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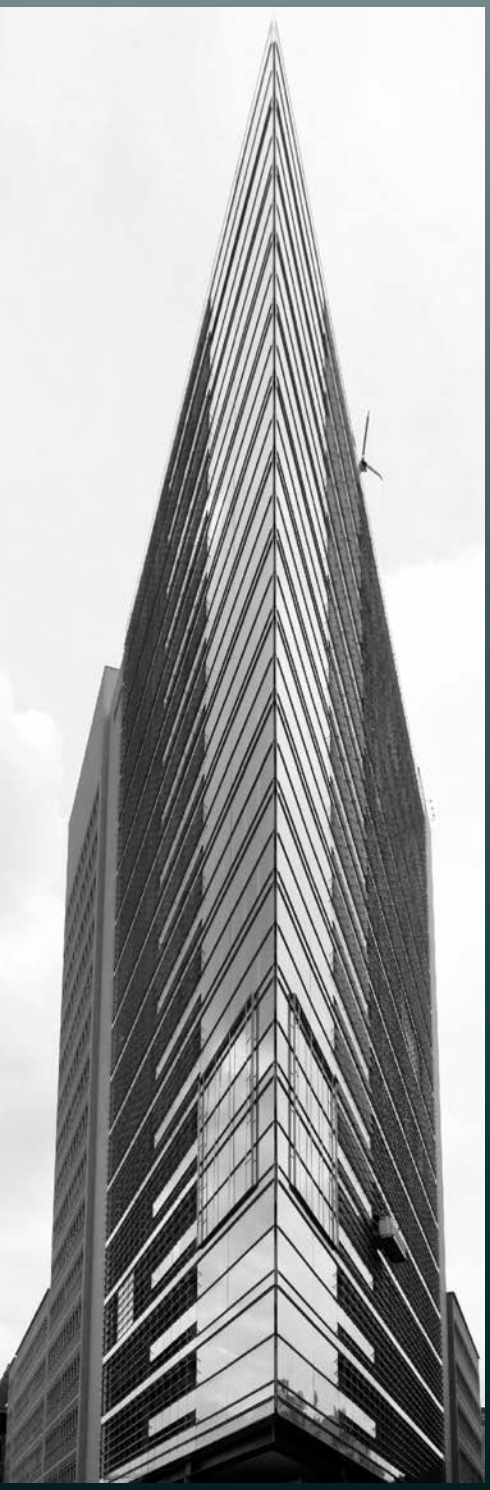

Szerkesztői előszó/Editorial

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Tanulmányok/Articles

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(Nándor Zagyi–Marianna Ács)

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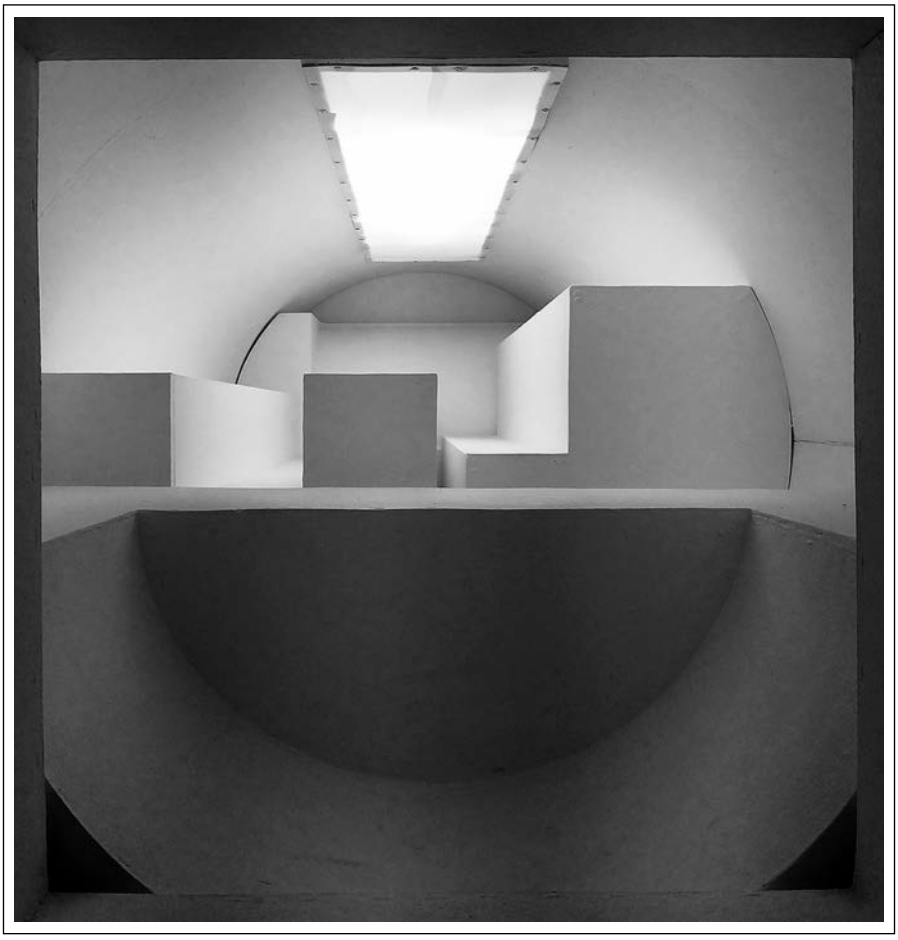

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A magyar nemzeti identitás megtartása a határon túl és a diaszpórában: a civil szféra szerepe

A „magyar" társadalom civil szerveződéseinek sajátosságai jelentős különbségeket mutatnak az országhatáron belül és kívül. Míg a magyar jelző az országhatáron belül nem jelent semmi különöset és a nemzeti jelleg a magyarországi nem magyar, tehát a nemzeti kisebbségek civil szervezeteinek vonatkozásában hordoz inkább csak megkülönböztető jelleget, addig a magyar államterületen kívül a „magyar" jelző és tartalom már másképpen jelenik meg. A magyar nonprofit szektor fejlődésének a rendszerváltás utáni szakirodalma igen terjedelmes és témák széles körét fogja át. Hivatalos iratok, rendszeres statisztikai jelentések, továbbá kutatási anyagok születtek különféle megközelítésekből, amelyek elégséges információt nyújtanak ahhoz, hogy leírjuk és elemezzük majd három évtized „nonprofit történelmét" akár egészen különleges perspektívákból is. Ugyanakkor nagyon keveset tudunk azoknak a szervezeteknek a működéséről, amelyek a magyar nyelvhez és kultúrához kapcsolódnak, ráadásul e civil szervezeteknek a tevékenysége néha távoli országokban folyik úgy, hogy a kapcsolatuk az anyaországgal néha erős, máskor viszont nagyon laza.

A Kárpát-medencén belüli, de a magyar határokon túli, illetve a Kárpátok vonulatán kívül, diaszpórában élő „magyar" civil szerveződések jellemzően felvállalják az ezekbe a szervezetekbe tömörült természetes és/vagy jogi személyek magyar nemzeti jellegének fenntartását, a kultúra (nyelv, nemzeti ünnepek, népi és vallási hagyományok) megőrzését és megújítását. Ugyanakkor az egyes földrajzi területeken is karakteres különbségek figyelhetők meg annak megfelelően, hogy a magyar jelleget hordozó és fenntartani kívánó csoport, illetve szerveződés milyen történeti kontextusban jött létre, milyen felekezeti sajátosságai voltak, a diaszpóra közösségek esetében pedig, hogy milyen történelmi-politikai viharok közepette hagyták el az anyaországot.

A kérdés értelmezéséhez a kulcs a magyar nemzetfelfogás. Fontos áttekinteni a különböző élethelyzeteket, amelyek az országon belüli, a mai határokon túl elterülő történelmi országterületen megtelepedett, valamint a 20. század során a nemzetközi migrációs folyamatok révén diaszpórába szóródott magyarokat illeti.

A magyar identitás meghatározó alapja a nyelv. A magyar nemzetállam határain kívül a nyelv fenntartása, művelése a magyarsághoz tartozás alapja. Ez különösen a fiatalabb korosztályok esetében jelentős feladat, illetve kihívás. A nyelv aktív használata elsősorban közösségi alkalmak, például a magyar nyelvű istentisztelet, az ünnepi alkalmakkor történő magyar nyelvű megemlékezések, magyar kulturális programok szervezése, illetve a gyermekfoglalkozások, iskolák, továbbá kiemelten a cserkészet révén valósulhat meg. A magyar nyelv meglehetősen egységes, a nyelvhasználati standardjai fejlettek, azt csak dialektusok tagolják. A felvidéki, erdélyi, délvidéki magyarok nyelvhasználati sajátosságai inkább csak kisebb mértékben befolyásolják a nyelv átörökítését, fenntartását.

A magyar nyelv mellett a közös ősöknek és hősöknek, illetve a rájuk való emlékezésnek van identitást fenntartó hatása. A magyarság hőseire való közös emlékezet fenntar-

tása elsőrendűen a nemzeti ünnepek megtartásán, illetve az adott közösséget érintő történelmi sorsfordulókra való emlékezésen keresztül valósulhat meg. Ebben a körben megjelennek a „regionális és helyi hősök", valamint a történelmi kánonból kiszorult helyek és személyiségek, az alternatív történelem személyiségei is. A hősök között nem csupán anyaországiak, hanem a történelmi országterületről diaszpórába került kiemelkedő személyiségek is előfordulnak. Ilyen hősök továbbá a befogadó országban jelentős történelmi szerepet betöltött, példaként állítható sikeres magyarok is.

A magyar akadémiai szférától távolabb elhelyezkedő, a magyar állami kultúr- és oktatáspolitikától kevéssé befolyásolt közösségek körében a magyarság eredetére vonatkozó áltudományos, esetenként fantasztikus elképzelések több esetben is elterjedtek, illetve virágoznak. Ilyenek különösen a turanizmus témakörébe tartozó sumerológia (a magyarság sumer eredetét hirdető nézetrendszer), a magyarság török, vagy a székelység hun eredetére vonatkozó nézetek, illetve a magyar–török vagy a magyar–japán rokonságot hangsúlyozó szerveződések. Szélesebb körben elterjedtek a magyar nyelv finnugor eredetét tagadó nézetek is. Több esetben a befogadó ország ősi kultúrájában (dél-amerikai indián csoportok, aborigin őslakosok) vélnek felfedezni a magyarsággal rokon vonásokat, jellemzően minden tudományos alap nélkül. A diaszpóra magyarok finanszíroztak számos, a magyar történelmi kánonba bele nem illő nézetet hirdető kiadványt, amelyek a megjelenést követően megtalálhatóak a magyarországi másodlagos könyvpiacon és a keleti ezotéria iránti érdeklődést kihasználva befolyást gyakoroltak a magyarországi turanista körökre is. A turanizmus (neo-turanizmus) jelenleg virágzik Magyarországon és összekapcsolódva a magyar külpolitika „globális nyitás", „keleti nyitás" és „déli nyitás" politikáival, felértékeli a távolabbi országokban élő, valójában marginális helyzetű és szerepű közösségeket. Ezen civil szervezetek ezért a kétoldalú kapcsolatokban gazdasági, demográfiai erejük felett játszhatnak szerepet.

A nemzeti identitás fenntartásában fontos szerepe van a magyar konyhának is. A jellegzetes magyar ételek (gulyás, pörkölt, csirkepaprikás, töltött káposzta stb.) elkészítése a közösségi alkalmak fontos sajátossága. A diaszpóra közösségek fiatal, a magyar nyelvvel, kultúrával már kevés kapcsolatot ápoló tagjainak sok esetben már csak a családi konyha néhány étele biztosít azonosulási lehetőséget. Ugyanígy a magyar néptánc, illetve a dalok ismerete is az utolsó kapcsolat lehet a magyar nemzettel és a nemzeti kultúrával. A magyar civil szervezeteknek éppen ezért fontos feladata a „magyar házak", közösségi terek fenntartása, ahol a közösség tagjai a magyar dalokkal, táncokkal és ételekkel találkozhatnak.

A vallási, egyházi közösségekhez tartozásnak is nagy szerepe van, különösen a protestáns gyülekezetek esetében, ahol a magyar nyelvnek nincs alternatívája. A katolikus közösségek esetében ez nem így van, hiszen a katolikus világegyház püspöki szerveződési elve miatt a pap személyének kiválasztása és a nyelvhasználat igazodik a közösség

etnikai és nyelvi változásaihoz. Ezért a magyar katolikus templomok a területre, településre érkezett új bevándorlók megérkezésével elveszthetik magyar etnikai jellegüket. A protestáns közösségek ennek sokkal kevésbé vannak kitéve és ezért sokkal inkább hordozzák magyar jellegüket gyakran befogadva más felekezetűeket is, hogy a magyar szó és hagyományok fenntartójaként működjenek.

A magyar közösségek fennmaradását nem csupán a vallási összetétel fentebb említett változásai fenyegetik. A befogadó, illetve többségi társadalom viszonyai közötti személyes siker az állam nyelvének és kultúrájának maradéktalan elsajátítását igényli. A vegyes házasságok, a baráti viszonyok, a helyi politikai játszmákban, konfliktusokban való részvétel hat az identitásra is. A közösségi lét és sikeresség más nemzeti közösségekben alkalmazkodást követel. A magyarsághoz való kizárólagos tartozás érzését felváltják vagy felválthatják a többes identitások. Ugyanakkor ez új magyar nemzetfelfogást kíván. Az „itt élned, s halnod kell", továbbá a nyelvhez, iskolához, templomhoz a végsőkig ragaszkodni kell, vegyes házasságot nem létesíteni parancsolatai aligha értelmezhetők a globalizáció és a cirkulációs migráció viszonyai között. Az a szemlélet, ami kizárja a többes identitásút a magyarságból szükségszerűen ezen növekvő létszámú csoportoknak az elvesztését is jelentik. Azt a modellt, ami ezt lehetővé teszi értelemszerűen a diaszpóra magyarság civil szervezeteiben lehet kikísérletezni és elterjeszteni. Úgy értelmezzük, hogy ez egy igazi 21. századi feladat, amelynek meg kell felelni és ennek kutatása nagyon perspektivikus kutatói közösségünknek. A Pécsi Tudományegyetem „Béke és konfliktus Közép-Európában és a Balkánon Kiválósági Centrum" 2017-ben alakult, hogy átfogja az egyetem geopolitikai, politika- és kisebbségtudományi és kapcsolódó diszciplínák képviselőit. Jelen kötetben az ő tanulmányaik olvashatók.

A jelen speciális szám a fenti gondolatoknak megfelelően először röviden áttekinti a magyar nonprofit szektor alapvető szerkezeti jellemzőit, majd ezután a drávaszögi és az észak-amerikai, valamint az ausztráliai magyarok megmaradásának alapkérdéseivel foglalkozik nyelvi, vallási és közösségi színtereken. Vizsgáljuk a határon túli magyarság utazási sajátosságait is egy esettanulmányon keresztül. A magyar keleti nyitás és a nemzeti identitás formálódásának egy fontos térsége India, ahol a magyar misszionáriusok feladatokat vállaltak és segítettek egy pozitív Magyarország képet kialakítani. A tanulmány átfogja az Indiába irányuló, elsősorban protestáns missziós tevékenység civil kereteit. A kutatásnak különös indoka, hogy bár kevéssé feltárt jelenségkörről van szó, ugyanakkor a társadalmi érdeklődés növekvő iránta. A magyar kormányzat is olyan nagymértékű érdeklődést mutat a diaszpórában élők iránt, amire az elmúlt 100 évben nem akad példa. A special issue keretei között vizsgált hálózatos együttműködések megértése a globalizáció viszonyai közötti nemzeti helytállásnak fontos tényezője.

Pap Norbert–Kákai László

Irodalom

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Sustaining Hungarian national identity in neighbouring countries and the diaspora: the role of civil society organisations

The characteristics of civil society organisations within the "Hungarian" society show significant differences in the country and abroad. While the adjective "Hungarian" has no special meaning within the country's borders and the national character only carries a distinctive character regarding the civil organisations of non-Hungarian national minorities in the country, outside the state territory the "Hungarian" adjective and the related contents have a different meaning. The literature of the development of the Hungarian non-profit sector after the transition to democracy is vast and covers a wide range of topics. Official records, regular statistical monitoring, and numerous research works conducted from various approaches provide enough information to describe and evaluate the "non-profit history" of almost three decades, even based on special perspectives. However, we know very little about the organisations which are related to our language and culture, but they operate in other countries, and therefore the ties between the organisation and the home country are sometimes strong, sometimes loose.

Cross-border non-governmental organisations within the Carpathian Basin, as well as Hungarian civil organisations in the diaspora further abroad typically undertake to sustain the Hungarian national character of the natural and/or legal persons joining the organisations, and the preservation/renewal of culture (language, national holidays, folk and religious traditions). However, in different geographical locations there are characteristic differences based on the historical context of the establishment and specific denomination of the group or organisation intended to carry and sustain the Hungarian character. In the case of diaspora communities, the historical and political storms causing emigration are also characteristic.

In order to interpret the issue, understanding Hungarian approach to the nation is of key importance. It is important to have an overview of the situations of establishing the originally intra-country, but now cross-border communities, as well as the international migration trends of the 20th century affecting the Hungarian diaspora.

The fundamental basis of Hungarian identity is the language. Outside the borders of the Hungarian nation-state, sustaining and propagating the language is the basis of Hungarian identity. This is especially a significant task and challenge in the case of the younger generations. The active practice of the language can be implemented primarily through community events, such as Hungarian-language church service, Hungarian commemorations at festive celebrations, the organisations of Hungarian cultural programmes, as well as children's activities, schools and the scout movement. Hungarian language is quite unified, its linguistic practice standards are developed and varieties are only manifested in some dialects. The characteristics of the linguistic practices of Hungarians in Slovakia, Romania, Serbia and Croatia only have a limited influence on the transmittal and sustainment of the language.

In addition to the Hungarian language, common ancestors, heroes and the commemoration thereof contribute to the sustainment of identity. Sustaining the common memory of Hungarian heroes can primarily be practised through celebrating national holidays and commemorating major historical events relevant to the specific community. In this regard, regional and local heroes, as well as persons and places removed from the historical canon and those of alternative history also appear. Heroes include major personalities coming to the diaspora from the mother country as well. And such heroes may also be exemplary Hungarians playing an important historical role in the target country.

In the case of communities distant from the Hungarian academic sphere, under less influence from the Hungarian state cultural and education policy, pseudo-scientific and imaginary theories also appear or flourish regarding the origins of Hungarians. These include for example Sumerology (the belief of the Sumerian origin of Hungarians) related to Turanism, the approaches supporting the Hunnish origin of Hungarians or Szeklers (Székelys), as well as organisations emphasising the relationships between the Hungarian/Turcic and the Hungarian/Japanese people. Beliefs denying the Finno–Ugric origin of the Hungarian language are also widespread. In several cases, people find familiar features in the ancient cultures of their target country (Southern American indigenous peoples, Aboriginal Australians), typically without any scientific proof. Hungarians of the diaspora have financed several publications promoting non-canonical views of Hungarian history, which then appeared in the secondary book market of Hungary, and (supported by the interest in eastern esotericism) had an influence on Hungarian Turanist circles as well. Turanism (Neo-Turanism) still flourishes in Hungary, and together with the "Global Opening", "Opening to the East", "Opening to the South" policies of Hungarian foreign policy, it highlights remote Hungarian communities which actually live in a marginal position and play a similar role. Therefore, such civil society organisations can play a role exceeding their actual economic and demographic power in bilateral relationships.

Nevertheless, Hungarian cuisine also plays an important role in sustaining national identity. Preparing typical Hungarian dishes (goulash soup, goulash, paprika chicken, stuffed cabbage, etc.) is an important element of community events. For many young members of the diaspora communities who have less intensive relationship with Hungarian language and culture, in many cases, family meals are the sole opportunity to practice identity. Similarly, Hungarian folk dance and traditional songs are also often the last link to the Hungarian nation and national culture. Therefore, the operation of "Hungarian houses" and community spaces is an important task of Hungarian NGOs, where members of the community can encounter with Hungarian songs, dances and dishes.

Association with religious and church communities also plays a major role, especially in the case of the Protestant congregations where Hungarian language has no alternative. This is not the case with the Catholic communities, since because of the episcopal organisational principle of the Catholic Church the selection of the local priests

and the linguistic practice complies with the ethnic and linguistic changes of the community. Therefore, upon the arrival of new immigrants to a region or municipality, Hungarian Catholic churches can lose their ethnic Hungarian character. Protestant communities are much less prone to this and therefore they carry on their Hungarian character much more, even after involving people of other denominations, in order to operate as preservers of Hungarian language and traditions.

The survival of the Hungarian communities is not only threatened by the aforementioned changes of religious composition. In an inclusive and/or majority society environment, personal success requires the perfect knowledge of the state's language and culture. Mixed marriages, friendships, participation in local politics and conflicts also affect identity. Community existence and success requires adaptation to different national communities. The awareness of exclusively belonging to Hungarians is/can be replaced by multiple identities. This also requires a new Hungarian approach to the concept of nation. The commands of "here you must live and die" (from Szózat, a second national anthem of Hungary), sticking to one language, school, church till the bitter end and avoiding mixed marriages cannot prevail in the environment of globalisation and circulatory migration. The approach excluding multiple identity from Hungarians will necessarily lead to losing these increasingly large groups. The model which enables this, can clearly be tested and promoted in the civil society organisations of the Hungarian diaspora. We interpret this as a true 21st century task which has to be fulfilled, and the related research holds great perspective to our researcher community. The "Peace and Conflict in Central Europe and the Balkans Excellence Centre" of the University of Pécs was established in 2017 to join the representatives of the geopolitical, political science and minority science disciplines of the university. This volume includes their studies.

In accordance with the above principles, this special issue will first provide an overview of the basic structure of the Hungarian non-profit sector and then details the main issues of the sustainment of Hungarian communities in Baranya, North America and Australia, from linguistic, religious and community perspectives. A case study is also provided to examine the characteristics of cross-border Hungarians regarding travelling. India is an important target region for Hungary's "Opening to the East" and the formation of national identity, where Hungarian missionaries played important roles and contributed to establishing a positive image of Hungary. The paper covers the civil organisation framework of the primarily Protestant missionary activities targeting India. The research is supported by the notion that this topic is less-examined, yet there is an increasing social interest surrounding it. The Hungarian government also shows great interest in people living in the diaspora, which was unprecedented in the last 100 years. Understanding the network of cooperation examined in this special issues is an important factor of national sustainment in an environment of globalisation.

Norbert Pap–László Kákai

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SKETCH OF THE HUNGARIAN NON-PROFIT SECTOR AFTER THE REGIME CHANGE

László Kákai–Viktor Glied

Introduction

The literature of the development of the Hungarian non-profit sector after the transition to democracy is vast and covers a wide range of topics. Official records, regular statistical monitoring, and numerous research works conducted from various approaches provide enough information to describe and evaluate the "non-profit history" of almost three decades, even based on special perspectives. However, we know very little about the organisations, which are related to our language and culture, but their operation covers other countries, and therefore only have sometimes strong, sometimes loose ties between the organisation and the home country. The term "network" in this context means the system of hubs and connections. In general, networks are created because the participants solve problems jointly, use each other's resources, exchange experience and improve the coordination of their activities (Kákai 2009:106). Another approach is also possible, it is called market-business network. In this case, we describe a mostly systematically organised sphere which primarily belongs to market logic, and in which the dominant element is the participants focusing on their own interests, and following strategies in their actions – considering market conditions – which enable them to maximise profit (Gajduschek 2009:71).

Based on European experiences, the different non-governmental organisations (e.g. in the economic, social welfare, environmental, cultural, education, etc. sectors) may play

a fundamentally important role – although with varied intensity – in developing, implementing and controlling regional, county or municipal level social/economic programmes. The programmes decrease differences between certain settlement types, social groups, sectors and enterprise forms, and balance different forms of social/economic exclusion. The participation of NGOs in regional, county and municipal level developments puts economic development programmes into a wider interpretation framework, involving different social welfare, environmental, anti-discrimination and other perspectives. Regional, county and municipal level NGOs can become makers of new relationship networks as well.

These new relationship networks[1] can support the development of new types of cooperation forms in each country, municipality or spatial framework, between the state, economic and non-governmental actors of regions, counties, towns, as well as actors of a national and transnational/European level. Based on the above, it can be concluded that organisations embedded in the local society can better support the development of a dense relationship network, the improvement of social cohesion and the inclusion of information potential of the society in decision-making. Through interpersonal relationships – according to László Osváth – these support decreasing transaction costs, avoiding game theory problems in society, operating social selection mechanisms contributing to development, establishing the identity and self-protection mechanisms of local society, and also contribute to improving the health of society (Osváth 2009:19).

The papers in this issue present countries and organisations from this field, enabling us to get a picture of what moves civil or government/civil networks, what relationships and activities are becoming dominant for the organisations in these countries, and what forms and ways of keeping in touch with the home country exist. Before we hit the ground running with this issue, it is advisable to review the heterodox development and directions of the Hungarian civil sector, after the transition to democracy.

Development in numbers

The escalation of the economic, political and social crisis from the mid-80s generated a "revival" of organisational life in Hungary. At the beginning of the 1980s, new types of social self-organising emerged from peace movements to eco movements, which were later followed by a "new wave" of student movements, self-directing college movement and the club movement within and outside universities, as well as politically oriented associations and forums. The beginning of the political transformation was marked by the reappearance of foundation as a legal entity in 1987, and then it went on with the ratification of the Associations Act in 1989. It was concluded with the amendment of Civil Code (enacted in 1990) which abolished the former restriction that a foundation could only be set up with the approval of the relevant government authority. Following the 1989 Act, which guaranteed the conditions of freely setting up organisations, taking

advantage of the historical opportunity and the erosion of the political system, the number of organisations was growing continuously (Kákai 2009:6). While in 1982 there were 6,570 registered organisations, in 1989 their number reached 8,514 (Harsányi–Kirschner 1992).

The decade preceding the political transition brought about the rebirth and re-exploration of the civil society all over the Central and Eastern Europe region. The preparation and practical implementation of the transition was largely due to the civil movements.

The internal structure of the sector also changed: between 1987 and 1989 the number of art, city preservation, and cultural organisations increased sevenfold, and the number of other, typically self-starting associations (environmental protection, humane, pensioner, economic/professional) also increased tenfold.

We also need to highlight the counter process during which double transformation of the former state party power took place. By breaking up the former assets of the state party and building on the infrastructure of some of its satellite organisations, new associations and foundations were formed, this time within the legal framework of democratic laws. Their officials were "scattered" but they were able to carry on with their personal networking outside the party. Some of them truly worked to establish an independent civil society, while others retained their political connections (Kákai 2009:6).

After the transition, the dynamics of the region's civil society cracked, in a sense. The reason for this on one hand was that the new political elite simply absorbed a great part of the system changer intellectuals who thus exchanged the civil sector for the political one. On the other hand, the economic difficulties arriving together with the transition were obviously unfavourable for community activities. There was a shift towards official expertise and the organized interest groups possessing an economic agenda (Boda 2011:175).

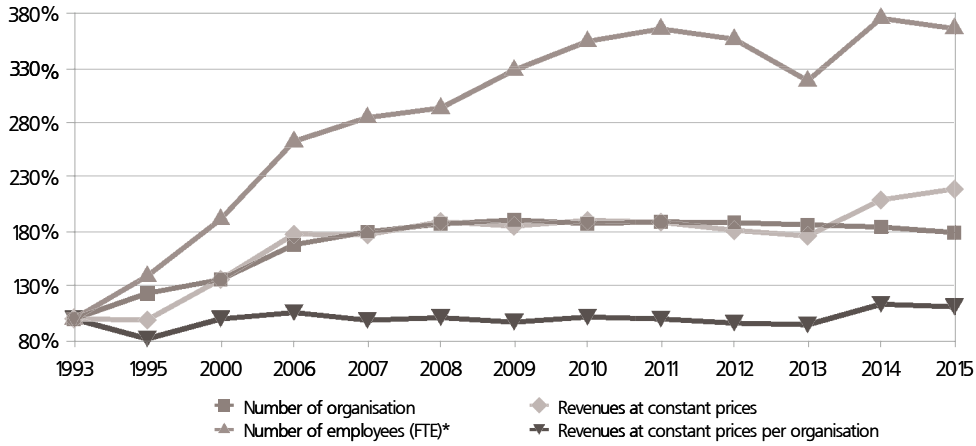
After 40 years of state socialism which resulted in the forced abolition of civil society and the erosion of social capital, the patterns and conventions of society's self-organizing and representation were not present in every area of society. Therefore, there were no opportunities for the various social groups to satisfy the different social needs. We have to say that the fast economic and constitutional changes could not be followed by the development of the bourgeois society's civil culture. Most of the political élite and the active civilians of the post-communistic countries were socialised in the old communist system. Their expectations concerning paternalism, stability and the welfare state are unbroken, they expect the maintenance of all those under the conditions of market-economy, too.

By the end of the 1990s the segmentation of the civil sector became sharp and clear in Hungary. In addition to this fact, the strengthening of the organizations, the increase in their economic contribution and the stabilization of the social legitimacy of the interest groups brought about deep changes in the sector.

The Hungarian non-profit regulation does not follow any of the European examples, which itself is not a problem – it is not obligatory to follow one of the trends. It is,

however, a real problem that the prevailing decision makers had no concept and a long-term and system-based perspective when changing the regulations. We overtook many components from foreign practices; however, this was not done along a clear concept, so precariousness, originating in the often-contradictious rules, became coded into the system. At the same time, the Civil Law passed in 2011 and the public administration and municipal reforms implemented in parallel made considerable changes in this structure; primarily in the field of social services (health care, education and social policy) and public services the government made the responsibilities strongly centralized. This might result in a different structure of the Hungarian non-profit sector[2]; thus after 2010 the Hungarian non-profit sector started showing the features of the developing (Mediterranean) model. All this is clearly indicated by the changes having taken place in the development path of the sector (Figure 1.).

Figure 1. Development of the nonprofit sector: according of number, revenues and employees, 1993–2013



Source: Central Statistical Office, 1990–2015.

After the transition, the number of the civil organisations multiplied rapidly, the sector kept expanding dynamically and continuously until 1997 (Figure 1).

This process was mainly due to the intensive spread of the foundations that had been very small in number in the previous era. In 1997, the "phase of extensive growth" had finished, and between 1998 and 2000 the number of the operating organisations hardly changed. However, the studies done by the Central Statistical Office in 2000 marked a clear slowdown in the sector's development dynamics. It means that since 1997, the number of organisations has not actually changed. Moreover, 2000 was the first year when the size of the sector did not increase but actually decreased. Following the decline, or "flattening out," of the development tendency, again there has been a growth trend since 2003. This process was mostly the consequence of the rapid growth

in the number of the foundations. Then the "phase of extensive growth" ended, and between 1998 and 2000, the number of the operating organizations remained at a consistent level.

Recently, the situation of the non-profit sector seems to have reached a critical turning point. The Hungarian Central Statistical Office (2013) reported that for the first time in 2012, three important indicators of the size and the economic and social weight of the sector (the number of organizations, the number of employees, and overall income in real terms) showed lower values than the previous year. In 2013, according to the CSO (2014) this decrease continued, though only regarding service providing non-profit companies.

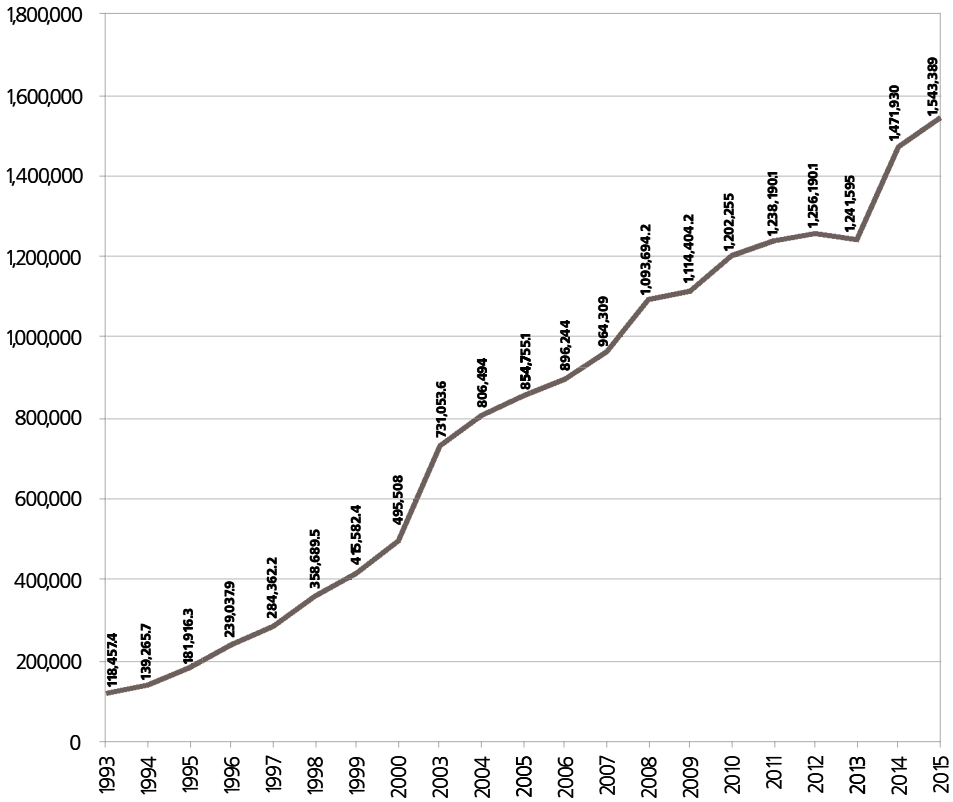
Afterwards, a slight increase appeared which was connected to corporate non-profit organizations. Foundations were hardly funded in this period. By the end of the 2010, the number of the organizations seemed to become stable again. The Hungarian non-profit sector appeared to have become "saturated" with 65 thousand organizations. Since the population of Hungary was – although permanently showing a diminishing tendency – around ten million, the values indicated in thousands can also be understood as the number of organizations per 10 thousand people, as indicators possible to be used in international comparisons, as well. So this indicator became four times as big, it grew from 16 to 65 in 20 years.

Subsequent to 2010, the situation changed. The number of the organizations has been continuously decreasing since then. While in 2010 the Central Statistical Office registered 64,987 organizations, in 2015 this number was 62,152 (the number was decreasing year after year). Then, since the beginning of the economic crisis, this trend, with the exception of employment, has become quite moderate. However, 2012 was the first year when all three curves moved downwards compared to the previous year. Since then the decline in the number of organizations can be attributable to the effect of Act CLXXV of 2011 on the Freedom of Association, on the Non-profit Status and on the Operation and Support of Civil Organizations ("Civil Act"), which launched a "cleansing" process within the sector.[3]

The steady increase in the number of employees except for the 2013 downturn due to the nationalization of the health care institutional system – seems to have ended. In 2015, we experienced a decrease of 2.5%. In contrast, revenues grew by 4.9% in real value. As the reasons for this tendency, we can mention the alterations in the legal environment, the governmental actions against the NGOs and the structural changes in the system of financial support. The ratio of the total income of the non-profit organisation had increased slightly in terms of the GDP by exactly on third during the 20 years, and it was still below 5 percent (4.16) in 2013. A much more dynamic development took place in the field of employment: the labour market share of the sector grew almost three times. In addition, since the total number of employed in the country did not practically change this period, this extension materialized in absolute terms, as well.

The total income of the sector until 2017 exceeded HUF 1,655 billion[4] (Figure 2.), which means that it grew from the 118 billion in 1993 to thirteen as much, and more than triple as compared to the 496 billion in 2000.

Figure 2. The revenues of non-profit organisations, 1993–2015



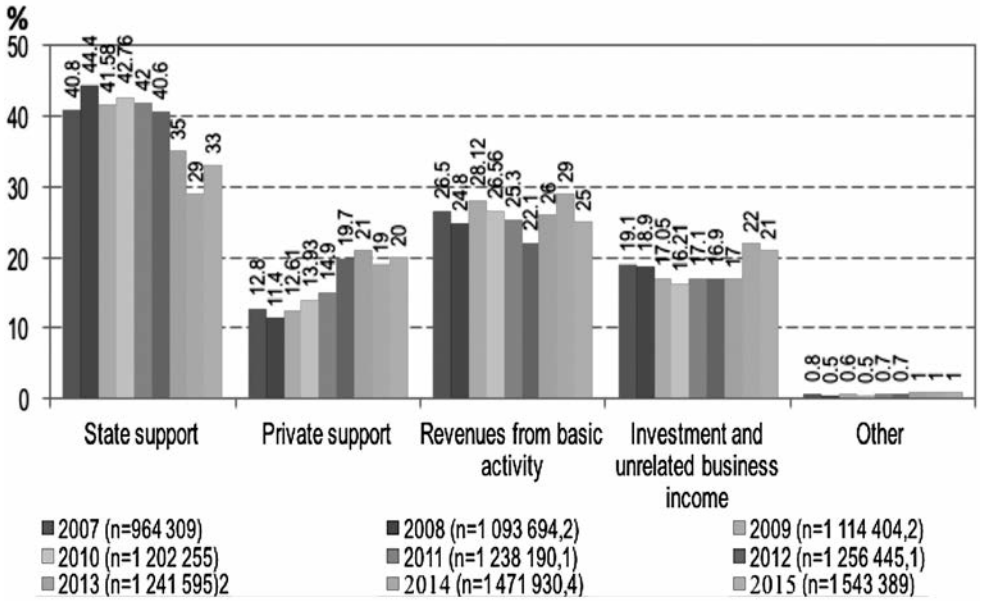
Source: Central Statistical Office, 2016.

However, after 2010 the linear tendency in the growth of the incomes stopped. (Figure 3.). There were several reasons of this. The connection of the reduction in the state support of the NGOS to the general centralization efforts as well as the power-based centralization of the non-profit services was quite visible[5]. It is a consequence of all this that the income structure, which earlier had adapted to the Western European scheme, kept on permanently deviating (Kuti 2016:289). In 2002, the government set the target to raise the rate of governmental support within the gross income of the non-profit sector to 40 percent, which was the lower limit in the European countries (Bódi–Jung–Lakrovics 2003:202).

The financial situation of non-profit organizations has for a long time been characterized by excessive dependence on State and EU resources and the decreasing

size of such resources. In addition, the lack of local, corporate and individual donors and the small number of other possible resources also make the operation of the majority of Hungarian NGOs quite vulnerable.

Figure 3. Distribution of the revenues of non-profit organisation by source, 2007–2015



Source: Central Statistical Office, 2016.

According to the data, this target was reached, and the rate did not change in consequence of the world economic crisis in 2008, either. In 2014, however, the income structure was weirdly similar to that in 1997.

It is worth examining the economic data in geographical frames, especially with respect to the multiplying effects of the economic crisis. We can get different pictures of the structure or development of the non-profit sector depending on whether we use the indicators of the number of organizations or of economic power when analysing the structure (Kákai 2015).

Concerning the economic strength of the counties[6], (compared to the national situation) there were no considerable changes between 2006 and 2010. The certain[7] counties remained in the same categories (Figure 4.). The only county making a negative shift was Fejér. Positive changes happened in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg and Somogy.

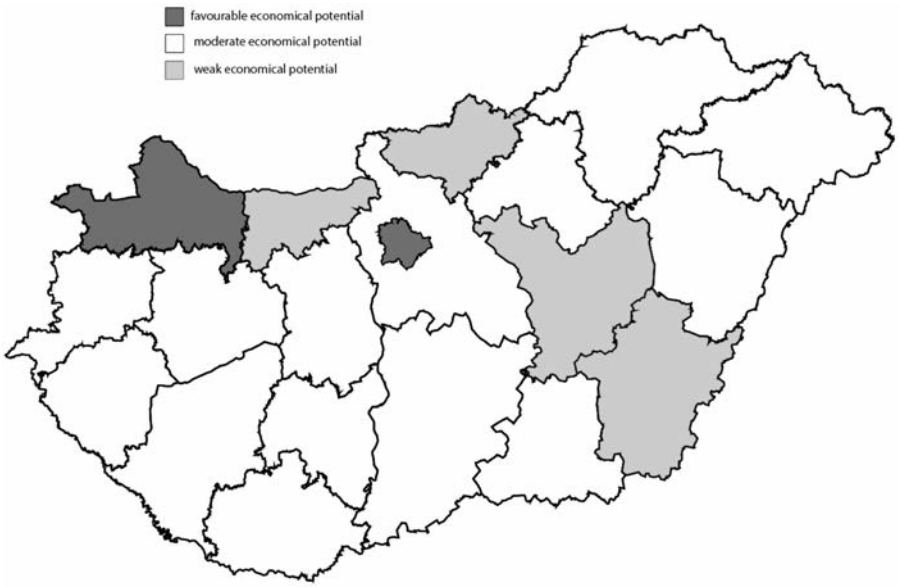
In the early 2000s, in the period of economic boom, the GDP per capita increased. Between 2000 and 2008, in each of the three examined years (2000, 2006 and 2008), the value of the gross domestic product showed growing tendency.

The essence of the process is that the regions exceeding the average in development (Middle Hungary, Middle Transdanubia and Western Transdanubia) had been developing faster than the average, while the regions below the average level of development (Southern Transdanubia and Southern Great Plains) had shown improvement. However, the pace of this considerably lagged behind the average[8]. The development of Northern Hungary and the Northern Great Plains had more or less met the national trends. This trend changed, to the detriment of the developed regions, by the economic crisis[9].

All this suggests that the crisis finally acts in the direction of the decrease in the regional inequalities of development, which is in itself desirable, but this unfortunately takes place by the degradation of the more developed regions, and not the catching up of the less developed areas. The only relation where the further growth and sharpening of the differences is expected is the capital countryside relation).

By 2010 – basically as a result of the world economic crisis – the value of this indicator fell to a much lower level and then increased again in 2012 (Kákai 2015:624)

Figure 4. Non-profit organisation economic potential in 2010

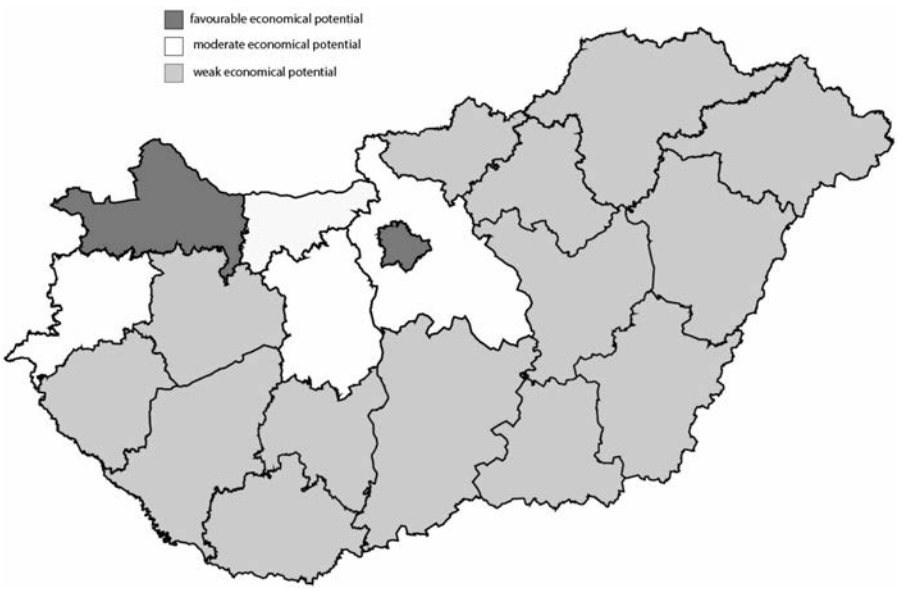


Source: Central Statistical Office.

The change was not sudden – it was continuous. The economic situation of the non-profit organizations kept on worsening after 2011.

While in 2010 there were "only" five counties with weak economic potentials, this number grew to nine by 2011, and as shown in the next figure, in 2013 we found 14 of the 19 counties facing this situation (Figure 5.) (Kákai 2015:627).

Figure 5. Non-profit organisation economic potential in 2013



Source: Central Statistical Office.

The results make us draw the conclusion that although the number of the organizations is affected by the economic development level of the certain region, this, however, does not mean that the organizations working in more developed areas get higher amounts of financial resources from the companies operating in their region.

The Hungarian civic sector after 2010

Background

The Fidesz-KDNP alliance won the parliamentary elections in 2010 with two-thirds majority. Having stable majority in the parliament, the new government began radically transforming the subsystems of society practically without any resistance. Between 2010 and 2012, the country saw an avalanche of legislation, a new constitution, as well as hundreds of new and amended acts of parliament were adopted in a few years. The announcement of the Programme of National Cooperation in May 2010 laid down the objectives that still define the directions of governance to date. This included the key elements of completely amending the regulation and financing of the NGO sector, as well as laying down entire new foundations for the cooperation between NGOs, the government and municipalities. Due to the swift and radical changes, protests or varying intensity and support begun, but by early 2015 these have more or less dried out.

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During the regime changes in Eastern Europe, civil society played the function of constant fighting for independence and social recognition, as well as establishing an alternative political pole, as opposed to the single-party state. With the consensual transition in Hungary, the democratic rule of law was basically established without a civil society basis. Legislative framework did exist, but instead of having a powerful civil society, we still only see a "social tissue" made up of atomised citizens, in a lack of strong communities, with missing movements, organisations and institutions, as well as a culture aiming to cooperate with the state in some form (Fricz 2016).

The role, legal status, legislation and gravity of the civil sector developed in different ways in each country in Central and Eastern Europe. During the 1990s and the 2000s it constantly tried to find its role, place in society, tasks and opportunities. Most important features of NGOs included weak embeddedness in the society, weak advocacy skills, lack of networking, and capacity, as well as deficiency of efforts to involve resources. For liberal and left wing civil initiatives, the role of counterbalancing power obviously became important after 2010, while the government considers these types of activities illegitimate, and part of the opposition politics. The weakly embedded civil sector became further polarised with the changes that have taken place after 2010, it lost its room for manoeuvre and its independence has become quite dubious.

The characteristics of the "new civil activities – civilitics" were summarized by founder of the openly pro-government Civil Összefogás Fórum (Civil Union Forum, CÖF), president of Civil Összefogás Közhasznú Alapítvány (Civil Union Public Benefit Foundation, COKA). The contribution of communities and citizens in public affairs. This activity is naturally diverse and represented by different subcultures, but in each case, it should be ruled by the definitive factor, the spirit of national unity. Based on this, everyone who consider themselves members of the nation and act in a specific community, thus promoting the public good, takes part in exercising authority to some extent, and they support good governance and represent public interest. The citizen of the 21st century is disappointed in continuous promises, tired of political conflicts and at the same time demands dialogue, different forms of cooperation, the feeling of community, which exceeds individual ambitions (Csizmadia 2016). The "quasi-outsourcing" of government responsibilities, the cutting-back of state solutions for social solidarity, or transferring some social welfare expenses to market competition, as well as the re-strengthening of the state redistribution function after repeated crises, all face continuous criticism (Kákai 2009). In Eastern Europe, the dilemma consists of two main questions:

1. How and with what means can the government control the specification of the tasks of non-governmental organisations, the development of the opportunities for the civil sector and the increase of its capacity? In summary, how does the state envision the future of the civil sector?
2. How can the civil sector define itself, how can/will they cooperate with the state; can this politicised sphere, suffering from the lack of organisation, embeddedness and historical roots form an independent pole? (Pánovics 2015)

As an alternative to the neo-liberal economic approach, balancing from one crisis to another, the globalisation-critical organizations proliferating in the late 1990s could propose solutions. It aimed to increase the role of a new type of state, that is limited in its interventions, sensitive to welfare issues and hinders damaging market trends, but the underlying structure was strengthening cooperation and decentralisation in each case, based on fundamentally liberal approaches (Brady–Schoeneman–Sawyer 2014). The change announced in 2010 was that the so-called illiberal approach focuses on the concept of nation, i.e. the primacy of community and nation over individual interests. In the same time, Tamás Fricz also recognises that *civil society is the sphere of society where control is exercised over the state. Civil society is not a sole being: its existence can be interpreted in its relationship with the state. Civil society and the state live in a symbiotic relationship: there is no state – i.e. democratic state – without independent civil society, and there is no independent civil society without a state* (Fricz 2016:32).

After 2010

From the point of view of the civil sector, the situation in Hungary after the change of government in 2010 was determined by three factors.

1. Activities of the formalised or informal groups (and the loose network thereof) fighting against the radical reforms of the government, which are linked to the civil sector in a vast array of forms, including personnel and resource allocation.
2. The process of "colonising" the civil sector, with the new so-called "NGO act" (Act CLXXV of 2011 on the freedom of association, the public benefit status, as well as the operation and support of non-governmental organisations). With this, the government has narrowed the volume of national financial resources available to NGOs, it created a new funding distribution mechanism called National Cooperation Fund (NCF) (NEA in Hungarian) and by amending the interpretation of public benefit, it reduced the number of applicants as well. The new legislation did not intend to correct the deficiencies of the National Civil Fund; instead, it disassembled the entire institutional framework and replaced it with a new one. In case of the NCF, promoting national unity was assigned as a main role, and it has become a basic criteria of partnership. The provisions of the new Civil Code, which entered into force on 15 March 2014, significantly altered the rules of establishing and operating non-governmental organisations, especially foundations. Since 15 March 2014, newly established non-governmental organisations can only be registered based on these new regulations. Upon the entry into force of the new Civil Code, already registered and pending associations and foundations were also required to amend their founding articles in order to comply with the provisions of the new act[10].
3. Dividing the civil sector into categories of friend and foe organisations of the system, i.e. into "good" and "bad" NGOs. The first one means the organisations which support the government and its politics without any preconditions, lead by Civil

Union Forum, while the latter category means conflicting civilians, "financed from abroad, carrying out political activities". The latter statement was codified by Act LXXVI of 2017 on the Transparency of Organisations Receiving Foreign Funds. More than 90% of the Hungarian civil society is in the range between the two poles.

Changes in 2010 created new, previously unknown movements and groups that could bring masses on the streets in a short time and then transformed those into parties (or they diminished entirely). The movements were typically based on single issues, and the buzzwords of the protests they organised were mixed with multiple levels of grievances and demands. These initiatives were created and fuelled by the divisive politics of Fidesz (Vári 2013:242). The success and subsequent "emptiness" of Szolidaritás and Milla (One-Million People for the Freedom of Press) is a good example of how effectively Fidesz could remove the checks and balances aimed to restrict the power of the government, and change systems considered unchangeable without any real ressistance. The "stop and go" political games permanently applied by the government made it impossible for opposing organisations to adapt to the ever-changing central communication, and to increase or maintain the resistance of their members, which ultimately led to fatigue (Glied 2014). After the end of 2013, the big wave of street politics have ended, due to the government's inexorability, the weakness of opposition forces and the lack of support and organisation behind different civil initiatives. Szolidaritás, Milla and other initiatives merged into the shaping left-wing alliance, lost their original identity and suffered defeat at the elections, thus they were unable to refresh political parties.

Sociologist Zsuzsa Ferge very accurately defines the true reasons.[11] Leftist social movements were created to fight for the re-democratisation of Hungary, to widen social dialogue and to actually implement that, but they soon became characteristically protest movements. In addition to protesting government policies, their aims included preparing the conditions for a country providing a better livelihood and increasing participation to involve more people in the democratic decision-making process. Several reasons contributed to their "failure", including the lack of democratic, intelligent citizens taking part in public matters, as well as the inexperience of civil organisations in the confusing and interest-driven world of politics, existential uncertainty, sense of being threatened and the lack of true vision. Because of the decreasing role of the institution of representative democracy, the weakness of participatory democracy in Eastern Europe and the failing traditional party system, active citizens await a civil upheaval to find a way to renew politics. However, because of the lack of activity and attention, it is an extremely hard and almost futile task to fulfil.

The steps taken by the government have not confirmed the raison d'etre of the civil sector, while the government's approach and the defamation campaigns had a powerful negative effect on the recognition of civil society within the whole society. The legal framework does not support the work and development of NGOs either. However, it has been a clearly important (and long overdue) measure – not questioned by anyone – to re-regulate and (so to say) "cleanse" the sector. However, intense debates commenced

about "why and how". The unfavourable legislative changes adopted between 2011 and 2017 regarding the operations of organisations, as well as the implementation of existing regulations resulted a degradation of the general legal framework of the sector[12]. The so-called "Norwegian Civil Fund Case" should be mentioned at this point, as an important phase of government attacks against NGOs financed from abroad (as well). It prepared the government's narrative dividing NGOs into "good" and "bad" civil organisations. This case is compatible with the claim of the government propaganda stating that the "political" activities of NGOs are always fighting the system, and the closed structure of politics shall be reserved to parties (Ágh 2016:25). Already in August 2013, a communications attack was launched against the NGOs partially financed from abroad. They have been called "fake civil organisations" financed from abroad, intervening in politics and the servants of György (George) Soros in the government's communication who are financed from the Hungarian-born billionaire's "wallet" (Torma 2016:268–269). In his speech at the 25th Bálványos Summer Free University and Student Camp in Băile Tuşnad (Romania), on 26 July 2014, prime minister Viktor Orbán (explicitly mentioning the "disputes" related to the Norwegian Fund) stated that these organizations are *"political activists paid by foreigners"* who intend to *"have influence on the state matters of Hungary at the moment, regarding specific questions"*[13]. The increasing tense has escalated during the summer and autumn of 2014 between the Hungarian government and the Norwegian Fund, the EEA Fund and through them the Hungarian NGOs managing the fund. Investigations started against the four fund implementer foundations and their 58 grantees. Representatives of the Hungarian government accused the civil organisations and their leaders of committing criminal acts, the police and the tax authority investigated their cases, the tax authority even suspended their VAT numbers and their offices were searched.

The Norwegian Fund halted its payments to Hungary, because the Hungarian government unilaterally changed the domestic implementer body of the entire Norwegian Fund, and thus the diplomatic relations between Hungarian and Norway also deteriorated. This is when the Hungarian government started to investigate the organisations supported by the civil fund, and Hungary received many instances of criticism and warnings from its international partners, including the Council of Europe and the United States. In the end, the Hungarian government concluded a deal with the Norwegian party (which was originally intended to be confidential), stipulating that Hungarian authorities will stop harassing the affected NGOs and comply with the agreements concluded earlier. In return, the Hungarian party requested the right to veto the organisation carrying out the distribution of funds. A prosecutor ordered the investigation of 7 out of 58 examined organisations, uncovering minor deficiencies. The National Tax and Customs Authority closed its investigation on 20 October 2015. The investigation lasted against the organisations for more than a year, it was terminated without revealing any criminal acts.

During the anti-migrant campaign and the campaign on the relocation quota (2015–2016) only the Hungarian Two-tail Dog Party (MKKP) – which officially became a

party in 2014 – could provide an alternative. Only the joke party could gather a significant amount of donations for their anti-government campaigns, and they could also mobilise a large number of volunteers. After some observed uncertainty in late 2014, from the spring of 2015 the government could totally dominate the political agenda and the media, and the opposition has been unable to take the initiative. The surreal, complex and cynical messages of the jokes party proved to be food for thought to many indifferent, disillusioned and apolitical young citizens, and this also made impacts in the political life. In the lack of true political alternatives, the part of the public that demanded a change of government, as well as the opposition forces lacking new ideas both expected to heterogeneous street protests to provide the much-needed momentum. One of the peaks of the political activities related to the migrant crisis has clearly been the referendum against the relocation quota proposed by the European Union (2 October 2016). In this regard, MKKP and the joining NGOs (Hungarian Civil Liberties Union, Hungarian Helsinki Committee) launched a campaign encouraging voters to cast invalid votes, thus practically mobilising the public. The referendum was invalid in the end, and because of the large share of invalid votes (6.27%) the media started to guess whether MKKP will stand for elections in 2018. However, as the 2018 elections are approaching, parties intending the find the most favourable form of cooperation clearly get more attention. Different pre-election concepts include the option of involving civil initiatives[14], and NGOs are able to react to certain issues more quickly and efficiently as parties. Such emblematic issues currently include the Budapest Olympics planned for 2024, regarding which Momentum Movement had launched a referendum initiative, which eventually led to the government' retreat.

After April 2016, the government launched new attacks against the civil organisations financed from abroad. These include large, Budapest-based NGOs, as well as professionally organised, permanently operated civil organisations, with employees, sustained primarily through donations and funding/grant programmes. Such NGOs include the Hungarian Civil Liberties Union, Amnesty International, the Hungarian Helsinki Committee, etc. Financiers include Open Society Foundation, which is frequently accused of being the "outposts of György Soros". In late 2016, Viktor Orbán claimed that 2017 *"was going to be about displacing Soros and the powers he symbolises"*[15]. This narrative is supported by the fact that these organisations actually receive funding from foreign donors, and their activities are not based on wide public participation, but on a narrow team of professionals. However, in order to sustain their professional credibility and independence, they avoid getting too close to political parties, even though they share some personnel and informal relations, especially with the left-wing parties (after their break with Ferenc Gyurcsány) and the (former) politicians and hinterland of LMP (Glied 2014).

János Lázár called civilians "foreign mercenaries", and the vice-chairman of Fidesz, Szilárd Németh went as far as naming the organisations, in January 2017, the government considers harmful. The Hungarian Civil Liberties Union, the Hungarian Helsinki Committee and Transparency International were listed as the organisations that "intend to influence politics without any legitimate form of participation". *"The fake civil organisations of the*

Soros Empire are sustained to push the agenda of global capital and political correctness over national governments. These organisations need to be pushed back by all means, and I think that they need to be cleared away from here. I think that with the international circumstances, the time has come," stated Szilárd Németh[16]. These organisations are mostly known as civil rights advocacy groups, providing counselling, protecting interests, fighting for transparency and against corruption, as well as support investigative journalism. From the point of view of the government, *true civil organisations* provide service activities important and useful to the society, and they express no criticism toward government policies, and have no political activities at all. *Fake civil organisations* are financed from abroad, express political opinion and criticism against the government, in addition to participating in organising and implementing certain anti-government political activities. The struggle continues in 2017, since government politicians refer to national security reports, while György Soros sent the following message in his speech in early 2017 in Davos: *"The threats expressed by members of the government against the Hungarian civil society are opposed to the values of the EU and underlying commitment to the rule of law. Civil society is a necessary part of democracy, as well as open disputes are necessary for politics"*[17].

"Civil" initiatives have also been created in the hinterland of the government, not only on the "opposition and democratic" side. CÖF and other pro-government civil organisations were established in 2009 as the professional successors of "civil circles" operating in the 2000s. They bridge the gap between the different right-wing ideologies, social groups and subcultures, and link the spheres of NGOS, culture and business, while also expressing their "politics free" attitude in their political activities. Instead of cooperating with true non-governmental organisations operating independently from politics, the government has established its own civil hinterland (GONGO – Government Organised NGO) and gave powers to public bodies that carry out funding allocation and distribution activities, clearly distinguishing between activities that can be supported, ought to be supported and may not be supported. The government significantly cut the number of public foundations and rather created and reinforced funds and bodies operating within the state budget, such as the Art Fund, the National Cooperation Fund, the Hungarian Olympic Committee and the Hungarian Academy of Arts (Sárközy 2014:206).

The NGO Act and the National Cooperation Fund (NCF)

The situation of the civil sector gravely changed after 2010, within the "system of national cooperation". Instead of public benefit, the principle of "public service – provisions of service" gained importance, and the decrease of local civil cooperation opportunities provided a new operative framework for civil actors (Sebestény 2016:61). The forms, rules of the civil sector, as well as the issues of withdrawing funds have always been important factors for the actors within the sphere. In 2010 about 65,000

organisations operated in Hungary, a little more than one-third (23,500) as foundations, and 41,500 as collective non-profit organisations. 62% of the foundations are related to three fields of activity: education (32%), social welfare (16%) and culture (14%)[18]. The change of government in 2010 significantly transformed the regulations applicable to the sector. In this year 18,000 organisations had income from grants, 28% of all organisations. The grants available to the sector exceeded 121 billion HUF. Although the total amount of government funding increased by 6 billion HUF in 2011, almost 70% was paid to non-profit business associations and public foundations. In 2015, a little bit more than 62,000 registered civil organisations operated in Hungary. Considering associations, the most popular scopes of activities are recreation (23%), sports (19.5%) and culture (14%). In case of foundations, the leading scopes of activities are education (32%), social welfare (16%) and culture (14%). Organisational capacity gradually deteriorated after 2011, since unfavourable financing conditions did not encourage organisations to improve capacities and human resources. In 2015, the number of NGOs decreased by approximately 1,700 (2.7 percent) and the number of their employees by 2.5 percent.[19]

Regarding the classic civil organisation forms of foundations and associations, state funding from the central budget reduced after 2010 by 6 billion HUF, and this income form accounted for 31 percent of their total income, compared to 34 percent in 2010 (Kákai 2013:48). The decrease was primarily explained by cutting the support funding available to the National Civil Fund in 2011, amounting to 2.8 and then (soon later) to 3.38 billion HUF compared to 6-7 billion HUF budgets available in the preceding year to the fund and its successor, NCF. According to Ádám Nagy's evaluation of the proportions of the entire funding budget: "at a nominal value, almost 40%, at a real value (considering inflation as well), 30% of the previous period was available" (Nagy 2014:52). The number of submitted tenders decreased by an average of 5-6000 from 2010 to 2015, and stabilised around 12,500, however the amount of NCF funding provided to each organisation increased to 750,000 HUF. According to the data of the Hungarian Central Statistical Office (KSH), both the number of NGOs and the number of employees thereof decreased after 2012, while the total income of the sector slightly increased. However, the increase of income was mostly attributable to non-profit enterprise, instead of traditional non-governmental organisations.

On 5 December 2011, the National Assembly adopted Act CLXXV of 2011 on the freedom of association, the public benefit status, as well as the operation and support of non-governmental organisations (NGO Act). Chapter X of the act includes the provisions applicable to the National Cooperation Fund. The direct objective of the new civil funding system is to provide clearer and more transparent criteria than the former National Civil Fund Program (Nemzeti Civil Alapprogram), at the same time easing the administrative burden on the applicant NGOs, as well as the organisations and bodies participating in its operation (Kákai 2013:55). NCF is headed by the Council, which controls and coordinates the work of the organisation. The Council carries out its duties based on the annual working plan approved by the minister. The body has nine members:

- three members are directly elected by the electors authorised the represent the organisations applying through the civil candidacy system, pursuant to the NGO Act;
- three members are selected by the National Assembly via its relevant specialised committee;
- three members are appointed by the minister (acting in its own authority), based on the strategic partnership agreement concluded with NGOs based on the act on social participation in the preparation of legislation;
- The Chair of the Council is appointed by the minister from the members of the Council.

The Council shall begin operation after the appointment of each member and the official receipt of their mandates. Members of the Council are appointed for the term of four years. At the meeting called to order lawfully, the Council has a quorum if more than half of all members participate in voting. Each member of the Council has one vote. The Council adopts its decision by approval of the majority of the members present. Meetings of the Council are open[20].

The boards of the NCF decide on the use of funds, the preparation of calls to tender, the evaluation of the received applications, the supplementing of the missing information therein, as well as the professional control of the implementation of supported objectives. Therefore each board is also the forum of making specific, operative decisions, similarly to the National Civil Fund. Each board consists of nine members, three members are delegated through the civil candidacy system, three are delegated by the minister for the specific policies, and three are appointed by the minister under his/her own authority.

As mentioned above, the most significant change was the adoption of the so-called NGO Act. The entry into force in 2012 was preceded by a one-year preparatory phase. The draft legislation was shaped during a four-month long, intensive public debate. However, numerous contradictions and deficiencies had remained in the act, which had to be corrected through subsequent amendments. The three most important difference compared to the pre-2011 conditions are the organisation form, public benefit status and the public funding system (Sebestény 2016:66). "True" NGOs have not been thoroughly distinguished, thus civil organisation with a large amount of income and high number of employees are not differentiated from small civil initiatives, and administrative burdens have not decreased. The aspect of public service has been preferred to the former term of public benefit. According to the new meaning, "public" means undertaking a government task in the fields of welfare, culture, education or healthcare, based on an agreement concluded with a body financed from the national budget. The new, single-phase public benefit qualification has become measurable since June 2014, after NGOs have been registered and the decisions were made by the courts. The new system is the quasi nationalisation of the civil sector, the number of organisations supported by the NCF was almost halved in 2013, but the amount of funding distributed among them was only slightly reduced. This means that a similar amount of funds is distributed among a smaller number of NGOs. Similar processes are being implemented at the level of the

municipalities, where the self-government of the town/village or a body thereof concludes agreements with a narrow range of local NGOs, thus simultaneously decreasing and increasing the intensity of local partnerships.

Conclusion

Summarizing, the legal and economic regulations have created a wide institutional framework and favourable (though not ideal) conditions for the development of civil initiatives and non-profit service provision since 1989. Due to all these reasons and circumstances, if we had to describe the Hungarian non-profit sector in a single sentence, we would say the following. Although its number and membership may be significant, it is particularly weak in terms of resources and its role to accumulate social capital and to participate in national and local political decision-making processes and to articulate interests. Summing up the developments and changes in the examined period of almost two decades, we can undoubtedly state that the weight of the non-profit sector considerably increased both in absolute terms and within the national economy. At the same time, owing to the heterogeneous composition of the sector, within the organizational heaps of very much differing nature, this process gained diverse emphasizes, and the shift experienced and measured by certain dimensions were not only of differing dynamics, but in some cases of opposing directions, as well. In addition, although we have no figures to prove our conclusion, the tendencies described above and other – not only empirical – information that we have about the sector's activity clearly demonstrate the fact that the weight of the non-profit sector grew during the years examined.

The traditional weakness of the Hungarian civil sector has not changed after 2010 either, but its polarisation further escalated, both in the financial and political sense. After the accession to the EU in 2004 a significantly larger fund opened than the previous ones, which was mostly available to organisation with better financial conditions and larger capacities. Different form of participating in developments (soft participation) also developed, both at the national and at the local levels. Participatory and deliberative decision-making mechanisms suffered a continuous setback after the financial crisis in 2008, and after 2010, these were reduced to a government partnership form that is merely based on trust and loyalty. Large organisations could retain their dominance, but if they received funding from abroad, they have become suspicious in the eyes of the government. The circumstances and opportunities of small organisations have not changed remarkably; they had received small volume grants from National Civil Fund before 2011 and from the NCF since 2012, in order to implement their projects. However, a newly created group has been established and strengthened, as a so-called pseudo-NGO, which guarantees the requirements of its operation through openly supporting government policies.

In summary, we face the same dilemmas what each Hungarian government has seen since the transition to democracy: *"What shall we do with our civil sector, what shall be our goals with them?".* Should it be considered a group of socially responsible organisations undertaking public duties, or shall they be recognised as independent communities, counterbalancing the government? Alternatively, should they be transformed into a group loyal to the government and be evaluated based on this aspect? Experts, researchers and civil actors agree that a new civil strategy could define the sector's future. However no such document is planned to be created as of late 2017.

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Notes

1 By means of relationship network analysis we can conclude that the social network comprises a finite amount of actors and the relationships between them. Actors can be individuals, organisations, corporations, nations, i.e. collective social units as well, and the relationship can be defined as the pile of specific types of links between the actors (Csizmadia 2008:268).
2 See the governmental behaviour performed during the latest period, like the actions of the Civil Union Forum openly supporting governmental policy or the steps made against Ökotárs Foundation, responsible of the Norwegian Civil Fund in Hungary or the political "persecution" of the Hungarian and international organizations being somehow connected to György Soros.
3 The civil law states that as a consequence of the failure to submit the mandatory annual financial statements the court initiates the termination or deletion of these organizations.
4 App. € 5 billion. (https://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xstadat/xstadat_eves/i_qpg003.html)
5 We can refer to the governmental task centralization actions executed in health care in 2013 or the transformation of the public service providers into governmental/non-profit corporations started in 2014, which considerably reduced the activities of the "classical" civil organizations in the fields of human and public services.
6 To measure the economic potential, we used the GDP data aggregated by counties. We categorized them as favourable, moderate and weak according to their deviation from the national average. The favourable category includes the counties possessing an indicator well above the national average, the moderate group includes those around the average and the group named weak contains the ones showing a performance considerably below the average.
7 Bács-Kiskun, Baranya, Békés, Csongrád, Győr-Moson-Sopron, Hajdú-Bihar, Heves, Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok, Komárom-Esztergom, Nógrád, Pest, Tolna, Vas, Veszprém, Zala.
8 Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, nyilvántartási szám: J/7503, Magyarország 2011:86.
9 By 2010, despite the economic crisis, the gap between Middle Hungary (as the most developed region) and Northern Hungary, the least developed region, deepened further as compared to 2007: the difference between the two regions in 2010 was 2.8 times as much, (Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, nyilvántartási szám: J/7503, Magyarország 2011:86.)
10 Regulations applicable to NGOs change significantly. 21 February 2014 http://birosag.hu/media/aktualis/jelentosen-valtozik-civil-szervezetek-szabalyozasa
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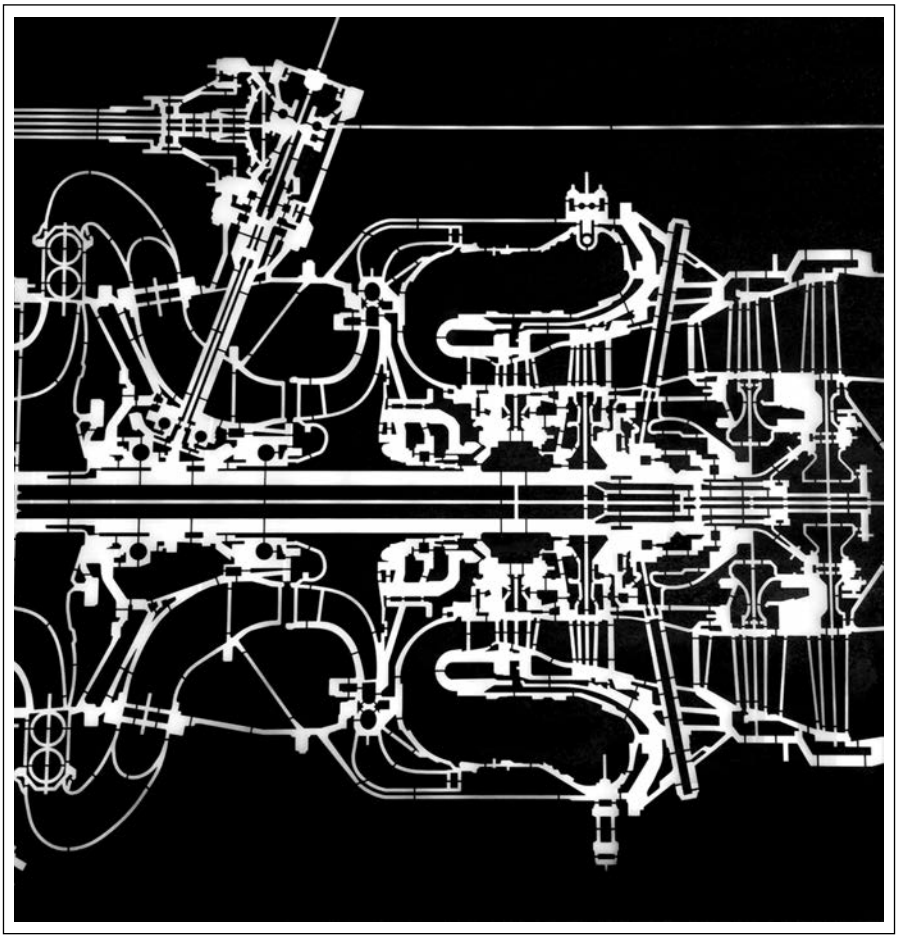

Fotó/Gönczö Viktor

GEOGRAPHICAL AND SOCIAL ISSUES OF THE OPERATION OF HUNGARIAN NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS IN CROATIA – THE CASE OF BARANJA[1]

Andor Végh–Erika Gúti

Introduction

In minority societies, the non-governmental (civil) sphere particularly protects and supports special areas of the community, which are considered important from the perspective of protecting (local, regional, national, etc.) identity or are tolerated (remaining) elements of existence within the majority society (e.g. political alliances are not, but cultural movements are). Thus, their organisational/structural existence rapidly reacts to existing social changes (legislative determination), but clearly also preserves traditional elements as well (especially from the perspective of national minorities related to specific types of nationalism). Another important determination of minority civil existence is the system of relationships with the mother nation, which acts as an external determination factor in supplementing the aforementioned minority/majority relations (Bodó 2014).

Hungarians living in Croatia from the perspective of the geographical spatial structures of Croatia

The majority of ethnic Hungarians (Magyars) live in Pannonian Croatia, which shows mostly Central European and Danube Basin type characteristics of social/economic

development, municipal structure, material and spiritual culture within the spatial structure of Croatia. Since the 11th century, the history of the region has been closely associated with the history of Hungary (in the form of a state union as well, after 1102). Its spatial and municipal structure has been affected by the presence of Turks in the Balkans and Central Europe. It is partially the reason why Pannonian Croatia can be divided into *(a)* a western, socially/economically more developed; and *(b)* an eastern, less developed part, since the border between the two regions is closely linked to the border of the former Turkish occupation zone.

Considering its spatial structure and political fundamentals, Croatia is a centralised state, however its state model is not unitary from a historical or political viewpoint either, it is much more regionalised and fragmented – this caused the reaction of centralisation. This two are the root causes of the specifically unbalanced economic and social development and the characteristic spatial structure thereof.

The fate of the Hungarian-speaking area is especially impacted by the regional differences within the country: dissimilarities between the regions are particularly manifested in the extremely uneven distribution of the population, the education differences, different unemployment and per capita income figures, disparate incomes of local and county governments. The most deprived region: Slavonia and Baranja. Its development has been set back by the Yugoslav war, and it is still the most underdeveloped region with the lowest GDP (which means that the GDP of these areas is under 65% of the national mean, with the majority of the population living in villages and active in agriculture). Considering urbanisation, this region is lagging behind the Adriatic coastal areas of Croatia, where both the number and proportion of towns is higher (Reményi 2006; Hajdú 2013; Lőrinczné 2014). The Baranja enclave is a "separate world of its own" with the centre of Beli Manastir (Pélmonostor) (Hajdú 2013:212–213).

Based on data from the national census of 2011, the population of Croatia is 4,284,889. The population has been growing up to the Yugoslav war (by 3.96% from 1971 to 1981, by 3.97% from 1981 to 1991), but do the significant migration during the decade of war, the population decreased by 6.11% from 1991 to 2001 and by 2.67% from 2001 to 2011. The expulsion of Serbs caused the largest loss of population in counties with the most heterogeneous ethnicities, e.g. the decrease in Lika was 34.94%. The Slavonian counties affected by the war (Požega, Vukovar, Osijek, Virovitica) show a population decrease exceeding the national average (Rácz 2013:40–41). With the population of 187,000 the largest minority has still been Serbs in 2011 (4.36%). Serbs live all around in Croatia, with the exception of 25 municipalities, most of them in Zagreb (17,526); Vukovar (9,654); Rijeka (8,446) and Osijek (6,752).

The majority of Croatian Magyars live in Osijek-Baranja County (Osječko-baranjska županija), most of them in the Southern Baranja areas of the county, north of the Drava. Considering municipalities and općinas, a relative majority of Hungarians lives in Kneževi Vinogradi (Hercegszöllős), with a proportion of 38.66%. A proportion of Hungarians exceeding 10% is also found in three other Baranja *općinas* – Bilje (Bellye) 29.62%; Draž (Darázs) 24.58%; Petlovac (Baranyaszentistván) 13.72% – and in a couple of Vukovar

municipalities – Klisa (Tard) 18.26% and in Laslovo (Szentlászló), located in the Ernestinovo administrative unit south of Osijek, 19.28%. Ethnic Hungarians (at least one) live in each county and capital city district, in 89% of all townships and more than half of all municipalities.

The Croatian Baranya situation in the field of state

The shape and development process of the territory of Croatia has caused several interesting political geographical phenomena. The Dubrovnik exclave divided by the "BiH corridor in Neum", the territory of the quasi-Croatian village of Uništa in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the land and sea areas famously disputed (with Slovenia and Montenegro), and the subject Southern Baranja area as well, although it is rarely included in the list. This state territory is the farthest from the sea and it is only accessible through bridges crossing the bordering rivers, showing the characteristics of an exclave, although it does not comply with the classic definition thereof, only seems similar from a state territorial perspective.

This territory is an exclave of the state that is the farthest from the sea; moreover, it cannot be accessed on the river at all, only via bridges. This exclave character was preserved in the Yugoslavian period until 1962, when the first bridge only for public road traffic at Osijek was constructed. Earlier only one railway bridge, which was used also for public road traffic, and some ferry-crossings connected south Baranya with the other territories of Yugoslavia – Croatia and Serbia. A Danube bridge strengthening the eastern connections with Bačka (Bácska) and Serbia was built at Batina (Kiskőszeg) in 1974. The public road bridge at Osijek was damaged in the wars starting in 1991 following the collapse of Yugoslavia, thus separating Baranya, which was otherwise under Serbian control, from Croatia. The Hungarian border crossings were completely closed at this time and only the Danube bridge towards Serbia meant the southern Baranya connections. The Croatian state worked a lot on the improvement of the isolated position. They built two bridges, whose strategic values are more important than their roles in the traffic. The first bridge was built in 2001 between Belišće (Valpovo) and the territories of Baranya. There are no settlements at the northern, Baranya banks of the Drava. The other one is the bridge of the western bypass road of Osijek, which was handed over in 2007.

The Question of a Centre

The other significant disadvantage of the territory of Baranya in Croatia is that it is without a real centre as the complete Baranja (Drávaszög) belongs to the catchment area of Osijek from necessity. By the time this southern part of Baranya became part of the southern Slavic state form, there was no settlement with city rights, and Beli

Manastir (Pélmonostor), the only fifth largest settlement of the territory, became the administrative centre. The confirmation of the administrative role of Pélmonostor was due to its position in the geography of traffic, which was significantly reduced by the drawing of the border of Trianon and by that, with the elimination of several roads, however, it grew by the continuous economic developments, which were the most intensive during the period of the second Yugoslavian state. During the war conflicts in 1991 the majority of the population of the Baranya triangle fled partly to Osijek, partly abroad, to Hungary and from there to Western Europe. The majority of the people who fled to Osijek did not return to their former residences in Baranya, and another part of them has double residence and became daily/weekly commuters.

The basis of the economy

The Croatian part of Baranya is decisively flat, well-utilisable agricultural land, from which only one peak, the loess plateau of the Báni hills emerges out with its 211 m height of summit. This topographical element enriches the agricultural character with vineyards and fruit-gardens. The economic opportunities of the territory are dominated by its agricultural potential, respectively by its transit character first in Hungarian–Croatian and partly in BiH relations. As the Yugoslavian socialism gave up the full nationalization of the agricultural goods, the agriculture maintained its social position stronger here in the decisively rural territories than in Hungary. This is also supported by the largest state investment in the Baranja region after the second world war, related to the nationalised estates of the industrial/agricultural complex in Bilje (PIK Bilje). It operated as a unit of the Agrokor food corporation until the collapse of the enterprise in 2017, currently the single most significant domestic political and economic issue of Croatia (every 4th employee in Croatia is linked to the collapse of AGROKOR to some extent).

Other Social and Economical Questions

In addition to the above several factors determine and often corrupt further the condition of the society and economy of this territory. One of them is the system of relation to the minorities, which is a significant social problem in Croatia since the war between 1991 and 1995. First of all it hampers the Croatian–Serbian relationship, but it is exactly Baranya and the region along the Danube, which became one of the core territories of the Serbs in Croatia after 1995 and also the Hungarians, whose social relation is to be said to be much better with the majority, is strongly focused in Baranya (Baranja) in Croatia. The disadvantageous economic situation and the presence of minorities in this corner of Europe make up an often-adverse pair. We would like to illustrate this triple connection with the group of migration-minorities-unemployment in the next table, mentioning that the distance and accessibility of the single territories from Osijek, as cent-

re is one more distinctly important indicator. The difference between the data of the census of 2001 and 2011 is because of the method of census, however, this difference had an identical impact on all territories, thus the received values can be compared.

Table 1. Migration, employment and income figures of Baranja (2011)

	Total population in 2011	Difference 2001 = 100%	Distance from Osijek (km)	Rate of employees with a permanent income in 2011	Rate of people with no income in 2011
Popovac/Baranyabán	2,084	−14.2	42	21.25% *m:* 13.62% *f:* 7.63%	34.16% *m:* 12.81% *f:* 21.35%
Petlovac/Baranyaszentistván	2.405	−12.3	40	22.37% *m:* 14.47% *f:* 7.9%	37.54% *m:* 14.55% *f:* 22.99%
Bilje/Bellye	5,642	+2.95	7	31.16% *m:* 18.14% *f:* 13.02%	36.62% *m:* 15.42% *f:* 21.2%
Draž/Darázs	2,767	−17.55	43	21.32% *m:* 13.87% *f:* 7.45%	31.73% *m:* 11.56% *f:* 20.17%
Darda/Dárda	6,908	−2.19	12	26.56% *m:* 15.12% *f:* 11.44%	35.94% *m:* 15.19% *f:* 20.75%
Kneževi Vinogradi/Hercegszöllős	4,614	−11.03	27	23.69% *m:* 15.06% *f:* 8.63%	32.92% *m:* 13.13% *f:* 19.79%
Jagodnjak/Kácsfalu	2,023	−20.27	27	14.78% *m:* 9.34% *f:* 5.44%	31.04% *m:* 12.95% *f:* 18.09%
Čeminac/Laskafalva	2,909	+1.85	16	27.09% *m:* 16.43% *f:* 10.66%	31.31% *m:* 14.48% *f:* 16.83%
Beli Manastir/Pélmonostor	10,068	−8.36	35	27.70% *m:* 15.08% *f:* 12.62%	33.23% *m:* 14.41% *f:* 18.82%

Source: DZS [=Dražavni zavod za statistiku – Republica Hrvatska] Census (2011).

In Baranja, almost a quarter (24%) of the population is employed and has permanent income. Emigration from areas with lower employment rates is higher (e.g. Jagodnjak [=Kácsfalu] where employment is 14.78% and emigration has been 20.27% in 10 years; while the population of 17.55% left Draž from 2001 to 2011 where employment is 21.32%. Compared to this, the population of Bilje increased by 3.2% and about one-third of the population has permanent employment). Employment rate is also related to sex: the

rate of women employed is lower than men, while the proportion of females with no income is higher than males. Emigration is higher from municipalities with approximately 2,000 residents, than from urbanised areas. The distance and accessibility of each area from Osijek, the centre is a significantly important indicator[2].

From the research conducted by Tamás Kiss in Baranja (Table 2.) we know that income poverty also has an ethnic dimension. The proportion of income poverty is higher among Hungarians than Croats and Serbs (Kiss 2010:119); also income figures are much more polarised within the Hungarian population as well (Kiss 2010:117): therefore income inequalities in the ethnic Hungarian population can case additional tensions in the region.

Table 2. Proportion of income poverty in each nationality

	Non-income poor	Income poor
Hungarians (N=297)	76.4	23.6
Croats (N=486)	88.5	11.5
Serbs (N=126)	81.7	18.3
Total (N=925)	83.1	16.9

Source: Kiss (2010:117).

The demographic/social crisis caused by the war had an exponential impact on the region (Végh 2013:273–274): agricultural population is shrinking, society is ageing, and young people leave the area. After the economic crisis in 2008 and the subsequent period, Croatia suffered a significant loss of population. Statistical estimates give a number of 50,000 to 100,000 emigrants. Although the interval is quite wide, considering the difference between Germany and Croatian statistics which shows double the number of the former than the official Croatian data, this wide estimate seems justified (some statistic demographers estimate the negative balance of the last 4–5 years to reach 200,000 people)[3]. In the spatial sense, this emigration primarily affects the continental East, especially Osijek-Baranja County, with the centre of Osijek[4].

Statistics data on ethnicity and mother tongue

Ethnic Hungarians in Baranja have been demoted to minority in numerous municipalities (Table 3.), they only have a relative majority in Kneževi Vinogradi with the population of 1,786 (38.66%) [for comparison: In 1991 relatively large single Hungarian populations were only present in 4 općinas: Bilje 2,435 (29.62%); Draž 1,232 (26.6%); Beli Manastir 1,006 (7.7%); an data of the 2001 census show larger Hungarian populations in only two municipalities: Kneževi Vinogradi 2,121 (40.08%) and Bilje 1,921 (35.1%)]. In 2011, their proportion only exceeded 10% in four districts: Petlovac 330 (13.72%), Bilje 1,671 (29.62%); Draž 680 (24.58%) and Kneževi Vinogradi 1,784 (38.66%).

Table 3. The ethnic and mother tongue composition of Baranja municipalities (people, %) 2001, 2011

Municipalities		Ethnicity ---- Mother tongue								
		Hungarians	%	Croats	%	Serbs	%	Other	%	Population
Popovac/Baranyabán	2001	104	4.2	1,675	69	506	20.8	142	6	2,427
		60	2.47	2,058	84.8	276	11.37	33	1.6	
	2011	81	3.89	1,488	71.4	355	17.03	160	7.6	2,084
		42	2.02	1,811	86.9	177	8.49	54	2.6	
Petlovac/Baranyaszentistván	2001	395	14.4	1,957	71.3	144	5.2	247	9.1	2,743
		349	12.72	2,225	81.12	56	2.04	113	4.1	
	2011	330	13.72	1,761	73.22	122	5.07	192	7.9	2,405
		–	–	1,962	81.59	108	2.91	–	–	
Bilje/Bellye	2001	1,921	35.1	3,020	55.1	246	4.4	293	5.5	5,480
		1,840	33.58	3,437	62.72	65	1.19	138	2.5	
	2011	1,671	29.62	3,547	62.87	216	3.83	208	3.6	5,642
		1,561	27.67	3,902	69.16	57	1.01	122	2.2	
Draž/Darázs	2001	874	26	2,278	67.8	94	2.8	110	3.4	3,356
		833	24.82	2,428	72.35	60	1.79	35	1.0	
	2011	680	24.58	1,931	69.79	90	3.25	66	2.4	2,767
		625	22.59	2,059	74.41	47	1.7	36	1.3	
Darda/Dárda	2001	581	8.2	3,663	51.8	2,008	28.4	810	11.6	7,062
		387	5.48	5,323	75.35	954	13.53	398	5.6	
	2011	482	6.98	3,848	55.7	1,603	23.20	975	14.1	6,908
		276	4.00	5,000	72.37	741	10.73	891	12.9	
Kneževi Vinogradi/Hercegszöllős	2001	2,121	40.08	1,781	34.3	956	18.4	328	6.5	5,186
		2,060	39.72	2,491	48.03	527	10.16	108	2.0	
	2011	1,784	38.66	1,758	38.1	815	17.66	257	5.5	4,614
		1,703	36.91	2,249	48.74	456	9.88	206	4.5	
Jagodnjak/Kácsfalu	2001	73	2.8	676	26.6	1,642	64.7	145	5.9	2,537
		41	1.62	1,171	46.16	1,274	50.22	51	2.0	
	2011	61	3.02	391	19.33	1,333	65.89	238	11.7	2,023
		40	1.98	839	41.47	950	46.96	194	9.6	
Čeminac/Laskafalva	2001	112	3.9	2,558	89.5	76	2.6	110	4	2,856
		81	2.84	2,711	94.92	25	0.88	39	1.4	
	2011	90	3.09	2,567	88.24	172	5.91	80	2.7	2,909
		43	1.48	2,782	95.63	56	1.93	28	0.0	
Beli Manastir/Pélmonostor	2001	933	8.4	6,085	55.3	2,920	26.5	1,048	9.8	10,986
		630	5.73	8,721	79.38	1,279	11.64	356	3.2	
	2011	801	7.96	5,750	57.4	2,572	25.5	945	8.7	10,068
		551	5.47	7,481	74.3	1,379	13.7	657	6.5	
Total	2001	7,411	16.6	23,693	55.5	8,592	20.1	3,234	7.8	42,633
	2011	5,980	15.1	23,041	58.4	7,278	18.46	3,121	7.9	39,420

Source: 2001. évi cenzus (Bárdi–Fedinec–Szarka 2008:485); DZS [=Dražavni zavod za statistiku – Republica Hrvatska] Census (2011).

The development of nationality proportions in the region correlates with assimilation and emigration, as well as the immigration of certain ethnic groups (Croats, Serbs). By the time of the 2011 census, the Croat ethnicity has become the absolute majority, the proportion of Serbs shrank to 18.5% and Hungarians to 145.1%. As seen in Table 3., considering the embracement of the mother tongue, the tendency in Baranja is the same for ethnic Hungarians as in the entirety of Croatia, i.e. more people openly embrace their Hungarian ethnicity then their Hungarian mother tongue, which clearly shows apparent linguistic assimilation, which automatically contributes to ethnic assimilation (Szilágyi 2002). The tendency is similar among Serbs, while the case is quite the opposite in the case of the dominant group of Croats. If we compare the 2001 and the 2011 data, then the results are even less favourable to Hungarians. There is no municipality – with the exception of the Serb-majority Jagodnjak – where the number of Hungarians decreased, but their proportion compared to the population slightly increased – where the number of people embracing their mother tongue and ethnicity has not decreased by 2011.

So the above-mentioned facts specify tasks for non-governmental organisations, encourage the start-up of corrective mechanisms, while political traditions, centralisation and economic/social inequalities hinder the strengthening of civil society (Kövér 2015:7).

The issue of Hungarian NGOs in Baranja

The significance of civil society in a minority environment has been researched by many, also from the perspective of ethnic Hungarians living in neighbouring countries. These papers primarily focus on the compact of only partially assimilated Hungarian communities in Slovakia, Serbia (Vojvodina) and Romania (Transylvania), since these are the areas where the minority Hungarian civil sphere showing unique phenomena and operating with multiple poles has developed (Székely 2012; Dániel 2014; Dániel–Kiss 2014; Ágyas et al. 2016).

If we compare the case of Croatia with the aforementioned ones, there are apparent differences: a small number of organisation, monolithic structure (most are cultural and traditionalist organisations), the lack of urban municipalities, issues of a centre, existence of internal contradictions compared to the low demographic basis, etc. Still, especially in the case of the Baranja area, there is an apparent unevenness that we presume to be caused by the above-mentioned geographic and social characteristics.

Non-governmental framework in Croatia

Croatian civil communities were mainly created by other determining factors than in Hungary. It is primarily their historical embeddedness and their history of development,

which is different from Hungary (Bežovan 2002; Procjena… 2011). Although the former Yugoslav system was more liberal and somewhat more open than the Hungarian one, it imposed similar restrictions on the civil sphere, because most often these organisations were the roots of anti-Yugoslav movements criticising the system and often labelled as nationalists (Ágyas et al. 2016). It shall also be emphasised that civil society has different roots and development paths within Yugoslavia in Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia as well. National character and national resistance (anti-unity sentiment, federalism, autonomism) were predominant in Croatia in the case of these movements and organisations, while in Serbia it was not national resistance, but liberalism that contributed to the social and political roots of establishing these organisations (also playing a political role) (Milivojević 2006). Both types were intellectual, and larger masses only participated in civil organisations with explicitly apolitical aims, thus putting into effect significant state control over the civil sphere.

With the independence of Croatia, in the 1990s, the country experienced a civil boom (typically applicable to countries in a state of transition) with the specific character of significant impact on the social movements caused by the war(s) taking place in the region. Therefore, in the range of civil movements, war veteran groups and other organisations reacting to post-war social problems represented a major array after 1995 (Bežovan 2002). This is also the period when Hungarian organisations were formed, and many of them (primarily those active in the field of culture) simply transformed from the former Yugoslav organisations to Croatian ones. It must not be forgotten, that the most important part of ethnic Hungarian regions – the entire territory of Baranja, as well as Eastern Slavonia along the Danube and significant parts of the Croatian Syrmia – were only transferred to Croatian administration during the peaceful reintegration following the Erdut Agreement, in 1998. This late accession posed the problems of delay and organisational disadvantage to Hungarians living in the area, since their core area in Croatia is located right here.

Croatia's act on non-governmental organisations was adopted first in 1997, then in 2001 and in 2014. The latter act was last amended in 2017. Considering these laws, the one adopted in 2014 caused the largest uproar on behalf of civil communities, since it intended to introduce significant government control in this sphere, primarily through strict financial accounting rules and the unification of other elements according to the same standard. The amendment in 2017 mostly updated the latter provisions.

The aforementioned act in 2014 also introduced a transparent (and thus controllable) NGO database, which includes the data of active and terminated organisations as well (https://uprava.gov.hr/registar-udruga/826). Contrary to the above, no major decline of NGOs followed the law, only a sort of restoration compared to the 1990s, in which the number of civil associations is reduced, but the act did not cause en masse legislative termination of the organisations, and the compulsory registration has not cut the number of organisations either.

Hungarian civil organisations among minority NGOs in Croatia

The civil movements of Hungarians in Croatia are distributed spatially with the same concentration as the Hungarian population within the country. The overwhelming majority of Hungarians live in the county with the centre of Osijek, including primarily the Baranja areas. The number of Hungarian NGOs is also the highest in this county. From the civil associations operating in the county according to the NGO database operated by the Croatian Public Administration Ministry (=Ministarstvo uprave), 91 has the protection of minority culture and/or the protection of minority rights listed among their objectives and activities[5]. 42 of these are Hungarian civil organisations! This number is very important considering the fact that the number of NGOs handling minority issues compared to the population number is the highest in this county – there are 91 such organisations for 305,032 residents, while in the capital city Zagreb only 94 such organisation exists for 709,017 residents (including 2 with a Hungarian focus). Among other counties, Vukovar-Srijem (Vukovarsko-srijemska) county is significant, in which the ministry registers 40 minority organisations for the population of 180,117, including 10 Hungarian organisations. In other counties, the number of registered Hungarian NGOs is typically 1 or 2, but there are no Hungarian-focus organisations registered in the ministry database in 10 counties.

The subject database includes the data of 52,270 organisations, including 480 that deal with minority issues. These include 64 civil organisations, which explicitly represent Hungarian minority objectives. We understand that merely the researched database is not enough to completely get to know the non-governmental organisations in Croatia, but since registration has serious consequences in several issues (e.g. applying for funding, participation in grant programmes), we consider it significant, and therefore the results of the research work representative, although not entirely complete. It is also problematic that certain civil organisations do not publish their range of activities, therefore it cannot be queried. This may also be caused by the database only categorising a limited number of pre-defined activity ranges and activities, and in case a specific organisation cannot list itself in the provided system, then our methods cannot indicate them as organisations handling minority (in this case: Hungarian minority) issues. However, this does not change our findings, but supports them, because this means that there are additional non-governmental organisations, which can contribute to the number of Hungarian associations and further specify their ranges of activities.

Based on the aforementioned database figures it can be concluded that Hungarians live the most active minority civil life in Croatia, the only similar minority is the Roma (Romani) community which covers less associations, but a larger (and less centre-specific) area. Surprisingly, the largest minority in the country, Serbs are absolutely under-represented (considering their number and significance) in this segment of society. This can only be explained by a noteworthy social phenomenon. While Serbs were the most significant obstacle of the independence of Croatia (the framework of national independence), Hungarian fought together with Croatians (also with foreign policy

support from Hungary) in achieving national independence, as comrades. In our view, this helps explaining the common attributes of Hungarian assimilation and Croatian empathy. Hungarian identity can be expressed as a Croatian citizen, even if Hungarian attributes include the knowledge or use of the Hungarian language, and Hungarian roots can also be recognised (in the lack of a national conflict between Hungarians and Croatians) if the linguistic link is lost and assimilation is advanced.

In addition to these, it shall also be emphasised that this over-representation of Hungarians also has a more specific organisational explanation, i.e. the blending of political life with non-governmental organisations (Bodó 2014). Because of the small number of Hungarians and their political division, the 5% threshold of sending a representative to the Sabor (the Croatian parliament) is too high for them, and therefore the organisations representing Hungarian interests operate of civil communities or the unity organisations of civil communities, instead of political parties. The regional units of their unity organisations are also registered separately, therefore increasing the number of Hungarian civil organisations. Since in some municipalities, these organisations are the only social groups to represent Hungarian interests, their task exceed the representation of interests, also including other important tasks, e.g. supporting local cultural life or the local education of the mother tongue (Mák 1997; 2008)

In addition to Croatian resources, there are two additional highlighted sources of supporting and funding civil initiatives (both in the financial and organisational sense): international on the one hand, including the Hungary-Croatia IPA Cross-border Co-operation Programme of the European Union, and Hungarian on the other hand, providing objectives and means as well to the Croatian NGOs. In IPA projects, two Croatia-based Hungarian civil organisations participated as partners (in this programme, none has acted as Lead Beneficiary so far) according to data retrieved from the http://www.hu-hr-ipa.com website.

- Horvátországi Magyar Vállalkozók Szövetsége [=Alliance of Hungarian Entrepreneurs in Croatia] from Feb 2013 to 31 Aug 2014
- Magyar Gasztronómia Egyesület [=Hungarian Gastronomy Association] from 1 July 2014 to 30 June 2015

Both associations are active in the professional (business) sector, not in the interest representation sector in the strict sense, but the representation of the economic interests of a minority is hardly separable from the system of economic interests. Also, the self-governments of Hungarian municipalities in Croatia (not as non-governmental actors, but as government bodies), such as Kneževi Vinogradi, Bilje and Darda, as well as Kopačevo through the Kopački Rit Natural Park (as a public institution), participated in IPA programmes during the last six or seven years. In comparison, e.g. Croatian organisations in Hungary have not been represented in any IPA project in this period, and therefore this can be considered a success, representing the dominance of the Baranja area. However, it should be noted that several priority areas were left unused by the minority sphere in these tender periods, especially in segments, which could be significant priorities for Hungarians in Croatia, such as bi- and multilingualism, economy,

cross-border community developments (which used to be priorities when IPA tenders were first announced).

For Hungarians living in the Croatian state, the third important element is Hungarian presence. This is manifested in civil initiatives and other areas as well, e.g. the Hungarian Education and Cultural Centre in Osijek, or the renovation of churches in Croatia in the course of post-war reconstruction. This system of relations has several branches and divisions, this time we focus on one of them, which we consider representative. This is the example and assistance provided by the mother country, in order to protect cultural values.

Hungary has established a special regional and hierarchical system (systems) to protect cultural values, some of them focusing on international, others on national issues. Herein, we highlight the Committees of Collections of Hungarian Values Abroad, with one of them found in Croatia according to the website:

Horvátországi Magyar Nemzetrész Értéktár és Horvátországi Magyar Nemzetrész Értéktár Bizottság [=Collection of Hungarian Values in Croatia and Committee of the Collection of Hungarian Values in Croatia]. Chairman: Jakab, Sándor (HMDK)/Pajrok, Andor, 31327 Bilje/Bellye Petőfi Sándor u. 78. (Contact) hmdk@hmdk.hr. The data of the search page of the same website display the following elements within the Collection of Hungarian Values Abroad[6]:

1. Tomb of Gedeon Ács;
2. Calvinist church buildings in Baranja;
3. Tomb of Julianna Borkó;
4. Tomb of Izsák Béni;
5. Granary;
6. Ancient tools of holm and river fishing in Baranja;
7. Agricultural food production;
8. Gastronomy – smoked carp, pike, paprika fish soup, blood pudding with carp, bean stew;
9. Bonnets;
10. Traditional rooster slaughter;
11. Dances around the May tree.

Unfortunately, details of the specific elements are not available, including links to specific locations, or the types, contents of each element. In comparison, the list of Hungarians in Prekmurje (Slovenia) – who are in a similar position – comprises six elements, as well as the value lists of Hungarians in Ukraine and Slovakia, albeit they are in a hardly comparable position. The website lists Transylvania with four elements and Vojvodina with 64. Thus, it can be concluded that Hungarian representation in Croatia has classified this Hungarian value registry as a serious identity-building element, which can be the future basis for a civil alliance that increases links to Hungary and civil activities as well (although neither is self-explanatory). Unfortunately, links to locations are speculative in some cases (in the lack of detailed information), still however, each element seems to be linked to Baranja or a municipality therein. In this segment also, the

presence of the Baranja region (and the Hungarians living there) is significant in the field of non-governmental initiatives and civil opportunities. This is an extremely exciting topic, considering the fact that there is no Hungarian element listed among the large number (156) of Croatian cultural heritage elements (although there are two nationality related ones, both of them are dialects). Hungarians in Croatia belong directly to the national (and not the non-territorial, i.e. extra-territorial) Hungarian structure, from the perspective of spiritual cultural heritage, while it is not represented in the Croatian spiritual heritage system which operates as a territorial system.

Summary, final statements

The Hungarian–Croatian border section in Baranja is currently still one of the closed, frontier-type borders in the Carpathian Basin, primarily due to the international migration crisis, and because of its character hindering Schengen-integration. This significantly obstructs the everyday life of Hungarians in Baranja, who are by the way very active from the perspective of civil communities, as well as both regions along the border, to recover from their economic depression. Seemingly, agriculture – which is the social and economic basis for life along both sides of the border – is not going to be able to significantly change economic and social structures. The centres with national significance, located on the periphery in the border area, are not going to be able to influence the negative trends in the cross-border area because of their current structural and economic problems, only for worse (additional emigration). The current depopulation processes are going to continue in the enclosed internal peripheries, while municipalities located near significantly developed transit corridors and centres will stagnate or develop slowly. In case this process follows the current negative trend of decline, the growing ethnic and social changes (which are significant on the Hungarian side), the increase of the Romani population can gradually also affect municipalities on the enclosed Croatian side, thus contributing to intra-municipality segregation and ghettoization (Zsigmond–Tésits 2015). If border integration is achieved, thus rendering them more open and easier to cross. The Croatian and Hungarian elements of the constructed V/C international transit corridor could soon be inaugurated (possibly also covering completion of the Bosnia axis to at least Sarajevo), the currently enclosed, cul-de-sac regions could shift toward a unified development direction, and negative trends could be slowly reversed. This requires the regional-level strategic development of the most significant economic potential of the regional, agriculture, which itself requires the concentration of productive forces. In other sectors as well, common development directions have to be preferred, instead of the previous development policies, which have been over-politicised and unsuccessful. From the perspective of the Hungarian community in Baranja, the most valuable asset of the region is the social activity of local Hungarians, and their subsequent good positions in both Hungary and Croatia. The problem continues to be caused by the closed nature of the border, hindering not

ethnic, but primarily economic opening, as well as increasing the intensity of social relationships, which could have significant national policy benefits as well.

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Notes

1 In this study we have partially used data originally collected in the course of research for the book *A magyar nyelv Horvátországban* (Budapest–Osijek: Gondolat Kiadó–Media Hungarica Művelődési és Tájékoztatási Intézet, 2016, ed. Miklós Kontra) with support from the MTA Domus Programme of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

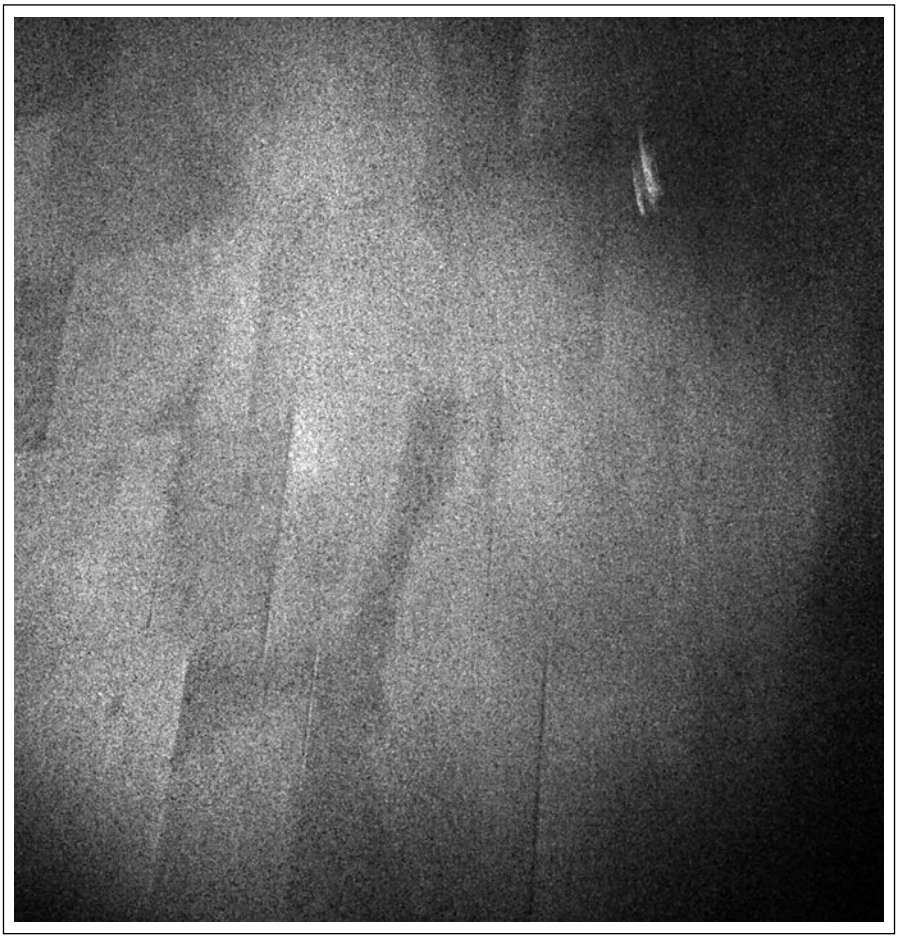
2 The difference between figures from the 2001 and 2011 censuses is somewhat caused by the methodologies applied, but this clearly affected each area and therefore the values are still comparable.

3 https://mojahrvatska.vecernji.hr/price/hrvatska-sve-praznija-a-drzava-ne-zna-broj-iseljenih-strucnjaci-upozoravaju-bit-ce-jos-gore-1144731
https://vijesti.rtl.hr/novosti/hrvatska/2636359/poznati-hrvatski-demograf-tvrdi-iseljavanje-iz-hrvatske-je-tri-puta-vece-nego-sto-pokazuju-sluzbeni-podaci/

4 https://dnevnik.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/iseljavanje-ne-jenjava-hrvatsku-je-lani-napustilo-gotovo-30-tisuca-ljudi-461002.html
https://mojahrvatska.vecernji.hr/price/hrvatska-sve-praznija-a-drzava-ne-zna-broj-iseljenih-strucnjaci-upozoravaju-bit-ce-jos-gore-1144731

5 Data retrieved in November 2017 (from 2 to 13 November) from the registri.uprava.hr/#!udruge website

6 Retrieved from the website – http://www.hungarikum.hu/hu/hungarikumok – on 13/11/2017 It should be noted that on the page the list was organised into different groups (a special solution for all the list of values abroad, possibly indicating the different stages of nomination and approval), but in this case, in order to support comparability, we decided to highlight the different elements and their quantities.



Fotó/Göncző Viktor

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS IN THE HUNGARIAN–HUNGARIAN KNOWLEDGE TRANSFER OF ORGANISING TOURISM

Tibor Gonda–Alpár Horváth

Introduction

Non-governmental organisations play a significant role in the development of tourism in Hungary – examples include the organisation of rural tourism, the training of service providers, and the implementation of the sunflower qualifications that are all tasks of the local organisations (operating as sovereign association) of FATOSZ (Falusi és Agroturizmus Országos Szövetsége, National Federation of Rural and Agrotourism) (Szabó 2014). The large number of tourism cluster organising initiatives of the last decade are also connected to non-governmental organisations in the first place (Gonda 2014). In the organisational structure of the TDMOs, operating in Hungary since 2010, non-governmental organisations play a considerable role too. The Hungarian legal regulation only allows two organisational forms of TDM organisations: these are non-for-profit limited and association. According to the registry of the Hungarian National TDM Federation, 52 of the presently working 65 TDM organisations are associations or non-for-profit associations (www.tdmszovetseg.eu). Our paper looks at the role that Hungarian non-governmental organisations in Romania played in the appearance of the new territorial organisations of tourism (TDM organisations and tourism clusters) in Romania. We also examine how the existing personal or institutionalised connections of these organisations promoted knowledge transfer and thereby the development of tourism in Romania.

Appearance of the new territorial organisations of tourism in Hungary

For the establ°ishment of the non-governmental based tourism destination management (TDM) organisational structure in Hungary a dominant factor was the approval of the National Tourism Development Strategy (NTS) in 2005. This document clearly stated the need for the further development of the institutional system of tourism "unfurling" in the network of Tourinform offices, as it had been recognised that a major obstacle to the development of tourism in Hungary was the lack of a controlling and management structure with adequate competencies, financing and professional skills. In order to create a competitive tourism sector and the conditions of sustainable operation, it was indispensable to have a decentralised organisational system based on destinations, i.e. the reception areas of tourism (Lengyel 2008; Aubert et al. 2010).

Just with the emphasis of this bottom-up approach and the principle of partnership, the strategy stated the idea as follows: "The most important step must always be made by the service providers themselves: they must recognise that the goal of cooperation … is joint market actions, business success that is not, or only partially achievable on their own…" (NTS 2005). Many actors took this message of the strategy seriously and a series of non-governmental organisations aggregating the local actors of tourism were made, in the form of associations or non-for-profit associations.

After the approval of the NTDS, the objectives of the strategy were integrated and asserted in other development strategies as well by the experts involved. Accordingly, the goal for the creation and development of TDM organisations appeared in the New Hungary Development Plan (NHDP) founding the use of the tenderable EU resources for the 2007–2013 period. In the first round it was Regional Operational Programmes in which resources could be awarded, then in 2015 it was Economic Development and Innovation Operational Programme, or GINOP in its Hungarian acronym (Madarász–Papp 2013; Aubert et al. 2016). Only some two decades after the socio-economic regime change, the principle and practice of "cooperative competition" was not evident for the service providers of the tourism sector. An important result of the TDM tenders is the appearance and strengthening of this principle. Now it can be seen that the TDM organisational structure could become effective where this principle was implemented in practice by some well-organised and democratically working non-governmental organisations.

When building out the system of destination management, fortunately not everything had to be started from zero, as the Western European practice was known from the works of several experts (Bieger 2005; Zehrer et al. 2005; Luft 2007). In Bieger's approach (2005) a destination is a system in which different tourism service providers and stakeholders in tourism have close correlations and recognise the advantages and synergies in cooperation. The system of connections so important for tourism is basically determined by the total of different (natural, political and economic) environmental spheres, for the cooperation and coordination of which Bieger finds the so-called destination management system the most suitable. In Bieger's view the

essence of the TDM system is thinking in destinations, the collaboration of the political and private sector involved in the destination, and the coordination of tourism activities, especially in the field of joint marketing activity and the coordination of planning and of the development of supply (Pálfi 2013).

On the ground of what Márton Lengyel (2008) wrote, there are four important criteria for the creation of a TDM system (bottom-up building, partnership, professionalism and financing). The building out of the organisational system of TDM-s takes place bottom-up, with the creation of the broadest partnership possible. The assertion of this principle in itself promotes the collaboration of stakeholders in tourism, in order to lead the process of the organisation of a local TDM by the foundation of a non-governmental organisation. The validity of these aspects was selectively controlled during the preliminary registration supervised by the Ministry of the National Economy. Participation, i.e. the actual involvement of stakeholders, is of vital importance for the sustenance of continuous cooperation and interest. In the process of destination management, TDM organisations have initiating functions, but their work can only be effective if different interests groups and stakeholders are also involved, from the first phase of planning through the decision-making process right to implementation. A clear legitimacy for this is given to them by the contract of task delegation made with the municipal self-government, which was already an obligatory condition when handing in the applications. Knowing the objectives of the members and in accordance with these, a TDM organisation is responsible for the adequate use of available resources, the promotion of cooperation and the necessary mediating and research tasks (Aubert–Szabó 2007).

For the coordination of the organisations it is a must to secure professionalism, the adequate operation of the tourism products created and partnership achieved. Members of the TDM organisation have an influence on the development of tourism in the destination, but work in practice is done by the working organisation, the management body of the TDMOs. The reason why this fact must be mentioned as one of the positive phenomena of the recent years is that the TDM structure was a supply of jobs as well, especially for young tourism experts. This also meant that some of the associations established a "considerable" working body with 4-5 employees. The sustenance of the established and well functioning system requires a right financing background as well. These organisations finance their activities from tenderable resources, membership contributions, contributions from the local tourism tax transferred by the municipal self-governments, revenues of their own activities and sponsorships. Parallel to the building out of the TDM organisational system, the non-governmental and professional background was reinforced too. Some TDM organisations, as umbrella organisation, assist and promote with their human resources the work of the non-governmental organisations in their territories. The professional and NGO background is strong in Hungary, operating intensively at all levels, and so it would be important to further increase their roles in building out the territorial system of TDMOs.

A significant step forward is the fact that TDM organisations with their activities offer a chance for the replacement of institutions only concentrating on tourism attractions and not on complex tourism products, operating independently of each other and often only doing promotional activities. This could give a new momentum to tourism product development and the cooperation of the tourism stakeholders of a given destination on territorial grounds. Marketing, especially internet and social media, plays a considerable role in creating the foundations and background of the joint development of supply (Pálfi 2013).

Besides the establishment of the TDM structure, the creation of tourism clusters was also supported from the resources of the New Hungary Development Plan. In all convergence regions there were resources available for this purpose, and in South Transdanubia even a separate call for tenders was announced for the support of tourism clusters. The operational experiences of the clusters created also demonstrate that the activity of clusters was successful where the lead organisation was a strong non-governmental organisation built on real participation (Gonda 2014).

Tourism promoting activity of non-governmental organisations related to the Hungarian ethnic minority in Romania

According to the data of the latest census made in 2011, 6,5% of the population of Romania is of Hungarian ethnicity, which means a total of 1.238 million inhabitants (Kiss–Barna 2012). Evidently, the spatial distribution of Hungarians is uneven both in Romania as a whole and in the territory of Transylvania in the broader sense, i.e. the approximately 103 thousands square kilometres that had belonged to the Kingdom of Hungary before the peace treaty of Trianon. As it is revealed by researches of the ethnic spatial structure (Kocsis 2006; Kocsis–Bottlik–Tátrai 2011), approximately half of the Hungarian ethnicity in Romania live in one block in the territory of the historical-cultural region named *Székely Land*, which in administrative sense is by and large equal to the municipal and administrative units with Hungarian ethnic majority in Mureş, Harghita and Covasna counties. It is an important historical fact that during the administrative reform of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in 1876 the former administrative units making Székely Land were integrated into the standardised system of counties and the changes that have taken place since then – not only in public administration but also constitutional and political regime changes (Elekes 2011) – have contributed to the progress of the ethnic spatial structure, the administrative belonging and interest assertion capacities, and through all these the self-organisational willingness and capacities of the Hungarian communities living in the territory of today's Romania. The extra-Székely Land part of the Hungarian ethnicity in Romania lives in blocks in some areas of another historical-cultural region called *Partium*, while in the northern, north-western and southern part of the historical Transylvania and in the region called *Bánság* they have sporadic communities in urban or rural areas (Kiss–Barna 2012). The ethnic spatial structural

endowments are also a socialisation environment of the individuals of Hungarian ethnicity, and so – depending on spatial mobility – some live in Romanian speaking areas, some in more or less bilingual media while those residing in Székely Land live their ordinary days in a Hungarian speaking environment.

A small section of the cultural and political socialisation processes is participation in tourism. In some areas tourism is a tool of ethnic community building, mainly in areas with sporadic ethnic minorities (including among others the relatively large Hungarian ethnic communities in Cluj Napoca, Oradea and Satu Mare). During community building (beyond the experience of being together), the definition and pursuance of common objectives, like the organised management of hiking in nature, local history and environmental protection is part of the *demand* side of tourism, e.g. in the case of one of the largest non-governmental organisations in Transylvania, the Transylvanian Carpathia Society[1].

Similar assumptions can be made about the active tourism practices of youth and/or clerical/religious organisations, (e.g. of the Hungarian Scout Association in Romania[2], Transylvanian Association of the Way of Mary[3]) and others.

On the *supply* side of tourism individuals and their non-governmental associations are active about achieving clearly specified goals (or at least vague concepts: *"something should be done"* like initiatives for cooperations) related to professional participation, knowledge creation, knowledge transfer, community planning and participation in community decision-making, sometimes taking part in tourism infrastructure development (e.g. the designation of hiking paths). Individuals can participate in the creation of the supply of tourism most of the times as entrepreneurs or as decision-makers of public institutions (occasionally as consultants). Membership in non-governmental organisations can mean for individuals the passing of leisure time on the basis of self-organisation and self-interests, on the one hand, and the generation of projects aiming at the strengthening and enrichment of some conditions of tourism, on the other hand – depending on initiating capacities and willingness to do voluntary activities. Examples can include the creation and/or maintenance of those elements of *tourism infrastructure* that cannot be made on for-profit basis (investing in them does not return). Thus, either the *governmental/municipality institutions* operating from budgetary resources or non-governmental organisations, associations and foundations tendering for public resources and trying to involve supports from the business sector by PR actions align here. An example for this is the activity of mountain rescue teams based partly on finances from municipal self-governments and partly on voluntary work, e.g. the Dancurás Mountain Rescue Association[4] working for 40 years now in Gheorgheni that has a contract with the Mountain and Cave Rescue Public Service[5] maintained by the council of *Harghita County. Transylvanian Carpathia Society*[6] with their 16 member organisations and 1,373 members has some regional departments that do not only secure the experience of common hiking sessions but also take a part in the touristic discovery and propaganda of regions, especially by their bi-monthly periodical called *Erdélyi Gyopár*[7] and other themed publications, and their presence in traditional

and online media (joint websites and websites of the member organisations, social media site, press news etc.). The respective member organisations reach other target groups in addition to their membership by their annually organised *national nomadic camps* and their memorial and performance tours, sacral marathons and pilgrimages. Their connection to mostly Hungary-based and other Hungarian non-governmental organisations in the neighbouring countries also contribute to the propaganda of some regions and dissemination of the good practices of tourism organisation in a broader circle.

The creation of the income- and profit-oriented part of the tourism infrastructure and its maintenance in competitive conditions is a task of the *business* sector whose members will create non-governmental organisations and entrepreneurial associations if *common interests* are recognised (access to markets, quality assurance, solution of labour force related problems, interest representation against authorities etc) and those *tasks* are also seen (regional market activity, organisation of education, professional lobbying activity) that cannot be done individually, only in cooperation. The road from recognition to cooperation is long and winding, it is not easy to create conditions for voluntary coordination mechanisms. Entrepreneurs can create *entrepreneurial associations* built on the recognised common interests following the legal regulations relevant for non-governmental organisations, with membership and elected lead organs, maybe with paid working organisations, managers or volunteers (Ordonanta 26/2000). *Municipal self-governments* are also interested in creating and operating non-for-profit and for-profit tourism infrastructure. This is also required specifically by the 2017 draft of the Act on Tourism (Proiect Legea Turismului 2017), and more vaguely also by the Government Decree No. 58 of 1998 (Ordonanta 58/1998) and the other legal regulations on tourism deriving from this decree. To what extent a municipal or county self-government wanted to use the opportunities offered by the legal regulations and the governmental and European Union support systems, however, depended largely on how much municipal leaders were interested in the operation of the regional tourism sector.

The Act on local public administration (Legea 215/2001) regulates the operation of the county and municipal self-governments and luckily enough now encourages the regional cooperation of self-governments, in the form of "community development associations", i.e. the associations of territorial administrative units (counties, towns and cities, villages). Of this character are the following organisations: Association for the Tourism of Covasna County, created jointly by the Council of Covasna County, the municipality of the city of Sfântu Gheorghe and the Local Council of Covasna Town, or the Harghita Community Development Association created by the Harghita County Council with 12 municipal self-governments, to which another 24 municipal self-governments joined.[8]

Cooperations were also promoted by the LEADER programme of the National Rural Development Programme, despite all hardships and bureaucratic obstacles. In such circumstances developed its activity further the Salt Region Tourism Association founded by a few accommodation owners in Praid, which was a forerunner of TDM thinking in

Székely Land as the so-called Salt Region-Foothills Tourism Association (Horváth 2014). The new legal regulations of tourism made in Romania in 2017 are slowly shifting focus towards *thinking in destinations,* to which the issue of the creation of TDM organisations is closely linked (Ordonanta 15/2017).

The Hungarian or multi-ethnic character of settlements and other societies is influenced to a great extent by the geographical place of the head office in the registry and the selected territory of action. It is not accidental that Hungarian (or Hungarian majority) organisations specialised on tourism destination management can only be found in the Székely Land. This does not exclude the creation of Hungarian tourism associations in other parts of Transylvania, but, due to the *"almost-official"* character of the TDM, outside Székely Land it is professional organisations *propagating* on voluntary basis Hungarian cultural heritage, Hungarian communities and small enterprises – but *officially not representing* the respective settlements and regions – that can complement the picture drawn by the efforts of the Székely Land TDM initiatives.

TDM-processes in the Székely Land

The twin town and twin county relations of administrative units of the Székely Land managed by *Hungarian ethnic majority* (councils of Harghita and Covasna counties, several villages and towns) to Hungarian administrative units going back to the mid-1990-s, the cross-border relations of historical Hungarian churches and public education institutions, the attendance of universities in Hungary by young Hungarian people living in Romania (including doctoral schools), and the different personal and tendering relations of universities and research institutes allowed a diverse knowledge transfer. This could only be *complemented* but not substituted by the knowledge transfer coming from the Romanian governmental institutions at any time and from the Hungarian interest representation organisations working in Romania. So the Hungarian–Hungarian knowledge transfer can also be seen as a competitiveness factor in comparison of the Hungarian communities in Romania to the majority society.

The first time tourism destination management appeared in the professional and public discourse in the Székely Land was in 2008–2009. In the headquarters of the Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania in Cluj Napoca, an episode of the Hungarian–Romanian intergovernmental talks was the meeting of the state secretaries responsible for tourism. As a "side-track" of professional policy negotiations, the staff of the then Hungarian Tourism Office introduced to a smaller audience the *Hungarian National Tourism Development Strategy* worked out in 2005, in the organisational structural axis of which the building out of the multi-tier system of TDM organisations played a central role. After the TDM Manual was published, edited by Márton Lengyel, on the assignment of the State Secretariat of Tourism of the Hungarian Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development (Lengyel 2008), by 2009 the tourism development strategy of Harghita County was written on the request of the Council of

Harghita County. The development axes of this strategy included organisational building issues, especially recommending the building out of the conditions for a TDM system (Hargita County Council – Aquaprofit Consulting Kft 2009). An episode of the Hungarian–Hungarian knowledge transfer of tourism strategy and TDM issues was regional tourism management and tourism marketing researches done at the Gheorgheni Extension of the Babeş-Bolyai University and the Miercurea Ciuc Faculties of Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania that supplemented the professional discourse generated by the Tourism Development Strategy of Harghita County and the rural and regional development tenders of the European Union (Horváth–Peteley 2008; Horváth 2013; Nagy 2013). University researches and municipal self-governments' ideas, however, are relatively exclusive and their recognition by the socio-economic environment is rather limited.

Almost 8 years had to pass until the appearance of the issue of destinations and TDM organisations in the drafts of legal regulations governing the institutional system of tourism in Romania, and in the background materials providing a professional support for these legal documents. On 23 August 2017 the Government Decree No. 15 of 2017 was announced on the amendment and completion of the Government Decree No. 58 of 1998 on the organisation and implementation of tourism activities, in which the concept of both destinations and destination management organisations was defined by the law. This will be supplemented, in accordance with the government programme of the government that came in power in late 2016, with the approval of the *Act on Tourism* no later than in 2017 (the public discussion of the draft of the act was finished in the autumn of 2017). It is unknown as yet when the Romanian ministry of tourism publishes the *methodological guidelines for the creation of TDM organisations*, but until then the research report published in 2016 by the Hungarian Research Institute for National Strategy can be used as a background material that gives a relatively comprehensive overview – even though not for the whole Transylvanian but at least for the Székely Land tourism organisational system and the possibilities of its further development (Tőzsér–Bánhidai 2016). Without giving a detailed presentation of the findings or recommendations of this TDM related research, we wish to present the following brief summarising thoughts.

For the implementation of tasks known from the literature on tourism destination management (Ritchie–Crouch 2003; Lengyel 2008) the non-governmental sector (especially the Hungarian non-governmental sector in Romania) is incapable in itself, but through the practice of *community planning* it can make a considerable contribution to partnership building, knowledge transfer, the practices of good governance, innovative tourism *product development* and the related *marketing communication*. As a basic issue of competitiveness of destinations is the diversity, originality and marketability of the product range of the region, it is necessary to create the common interpretation frameworks first of all in relation to the interpretation of the tourism product. This is one of the most urging tasks of the *TDM-like professional forums*. Each actor must know their role in the creation of the regional tourism products and image (Horváth

2013; Kiss–Barna–Deák 2013; Nagy 2013). If, for example, the tourism development strategy of Harghita county defines active tourism and ecotourism as distinctive products and main attractions, their promotion by Harghita Community Development Association, even with the support of the Székely Land TDM Cluster, is in vain if behind that there is no specific infrastructure built on natural endowments (a responsibility of non-governmental and municipal actors and only partially of the entrepreneurial and land owner sector), and there are no businesses offering real leisure time services based on these endowments, either.

Non-governmental organisations are differentiated from municipal efforts by *voluntariness* and interest of varying intensity, from entrepreneurial efforts by the lack of for-profit orientation. This civil consciousness and local patriotism is what makes the added value of non-governmental organisations, the accountability of which is less possible than that of tasks coming from *authoritative competencies*. The involvement of the knowledge capital of the non-governmental sector (e.g. the up-to-date knowledge of hikers in nature) into the planning activities of municipal self-governments, or even into the portfolio of enterprises selling leisure time services on business grounds is definitely more advantageous than their negligence coming from the indifference of the authorities or the narrow-mindedness of the entrepreneurial sector.

The *tender programmes* implemented with European Union support in the 2007–2013 programming period made a contribution to the realisation of several marketing communication projects and the opening of tourism information offices in towns and holiday resorts (measure 5.3 of the Regional Operational Programme) as well as in rural areas (measure 313 of the National Rural Development Programme and similar, parallel projects of the LEADER programme). The institutional evaluation of the afterlife of the project results is still to be done, but the field researches, especially in settlements unknown in tourism before, revealed that the sustainability of project results and their socio-economic use are questionable. The tenders theoretically encouraged the *spread of professional thinking* in the municipal and business sector but it was just the lack of embeddedness of marketing actions and the occasional uselessness of the tourism information offices that launched – at least in the Székely Land – the spread of TDM thinking and the professional clustering of the Hungarian tourism actors in Harghita, Covasna and Mureş counties (Tőzsér–Bánhidai 2016).

It is evident that the focus on the *Hungarian character* raised further problems, in the first place the dispute about the legal registration of the federation that was meant to be the professional umbrella organisation of the tourism associations of the Székely Land, under the name *Pro Turismo Terrae Siculorum Federation*. The founders wanted to establish this as a *regional TDM organisation*, anyway, but in the first instance the Court of Harghita County and in the second instance the Court of Appeal of Târgu Mureş denied registration, with reference to the fact that there is no such thing as Székely Land defined on ethnic grounds, on the one hand, and it "must not be propagated"[9], on the other hand. The reasons for the refusal were the contradictions of the objectives specified in the deed of foundation, and the Constitution and the act on local

governments – in the interpretation of the law by the jurisdictional organisations, i.e. the prosecutor's offices and the courts. It remains a question to be answered: if Romanian legal regulations have not defined (so far) the concept of the destination and the position of the competencies related to destination marketing, why do authorities suppose the administrative character of these? The declared objective of the registry of the Federation was the marketing of Székely Land but the initiators did not say that they would interpret the Székely Land from administrative perspective; they only considered the region as a "destination". The concept of *destination*, however is only defined by the government decree No 15 issued in August 2017, *not as administrative unit* but as a *region* that has a diverse supply of products, standardised and coherent marketing image and a general and specific service network for the realisation of the products (Ordonanta 15/2017). Although the fiasco of the registry can be fitted into a narrative on the limitation of minority rights, it actually only means the *legal* side of the issues of the "Hungarian TDMOs in Romania".

Besides the registration procedure made in 2015–2016, the building of the professional community continued as well, the non-governmental actors interested in the TDM concept are still doing their work in the frameworks of their associations. As an informal network, as *Székely Land TDM Cluster,* the so-called "regional" level networking above settlement-municipal level, in the wording of the government decree No 15 of 2017: "coalisation" is continued. The use of the expression 'regional' might be confusing because in Romania there are only *planning and statistical regions* which are *also development regions* officially, i.e. defined by the law, created by the associations of counties in line with the regulations of the act on the development of regions. Székely Land thus *cannot be interpreted as a region* in *normative* sense, the concept *historical-cultural region* used in everyday language and geographical and regional science discourse will only be acceptable for administrative logics if it is approached as a tourism destination on the basis of "cultural region" and "standard marketing image" (Horváth 2013).

As regards the issue of clustering, the Transylvania Balneotourism Cluster founded in 2014 is also linked to Székely Land. Among the founders of the cluster we find actors from all over Romania, like Association of Spa and Climatic Resorts of Romania, Romanian Health Tourism Association, Employers' Organisation of Spa Tourism, Romanian Balneology Society etc. The importance of this organisation lies in the professional networking of the actors of health tourism, a sector with considerable economic and public welfare significance, on the one hand, and in the propaganda of clustering models and the raising of the awareness of the advantages coming from network cooperations (building of market connections, making procurements and sales more effective, sectoral lobbying etc.), on the other hand.

However unusual the word combination TDM-cluster, it still expresses the mixed and probably transitory situation in which those who wish to present Székely Land on the basis of the TDM logic find themselves: the foundation of regional TDM has legally failed, as the legal interpretation of Székely Land is problematic. As an alternative specification, cluster is used – also a notion not specified in administrative law – as a concept close to

networked operation, possible within the current legal circumstances. The common goal of the cooperation declared as a cluster-type one is still setting local tourism sector on a competitive and sustainable path, just by the use of the expected advantages coming from the identity of this special historical-cultural region (existing and recognisable distinctive features). Accordingly, although there is no regional TDM organisation operating as sovereign legal entity, we still have a professional cooperation of municipality and county level organisations of Székely Land cooperating on the TDM logic, and their theoretically mutually reinforcing activity. The operation of the member organisations of the network is varied, the focus is on the organisation of study tours, the development of mobile phone applications, the organisation of gastronomy events in some places, elsewhere it is on regular editing and dissemination of online professional newsletters, or on the publication of online and/or printed leaflets propagating the events in the area; occasionally efforts are also made for participation in tourism trade fairs. For the time being the TDM based networked cooperation of the Székely Land is about the organisation of the professional audience and shaping the attitude of the stakeholders, which is evidently the preliminary phase for a professional TDM operation (Ritchie–Crouch 2003; Lengyel 2008; Tőzsér–Bánhidai 2016).

The marketing on the virtual *Székely Land destination* is not free from challenges, also professional ones in addition to the delicate ethnicity issue. The *professional integration* of the actors of the tourism sector subscribing to the Székely Land regional identity can take place without a commonly grounded organisation as well, in the form of *inter-organisational cooperation*, as is has been the case so far. The real challenge is *making for-profit market actors interested*, and their formal inclusion into the working out and even more so the implementation of territorial strategies and development programmes. A significant part of the well-capitalised market actors in Mureş, Harghita and Covasna counties are not necessarily owned or operated by Hungarians. Tax-paying market actors may have *expectations* against the county or municipal self-governments with Hungarian or mixed leadership that either have ethnic relevances (issue of language use, contents to be propagated, target markets to be focused on) or non-ethnic ones (infrastructure, tourism tax, authority controls, information service, mediation of connections to educational institutions etc.). The municipalities led by Hungarian decision-makers and the TDM like organisations founded by them (Harghita Community Development Association, Association for the Tourism of Covasna County) are organisations operating directly or indirectly from *budgetary resources*, their competencies and the financing of their programmes are more bound than those of the "non-governmental" organisations with entrepreneurial background. Accordingly, the multi-ethnic Mureş county that does not only include Székely Land territories could theoretically be partner in a Székely Land network, but not only in that: also in a virtual "Saxony" or "South Transylvania" destination due to the region of Sighişoara, and in an "Upper Mureş River Region" destination. The concepts 'destination' and 'TDM organisation' have been specified so far by the law, only, further legislative activity on the part of the ministry responsible for tourism will be the approval of the decree of the

minister regulating the procedure of the establishment, operation, accreditation and re-accreditation of the TDM organisations. After this, the verification and accreditation by the ministry and the use of public resources coming from tourism tax can theoretically be achieved with a *bottom-up* initiative, following a centrally defined methodology.

Summary

In the development of tourism in Romania, the non-governmental organisations founded by members of the Hungarian ethnic minority play a special role. By their personal and institutionalised relations they are up-to-date about the tourism development efforts in Hungary and the connected good practices. In the propagation of the TDM organisational system and the foundation of cluster organising processes the contribution of non-governmental organisations to knowledge transfer was clearly observable. The Hungarian–Hungarian knowledge transfer can even be seen as competitiveness factor in comparison of the Hungarian communities in Romania to the majority society. In 2017 the legal regulation of destinations took place in Romania, and the building out of the TDM structure is under preparation. Until it is finalised, besides the already existing tourism information offices and the specialised tourism organisations of municipal self-governments, it is non-governmental organisation that can serve as the strongholds of TDM activities. When local, county and regional TDM organisations are created by a standard national methodology, the division of tasks among them is still to be defined: probably the tourism information offices and/or specialised tourism services and departments of the municipal and county self-governments will have the working organisation functions, i.e. decision-making and implementation tasks of the organisations operating in a public-private partnership. It is hoped that, following the Hungarian model, the strong non-governmental representatives of local forces interested in tourism can be operators of the TDM organisations. This would further increase community embeddedness and local identity in the Hungarian ethnic areas.

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Notes

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2 http://www.rmcssz.ro/
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The role of Hungarian–American civil and church organisations in preserving the Hungarian identity[1]

Gábor Szalai–Péter Reményi–Norbert Pap

Introduction

The history of Hungarians living in the United States is about one and a half centuries. Since the 1870s and 1880s, hundreds of thousands have immigrated to the USA in different waves to start a new life and, on the other hand, to return home in a strengthened financial situation. This duality is still noticeable concerning the Hungarians living in the USA.

Hungarians arriving in the USA set up their civil and church organisations in a short period of time which had a steady replenishment of Hungarian families therefore they strengthened organisationally. At the outbreak of the World War I, there was a flourishing Hungarian organisational and church life, mainly in the north-eastern and northern states of the USA. The organisations and churches that were set up mainly at the turn of the century still work actively and they are the important bases for preserving the Hungarian identity. In the initial period, the Hungarian community life took place in Catholic and Reformed Churches and, nowadays, these churches also maintain and support many schools, clubs, cultural groups among which it is important to

highlight the increasingly popular scout troops with growing number of members. Hungarians arriving in different eras with different purposes and reasons have set up various associations and organisations and, as a result, many of them still work independently from one another in the USA.

The analysis of the historical background of the Hungarian diaspora and the emigration waves have key importance in terms of this subject, as the causation differences have serious consequences in the community and church life in the dimensions of assimilation as well as the Hungarian consciousness and identity. The group of Hungarians living in the United States is not homogeneous and the diversity of the descendants i.e. the third-fourth-fifth generations is quite typical, which has a significant impact on the Hungarian–American civil and church life and the future of their organisations.

Emigration waves

Historians and sociologists (Puskás 1982; Tezla 1987; Várdy 2000) working on this subject distinguished seven emigration waves in which people with different social backgrounds decided to leave their homeland for different reasons. The heterogeneity resulting from it was the characteristic of the descendants too which had serious consequences for the development of the Hungarian consciousness as well as the civil and church life.

The first emigration wave (between 1849 and 1867)

In the period between the surrender at Világos and the Austro–Hungarian Compromise of 1867, approximately 3-4 thousand Hungarian citizens escaped to the USA from the political retribution. Lajos Kossuth and about his thousand soldiers can be considered the first political emigrant group of the 19th century. The emigrated Hungarians considered their residence in the new medium as transient and therefore they endeavoured to preserve their identity. Most of them settled in New York, but after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise they either returned to Hungary or integrated into the American society (Várdy 2000).

The second emigration wave (between 1867 and 1920)

The emigration to the United States of America became massive in the 1880s and 1890s and it culminated in the years after the turn of the century, in 1906 and 1907. In this period, Hungary was virtually involved in the great migration wave in which the Western European States, predominantly Germany, Ireland and the Scandinavian States, participated from the 1840s.

The data about the number of emigrants are very different and they are difficult to compare. According to the official Hungarian passport statistics, 1,120,000 Hungarians emigrated to the United States in the period between 1899 and 1913, while in the records of the USCIS it is shown that 1,815,117 Hungarian immigrants arrived in the USA in the period between 1871 and 1913 (Tezla 1987). It's difficult to ascertain the number of emigrated Hungarians in the examined period since the data regarding the nationality of immigrants leaving the area of the Austro-Hungarian Empire are quite incomplete. In the initial period, the officials of the USCIS did not raise such a question and, moreover, the answer was not always accurate as the immigrant did not always have a solid ethnic identity so, instead of specifying nationality, the name of the country was mentioned (Puskás 1982). According to the statistics of the USCIS for the periods between 1898 and 1899 and between 1912 and 1913: 423,000 Slovakians, 402,000 Hungarians, 219,000 Germans, 47,000 Romanians, and approximately 30,000 Serbs, i.e. about 1,121,000 people left Hungary, during a decade and a half (Frank 1981).

In that period, there was a correlation between the emigrants belonging to different ethnic groups and the yield of certain corps. The proportion of emigrated Hungarians was lower when the income from wheat was high. More Germans left the country when the price of barely was high and thus the livestock breeding became more expensive, while less Germans emigrated when the income from the rye increased. The Slovakians, the Croatians, the Serbians and the Ruthenes responded sensitively for the price changes of potato, while the Romanians did so for the price changes of corn (Váralljai Csocsán 1974).

Besides economic reasons (lack of agricultural work, limitation of the workforce absorption effect of domestic cities and industry, floods, hog cholera and phylloxera), there were significant social reasons for the emigration. Social tensions, population growth, limited opportunities for internal mobility and desire for more human way of life also contributed that masses of people decided to emigrate in addition to high cost of living.

However, besides push factors, there were also pull factors of the migration. Significant labour shortage occurred in the mining and steel industries because of the industrialization in the 1870s. American agents and agencies recruited workers by press advertisements in the states of Central and Western Europe.

The significant part of the emigrants consisted of poor landless peasants, smallholders possessing a few acres of land, craftsmen, city workers and servants. There were a few intellectuals and artists among the emigrants in that period (Várdy 2000).

Analysing the marital status of the emigrants, it can be stated that mainly young men emigrated. The proportion of the women increased later, at the end of the period, which can be explained by the fact that the women followed their husband or groom when their partner strengthened financially to such an extent that made possible to do so.

The regions of origin of the emigration were mainly the counties (Abaúj-Torna, Bács-Bodrog, Bereg, Borsod, Gömör-Kishont, Sáros, Szepes, Szabolcs, Temes, Ung, Zemplén), where the proportion of latifundium and consequently the proportion of landless people were high. The migration wave was initiated from the areas of Upper Hungary

and then continued from Transdanubia, Southern Hungary and Transylvania and finally the Great Hungarian Plain.

However, in the 1910s, Hungarian organisations and Hungarian houses had been already operated which could help the newcomers in integration. According to the contemporary accounts, many of emigrants left for the USA based on letters and reports written by relatives, friends, acquaintances and villagers and they were waited and helped by the Hungarians already living there. Consequently, the local and regional identities were very strong among the emigrants, they communicated with and chose spouse from almost exclusively one another and they rarely applied for U.S. citizenship. However, they needed to adapt to the new American culture because they couldn't avoid the influence and the assimilation effects of the majority culture. Therefore, the weakening of ethnic particularities and the abandonment of the traditional clothing could be observed in the last third of the examined period (Komjáthy 1984).

The changes in the number of participants of the examined emigration wave and the depth of integration of those who arrived in the United States are well demonstrated by the facts that the amounts of money which were sent home by the Hungarian–Americans to their families were approximately 10 million korona in the 1890s, 50 million korona at the beginning of the 1900s, while 200 million korona in the years before the World War I (Puskás 1982).

In the period, New Brunswick, Passaic, Trenton, Perth Amboy (New Jersey), Pittsburgh, Bethlehem, Johnstown, Unitown, McKeesport (Pennsylvania), Cleveland, Akron, Youngstown, Toledo (Ohio), Bridgeport (Connecticut), Chicago (Illionis), South Bend (Indiana), Flint, Detroit (Michigan) West Virginia and Missouri were the target areas of emigration (Bába 2015).

According to contemporary accounts, the emigrants of the second wave mainly wished to earn money and then to return home to buy lands and houses. For this reason, the emigrants were labelled as 'migratory birds' by the press because their residence was considered temporary. However, the proportion of return migration to Hungary was assessed only 15–37% between 1867 and 1920 by the experts working on the subject (Frank 1981; Puskás 1982; Tezla 1987). All in all, the emigration had not political but economic and social reasons in the examined period.

The third emigration wave (after the Treaty of Trianon and before the World War II)

After World War I, the emigrants left for the United States mainly for political, ideological and existential reasons. The group of emigrants was made up of civil intellectuals and artists. Their majority consisted of Jews of Hungary after the adaptation of Anti-Jewish Laws of 1938 as well as peasants and urban intellectuals from the successor states. The capital, the industrial cities and the north-eastern counties (Abaúj, Zemplén, Szabolcs-Szatmár) were the focal points of the emigration (C. Tóth 2010).

However, the number of emigrants dropped considerably compared to the previous period due to the adoption of the Emergency Quota Act of 1921 and the adoption of the

more restrictive Immigration Act of 1924 limiting the number of Hungarian immigrants for thousand per year. According to American immigration statistics, only 28,000 Hungarians were allowed to move to the USA between 1922 and 1927 (Várdy 2000).

Between the World Wars, the polarization of the Hungarian–Americans living in the so-called Hungarian neighbourhoods was strengthened, the community that had been relatively homogeneous earlier was fragmented which was aggravated by the appearance of the small number of emigrants leaving their homeland mainly due to political reasons who were far more educated than the members of the previous groups of emigrants. Engineers, doctors, lawyers, economists, teachers, scholars, writers, musicians and artists with academic education were not able to, and didn't wish to integrate in the world and society of the Hungarian neighbourhoods. The intellectuals mainly communicated with Americans which led to their easy and quick integration, so they were soon able to contribute to the scientific (by Ede Teller, Leó Szilárd and János Neumann), intellectual and cultural development of the USA (Várdy 2000). Although the rapid integration of the intellectuals did not mean the abdication of the Hungarian identity but it had little impact on the Hungarian American centres and their life. The Treaty of Trianon (promotion of the issue of Hungary) was the only issue which clustered all the Hungarian-Americans (Máthé 1942).

It was a growing tendency that the children who were born in the USA integrated through assimilation, habits and behavioural norms which separated them from their parents' world. The second generation of the young Hungarians growing up in the Hungarian neighbourhoods became Hungarian–Americans. They learned Hungarian language at first, went to Hungarian weekend schools, also took part in Hungarian celebrations but they were not only Hungarians. It is clearly shown that only 28,4% of the Hungarians were American citizen in 1920, while the proportion was 55,7% in 1930 (Várdy 2000).

Thus, the phenomenon of the generation gap can be observed and the dual ethnic identity of the Hungarians became increasingly articulate. Perceiving the above described phenomena, the families endeavoured to do their best to the development and preservation of the dual identity. The church services were conducted in Hungarian, Hungarian language was taught to the children, national days were held, cultural events and youth clubs were organized (Kosáry 1942).

The forth emigration wave (after the World War II)

After the World War II, the emigrants left Hungary in two sharply distinct waves in 1945 and 1947–1948. The approximately 21–26 thousand people emigrated in the above two periods were significantly different from one another and from the former groups of emigrants. The group leaving in 1945 can be characterized by deep internal political polarization including the representatives of the Hungarian nobility and middle class, government officials, gendarme officers, educated people, right wing extremists, nationalists from the middle class, peasants in better living conditions and the survived

Jews. However in 1947–1948 mainly members of the strictly restricted anti-communist parties, intellectuals and university students emigrated from Hungary (Puskás 1991).

The Laws of "Displaced Persons" of 1948 and 1950 and the "McCarran–Walter Immigration and Naturalization Act" of 1952 were adopted by the U.S. Congress which made the reception of the refugees possible besides the strict political control.

After World War II, the forced and immediate leaving of the political emigrants from Hungary was a traumatic experience for them. The continuity of their prior life ended, they lost their previous social position, settled in a foreign political-cultural and language environment and they had to restart everything. This trauma of the rootlessness led to severe psychiatric disorders and identity crises (while their prior life continued in intellectual, ideological, social terms) (Ónody 2014). They considered their position transitory because they were convinced that the Soviet Rule did not last long and their respected social and political position would continue to exist in the liberated Hungary so they didn't wish to integrate into the American society. Their children were also raised according to this conviction and old conventional norms preserving the Hungarian customs and traditions (Várdy 2000).

However, the mixed marriages in the second and third generation Hungarians were increasingly observable which resulted the growing significance of double or multiple identities and assimilation in the examined period. After World War II, the increased number of Hungarians became the equal member of the U.S. Political community and of an ethnic group which was different from the majority language, religion and culture.

The fifth emigration wave (between autumn 1956 and spring 1957)

After the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 mainly well-qualified professionals and university students arrived in the United States, similarly to the first emigration wave. According to statistics, more than half of the refugees had higher education degree or they were university students (the representatives of natural, technical and medical sciences were overrepresented) (Várdy 2000).

Many of the emigrants had participated in the revolution and they had to escape. There were emigrants who didn't participate in the fights but their rights had been impaired many times and they decided that it was time to leave the country. Of course, there were emigrants who left due to existential and not political reasons who were not prosecuted but they wanted to start a new life (Puskás 1991).

By examining the regions of origin, it can be stated that the proportion of the emigrants of Budapest and western Hungary was higher than the proportion of the emigrants of eastern Hungary. The main direction of emigration led through Austria or Yugoslavia over the states of Western Europe to the USA.

Thanks to the Laws of "McCarran–Walter Immigration and Naturalization Act" of 1952 and "Refugee Act" of 1953 adopted by the U.S. Congress, the reception of the refugees was not dependent from the quota system. The quick reception of refugees

was also facilitated by other provisions of the following years, such as the "nonquota immigrant visa" and the presidential "parole".

The Hungarians emigrated after the revolution of 1956 were welcome as heroes. The Government of the United States not only accelerated the refugees' access to citizenship, but also ensured free English courses and supported the continuation of their studies started in Hungary and to find a job. The universities almost competed with one another and offered more and more favourable scholarships to the immigrants. In 1956, in addition to the atmosphere of Cold War, there was a general economic boom in the USA which helped the well-educated young people to find a job. However, the main patrons of the Hungarian immigrants were the Hungarian Churches and organisations (Puskás 1991).

But majority of the 31,000 Hungarians who arrived in 1956 didn't settle in the Hungarian neighbourhoods. Most of them married to Americans so they soon integrated to the American society and spent less time with visiting the Hungarian organisations. The emigration of the Hungarians in 1956 was the most successful emigration wave of the Hungarian–Americans. None of the other emigration waves gave so many successful professionals, businessmen, academic teachers, inventors as well as internationally recognized scholars and investors to the USA as the wave of 1956, therefore their integration into the new culture was easier and more successful (Várdy 2000).

Of course, many emigrants of 1956 also insisted on their Hungarian ethnic identity. So far, a lot of them have been playing an important and inevitable role in shaping and strengthening the Hungarian identity of the new generation. Beyond the assimilation of the decisive majority, there were many who did not lose their Hungarian ethnic identity. Nevertheless, the Hungarians of 1956 had gained such serious and indelible impressions in the 1950s that they had aversions to politics and to the Hungarian fate. In the early years, some families turned away from Hungary and the Hungarian fate in such extent that the parents forbade their children to speak Hungarian. This phenomenon was unimaginable among the emigrants of the previous waves (Várdy 2000).

The emigration wave after the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 was the last in which mass of Hungarians arrived in the United States within a well-defined time-frame. In the following decades, none of the groups immigrated in such number and in such an organized way.

The sixth emigration wave (1957–1990)

Prior to the regime change, hundreds of Hungarians immigrated to the United States from Hungary and the Hungarian-inhabited areas of the neighbouring countries. The number of the emigrated Hungarians increased considerably in the years of regime changes in various Central and Eastern European countries. At the turn of 1989 and 1990, thousands of Hungarians emigrated from the areas of Transylvania and the Partium of Romania. During the Yugoslav Wars, the number of Hungarian refugees emigrated from Croatia and Serbia increased radically.

In the examined period, state support was also given to the Hungarian language, education in schools, issuance of publications in Hungarian, organisation of ethnic festivals which had a positive impact on the identity of the second and third generations and the increased number of people started to explore their origin and to discover and declare their Hungarian ethnic identity. Many of the young people exploring their roots tried to express the Hungarian identity through folk dance. Therefore, the ethnic identity was expressed using symbols and traditions (András 1983; Hoppál 1989). Looking at the years of the period between 1957 and 1990, it can be concluded that the third generation started to react positively again to the values of the immigrant generations. The cultural heritage and Hungarian consciousness were explored, qualified as value, undertaken and declared by the third generation, which were usually ashamed and opposed by the second generation (Fejős 1993). Since the 1960s and 1970s, besides positive effects, negative processes also affected the Hungarian–Americans, as the Hungarian neighbourhoods started to decay.

The seventh emigration wave (from the regime change to the present)

After the regime changes of Central and Eastern Europe so far, the Hungarians have emigrated mainly for economic reasons in the hope of better living conditions. In the recent years, the reasons for working abroad were similar to those at the turn of the 19–20 century: economic recession, unemployment of young people, job insecurity. At present, there is a high probability that most of the Hungarians getting a job in the USA leave their homeland permanently.

The participants of the present emigration wave differ from the others in many aspects. One of the main differences is the fact that the immigrated Hungarians often live in hiding, they don't often seek for the Hungarian organisations and, in many cases, they don't work according to their profession. On the other hand, thanks to the development of the mass media, it is easier to communicate and get information about the news and it's easier and faster to follow the events of Hungary. Since the 1990s, the Hungarian–Americans have been able to visit Hungary for a shorter or longer period more easily which also has a positive impact on the preservation and experience of the Hungarian entity (Bába 2015).

By now the appearance of the multiple ethnic identity among the people of Hungarian origin is more and more frequent since it is a voluntary, chosen identity with the origin which doesn't require the knowledge of the Hungarian language. Therefore, the knowledge of the Hungarian language does not require the experience the Hungarian identity, it could be defined in English as well, since the national consciousness is not related to language knowledge in many cases (Eriksen 2008). Thus, the ethnic identity related to the Hungarian community (origin) may be deeply rooted despite the absence of Hungarian language knowledge, but it is not necessary to appear in everyday life, it can be manifested in symbols: clothing, habits, folk dances. This symbolic ethnicity

is manifested through occasional and optional gestures and practices that can be interpreted as the symbolic expressions of the relation to the tradition of community of origin (Horváth 2006). Thus, these days, the Hungarian language has no longer a primary identity marking role for the third and fourth generations of the Hungarian-Americans. Instead, secondary symbols such as Hungarian costumes, holidays, music, and eating habits are in the foreground which also have significant impact on the church and community life of today (Bartha 1993).

Hungarian civil and church organisations in the USA

The Hungarian neighbourhoods (colonies) i.e. the churches, cultural organisations (associations, Hungarian houses, libraries) and the associated schools, press products (printed, electronic), choirs, (folk) dance, music dramatics groups and scout troops established and maintained by them are the most significant manifestations, areas and opportunities of the Hungarian identity for the ethnic Hungarians living in the USA. However, the churches, organisations and their associated institutions are not only the opportunities for manifestation, but also the spaces of ethnic socialization since the ethnic identity is developed through, among other things, the culture (Hoppál 1989).

Hungarian colonies (settlements, neighbourhoods)

Between 1867 and 1920, emigrants settled mainly on the north-eastern coast, in steel and industrial centres and mining towns (New York, New Brunswick, Passaic, Trenton, Perth Amboy, Pittsburgh, Bethlehem, Cleveland, Toledo, Bridgeport, Chicago, Detroit), since most of them found work in mines, iron works, textile and porcelain factories as well as steel and brick works. As a result, most Hungarian–Americans lived in the emigrant districts of big cities, smaller industrial towns and mining areas at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries (Várdy 2000). The two largest colonies developed in New York and Cleveland. The type of the Hungarian neighbourhoods was highly influenced by the emigrants' social background. Skilled workers, craftsmen, merchants and a small number of intellectuals arrived in big cities (New York, Cleveland, Chicago), while peasants and impoverished people moved to mining areas and the periphery of mining cities. Considering the identity, it is important to note that the members of the latter group lived in close proximity, in blocks, in a form of close community. Therefore, the diaspora communities were made up of people coming from same area as well as relatives and friends which functioned as a stabilization factor (Puskás 1982). Emigrants coming from different Hungarian villages settled in the same place so they could maintain the continuity of their community which led to the development of the so-called Hungarian colonies (Sommerset Street in New Brunswick, Buckeye Road in Cleveland, Houston, the 14th Street, the Second Avenue and the area bordered by the East

River in New York) (Fejős 1993; Bertalan 1996). The inhabitants of the Hungarian neighbourhoods started to build churches which are still visible today, to establish schools and newspapers and to create Hungarian organisations on their own in the neighbourhoods.

Between the two World Wars, the immigrants were less likely to settle in the colonies although it was the period when the colonies of several thousands of Hungarians have been flourishing since their privacy and segregation helped the promotion of the Hungarian identity and culture (Bartha 1993).

The Hungarian neighbourhoods started to decay due to the crisis of steel industry in the 1960s and 1970s and the losses of jobs. The majority moved away in the hope of finding new workplaces and those who lived at places with existing job opportunities moved to the green belts and went to work to the city centres (Nagy 1984). As a result, the Hungarian colonies were significantly reduced, many of them completely emptied, so only the name of the streets, districts, the statues and epitaphs in the cemeteries indicate the once flourishing Hungarian life.

Hungarian associations and organisations

The first major organisations were established at the turn of the 19th–20th centuries mainly as sick and benevolent associations. Fatal accidents often occurred in which many workers lost their lives or became disabled. The workers, the widows and the orphans could not count on the support of the employers or the government, so the cooperation of the workers and families was necessary. The established organisations provided patient care, funeral or widow and orphanage aids in the event of death for monthly fee. In the initial period, these associations were established by ethnic groups coming from and emigrated to the same place. Subsequently, the local groups concentrated in different alliances of which majority were organized on national basis, while their minority on national-religion basis, many of them have been operated at present too, for example, the Hungarian American Reformed Federation of America (Amerikai Magyar Református Egyesület) (Várdy 2000).

The industrial workers established clubs and community centres according to their profession then they set up the First Hungarian Workers' Sick and Benevolent Association (Első Magyar Munkás Betegsegélyező Egylet) in 1898. After the turn of the century, new organisations were set up because more and more Hungarians arrived in the USA. To create national network, the organisations expanded and branches were formed in various cities (Puskás 1982). 888 sick and benevolent, 110 sick and lounge and 48 sick and self-study associations operated already in 1910 (Hoffmann 1911).

Numerous groups and associations were set up to raise money for the employment of pastors or building and maintaining of temples. In addition to patient aid, these organisations became the centres of community life. The emigrants wanted to spend their free time in each other's company with entertaining activities and, for this reason,

various social, cultural, dramatics, athletics and patriotic associations, music and self-study clubs were soon established. The self-study clubs were set up mainly for students to make them open to the promotion of the Hungarian culture. The established associations played a significant role in preserving the ethnic identity of the second generation young Hungarians (Kende 1927). Protection of interests, provision of financial and moral supports, job recruitment, spread of education and culture or establishment of Hungarian collections in public libraries for the emigrants were the main purposes of some associations.

Emigrants arriving between the two world wars, joined to the previously established organisations (they often took over the management as well) which resulted refreshment and replenishment and, on the other hand, the Hungarians of this wave also set up their own communities and organisations (Puskás 1970). The people arriving with this emigration wave no longer depended on the Hungarian community either because of their work or interest of culture. Compared to the first years of the 20th century, the social institutions and supply systems were been developed by the 1930s, so the immigrants didn't have to found organisations for self-aid which resulted 25% decrease in the number of sick and benevolent associations (Puskás 1982). The number of organisations also reduced because the associations merged as their members died or got older. Thus, many Hungarian organisations founded in the 1900s and 1910s became nationwide by the 1940s.

The formerly established organisations with ethnic background were flourishing in the 1920s and 1930s. In several settlements "Hungarian Houses" were intiated to serve as a home for various groups, clubs, meetings and events. Compared to the sick and benevolent associations, the number of cultural, social, music and sports associations considerably increased (Kende 1927).It was an important change in this period that the first generation emigrates realized that, besides Hungarian, the introduction and the usage of English language in the organisations was indispensable for the development and preservation of the Hungarian ethnic consciousness for the generation born in the USA. Thus, the institutions operating in Hungarian also ensured more space for the English language (Várdy 1991). The ambivalent relationship between the values of the second or third generations and the values and cultural traditions of their parents and grandparents became an important social issue between the two world wars. The members of the first generation got older, their number decreased and this demographic change led to more intense generation conflicts (Fejős 1992).

The refugees of the two waves after the World War II significantly differed from one another which had a serious impact on the Hungarian organisational and association life. They neither joined the Hungarian organisations nor integrated to the Hungarian–American society. Hungarians emigrated in 1945 set up new apolitical, cultural, traditional and social organisations from which Scouting has played a key role so far in the formation and preservation, moreover the expression and experience of the Hungarian ethnic identity. However, the strengthening of the Scouting led to the decay of the Hungarian parochial and weekend schools.

Picture 1. Hungarian Heritage Center in New Brunswick

Source: Own Photo.

Hungarians emigrated in 1945 also set up their own organisations. In July 1948, the Hungarian National Council (Magyar Nemzeti Bizottmány) was founded the main objective of which was to provide intellectual and political guidance for the diaspora. The Council operated the Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty and Publisher Company (Szabad Európa Rádió és Kiadóvállalat) financed by the government of the USA. Nevertheless, there were no masses behind the organisations established for political purposes, so they could not exist for long (Puskás 1970; Várdy 2000).

After the outbreak of the Revolution of 1956, the Hungarian organisations joined their forces to help the refugees. These emigrants, however, also differed considerably from the previous groups in terms of ideology and social views. Accordingly, the emigrants of 1956 founded new organisations, but the assimilation among them was rather high. One of its possible reasons may be that their Hungarian ethnic and religious identities weren't as strong as of the previous groups.

Immigrants arrived after the Revolution, in the 1960s and 1970s brought renewal and replenishment to the organisations that had been operating for a long time, but they also set up predominantly cultural and traditional organisations and folk-dance groups. Numerous scout troops, which have been still operating, founded in those decades. Scouting gave the community experience in playful and ethically grounded manner so its results, in many cases, lasted longer than that of the Hungarian schools (Tezla 1987). It is observable that those who were scouts as a child are still the members of folk dance

groups, speak Hungarian and participate in the organisation of the Hungarian issues. Scouting, therefore, effectively developed and preserved the Hungarian identity of the young people in the last fifty years.

Like Scouting, the folk-dance groups were also flourishing in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. Folk dance and folk music may be a strong link to the Hungarian culture and roots for the young people because the native language was often superseded by English from one generation to the next, but the traditions of music and dance were passed on to the next generation. Since these traditions don't require the knowledge of Hungarian language, they were often adopted by the non-Hungarian family members (Magyar 1980). So nowadays, the second, the third and the fourth-generation descendants who don't speak Hungarian can explore their parents' and grandparents' cultural heritage as well as express and experience the Hungarian ethnic identity through folk dance. Therefore, it plays a key role in the manifestation of ethnic identity, since the Hungarian culture not only exists in the native language, but also in other ways of expression, so today there is a huge potential in the teaching and learning of folk dance.

Picture 2. Scout house in Washington

Source: Own Photo.

From the 1990s on, the new predominantly young emigrants have joined in formal organisations in lesser extent. Despite joining to organisations, these young people who often live in illegality meet and communicate with one another mainly via internet or in clubs. At present, due to the songs, music hits and theatre performances which are all

available via internet for all ages, there is not much need for a place or club where the Hungarians can get together and listen to Hungarian music, enjoy Hungarian cuisine and theatre performances or enliven Hungarian traditions.

Despite the above trends, new cultural, traditional organisations or unions are still organized today, so there are hundreds of cultural, traditional organisations, unions, charities as well as Hungarian Houses, libraries, museums, scouting and folk-dance clubs. It also indicates that despite the ageing Hungarian population, there are successors from the new emigrants and from the descendants of emigrants who explore their roots and Hungarian identity.

Hungarian Churches

In the USA, churches and the state are operated in a separate way. Tax is not collected and state subsidies are not provided for the churches so they operate in self-sustaining way. Church members belonging to different denominations commit themselves to pay regular membership fees and many of them help with donations as well.

Picture 3. Reformed Church in New Brunswick

Source: Own Photo.

The first church operating in Hungarian language was established in New York in 1852 by Gedeon Ács, a Reformed pastor. There were also believers of other denominations among the members of the congregation (Ács 1964; Várdy 2000).

The first large Christian churches were established in the 1890s (Cleveland, May 1891, Pittsburgh July 1881, South Norwalk 1893) (Komjáthy 1984). In the 1880s and 1890s, church life and its traditions formed an integral part of the emigrants' lives. The church had a significant place among the emigrants so they also longed for preaching, community and Hungarian language in their new settlements. The development of church communities commenced with the establishment of sick and benevolent associations because the believers had to be gathered at first and then the construction of the temples could be started (Kende 1927). The first Reformed Churches were built in Pittsburgh (1892) and Cleveland (1894).

The Hungarian–American Reformed Church was organized by Ferenc Ferenczy whose idea was to create the so-called "mother churches", centres and the pastors worked from there in the scattered missions. After the turn of the century the following centres existed: Cleveland, Pittsburgh, South Norwalk, Trenton, Bridgeport, New York, Chicago. For five years, Ferenczy set up nearly 40 mission stations, which later became "mother churches" (Komjáthy 1984).

The Reformed Hungarians living in the United States of America established the Hungarian American Reformed Church of the United States (Amerikai Magyar Református Egyházmegye) in 1896 and asked its legitimation from the Reformed Church in the United States which was failed. For this reason, the established congregations were operated under the authorities of the Presbyterian and the Reformed Churches. Finally, in New York in autumn of 1904, six reformed congregations founded the Hungarian American Reformed Church (Amerikai Magyar Református Egyházmegye) belonging to the Reformed Church in Hungary (Magyarországi Református Egyház). The foundation of the Church divided the Hungarian Reformed Community as there were congregations that did not join to it. The Reformed Convent of Hungary supported the churches, contributed to the payment of the pastors and the construction of churches (Puskás 1982; Bába 2015).

The Government of Hungary tried to preserve the national entity and consciousness of the emigrants, to encourage the believers to return to the churches and to support the establishment of Hungarian press and schools primarily through the Reformed Church (Tezla 1987).

The priests became the spiritual leaders of the Hungarian communities thanks to their education and reading background. The believers received assistance and advice in solving their civil issues from the pastors. Thus, the pastors played key role not only in organizing parishes but also in the intellectual guidance of the communities, they were the missionaries of the Hungarian identity besides the faith, and this dual vocation made their position extremely important (Puskás 1982).

It was more difficult to organize the churches for the Hungarian Roman Catholic congregations due to the universality of religion belonging to Rome. The Irish presbyters' ambition for assimilation of the Hungarian congregations worsened the situation. The first parish was jointly established by the Slovakians and Hungarians in Hazelton, Pennsylvania in the 1880s. The first Hungarian Roman Catholic church and parish was founded

by Károly Böhm in Cleveland in December 1892. In the following years, Catholic parishes and churches were organized in South Bend, Bridgeport, Lorain, New York, New Brunswick, and Chicago. The congregations did not receive any support for construction of temples from either the American or the Hungarian Catholic Church. Nevertheless, the number of Catholic churches was forty in 1914 (Török 1978; Várdy 2000).

The first Hungarian Greek Catholic parish and church was founded in 1892 in Cleveland, and their temple was built in 1893. The first churches of Hungarian Baptists were established in Cleveland, Homestead and Bridgeport at the turn of the century. The Hungarian Baptist Convention of America (Amerikai Magyar Baptista Szövetség) and the Hungarian Baptist Seminary of America (Amerikai Magyar Baptista Szeminárium) were founded in 1908. The first Lutheran church was also organized in Cleveland under the authority of the United Lutheran Church of America in 1905, and other seven congregations were set up until the World War I. The organisation of the Hungarian Jewish communities were also commenced at the turn of the century. The first Hungarian Jewish synagogue was formed in Chicago in 1907 and then synagogues were organized in New Brunswick, New York, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Detroit, St. Louis and Bridgeport, but they soon assimilated to the American Jewish synagogues (Puskás 1982).

Initially, the congregations of all churches gathered in temples and community premises rented from other nationalities. But, they soon built their own buildings which, in many cases, resembled certain temples of Hungary.

The ethnic identity closely linked to religious identity in the USA, and therefore the Hungarian community space and life developed predominantly around the churches. The immigrants arriving to the USA around the turn of the century needed such a church and community life which replaced their lost homeland. Thus, the connection between the survival chances and aspirations of the churches and the Hungarians was typical. It is still observable that the churches form community spaces in the basement of the temples for social events. These events served dual purpose in each period. On the one hand, the participants could experience the social habits and national traditions through which opportunity was provided for meeting, socializing and strengthening the Hungarian identity. On the other hand, these events served for fund-raising to temple construction and maintenance as well as to the payment of the pastors (Kende 1927). In the Hungarian American churches, Hungarian identity was given at least the same priority as religion and denomination so these parishes can be considered as national institutions too as opposed to the churches in Hungary where mainly religion was emphasised. Hungarians formed a minority in the American settlements which resulted the primary importance of promoting the national consciousness. To this end, schools for the education of young Hungarians have been created by various churches (Várdy 2000; Bába 2015).

In the first decades of the 20th century, the liturgy of the churches had to be changed. In 1917 and 1918, the first psalmody and songbook were issued which were not the same as those used in Hungary and they contained the Hungarian translations of English church songs for four voices.

The Hungarian emigrants operated 65 Reformed, more than 50 Roman Catholic, 8 Greek Catholic and 8 Lutheran, and some Baptist churches between 1880 and 1920 (Puskás 1982).

The period between the two world wars also brought changes in the life of the churches, especially of the Reformed churches. The so-called Tiffin Agreement of 1921 joined all the Reformed churches operating in the USA to the Reformed Church of America which resulted the formation of the Hungarian American Reformed Diocese in Trenton on 5th August 1928. In this period, the churches also endeavoured to adapt to the American conditions and to change their activities similarly to the associations. The behaviour of the newer generations depended to a large extent on the fact whether the younger generation found the same morale and atmosphere in their own churches which surrounded them in everyday life. The leaders of the churches recognized that without reform they would lose the youth, the future promoters of the churches. While in the 1920s there were only a few Reformed churches where the church service, besides Hungarian, was conducted in English, in the second half of the 1930s an increasing number of churches become bilingual. The different churches wanted to maintain the Hungarian identity even among those who didn't speak Hungarian (Máthé 1942). The various denominations have been following this principle so far.

Between 1920 and 1940, hundreds of Hungarian weekend and summer schools operated within the framework of churches and numerous new Reformed temples and parsonages were constructed (Kun 1929).

Although the emigrants of the two waves after the World War II replenished the various churches, they formed separate groups. The newcomers established new parishes in many places and some churches built larger temples due to the increased congregations. However, at the turn of the 1940s and 1950s, Hungarians moved from some settlements and, at the same time, the Hungarian colonies started to decay which led to the decay of the church life. Many churches ended, numerous temples were sold and, in certain settlements, the depopulating churches were merged into other parishes. The processes that had started earlier widespread, the liturgy became bilingual in many churches (Újszászy 1995).

The refugees of the Revolution of 1956 replenished the churches as well. Hungarians emigrated after the revolution did not have as strong religious identity as the emigrants of the previous waves, nevertheless, there were churches which were flourishing at that time thanks to the newcomers.

The crisis of the steel industry in the 1960s and 1970s and the loss of jobs resulted the major changes in the life of the churches. The number of congregations of thousands decreased, the temples with 400–800 seats were emptied and sold. It also posed a serious challenge to the churches that the second and mainly the third generations didn't speak their parents' language which led to the spread of English language church services. Nevertheless, the churches have been important areas for the manifestation of the Hungarian consciousness, since they have no longer preserved the Hungarian language, but the also important Hungarian identity (Újszászy 1995).

Table 1. The American Hungarian organizations

Organisation	Contacts
Massachusettsi Magyar Egyesület	Belmont; 1 617-383-4848; posta@bostonhungarians.org; http://www.bostonhungarians.org/
MIT Magyar Egyesület – Hungarian Association	Boston; http://web.mit.edu/hungarians/www/
Hungarian Cultural Society of Connecticut	Cheshire; info@hcsc.us; http://www.hcsc.us/
American Hungarian Educators Association	Chevy Chase; 1-301 657-4758; eniko.basa@verizon.net
The Hungarian Club of Triangle	Durham; tiggercen@hotmail.com; http://www.nchungarians.org/
Carolinas Hungarian Group	Elkin; http://www.meetup.com/The-Carolinas-Hungarian-Group/; https://www.facebook.com/CarolinasHungarians?fref=ts
United German Hungarians	Feasterville-Trevose; 1-215-357-9851; ugh.club@comcast.net; http://www.ughclub.us/; https://www.facebook.com/GermanHungarians
The Hungarian–American Enterprise Scholarship Fund	Greenwich; 1-203 869-3114; http://www.haesf.org/
Erdélyi Bizottság	Milford; 1-203 878-3943
American Hungarian Foundation	New Brunswick; 1-732-846-5777; http://www.ahfoundation.org/; https://www.facebook.com/American-Hungarian-Foundation-AHF-173956049282230/timeline/
Csűrdöngölő – Hungarian Folk Dance Ensemble of New Brunswick	New Brunswick; csurfolk@gmail.com; http://www.csurfolk.org/; https://www.facebook.com/csurfolk?fref=ts
Hungarian Alumni Association	New Brunswick; ktnagy@aol.com; http://www.hhrf.org/bessenyei/magyar.htm
American Hungarian Folklor Centrum	New Brunswick; 1 201-836-4869; http://magyar.org/
Magyar Református Egyház	New Brunswick; http://magyarreformedchurch.com
Hungarian American Athletic Club	New Brunswick; 1 732-545-8519; haacclub@yahoo.com; http://www.magyarklub.com/; https://www.facebook.com/nbmagyarklub
Magyar Nők Amerikai Szervezete	New Brunswick; 1-609-395-7141
Hungarian Human Rights Foundation	New York; 1-212-289-5488; hamos@hhrf.org; http://www.hhrf.org/hhrf/; https://www.facebook.com/groups/53158354334/?fref=ts
New York Hungarian House	New York; 1 212 249-9360; hungarianhouse@gmail.com; http://magyarhaz.org/;https://www.facebook.com/pages/Magyar-Haz-New-York/163676627048271?fref=ts
Manhattan Hungarian Network	New York; info@ManhattanHungarians.org http://manhattanhungarians.org/
New York-i Első Magyar Református Egyház	New York; http://elsoreformat.us; 1 (212) 734 5252; FHRCNYC@gmail.com

Source: Own construction.

Table 1. (Continuation) The American Hungarian organizations

Organisation	Contacts
New York-i Független Magyar Református Egyház	New York; (212) 734 3139 hunrefchurchny82@hotmail.com; http://reformatus82.blogspot.com
Balassi Institute Hungarian Cultural Center	New York; 1-212 750 4450; info@culturehungary.org; http://www.newyork.balassiintezet.hu/en/; https://www.facebook.com/HCCNY
First Hungarian Literary Society	New York; 1 212-288-5002; fhlsnyc@verizon.net; http://www.clubonkepzo.com/FHLS.htm; Soc/101379729929398?fref=ts; https://www.facebook.com/pages/First-Hungarian-Literary-Soc/101379729929398?fref=ts
Külföldi Magyar Magyar Cserkészszövetség	North Newfound-land; 1-973 874-0384; kmcssz@aol.com; http://www.kmcssz.org/; https://www.facebook.com/kmcssz?fref=ts
Magyar Otthon Hungarian Club	Philadelphia; 1-215 969 9446
Magyar Baráti Közösség Keleti Csoportja	Southington; 1-203 272 3345
Magyar Környezetvédelmi Alap	Stamford; 1-203-357-7614; liptakbela@aol.com; http://belaliptakpe.com/
Hungarian American Coalition	Washington D.C.; 1 202-296-9505; hac@hacusa.org; http://www.hacusa.org/
The Hungary Initiatives Foundation	Washington D.C.; 1 202 733 2263; hif@hungaryfoundation.org; http://www.hungaryfoundation.org/; https://www.facebook.com/thehungaryinitiativesfoundation?fref=ts
Hungarian American Foundation	Washington D.C.; haf@hungarianamerica.com; http://www.hungarianamerica.com/contact.php
Kulturális Alapítvány Erdélyért	Washington D.C.; 1-703 827-5719
Kossuth Ház Kultúr Klub	Washington D.C.; 1-202 328-2630; info@ahfoundation.org
Amerikai Magyarok Országos Szövetsége	Washington D.C.; 1-202 966-3220; waldtibi@aol.com; www.americanhungarianfederation.org
4. sz. Bátori József cserkészcsapat	Washington D.C.; adrienne@myslenski.com; holica.kati@cserkesz.ca; http://www.dccserkesz.org
Washingtoni Magyar Református Egyház	Washington D.C.; http://hungarianreformedchurchdc.org; (703) 444-2048; mayerjudit@verizon.net
Hungarian Reformed Church	Trenton; (609) 989-9455; http://hrctrenton.org

Source: Own construction.

Since the 1990s, the churches of former immigrants have become increasingly territorial gathering the residents of certain urban areas, not the believers of the same ethnic identity. Unfortunately, many churches had to be closed or sold in recent years

due to the declining number of believers, On 1st January 2014 the St. Ladislaus Church in New Brunswick (New Brunswick-i Szent László-templom) founded in 1904 was closed which used to be the home to many nationalities. In August 2015, The Church of St. Stephen of Hungary in New York (New York-i Szent István Római Katolikus Templom) dedicated in 1928 was closed by the American Archbishopric.

Nowadays, because of unfavourable demographic changes and the migration, the churches and their derogations are maintained by only 15–70 believers in many places. They speak and conduct the church services only in English in many churches, however, it's typical in the Catholic and Reformed English church services that the songs are chanted in Hungarian language. Based on the pastors' and parishioners' accounts, it can be concluded that members of the third and fourth generations are aware of their Hungarian descent, they go to Hungarian churches, but they don't speak Hungarian. The believers have the possibility to take part in Hungarian as well as English liturgies in many churches, but it's a growing trend to attend the English church services. So, the descendant generations remain within ethnic ties to a certain extent and thus they preserve their identity (Bába 2015).

By the 21st century, mainly churches operating in the eastern coasts of the USA could retain their Hungarian majority and the Hungarian language, since this is the part of the country to which the Hungarian immigrants i.e. the potential new members of the derogations are continuously arriving which resulted the high fluctuation in these churches. Thus, the ethnic continuity of the church life strongly depends on the possibility of continuous replenishment. However, in contrast to the previous emigration waves, the newcomers are less involved in the church life, as most of them come from an environment where they have little or no contact with the church. Contrary to the Hungarians emigrated at the end of the 19th and the early 20th centuries, it is not a priority for newcomers to seek the church.

Summary

Today, the Hungarians don't live in blocks in any of the settlements of the USA, but the parishes, scouting troops, schools and cultural centres operated by churches, various associations and organisations are visited by many Hungarians. It can be stated that the Hungarian community life is still active in the settlements where the churches are not the exclusive centres of the Hungarian ethnic life, but there are also a wide range of cultural, traditional and educational associations which operate parallelly and in harmony with those churches.

Therefore, the Hungarian organisations posed the areas of manifestation and experience of the ethnic identity and they have been strengthening the community cohesion in the last one and a half centuries. During our fortnight study visit, we could also experience that those Hungarian organisations and institutions can be maintained permanently which integrated into and became compatible with the majority society

and therefore they were accepted. In our opinion, it is the reason for success and popularity of scouting among the youth of Hungarian origin. Therefore, it must integrate into the local structures to survive.

Examining the various Christian churches, it can be stated that the church services and events in the diaspora are still important community events today. They are the events of meeting, socializing and experiencing the Hungarian identity since there were some who can experience it only in the churches. The overseas Hungarian parishes and churches have been not only religious, but also cultural, social and Hungarian ethnic centres since their foundation. The churches still play an important role in the cohesion of emigrants, the organisation and maintenance of communities as well as in strengthening, maintaining and experiencing the Hungarian identity of emigrants and their descendants.

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Jegyzet

1 This study was carried out by using the experience acquired during the visit of Hungarian communities and institutions operating the north-eastern states of the USA (Maryland, Pennsylvania, Virginia, New Jersey and New York) in the period between 20 and 30 October 2015, as well as information obtained during the personal meetings with persons of Hungarian identity, institution leaders, representatives and pastors.

THE IDENTITY PRESERVING EFFORTS OF THE HUNGARIAN DIASPORA IN AUSTRALIA THROUGH THE EXAMPLE OF THE HUNGARIAN COMMUNITY SCHOOL IN ADELAIDE

– Or Do the Kangaroos Jump in Hungarian?

Jenő Palotai–Ágnes Szabó–Ákos Jarjabka

Interpretation of the connection between diaspora and migration

Interpreting diaspora as a social phenomenon (e.g. Power 1975; Sik–Tóth 1996; Lavie–Swedenburg 1996; Brah 2005; Mascitelli 2016) theorists investigate mainly spatial mobility (Ma–Cartier 2003; Blunt 2007; Verstraete 2010), settlement (Nagy 2011) and the sociology and attitude of migration causing it (Richmond 1988; Castles 2003; Sik 2012). In connection with the latter, beyond analysing the causes of migration, the identity preserving activities of descendants have also become a research area (Canagarajah 2012). The connection between diaspora and migration was analysed by several researchers (Bauböck–Faist 2010; Sik–Tóth 1996, 1998, 2000; Nagy 2011; Gazsó 2016) based on political, economic, social and cultural aspects, which help us conclude the causes of migration. On the ground of the above considerations, our study reviews the history of the Hungarian diaspora in Australia during the last two centuries (Kuncz 1969, 1985, 1997; Csiszár 2003; Osvát K.–Osvát Sz. 2010), and how Hungarian national identity is preserved in the fifth continent (Csiszár 2003; Hatoss 2006; Osvát K.–Osvát Sz. 2010).

It can be concluded that the peopling of the continent-sized country was cyclical during its history, which can be drawn back to different economic and political reasons (Kuncz 1997), similar to the migration waves of other diasporas (Jacobson 2002; Guinnane 2015). Kuncz and Osvát also stated in their studies (Kuncz 1969, 1985, 1997; Osvát K.–Osvát Sz. 2010:1) that lots of people were attracted by 'the hope of new life'

in the past and present, however, they underline the global problems, which hit Australia as well.

Observing the massive immigration data of the country, we can assume that immigrants are affected by the local attractive forces, which is true for Hungarians as well. In our days a significant number of Hungarians live in Australia (approximately 67,000 people) mainly in the cities of Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, Perth and in their agglomerations (Gazsó 2016:3).

The global characteristics of migration

It can be stated that migration is either triggered by considerably negative political and economic reasons in the home country (e.g. war) or positive events in the recipient country (e.g. land distribution) (Manfrass 1992). A typical example was the Irish 'Potato Crisis' between 1846 and 1851 (Donnelly 2008), when 3 million farmers became ruined because of the effect of the potato rot bacterium and the lack of food caused famine (Fekete 2010). In addition, poverty also had a part in initiating migration waves. At the end of the19th and the beginning of the 20th century three million people emigrated from Sicily and immigrated into the USA (Iorizzo–Mondello 2006; Choate 2008), which was caused by the lack of income sources in the region and the high rent for low quality land. Finally, because of religious violence 250,000 Irish Protestants crossed the ocean and settled down in Boston, New York and Philadelphia until 1776, while between 1815 and 1845 one million Catholics emigrated from Ireland (Fekete 2010).

In parallel, some countries took measures to initiate immigration, which were attractive for groups of society already becoming mobile because of the above problems. For example between 1830 and 1840 the "Go West Young Man!" campaign encouraged young people to settle down in the western parts of the USA in exchange of getting land (Corbett et al. 2014). In the 19th century as a result of the coffee boom in Brazil landlords offered favourable job opportunities for European immigrants. Their settling down was also supported by the Brazilian state, in the form of travel expenditure refund, loans and reduced rent of lands (Kuncz 1997). In the hope of a better life mainly German, Italian and Portuguese settlers arrived to Brazil, and so did the first Hungarians together with them (Szilágyi 2003). Finally, settlement was also encouraged in Queensland State, Australia by promising free land and travelling expenditures to settlers (Kuncz 1997).

In the second half of the 20th century political and economic emigration were the most common, which, according to Manfrass, were generated by three causes. First of them was social crisis, such as the revolution in Hungary in 1956, the uprising in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and the political events in Poland in 1981. The second was legal emigration, which was only possible during the 'Cold War' in the form of ethnic and religious migration or family reunion. As a result, the majority of migration from East to West was seemingly ethnic migration in that time; however, many emigrants left their

home country for political reasons. The ethnic and religious migration created the background of the third factor, which was the economic and humanitarian pressure by western nations on the countries of the Eastern Block together with easing travelling barriers, which encouraged emigration (Manfrass 1992).

The migration tendencies in Hungary showed that emigration was always preceded by negative political and social effects, so that is why several emigration cycles can be distinguished. They were supported by outer factors linked to the phases of economic booms in the USA encouraging migration (Kuncz 1997; Kollega 2000). Further on the above effects are described in case of Hungarians immigrated into Australia.

Hungarian immigration waves to Australia

This chapter mainly incorporates Egon Kuncz's studies and the data available in the Australian Statistical Office. The limited sources are due to the fact that the Hungarian diaspora in Australia was not researched as much as for example the American. Egon Kuncz worked in the State Library of New South Wales Province where he had access to the data of explorers and immigrants arriving to the continent along with documented manuscripts and maps. He completed a comprehensive research of Hungarians who arrived in Australia and in his works he gave an overall picture of the number and history of Hungarians immigrated into the fifth continent.

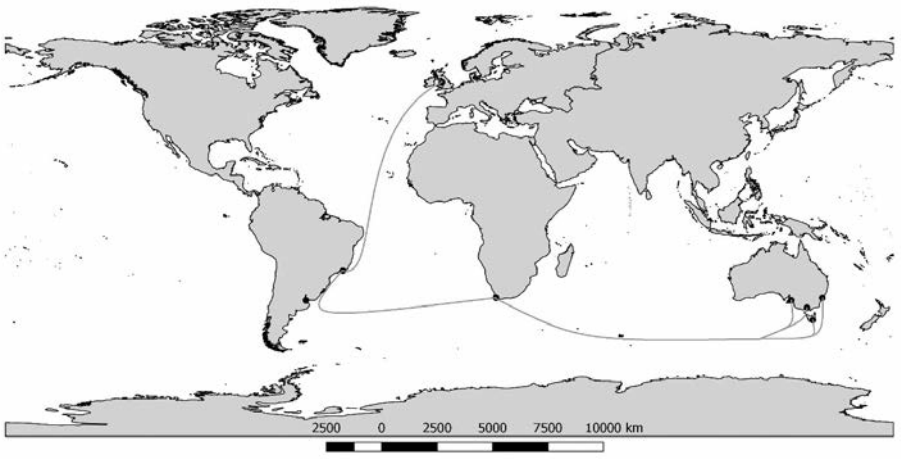
The first registered Hungarian person, who set foot on the shore of Hobart, was taken to Australia in a convict ship. He was Raphael Harris born in Hungary, a brewer, who was sentenced to seven years because of stealing a pocket watch. The first Hungarian who willingly immigrated to Australia was Izsák Friedman, arrived on 3rd April 1833. He made an extraordinary career in Australia, embarked on businesses in several cities and had coins minted with his name in England, which was used as currency in the country (Kuncz 1997). These days Hungarians arrived in Australia thirsted for adventure to make their fortune. Some of them were jewellers, watchmakers, and textile manufacturers, chemists, who set up their business after having settled down. Their business success resulted further immigration into the country, their family members, relatives and friends arrived to take over or continue running business or to work for them (Kuncz 1997).

After the capitulation in Világos on 13th August 1849 some of the former Hungarian soldiers ('honvéd') escaped to the West (France, United Kingdom, Italy), and overseas (USA) or some even immigrated to Turkey. A few of them sailed to Australia as the third class ship travel only cost 10 to 15 Pounds because it was subsidized by the British state. Most of the adventurers left for Australia from England in sailing ships and the voyage took 3–7 months (Kuncz 1997). Map 1 shows their route from England to Australia.

Most of them left Europe from the harbour of Liverpool sailing southwest to Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, from there to Cape Town and then along the southern edge of the Indian Ocean they landed in Melbourne, Sydney, Adelaide or Hobart (Kuncz 1997).

Immigration was accelerated in 1851 by the gold found in New South Wales and Port Phillip in Victoria, thus gold rush burst out in those regions. Documents prove that a group of about 20 Hungarian and Polish people also tried to find gold. After a few years of fruitless gold digging many of the gold seekers returned to Europe. Those who did not leave Australia settled in Melbourne and the surrounding towns. In the 1860s surface mining was changed to deep mining, big companies were founded and people invested their money in shares in hope of having some extra earning. There were Hungarians among the founders and owners of companies since the Bulletin of Victoria State published in 1864 listed mining companies named after Hungarians. Relations between Hungarian immigrants seemed to be strengthening as the first Hungarian Association was founded in Sydney at that time (Kuncz 1969). Speaking about the attitude of Hungarian immigrants they thought their stay in Australia short-term as a chance for earning money and did not want to settle down. Finally many of them left for another country but some settled down. The latter were mainly political refugees or young men who married British women, about 40 people (Kuncz 1997).

Map 1. The route of Hungarians from England to Australia in the 19th century



Source: Kuncz 1997.

After the consolidation in Hungary some of the Hungarians repatriated, but some of them did not believe in the political changes in their home country or considering family matters they did not return to Hungary. Repatriating was stimulated by the Emigration Fund founded in Hungary to donate the travelling expenditure of repatriates. In parallel emigration was regulated in Hungary, the XXXVIII Act in 1881, the IV Act in 1903 and the II Act in 1909 forbade juveniles to travel abroad without permission, men in their military age and those who could not prove to have enough money for travel expenses were also forbidden to emigrate (Kuncz 1997). However, the strong action supporting

immigration by Queensland State had an opposite effect as it promised free travelling and land for immigrants. It was attractive for Hungarian farmers as in the 1870s about 750 thousand of them owned land smaller than 5 holds (2.85 hectares). Besides, as trade and industry developed there was a lack of experts in Australia, thus as an early form of brain drain, qualified people arrived in the fifth continent with a realistic hope of a better life (Kuncz 1985).

During the First World War, the era of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, about 300,000 people were born in Australia. The outbreak of the First World War put the Hungarians living in Australia in a complicated situation, as a proclamation was published by the federal state on 30th August in 1914 that obliged citizens of hostile countries to inform the nearest police station of their addresses and change of addresses. Mainly Germans suffered of atrocities (e.g. losing their jobs) Hungarian did not so much. Some of the foreign citizens and also British citizens as being 'aliens' were taken into internment camps. A huge internment camp was erected in Liverpool near Sydney where 6,890 citizens of hostile countries, mainly Germans were held captive. Approaching the end of the war the number of interned was decreasing and most of them were prisoners of war, among them 26 Hungarians at the beginning of 1918, who were expelled from the country after the war. We do not have accurate data in Hungary about the number of emigrants who left Hungary in this period, but the estimated number of people, who immigrated into Australia, was 150–450 (Kuncz 1997).

After the end of the First World War Hungarians, as citizens of a former hostile country, were not accepted in Australia for 5 years. However, in that period Hungarians immigrated into Australia from the disannexed parts of Hungary after the Trianon Treaty using their 'new citizenship' as emigration was often a must for them. The number of Hungarian immigrants in that period was calculated on the basis of Hungarian-sounding family names. After lifting the ban of immigration for Hungarian citizens, the immigration of skilled workforce from Hungary continued into Australia as the demand for them was on-going since they were considered as better workers than the Australian. In the 30s the Australian government decided to accept 15 thousand people of those escaping from the Hitlerian regime. Finally only 6,500 persons grasped the chance for different reasons (distance, lack of trust etc.), 800 of them were Hungarian, however, many of them were professionals with university degrees (Kuncz 1985).

The fights of the Second World War did not reach the coasts of Australia though the military actions filled the Australian people with fear. Being afraid of Japanese invasion, the public opinion agreed that if the country could avoid invasion, the rate of white population should be increased actively. It was Arthur Calwell, who represented this idea and became the Minister of Immigration in July 1945. On the basis of his program Australia accepted 3.5 million mainly non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants increasing the population of the country from 7 to 18 million, about 40,000 of whom were Hungarian (Kuncz 1997). Immigration into Australia was fostered by the devastation of the war and the Soviet invasion due to which many lost their homes and had to flee from their home country. Considering this the winning nations founded the International Refugee

Organisation (IRO), with the main objective of decreasing the number of homeless people in Western Europe with means of repatriation or emigration. The Federal State of Australia contacted the IRO and even supported immigrants' expenses to stimulate immigration. The applicants had to sign a contract, which obliged them to work in a workplace assigned by the Australian authorities for two years to prevent the negative attitude of citizens toward newcomers. On one hand citizens were reassured that newcomers would not take their jobs, on the other hand newcomers were offered a living (Kuncz 1997). In the first years after the war a Hungarian migration wave also reached Australia, but they had to pay their travel expenses themselves as the ROI did not give preference to citizens of the defeated countries. As a consequence only those people could emigrate, who were wealthy. Most of the immigrants were Jewish by origin or by religion helped by international Jewish organizations (JOINT or HIAS) to travel to Australia. Thus 1866 Hungarian citizens covering their travel expenses arrived in Australia between 1945 and 1949. Most of the heads of families were businessmen at the age of 35–50, who settled mainly in Sydney or Melbourne (Kunz 1985).

In 1948 the head of the Australian Immigration Office in West Germany sent a proposal to Canberra in which he drew the ministry's attention to the homeless Hungarians. He also stated that many of them had high qualifications so the Office got the permission for Hungarians to immigrate to Australia. First the candidates had to undergo medical examinations and they had to give information about their Nazi and/or communist connections and their trades or professions. After being selected 10,500 Hungarians arrived in Australia between 1949 and 1950 and further 1000 in 1951. As a result of the immigration stimulating program out of the 170,700 new immigrants in Australia 11,919 were Hungarian by birth, however, together with the people born in the annexed parts of Hungary their number is estimated to be 15,000. Most of the immigrants were 15–34 years old. Regarding their qualifications 45% of men at the age of 19–60 had their maturation exam and 23% of them had university or college degrees before arriving in Australia. By religion 67% of them were Catholic, 23% were Protestant and 1.2 % were Jewish (Kuncz 1997).

The news about the events of 1956 reached Australia as well and the Hungarians living there considered it their duty to inform people about the objectives of the revolution in Hungary. Bilingual copies of the Hungarian newspaper 'Dél Keresztje' published in Sydney appeared on 27th October, 1st and 6th November. Hungarian pastors of different churches started to raise money and clothes, which were transported by Quantas Airlines free of cost for Hungarians staying in Austrian refugee camps. The Olympic Games started in Melbourne two weeks after the suppression of the revolution so 55 Hungarian sportsmen and women were granted political asylum and the Australian government increased the number of refugees the country accepted from 3,000 to 15,000. In 1956 300 refugees arrived, while in 1957 further 6,532 men and 4,833 women and about further 1,000 people in 1958. Together with Hungarians arriving from the territories beyond the borders of Hungary approximately 14,000 people settled down so the number of Hungarians living in Australia increased to 30,000 approximately.

Most of the immigrants were tradesmen and skilled workers but the number of people having a university or college degree was also significant. The relatively high number of Hungarian newcomers with different way of thinking and political ideas compared to former groups of immigrants made the Hungarian diaspora heterogeneous and had a significant effect on the life of Hungarian community living there.

From 1956 to 1990 statistics showed the arrival of Hungarian "defectors", so in that period about 9,000 Hungarian immigrants settled down and 1,500 left Australia. The newcomers were mainly family members, but Hungarians staying in other countries also decided to settle down in Australia. It was a significant tendency in estimating the number of Hungarians that in the 1990s only a few of those were alive, who immigrated into Australia in the time of the First and Second World Wars and those who arrived between 1956 and 1957 reached the age of retirement (Kuncz 1997). The national census in 1966 showed interesting facts of that period as it pointed out that every second Hungarian was living in Sydney and lots of Hungarians were living in Melbourne, Adelaide, Perth and Brisbane. Regarding their professions there was a higher rate of doctors, engineers and university lecturers among those, who were born in Hungary than those who were born in Australia. 10% of Hungarians (about 1,500) worked as entrepreneurs, 779 men and 1,191 women were civil servants while 8,145 men worked in trades (Kuncz 1997).

It is interesting that the questionnaire of the census did not ask about the ethnic affiliations of the respondents but information was required about the parents' place of birth and the language spoken in the family. The census in 1,991 indicated 27,176 persons who were born in Hungary but in a wider sense 38,000 was the number of Hungarians originated from the Carpathian Basin (Kuncz 1997). The Table 1 below represents their distribution of age.

Table 1. The distribution of age of men and women who were born in Hungary

Age (years)	Men	Women	Total
0–9	196	134	330
10–19	397	376	773
20–29	467	582	1,049
30–39	1,528	1,419	2,947
40–49	2,405	2,257	4,662
50–59	4,077	2,436	6,513
60–69	3,505	2,454	4,723
70+	2,296	2,454	4,723
Total	14,844	12,332	27,076

Source: Kuncz 1997) The distribution of age of men and women who were born in Hungary in the time of the census in 1991. Own construction.

The data showed that the Hungarian diaspora was aging, since 64.1% of them were over 50 and it also showed the predominance of men. Most of them lived in Sydney as

earlier as well a little fewer in Melbourne, Adelaide, Perth and Brisbane. Only a few of them lived in the countryside except for the Gold Coast, where pensioners started to move since the 70s. Regarding religion there was a significant majority of Catholics (57.4%), 6.4% was Calvinists, 4.1% Lutherans and 7.1% Protestants belonging to other denominations, 7.5% were Israelites, 1% belonging to other religions, while 7.7% did not assign their denominations (8.8% did not replied). According to the censuses in further years the number of Hungarians was increasing. Table 2 shows the data from the censuses in 2001 and 2011.

Table 2. The number of Hungarians at the time of the 1991, 2001 and 2011 censuses

Year	The number of Hungarians
1991	38,115
2001	62,507
2011	68,461

Source: https://www.border.gov.au/ReportsandPublications/Documents/research/people-australia-2013-statistics.pdf, own construction

The significant positive change compared to the data in 1991 resulted from the change in the definition of Hungarian: in 1991 only those who were born in Hungary were assigned Hungarian (see the difference between the data of Table 1 and Table 2) while in 2001 and 2011 the birth places of parents were also considered in defining ethnic status. The data resulted from the census in 2011 are shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Origin of Australians on the basis of place of birth (Hungarian)

		Number of Hungarians
Born in Australia	Both parents were born in Australia	9,816
	Neither of the parents was born in Australia	16,541
	One of the parents was born in Australia	11,759
	One of the parents was born in Australia, there is no data about the other parent	77
	Other*	283
	Total	38,476
Not born in Australia		29,151
Place of birth is not known		834
Total		68,461

* One of the parents was born in Australia/There is no information about the place of birth of one or neither of the parents.

Source: https://www.border.gov.au/ReportsandPublications/Documents/research/people-australia-2013-statistics.pdf. Own construction.

The above mentioned data distortion can be seen in the data and it can be concluded that in 2011 29,151 Hungarians lived in Australia, who were not born there but stated him/herself being Hungarian. It meant a decrease of 23.6%, the cause of which was partly the possibility of moving to a developed member state of the EU, which was a more easily approachable target for Hungarians after joining the EU. It can be seen that the lowest was the number of Hungarians whose parents were both born in Australia meaning that they were second or more generation Hungarians. At least 28,377 people declared themselves second generation Hungarians according to the census data in 2011 as the census-takers did not have data of the parents' place of birth of 283 Hungarians. Further more a table of aggregated data of the period 1840–1991 was constructed, which shows the number of the Hungarian immigrants, who were born in historic Hungary, in Hungary after the Trianon Treaty and the estimated number of immigrants belonging to ethnic Hungarians (Table 4).

Table 4. The number of Hungarians living in Australia

Year	Population in Australia	Estimated number of Hungarian immigrants who were born in historic Hungary	Number of Hungarian immigrants who were born in the territory of Hungary after the Trianon Trety	Estimated number of immigrants belonging to ethnic Hungarians	Rate of first generation Hungarians (%)
1840	190,408	3			0.002
1850	405,356	30			0.008
1860	1,145,586	90			0.008
1870	1,647,756	80			0.005
1881	2,250,194	153			0.007
1891	3,117,823	246			0.008
1901	3,773,801	285			0.008
1911	4,455,005	416			0.009
1921	5,435,734		148	170	0.003
1933	6,629,839		272	380	0.006
1947	7,579,358		1,227	1,472	0.019
1954	8,986,358		14,602	16,401	0.182
1961	10,508,191		30,533	32,997	0.314
1971	13,067,300		28,956	36,401	0.279
1981	14,923,300		27,987	37,123	0.249
1991	16,771,471		26,904	38,115	0,227

Source: Kuncz 1997, Own construction.

Data in Table 4 demonstrate that Hungarians represented and represent only a relatively low percentage of the Australian population as Hungarian immigrants chose Australia in small number until 1933. The rate of immigration into Australia increased

abruptly not only because of political crises but also because of introducing the Act of Immigration Quota in the USA in the 1920s, which was the most attractive country of immigration for Hungarians.

Preserving Hungarian identity in Australia. The Hungarian Community School in Adelaide

The existence of Hungarian schools in Australia after the Second World War proved that Hungarian immigrants had the need and opportunity as well to teach their children in their mother tongue. The Hungarian Community School in Adelaide was founded in 1958 by Mrs Ákos Nagy (Magdi néni) to keep the Hungarian identity of families who fled to Australia in 1956 by teaching Hungarian culture, folkdance and language. Most of the pupils were children of immigrants at the age of 6–15 and their number was about 30-35. In the 90s János Herendi became the head of the school, who was followed by Mária Nagy, Annamária Bánházi and Ilona Lelkes having the post. That time the school had pupils preparing for the final exam in Hungarian language instructed by Sebestyén Maglai, and then by Annamária Bánházi. The present number of pupils is represented by Table 5.

Table 5. The number of pupils of the Hungarian Community School in Adelaide in 2001–2016

Year	Nursery	Preparatory	Primary	Secondary	Adult	Total
2001	0	0	21	4	1	26
2002	0	0	18	4	0	22
2003	0	0	13	10	10	33
2004	1	0	9	6	7	23
2005	1	0	15	11	3	30
2006	4	1	15	8	0	28
2007	3	2	9	0	0	14
2008	0	2	5	5	0	12
2009	0	4	5	1	0	10
2010	0	5	5	3	0	13
2011	3	0	12	5	0	20
2012	3	2	21	1	15	42
2013	5	2	12	2	10	31
2014	5	3	13	4	15	40
2015	3	0	10	7	0	20
2016	0	0	2	15	3	20
Total	28	21	185	80	64	384

Source: Data provided by the Hungarian Community School in Adelaide and Ágnes Szabó. Own construction.

The data show that mainly primary school pupils utilized the services of the Hungarian Community School as 49% of the pupils belonged to their group since 2001. 21%-of pupils were in secondary school, their class was the second biggest one while the group of adults (17%) was the third one. The ratio of nursery and preparatory school pupils was lower (7.4% and 5.6%), their number stagnated in this period. It is worth analysing the number of pupils, who began to learn Hungarian since 2011, considering that on 26th May 2010 the Hungarian National Assembly approved the amendment of Act LV of 1993 on Hungarian citizenship and introduced a simplified naturalisation procedure. It meant that it was not necessary to settle in Hungary nor it was compulsory to take a citizenship examination but one had to prove his knowledge of the Hungarian language (Embassy of Hungary, 2014). As an effect of the simplified naturalisation procedure, the number of those who wanted to learn Hungarian increased visibly. 44% of those who studied in the school in that period attended the school since 2011. The number of adults increased as well and 67% of them attended the adult class since 2011. The number of children in the nursery school also increased and 68% of them started to learn Hungarian after the introduction of the simplified naturalisation procedure. So it is evident that the amendment of Act LV of 1993 on Hungarian citizenship had a positive effect on the Hungarian language learning activity of Hungarian diaspora living in the South Australian region.

The opportunity of taking a final exam in Hungarian language was a landmark in teaching Hungarian. It was provided to the Hungarian community by the Australian state 30 years ago in 1987. However, Maturation examination level teaching of Hungarian language is only available in three out of eight provinces (South Australia, Western Australia, Region of the Australian Capital, Northern Territory, Queensland, Tasmania, Victoria and New South Wales) in Australia, but it has been shared with candidates from other provinces as well. There is a regulation that 15 pupils should enter for final exam in Hungarian on country level to have a permanent opportunity of organizing it. Although it seems to be a small number, it caused problems from year to year and the opportunity of final exam in Hungarian was at risk several times. In 2010 at the 14th Australian & New Zealand Hungarian Cultural Convention in Canberra it became clear that nevertheless the final exam in Hungarian is a country level exam every province and region has different regulations in education. Primary school pupils are educated in community, so called 'ethnic' or weekend schools registered by the state in Sydney (New South Wales), in Melbourne (Victoria), in Adelaide (South Australia) and in Canberra (Australian Capital Territory). State language schools are run in all three states having teachers donated by the state, these schools are the oldest in Australia. However, since 2010 Hungarian community schools have been founded in Brisbane (Queensland), on the Gold Coast, in Perth (Western Australia), in Adelaide (South Australia) and in Melbourne (Victoria). Their regional distribution can be seen in Map 2.

Map 2. The regional distribution of Hungarian community schools

Legend
- Hungarian ethnic school registered by the state
- Hungarian community school

Source: Data of the Hungarian Community School in Adelaide. Own construction.

These are not registered schools and teachers are paid by the schools themselves in most of them. As far as we know the Hungarian Community School in Adelaide is the only community school where 100% of the teachers teach on voluntary basis. Only three of the schools listed above are accredited by the Australian state, the State Language Schools in Melbourne and Sydney and the Hungarian Community School in Adelaide. As a result, pupils of Hungarian origin and other Hungarian language learners cannot properly prepare and apply for final exam in Hungarian in other states. However, Perth is an exception where private pupils can apply for the exam. Why is it so difficult for these schools to have 15 pupils in the country who intend to take Hungarian final exam? Ágnes Szabó researched its causes and concluded the following:

We can see that local weekend schools have enough students but when they are at the age of final exams they do not apply for the exam in Hungarian. It is a problem that the Saturday morning sessions of weekend schools coincide with sports programs in secondary schools or the afternoon ones with their extracurricular activities. It is also a problem that in cities where the rate of Hungarians is high a low number of students apply for final exam in Hungarian. The Hungarian Community School in Adelaide also had to cope with this problem as in 2010 they had to find Hungarians, who could pass the final exam in Hungarian to save the existence of the exam. That year they only managed to recruit five students who passed the exam excellently, however, it was not enough to have 15 candidates to take final exam on country level.

In 2011 five adults registered for the final exam in Adelaide, but after having published the possibility in Hungarian radios, newspapers and clubs in Australia the number of

candidates for the exam increased to twenty-seven. It proved that people are not disinterested. It turned out that a certain group of Hungarian adults, who could not take final exam in Hungarian would try to take it now. Unfortunately they could only take this opportunity for a short time as the government of the state of South Australia restricted the age of candidates at maximum 21 years for final exams in 2012. It decreased the number of candidates significantly as only 1 secondary school student took the final exam in Adelaide both in 2012 and 2013.

Partly to fend off these effects the Association of Hungarian Educators in Australia (AMPE, Ausztráliai Magyar Pedagógusok Egyesülete) was founded in 2013 and in 2015 it represented Hungarian educators in Australia in the Hungarian Diaspora Council. It was stated by the members of the council that it would be worth introducing e-learning and use it together with traditional techniques. In 2014 the Hungarian Community School in Adelaide tried the possibilities of e-learning teaching their own students and after introducing it in 2015 the number of students increased in the following year as it is represented in Table 6.

Table 6. The territorial distribution of students of the Hungarian Community School in Adelaide preparing for and passing the final exam in Hungarian

	States	2015	2016	2017	*2018**	Total
Candidates	South Australia	4	5	6	*2*	17
	Queensland	2	2	2	*2*	8
	Western Australia	1	1	1	*2*	5
	Victoria	0	1	1	*0*	2
	Northern Territory	0	1	1	*0*	2
	New South Wales	0	5	5	*4*	14
Total		7	15	16	*10*	48
The number of candidates passing the final exam in Hungarian		**0**	**1**	**3**	*7*	11

* The number of candidates is to increase at the beginning of the year in January
Source: Data provided by the Hungarian Community School in Adelaide and Ágnes Szabó. Own contraction.

In 2015 the school had 7 secondary school students who were prepared for the final exam. Two of the students who registered for the exam were from Queensland and one from Western Australia, where the students were also instructed on Skype by Szivárvány Iskola ('Rainbow School') teaching primary school pupils on the Gold Coast. In the following years the grant holders of Sándor Kőrösi Csoma Program in Adelaide also joined the program. In 2016 15 pupils of the school were preparing for final exam, 10 of them from other provinces were participating in online education. In 2016 students of

Hungarian as foreign language of the Gáspár Károli Reformative University taught Australian students on Skype once a week directed by Dr. Orsolya Nádor in addition to the one lesson provided by the community school. In 2017 10 online students from other provinces enrolled in the course besides the six students in Adelaide so it was proved that applying proper communication and adopting the suitable methodology in education could be successful. Finally the initiative of the Hungarian Community School in Adelaide starting in 2014 should also be mentioned: those registered for the final exam in Hungarian were offered the opportunity of being exchange students at Áron Szilády Reformative Grammar School and since the autumn of 2017 at István Bibó Grammar School in Kiskunhalas. So in 2014 3 students from Melbourne, in 2015 one student from Melbourne and one from Adelaide, in 2016 one student from Adelaide, while in 2017 one student from Adelaide and 2 from Melbourne arrived in Kiskunhalas to improve their command of Hungarian language in the framework of the program.

Summary

The summarising statements about the identity preserving activities of Hungarians living in Australia can be illustrated through the Hungarian Community School in Adelaide.

Activity in accordance with network principles is significant in the actions of civil diaspora organizations. The Hungarian Community School in Adelaide and its work has been supported by several organizations in Hungary and Australia as the Diaspora Project Network of the University of Pécs, the Sándor Kőrösi Csoma Program of the Hungarian State, the Rákóczi Federation, Gáspár Károli Reformative University, István Bibó Grammar School, Áron Szilády Reformative Grammar School, Lajos Letenyei Vocational Secondary and Technical School in Hungary and the following organisations in Australia: Kőrösi Csoma Sándor Kulturális Kör ('Sándor Kőrösi Csoma Cultural Society'), Adelaide-i Magyar Közösségi Rádió ('Hungarian Community Radio in Adelaide'), Ethnic School Association SA, SACE Board, SBS (public radio broadcasting in Hungarian language), Ilosvay rádió ('Ilosvay Radio'), Magyar Élet ('Hungarian Life', a Hungarian language weekly newspaper), Gold Coast-i Szivárvány Magyar Iskola ('Rainbow Hungarian School' on the Gold Coast), NESA (National Employment Services Association) and QCAA (Australian Curriculum in Queensland) as well.

It is a challenge for the organisation to establish the financial background for the above mentioned infrastructure, to find volunteers with competences of online education and create a native language environment virtually. The above mentioned network cooperation provides partial support for it. The electronic form of language teaching creates virtual communities, which contributes to preserving the identity of the diaspora even in isolation. Furthermore, maintaining forming relations means continuous activity with the help of smart devices.

Both adult education and new methodologies in education like e-learning have roles in preserving dual identity (Australian–Hungarian) and Hungarian identity. The latter way of teaching has an outstanding role because of large distances in Australia, however, the different regulations of education in different provinces and the own regulations of different schools hamper teaching in the Internet. Learning Hungarian language is not motivating enough in itself so getting Hungarian citizenship is a significant aspect in adult education, while younger generations can be motivated by community building (see scout movement) and by increasing the value of their maturation examination, exchanging other subjects or gaining extra points at the university admission.

Finally the attitude of the newly immigrated towards Hungarian identity is totally different from the second and third generation Hungarians' idealised picture of their mother country, sometimes it is even the opposite. One should be aware of the fact that some of the Hungarian emigrants have chosen Australia because of existential constraint so their goal is to integrate and assimilate, reach financial security, and improve their command of English and they do not devote energy for fostering their Hungarian identity. Conclusively they should be let have time and possibility to be able to return to their Hungarian roots and community. For these reasons it is necessary to compose an entirely different educational program for the children of recently immigrated families, as most of them can speak Hungarian so their teachers should focus on teaching them writing and reading and enlarging their vocabulary in Hungarian.

Although the data referring to education in the Hungarian diaspora in Australia are limited and partial, based on the organisational example our hypothesis is that the situation we described can be seen as general, although further research should be done to prove it with wider statistical basis and its analysis.

To sum it up, in the socially construed classification of migration we investigated the Hungarian migration especially the historic trends of Hungarian immigration into Australia and their motivational background. The waves of Hungarian immigration into Australia were also analysed with the estimation of their sizes. Besides, the Hungarian identity preserving efforts were described by the example of the Hungarian Community School founded in Adelaide 60 years ago including its teaching, community organizing activities and especially Hungarian language teaching. The situation of Hungarian education in Australia was investigated through this benchmark including the opportunity of taking a final exam in Hungarian language, which is a standardised state level exam. The social role of teaching Hungarian language, which is shown by the example in our study, has crucial importance in preserving Hungarian identity in the future as well, after all, language expresses cultural self-identification.

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Fotó/Gönczö Viktor

Christian missions as civil society movements at the service of the Indian society

Nándor Zagyi–Marianna Ács

The appearance and spread of Christianity in India

Christianity, together with the evangelizing mission has nearly two thousand years of history in India based on a tradition, which was firmly established and recognised by its virtue. The view according to which Jesus' message reached the country by the middle of the 1st century through one of his closest disciples, Apostle Thomas' personal mediation has been accepted in the Indian historiography of Christian Church, based on circumstantial evidences, informants' accounts of later eras and the memory of origin handed down through the Christian community (Vithayathil 2000). According to a narrative in Acts of Thomas, a New Testament Apocrypha from the 3rd century, which is considered to be an uncertain source (Vanyó 1988; Pallath 2015), the reluctant disciple, finally left for India obeying to Jesus' instructions, which is the only reference to this fact. He evangelized thousands of people serving Gondophares, the ruler of the Indo-Parthian Kingdom, situated in the north-western part of the subcontinent and, in his second mission in southern India, he suffered martyrdom near the city of Mylapore which is today called Chennai, earlier Madras (Elliot 2005).

The Saint Thomas Christians living in the state of Kerala situated in the south-western coast of the country consider themselves the descendants of the people converted by the Apostle's evangelization. In 52 C.E., the founder of their Church reached the shore of Muziris, a busy South-Indian station of the Indo-Roman trade route, which played a key

role in the intensive and fruitful exchange of the material and intellectual culture. The messenger's teachings were easily accepted by the inhabitants, including the Jews who had settled there earlier (Jussay 2005; Zagyi 2009). The city was an excellent example of multiculturalism but it was destroyed by the cataclysmic flood in 1341 and the remnants have not been found despite the attempts to locate it in today's Kodungallur (Cranganore) and its immediate surroundings. Besides Kodungallur, today's Saint Thomas Christians' Church has millions of members in seven other settlements[1] of the Malabar-coast, thanks partially to the ancient churches founded by the intellectual support of the local Jewish communities (Missick 2000).

The Syrian liturgical traditions of the community constituted the most ancient layer of the Indian Christianity, which was unified in a denominational sense until the middle of the 17th century. It can be originated from the close relationship with the Nestorian Assyrian Church of the East in dogmatic sense and in relation to canonical authority beginning in the 4th century and ending up to the decision made by the Synod of Diamper held in 1599. In 1653, as a medium-term consequence of the subordination under the Portuguese Roman Catholic Church and the introduction of the Latin liturgical rites according to the decision of the Synod, some of the Thomas Christians led by the archdeacon of the community declared the separation from the Malabar Church employing Latin rites (Timkó 1971). Subsequently, he soon founded his own Malankara Syrian Church, which was in the first time of its history led by the initiator of the schism, the local bishop called Mar Thoma I who was elected by the congregation.

The Great Schism was followed by several others until the 1970s. The present church structure of the Saint Thomas Christians is extremely diverse[2], comprising groups that follow East or West Syrian rites, operate as an independent (autocephalous) Church or part of any other one, either united with the Roman Catholic Church or even turned to Protestantism. The congregation lives in a diversified organizational framework, defines itself as Christian in terms of faith, as eastern in terms of liturgy and as Indian in terms of culture (Pallath 2015).

After the less successful evangelising activity of some 13th–14th century Franciscan and Dominican monks, (Giovanni de Montercorvino (1247–1328), Odorico da Pordenone (1286–1331), and Jordanus Catalani (1280–1330) and others), the Christianity was widespread as a result of the local expansion of the Portuguese colonial empire. The new wave of evangelism in India was supported by the Portuguese Patronage[3] power background and was commenced by the so-called New Apostles' missionary activity, which reached the shore of the Indian subcontinent in the company of Vasco da Gama (1460/1469–1524) in 1498 as the opening of the Great Geographical discoveries.

The Society of Jesus, i.e. the Jesuit order, which was established at that time as a response to the spread of Protestantism, constituted the ideological and personal base of the evangelization culminated from the 1540s, occasionally providing spiritual guidance with authoritarian methods (Axelrod–Fuerch 1996). A Jesuit monk, Saint Francis Xavier (1506–1552) known as the Apostle of the Indies and Japan was the spiritual leader of the early Catholic mission. He was a controversial actor as he

conceptually supported the introduction of the Inquisition in India. He left Portugal in 1541 and dedicated his efforts to catholicize India and the Far East in the rest of his life.

Since the beginning, the Portuguese have made remarkable achievements in the communities, that undertook the conversion for the physical-economic defence against the rival social groups relying on the colonial and ecclesiastical institutions organized in *Goa* situated at Konkan Coast, which constitutes a part of the coast of the subcontinent alongside the Arabian Sea. Besides them, a part of the Saint Thomas Christians as well as a social class of the Indian population having the most difficult fate, deprived of the possibility of social mobility, the despised untouchable Hindus envisioned social advancement in the conversion and therefore converted to Christianity and their descendants increased the number of Catholics. It should be noted that the social organizing strength of the castes, which are typically based on occupationally different hierarchical levels and of the *varnas*[4] built on one another according to their members' role in the division of labour is still very strong today in India. This is the reason why the persons converting to a new religion cannot get rid of certain signs of their previous weak community positions even in the new congregation (Kalapura 2010), which is reflected, among other things, by the status of a place designated for them in the sacred space.

The issue of the Catholic missionary work was put back in certain extent due to the weakening of the Portuguese Colonial Empire after the Dutch and then the British emergence and expansion in India. Nevertheless, undoubtedly there was a remarkable progress in the Catholicization of the Dravidian South India. However, in the upcoming centuries, mainly in recent times, the Roman Catholic mission has reached the central and northern parts of the subcontinent mainly through continuous Portuguese mediation. As a result, the entire organisational structure of the church has been established throughout the whole country by the middle of the 20th century. Today, together with the ecclesiastical provinces of the Uniate Saint Thomas Christians following Syrian rite, there are 30 archdioceses (archbishoprics) and 171 dioceses (bishoprics) in the territory of the Republic of India (Catholic Bishop's Conference in India, s.a.).

The third phase of the missionary work commenced with the emergence of the Protestant missions at the beginning of the 18th century. The two German Lutheran priests, Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg (1682–1719) and Heinrich Plütschau (1676–1752), who reached the shore with a royal missionary mandate in Tranquebar, then Danish commercial site (today Tharangambadi town in the state of Tamil Nadu) which was situated on the Coromandel Coast in Southeast India in 1706 are considered to the pioneers of Protestantism in India. Although they did not achieve spectacular and rapid outcomes, the work of the German, Swedish and later the British and American missionaries led to the establishment of a strong and relatively large Lutheran community in south India by the 20th century. More than four-fifths of the nearly four million Indian Lutheran believers who belong to the eleven affiliated churches gathered by the United Evangelical Lutheran Churches in India, which serves as an umbrella organi-

zation live in the southern states of Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh (The Lutheran World Federation, s.a.).

After the Baptist missionary work commenced by *William Carey* (1761–1834) in 1793 limiting to also a Danish colonial site, *Serampore* and its immediate surroundings near *Calcutta in Bengal* but having a tremendous impact in terms of intellectual gains. The Protestant evangelization of India reinvigorated in the first decades of the 19th century as a result of the activities of the London Missionary Society established at the end of the 19th century and the *Church Mission Society* which is still operated at present. These organizations having mainly Anglican denominational background had made remarkable progress primarily among the social groups with the most difficult fate.

At that time, the vast majority of the Protestant population converted to Christianity with mixed denominations (Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, and so on) was organized into two large umbrella churches supported by the religion policy aiming to enhance the unification (transparency) of the independent India. The *Church of South India* has about three and a half million believers and therefore comprises the second largest religious population after the Catholics. It is located in the Dravidian South India, while the *Church of North India* with about one and a half million believers is situated in the middle and northern parts of the country (World Council of Churches, s.a.).

In the last quarter of the 19th century, the last one of the most successful missionary waves regarding the number and proportion of the evangelized people reached the north-eastern, predominantly tribal Himalayan areas of India by Baptist Missionaries where active evangelization took place up to the 1950s. Although not the largest but definitely the most compact Christian block evolved here, in the area of the so-called later established Seven Sister States, since the communities which were free from the doctrinal ties of the institutionalized religions have been highly receptive to the spiritual renewal and not least to the social achievements resulted from the conversion (Bhatia 2010).

Christians, following the Hindus and the Muslims, form the third most populous religious community in India, regardless of the difficulty of precise determination of their number. While the definitely overvalued total number of the members recorded by each Church is at least 35 million (Zagyi 2009), according to the latest census, 27.8 million people i.e. 2.3% of the population declared themselves as Christian (Census India 2011). In the absence of reliable and detailed information on their denominational distribution, we can only say that approximately 33% of the Indian Christians are Catholic, 60% of them are Protestant, and 7% of them are Orthodox (including all believers belonging to any non-Catholic eastern rite). The number of members and the proportion of the total population of the charismatic new protestant churches in India can be negligible (Pew Research Center 2011).

A significant concentration of the Christian population is in the north-eastern Himalayan tribal states, where just over a 28% of the Indian Christians live in barely 8% of the area of the country, and it creates an absolute majority between 75–88% of the Christians in Nagaland, Mizoram and Meghalaya, local states with small population.

However, its largest block is in the southern part of the subcontinent: the states of Kerala and Tamil Nadu are the home of the 38% of the Christian population of the country (Census India 2011). The perceptible proportion of Christian presence is limited to the areas, which are mainly populated by the most disadvantaged social groups i.e. the scheduled tribes, the scheduled castes of the dalits[5] and the Dravidian people who are sensitive to their cultural integrity. Accordingly, in terms of the number of Christians, a relatively sharp dividing line emerges between the southern and eastern parts and, on the other hand, the middle and northern parts of the country. These are considered as core areas of the Indo-Aryan culture and they are parts of the country where, moreover, the long-term Muslim rule also hindered the spread of Christianity.

How the Christian presence forms the society in India

The beneficial effects of Christianity in India may be shown in the most obvious manner in terms of the quality of public and higher education, as well as the number of students involved in the school system, including the increasing proportion of girls. Although the school served as one of the most important areas for promoting the Christian doctrines and moral norms, the missions also gained everlasting merits in the slow but continuous progress of the social modernization due to their role in the creation of the education in native languages.

Thanks to the school establishments of the Portuguese Catholic and then Western European and North American Protestant missions, the number of Christian educational institutions in India was over 110 (Houghton 2006) by 1818. They played an integral part in printing works at the time of the initial disintegration of the school network. Besides the Bible, it enabled the distribution of textbooks as widely as possible. In the same year, the first Western-style post-secondary school, the Serampore College opened because of the cultural mission of William Carey.

After the arrival of the Scottish missionary, Alexander Duff (1806–1878) into Calcutta and due to his enthusiastic commitment to the vision of the final evangelization of India, the English language education was being introduced all the three levels of education from the 1830s. By giving up their initial resistance, increasing number of the upper class of the society enrolled their children into schools where the education was in English. It was the organic consequence of an intellectual movement, the so-called Bengali Renaissance, which emerged at that time and initially reached mainly the capital and its surroundings. The particular intellectual initiative of the New Age, which sought to raise local society through the conception of Western cultural goods and technical achievements and the mutually enriching encounter of the Indian and the European spirit. The beginning and the end of this movement are linked to two prominent social reformers' work, Ram Mohan Roy (1772–1833), the father of the Hindu Enlightenment, and Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941), who is a widely known writer and poet in Hungary as well.

As a result of the expansion of the English language education inspired by also the Christian missions and the intellectual support of the *Anglicists*[6], English language has gained an exclusive role in the Indian academic sphere. It significantly contributed to the active involvement of the Indian people into the processes of technological development, R&D, technical innovation as well as into the operation of the globalized economy. In spite the religious education the Christian public schools attract masses of students who belong to other denominations. Universities play an important role in this success, too. Among other things, this is supported by the fact that Christian institutions (universities and colleges) are overrepresented[7] compared to the proportion of the religious community in the total population in the competition of the actors participating in the Indian higher education which have been evaluated based on the same criteria for many years (India Today 2017). It should be noted here that English language functions as a lingua franca not only in the academic world but also in the state (federal) administration in India, which is highly fragmented regarding the language.

In addition to enhancing the influence of the English language, the cultural mission was also inherent. The British and later the American evangelization played a significant role in the development of the literacy of indigenous people. Christian churches, scholars, literalists, and journalists did a comprehensive and profound work from the translation of the Bible into local languages, the reform of the writing system of those languages making it easier to create the printed forms, through the creation of state-of-art press in their native language to the processing and systematization of the grammar and dialects.

As a result of this, differences in literacy rates among the population aged above seven can be clearly realized by religious denominations. The Indian Christians are much better in possession of values than average in this regard: the literacy rate among them was 74.3% as opposed to 63.1% featuring the total population at the time of the census in 2011 (Census India 2011). In connection with this, it also indicates the advantages becoming visible in the social state of the local Christians: the human and complex development indices of Indian districts and regions inhabited more densely or even dominantly by them belong to the highest ones (Wilhelm 2011).

We must not forget to mention the name of Sándor Kőrösi Csoma (1784–1842) who edited his pieces of work, the Tibetan–English Dictionary and the Grammar of the Tibetan Language in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta at the beginning of the 1830's after years of studying the Tibetan language in a demanding and harsh environment. Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964), the father of the Modern India also highly appreciated these beneficial effects of Christianity (Nehru 1981).

Due to the slow expansion of the social moral norms of Christianity and the limited attempt to enforce them with statutory instruments, certain results have been gained to reduce the number of violence and, in better case, the unintentional crime against the women and girls that is still experienced. Its most obvious sign was the legal prohibition of the sati (Bengal Sati Regulation), i.e. the practice of burning widows alive in 1829 that, contrary to the dharmic approach to life, was considered as a heinous evilness among

the Christians living according to the doctrine teaching the holiness of the unrepeatable mundane life. The sati remained in practice and existed for a long time regardless of the legal prohibitions entered into force. This view is supported by the fact that the Indian legislature in the Sati Prevention Act, adopted in 1987, was forced to criminalize the support of and incitement to the practice of sati.

A further manifestation of social violence against women is the female infanticide[8] which also caused deep outrage and incomprehension among Christian Westerners. Several legislative measures were introduced to reduce it starting from the Female Infanticide Prevention Act of 1870 to the Pre-Conception & Pre-Natal Diagnostic Techniques (Prohibition of Sex Selection) Act, which entered into force in 2003. In these Acts, the artificial insemination and abortion on a gender basis confirming the existence of this phenomenon in the New Age are prohibited and severe penalties are imposed for them (Wilhelm–Zagyi 2012; Zagyi s.a.).

As parts of the Christian evangelization, health care, the care for the orphans and disabled people and, last but not the least the care of the poor had also a crucial importance. As a result of the relatively long, but continuous development, the small rudimentary hospitals yet ensuring organized care and healing. These were established in the Portuguese missions in the late 17th century and led to the establishment of the Christian Medical College in Ludhiana city located in the state of Panjab by an English doctor, Edith Brown (1864–1956) in 1893. Also it resulted in the establishment of the Christian Medical College Vellore (state of Tamil Nadu) operating from 1,900 which was developed from a roadside clinics of an American missionary doctor, Ida Scudder (1870–1960). The latter higher educational institution and clinics have significant recognition not only on Member State level, but also on federal, moreover, international levels. It is the second most prestigious medical university in India (India Today 2017), which is, of course, open for and preferred by the people of other religions similarly to the other hospitals and clinics founded by the Christians.

So far the social institutions of Christian missions have been the last refuge for the marginalized, abandoned people, the victims of violence, people with physical and/or mental disabilities, orphans, outcast and destitute people, especially for women and children. In the past and nowadays, the Christian denominations operated countless of such organizations. Despite the constraints on the length of this work, we cannot omit to mention the Missionaries of Charity established in 1950 because of the spiritual commitment of Saint Teresa of Calcutta, better known as Mother Teresa (1910–1997). She was an Albanian Catholic nun, who is deservedly respected as a national hero and appreciated by everyone independently of the religious affiliation.

The Christian denominations and members of the colonial administration have raised their voice and actively campaigned against the institution of child marriage, which is deeply rooted in the Indian family tradition, mainly through the extension of school education for girls, but perhaps the least progress has been achieved in this area. The minimum legal age limit for marriage was increased to 14 years (Child Marriage Restraint Act of 1929), and then to 18 years (Prohibition of Child Marriage Act of 2006). However, one

hundred years after the prohibition of the widow burning practice, 18% of women aged between 20 and 24 who married or established a partnership for the first time before they were 15 years old is still 18% (UNICEF 2016).

In addition to the above, the Christian Charities (Church's Auxiliary for Social Action, Evangelical Fellowship of India Commission on Relief, etc.) play an active role in many of other areas such as in rural development. They provide agricultural trainings to farmers and tools to improve the productivity of the agricultural work. Their efforts aimed to create self-sustaining abilities of the home and small industries in a frame of the so-called rural reconstruction imagined by Kanakarayan Tiruselvam Paul (1876–1931), the leader of the Christian nationalism in India (Kiss–Zagyi 2014). Mitigation and eradication of the consequences of the natural disasters were also included in the activities which provided effective short and long term help to deal with effect of the more and more devastating tragedies which jeopardising human life and material assets and unfortunately occurring with increasing frequency.

The local Christian community was accused more and more often of its heavily restrained participation in the Indian Independence Movement. Even the Church leaders and intellectuals acknowledged this fact (Houghton 1983). One of the justifiable explanations may be the particularly weak enforcement of interests of the uneducated mass located at the bottom of the hierarchy of social classes and which constituted a significant part of the Christian community at the colonial past. On the other hand, the moderate desire for a Hindu dominated independent India, which may have had aversions against the minorities and other religious communities of non-Indian origins.

However, we cannot say that the local Christian community remained completely disinterested in the national idea and the independence movement, but it was certainly not related to broad masses but rather to the activities of some most influential political activists and church leaders. The above mentioned K. T. Paul as an enthusiastic follower of *Mahatma Gandhi* (1869–1948) used his social prestige and his leading role in the Indian and international Christian social and missionary movements *(General Secretary of the National Missionary Society, India; Chairman of the National Christian Council of India; National General Secretary of the National Council of YMCAs of India)* not only for improving the social welfare measures but also to assist the independence movement.

Later, Christian members of the *Minority Advisory Committee* delegated by the *Constituent Assembly* of India, which was independent from the British colonial rule, played a prominent role in development of the Constitution of the Republic of India, particularly in the issue of the freedom of religion or belief. It happened despite the fact that the Christians became the victims of serious social and interreligious conflicts, which happened because of misinterpretations of the legal guarantees in the independent India. During the preparation of the Constitution, the leaders of the Christian community firmly supported the building of the nation, the integrity of the new state, although it was threatened by many factors at that time. To demonstrate this, they renounced the parliamentary representation of Christians and the political guarantees for the protection of their specifically named parochial interests and Church possessions. In

return, they achieved that freedom to practice, propagate and change of the religious belief[9] became part of the Constitution, which entered into force on 26th January 1950 overcoming the resistance of the representatives of the Hindu-majority nation. Gandhi's sympathy for the Christians played an important role in it, as he knew well the doctrines of Jesus.

The past and the present of the Hungarian Christian mission in the Indian subcontinent

Talking about social sphere's activity and commitment to improve the society, it is unavoidable to introduce shortly the activities of the Hungarian Christian missionaries in India that is more and more active today.

According to the concise summary of Indologist, *Imre Bangha* (Bangha 2009), the Hungarian missionary work was sporadic and its participants were interestingly all Catholic during the first half of the 18th century to the middle of the 20th century. The first Hungarian missionary who came to India as a Jesuit monk was József Hausegger (1700–1765). From 1731 to his death, he worked in Goa and on the Malabar Coast, which were under Portuguese rule. He informed the ruler about his experience in Latin language letters, which survived in extract translations (Pinzger 1931).

After a long period, in the first half of the 20th century, Bertalan Varga and István Polgár, members of the Salesian and Jesuit Order followed him. Bertalan Varga arrived to East Bengal in the 1930s where he served as a pastor until his internment after the outbreak of the Second World War. After his release in 1946, he served in several West Bengal stations including Kalimpong, the adjacent settlement to Darjeeling, where he was able to take care of the grave of our compatriot, Sándor Kőrösi Csoma (1784–1842) for a while.

István Polgár arrived to the nascent independent India in January 1947, and after months of language learning, he commenced his parish service in the 24 Parganas district of Bengal located in the Ganges–Brahmaputra Delta. As a part of his missionary activity, he also actively participated in the rural development of the countryside. For example, in Baidyapur, he created a model farm where he had good achievements, among other things, in the yield increase of rice and fruits by using the most advanced methods of that time. He also created the infrastructural basis for the cultivation of freshwater fishes, which played a key role in the food supply of the population. He also made experiments for the creation of alternative fuels.

Additionally, he was an enthusiastic church-builder, founding more than thirty places of worship. However, he could also experience that "no prophet is acceptable in his hometown" when – at the peak of his success – a couple of politically motivated workers beat him and ousted him from his land in 1969. Later, the conflict was resolved through public repentance at a conciliatory service, but this case highlighted that the

implementation of the reform of church lands and the provision of land to farmers cannot be delayed any longer.

Also in the late 1940s, Edith Tömöry (1905–1998) from the Franciscan Order got to the country, and in Madras (currently Chennai, Tamil Nadu state) she became a teacher (and later the director) of the newly established Stella Maris College. The nun who graduated as an art historian and was acclaimed as a recognised professional published a historical summary (Tömöry 1982) about Indian and Western fine art in 1968, which has been republished numerous times.

As it is obvious from the brief summary above, the members of Roman Catholic missions have performed their work (in the past and currently) almost exclusively in the framework of the orders of their church, mostly the institutional framework of the Jesuits, as well as their evangelisation/goodwill missions, regardless of their citizenships and ethnicities. Therefore, because of the Universalist, internationalist approach of Catholicism it is also typical in foreign monastic missions. National characters (even though they are identifiable) are less significant than in the case of Protestants. This fact is obviously shown in the case of the foreign monastic missions of the second half of the 20th century and currently as well: Hungarian relations are only featured in the activities of Hungarian Protestant churches and church organisations.

Although the Hungarian Protestant missionary movement has a rich and long history (Kool 1995–2000) and it has traditionally been active in the Dutch East Indies (today: Indonesia), the Balkans and China, it has not appeared in India until the 1970s. The first of them is the charity organisation founded in 1974, the Hungarian Leprosy Mission. Its charitable activity and donations have reached the Indian subcontinent ever since. This work was supported by numerous Protestant communities: in addition to others, the Calvinist congregations in Pécs and Baranya County also participated in significant leprosy missionary activities (Komlósi 2004).

The first Protestant missionary delegates after the transition were the teacher/religious educator couple András Jó (Calvinist) and Angelika Jóné Jutasi (Lutheran). They reached Southern India by the support of the Reformed Church in America (RCA) and taught in the Kodaikanal International School, founded by American Protestants in 1901 for the children of missionaries in Southern India. It was one of the first international schools in the country and works as a secondary level educational institution providing a secondary school certificate since 1974. Similarly to other schools operated by Western churches and missionary organisations, this also worked in the form of a foundation for the last few decades. The restrictions applicable to the missionary activities of foreigners made its operation as a classic missionary institution impossible. As a result, today only half of the teachers and pupils are Christians, but participation at the Sunday religious service and religious classes is still compulsory, in accordance with religious tradition. At least one third of the pupils gets scholarship (Evangelical Lutheran Church in Hungary s.a.; Kodaikanal International School s.a.).

In 2002, Balázs Mesterházy and his wife Andrea took over the service of András Jó and his wife. Balázs worked as the pastor of the school for three years, and Andrea

performed pastoral care as a psychologist. Another Lutheran couple, Imre Szigeti and Zita Páhán followed them in service from 2013 to 2016. In the summer of 2017, András Jó and his wife returned to the institution. At this time they provided the following statement: "Based on preliminary discussions, we are going to participate in the education of English as a Foreign Language and Secondary School Religious Studies, and they also intend to gradually involve us in the management of the school. For us this is a great challenge and honour, since our institution is one of the most acclaimed English-speaking boarding schools in Asia" (Galambos 2017).

In one of the poorest states in India, Uttar Pradesh, in the municipality of Fatehpur, located approximately 500 km from Delhi, at the Broadwell Christian Hospital operated by the Indian Christian missionary organisation Emmanuel Hospital Association (EHA), paediatrician Dr. Dániel Erdélyi and his wife, radiologist Dr. Ágnes Erdélyiné Falus started to work. Dániel Erdélyi had already worked as a trainee of the surgery and internal medicine department of the Richardson Leprosy Mission Hospital in Miraj (Maharashtra state) as a sixth-year medical student in 1996. He met Dr. Juni J. Chungath, the current head of the hospital in Fatehpur, there who invited the Erdélyis to his own institution. Since the Western type social security systems are not present in India, missionary organisations (mostly supported by British Christians) provide cheap and sometimes free medical care for patients in need, who cannot pay for the real costs of medical services at multiple places, including the Fatehpur hospital (Kis Tükör 2012). The Reformed Church in Hungary sent Dr. Júlia Németh and her husband Tamás Pálúr for medical missionary work to this hospital in 2009. The couple provided humanitarian service here from autumn 2009 to September 2010.

The doctors and teachers on foreign service reported on their experiences of being a Christian in India via blogs, newspaper articles and interviews. According to András Jó "in India it is not important who is a Catholic, a Lutheran, a Methodist or the member of any other denomination." In today's India, "if someone is Christian, they are my brothers and sisters. This is how large hostile pressure, social tension and the strengthening of Islam and Hindu fundamentalism are present in the country (…) It is more important to focus on what connects us, instead of what separates us" (Tari 2013). Tamás Pálúr reported on the life of a Protestant religious community and the ways Protestants practice their faith in India. He explained: "In Protestant prayer groups (…) 8-10 people talk simultaneously loudly, they accompany songs with rattles, drum and guitar, which may sound strange to a European's ear, but it fits perfectly to their culture and personalities. I appreciated how they practice their Protestant faith in their own way, with their own means" (Fodor 2010). According to András Jó, one of the primary aims of the mission is to change society, to make Indians understand the significance of munificence and supporting the poor, showing them a way 'to change the lives of others and raising awareness on how important people are for each other' (…) in order to make them turn their heads to the poor" (Tari 2013).

As a natural result of Protestant Ecumenism, as well as the lack of interest in commitment to a specific denomination among Indian Christians, the current Hungarian

Protestant evangelists also arrive to India representing the international and partly interconfessional missionary organisations, as well as the Hungarian associations thereof, established since the 1990s. Obviously, the foreign missions of certain Hungarian Protestant Churches (organised by denomination) also perform significant and altruistic work. Because of the previously mentioned (and presented in detail) reasons, i.e. the administrative restrictions against missionary activities and the resentment of the majority population, there is no open evangelisation in the classical sense, but they still work – almost exclusively – in the field of social and medical care and education, as doctors, social helpers and teachers.

Issues of freedom of religion in modern India

As one of the above interviews also shows, because of the fears of the Hindu society, which fears any change of the denominational status quo, the freedom of religion provided by the constitution is restricted in today's India, especially for Christians (Zagyi 2013). The provisions of the constitution discussing human rights. Especially issues of freedom of conscience and propagating faith are very important, as the possible interpretations play a important role in public and legal debates related to freedom of religion.

In addition to violent acts indicated a continued Hindu-Muslim confrontation (artificially instigated, and going back to the colonial period), a new front of inter-religious oppositions emerged. Because of the proselytizing work of Christian and Buddhist missions focusing on disadvantaged groups from the lowest levels of social hierarchy, radical Hindu organisations take violent retaliatory actions (Pew Research Center 2009). Based on the initiatives of the member states, new regulations have been introduced contradicting the spirit and words of the constitution, aiming to restrict a change of religion.

Therefore the main problem is the restriction of rights on the propagation of faith, changing religion and convictions. Nowadays, restrictive laws are in effect in seven members states.[10] With the exception of the states of *Himachal* and *Arunachal Pradesh*, they lack major population and economic significance. It is safe to say that these states – such as *Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Odisha* – except for *Gujarat* – are below the average economic power and living standard of India. However, considering the total membership rates of the so-called scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, these have higher than average ones (compared to the federal mean numbers).

The first member state laws, which restricted a change of religion, were introduced in the 1960s and 1970s. Then such legislation gained new momentum during the mid-2000s. Obviously, legislators do not openly take on such intentions in the case of laws that are regularly called "freedom of religion laws", with the main objective of preventing forced conversions. The different pieces of legislation all feature numerous common properties, targeting the restricting of missions providing services to low caste

Hindus, eliminating factors modifying the established religious divisions and regulations serving the demands of radical movements and parties which envision a threat to the Hindu nation. This includes the terminology which provides an extremely wide room for the interpretation of the concept of "force", based on which missionary activities which present an attractive perspective to individuals or groups or offer spiritual benefits are considered as "forced", which can render conversion invalid, impossible and can therefore also limit any significant change of the composition of religions.

Based on the definition of "conversion" it is already obvious who these laws intend to protect, since on multiple occasions, this directly or indirectly excludes the return to so-called original, native, domestic or ancient religions from the concept of conversion to a different religion, thus rendering it free from any legislative restrictions. Another common feature of the recently adopted laws is a reporting requirement on the intention and date to change religion in advance, which gives way to a legality review of the circumstances of conversion, and also the denial thereof. However, according to statements of the affected persons and human rights organisations, this serves the purpose of providing enough time to opposing organisations and activities to be notified.

These laws can sanction illegal missionary work rather strictly, with up to three years in jail, and punishment can be even stricter in the case of illegally converting children, women and *Dalits* who are considered easily impressionable, thus revealing the actual intention of the legislators (Christian Solidarity 2006).

The obvious question related to the big picture, based on the above, is how these anti-conversion member state laws could enter into force, if they are incompatible with the freedom of religion rights guaranteed by the constitution of the federal republic. This legal situation was enabled by the specific interpretation of the concept of disseminating faith, supported by court decisions as well[11]. According to this interpretation, the dissemination, promotion, propagation of religions and their principles do not necessarily include the right to freely perform missionary activities, which also denies the logical relationship between the possibility of persuasion and the liberty to voluntarily change belief.

Physical violence related to conversion to Christianity, which often leads to deadly violent incidents, seems to have become permanent during the last few years and even increase in numbers, because radical communalist movements and parties consider the natural population growth of the Muslim population (exceeding Hindus) and missionary activities the primary reasons for the changing composition of denominations and possibly disadvantageous demographic consequences.

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Notes

1. Palur (Palayur), Kottakkavu, Kokkamangalam, Nilakkal, Niranam, Kollam and Thiruvithamkode. The eight ancient Churches established by Apostle Saint Thomas are collectively known in local language as Ezharappallikal.
2. Today the community of the Saint Thomas Christians consists of the following eight affiliated churches: 1. the autocephalous *Malankara Orthodox Syrian Church* following western Antiochene Rite which belongs to the oriental orthodox (miaphysite or non-Chalcedonian) churches; 2. the affiliated church of the former, the *Malankara Jacobite Syrian Orthodox Church* belonging under the jurisdiction of the Damascus-based Syriac Orthodox Church; 3. the Uniate *Syro-Malankara Catholic Church* acknowledging the Pope's sovereignty but following the same liturgical tradition of the above mentioned Churches; 4. the *Malabar Independent Syrian Church* separated from the Malankara group after an internal rivalry but it belongs to the rite community of the Malankara group; 5. *Mar Thoma Syrian Church* become an independent reform direction resulting from the Anglican mission representing a special interim format between Orthodoxy and Protestantism which is a traditional orthodox church in terms of liturgy but it is rather reformist in terms of its doctrine; 6. the *Saint Thomas Evangelical Church* with Evangelical-episcopal form which separated from the previous one and it is considered as a definite Protestant; 7. the *Chaldean Syrian Church* based in Iraq following East Syrian Rite (Babylonian) in contrary to the above mentioned which operates as a major archdiocese of the Assyrian Church of the East; 8. and the *Syro-Malabar Catholic Church* which joined the Vatican but it follows East Syrian Rite as well and constitutes and independent patriarchate.
3. Aleixio de Menezes, the archbishop of Goa, taking the opportunity of the mandate given by the Holy See to the local representatives through the Portuguese emperor for the not rarely violent Catholicization of their colonies the so called Portuguese patronage (Padroado Português) enforced the separation of the Saint Thomas Christians from the Assyrian jurisdiction and the placement of it under the Archbishopric of Goa together with the introduction of the Latin liturgy on the diocesan synod convened and governed by him.
4. The varnas which mean order or class are the four basic units of the Hindu social organization. Similarly to the castes, there is no social mobility among them and the social groups are determined by birth. Although their members do not necessarily carry out the activities of their original meaning, but their actual social status is still transmitted. The most prestigious and, at the same time, the smallest group is constituted by the *brahmins* who exclusively pursuing clerical, teaching or intellectual occupations, followed by the *kshatriyas* operating the state administration and the army, and then the vaisyas who typically live from trade and carry out business activities and, finally the *shudras* close the system of the varnas who carry out manual, farming, handicraft and serving activities. According to the most probable theory, the untouchable people or the dalits and their descendants excluded from their community due to violating the law regulating the lives of the varnas who are in an existentially impossible position and outside of the social network traditionally carrying out dirty and unclean work do not belong to any of the varnas.
5. Small member states with low population occupied by communities speaking mainly Sino-Tibetan languages and living in tribes (scheduled tribes) in the eastern neighbourhood of the historic Bengal in the extremely isolated part of the North-eastern Himalaya which is considered the nest of the separatist aspirations: Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura.

6. The group of local intellectuals and thinkers supporting the inclusion and integration of the intellectual, social and economic achievements of the West mediated by the British in the course of the cultural debate of the 19th century. The so-called orientalists defined themselves as opposed to that group who thought to explore the means of social renewal in the completion of the intellectual and spiritual values of the East and in the opposing against the influence of the religious and intellectual influence of the Europeans.
7. According to the recent evaluation published by the India Today and the Nielsen Company in the majority of faculties (arts, science, commerce, computer application, business administration) of the higher education institutions founded or maintained by the Christians provide 3-6 places of the top ten of a certain discipline. The majority of them can be found in the two southern metropolises, Bengaluru (Bangalore) and Chennai (Madras) according to the major population cluster of the Christians. The Christ University of Bengal playing an important role even in the Indian scientific life is outstanding, but the Loyola College of Chennai, the St. Xavier's College of Mumbai, the Madras Christian College of Chennai and the Kristu Jayanti College of Bangalore also have a significant importance.
8. The Indian patriarchal family model can be considered as a motivational factor for social disparity against girls. Two aspects, patrilinearity and patrilocality, of this social organization pattern necessarily entailing by the discrimination of the girls need to be emphasized. The former means the transfer of the assets (means of production and factors) in the male line ensuring the survival of the family, and the latter means the binding of the married women to their husband's parental home. The material aspects of the patriarchal social system that affects the girls' families disadvantageously while the boys' families advantageously are quite obvious: while the expenditures of the parents raising girls are lost and they cannot rely on their daughter's support even in their old age, the husband's family virtually gets more workforce virtually free of charge by the wife who, in addition, increase the number of the community with its son waited and hoped by everybody. In the light of the above, it is not surprising that the mortality rate of girls in their own (parent's) family are higher than the rate of the boys which is in contrast of the normal demographic trend.
9. Among the fundamental rights named in Article 15 of Chapter III of the Constitution, the prohibition of the religious discrimination is mentioned besides the prohibition of the discrimination on the grounds of sex, race, caste as well as place of birth. The Constitution regarding the freedom of religion (Articles 25-28) contains provisions for the respect of the freedom of belief and the freedom of exercise and disseminate of the faith of everyone in addition to ensuring the organizational autonomy of certain communities, the exemption of taxes and contributions serving for the support and maintenance of the religious organizational structure and the voluntary participation in the religious education of schools.
10. Orissa Freedom of Religion Act, 1967; Madhya Pradesh Freedom of Religion Act, 1968, in effect since 2000 in Chatisgarh as well, amended in 2006; Arunachal Pradesh Freedom of Religion Act, 1978; Gujarat Freedom of Religion Act, 2003; Chhatisgarh Freedom of Religion (Amendment) Act, 2006; Rajasthan Freedom of Religion Bill, 2006; Himachal Pradesh Freedom of Religion Bill, 2006.
11. The Supreme Court of India has established the legal precedent verifying this interpretation of the law in the lawsuit of *Reverend Stanislaus* versus the state of Madhya Pradesh, rejecting the argument of the applicant in a judgment adopted in 1977, regarding the request to ascertain the illegality of restricting conversion. According to the explanation, the liberties on propagating and intermediating religion guaranteed in the constitution do not directly establish the right to convert someone from one religion to another. It specifically derived the argument from the provision of the constitution guaranteeing freedom of conscience to everyone. Based on this they concluded that religions not engaging in a propagating mission – such as Hinduism – would be in a disadvantageous position compared to religions which are active in this sense in case of such an interpretation, extending the possibility to propagate religions.

László KÁKAI–Viktor GLIED

Sketch of the Hungarian nonprofit sector after the regime change

The escalation of the economic, political and social crisis from the mid-80s generated a "revival" of organisational life in Hungary. The beginning of the political transformation was marked by the reappearance of foundation as a legal entity in 1987, and then it went on with the ratification of the Associations Act in 1989. It was concluded with the amendment of Civil Code (enacted in 1990) which abolished the former restriction that a foundation could only be set up with the approval of the relevant government authority. Following the 1989 Act, which guaranteed the conditions of freely setting up organisations, the number of organisations was growing continuously. This growth can be observed until the end of the 2000s when the global financial crisis hit Hungary.
General political, economic and moral crisis began in Hungary in 2006, which lasted until 2010 and still beyond… The new right-wing government started to rearrange the entire political and social system in this year. With a two-third majority in the parliament, the government began transforming the subsystems of society practically without any resistance. Between 2010 and 2013, the country saw an avalanche of legislation, a new constitution, as well as hundreds of new and amended acts of parliament were adopted in a few years. The announcement of the Programme of National Cooperation (National Cooperation System) in May 2010 laid down the objectives that still define the directions of governance to date. This included the key elements of completely amending the regulation and finance of the NGO sector, as well as laying down entire new foundations for the cooperation between NGOs, the government and municipalities. Due to the swift and radical changes, protests or varying intensity and support begun, but by early 2015 these have more or less dried out.
This article introduces the development and change of the Hungarian nonprofit sector after the regime change until 2017. The paper gives a comprehensive insight to the civil sector or government/civil networks, what relationships and activities have become dominant for the organisations in Hungary.
Keywords: Hungary, nonprofit, civil society, NGOs

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A magyar nonprofit szektor helyzete a rendszerváltás után

A nyolcvanas évek közepétől tapasztalható gazdasági, politikai és társadalmi válság felélénkítette a szervezeti életet Magyarországon. A politikai átmenet egyik fontos lépése volt az alapítványok működésének elismerése 1987-ben, majd a társasági törvény elfogadása 1989-ben. A civil törvény 1990-ben feloldotta azt a korlátozást, amely szerint kizárólag az állam hozhat létre civil szervezetet. Mindezen jogszabályok lehetővé tették a szervezetalapítást, melynek következtében folyamatosan emelkedett a nonprofit szervezetek száma. Ez a növekedés egészen a 2000-es évek végéig volt megfigyelhető, amikor a globális pénzügyi válság elérte Magyarországot.
Általános politikai, gazdasági és morális válság vette kezdetét hazánkban 2006-ban, mely egészen 2010-ig tartott, sőt, más formában, de azóta is tart. A választásokon győztes jobboldali kormány azonnal hozzálátott a politikai és társadalmi rendszerek átalakításához. Kétharmados többsége birtokában a kormányzat lényegében ellenállás nélkül kezdett bele a társadalmi alrendszerek reformjába. 2010 és 2013 között törvényhozási dömping zajlott, új törvények százait fogadta el a parlament néhány éven belül. A 2010 májusában meghirdetett Nemzeti Együttműködés Rendszere elnevezésű program lefektette a kormányzati politika irányait. Ennek részeként került sor a civil szektor átalakítására, mely érintette a szektor szabályozását és finanszírozását is, továbbá egy újfajta együttműködési struktúrát hozott létre a kormányzat, az önkormányzat és a civil szervezetek között. A gyors és radikális reformok miatt különböző intenzitású tiltakozások, mozgalmak, vagy éppen a kormányt támogató kezdeményezések bukkantak fel, azonban 2015 elejére ezek nagyrészt meggyengültek, átalakultak vagy egyszerűen eltűntek.
A tanulmány a magyar nonprofit szektor fejlődését és változásait mutatja be a rendszerváltástól 2017-ig, továbbá széles körű betekintést nyújt a civil hálózatok működésébe.
Kulcsszavak: Magyarország, nonprofit, civil társadalom, NGO-k

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Tanácsának dél-dunántúli póttagja, majd 2008–2011 rendes tagja. 2012-től a Nemzeti Együttműködési Alap Közösségi Környezet Kollégiumának elnöke. Jelenleg a Pécsi Tudományegyetem Bölcsészettudományi Kar Politikatudományi és Nemzetközi Tanulmányok Tanszékének tanszékvezetője. 2016. szeptember 1-jétől egyetemi tanár a PTE BTK Politikatudományi és Nemzetközi Tanulmányok Tanszékén.
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Andor VÉGH–Erika GÚTI

Geographical and social issues of the operation of Hungarian non-governmental organisations in Croatia – the case of Baranja

The activity of civil society tells a lot about that society, especially when talk about minority groups. Among Hungarian groups in the Carpathian Basin, Hungarians in Croatia show a very special social activity picture. In the framework of the Croatian civil system, we will analyze some segments of civil society activity of this group, partly from the Hungarian aspect.
Keywords: Croatia, Hungarians in Croatia, South Baranya, civil organizations, minority civil activity

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Végh Andor–Gúti Erika

A magyar civil szervezetek működésének földrajzi és szociális kérdései Horvátországban–Baranya példája

A civil társadalom aktivitása nagyon sokat elmond magáról a társadalomról, különösen igaz ez a kisebbségi csoportokra. A Kárpát-medence magyar csoportjai közül a horvátországi magyarság nagyon speciális társadalmi aktivitási képet mutat. A horvát civil rendszer kereteiben, de részben a magyar szempontot szem előtt tartva elemezzük e csoport civil társadalmi aktivitásának egyes szeleteit.
Kulcszavak: Horvátország, horvátországi magyarok, Dél-Baranya, civil szerveződések, kisebbségi civil aktivitás

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Tibor Gonda–Alpár Horváth

Non-governmental organisations in the Hungarian–Hungarian knowledge transfer of organising tourism

In our study we examine the role played by the Hungarian NGOs in Romania in the appearance of new territorial actors of tourism (TDM organisations and tourism clusters). We also investigate how their existing personal or institutional relationships helped knowledge transfer and thus the development of tourism in Romania. NGOs created by members of the Hungarian minority have a special role in the development of tourism in Romania. Due to their personal and institutional relationships they are up-to-date with the tourism development efforts and related good practices in Hungary. In the development of the supply side of tourism the aim of the civil organisations in Romania is to engage in professional issues, knowledge creation and knowledge transfer, community planning and participation in decision-making mechanisms, and occasionally active participation in the development of tourism infrastructure.
Keywords: tourism, non-governmental organisations, tourism destination management, knowledge transfer, Székely Land, clustering

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Civil szervezetek a turizmusszervezés magyar–magyar tudástranszferében

Cikkünkben azt vizsgáljuk, hogy a turizmus új térségi szereplőinek (TDM szervezetek és turisztikai klaszterek) romániai megjelenésében milyen szerepet játszottak a romániai magyar civil szervezetek. Arra is keressük a választ, hogy az általuk meglévő személyes vagy intézményes szakmai kapcsolatok hogyan segítették a tudástranszfert, és ezáltal a romániai turizmus fejlődését. A romániai turizmus fejlesztésében különleges szerepet töltenek be a magyar kisebbség tagjai által létrehozott civil szervezetek. Személyes és intézményes szakmai kapcsolataik révén napra készen ismerik a magyarországi turizmusfejlesztési törekvéseket és az ehhez kapcsolódó jó gyakorlatot. A turizmus kínálati oldalának fejlesztésében a romániai civil szerveződések törekvései szakmai szerepvállalásról, tudásteremtésről, tudásátadásról, közösségi tervezésről és a döntéshozatali mechanizmusokban való részvételről, esetenként a turisztikai infrastruktúra fejlesztésében való tevőleges részvételről szólnak.
Kulcsszavak: turizmus, civil szervezetek, turisztikai desztináció menedzsment, tudástranszfer, Székelyföld, klaszteresedés

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Gábor Szalai–Péter Reményi–Norbert Pap

The role of Hungarian–American civil and church organisations in preserving the Hungarian identity

The history of Hungarians living in the USA covers about one and a half centuries. Since the 1970s and 1980s, hundreds of thousands have immigrated to the USA in different waves to start a new life and, on the other hand, to return home in a strengthened financial situation. The Hungarians arriving in the USA set up their civil and church organizations in a short period of time which had a steady replenishment of Hungarian families therefore they strengthened organizationally. The organizations and churches that have been set up mainly at the turn of the century are still operated actively and they are the important bases for preserving the Hungarian identity. Hungarians arriving in different eras with different purposes and reasons have set up various associations and organizations and, as a result, many of them are still operated independently from one another in the USA. This study was carried out by using the experience acquired during the visit of Hungarian communities and institutions (Hungarian houses, associations, clubs, foundations, alliances, libraries) operating the north-eastern states of the USA (Maryland, Pennsylvania, Virginia, New Jersey and New York) in the period between 20 and 30 October 2015, as well as information obtained during the personal meetings with persons of Hungarian identity, institution leaders, representatives and pastors.
Keywords: emigration, diaspora, assimilation, identity, civil and church life

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Norbert Pap has been working for the Institute of Geography of University of Pécs since 1998. In 2004, he was appointed to an associate professor and then, in 2005 to a head of department of Political Geography, Development and Regional Studies. Eight of his students have been awarded a doctoral degree so far. The results of his research work were published in more than 240 publications (of which 74 were published in foreign language). Chair of Political Geography Subcommittee of Human Geography, Hungarian Academy of Sciences. He is a member of editorial boards of several Hungarian and international series of books and periodicals.
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Szalai Gábor–Reményi Péter–Pap Norbert

A magyar–amerikai civil és egyházi szervezetek szerepe a magyar identitás megőrzésében

Az USA-ban élő magyarok története mintegy másfél évszázadot ölel fel. Az 1870-es és 1880-as évektől kezdődően, a különböző kivándorlási hullámokban több százezren indultak el, egyrészt, hogy új életet kezdjenek az USA-ban, másrészt, hogy anyagilag megerősödve később hazatérjenek. A USA-ba érkező magyarok rövid idő alatt létrehozták civil és egyházi szervezeteiket, melyek az idők folyamán, az újonnan érkező magyar családok révén folyamatos utánpótlást kaptak, így szervezetileg is megerősödtek. A többségében a századforduló idején létrejött szervezetek és gyülekezetek közül számos ma is aktívan működik és a magyar identitás megőrzésének fontos bázisa és elősegítője. A különböző korszakokban és különböző céllal és okból érkező magyarok más-más egyesületeket és szervezeteket hoztak létre, így ma is számos magyar egyesület és szervezet működik egymástól függetlenül. Jelen tanulmány a 2015. október 20–30. között, az USA északkeleti államaiban (Maryland, Pennsylvania, Virginia, New Jersey, New York) működő magyar közösségek és intézmények (magyar házak, egyesületek, klubok, alapítványok, szövetségek, könyvtárak) felkeresése során szerzett tapasztalatok, valamint a vizsgált területen élő magyar identitású személyekkel, intézményi vezetőkkel, képviselőkkel, lelkipásztorokkal történt személyes találkozókon szerzett információk felhasználásával készült.
Kulcsszavak: kivándorlás, diaszpóra, asszimiláció, identitás, civil és egyházi élet

Szalai Gábor 1984-ben született Mohácson, 2008-ban geográfus szakon diplomázott a Pécsi Tudományegyetem Természettudományi karán. Kutatási területe a társadalom-etnika és vallásföldrajz, szociogeográfia, ezen belül a lokális, vegyes etnikumú falusi társadalmak vizsgálata. 2008-ban felvételt nyert a PTE Földtudományok Doktori Iskolájába, melynek 2013-tól predoktora. 2014-től a Central European Heritage Nonprofit Kft. ügyvezetője és a Pannon Tálentum Alapítvány titkára. 2017. augusztus 1-jétől a Pécsi Tudományegyetem Földrajzi Intézetében tudományos segédmunkatárs. Kutatómunkájának eredményeit mintegy 30 publikációban adta közre.
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Pap Norbert 1998 óta dolgozik a Pécsi Tudományegyetem Földrajzi Intézetében. 2004-ben egyetemi docensnek, majd 2005-ben a Politikai Földrajzi, Fejlődés és Regionális Tanulmányok Tanszéke vezetőjévé nevezték ki. Ez idáig nyolc tanítványa nyerte el a doktori fokozatot. Kutatómunkájának eredményeit több mint 240 publikációban (melyek közül 74 idegen nyelven jelent meg) adta közre. Az MTA TFB Politikai Földrajzi Albizottság elnöke. Számos magyar és nemzetközi könyvsorozat, továbbá folyóiratok szerkesztőbizottságának tagja.
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Jenő Palotai–Ágnes Szabó–Ákos Jarjabka
The identity preserving efforts of the Hungarian diaspora in Australia through the example of the Hungarian community school in Adelaide

The study intends to give a snapshot of the community life of the Hungarian diaspora in Australia from the 1820s till now. In the socially construed classification of migration the authors analyse the historic waves of Hungarian immigration to Australia and their background motivation. The Hungarian community's identity preserving efforts are represented by a case study in the educating and community organizing activities of the Hungarian Community School founded in Adelaide, focusing on Hungarian language teaching and preparing pupils for the final exam in Hungarian language available in Australia. The analysis of the school's influence on social life in Australia and on the Hungarian diaspora and the Hungarian activists' role in society help us to understand the influence of Hungarian immigrants in Australia on the country's history and presence. Furthermore the analysis contributes to understanding their dual identity.
Keywords: diaspora, Hungarian diaspora in Australia, identity, Hungarian school

Jenő Palotai (doctoral student) was born in 1990 in Szekszárd. He gained his bachelor's degree on Economy and management in 2013 at the Faculty of Business and Economics, University of Pécs. Later in 2015 he received his master's degree on Management and organization. At present, he is a third-year doctoral student at the Doctoral School of Earth Sciences, University of Pécs. His research is on the Hungarian diaspora and migration. In his research he focuses mainly on the history, present situation and identity preservation of the Hungarian diaspora in Australia.
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Ágnes Szabó has arrived in Australia in 1990 and she is still living there. She has gained her NAAT 3. certificate as a professional translator and interpreter in English–Hungarian and Hungarian–English languages. She was responsible for the Hungarian final exams in Australia. Between 1998 and 2012 she worked as a broadcaster at the Hungarian Community Radio in Adelaide and from 2013 she is the external colleague of the Ilosvay Hungarian Radio in Sydney. She also teaches in the Hungarian Community School in Adelaide from 2010 and become the principal in 2012.
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Ákos Jarjabka (dr. habil, PhD) was born in 1972 in Szeged. He completed his university studies at the Faculty of Economics of Janus Pannonius University as a certificated economist in 1996, earned his PhD degree in 2004, then gained his habilitation in 2016 at the University of Pécs. His fields of research are project management, national based organizational culture management, human resource management and cluster management. He is currently an associate professor at the University of Pécs Faculty of Economics, he is the Head of the Institute of Management and Organization Sciences, as well as the leader of the Jubileum 650 Project of the Pécs University and the Head of the UP Diaspora Project Network. Member of the public body of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, finally he is the president of the Porta Pannonia Association.
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Palotai Jenő–Szabó Ágnes–Jarjabka Ákos

A magyar diaszpóra identitásának megőrzésére tett erőfeszítések Ausztráliában az adelaide-i Magyar Közösségi Iskola példáján

A tanulmány betekintést nyújt az ausztráliai magyar diaszpóra civil életébe az 1820-as évektől kezdve napjainkig. A migráció társadalmi értelmezésű klasszifikációja során a szerzők vizsgálat tárgyává teszik az Ausztráliába irányuló magyar migráció történeti hullámait és a mögöttük húzódó motivációs hátteret. A magyar diaszpóra identitásmegőrző aktivitása kapcsán esettanulmányként bemutatásra kerül az Adelaide-ben alakult Magyar Közösségi Iskola, annak oktatási és közösségszervező tevékenysége, különös tekintettel a magyar nyelvtanításra és az Ausztráliában szerezhető magyar nyelvi érettségire való felkészítő tevékenységre. Az iskola hatásának elemzése az ausztráliai civil életre és a magyar diaszpórára, valamint az aktivisták társadalmi szerepvállalása segít annak megértésében, hogy az elmúlt évszázadokban Ausztráliába vándorolt magyarok milyen hatással voltak az ország történelmére és jelenére, továbbá hozzájárul a kettős identitástudat megértéséhez.
Kulcsszavak: diaszpóra, ausztráliai magyar diaszpóra, identitás, magyar iskola

Palotai Jenő (doktorandusz) 1990-ben született Szekszárdon. Végzettségét tekintve 2013-ban szerzett diplomát a Pécsi Tudományegyetem Közgazdaságtudományi Karán Gazdálkodási és menedzsment alapképzésen, majd 2015-ben Vezetés és szervezés mesterképzésen. Jelenleg a PTE Természettudományi Kar Földtudományok Doktori Iskolájának harmadéves hallgatója, kutatási témája a magyar diaszpóra és migráció. Kutatásának fő fókusza az ausztráliai magyar diaszpóra történetisége, jelenlegi helyzete és identitásmegőrzése.
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Szabó Ágnes 1990-ben érkezett Ausztráliába, és jelenleg is ott él. 1992-ben szerezte meg NAATI 3. szintű professzionális tolmács és fordító szakvizsgát, angol–magyar, illetve magyar–angol nyelvekből. Hosszú éveken keresztül volt felelős az ausztráliai magyar érettségiztetésért. 1998 és 2012 között az adelaide-i Magyar Közösségi Rádió műsorvezetője volt, 2013 óta a sydney-i Ilosvay Magyar Nyelvű Rádió külső, adelaide-i munkatársa. 2010 óta tanít az adelaide-i Magyar Közösségi Iskolában, melynek 2012 óta az igazgatója.
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Nándor Zagyi–Marianna Ács

Christian missions as civil society movements at the service of the Indian society

Our study aims to give an insight to Christian mission, interpreted as a characteristic speciality in the diverse world of non-governmental activities, in relevance to India. By relying on an analysis of the available professional literature and online materials, we draw an overall picture of the spreading of Christianity in India, the composition of its denominations, cultural layers and geographical specificities. We also provide an overview of the activities of Protestant NGOs also active in Hungary, which – along Christian principles – contribute to the successful operation of Indian society. We present the efforts to increase the standards of education and medical care, usually accompanying the overwhelmingly British and American Protestant evangelisation, and last, but not least, we also highlight the promotion of social rights and legal reforms resulting in the improvement of women's social standing. We also detail the favourable impact the spread of the English language has on the increasing scientific potential of the country,

as well as the role Indian Christians played in the independence movement and state-building. In relation to this, we outline the history of Hungarian missionary work, as well as the historical and current successes and failures related to the intentions and activities of the actors. Our paper closes with the latter, a presentation of the legislative restrictions and the reasons of social resentment toward the propagation of religion through open evangelisation and missionary activities.
Keywords: India, Christianity, Christian mission, non-governmental movement, Hungarian foreign mission, social rights, freedom of religion, conversion

Nándor Zagyi MSc graduated in 2011 at the University of Pécs Faculty of Sciences (PTE TTK) in the geography programme's urban studies specialisation. During his studies he also completed the Islam specialisation supplementary qualification. As a PhD student he was given a scholarship at the PTE TTK Doctoral School of Earth Sciences from 2011 to 2014. Since 2015, he has been an assistant lecturer at the University of Pécs, Institute of Geography, Department of Political Geography, Development and Regional Studies. He is currently preparing to complete his PhD degree supervised by Dr. habil. Zoltán Wilhelm, senior lecturer, director of the Hungarian Information and Cultural Centre, New Delhi. His research work focuses on the population geography issues of India, especially the social characteristics and spatial relevance of discrimination against women, the status of inter-denominational status quo and the freedom of religion, as well as the history of the Jewish communities in India. Member of the Indian Institute for Spatial Planning and Environment Research (ISPER), Panchkula, Haryana, India.
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Zagyi Nándor–Ács Marianna

A keresztény misszió mint civil társadalmi mozgalom az indiai társadalom szolgálatában

Írásunkban a civil társadalmi aktivitás változatos világa egyik sajátos színfoltjaként értelmezett keresztény misszió indiai vonatkozásainak feltárására teszünk kísérletet. Ennek keretében szakirodalmi, illetve internetes tartalomelemzésre támaszkodva átfogó képet rajzolunk a kereszténység Indiában való elterjedéséről, felekezeti összetételéről, kulturális rétegzettségéről és területi sajátosságairól. Áttekintést adunk továbbá olyan, Magyarországon is működő protestáns civil szervezetek tevékenységéről, melyek a keresztény

értékek mentén hozzájárulnak többek között India társadalmának eredményesebb működéséhez is. Bemutatjuk a döntő részt brit és amerikai protestáns evangelizációval együtt járó, az oktatás és egészségügyi ellátás színvonalának emelkedését, nem utolsósorban pedig a nők társadalmi helyzetének javulását eredményező szociális vívmányok és jogi reformok térnyerését. Külön is szólunk az angol nyelv terjedésének az ország tudományos potenciálja növekedésében játszott jótékony hatásairól, valamint az indiai keresztényeknek a függetlenségi mozgalomban és az államépítésben játszott szerepéről. Ehhez kapcsolódva vázoljuk a magyar missziós munka történeti és jelenkori szereplőinek szándéka és tevékenysége nyomán a múltban, illetve napjainkban megmutatkozó sikereket és kudarcokat is. Munkánkat ez utóbbiak, azaz a nyílt evangelizáció segítségével végzett hitterjesztés és hittérítés előtt tornyosuló törvényi gátak és társadalmi ellenérzés okainak ismertetésével zárjuk.
Kulcsszavak: India, kereszténység, keresztény misszió, civil mozgalom, magyar külmisszió, szociális vívmányok, vallásszabadság, konverzió

Zagyi Nándor MSc 2011-ben végzett urbanisztika szakirányos okleveles geográfusként a Pécsi Tudományegyetem Természettudományi Karán (PTE TTK). Tanulmányai keretében iszlám specializáció kiegészítő képesítést szerzett. 2011–2014 között a PTE TTK Földtudományok Doktori Iskolájának ösztöndíjas PhD-hallgatója. 2015-től a Pécsi Tudományegyetem Földrajzi Intézete Politikai Földrajzi, Fejlődési és Regionális Tanulmányok Tanszékének oktatója. Jelenleg PhD-fokozatának megszerzésére készül. Tudományos érdeklődésének homlokterében India népességföldrajzi kérdései állnak, különös tekintettel a nők diszkriminációjának társadalmi jellemzőire és területi vonatkozásaira, a felekezetközi status quo és a vallásszabadság helyzetére, valamint az indiai zsidó közösségek történetére. Az indiai Institute for Spatial Planning and Environment Research (ISPER), Panchkula, Haryana tagja.
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"Cross-border non-governmental organisations within the Carpathian Basin, as well as 'Hungarian' civil organisations in the diaspora further abroad typically undertake to sustain the Hungarian national character of the natural and/or legal persons joining the organisations, and the preservation/renewal of culture (language, national holidays, folk and religious traditions). However, in different geographical locations there are characteristic differences based on the historical context of the establishment and specific denomination of the group or organisation intended to carry and sustain the Hungarian character. In the case of diaspora communities, the historical and political storms causing emigration are also characteristic.

In order to interpret the issue, understanding Hungarian approach to the nation is of key importance. It is important to have an overview of the situations of establishing the originally intra-country, but now cross-border communities, as well as the international migration trends of the 20th centuries affecting the Hungarian diaspora."

(Norbert Pap–László Kákai)

"The role, legal status, legislation and gravity of the civil sector developed in different ways in each country in Central and Eastern Europe. During the 1990s and the 2000s it constantly tried to find its role, place in society, tasks and opportunities. Most important features of NGOs included weak embeddedness in the society, weak advocacy skills, lack of networking, and capacity, as well as deficiency of efforts to involve resources. For liberal and left wing civil initiatives, the role of counterbalancing power obviously became important after 2010, while the government considers these types of activities illegitimate, and part of the opposition politics. The weakly embedded civil sector became further polarised with the changes that have taken place after 2010, it lost its room for manoeuvre and its independence has become quite dubious."

(László Kákai–Viktor Glied)

"As an effect of the simplified naturalisation procedure, the number of those who wanted to learn Hungarian increased visibly. 44% of those who studied in the school in that period attended the school since 2011. The number of adults increased as well and 67% of them attended the adult class since 2011. The number of children in the nursery school also increased and 68% of them started to learn Hungarian after the introduction of the simplified naturalisation procedure. So it is evident that the amendment of Act LV of 1993 on Hungarian citizenship had a positive effect on the Hungarian language learning activity of Hungarian diaspora living in the South Australian region."

(Jenő Palotai–Ágnes Szabó–Ákos Jarjabka)

"István Polgár arrived to the nascent independent India in January 1947, and after months of language learning, he commenced his parish service in the 24 Parganas district of Bengal located in the Ganges–Brahmaputra Delta. As a part of his missionary activity, he also actively participated in the rural development of the countryside. For example, in Baidyapur, he created a model farm where he had good achievements, among other things, in the yield increase of rice and fruits by using the most advanced methods of that time. He also created the infrastructural basis for the cultivation of freshwater fishes, which played a key role in the food supply of the population. He also made experiments for the creation of alternative fuels.

Additionally, he was an enthusiastic church-builder, founding more than thirty places of worship. However, he could also experience that "no prophet is acceptable in his hometown" when – at the peak of his success – a couple of politically motivated workers beat him and ousted him from his land in 1969. Later, the conflict was resolved through public repentance at a conciliatory service, but this case highlighted that the implementation of the reform of church lands and the provision of land to farmers cannot be delayed any longer."

(Nándor Zagyi–Marianna Ács)

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