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**WEEKEND HUNGARIAN SCHOOLS AND KINDERGARTENS
IN THE HUNGARIAN DIASPORA**

Theses of Doctoral (PhD) Dissertation

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Introduction – Indication of the Research Topic

In the case of educational initiatives created in a variety of ways and for a variety of reasons, we can list a number of similarities and differences in terms of their functions, goals, target group, or effectiveness. Whether it is a formal, non-formal, or informal, physically accessible educational organisation, perhaps involving online learning, in general, one thing can be said for sure: each initiative generates a social space that creates a meeting point for a community of people. Weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens create this meeting/contact point for people who, in a social space different from their country of origin and its language and culture, have formed a need to live their own linguistic and cultural identity and pass it on to future generations.

Weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens now operate in many countries around the world, with their presence they respond to the educational, cultural and social needs of a growing number of Hungarian diaspora communities, and they can also play a role in their institutionalisation (Papp - Kovács - Kovács 2019). Getting to know their activities is a multifaceted task, and at the same time it also poses several dilemmas for the researcher. For the time being, it is not clear what we call a weekend Hungarian school and kindergarten, at the professional level we are currently only approaching the appropriate terminology. One of the most obvious reasons for this is that in many cases the institutions themselves operate in different organisational ways and from professional perspectives, adapting their scope of activities and functions to the needs of the local community. All this means that a system-wide examination of these institutions is needed not only from a terminological point of view, but also in order to be able to outline the operational framework that these institutions have created for themselves.

This research attempts to examine the weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens in a comprehensive, descriptive and analytical way, which is based in part on quantitative data, but is fundamentally qualitative. The analysis is justified on the basis of the qualitative responses of a marked group of weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens. We wanted to strengthen the scientific basis of the concept of ‘weekend Hungarian school and kindergarten’ by trying to include it in the traditional scientific concept system of sociolinguistics, pedagogy, educational research and sociology of education.

Indication of the Research Topic

Weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens can be considered as social institutions operating in a minority language situation, as one of the realisations of the educational and cultural transfer aspirations of the Hungarian diaspora and as forms of education established on an ethnic basis outside the formal school systems of the host countries concerned. In the early 1990s, the first authoritative studies on the variants of teaching the language and culture of origin and on weekend education institutions within the Hungarian diaspora communities appeared in the Hungarian literature. (Fejős 1991; Kovács 1998; Németh 2008; Mentsik 2008; Győri - Győrfi 2009; Papp 2008, 2010, Szentkirályi 2013, Varga 2014, Fogarasi - Fózer - Polgár-Turcsányi 2014, Gárdosi 2014, Petreczki 2016, Palotai - Szabó - Jarjabka 2017, Pávai - Rakitai 2017, Papp - Vaskó 2017, Palotai - Wetzl - Jarjabka 2019; Papp-Kovács-Kovács 2019); reviewing the international literature, so far researchers have only discussed the maintenance of the Hungarian language (see USA: Fishman 1966), but not its system-level(?) implementation yet.

Until now, each analysis has covered the functioning of institutions and the description of the social phenomenon they represent only in relation to the practices and institutional systems of each host country. These studies have been completed not only by researchers, but

also by principles or head teachers of some weekend Hungarian educational institutions, who contributed a new aspect to the existing information and knowledge about weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens by describing practical experiences. The research so far has focused on the topic mainly from a country-specific perspective; thus, the comprehensive perspective of our research fills a gap in the world of the emerging scholarly discourse on Hungarian weekends and kindergartens.

The topic of the doctoral dissertation was greatly influenced by the longer stay of the author of the dissertation in Israel with the help of various scholarships. Between 2017 and 2019, for two years, she had the opportunity to participate in several roles in the functioning of the Tel Aviv Hungarian School and Kindergarten: as a volunteer teacher, as a participant observer and a researcher. In February 2018, the author represented the institution at the Budapest Meeting of the Weekend Hungarian Schools, which also created an opportunity to establish professional relations with teachers and leaders of institutions operating within a similar framework. The two-year fieldwork provided an opportunity not only to learn more about the life of the Tel Aviv institution in terms of local conditions, the parents' and children's community, the relationship with the management but also to study the weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens in general in terms of diaspora policy, diaspora communities and the form of education. Arriving in New Zealand in 2019, the author was able to make use of her Israeli experience and, as a result of an action research/experiment carried out as part of a professional internship, became a founding member of the Auckland Hungarian School (AUškola), which started its first term in 2020.

This dissertation was written at a time of global realignment generated by a global health crisis which is bringing constant changes not only in terms of health, security, domestic and foreign policy and economic issues, but also in the field of education. These changes are forcing the adaptation of education systems around the world and requiring education providers to develop new skills and abilities and on a daily basis. The idea of learning has really changed a lot in the last few decades (Halász 2009), but it is increasingly so in the current period. The forced periodic 'exclusion' of the school as an educational medium in the physical sense has focused (at least for some time) on non-physical teaching and learning in many countries. Depending on the practice in each country, this period of a few months has drawn attention to a number of social and educational issues, such as the flexibility or inflexibility of the teaching and learning process and operational framework, the existing or missing tools and the social and economic situation of those involved, thus affecting both the problems and solutions related to the access to knowledge. The emphasis on online or digital education has perhaps drawn even more attention to the increasingly accepted and popular idea that learning can take place not only in school, within a formal framework, but also beyond its walls. In the context of non-formal learning, there has been a debate about extracurricular and/or out-of-school opportunities, their feasibility and effectiveness, but, given the current situation, moving away from the physical space, learning in an out-of-school, online environment also needs to be addressed more and more urgently by professionals. Seeing current processes, online or digital education can either be seen as a training option to replace formal learning (in crisis and applied consciously), as a complement to formal learning¹, or as a type of formal learning by expanding the concept of formal learning. Numerous studies and volumes have already discussed the interpretation and operation of non-formal learning in Hungary (Komenczi 2001; Tót 2002; Békési 2006; Váczy 2012; Farkas 2014; Imre 2018), however, they were only able to report relatively few orderly, systematic examples in line with international trends. Our research aimed to describe and

¹ The dissertation deals with digital education only in the way that concerns the topic of weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens, not with its current role in public education.

analyse a form of training that operates outside the formal education system, enabling learning to take place in a non-formal learning environment.

The justification for choice of topic is further expanded by the historical and current migration processes from Hungary to abroad; the continuous, numerical growth of weekend Hungarian educational institutions, thus presumably better visibility and institutionalisation aspirations (Papp - Kovács - Kováts 2019). Our research is also validated by the shift in diaspora policy discourse, in the framework of which in the last three years the state of Hungary has paid special attention to the operation of weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens.

Objectives of the Research

Until now, the Hungarian literature dealing with the topic of weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens has examined them in terms of practice and institutional system of each host country; a comprehensive analysis of these institutions from a broader perspective has not been carried out. Based on all this, the main objectives of the research were:

- a systematic presentation of ‘the internal world’ of weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens
- expanding and systematising the current knowledge about weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens
- placing the topic in a broader, sociological context of education
- to study the role and operation of weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens in the life of Hungarian communities living in the diaspora

Along this line, the study attempted the followings:

- to conduct a descriptive, typological and operational system-level examination of weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens
- to systematise the terminology of the topic, to review the validity of the dilemmas that arose in connection with it and to develop a basic concept
- for the multifunctional examination of weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens from three different contexts, for the review of their peculiarities with the help of selected articles from the domestic and international literature
- to place weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens on the educational map of the international and Hungarian school system
- to analyse the contact network of weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens
- to examine the networking process of weekend Hungarian schools,
- by presenting education in a socio-cultural context, to present the Hungarian communities living in the diaspora, to analyse its aspirations affecting education
- to explore the range of subsidies, expectations and opportunities from the motherland

Among the Appendices of the dissertation, we have given a special role to the presentation of the Hungarian School and Kindergarten in Tel Aviv (Israel) and the Auckland Hungarian School (New Zealand) in the form of case studies.

Throughout the period of research and the preparation of the dissertation, it was guided by the intention to approach the topic from a variety of perspectives, seeking to understand its deeper layers. The results of the research can provide useful information for pedagogical, sociological, sociolinguistic research by learning about a little-known type of training that goes beyond formal education.

The Questions of the Research and the Hypotheses

In connection with the topic of weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens, we formulated the following research questions and hypotheses:

1. Are there elements, common features along which the operation of weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens can be grasped, standardised and modelled?

H1: Weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens are complementary knowledge transfer institutions for children and young people of Hungarian origin but not growing up in Hungary; their nature and purpose of operation is largely shaped by the needs and opportunities of the local Hungarian diaspora community and the conditions prevailing in certain host countries.

2. Can we consider as a unified system the set of educational institutions operating in the diaspora, which we call weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens?

H2/a: Weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens can be described as a network of micro-schools that are at the same time a connecting/meeting point between two school systems (the host and the country of origin), but are located on the edge of them.

H2/b: Despite the marginal situation and the micro-school character, there are operational factors that, in addition to diversity, variety and decentralisation, still form weekend Hungarian educational institutions into a kind of system. In the case of education systems, the nature of the system becomes identifiable according to the range of participants, the criteria of regulation, funding and supervision.

3. Are weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens able to fulfil their basic function of passing on the heritage of origin (language, culture, identity) to the next generations of Hungarians; on what factors does its success depend?

H3: In the ecosystem of weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens, we can identify at least five main actors: the local community or management, the child, the parent, the teacher and the Hungarian state. The commitment and perspective of all actors is necessary for the successful and long-term realisation of the basic functions and goals of the institutions (language development, knowledge and culture transfer, identity strengthening). Interference by any actor in the functioning of the institutions is conceivable only in the interests of the other actors.

4. What are the benefits of weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens and the knowledge they provide, for children of Hungarian origin living in the diaspora; can different types of this be detected in specific host countries?

H4: The usefulness and benefits of the knowledge acquired in weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens are influenced by individual and family perspectives, the way of operation and expectations of the local society and the physical and temporal distance of the given diaspora community from the country of origin.

Research Methods

To answer the questions of the research, we conducted a study with several different systems of tools in different areas. The research is based on both quantitative and qualitative components; the application of quantitative methods contributed to the overall nature of the dissertation (questionnaire survey, questionnaire analysis), qualitative methods (document analysis, content analysis, field research [participant observation]) contributed to a deeper understanding of the results. The case studies/case descriptions in the Appendices of the dissertation provide an opportunity for a deeper analysis and understanding of the operation of two weekend Hungarian schools (and kindergartens) based on various methods (class and participant observations, semi-structured interviews, document analyses) from the point of view of collaborative/participatory action research.

In the case of the methodology of the research, we believe it is important to declare that we consider the various methods we use as complementary opportunities for acquiring the desired knowledge and information. We are aware that the qualitative and quantitative methods we use, as well as their combinations will to a certain extent interfere with the lives of the people and institutions involved in the research and accordingly could affect the results of the research (Babbie 2001). In the course of the research, due to the relative lack of familiarity of the topic, we considered it particularly important to validate the descriptive and exploratory point of view. In the case studies, strong objectivity in the sense of the “value-neutral, unbiased, non-preferential” attitude of the (natural) science attitude (Harding 1991, 1992; Banks 2007; Kovács 2019) could not be pursued for two main reasons: from a different approach to social science research in terms of objectivity as well as from personal involvement.

As our presence at the Hungarian School and Kindergarten in Tel Aviv and in the Auckland Hungarian School relied on both the participant and cognitive attitudes through collaborative/participatory action research as a scientific approach, thereby influencing the objective presentation of the object of cognition (in this case these institutions) in relation to the relationship with the cognitive subject. The consequence of the lack of rigid demarcation of this role was the provision of an opportunity to engage in the deeper layers of cognition, which created a subjective, yet judgment-free description - thus the subjective objectivity of the dissertation. More specifically, in the research effort that undertakes interpretation from its own perspective, but free from judgment. However, in order to maintain a scientific perspective, we considered it important to continually reflect on our self-involvement, thus avoiding the assumption of the “absolute truth”. The qualitative methods we used (interviews, fieldwork), regardless of our own presence, sought continuous observation with the least intervention, with descriptions and explanations of situations, phenomena and pedagogical situations. In doing so, we believe that we may have discovered hidden motives in the lives of the two schools and kindergartens that we would not have had the opportunity to do as an outsider.

Elements of quantitative data collection in our research included a questionnaire survey conducted by us, which sought to create a detailed and up-to-date database of weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens operating in the diaspora, revealing 1) the dilemmas of the term ‘weekend Hungarian school and kindergarten’, 2) their place in the education systems operating in Hungary and in the given diaspora, 3) the operational features of these institutions, 4) the external and internal relationship system of schools and kindergartens, 5) its goals and functions, 6) their common features, differences, specifics.

In addition to our questionnaire survey, we also relied on the data of the 2017 and 2019 surveys prepared by the State Secretariat for National Policy and the mapped database² published by the same government body, as well as the list of participants prepared at the 2018 Weekend Hungarian Schools Meeting with the aim of getting as comprehensive a picture as possible of the current situation of weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens. In the light of the above-mentioned information, the figures for our research developed as follows. By January 2019, combining the data which we collected with the available data, we had an Excel spreadsheet with data of 227 organisations which we had obtained information and contact details of. The list became narrower through contact and further data collection, as it turned out that several institutions 1) no longer exist, 2) exist but do not carry out educational activities at all, 3) exist but do not operate as weekend Hungarian school or kindergarten, 4) are located in a state neighbouring Hungary and offers the opportunity to learn Hungarian as a minority language at the level of local public education, in line with the children's daily schedule, thus there is no need or need to develop weekend education outside official school hours, 5) based on the available information, probably do not have a Hungarian connection. Following the application of these filters, the number of organisations which we categorised as either a weekend Hungarian school and/or kindergarten decreased to 160, registered as a legally independent, non-profit school / kindergarten, b) started by a previously registered association or club as one of its sub-organisations, not as an independent school/kindergarten. We have tried to contact any institution we have found contact details for. Subsequently, standardised questionnaire data collection took place during the 2019/2020 school year. Following the preliminary data collection, a questionnaire containing 62 questions was sent to 155 institutions (see Appendices), which was eventually returned by 39% of respondents, i.e. 61 institutions³. Data collection was performed using a standardised online questionnaire⁴. The relatively small number of respondents limits the in-depth quantitative analysis that can be done, which also reveals correlations but from almost all the countries concerned, one institution was included in the sample.

In the course of the research, we also used other methods, such as non-interventional methods like document analysis. This made it possible to include in the dissertation the current diaspora policy related to weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens, the non-formal learning opportunities available in Hungary (with special regard to the Tanoda program and Sunday schools) and to include documents on the role of background organisations related to weekend educational institutions in the dissertation. From these documents we would like to highlight the one from 2016 called Hungarian diaspora policy. Strategic Directions which we dealt with within the framework of current government positions and subsidies related to the Hungarian diaspora. We also paid special attention to the documents on the operation of the Tanoda program, which draw attention to the similarities and differences between the program and the weekend Hungarian schools, their role in the Hungarian society at home and abroad. In the course of the research, we considered it necessary to include recent and current documents (Nádasi, 1996; Kontra 2011) necessary for understanding pedagogical research in the analysis; we did not deal with historical source analysis.

As a methodological option, we used content analysis only in the aspect with which the online communication with the weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens and the publications published by the pedagogical products could be studied (Móré 2010). The sources of this

² Weekend Hungarian schools - map. National Register
https://www.google.com/maps/d/u/0/viewer?hl=hu&ll=51.91405259539451%2C-0.4165245546874985&z=8&mid=1yy8Ddc3wM_tJzYQXVmlOfijPiPE [09.10.2019]

³ The list of closed and non-weekend Hungarian school/kindergarten-type institutions, as well as the reasons for the termination, can be found in Appendices No. 2. supplement.

⁴ The questionnaire was conducted using the LimeSurvey program. (<http://www.limesurvey.org/en/>). The questionnaire was available to research-related institutions for 8 months. The questionnaire can be found in the Appendices.

content analysis was the websites of weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens, the websites of governmental and background institutions and community websites related to them, paying attention to media appearances related to our topic, the bias of media content and the quality of information provision.

The two case studies included in the Appendices of the dissertation signify their prominent places; these are organically related to the general, descriptive analysis of weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens; they complement, through organisational examples, a deeper understanding of the underlying topic of the research. By preparing case studies, we did not simply try to publish data, but attempted to develop a tool, the results of which supplements the picture formed by the first part of the dissertation in general, with unique examples through empirical data collection (Takács 2017). Our aim was to describe the individual meanings, processes and the hows and whys of both individual and special cases (Golnhofer 2001) by organising and interpreting the collected information. In the case studies included in the dissertation, we can get a closer picture – from the weekend Hungarian educational institutions worldwide – of the life, operation and characteristics of the Hungarian School and Kindergarten in Tel Aviv and gain insight into the history of establishment of the Auckland Hungarian School in New Zealand.

Structure of the Dissertation

The Introduction contains the designation, justification and validity of the research topic, as well as the outline of the structure of the dissertation. The second chapter entitled Theoretical and Interpretative Frameworks begins with the contextualisation of the concept of the weekend Hungarian school and kindergarten, then sheds light on the background and place of its Hungarian and foreign context as a social phenomenon along different typologies and dimensions (context according to sociolinguistic, diaspora history, form of education). Chapter 3 discusses the aims, hypotheses, research questions and terminology dilemmas surrounding the topic. Chapter 4 makes an attempt to systematically describe and analyse the weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens. The dissertation concludes with a summary of the results obtained by the research, drawing attention to future tasks and further research opportunities. The Appendices to the dissertation contain two detailed case studies that can be interpreted as deep analysis, which provide an insight into the life of the Hungarian School and Kindergarten in Tel Aviv and the history of the Auckland Hungarian School.

Results of the Research

In the PhD dissertation entitled Weekend Hungarian Schools and Kindergartens in the Hungarian Diaspora, we attempted to examine the educational initiatives in the title in a comprehensive descriptive and analytical way. In the introduction of the dissertation, we stated that weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens are organisations that create a social space, a meeting point for people of Hungarian origin who, in a social space other than their country of origin, have formed a need to live and experience their linguistic and cultural identity of origin and to pass it on to future generations.

In the course of our research, we identified 160 institutions in the Hungarian diaspora, which were described as weekend Hungarian schools and/or kindergartens due to their purpose, function and operational nature. Of this population, 61 institutions were included in the sample of our research - their headmasters/leaders and managers filled in the questionnaire used in the present study. The results show a picture along the Europe-America-Australia axle in terms of the geographical distribution of both the population and the sample population. Data on the profile of institutions indicate that most educational institutions in diaspora

communities offer education at both levels of education (school and kindergarten). Regarding the number of students, we found that its development is organically linked to the past and present perception of schools and kindergartens: the more a school becomes a part of a community and the more opportunities it offers children at different levels of knowledge, the more they can connect. Currently, the presence of first-generation immigrant families in the institutions can be grasped with great emphasis: for children whose parents (or even themselves) were born in Hungary. In the so-called old diaspora (USA, Canada, Australia and Sweden), children of second- and third-generation immigrant families are also present in high numbers. The data from our questionnaire survey indicated the outstanding participation of three age groups: students aged 3-6, 6-10, and 10-14; the presence of children/young people aged 0-3 and over 14 showed a lower proportion. In the course of our study, we also reviewed the information received from the answers to the questionnaire about teachers in weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens; based on these answers, we can see that most of the teachers have a pedagogical degree in Hungary, while a small group have obtained one in their host country. We can also see that the vast majority of them came to the given host country as first-generation immigrants.

The scientific discourse on educational initiatives in the diaspora is so far very limited; for the time being, a small number of professional studies, mainly written in Hungarian, are discussing the implementation of the transmission of the language and culture of origin at the individual and organisational level, and on the methodology of education. These mostly cover the operation of the institutions in terms of the practice and institutional system of each host country, the description of the social phenomenon they represent, i.e. they mainly touch on the topic from a country-specific perspective. Therefore, the power of novelty of our dissertation is that its comprehensive perspective-seeking nature fills a gap in the world of scientific discourse about weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens. As a first step, we examined current professional discourse at level of terminology. We found that there is no standardised explanation or terminology in the Hungarian literature regarding weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens, but rather there are several approaches explaining their activities. We have seen that the flexibility of the concept also appears at the level of choosing a name for each school: the data from our questionnaire research clearly indicate that the name of most institutions does not include the concept itself that needs to be explained. In addition to naming based on local conditions and the characteristics of the local community, there is also a tendency towards 'schooling' it. Therefore, the term 'weekend Hungarian school and kindergarten' (whether used in singular or in plural) became identifiable in a general way and in communication about the phenomenon, rather than as a term used at the level of practice. As a result of our research and field experience, we were able to determine a so-called basic concept and terminology, which can be a starting point, a positioning opportunity for the development and broadening of the discourse related to weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens:

Weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens are self-sustaining social, diaspora and training institutions with a unique image operating outside the formal education system, established by the diaspora Hungarians on an ethnic and/or religious basis, mostly with the participation of volunteers, which, in addition to the official school hours (mostly on weekends), offer supplementary education (learning the language of origin, subject, religious and general education skills) and provide cultural and traditional activities to strengthen and nurture the Hungarian identity of diaspora communities and their members.

The theoretical and interpretive framework of this doctoral dissertation and thus the role of weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens, were defined along three main dimensions: sociolinguistics, diaspora history and policy, education/training. Based on these, we identified weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens as social institutions operating in minority language situations; one of the implementations of the educational and cultural transfer aspirations of the Hungarian diaspora; as ethnically based forms of education outside the official school systems of the host countries. Finally, we subjected them to a multifunctional study with the help of our own research results and selected articles from the domestic and international literature. We would characterise our research mostly as a study based on quantitative data, but basically of a qualitative nature, the qualitative responses of which are marked by a marked group of Hungarian schools and kindergartens at the weekend. In the context of diaspora history/policy, weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens were seen as educational initiatives created by members of each diaspora community at different times; their gradual development contributes to the visibility of the Hungarian diaspora communities and the strengthening of their presence in the society of the host countries. From the sociolinguistics point of view, weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens, as social institutions, promote the “interweaving” of the same diaspora communities (Berger 2018). From the context of education/training, we identified them as a type of supplementary education, a supplementary school, a non-formal learning space and then, based on the literature, into three major and one controversial type - mother tongue-centric or culture-transmitting; effectiveness promoter; anti-mainstream; religious education. In the theoretical and interpretive chapter of the dissertation, we already highlighted the decentralised, community-based and community-oriented nature of weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens similar to supplementary schools. This means that the diaspora communities (in our case Hungarian) that establish these institutions do everything according to their own situation, needs and possibilities in order to develop the most appropriate type of operation, regulation and a specific image that also includes sufficient flexibility to deal with possible changes. Placing them on the map of the Hungarian education system, we saw that there are similar examples in Hungary. We highlighted the activities of the Sunday School Movement, which performs similar tasks in the scattered Hungarian settlements, which the weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens perform at the level of diaspora communities. Despite the similarity, we were able to identify a very important difference between the two organisations, namely the ability of self-organisation and its power. It has become apparent that while weekend or Sunday schools and kindergartens in diaspora communities have developed in the form of local needs-based initiatives focused on local needs over many years, the Sunday schools of the scattered settlements are the results of the voluntary work of enthusiastic educators living in Hungary but on weekends, helping the scattered Hungarian community living outside Hungary’s borders. Depending on the Hungarian education system, we also reviewed another domestic alternative to supplementary education, the Tanoda-program (see Appendices, Appendix 5). One of the cornerstones of both initiatives is the strengthening of cultural identity, but while weekend Hungarian schools combine the transfer of culture of origin with the transfer of language, ‘tanoda’ was designed to improve the effectiveness of student achievement in public education through their work and developments to reduce early school attrition and to compensate the disadvantaged. We also discussed the supplementary nationality education and training available to members of nationalities living in Hungary in relation to the topic (see Appendices, Appendix 5). We believe that the introduction of a similar training and legal category would raise the status of minority languages to a higher level in the countries inhabited by Hungarian diaspora communities and would provide an opportunity to preserve and pass on the minority language within the framework of public education.

The most important part of our research was the system-wide examination of weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens. Given the narrow but representative sample along some important variables, we could not give generally valid findings and explanations to all weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens in the world, however, the qualitative responses of a significant group of the population give our results a basis. In the course of the analysis, we reviewed the background of the management of the institutions included in the sample, their operational sources, the material conditions, the goals and the input and output conditions developed by the institutions. Based on the obtained results, we analysed in detail the system of school and kindergarten occupations in terms of the nature of educational organisation, its implementers and its professional regulators (curriculum, pedagogical programs, textbooks, methodology, progress and evaluation); we managed to highlight the specialties and attributes of each institution and the characteristics of the internal world of weekend Hungarian schools. Finally, we also discussed background but essential factors such as family language use and student motivation.

We present two case studies within the Appendices of the dissertation, which are intended to promote a deeper understanding of the information and results presented so far.

The main results of the dissertation are summarised along the research questions and the related hypotheses.

- 1) Are there elements, common features along which the operation of weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens can be grasped, standardised and modelled?

To answer this researcher's question, we start from the basic concept developed during the research process. According to this, in connection with weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens, we can already identify several common features based on the basis of operation (ethnic and/or religious motivation, volunteer work), the nature of the training (complementary, out-of-school), the target audience (children and adults in the diaspora) and the target system (language of origin, transmission of culture and traditions, identity strengthening, community building, advocacy). These common features are mainly due to the similar goal system, which builds an invisible link between weekend Hungarian schools. Yet, although we can identify similar goals in each institution, each institution chooses a different path to achieve them based on the needs of the local diaspora community and the internal community of schools. The same goals must be achieved within different frameworks (material and personal conditions, regularity, time, length, content of lesson), different regulations (progress, evaluation, methods) and in different environments (countries, cultures, students, educators, families). In the framework of the internal world of schools, mainly culture-specific common elements (Hungarian holidays, customs, traditions) can be observed, but there are host countries where a strong national identity and the dominance of the local cultural circle (see Israel) make room for a multicultural approach (see New Zealand), in our case the strengthening of the feeling of "Hungarian-ness", the feeling of 'otherness'. Finally, as a common element, we can identify the contribution of these institutions to the social visibility of Hungarian communities within the host country - but the path to this is also different in each community. Regarding the issue of the standardisation of weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens and our first hypothesis related to it, we can state that according to the results of the research, the operation of weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens cannot be standardised, in line with our hypothesis, because their operational nature is shaped by the needs and opportunities of local communities, similarly to the additional forms of training identified in Hungary (Tanoda program, supplementary nationality education), but unlike these there is no intention to standardise the operation and

profile of these institutions at community, national or institutional level, legal supervision, i.e. the definition of common and unified pathways.

2) Can we consider as a unified system the set of educational institutions operating in the diaspora, which we call weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens?

The uniqueness of weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens can also be grasped in the sense that they are not manifestations of a top-down intention in the public education system, but knowledge transfer systems created outside and besides it. These (micro) schools/kindergartens are a symbolic 'asset' of a given diaspora community, operate according to rules and ideas set up by community members and specialise in passing on knowledge accumulated and validated by generations. In addition to mediating the culture of Hungarian origin, it raises a special feature for weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens by raising the European dimension to knowledge and curriculum. This role not only offers a cultural heritage based on common foundations, but also creates the skills and abilities necessary for natural movement and orientation in the European community and the environment of origin (Vass 2000), even for children of Hungarian descent living on the most remote continent. In our research, we hypothesised that "H2/b: Despite the marginal situation and the micro-school character, there are operational factors that, in addition to diversity, variety and decentralisation, still form weekend Hungarian educational institutions into a kind of system. In the case of education systems, the nature of the system becomes identifiable according to the range of participants, the criteria of regulation, funding and supervision." However, our hypothesis cannot be substantiated based on the results. Rather, we see that a very fragmented and decentralised construction has developed from a bottom-up approach, the most characteristic feature of which is diversity and variety. Our research results clearly indicate that we cannot talk about a homogeneous weekend Hungarian school system, but rather about the currently built network of heterogeneous institutions, micro-schools and kindergartens in which the range of participants depends on the capabilities of the local communities, the regulation depends on the needs of the founders of the school and the members of the community, the funding depends on the individual nature of the operation and the needs of different sources of support and decentralised operation does not allow or require central or other supervision. In addition to the above, the development of an autonomous institutional system is hindered by the settlement/ locations of Hungarian communities living in the diaspora - the distance between the countries in both physical and cultural terms.

Systematic natures usually involve a certain degree of unification, regulation, supervision and the development of standards. In the case of weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens, our research shows the difficulty and obstacles which would be encountered with unification and systematisation of curriculum levels, and how it would contradict the current and well-proven way of operation of weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens. Locally made curricula and pedagogical programs are an important basis for professional work for most institutions, providing an operational framework and regulatory system for all members of the organisation at the local level. Each year, teachers of these schools and kindergartens adapt the curriculum/pedagogical program they have developed or adopted from others to suit the needs of the student groups. Regulating a unified curriculum within weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens would be almost impossible, but sample curricula and recommendations can help those "waking up" diaspora communities that would like to build on the experience of institutions with many years of history.

As well as the nature of the system, the analysis also showed that in the development process of weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens, it would be more advantageous to approximate the operation of individual schools to the school system of the host countries,

integrating with it in a way that does not compromise the independent functioning of the schools, but can bring several benefits to students (see the graduation practice of Australian schools, the concept of establishing the Auckland Hungarian School). In addition, our results show that the language examination centres set up in the diaspora, for the time being operated by teachers of weekend Hungarian schools, are the connection points between the Hungarian and the host country's school system, which confirms the first part of our second hypothesis *“H2/a: Weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens can be described as a network of micro-schools that are at the same time a connecting/meeting point between two school systems (the host and the country of origin), but are located on the edge of them.”*

Despite the strong efforts of Hungarian weekend schools to connect to the education systems of the host countries, Hungarian government communication already considers them to be “part of the education network”, thus bringing them into the framework of the Hungarian education system at least at the network level. The results of our questionnaire survey show despite the claim of government communication, they are organisationally invisible in the Hungarian school system; possible connections can be discovered at the level of the individual, the child (e.g., Hungarian private student status/individual student work schedule in case of a stay abroad), rather than at the system level. In order to make this happen, it would first be necessary to identify the form of training in the Hungarian context. All this is an important issue because in recent years and decades, an increasing number of Hungarian children returning from abroad appear in the Hungarian public education system through members of a diaspora group that emigrated with a conscious intention to return home. According to Nádor (2013), the majority of these families also require regular Hungarian school and kindergarten sessions abroad, the content of which is in line with domestic requirements - this task requires the adaptation of weekend Hungarian schools and the conscious rethinking of their language-preserving activities. We believe that not only the weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens, but also the Hungarian school system itself, together with the Hungarian pedagogical society, should be prepared to smooth the different needs of these families and the children's dual student path. This is most important and most needed, mainly due to the more effective integration after the return and the transfer of knowledge acquired in the school system of the host country and in the weekend Hungarian schools.

We conclude the answer to the second researcher's question by explaining the difference between the Tanoda program and the nature of weekend Hungarian schools. The Tanoda program can be described in several respects as a result of a similar and parallel process to the establishment of the weekend Hungarian schools: in both cases we can talk about bottom-up, additional educational initiatives, but the Tanoda program is on a different level when examined as a system. Once its concept and network have been established, an active partnership between educators working in public education and schools has with the same standards of operation. This bottom-up, decentralised, civic initiative has recently been standardised by a top-down legal framework, and hence it made the ‘tanoda’ an element of the education system. Those ‘tanodas’ that are no longer willing to operate in accordance with the law will no longer be able to benefit from existing funding, but their operational and professional freedom will continue to be guaranteed. Like the ‘tanoda’, weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens are also bottom-up initiatives, but they do not have the unified concept, standards mentioned above, or a network built on a local rather than a global level. As in the past, before the introduction of the legal regulation and central funding, ‘tanodas’ could apply for state support individually much in the same way as weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens can, but the latter are much less in need of this support than the former given ‘tanodas’ operate in the most disadvantaged Hungarian settlements. The national and online network, as well as the cooperation between teachers, also characterise the

weekend Hungarian schools, however, their operation is not regulated by law or legislation. Thus, unlike ‘tanodas’, an initiative can become a systemic element if there is a local institutional and community intention to do so (see Australian schools) rather than a top-down decision. We believe that the Hungarian state could really support Hungarian weekend schools and kindergartens by prioritising the development goals set out in the newly reinterpreted diaspora policy strategy since 2010 and helping these institutions to find the right links between the school systems of the host and the country of origin. The initial steps of all this could be the development of a system or guidelines for the recognition of knowledge acquired in weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens, primarily within the education system of the host country and, on the other hand, in the case of Hungarian students returning from the diaspora.

- 3) Are Hungarian weekend schools and kindergartens able to fulfil their basic function of passing on the heritage of origin (language, culture, identity) to the next generations of Hungarians; on what factors does its success depend?

In our dissertation, we explored the functions of weekend Hungarian schools from several perspectives and contexts. Based on professional and literature experience, we found that the weekend Hungarian schools have the mother tongue-centric and/or culture-transmitting nature of the supplementary school, as they operate ethnically community-led educational programs, providing knowledge of the language and culture missing from mainstream education. They form the basis for the development and strengthening of cultural and linguistic competence, and they function as a social space that creates and strengthens identity. The first half of our research question defined the transfer of heritage (language, culture, identity) as the basic function of weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens, and then asked whether the institutions actually fulfil this function. At the level of the hypothesis related to the question, we set the goals of the institutions (language development, knowledge and culture transfer, identity strengthening), for the successful and long-term realisation of which we assumed the commitment and perspective of all actors. In connection with the mentioned basic functions, we have established that they are not only the special features of weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens, but also an essential element of the diaspora organisations maintained by other ethnic minorities, which also deal with education. The operation of the weekend Hungarian schools and the validation of their functions are given a more special image by the fact that they operate identity-forming processes within a specific ecosystem of an ethnic community and present specific linguistic-cultural values. The basic functions mentioned above can be traced back to the idea of cultural nationalism characterising the diaspora political practice of Central and Eastern European countries, which came to the fore instead of religion and political resistance in the period after the regime change, the end of the bipolar world system (Gazsó 2020). Prior to this, we could see examples of the idea being realised at the level of diaspora communities (see Hungarian refugees founding a community in New Zealand), but it appeared less because of an ideology than as an expression of clear “Hungarian-ness” (folk dance, language, food). The idea of cultural nationalism, which means preserving and passing on the heritage of origin (language, culture, traditions, identity), was then given a prominent role in government policy and its support system after 2010 (Gazsó 2020). In this context, the present research also proves that the diaspora organisations themselves have increasingly focused on language teaching and the preservation of traditions (folk dance, cultural activities) and to this day they operate mainly along these values and activities. Our data also showed the strengthening of the listed activities among the institutions that also provide religious education; in response to a growing community demand, these Sunday schools included the practice and preservation of the culture of origin

in addition to Bible education and language acquisition/development. The functions mentioned above, in addition to providing a system of purposes for schools, can also be interpreted as cornerstones of ethnic border retention. However, for the development of this and the success of the functions, in addition to the five main actors present in the ecosystem of weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens (the local community, or the management, the child, the parent, the teacher and the Hungarian state) time (Peeren 2016, Gázsó 2020) is also needed as a sixth factor, as the commitment and perspective of the actors presupposes the diaspora's 'need for time', i.e. the time which has already passed and the time needed to build the future. Large Hungarian diaspora communities with a long history can form a more secure system. In the so-called 'new diasporas' (see UK, Papp - Kovács - Kováts 2019), it also takes time for diaspora communities to take root, establish institutions and only then can children, parents and the state identified as additional main actors come into the picture. The institutionalisation of the diaspora therefore requires time, intent, people, "an institutional system" and, above all, the establishment of a community way of life. The results obtained during the research show that the vast majority of the weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens in the sample operate in an institutionalised form, thus providing an organisationally and ethnically visible space for the preservation and transmission of the language and culture of origin. The functioning of each institution is supported by a community safety net, which plays an important role in the internal world of schools and kindergartens, at the level of the community connected to them and in the external institutional relations. Maintaining an appropriate ecosystem requires a commitment from children, parental assistance to achieve this, the preparedness and motivation of educators and a balance of local community and state support that contributes to functioning and professional work. The degree of state involvement represents an opportunity for further development for many communities, but it can also carry the risk of dependency (financial support) and centralisation. We give a confirmatory answer to the third researcher's question in the sense that weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens play their basic role in passing on the heritage of origin, all this is confirmed by their spread, student numbers, community commitment and voluntary nature. In addition to the above, our third hypothesis is confirmed by the chapters on diaspora policy and motivation in our dissertation, but, on top of the five listed components of the ecosystem, we associate 'time' for long-term commitment and approach as the sixth actor.

- 4) What are the benefits of weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens as well as the knowledge they provide, for children of Hungarian origin living in the diaspora; can different types of this be detected in specific host countries?

The knowledge content offered by weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens can be characterised as a dichotomy i.e. with both 'common' and 'local' aspects. By 'common' content we mean the body of knowledge referred to as heritage of origin (language, culture, identity) and by 'local' content we mean its different elements from one institution to another. The acquisition of knowledge offered by the educational organisations of the diaspora is the result of a complex process, in which - as in traditional schools - it is only a matter of mastering the curriculum; it also has its underground, hidden elements and benefits. By hidden knowledge, for example, we mean the contribution that these institutions make to the formation of children's language attitudes by creating a medium in the Hungarian language. The social space provided by weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens may lead to the realisation for children that the language of the family is not only the language of the family; its use does not make them 'foreign', 'weird' in the context of majority society; in this way, weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens play a key role in counteracting the fears and

negative meanings associated with the use of Hungarian as a minority language, one of the theoretical results of which may be the development of a positive linguistic attitude.

In our dissertation, we also identified numerous practical benefits for the operation of weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens. We recorded that the determining factors of student motivation are family background, community impact mechanisms and the recognition of acquired knowledge. Based on the analysis, we pointed out that in many cases the practical benefits of language learning are not yet obvious to children if they do not see tangible results. The need for the highest possible knowledge of the language of origin is initially based mainly on personal and family emotional motivation (origin, contact with Hungarian families, preservation of Hungarian identity), but later additional incentives are needed to maintain this motivation. One of these types is the possibility of passing the Hungarian language matriculation examination offered mainly in the Anglo-Saxon countries (Australia, USA), as well as the possibility of obtaining credit points for documenting studies, as well as the possibility of obtaining a language examination certificate. As a practical benefit, these options can have a particularly incentive effect on the continuation of weekend Hungarian school studies. As another type of benefit, we identified a non-academic, but very motivating benefit of learning and developing the Hungarian language: the acquisition of Hungarian citizenship and a passport. This opportunity is primarily an incentive for young people of Hungarian origin not living in a member state of the European Union, who, after a successful language learning process, can become eligible to work and settle in the European Union thanks to a successful citizenship exam. We considered the aspect of language skills as a motivation and benefit independent of the country, which offers an opportunity to maintain and nurture family and friendships in the country of origin. Finally, we see as a benefit the activities of schools and kindergartens in the formation and strengthening of cultural identity, with which students can acquire a symbolic knowledge and cultural proficiency.

Our results showed in several ways and times what was described in our last hypothesis, according to which *“H4: The usefulness and benefits of the knowledge acquired in weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens are influenced by individual and family perspectives, the way of operation and expectations of the local society and the physical and temporal distance of the given diaspora community from the country of origin.”* The individual perspective was provided by the personal benefits of language learning itself (development, practical benefits and community membership), the family perspective by the essential motivating role of parents and the social aspect by factors derived from the more or less multicultural approach of each country. In our analysis, we pointed to a network of micro-schools along the Europe-America-Australia axle and we presented practices for evaluating institutions and recognising knowledge in a number of countries. However, we did not find a correlation between the physical and temporal distance of the given diaspora community from the country of origin and the specific impact on the usefulness and return of knowledge acquired in weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens.

The systematisation of the existing knowledge contents related to weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens, the presentation and explanation of the new research results provided an insight into the multidimensional world of a form of education covering a broad perspective. However, the end of the research process does not mean the final conclusion of the research, but rather the end of a phase that, if we reflect on the psychosocial development model developed by Erik H. Erikson, can be characterised as a successful or unsuccessful completion of a challenge. A phase of the current research on Hungarian schools over the weekend has been completed, but it can be continued, supplemented and reflected from many directions and perspectives.

Possible directions of further research

The new results and analyses outlined by the research indicate several directions and research opportunities.

For the time being, the educational and scientific literature on weekend Hungarian schools is very limited and the completed analyses are mainly about the practice of the English- and German-speaking countries. We consider it important to prepare further case studies based on longer field research and observation, taking into account the context of each diaspora community, through which local good practices, problems and individual features can also come to the surface.

Examining the efficiency of students with private student status/individual student work schedules studying in weekend Hungarian schools and kindergartens could also provide an interesting aspect for further research. In addition to the requirements of the school system of the host country, these students also meet the requirements of the country of origin. It would be important to assess the impact of participation in supplementary education in a different language environment, depending on student performance, supplementing it with an examination of learning motivation.

The possible implementation and introduction of the unified sample curriculum mentioned earlier at the level of the proposal would definitely require the follow-up of its completion, the examination of its adaptability and acceptance.

Further research may be carried out to explore how the current attention, support and communication discourse in the mainland (Hungary) has influenced the attachment of each institution to the mainland and the extent to which the national character has been strengthened in the operation of individual schools and kindergartens.

However, the most important direction we consider is the field of textbook writing and textbook research; it would be especially worthwhile to set up a group of experts to prepare special textbooks, exercise books and books providing reading exercises formulated as a uniform need of schools, then to examine their introduction and results in each weekend institution and by a control group study among children with immigrant/refugee status studying in Hungary.

In order to increase the success of future research, we believe it worth considering 1) the creation of a common online platform suitable for knowledge and information creation, which would provide a suitable interface for creating an up-to-date database of currently operating institutions and their scope of activities; 2) the importance of establishing personal contact, if not with each institution, but at least by country; this could lead to a system of relations based on trust, increasing the willingness to respond, 3) to present research results to the institutions that make them aware of the importance of their existence and the significance of their answers in the course of a research. The latter is also a very important aspect because feedback on research results and information gathered on the functioning of institutions can lead to the development of existing initiatives and the successful start-up of newly established organisations.

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Online conference held by AMPE for teachers of weekend Hungarian schools in Australia and New Zealand

Melbourne – Auckland, Australia – New Zealand, September 10, 2020

Viola Vadász: Hungarian language in the Israeli linguistic landscape: heritage, usage and future

The 18th Conference of the Israeli Association for the Study of Language and Society

Tel Aviv, Israel, June 24, 2019

Viola Vadász: The Impact of Supplementary Education on Ethnic Communities within the Israeli Linguistic Landscape

Research Forum – University of Tel Aviv, School of Education

Tel Aviv, Israel, May 29, 2019

Viola Vadász: The Migration and Integration Process of Iranian/Persian Immigrants in Hungary, Sweden and Israel from the perspectives of the individual and the community

The 4th Ruppin International Conference on Immigration and Social Integration: The Changing Face of Migration: Future Challenges for Societies (Ruppin Academic Center)

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Conference Presentations Supplementing the Topic of the Doctoral Dissertation

Kállai Gabriella – Vadász Viola: Iskolapéldák – Migráns gyerekek oktatása hazánkban

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