Community Logic and Hybridization: Mechanisms of Continuity and Proliferation in a Transnational Community

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Abstract

In this work, I challenge many contemporary thinkers' pessimism about the possibility and continuity of community, especially of transnational communities. I outline two mechanisms that ensure the continuity and proliferation of the transnational Esperanto community, one of the oldest and most diversified modern transnational communities. The first mechanism is the institutionalization of a form of the community logic specific to Esperanto. The Esperanto community logic unifies Esperanto activities at the local, national, and transnational levels across space and time and creates the possibility of multiplying the manifestations of the community. The second mechanism is the hybridization of this community logic and its mixing with other institutional logics (bureaucratic, professional, business, etc.). The hybridization of the community logic allows for differentiation and community proliferation but also masks the existence of community. I conclude that as community has been subject to rationalization, modern communities and rational associational life can coexist.

Keywords

community, continuity, proliferation, institutional logics, transnationalism, language

Concerns about the decline of traditional *communities* (*Gemeinschaft*) (Tönnies [1887]2001) accompanying modern social transformations marked the beginning of sociology. Similar concerns about decreased connectedness and fleeting sense of belonging continue to preoccupy contemporary thinkers (e.g. Putnam 2000; Bauman 2001; Delanty 2003). At the same time, the community concept became one of the most salient concepts—more central than *nation* and *globalization*, two defining historical developments, for example—discussed in English-language books during the twentieth century (Figure 1). Is the prominence of the concept only due to wariness about the decline of community? According to many other community scholars, the answer is no: while undergoing change, the community form is alive and well (e.g. Brint 2001; Keller 2003; Lichterman 1996). Communities of various scopes are "imagined" locally, nationally, and transnationally (e.g. Anderson 1983; Djelic and Quack 2010; Pirkey 2015). With regard to transnational communities, however, even the most optimistic views consider such communities transient (Djelic and Quack 2010; Mayntz 2010).

The case of Esperanto (Kim 1999; Garvía 2015), one of the oldest and most diversified modern transnational communities, challenges the position that modern communities, especially transnational ones, are necessarily short-lived. The community formed around the Esperanto language, a constructed language developed by Ludwik Zamenhof, a subject of the Russian empire, in the second half of the nineteenth century (Kim 1999; Garvía 2015). The Esperanto community has existed for over a hundred years creating a sense of global fellowship. For Esperanto enthusiasts, Esperanto facilitates international communication, fosters understanding and friendship, and contributes to communication equality. Esperanto grew from one person's dream to a transnational community of two million speakers and advocates from at least one hundred and twenty countries (Simons and Fennig 2018; UEA 2018). The number of specialized transnational Esperanto organizations increased during most of the twentieth century, similarly to

the increasing importance of the community concept but also similarly to the rise of other movement organizations (cf. Figure 1; Figure 2; Kim 1999, Figure 5.1, p.129). The Esperanto community and Esperanto organizations, involved in the rational pursuit of Esperanto goals, are two sides of the same phenomenon.

As a counterexample representing transnational community continuity and proliferation in the midst of the establishment of a rationalized global organizational society (cf. Boli and Thomas 1997; Meyer and Bromley 2013), Esperanto is a methodologically promising case. It is a strategic site for identifying mechanisms that allow the continuity and proliferation of large-scale communities. The Esperanto trajectory reveals the operation of two related mechanisms that ensure the continuity of Esperanto and the proliferation of communities and rationalized organizations under the umbrella of Esperanto. (1) The institutionalization of a form of the *community logic* (Marquis, Lounsbury, and Greenwood 2011; Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury 2012) specific to Esperanto unifies Esperanto activities at the local, national, and transnational levels across space and time and creates the possibility of multiplying the manifestations of the Esperanto community. (2) The *hybridization* of this form of the community logic and its mixing with other institutional logics (bureaucratic, professional, business, etc.) (Mayntz 2010; Skelcher and Smith 2015) allows for differentiation and community proliferation but also masks the existence of community.

The case of Esperanto challenges pessimism related to the possibility, continuity, and proliferation of modern communities, including of large-scale communities. Affect-laden group bonds, usually associated with ostensibly disappearing community experiences, and instrumental rationality, a defining feature of modernity, are not necessarily mutually exclusive (Mayntz 2010). The community logic, one of the institutional foundations of contemporary institutional life at the local and at the national scale (Marquis, Lounsbury, and Greenwood 2011; Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury 2012), can organize social experiences at the global scale as well. The rationalization of community as a global process (cf. Boli and Thomas 1997; Meyer et al. 1997; Meyer and Bromley 2013) can facilitate the flourishing of transnational communities and demonstrates how community and rational associational life can coexist globally. Community rationalization is manifested in two ways. First, the crystallization of different forms of the community institutional logic (Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury 2012) allows groups to pursue a sense of belonging by embracing one (or more) of them as an ideal model. Second, community pursuits can be aided by the adoption of additional institutional logics, especially the bureaucratic logic expressed in the proliferation of organizations (cf. Boli and Thomas 1997; Meyer and Bromley 2013; Perrow 1991). Global community institutionalization implies that modern communities not only exist but can persist—often over many years and across large distances—and multiply in line with different manifestations of the community logic.

WHAT IS COMMUNITY?

Community is a mode of "social integration" (Calhoun 1998: 374) and of solidarity-based governance (Mayntz 2010). Following Tönnies ([1887] 2001), community (*Gemeinschaft*) is sometimes thought of as a traditional form of social organization characterized by dense ties and subjective feelings developed in small groups for which proximity is important. In this tradition, *Gemeinschaft* is defined in opposition to modern social forms, denoted by *Gesellschaft*, which are driven by rationality rather than by emotions and characterized by dispersed ties and large groups. *Gemeinschaft* continues to be an ideal model for community (e.g. Vaisey 2007) despite

being a standard many modern communities do not meet (Calhoun 1980, 1998; Bauman 2001; Delanty 2003).

Notwithstanding the *Gemeinschaft* ideal of community, for contemporary sociologists, community is variable (e.g. Calhoun 1980, 1998; Brint 2001; Collins 2010; Mayntz 2010). Social arrangements of different size, proximity, and network features are called communities. The different characteristics that help distinguish between types of communities are significant because of the social and political consequences they may engender (Calhoun 1980; Brint 2001).

What seems to be a shared feature of most types of communities is the experience of belonging, persons' sense of community, as it is valuable in and of itself. Persons' community experience has been described in affective terms, as feelings of attachment, of concern for others, of being at home, a mutual orientation, an identification with a group, a "we-feeling" (Kanter 1972; Bauman 2001; Keller 2003; Vaisey 2007; Djelic and Quack 2010). Persons' perceptions of community belonging can change over time though (Pirkey 2015), which makes this measure of community unstable and even questions the possibility of modern long-term communities (Bauman 2001; Delanty 2003). Still, without the experience of community among some people during some period of time, it would be pointless to speak of community.

Distance, fragmentation, insecurity, and the instrumental rationality associated with modernity may not eliminate persons' desire for and occasional experience of a sense of community but present challenges to communities' existence and especially to community continuity (Bauman 2001; Calhoun 1980; Delanty 2003; Djelic and Quack 2010). These challenges raise the questions: What contributes to the flourishing of communities if communities indeed proliferate under modernity? What keeps communities, especially those not based on proximity, together over the long run? How do communities solve the challenges posed by distance, fragmentation, insecurity, and instrumental rationality to stay together and to continuously produce a sense of belonging?

COMMUNITY CONTINUITY AND PROLIFERATION

By community continuity, I refer to the capacity of a social arrangement to consistently produce a feeling of belonging over a significant period of time, often lasting multiple years. Community proliferation in turn is the multiplication of community manifestations, across time and space.

Relational foundations

The existence of communities is predicated on the establishment of particular relational configurations (Calhoun 1980). Strong, dense, and multiplex ties are conducive to developing communities closest to the *Gemeinschaft* ideal (Calhoun 1980, 1998). Relative physical proximity facilitating regular face-to-face interactions, as in communities of place, is conducive to developing this kind of relations, hence the privileging of the local level in analyses of communities (e.g. Fine 1987; Keller 2003; Marquis and Battilana 2009).

Is physical proximity necessary for community though? With the rise of information technologies and long-distance transportation, it has become easier to maintain relations with others who are not necessarily physically close to us (Djelic and Quack 2010; Wellman 1979). Sustained, albeit occasional and unidimensional, "limited liability" interactions, may allow community integration, socialization, and control (Djelic and Quack 2010). The existence of virtual communities questions even the need for face-to-face interactions in building

communities (Brint 2001; but see Calhoun 1998). Communities without proximity may be possible if important relations can be established over distance.

Analyses moving the attention from territorially bounded collectivities to relations find that persons continue to be connected to significant others but that their different social worlds are dispersed and fragmented (Wellman 1979). While through such relations persons continue to receive help when needed, they may experience their dispersed and fragmented networks as a loss of community, a loss of identity, and uprooting (Keller 2003; Wellman 1979). If community is defined as the experience of a sense of belonging, then strong ties and community based on a person's individual network of relations may not be sufficient to establishing communities.

Symbolic and discursive foundations

In modern communities, especially non-local ones, persons are often connected to one another indirectly, symbolically, through an abstract category, such as a nation, a deity, beliefs, an ideal, an interest, or a discourse (Anderson 1983; Brint 2001; Cohen 2001[1985]; Delanty 2003; Djelic and Quack 2010; Vaisey 2007). Terms such as "imagined" (Anderson 1983) and "categorical" (Calhoun 1998), often used to describe modern communities, emphasize the symbolic nature of community relations. A shared moral order is especially conducive to experiencing a sense of community belonging (Vaisey 2007). As sustained non-local interactions are still costly and difficult, symbolic ties reinforce commonality. In the case of large communities—nations and transnational communities—interactions with all members of the community are impossible. Symbolic links are thus essential for keeping these communities together.

The symbolic character of communities can partially explain the proliferation of modern communities. The attraction of community lies in the concept's "ability to communicate [countless] ways of belonging" (Delanty 2003: 187). If persons are not satisfied by existing communities, which is common, and as they feel freer to rebel against different kinds of oppressions, they can make claims to new identities, solidarities, and communities (Bauman 2001; Delanty 2003). As a result, myriad communities can be imagined locally, nationally, and transnationally.

Purely symbolic communities, only based on agreement or on a particular discourse, without strong bonds of commitment and obligations, are fleeting and dissatisfying though (Bauman 2001; Delanty 2003). Such communities, which Bauman (2001: 72) calls "carnival communities," can emerge from threats, festive events, problems, or aesthetic experiences. A symbolic or a discursive community based on superficial transient bonds cannot be sustained leaving persons with just the desire to belong (Delanty 2003). Therefore, the symbolic or communicative dimension is not sufficient for community flourishing either.

Community practices linking culture and structure

Communities need both cultural and structural foundations to produce a sense of belonging among their members (Vaisey 2007; cf. Brint 2001). Combining cultural and structural elements, meaning-laden collective practices have been shown to bolster community experiences. Persons may engage in symbolic practices that represent the community (participating in community events, partaking in discursive practices, worshipping in the same manner, etc.) (Anderson 1983; Spillman 1994; Lainer-Vos 2014). More routine activities, such as holding periodic meetings, sharing information (about what is good and right, for example), and organizing a system of acculturation and education, can have an integrative role too

(Anderson 1983). Activities aiming at providing collective goods or at achieving common goals can also be focal points for communities (Calhoun 1980; Brint 2001; Collins 2010; Pirkey 2015). Communities as political projects call for collective action (Collins 2010).

Community practices not only produce a sense of belonging but also help maintain it over time. Communities can be created with the goal of sustaining high-risk activism (Nepstad 2004). Even in communities facing difficulties and failures, rituals and laughter produce emotions of solidarity that can keep communities alive (Summers-Effler 2005, 2010). In her long-term observation of a local housing community, Keller (2003) identifies a combination of structural and cultural elements that she considers essential for creating and maintaining communities. The structural factors in Keller's (2003) account include a bounded territory, a set of rules, a leadership structure, and strong personal relationships. Criteria of membership related to a "we" feeling, community values, a belief system, and a community myth are the cultural factors she identifies. Shared rituals bring all of these community elements together. The result can be a transcendental experience of a community spirit (Keller 2003). The evidence for community continuity, however, is based on local communities.

Continuity and proliferation of non-local communities

To sum up, structural accounts are pessimistic about the possibility of creating community experiences across large distances, let alone the possibility of community continuity, because of the fragmentation of persons' social networks. In symbolic and cultural accounts, community proliferation is the result of the unlimited possibilities of thinking and talking about community. Community experiences and continuity, however, are difficult to achieve in the absence of structural connections. Community proliferation and community continuity in such accounts are opposites and do not co-occur. New symbolically grounded communities result from the breakdown or the impossibility of old ones. In practice-based accounts, structural and cultural factors come together in concrete local action resulting in experiences of belonging. Locally oriented practice-based explanations have a difficulty in explaining the existence, continuity, and proliferation of non-local communities.

To create a sense of belonging, large-scale communities need to meet a difficult challenge. Simultaneously, they must produce strong interpersonal bonds across space, generate a unifying symbolic core, and instigate meaningful community practices. Community continuity would depend on maintaining these three elements over time. Community proliferation would in turn need an explanation other than dissatisfaction with existing communities. The institutional logic perspective, which I discuss next, offers an account of how communities, especially large-scale ones, can address this challenge.

INSTITUTIONAL LOGICS AND COMMUNITY

The continuity and proliferation of communities can be explained by the institutionalization of community pursuits into an institutional logic. An institutional logic involves "unique organizing principles, practices, and symbols that… condition actors' choices for sensemaking, the vocabulary they use to motivate action, and their sense of self and identity" (Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury 2012: 2). Institutional logics contribute to continuity through persons embracing ideal models that offer ready-made solutions for thinking and acting in a set of circumstances across space and time. Proliferation can result from groups applying such models in various contexts.

People's concerns about the disappearance of traditional communities and efforts to recreate communities can crystallize into community logics. Affective experiences can be rationalized and valorized to form a type of interest (Swidler 2001). The pursuit of community experiences can be one such rational interest. The institutionalization of different types of rational pursuits can be the foundation of institutional orders. An interest in community can thus constitute one such order. Indeed, the community logic has been recognized as one of the foundational institutional logics organizing contemporary social life (Marquis, Lounsbury, and Greenwood 2011; Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury 2012).

The establishment of a community logic implies that structural, cultural, and practice components are bundled together. The community logic functions as an ideal type defined by emotional connectedness to and personal investment in a group and by a commitment to common values, cooperation, and reciprocity that can be put into action (Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury 2012, especially Table 3.2: 73). Contemporary communities can be a "symbol for egalitarianism" (Collins 2010: 25). They evoke powerful emotions that can be a resource for mobilization as they can motivate action (Collins 2010; Marquis, Lounsbury, Greenwood 2011). Modern communities often have an aspirational character and represent political projects (Brint 2001; Calhoun 1980; Collins 2010; Dorow and O'Shaughnessy 2013; Keller 2003). Communities pursue their ideals while engaging in institutional building (Djelic and Quack 2010).

Communities can proliferate and endure thanks to relational-symbolic-and-action-oriented templates groups interested in community building can adopt. Once institutionalized as an ideal type, the community logic can be implemented in various contexts, locally, nationally, transnationally, and virtually. While distinct, all such efforts share enough family resemblance to be recognizable as communities of a particular kind. Municipalities, for example, continue to have "community" effects on organizations located within them (Marquis and Battilana 2009). Communes (Vaisey 2007) and community-supported agriculture (Pirkey 2015) are examples of small-scale applications of the community logic. Nations-states follow a particular nation-as-a-community logic (cf. Anderson 1983; Meyer et al. 1997; Spillman 1994). Persons' lived experiences of community across national borders and virtually also represent recognizable models (ethnic diasporas, religious communities, open source communities, etc.) (Brint 2001; Djelic and Quack 2010). Groups of people committed to the community logic can generate countless instantiations of community institutional templates across time and space.

Does the rational pursuit of community result in actual community experiences? In cases when it does, persons would be motivated to maintain the arrangements that produce the experiences, which would lead to community continuity. In cases when the rational pursuit of community does not lead to community experiences—and provided persons want such experiences and have adopted aspects of the community logic—they would be motivated to seek better arrangements that may lead to experiencing community. If new community-building efforts are successful, this scenario would result in community proliferation.

HYBRIDIZATION AND COMMUNITY

The proliferation of communities can also result from the hybridization of the community logic. The community logic is one of several institutional logics constituting an interinstitutional system, comprised of coexisting institutional orders in a given place and time (Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury 2012). The coexistence of multiple institutional logics implies the possibility of cross-pollination between logics and the hybridization of the community logic (Mayntz 2010;

Skelcher and Smith 2015). Communities may therefore exist in hybrid forms combining the community logic and other logics.

Conflict is an important way through which community hybridization can account for community proliferation. Hybrid communities in which the community logic competes with other interest-based logics can be conflict-prone (cf. Djelic and Quack 2010). Conflicts can lead to factionalism and to the formation of new communities. Both the desire to create better communities and the pursuit of various rational interests can motivate groups to embark on new community-building projects.

Community and governance

Non-local communities may find it beneficial to adopt hybrid organizational forms blending the community and the bureaucratic logic. For communities aiming at creating connections across large distances, the need for coordination and governance is critical. The bureaucratic logic is particularly well suited for allowing such coordination and governance. The rise of organizations (Perrow 1991; Meyer and Bromley 2013), especially transnational ones (Boli and Thomas 1997), is in fact one key development accompanying the increasing importance of social interactions and social units forming across large distances. Communities spanning multiple localities, therefore, may benefit from taking advantage of such social inventions and adopting the bureaucratic logic.

While useful in terms of coordination and governance, the bureaucratic logic contradicts the community logic. The bureaucratic logic presupposes a hierarchical structure whereas the community logic implies horizontal relations. A tension between the two is likely to be present in communities adopting the bureaucratic logic. Communities may strive to develop organizational forms more in line with the ideal of horizontal relations prioritized in the community logic. Consequently, some form of grassroots participation—versions of the c-form (Seidel and Stewart 2001)—is expected to parallel if not outright replace the hierarchical organization behind the bureaucratic logic in communities.

Community and rational interests

Persons' experiences of community do not preclude the pursuit of rational interests in the context of a community. Community and other interest-based pursuits can occur simultaneously through the merging of the community logic and other logics (Mayntz 2010). The rise of the bureaucratic logic and the dominance of organizations (Perrow 1991; Boli and Thomas 1997; Meyer and Bromley 2013) indicates the importance of rationalization and a focus on interests. This deliberate aspect of social life can be paralleled by affective experiences, such as those denoted by the concept of community. The actualization of a community logic can thus involve both rationalized interest-based pursuits and affect-laden community experiences.

The visibility of the community logic depends on the extent to which the community logic dominates over other logics groups deploy to organize social life. In some instances, groups may be explicit in their attempts to build communities while pursuing other interests (e.g. Pirkey 2015). In other instances, however, persons may apply community principles and experience community without explicitly striving to build a community (for example, in a collaborative work environment). In such cases, the embeddedness of communities within other institutional orders masks the community logic and the experience of community and contributes to the impression that communities have disappeared.

METHODS

I examine the propositions developed above in light of the case of the Esperanto community. To conduct research on this community, I adopted a multi-method single-case-study approach allowing me to trace the trajectory of Esperanto and uncover social mechanisms on the ground while assuring data triangulation (George and Bennett 2005; Snow and Trom 2002).

Case selection

A research focus on the case of the community that formed around the constructed language Esperanto is methodologically advantageous for understanding modern communities for a number of reasons. With its beginning at the end of the 19th century and with its reliance on a social movement and on an organizational structure spanning the globe (Kim 1999; Garvía 2015), Esperanto is clearly a modern phenomenon. As a modern transnational community, Esperanto is a deviant case for the view that communities are disappearing and that proximity is necessary for the existence of community. Esperanto, therefore, can provide us with insights as to what makes modern communities spanning large distances possible.

The Esperanto case also represents an ideal testing ground for a theory proposing to explain modern community continuity and proliferation such as the institutional logics approach I propose. The Esperanto community's more than a century-long history exemplifies community continuity. Given the geographical dispersion of the community, this achievement is even more remarkable. Esperanto thus represents a counterexample for positions questioning the possibility of transnational community continuity. The multiplicity and diversity of Esperanto groups (Figure 2, Table 1) furthermore exemplifies the proliferation of modern communities implied by the increasing prominence of the community concept in the past century (Figure 1). By conducting process tracing (George and Bennett 2005) in the case of Esperanto, I assess the usefulness of an institutional logics approach for explaining the continuity of the Esperanto community and the proliferation of Esperanto groups.

Data triangulation

Data for the study of the Esperanto community come from several sources. Semi-structured interviews with key participants (Blee and Taylor 2002) tasked with leading the Esperanto movement informed me of the motivations and preoccupations that have guided long-term Esperanto leaders. Leaders' views reflect the community's taken-for-granted ideas. Thirty-two interviews with veteran members of the Esperanto movement in Bulgaria[1], the Czech Republic, Poland, and Romania who had been active since at least the 1980s were conducted in 2009. The sampling procedure consisted of a combination of snowballing–relying on the leadership of national organizations to put me in contact with activists–and directly contacting country delegates, usually active volunteers listed in the *Yearbook of the Universal Esperanto Association* and in online sources.

Participant observation alerted me to social mechanisms (Lichterman 2002) related to the institutionalization of the Esperanto community not necessarily evident in the interview data. Participant observation also clarified the extent to which taken-for-granted ideas were practiced by rank-and-file participants. Participant observation data come from occasional participation in movement activities in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Poland, and Romania in 2009, and in Denmark, Slovakia, and the United States in 2011.

Archival documents, available organizational data, and a secondary literature review (Clemens and Hughes 2002; Minkoff 2002; George and Bennett 2005) allowed me to

corroborate interview narratives and my observations as a participant and trace the history of the Esperanto community. Archival documents were retrieved from the collection of the Esperanto Museum of the Austrian National Library in Vienna, Austria, in the spring of 2012, and from Esperanto sources archived online. Organizational data come from Smith and Wiest's (2012) dataset of transnational social movement organizations.

ESPERANTO AS A PRODUCT OF MODERNITY

The Esperanto community grew out of preoccupations related to modernity. The rise of the nation-state and the international system, rationality, democracy and participation, universalism, and activism are all issues important to the Esperanto community (Garvía 2015; Lins 1988). Two related issues have historically been invoked as reasons for the existence of Esperanto, inequalities among nation-states and the so-called "international language problem." Many have been concerned about the cultural dominance of powerful nation-states imposing their languages and their cultures on others. Among its supporters, Esperanto is considered a solution to this problem because it is "neutral," meaning it does not belong to any nation-state (cf. Lins 1988). Thereby, using Esperanto is believed to alleviate inequalities in the nation-state system (Garvía 2015). For example, the Esperanto community has developed an inventory of works translated in Esperanto representing the cultural heritage of small and less powerful peoples, so that they are accessible to everyone proficient in Esperanto.

Esperanto, according to most of its proponents, is not meant to replace national languages, however, but only to facilitate international communication. Esperanto is thus only a helping or auxiliary international language, taught as a second language. Its purpose as a helping language is to solve the "international language problem," namely the issue of the language used for communication among persons belonging to different nation-states increasingly important with the advent of modernity. When communicating in a language belonging to a particular nation-state, some communicators (usually from powerful nation-states as noted) enjoy a further native language advantage. By removing the native-language advantage Esperanto is assumed to help place persons on a more equal footing during international communication.

Esperanto is a product of modern rationality and confidence in human ingenuity. As a "logical" language, Esperanto is believed to have an intrinsic value that makes it especially suitable to address the problem of inequality among nation-states and the international language problem. Esperanto is logical by design. It was developed by Zamenhof, an ophthalmologist fluent in Russian, Polish, and German, able to read French, and familiar with eight other languages, including Greek and Latin, between 1872 and 1885 (Kökény and Bleier 1933). Zamenhof used these competences to identify the most common or "international" roots, on the basis of which he constructed the vocabulary of the new language (Kökény and Bleier 1933). The grammar of the language is also logical, consisting of only sixteen grammar rules outlined in the "First Book" published in 1887 (Garvía 2015) and solidified in *Fundamento de Esperanto* (Zamenhof 1905). The rational development of Esperanto squarely places it in the camp of modern phenomena.

Modern concerns about democracy and popular participation are part of Esperanto's logic. The "logical" features of Esperanto make it easy to learn and therefore more accessible to the general public than other languages, which further justifies its use in pursuit of the above goals, according to many Esperanto enthusiasts. There is evidence supporting the belief that Esperanto is easy to learn. Esperanto is a mixture of elements of various European languages offering beginners who speak European languages some familiar ground, upon which they can

build communication skills fairly quickly. In addition to its simple grammar and familiar roots (particularly to speakers of the Latin-derived Romance languages), Esperanto is easy to write because it uses the Latin alphabet and is phonetic. Its twenty-eight sounds come from the Slavic languages but are common to other languages spoken in Europe and around the world too, which makes it easy to pronounce as well. Reportedly, it takes ten times less time to reach a proficiency level in Esperanto than to reach the same level of proficiency in English or in another common national language (Maxwell 1988). In my observation, experienced language learners are able to master the basics of the language and proficiently communicate with others only in a few weeks. The linguistic accessibility of Esperanto makes it more democratic, according to the language's proponents.

A universalist ethos—another feature of modernity (Boli and Thomas 1997)—is an essential part of the ideology of the global Esperanto community. Esperanto is referred to as the "international" language, of use to all nations and all persons. Esperanto advocates emphasize equality and solidarity around the world. The name of the language comes from the pseudonym its creator Ludwik Zamenhof used when he published his first book, namely "Doktoro Esperanto" (Dr. Hoping). In an autobiographical letter written to the president of the Boulogne Esperanto group in 1905 and included in the Encyclopedia of Esperanto, Zamenhof wrote about his dream of a day when all national hatreds would disappear, when the land would belong to everyone, when there would be a language used by everyone living in the land, and when people would love and understand one another (Kökény and Bleier 1933). This was Zamenhof's rallying cry for the Esperanto movement. Through communication equality Esperanto was thus expected to contribute to international understanding and friendship.

As a universalist response to the establishment of an unequal nation-state system and to the increased need for transnational communication by means of a simple and rationally constructed language, Esperanto is a quintessential modern political project. The formation and the success of the Esperanto community are inconceivable outside the entrepreneurial efforts of the Esperanto movement (Garvía 2015; Lins 1988). Activists have advocated for the Esperanto language, have recruited and educated new enthusiasts, have built organizations, have established and defended community principles and practices, and have engaged in extensive cultural production. This work highlights some of these efforts. The Esperanto movement has embraced the promise of the modern "movement society" (Meyer and Tarrow 1998) to create a more equal and just world in which persons interact with one another across borders in peace and harmony. About a-century-and-a-half-old, this idealist pursuit is the driving force behind one of the longest lasting non-state nonreligious transnational communities in history.

ESPERANTO AND BELONGING

Despite being the artifact of modern rationality, Esperanto has produced a sense of belonging among many people. Identification with symbolic categories such as *Esperanto*, *Esperantist*, and *Esperantujo* denotes an experience of belonging to a distinct community and a normative commitment to its values. The significance of friendship in narratives of involvement reflects the emotional strength of persons' sense of belonging.

Esperanto refers to an actual language and language practices and to ideals to which its proponents aspire. Esperanto is at the center of the Esperanto community. It ensures the symbolic unity of the community, which, according to some estimates, consists of two million Esperanto speakers around the world (Simons and Fennig 2018). Esperanto ideals include communication equality, international understanding, and friendship. Persons identified with Esperanto are

called *Esperantists*. The term implies proficiency of the Esperanto language and support of Esperanto ideals.

Esperantists use the term *Esperantujo* (meaning the "Esperanto country/community") for spaces and times when they experience their ideal of international understanding using Esperanto. The term simultaneously implies the existence of a transnational imagined community and relates to real-life instances when the Esperanto community is actualized (cf. Lainer-Vos 2014). International gatherings where participants have the opportunity to interact with people from all over the world are the clearest examples of such spaces. Esperanto World Congresses are the best-known instances of *Esperantujo*. Since the first World Congress in 1905, World Congresses have taken place yearly, except during the world wars, drawing participants usually in the thousands (UEA 2018). Persons I interviewed shared their excitement about and fondness of such gatherings.

An emotion-laden expression of experiencing belonging is the importance of *friendship* to Esperantists. Friendship was referenced in all data sources I consulted. When I asked my interviewees what motivated them to participate in the Esperanto community, all but one responded that they valued the strong personal friendships they could develop with people from other countries. (The one person who did not reference international friendships valued her friendships with Esperantists in her local club and in her country.) Traveling internationally, hosting international visitors, and corresponding with people from other countries facilitated the creation of transnational ties experienced as concrete, strong, and significant articulations of a broader imagined community.

In addition to defining the personal connections developed through Esperanto as friendships, Esperantists use the term *friendship* for collaborative relationships among various entities. Esperanto archival documents for example abound with references to cross-border friendships. Friendships can be established between any kind of groupings, including clubs, towns, enterprises, professional groups, national associations, or nations. Emphasizing the importance of emotion-laden friendships indicates that for Esperantists participating in diverse modern organizational forms does not preclude experiencing traditional community belonging.

Participant observation at random points in time in several locations around the world allowed me to observe how a sense of Esperanto community belonging is created. Esperanto gatherings are intense often-weeklong happenings where one is immersed in the Esperanto language and in sharing the experience of learning and of numerous activities with others. Such intense experiences create strong interpersonal bonds among participants that are associated with participation in the larger community (cf. Lainer-Vos 2014). Repeated immersion solidifies the association between personal connectedness to concrete others and the imagined transnational community. Even persons who do not care much about Esperanto ideals would regularly return to such experiences. Participants would occasionally even find significant others and start families through their participation in the Esperanto community, an indication of the meaningfulness of the experience. Native speakers of Esperanto are usually offspring of such unions. The importance of categorical identification with the community and of friendship, together with the longevity of the Esperanto community, lead me to conclude that Esperanto is capable of consistently producing a sense of belonging, at least among some people.

SOLVING THE PROXIMITY PROBLEM IN THE ESPERANTO COMMUNITY

As a transnational community with members from around the world, the Esperanto community has been strategic in addressing the proximity problem nonlocal communities must

solve to ensure their continuity. The community has used a number of strategies to reinforce a sense of belonging among its members despite their global dispersion. Among these, the most important are the following. (1) The Esperanto language as a symbolic center of the community grounds its main practices. (2) Communication exchange technologies facilitate connections across large distances. (3) A complex organizational structure grounds the community locally, nationally, and globally. The Esperanto language and practices related to it, the communication exchange technologies the community has established, and its organizational infrastructure have become institutionalized and constitute a unique community logic that can be and has been adopted by different groups across space and time (cf. Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury 2012).

The Esperanto language as a symbolic center of the community

The Esperanto language ensures the symbolic cohesion of the community across the globe. The centrality of the language is reflected in the importance afforded to material objects and practices associated with the language. A ubiquitous green star represents the language and the community. The community expends significant efforts to curate and propagate the Esperanto language. An Esperanto Academy is in charge of maintaining the Esperanto language standard. Grammar books and dictionaries regularly published by the community reinforce the building blocks of the language. Language instruction figures prominently at Esperanto gatherings at all levels. A variety of indirect means of communication continuously reinforces symbolic affiliation with the community and helps coordinate community practices. Esperantists write original books, translate books into Esperanto, produce language-learning materials, and publish periodicals of various durations and scopes to demonstrate the utility of the language and connect with others indirectly. Shared narratives about the origins of Esperanto and about its purpose strengthen community cohesion. A set of principles and moral commitments related to the language comprise a common Esperanto aspirational arsenal. One of the goals of the community has been to demonstrate that it is possible and desirable to develop and transmit culture in a neutral international language. The identity practices of the community also revolve around the language as noted. The Esperanto language as a focal point of the community provides meaning and organizes the activities of the community.

Communication exchange technologies in the Esperanto community

As a standardized modern language, Esperanto is not only a symbol and an ideal end to which its proponents aspire but also a means of actual communication across large distances. Communication in the Esperanto community is conducted primarily in Esperanto. The imagined Esperanto community is actualized in countless individual and collective acts of communication. Direct and indirect Esperanto communication is facilitated by a variety of modern transportation and communication technologies.

Esperantists value direct communication as a foundation of their community and make significant efforts to ensure direct communication among community members takes place on a regular basis in the context of spaces and times for which they use the term *Esperantujo*. Esperantists, however, realize that, in a transnational community like theirs, direct communication is not always possible. Accordingly, they have experimented with and adopted a number of indirect communication technologies to make communication possible across large distances. To organize and make information relevant to the community available to those who need it across borders, Esperantists have established information hubs, most notably address books, archives, and bibliographies.

Direct communication occurs in the context of *Esperantujo*, the Esperanto country/community, produced through periodic face-to-face interactions. Across the globe, local groups make sustained face-to-face interactions possible among Esperantists living relatively close to one another. Local groups also host visitors, who have an instant access to the community wherever they travel. Increased opportunities for domestic and international travel allow the organization of regular national and transnational gatherings (congresses, language immersion courses, etc.) providing Esperantists with sustained periodic opportunities to interact with distant others face-to-face (cf. Lainer-Vos 2014).

In-between gatherings, contacts among Esperantists within and across nations are maintained virtually through a variety of public and private media, most notably periodicals and other publications, correspondence, radio, and, as of recently, the internet and social media. Historically, correspondence has been the foundation of private Esperanto communication, encouraged by Esperanto pen pal services. Periodicals have represented the voice of Esperanto groups publically. Esperantists have also practiced correspondence between groups, most notably between workers, and citizen journalism (Lins 1988). Recently, the Esperanto community has increasingly relied on the Internet and on other information technologies to sustain Esperanto communication around the world.

Information hubs are material representations of a community facilitating connections and participation in shared practices and fostering a sense of belonging. Prior to the information age, the Esperanto community relied on a clever paper-based technology that served as community information hubs, namely address books. Zamenhof used address books to reach potential recruits, encourage the spread of Esperanto, and build a community. According to the Encyclopedia of Esperanto, Zamenhof's first booklet contained a page entitled "Promises," which readers could sign and send back to him pledging to learn the international language (Kökény and Bleier 1933). Zamenhof collected the names and addresses of Esperanto pledges and published them in a series to encourage further recruits. The first address book was published in 1889 and contained a thousand entries. The list grew continuously over the next several decades reaching 22,000 in 1909 (Kökény and Bleier 1933). The address book practice would become a regular feature of Esperanto groups and gatherings at all levels. For example, the Universal Esperanto Association (UEA) publishes a yearbook in which the organization lists its national and local delegates. Address books allow easy access to useful information about Esperanto and facilitate connections among Esperantists. Interested individuals can find local clubs they may wish to join while traveling Esperantists can find a friendly circle of Esperantists wherever they go.

To document and display the active cultural production of their community, Esperantists engage in archival and in bibliographic work, also helping with organizing and justifying the Esperanto project (cf. van Dijk 2008). Esperanto libraries and museums preserve and showcase many Esperanto books, periodicals, and other artefacts. Three of the largest Esperanto collections are held in the Esperanto Museum with the Austrian National Library in Vienna, Austria, in the Hector Hodler Library of the Universal Esperanto Association in Rotterdam, the Netherlands, and in the Butler Library of the Esperanto Association of Britain. Bibliographic reference works are common among published offerings in Esperanto (e.g. Hernández Yzal, Máthé, and Molera 2010).

Organizational structure

Another important factor that contributed to the spread and endurance of Esperanto globally was the establishment of a complex multiscale organizational structure that would stand for and uphold the principles of the community as well as conduct its regular business (Garvía 2015; van Dijk 2008). Esperanto organizations exist at the transnational, national, and local levels with many interlinkages among them. Transnational organizations link persons and groups across national borders. The Universal Esperanto Association (UEA), founded in 1908, is the oldest and most important transnational Esperanto organization serving as an umbrella for many other groups (cf. van Dijk 2008). UEA has a central office located in Rotterdam, the Netherlands, transnational and national affiliates and local delegates and offices. The central office coordinates the global presence of the Esperanto movement. National associations direct Esperanto developments at the national level (Lins 1988). Many but not all national associations are represented in UEA. There are many national associations, seventy of which are members of UEA (UEA 2018). Historically, local groups have provided spaces for the most regular Esperanto activities. Local, national, and transnational groups rely on a hierarchical structure with usually elected leadership.

The hierarchical multiscale structure of the community is supplemented by a participatory delegate/consul network. Delegates or consuls are active volunteers who serve as local point persons connecting traveling Esperantists with the local Esperanto community. The combination of a pyramidal transnational organizational structure and strong decentralized local and inter-local participation encourages unity, significant local autonomy, direct and indirect contacts at different scales, and personal investment in the community.

An Esperanto community logic

An institutional logic consists of symbols, practices, and organization that allow persons to make sense of their experiences and their place in the world (Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury 2012). According to these criteria, the Esperanto language and the practices it grounds, the Esperanto communication exchange technologies and the communications they facilitate, and the Esperanto organizational structure constitute an institutional logic. The Esperanto community logic provides templates of symbols, practices, and organizations that can be transposed across space and time and that ensure the continuity of the Esperanto community and the proliferation of its concrete manifestations. An Esperanto gathering taking place in the context of a World Congress nowadays, for example, would have a lot in common with an Esperanto gathering in Białystok, Zamenhof's native town, in the 1900s.

ESPERANTO COMMUNITY HYBRIDIZATION

The Esperanto community does not live in isolation from the rest of the world. On the contrary, Esperantists are engaged in the world and take advantage of new developments. For example, Esperantists opposed war efforts and engaged in humanitarian actions during World War I, were active participants in the labor movement of the 1920s and 1930s, opposed Nazism during World War II, and played an active role in East-West relations during the Cold War (Lins 1988). They have taken advantage of long-distance travel, publication technologies, mass correspondence, radio, and, most recently, the internet to pursue their goals. Through such engagement, the Esperanto community has come into contact with various logics of action and has been subject to hybridization. Hybridization is another source of community proliferation under Esperanto.

Hybridization in the Esperanto community occurs in at least two forms. One form of hybridization is the blending of the community logic and the bureaucratic (state/governance) logic. The mixing of a hierarchical organizational structure with decentralized grassroots participation indicates this kind of hybridization is present in the Esperanto community. Another form of hybridization is the mixing of the Esperanto community logic with various interest-based logics, most notably the professional logic and the business logic but also a leisure logic. The Esperanto community appears to have served as an umbrella under which different kinds of coordinated pursuits are possible.

Community and governance

The governance and coordination structure of the Esperanto community is of a mixed type. The community relies heavily on locally embedded delegates and grassroots participation. Parallel to this community form, the community has developed a hierarchical governance structure with elected representative positions at the local, national, and international level. In the Esperanto community, the bureaucratic logic supports the community logic and allows the continuity and proliferation of the community.

Grassroots-based participation is key to the continuity and gradual transformation of the community. The actualization of the Esperanto community logic relies on the initiative of local groups. UEA was conceived as a grassroots-based organization grounded on the ideas of local "consuls" or delegates and local offices or branches serving as information access points and as hosts welcoming travelers (Kökény and Bleier 1933). At the first UEA meeting held during the 1908 Esperanto World Congress, there already were 206 delegates and sixty-two offices in 249 locations across twenty-three countries with 1223 paying members (Kökény and Bleier 1933). As of 2018, UEA has 1669 delegates in 102 countries (UEA 2018). This community organizational form readily embraced by Esperantists allows local self-sufficiency and inter-local reciprocity.

While more controversial and occasionally subject to contestation, the hierarchical governance structure of the Esperanto community has similarly been crucial for the continuity, spread, and gradual transformation of the community (Garvía 2015; Lins 1988; van Dijk 2008). Local, national, and international Esperanto leaders take advantage of opportunities and deal with constraints at their respective scale. In the mid-twentieth century, for example, many national-level Esperanto leaders in Eastern Europe were communists (Lins 1988). Ideological affinities between Esperanto leaders and state socialist governments allowed the flourishing of the Esperanto movement in the region while other movements were less successful, in terms of organizational presence (Figure 3). Presidents of the Universal Esperanto Association, including the Croatian Ivo Lapenna and U.S. Humphrey Tonkin, built bridges across the Iron Curtain to maintain transnational contacts between the ideologically opposed East and West.

The bureaucratic logic assists the community logic in the coordination of personal relations within the community too. The community has established transnational organizations to facilitate contacts among individual Esperantists across borders. A correspondence service helps interested individuals find international pen pals. A hospitality service connects traveling Esperantists with local hosts willing to welcome visitors by showing them around and/or by hosting them in their homes.

Community and rational interests

The centrality of Esperanto organizations in the Esperanto community reflects the importance of rationalization and, relatedly, of the hybridization of the Esperanto community logic and other logics. Esperanto organizations embody the formation and longevity of interest-based community ties. The proliferation of Esperanto organizations in turn reflects the growth of Esperanto-based communities. For most of the twentieth century, Esperanto organizations experienced a steady growth (Kim 1999; Figure 2). In terms of number of transnational organizations, Esperanto was comparable to the human rights movement, the peace movement, and the women's movement (Figure 2). In fact, human rights, peace, women's and many other issues were central to the various Esperanto groups that sprung up (Table 1). Esperantists were able to form and sustain Esperanto communities while pursuing other interests.

Blending the Esperanto community logic with other logics and collectively pursuing rational interests, Esperantists have demonstrated the numerous ways in which community and associational life can coexist, flourish, and complement one another. Esperanto has been used to promote various causes: international peace and solidarity, environmentalism, rights, including the rights of religious and ethnic minorities, communism, and labor (Table 1; see also Lins 1988). Professional organizations have developed international contacts in pursuit of their professional interests via Esperanto (Table 1). Persons interested in cultural diversity or in specialized hobbies could join a number of specialized Esperanto organizations (Table 1). Cultural and artistic institutions such as exhibits, publishing houses, radio programs, and theater troupes have thrived thanks to Esperanto too. Because of the need to be self-sufficient financially, the Esperanto community has also experimented with the business logic founding for instance publishing houses and tourist agencies. Leisure has also been important for the Esperanto community with amateur leisure activities comprising a sizable portion of Esperanto groups (Table 1). The growth and continuity of the Esperanto community have largely depended on the hybridization of the Esperanto community logic and on the community's active participation in rational associational life.

DISCUSSION

Contribution to the study of community

First and foremost, this work contributes to the study of community and especially to our understanding of community continuity and proliferation (cf. Bauman 2001; Calhoun 1980; Delanty 2003; Djelic and Quack 2010; Keller 2003; Mayntz 2010; Summers-Effler 2005). I highlight two mechanisms that allow modern communities to proliferate and to flourish continuously across large distances (cf. Calhoun 1980; Djelic and Quack 2010; Mayntz 2010), namely the institutionalization of community logics and the hybridization of these logics (cf. Marquis, Lounsbury, and Greenwood 2011; Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury 2012; Skelcher and Smith 2015). Community continuity across space and time can be ensured via the development of a community institutional logic. The establishment of a community logic implies the rationalization of community and the crystallization of a set of symbols, practices, and organizations comprising an ideal model of what a kind of community entails. A community logic can include related but analytically distinct dimensions, each consisting of symbolic, of material, and of practice-based components:

- a symbolic center/totem (ex. language), its material representation(s) (ex. grammar books, dictionaries), and practices related to it (ex. language-based activities);

- communication exchange technologies, namely information hub(s) and communication channels (the content, materiality, production, and consumption of address books, periodicals, internet, etc.);
- organizational structure and related spaces, materials, and practices allowing place-bounded participation and governance at the scale (local, national, and/or transnational) delimiting the community spatially (ex. rules, by-laws, meetings, and related activities);

A community is produced and maintained through persons' symbolic affiliation and practical involvement with these distinct dimensions of communities. Persons' simultaneous engagement with the various dimensions of a community in this conceptualization is analogous to the multiplexity condition identified as important for local communities (cf. Calhoun 1980). Not every community participant engages with all community dimensions to the same extent if at all. Persons can occupy different positions in the community based on their level of engagement.

In the case of the transnational Esperanto community, personal face-to-face interactions and the development of strong personal ties with a subset of community participants in the context of community practices is important (cf. Calhoun 1980; Djelic and Quack 2010; Lainer-Vos 2014). While face-to-face interactions are not continuous, they are periodic and repeated, thus creating the impression of continuity of the imagined global community over time. Indirect communication, community symbols, organization, and practices strengthens this impression.

Proliferation of communities can be ensured in two ways. First, once institutionalized, the community logic constitutes an ideal model, a template, that can be applied in different circumstances, locally, nationally, and internationally. Different manifestations of a transnational community such as Esperanto can multiply following the ideal model of the particular community institutional logic.

Second, communities can proliferate through hybridization. Hybridization involves the mixing of the community logic with other institutional logics (cf. Skelcher and Smith 2015). Groups can embrace the community logic while also pursuing various rational interests. The pursuit of the latter can obscure the existence of community, which nonetheless does not disappear in the process. The implication is that community and rational associational life are not necessarily opposed but can be complementary (cf. Tönnies [1887]2001; Calhoun 1980).

Contribution to the institutional logics perspective

In contribution to the institutional logics perspective, I show how the community logic can simultaneously organize social life at the local, national, and transnational level (cf. Marquis, Lounsbury, and Greenwood 2011; Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury 2012). In the case of Esperanto, the institutionalization of a community logic as an ideal model allowed the establishment and flourishing of a transnational community grounded at the local, national, and transnational scale. The transposable nature of the Esperanto community logic across space and time facilitated the proliferation of local circles, national associations, and transnational organizations all associated with an imagined global Esperanto community.

The importance of the process of hybridization in the case of the Esperanto community implies that the community logic is likely to often be embedded with other institutional developments. In the Esperanto community, the community logic coexists, for example, with the professional logic in professional Esperanto organizations and with the business logic in different Esperanto enterprises among others. This raises important questions for future research: How widespread is the hybridization of the community logic? How does the community logic contribute to the workings of other institutional logics?

Contribution to global and transnational sociology

Global institutionalism emphasizes the key role rationalization plays in the establishment of a world culture (Boli and Thomas 1997; Meyer et al. 1997; Meyer and Bromley 2013). Organizations and institutions, such as the nation state, science, and education, have been singled out as the primary manifestations of global rationalization. If Esperanto is indicative of the modern transformation of community, it appears that community has also been subject to rationalization. Rather than disappearing, community has become another rational institutional logic groups can adopt in pursuit of a sense of belonging across the world. The extent to which a community logic complements or conflicts with other institutional logics is another topic for future research.

The establishment of a global community institutional logic implies that transnational communities are not only possible but can endure (cf. Djelic and Quack 2010; Mayntz 2010). While distance presents serious challenges to cross-border community building, it does not eliminate its achievability. By adopting effective community models consisting of a set of principles, practices, and symbols (Marquis, Lounsbury, and Greenwood 2011; Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury 2012), transnational communities can facilitate their long-term survival and proliferation. Esperanto is but one example. Transnational religious communities, such as Catholicism and Islam, have experimented and achieved successes with their respective community-building approaches.

Contribution to the sociology of language

The case of Esperanto supports the view that language is an instituted process and illustrates community-related mechanisms involved in language institutionalization. Language, specifically constructed languages and language standards (English, French, Spanish, etc.), can serve as foundations of large-scale communities. Such languages can have two roles in communities, as symbolic foci and as actual means of communication used in community interactions. Simultaneously, communities can support the spread and the use of languages by adopting them as their symbolic foci and as their means of communication and by developing related practices.

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Figure 1. Popularity of the concept *community*, compared to two other important concepts, *nation* and *globalization*, in books in English, 1900-2000, according to Google Books Ngram.

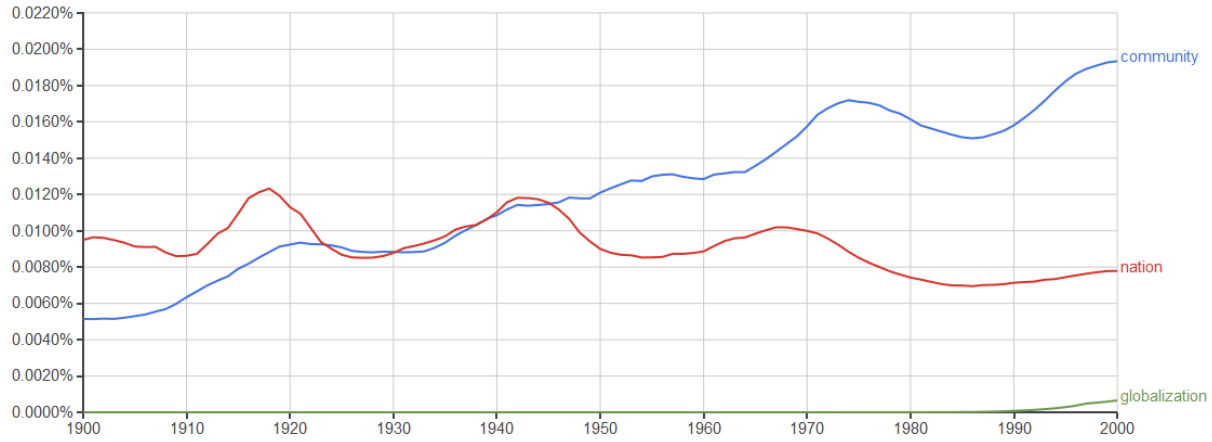

Figure 2. Transnational social movement organizations around the world, 1953-1993, based on Smith and Wiest's (2012) data.

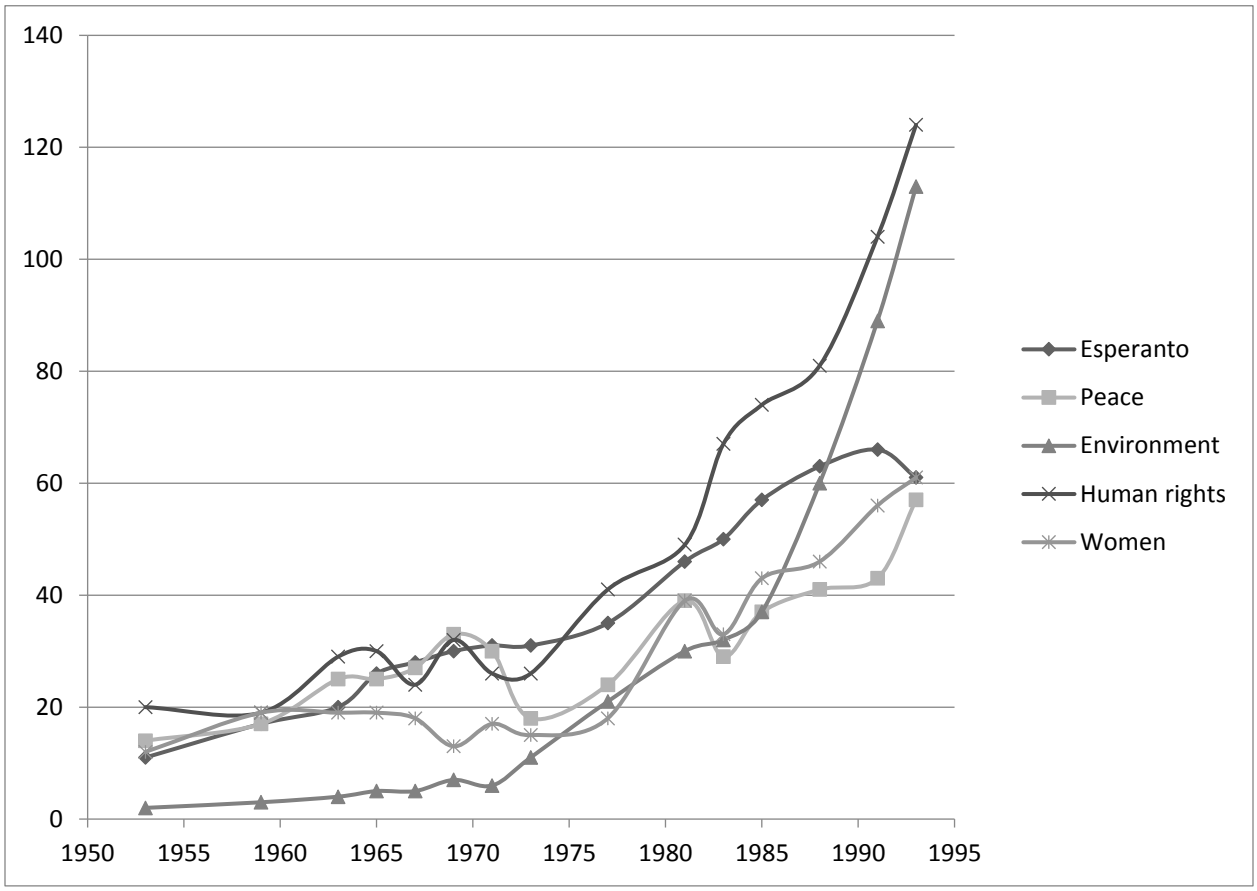

Figure 3. Transnational social movement organizations with Eastern European members, 1953-1993, based on Smith and Wiest's (2012) data.

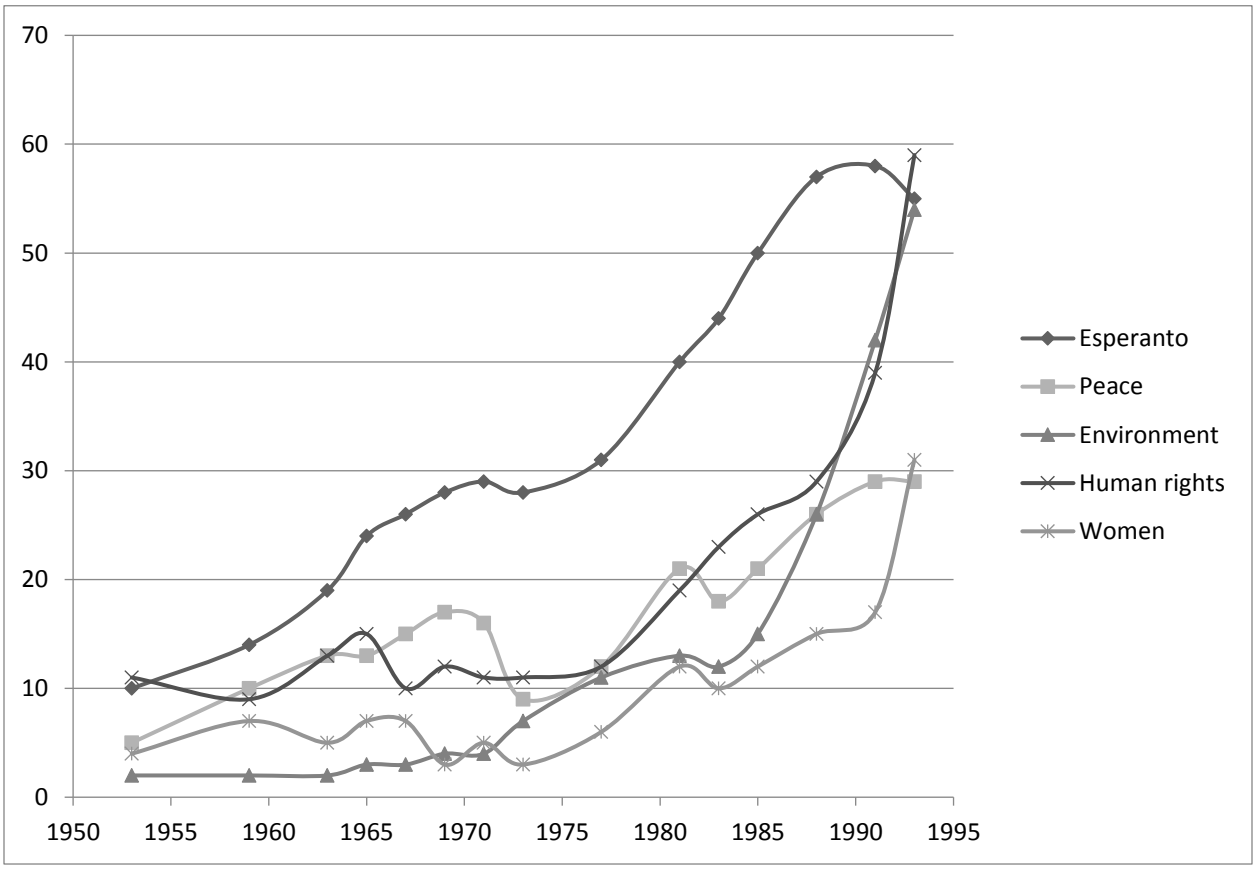

Table 1. Transnational Esperanto organizations by type, 1991 (N=66), based on Smith and Wiest's (2012) data.

Type	Number of organizations	Percent of all	Sub-types
Professional	16	24	agricultural specialists, artists, commerce professionals, doctors, journalists, jurists, librarians, mathematicians, ornithologists, philologists, postal and telecommunication workers, railway workers, scientists, teachers, writers
Hobby	13	20	automobile enthusiasts, book clubs, chess enthusiasts, cyclists, Go enthusiasts, philatelists, photographers and cinematographers, radio amateurs, radio listeners, Scouts, tourism association
Media	10	15	correspondence service, Esperanto museum, journalists, librarians, musicians, philatelists, photographers and cinematographers, postal and telecommunication workers, radio amateurs, radio listeners
Language	8	12	Esperanto academy, international language associations, philologists
Solidarity	7	11	Committee for ethnic liberties, Europe-focused clubs, anational associations, Rotarians
Religion	6	9	atheists, Baha'i, Catholics, Christians, ecumenicals, Quakers
Art/creative	5	8	artists, musicians, photographers and cinematographers, writers
Environment	5	8	cyclists, nature conservationists, naturists, ornithologists, vegetarians
Literature	5	8	books clubs, librarians, writers
Science	5	8	Esperanto academy, Esperanto museum, ornithologists, science academy, scientists
Peace	4	6	friendship society, veterans, world peace movement, youth
Rights	4	6	blind, handicapped, homosexual, vegetarians
Politics	3	5	Committee for ethnic liberties, communists, European parliamentarians
Worker	3	5	anational associations, cooperative movement

[1] Eastern-European countries had the highest membership of the Universal Esperanto Association at the height of the movement in the late 1980s.