participates in the organization of village days, conferences and writes articles on religious topics concerning Csángós. S7 is probably of the highest importance as he represented Csángó interests in political spheres, and participates actively in the organization of the Csángó Ball, linking the expatriate Csángó community and Csángós in Moldova.

It is obvious that the active membership in different social organizations and events is very important for each opinion leader and broker. This is why we first examine the meso level of our theoretical approach: the relation between social groups, such as organizations and events related to Csángó matter.

Meso level of analysis

Based on interviews and field knowledge we could draw the relation between different organizations related to the Csángó matter. The lines between different organizations and events aim to show the regular cooperation among them, yet it is vital to mention that these relations are often sustained on a personal level. Therefore, the arbitrary aspect of this drawing needs to be clarified, the goal is not to accurately represent statistical values, but to visualize the organizational structure of the Csángó matter.

Figure 2: Location and relation among organizations and events concerning the Csángó matter



Source: Analysis based on data collection, November 2009–August 2010

Legend: Organizations: Csángók a Csángókért Baráti Kör (3), MCSMSZ (4), Szeret-Klészse Alapítvány(5), Pusztinai Házért Egyesület (10), Dumitru Mártinas Association (11), KEMCSE (13), AMMOA(14) Episcopate of Iasi (12), Pro Minoritate Foundation (15), Teleki Foundation (16.) **Events:** Csángó Tükör (6), Csángó Ball (7), Village days of Magyarfalu (8), Village week of Somoska (9), Romanian masses in Budapest (17), Asking for Hungarian masses in Moldova (18), Folk song competitions (19), Táncház in Hungary (20)

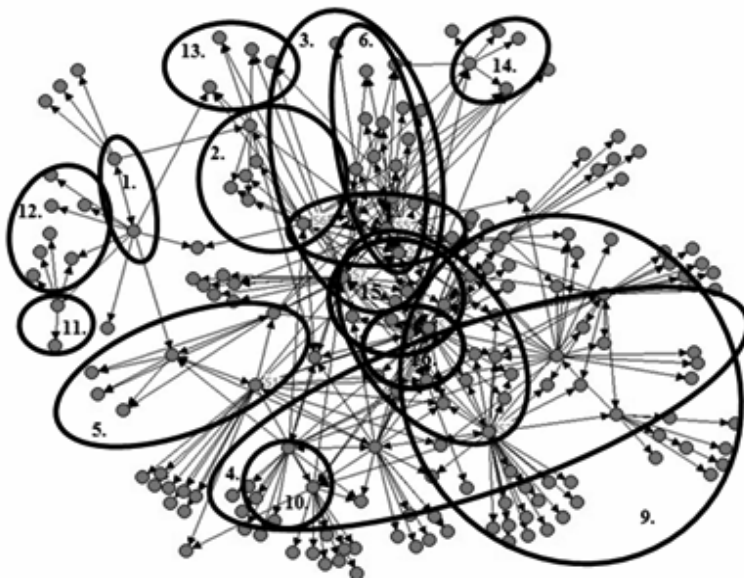
The prominent importance of some groups was confirmed by the CONCOR analysis of UCINET. This analysis could easily identify MCSMSZ (4), Pro Minoritate Foundation (15), Csángó Ball (7), KEMCSE (13) groups, which can be considered the largest ones, from the point of view of attendance and popularity. Other groups were mixed together or split apart, and upon analysis of qualitative data it can be seen that these groups did not have a large number of nominations from our interviewed actors. But the nomination cannot be considered in correlation with their importance, so it can be concluded that CONCOR analysis shows only the popularity of the biggest organizations and events. The question what the real relations between prominent Csángó people and prominent organizations are, remains.

The following figure contains those social groups that appeared in the ego networks of the interviewed elite. The total number of actors is 183 and there

are 342 nominations. In the network, we rounded manually all social groups the actors are enrolled in.

Taking into consideration ego networks, it came to light, that actors are seen as important among elites, are also recognized by other people as prominent in the Csángó matter. The indegree indicator of key actors was the same in this network, compared with the cooperation network of elites only. The centrality of S2 (34), S7 (32), S3 (31), S1 (22) is the highest. The number of non-directed ties is higher in the case of S5 (89), S3 (75), S6 (52). The betweenness highlights the role of S2 (1604,735), S3 (1001,724), S7 (842,698), S4 (581, 405), S6(527,856). We can say that our results, confirmed Burt's (1999) observation that if opinion leaders are responsible for diffusion of information between social groups, they will have an opinion broker role, too. Moreover, in some cases these actors do not simply link groups of people, but they serve as bridges between Budapest – Csángós living in Budapest – and Moldova.

Figure 3: Cooperation network concerning the Csángó matter (actors and social groups)



Source: Social network analyze based on data collection, November 2009–August 2010. The illustration was made with NETDRAW

It can be observed that key actors of the network, opinion leaders and opinion brokers, have three main characteristics.

First, prominent actors are members of the greatest number of social structures. The activity of these people is emphasized by their organizational membership: every key actor of the network is member of at least 3 important organizations or events related to the Csángó matter. There is a special case, that of S1, who

can be considered a key actor only in this network. The key position of S1 is due to the fact that after being active in one organization, started his own foundation in a neighboring village in Moldova, focusing on teaching folk songs and folk music to the young generation. S1 is in good relations with the local political leaders and that proves to be beneficial. We can conclude that in this particular network the importance of the location of groups is noticeable – the two locations Moldova and Budapest, are far from each other – and although the key actors are considered key actors in Hungary, their inherence must be encouraged in Moldova, too.

Secondly, prominent actors are members of several organizations or events that have the greatest popularity among the Csángós, such as MCSMSZ (4), Pro Minoritate Foundation (15), Csángó Ball (7), KEMCSE (13). Meanwhile, others participate in less events and organizations. For example MCSMSZ (4), the Association of Csángó-Hungarians in Moldova, is the largest in number, with the support of KEMCSE (13), the Association of Godparents for Csángó-Hungarians from Moldova, has a very large educational program. The Csángó ball (7) is popular not only among Csángós, since it is open to everyone interested, therefore, it can be considered an important yearly event in Hungary. Pro Minoritate Foundation (15) has also a very important role in the field of culture and science.

Finally, the most remarkable feature of this network is that even the Csángó elite itself considers only a few active members in relation to the Csángó matter. The number of those people who are seen as active by many others is quite low, although it is obvious that the Csángó matter involves many people and has even more supporters and sympathizers, but being very active and known as such by others is restricted to only a few individuals. As we observed in Figure 1, opinion leaders' and opinion brokers' roles are fulfilled by the same people in the large cooperation network. It seems that social involvement correlates with people's opinion: the most active people are nominated as key actors.

Discussion and conclusion

Fieldwork and interviews underline what can be seen in the network analysis as well i.e. that the entire issue of the Csángó matter as such is multi-segmented and cross-layered. On one hand there is the identity dimension dividing the population based on whether they identify themselves as Romanian or Hungarian. In this article we focused mostly on the latter group, with Hungarian self-identification. On the other hand, there is the geographical dimension that places the Csángó elite in Moldova and in Hungary, mostly in Budapest. According to linguistic and geographic location, we can find numerous organizations and events forming different social groups of different people that share the same goal: to preserve the Csángó culture and slow down assimilation. This interconnectivity, or in Scott's terms interlock, of people and social groups can be perceived as the social structure of the Csángó matter.

In this social structure we can find some key actors that have three main characteristics:

1. They are members of the greatest number of social groups.
2. There is at least one very popular social group among these social groups.
3. The central figures of a social group (the opinion leader) have a central position among various groups, too (they are also opinion brokers).

Because of the very intensive activity of key actors we call them the “prominent Csángó hub”. Moreover, their network position is recognized by other Csángós, and they serve as a link between Hungary and Moldova – regardless of their residence – by attending and organizing events on both geographic locations. Formal and informal activity is equally important for key actors: it seems that besides being the member of formal organizations and foundations, it is equally important to participate in the organizations of the Csángó ball, the publication of the Csángó Tükör, in organizing village days and artistic exhibitions, etc.

Social network analysis along with the life-path interviews made clear that elite definition is not necessarily formed by using several fronts of objective measures – such as level of education, income, wealth, etc. – but is just as important to take part in as many organizations and events related with Csángó matter as it is possible (including very popular organizations and events), for being capable to promote the Csángó matter in order to be considered central. Those key actors, who have a central position in the Csángó matter social structure, are the most visible persons. Their activity is recognized not only in the social groups they participate in, that is on a micro level, but between social groups (on a meso level) and between countries (on a macro level), too.

This research shows one important direction to follow regarding the investigation of the prominent Csángó hub. Taking into consideration that the Csángó matter is geographically widespread, it would be interesting to research whether the strength and direction of relations between geographic regions will modify the network structure presented in this article, which could be the extension of the research to the macro level.

References

- Adler-Lomnitz, Larissa – González, Asaul Nuche (2007): Peasant Ethnic Migration from a Post-communist Society to Another. The Case of the Csángó Migrants from Moldavia (Romania) to Hungary. *Review of Sociology*, (13)1: 67–88.
- Arens, Meinolf – Daniel Bein – Radu Rosetti (2004): Katolikus magyarok Moldvában. In Miskolczy Ambrus (szerk.): *Rendhagyó nézetek a csángókról*. Budapest: ELTE Román Filológiai Tanszék – KSH Levéltára.
- Baker, Robin (1997): On the Origin of the Moldavian Csángos. *The Slavonic and East European Review*, (75)4: 658–680.

- Barnes, John A. (1954): Class and Committee in a Norwegian Island Parish. *Human Relations*, (7): 39–58.
- Bott, Elisabeth (1955): *Family and Social Network*. London: Tavistock.
- Benda, Kálmán (1989): *Moldvai csángó–magyar okmánytár 1467–1706. I–II*. Budapest: Magyarországtudató Intézet.
- Burt, Ronald. S. (1992): *Structural Holes: The Social Structure of Competition*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Burt, Ronald. S. (1999): The Social Capital of Opinion Leaders. American Academy of Political and Social Science. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. 566. The Social Diffusion of Ideas and Things, 37–54.
- Burt, Ronald. S. (2005): *Brokerage and Closure*. Oxford University Press.
- Coleman, James – Katz, Elihu – Menzel, Herbert (1957): The Diffusion of an Innovation among Physicians. *Sociometry*, 20(4): 253–270.
- Coleman, James S. (1988): Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 94. Supplement: Organizations and Institutions: Sociological and Economic Approaches to the Analysis of Social Structure, 95–120.
- Coleman, James (1994 [1990]): *Foundations of Social Theory*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. In Lengyel György – Szántó Zoltán (eds.). *A gazdasági élet szociológiája*. Budapest: Aula, 99–129.
- Cosa, Anton (2007): Catolicii din Moldova in izvoarele Sfantului Scaun (Secolele, XVII–XVIII.). Iasi: Editura Sapientia.
- Costenbader, E – Valente, T. W. (2003): The Stability of Centrality Measures when Networks are Sampled. *Social Networks*, 25(4): 283–307.
- Domokos, Pál Péter (1940): *Adalékok Moldva történetéhez*. Cluj-Kolozsvár.
- Domokos, Pál Péter (1987): *A moldvai magyarság*. Budapest: Magvető Kiadó.
- Fernandez, Roberto M. (1991): Structural Bases of Leadership in Intraorganizational Networks. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, (54)1: 36–53.
- Fernandez, Roberto M. – Gould, Roger V. (1994): A Dilemma of State Power: Brokerage and Influence in the National Health Policy Domain. *American Journal of Sociology*, (99)6: 1455–1491.
- Gerő, Barnabás – Balázs, Vedres (1998): Interlocking Comrades. Paper Presented at the 11th International Conference of Europeanists, March 2, 1998. Baltimore. http://www.personal.ceu.hu/staff/Balazs_Vedres/papers/Comrade/comrade1.html
- Granovetter, Mark (1973): The Strength of Weak Ties. *American Journal of Sociology*, 78(6): 1360–1380.
- Halász, Péter (2002): *Bokrétába kötögetem vala*. Budapest: Európai Folklór Intézet.
- Letenyei, László (2005): *Településkutatás*. Budapest: L'Harmattan–Ráció Kiadó.
- Lin, Nan (2001): Building a Network Theory of Social Capital. In Nan Lin – Karen Cook – Ronald S. Burt (eds.). *Social Capital – Theory and Research*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 3–31.

- Katz, Elihu (1957): The Two-Step Flow of Communication: An Up-to-date Report on an Hypothesis. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, (21): 61–78.
- Katz, Elihu (1963): Traditions of Research on the Diffusion of Innovation. *American Sociological Review*, (28): 237–253.
- Katz, Elihu – Lazarsfeld, Paul F. (1955): *Personal Influence*. New York: Free Press.
- Kilduff, Martin – Tsai, Wenpin (2003): *Social Networks and Organizations*. Sage.
- Kinda, István – Pozsony, Ferenc (eds.) (2005): *Adaptáció és modernizáció a moldvai Csángó falvakban*. Kolozsvár: Kriza János Néprajzi Társaság.
- Mărtinaș, Dumitru (1985): *Originea Ceangailor din Moldova*. Bucuresti: Editura Stiintifica si Enciclopedica.
- Mayo, Elton (1945): *The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Mikecs, László (1989): *Csángók*. Pécs: Optimum Kiadó.
- Merton, Robert K. (1968 [1949]): Patterns of Influence: Local and Cosmopolitan Influentials. In *Social Theory and Social Structure*, New York: Free Press, 441–474.
- Merton, Robert K. (1957): *Social Theory and Social Structure*. Glencoe, Illinois: Free-Press.
- Mitchell, Clyde (1969): *Social Networks in Urban Situations: Analysis of Personal Relationships in Central Towns*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Mohácsék, Magdolna – Vitos, Katalin (2005): Fogyasztói szokások a magyarfalusi vendégmunkások köreiben. *Erdélyi társadalom*, (1): 2.
- Moreno, Jakob Lévy (1937): Sociometry in Relation to Other Social Sciences. *Sociometry*, 1 (1/2) 206–219.
- Némedi, Dénes (2008): *Modern szociológiai paradigmák*. Budapest: Napvilág Kiadó.
- Peti, Lehel (2006): A csángómentés szerkezete és hatásai az identitásépítési stratégiákra. In Jakab, Albert Zsolt – Szabó, Árpád Töhötöm (eds.): *Le nyomatok 5. Fiatal kutatók a népi kultúráról*. Kolozsvár: KJNT, 129–155.
- Pozsony, Ferenc (1996): Etnokulturális folyamatok a moldvai csángó falvakban. In Katona, Judit – Viga, Gyula (eds.): *Az interetnikus kapcsolatok kutatásának újabb eredményei*. Miskolc: Herman Ottó Múzeum, 173–179.
- Pozsony, Ferenc (2003): *A moldvai csángó-magyar falvak társadalomszerkezete*. Pro Minoritate Foundation. Nyár, 142–165.
- Pozsony, Ferenc (2005): *A moldvai csángó magyarok*. Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó–Európai Folklor Intézet.
- Radcliffe-Brown, A. R. (1940): On Social Structure. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, (70): 188–204.
- Rogers, Everett M. (2003 [1962]): *Diffusion of Innovations*. Glencoe: Free Press.

- Sabel, Charles F. (1993): Studied Trust: Building New Forms of Cooperation in Volatile Economy. *Human Relations*, (46): 9.
- Schultz, Theodore W. (1961): Investment in Human Capital. *The American Economic Review*, (51)1: 1–17.
- Scott, John (1997): *Corporate Business and Capitalist Classes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Szántó, Zoltán – Tóth, István György (1993): A társadalmi hálózatok elemzése. *Aula*, XV. 1: 30–55.
- Tánczos, Vilmos (1996): “Én román akarok lenni!” Csángók Erdélyben. In Tánczos, Vilmos: *Keletnek megnyílt kapuja*. Kolozsvár: KOM-PRESS, Korunk Baráti Társaság.
- Tánczos, Vilmos (1997): Hányan vannak a moldvai csángók? *Magyar Kisebbség*, III. évf. (1–2): 370–390. [Also available in english Tánczos, Vilmos (1998): Hungarians in Moldavia, <http://mek.niif.hu/00900/00983/pdf/moldvang.pdf>]
- Uzzi, Brian (1996): The Sources and Consequences of Embeddedness for the Economic Performance of Organizations: The Network Effect Author. *American Sociological Review*, (61)4: 674–698.
- Vedres, Balázs – Stark, David (2010): Structural Folds: Generative Disruption in Overlapping Groups. *American Journal of Sociology*, (115)4: 1150–1190.
- Waker, Jack (1969): The Diffusion of Innovations among the American States. *The American Political Science Review*, (63)3: 880–899.
- Warner, William L. – Lunt, Paul S. (1941): *The Social Life of a Modern Community*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Warner, William L. – Lunt, Paul S. (1942): *The Status System of a Modern Community*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Weimann, Gabriel (1994): *The Influentials. People Who Influence People*. New York: State University of New York Press.