

## 7. CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC ACTIVITY AMONG HUNGARIAN MINORITY COMMUNITIES

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The institutional position of Hungarian minority culture altered radically with the systemic changes in Central Europe. State cultural policies directed from a Communist Party center gave way mainly to grassroots organization of minority communities. The arrival of the rule of law and private property relations brought great scope for institutionalization. However, state subsidies shrank considerably, except in Austria and Slovenia. An attempt was made to compensate for this with a system of subsidies from Hungary, directed at institutionalizing and developing intensive relations with a Hungarian ethno-cultural community extending beyond Hungary itself. This changed entirely the institutions and the content of minority Hungarian cultural life. Efforts hitherto, literature-centered and concerned chiefly with encouraging language use and conserving cultural heritage, were joined by aims of disseminating knowledge about the minority community in each locality or region and meeting its cultural needs. This meant presenting and developing the Hungarian cultural heritage (intellectual and material), and reinforcing national self-awareness and distinctiveness. The minority communities became a presence in public life not just as representatives of a distinct culture, but as institutionalized social groups. Literature lost its central importance to patterns of cultural consumption found in Hungary, fostered by intensive relations and common mass media.<sup>1</sup>

A survey by the Institute for Ethnic and National Minority Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences found almost 3,000 Hungarian minority cultural institutions and organizations at the turn of the millennium. These were most widespread in Romania (1,700), then Slovakia (560), followed by Serbia (400), Ukraine (160) and Slovenia (33). This meant an average of about 900 Hungarians per

institution, except in Slovenia, where the number was about a third of that. Most were multi-functional cultural centers and organizations, three quarters of which defined themselves in almost all regions as Hungarian institutions. The exceptions were Croatia and Slovenia, where the proportion was about 60 percent. The most widespread forms were music and dance groups (about 500), followed by knowledge-disseminating youth clubs (250), drama groups (about 100), and various artists' workshops (70). Decisive among collections and in the community cultural sphere were libraries (about 400), followed by museums (80) and other collections. The press was dominant in cultural dissemination (300), followed by book publishing (80), then television, radio and Internet portals (60). Two thirds of these institutions had been founded after 1989, although 60 percent of the public collections dated from before then. An important tendency in the previous decade had been the steady increase in importance of institutions independent of the state, although state and increasingly local government-run cultural institutions (such as cultural centers) were still playing a vital role in areas where Hungarians were in a majority. Book publishing and the media were the most marketized, while two thirds of the public collections were still publicly funded.<sup>2</sup>

After the change of system, there were attempts by existing Hungarian institutions (CSEMADOK in Czechoslovakia, the KMKSZ in the Ukraine, EMKE in Romania, and the Yugoslavian Hungarian Cultural Society)<sup>3</sup> to offer a centralized frame for the new minority institutions. It soon became clear that only institutions capable of responding directly to local cultural demands were viable, and organization from above largely gave way to a type of institution that stressed further education and provision of methodological assistance. Model examples were the Hungarian Cultural Institute in Lendava (*Magyar Nemzetiségi Művelődési Intézet*), the Hungarian Institute of the Burgenland-Hungarian Cultural Club (*Burgenlandi Magyar Kultúregyesület*) and the Central Hungarian Library, both in Unterwart. In 1996, the Forum Minority Research Institute in Šamorin began to act as a library center, documentation center and scientific and public institution for its region, and as an integrator of minority research in Slovakia. Since 2004, the CSEMADOK

Cultural Institute in Dunajská Streda has acted as a methodological center. In Senta, the Institute for Hungarian Culture in Vojvodina founded in 2005 coordinates the scientific and documentation work in the region as the one institute dealing with the methodology of community culture and librarianship.<sup>4</sup>

Literature adjusted itself to a new canon. It is now possible to talk of a universal Hungarian literature, not a division between Hungary's literature and those of neighboring minority communities. Literature can be structured in terms of aesthetic values, not geographical boundaries. The idea behind literature that reflects the communal problems of minority Hungarian society is being relegated to the background by increasingly professional social scientific research. The Bratislava journal *Kalligram* is also influential in universal Hungarian literature. A decisive role among post-1989 Slovakian Hungarian writers and literary historians is played by the oeuvre and intermediary role of Lajos Grendel. The decade after the change of system has brought fulfillment in the work of László Vári Fábíán and Károly D. Balla – the latter runs the most intensive Hungarian literary portal.<sup>5</sup> In Romania, major summarizing works by writers who began their careers in the 1950s (András Sütő, Sándor Kányádi, János Székely and István Szilágyi) appeared in the 1990s, while poets Géza Szócs and András Ferenc Kovács, active since the 1970s and 1980s, reached fulfillment and became known also in Hungary. The best-known Transylvanian writers of the generation who began their careers just before or after the change of system are András Visky, Zsolt Láng, János Dénes Orbán and László Lövétei Lázár. Vojvodina had the most modern regional Hungarian literature in the 1970s and 1980s: the *Új Symposion* generation. This continued not only with those who settled in Hungary, but also in the work of Ottó Tolnai, the poetry of István Beszédes, and the prose of Ildikó Lovas and György Szerbhorváth.<sup>6</sup>

Marketization of book publishing meant, incidentally, that publishers in Hungary could freely export to neighboring countries after 1989. The biggest change, though, was that the number of books bought fell to a fifth of what it had been in the 1980s. The pre-1989 state-owned, monopoly publishers in Hungarian, who had played a

role in minority intellectual and public life (Madách in Bratislava, Kriterion in Bucharest and Cluj-Napoca, and Fórum in Novi Sad) lost their dominance after privatization. What developed was an undercapitalized book publishing sector of several firms that relied mainly on competitive applications for funding, publishing some 400–450 titles a year between them. The better-known publishers that have emerged since the change of system include Mentor, Komp-Press, Polis, Pallas-Akadémia, Pro-Print and Koinonia in Romania, and Kalligram, Mery Ratio and Liliium Aurum in Slovakia. The Hungarian publisher with the most titles in Transcarpathia is Intermix of Uzhhorod.<sup>7</sup>

Theater, like reading and book-buying, lost its importance in post-1989 Hungarian minority culture, but it gained in professionalism and integrated more closely with Hungary. This is represented most clearly at the Festival of Hungarian Theaters beyond the Borders, which began to be held annually in Kisvárdá, Hungary, in 1989. The full-time companies have been joined by the Gyula Illyés Hungarian National Theater in Berehove, the Csík Playhouse in Miercurea-Ciuc, Theater Figura Studio in Gheorgheni, and the Sándor Tomcsa Theater in Odorheiu-Secuiesc. The greatest attention has been accorded to the productions of Gábor Tompa in Cluj-Napoca and Attila Vidnyánszky in Berehove.<sup>8</sup>

The fine arts, not being dependent on language, have shown the strongest transnational influences and connections. Overall Hungarian arts associations have formed, but more intensive work is done in the growing number of training establishments, project groups and artists' colonies. As important as the structural changes have been the expansion of the training and scholarship systems and the addition of complex visual culture and art actions to the traditional branches of art. Private Hungarian universities in Cluj-Napoca and Oradea in Romania have multiplied their intakes by offering photography, film, media and visual culture courses. Hungarian cinema in Transylvania has produced almost 300 motion pictures since 1989, most of them documentaries, with the periodical *Filmtett* playing a central role. The action base set up

at Sfântu Gheorghe by Imre Baász holds regular festivals of live art, through which the consciously Transylvanian performances of Gusztáv Ütő have become internationally known. One of the most effective performance artists today is Ilona Németh of Dunajská Streda, who raises issues of universal importance reinterpreted in a minority context. The Contemporary Collection at Dunajská Streda makes conscious collection efforts in all Hungarian-inhabited regions. Another decisive influence is the mediation work of Bálint Szombathy of Vojvodina. Gábor Hushegyi of Bratislava stands out among the art critics.<sup>9</sup>

The press was probably the medium that reacted most sensitively to the changes, from the early 1990s onward, and often contributed to them directly. The changes took place on three planes: in the press, on the audiovisual plane, and on the Internet. New papers were founded and existing ones underwent a renewal of content. The launches were often designed to strengthen some locality, while the existing papers served to manifest renewal among old and new elites, introducing the vocabulary by which the changes became comprehensible to readers. To put it another way, the press created anew the day-to-day ideology required for preserving and maintaining the identities related to minority existence. Thus it became a constant field of conflict among minority elites, and the reorganizations of ownership often took on a political tinge.<sup>10</sup>

Yet the structure of the press did not alter radically. There remained in every region central papers (from the Hungarian minority's point of view) that had appeared for decades: the county papers in Transylvania (*Hargita Népe*, *Háromszék*, *Szabadság*, *Népújtság*, *Bihari Napló*, *Szatmári Friss Újság*), *Új Szó* (established 1949) in Slovakia, *Magyar Szó* (established 1944) in Vojvodina, and the Uzhhorod *Kárpáti Igaz Szó* (established 1920) in Transcarpathia. Not that there were no major new papers, of course – the minority elite made continual efforts to acquire press mouthpieces by direct or indirect influence. That endeavor after 1989 lay behind the Transylvanian *Krónika* and *Romániai Magyar Szó* (the post-1989 successor to *Előre*), and *Kárpátalja*, published in Berehove.

Although the structural renewal of the written press served as the yardstick, there were important changes also in radio and television. In each region, the surviving state-financed, state-controlled Hungarian-language radio and television stations were joined by new local stations, and satellite dishes meant that Hungary's television channels could be picked up as well. The Hungary-based Duna TV could be received in all the minority regions from 1993, and these days the Hungarian commercial stations can be picked up to a large extent as well. Meanwhile, the neighboring countries' commercial TV stations have also developed enormously into strong competition for the Hungarian stations.<sup>11</sup>

The third field of renewal in the media beyond Hungary's borders has been the emergence of Internet news portals. These represent strong competition to the press in all countries, as they often lend a new tone to coverage of public affairs. There is already competition among them, and allegiances have developed to specific political forces. The other media also run websites, to take local, regional, pan-Hungarian and international information to a wider public and circumvent shortcomings of newspaper distribution. Transylvania's best known site is [www.transindex.ro](http://www.transindex.ro), whose operators define it less as a portal than as a "project," with forums, blog facilities and columns accompanied by relatively little news as such. Other portals of note are [www.hirek.ro](http://www.hirek.ro) and [www.erdely.ma](http://www.erdely.ma). Notable sites elsewhere are [www.karpatinfo.net](http://www.karpatinfo.net) for Transcarpathia, [www.vajdasagma.info](http://www.vajdasagma.info) for Vojvodina, and Slovakia's [www.felvidek.ma](http://www.felvidek.ma), [www.bumm.sk](http://www.bumm.sk), [www.parameter.sk](http://www.parameter.sk). In addition there are institutional sites for scholarship, science and culture, and most numerous of all, local portals with news and forums designed to boost a sense of community. There are major thematic, cultural, literary and other specialized portals, notably [www.zetna.org](http://www.zetna.org) in Vojvodina, [www.bdk.blog.hu](http://www.bdk.blog.hu) in Transcarpathia, [www.katedra.sk](http://www.katedra.sk) in Slovakia, and [www.langos.at](http://www.langos.at) in Burgenland. Notable here are databanks (bibliographies, statistics, link collections, digital libraries and document collections, registers and dictionaries) such as [www.foruminst.sk](http://www.foruminst.sk), [www.adatbank.ro](http://www.adatbank.ro), [www.felvidek.ma](http://www.felvidek.ma), [www.karpatinfo.net](http://www.karpatinfo.net), [www.vajdasagma.info](http://www.vajdasagma.info), [www.felvidek.ma](http://www.felvidek.ma), [www.bumm.sk](http://www.bumm.sk), [www.parameter.sk](http://www.parameter.sk), [www.zetna.org](http://www.zetna.org), [www.bdk.blog.hu](http://www.bdk.blog.hu), [www.katedra.sk](http://www.katedra.sk), [www.langos.at](http://www.langos.at), [www.foruminst.sk](http://www.foruminst.sk), [www.adatbank.ro](http://www.adatbank.ro), [www.felvidek.ma](http://www.felvidek.ma), [www.karpatinfo.net](http://www.karpatinfo.net), [www.vajdasagma.info](http://www.vajdasagma.info), [www.felvidek.ma](http://www.felvidek.ma), [www.bumm.sk](http://www.bumm.sk), 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adattar.vmmi.org and [www.mtaki.hu](http://www.mtaki.hu).<sup>12</sup> A new arrival in March 2006 was [www.emagyar.net](http://www.emagyar.net), to connect so-called eMagyar points in various regions with financial support from Hungary. However, a problem for all Hungarian minority portals has been traffic at a low level that precludes self-financing. Many supply their pages from servers in Hungary.<sup>13</sup>

The media changes helped to transform the scholarly activity that furthered Hungarian self-awareness beyond Hungary's borders. The arts and social sciences were tied closely to Hungary by connections, funding and their language orientation, while the pure and applied sciences built up stronger international links and embedded themselves more deeply in the system of scientific institutions of their country. The emphasis on literature in the period before the change of system meant that this was the field in which the first serious research projects and schools emerged, thanks particularly to Mihály Czine, Mihály Ilia and András Görömbei.

There are almost 1,000 postgraduates in neighboring countries who publish in Hungarian, many with doctorates awarded since 1989 (some in Hungary) and positions in higher education. Some are integrated into their own country's academic institutions. Others work at Hungarian research stations funded by foundations,<sup>14</sup> usually attached to universities or independent professional bodies. Such integration and management in Slovakia was performed in the 1990s by the Mercurius Group, and since then by the Forum Institute and Gramma Language Office. The biggest groups of Hungarian researchers are in the Central European Studies Faculty of Konstantin University in Nitra and at János Selye University in Komárno. The role is played in Transcarpathia by the Hungarian Studies Center at the state Uzhhorod State University, and increasingly since the mid-1990s by the Limes (now named after Tivadar Lehoczky) Institute of Social Research, attached to the Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian Institute, and by the Hodinka Antal Institute. The broadest promoter in Romania is the Transylvanian Museum Society with six specialized departments. Several fields are served by separate associations and foundations, mainly based in Cluj-Napoca: the

János Kriza Ethnographical Society, the Attila T. Szabó Linguistics Institute, the Max Weber Society, the István Apáthy Society, the Entz Géza Foundation for Cultural History and the WAC-Center for Regional and Anthropological Research in Miercurea-Ciuc. These are run mainly by university staff, but research and publications are covered by the Sapientia Foundation Institute for Research Programs, funded by the Hungarian state, while the Hungarian departments at Babeş-Bolyai University have a separate research coordinator: the Hungarian University Federation from Cluj-Napoca. Similar processes occurred in Serbia to those in Transcarpathia: alongside the University of Novi Sad, Faculty of Philosophy, Department of Hungarian Studies arose new workshops of social science that have assumed the task of molding self-awareness in centers of Hungarian habitation. The broadest research management and publishing role is played by the Scientific Association for Hungarology Researches in Subotica. In 2006, the Identity Minority Research Institute was founded specifically for sociological research, under the aegis of the Vojvodina Hungarian Cultural Institute. Hungarian scientific activity in Croatia is coordinated by the Society for Hungarian Science and Art in Croatia in Zagreb, with over 60 members, the most important work being associated with Károly Lábodi. There is scientific coordination also done in Lendava (Slovenia) and Unterwart (Austria). The main journals are *Fórum* in Šamorin, *Erdélyi Társadalom*, *Korunk*, *Magyar Kisebbség* and *Web* in Cluj-Napoca, *Híd* and *Létünk* in Novi Sad, *Aracs* and *Bácsország* in Subotica, *Muratáj* in Lendava, and *Kisebbségkutatás*, *Pro Minoritate* and *Regio* in Budapest.<sup>15</sup>

The subject matter of research has changed. The descriptive works presenting the cultural and social heritage (national identity) typical before 1989 have lost ground to examinations of the operation of minority and regional communities, institutional sub-systems, and specific social processes. Simultaneously, specialization is occurring, although this cannot run as deeply in a narrower, numerically smaller minority Hungarian environment as it does in Hungary or among majority researchers in neighboring countries. The most widespread research projects best known internationally have to do



with bilingualism, variants of living language, and language policy. Miklós Kontra initiated research that has been going on for decades into the progressive multi-centeredness of Hungarian. Questions of language design have been tackled by István Csernicsekó, Lajos Göncz, István Lanstyák, János Péntek, Gizella Szabó Mihály and Sándor N. Szilágyi.<sup>16</sup> Of most importance to the self-awareness of minority communities have been the census analyses, enquiring into the processes of demography and social structure, notably by László Gyurgyík, István Horváth, Tamás Kiss, Károly Mirnics, József Molnár, Árpád E. Varga and Valér Veres.<sup>17</sup>

The main methodological innovation in the social sciences was the mass survey. Several regions and majority/minority relations have been covered by major surveys. The Ferenc Balázs Institute has repeatedly used questionnaires on the subject of change in values. György Csepeli and Antal Örkény ran an examination of inter-ethnic relations in the Carpathian Basin in 1997. Ferenc Gereben carried out surveys of national awareness through reading habits. Changes in religious observance were mapped sociologically by Miklós Tomka. Kálmán Gábor looked at youth culture in terms of adaptation. The Institute for Ethnic and National Minority Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences cooperated with groups beyond the borders on the Carpathian Panel of 2007, to examine the relationships of social and employment positions with value systems.<sup>18</sup>

Surveys of ethnography and cultural anthropology play an important role in revealing the features of minority everyday life. Important names here are József Liszka of Slovakia, and the Cluj-Napoca and Miercurea-Ciuc schools of ethnographers: Vilmos Keszeg, Ferenc Pozsony and Vilmos Tánzos, and Zoltán A. Biró, József Gagyí and Sándor Oláh.<sup>19</sup> At the opposite pole is political philosophy, where important changes have been made in the interpretation of the concept of a minority and ethno-political and legal relations by adapting modern political multiculturalism and collective rights to situations that vary from country to country. The Hungarian-language literature on this has been dominated by László Öllös of Slovakia, Alpár Losonczi of Vojvodina, and Miklós Bakk and Levente Salat of Transylvania.<sup>20</sup>

Looking at studies of history that go beyond local history and general knowledge, there are well-known cultural and social historians in Transylvania, such as Ákos Egyed, Gusztáv Hermann, Zsigmond Jakó, András Kiss, András Kovács, Sándor Pál-Antal and Judit Pál. Minority and regional history has become increasingly a subject of Hungarian historiography, in Hungary and in neighboring countries alike. These research projects are reflected also in this book.

### Notes

- 1 General works on post-1989 changes, by region and field: Zoltán Bihari, ed., *Magyarok a világban. Kárpát-medence* [Hungarians in the World. The Carpathian Basin] (Budapest, 2000); Slovakia: Tamás Gusztáv Filep and László Tóth, eds., *A (cseh)szlovákiai magyar művelődés története 1918–1998. II. Oktatásügy–közművelődés–sajtó, rádió, televízió* [The History of (Czecho)Slovakian Hungarian Education 1918–1998, Vol. 2: Education – Public Education – Press, Radio, Television] (Budapest, 1998); József Fazekas and Péter Hunčík, eds., *Magyarok Szlovákiában 1989–2004. Összefoglaló jelentés. A rendszerváltástól az Európai Unió csatlakozásig. I* [Hungarians in Slovakia 1989–2004. Summary Report. From the Change of System to European Union Accession. Vol. 1] (Somorja/Dunaszerdahely, 2004); Gábor Csanda and Károly Tóth, eds., *Magyarok Szlovákiában. Kultúra (1989–2006)* [Hungarians in Slovakia. Culture (1989–2006)] (Somorja, 2007); Romania: *Romániai magyar politikai évkönyv* [Romanian Hungarian Political Yearbook] from 2000, ed. Barna Bodó; Serbian Hungarians: volumes published by Magyarságkutató Tudományos Társaság since 1997: [http://www.mtt.org.rs/publikaciok/mtt\\_konyvsorozatok/index.php](http://www.mtt.org.rs/publikaciok/mtt_konyvsorozatok/index.php). Accessed March 29, 2010.
- 2 István Fábri, “Examination of the Hungarian Institutional System beyond Hungary’s Borders,” in Éva Blénesi, Kinga Mandel and László Szarka, eds., *A kultúra világa. A határon túli magyar kulturális intézményrendszer* [The World of Culture. The System of Cultural Institutions among Hungarians Abroad] (Budapest, 2005), pp. 93–115.
- 3 *Csehszlovákiai Magyarok Demokratikus Szövetsége* [Democratic Association of Hungarians of Czechoslovakia]; *Kárpátaljai Magyar Kulturális Szövetség* [Transcarpathian Hungarian Cultural

- Association (CAOHIS)]; *Erdélyi Magyar Közművelődési Egyesület* [Hungarian Cultural Society of Transylvania]; *Jugoszláviai Magyar Művelődési Társaság* [Hungarian Cultural Society of Yugoslavia].
- 4 *Vajdasági Magyar Művelődési Intézet*. The websites of the main arts centers: CSEMADOK: <http://www.csemadok.sk/>; EMKE: <http://www.emke.ro/>; Hargita County: <http://www.ccenter.ro/?action=elso&sid=fokeres&id=0&lng=1>; Vojvodina Hungarian Cultural Institute: <http://www.vmmi.org/rolunk>; Hungarian Minority Cultural Institute, Lendava: <http://www.mnmi-zkmn.si/>; Forum Institute, Šamorin: <http://www.foruminst.sk/>. Sites all accessed March 29, 2010.
  - 5 UngParty: <http://www.hhrf.org/up/index.htm>. Accessed March 29, 2010.
  - 6 A comprehensive collection of studies: András Görömbei, ed., *Nemzetiségi magyar irodalmak az ezredvégen* [Minority Hungarian Literatures at the End of the Millennium] (Debrecen, 2000). Studies: András Görömbei, “A kisebbségi magyarság és irodalma az ezredvégen” [The Minority Hungarian Community and Its Literature at the End of the Millennium], in Görömbei, ed., *Nemzetiségi magyar irodalmak*, pp. 7–28; Péter Szirák, “A regionalitás és a posztmodern kánon a XX. századi magyar irodalomban” [Regionalism and the Postmodern Canon in Twentieth-Century Hungarian Literature], in Görömbei, ed., *Nemzetiségi magyar irodalmak*, pp. 29–60. On the disjunctive nature of Hungarian literature: Károly D. Balla, ed., *Vízumköteles irodalom?* [Visa Required for Literature?], internet conference, 2003, at <http://mek.oszk.hu/02200/02288/html>. Accessed March 28, 2010.
  - 7 Gyula Dávid, “A romániai magyar könyvkiadás egy új évezred határán” [Hungarian Book Publishing in Romania up to the Turn of the Millennium], in Barna Bodó, ed., *Romániai magyar politikai évkönyv 2000* [Romanian Hungarian Political Yearbook 2000] (Kolozsvár/Temesvár, 2000), pp. 129–141; Gábor Csanda, “Az irodalmi élet átalakulása és intézményei” [Transformation of Literary Activity and Its Institutions], in Csanda and Tóth, eds, *Magyarok Szlovákiában*, pp. 14–16; Géza Juhász, *Könyvkiadás, könyvterjesztés, könyvcseré* [Book Publishing, Distribution, Exchange]. On Serbia: <http://www.bibl.u-szeged.hu/mirror/zetna/zetna/zek/folyoiratok/66/juhasz.html>. Accessed March 29, 2010; Attila Simon, ed., *A határon túli magyar tudományos könyvkiadás* [Academic Book Publishing among Hungarians Abroad] (Somorja/Dunaszerdahely, 2005), with bibliographies for each country. Sándor Enyedi, *Színházak, színházak, városok. A határon túli magyar színházművészet lexikona* [Actors,

Theaters, Cities. Dictionary of Hungarian Theater beyond Hungary's Borders] (Budapest, 2005).

- 8 Otto A. Bodó, "Több nyelven magyarul" [Hungarian in Several Languages], *Criticai Lapok* (2009) 5, at [http://www.criticailapok.hu/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=34295](http://www.criticailapok.hu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=34295). Accessed March 30, 2010.
- 9 There is a fine arts periodical in Hungarian in Romania: *Erdélyi Művészet*. For Serbia there is a special Hungarian reference work: Valéria Balázs and Valéria Arth, *Délvidéki magyar képzőművészeti lexikon* [Southern Region Hungarian Fine Arts Dictionary] (Budapest, 2007); Gábor Húshegyi, "Kortárs és jelenkori magyar képzőművészek" [Contemporary and Present-Day Hungarian Arts], in Csanda and Tóth, eds., *Magyarok Szlovákiában*, pp. 67–94. Major exhibitions in Budapest were held at the Ernst Museum in May 2006 and the GPS-Ismeretlen Szcéna in 2007 and 2009.
- 10 Attributes of the minority press in Romania are analyzed in Attila Papp Z., *Keretizmus. A romániai magyar sajtó és működtetői 1989 után* [Framism. The Hungarian Press in Romania and Its Operators after 1989] (Csíkszereda, 2005).
- 11 Critical analyses of the minority self-image projected from Hungary: Vilmos Ágoston, *A határon túli magyarság és a magyar közszolgálati média* [Hungarians Abroad and the Hungarian Public Media] (Budapest, 2005). Media usage: Tivadar Magyar, "Gyorsjelentés a romániai magyarok médiahasználatáról" [Interim Report on Media Usage by Romanian Hungarians], *Erdélyi Társadalom* (2005) 1: 151–168. In relation to Slovakia: Zsuzsa Lampl, "A szlovákiai magyarok kulturális fogyasztásának néhány szelete" [Some Slices of Cultural Consumption by Slovakian Hungarians], in Csanda and Tóth, eds., *Magyarok Szlovákiában*, pp. 209–221.
- 12 Website addresses in the paragraph were accessed on April 2, 2010, although [www.felvidek.ma](http://www.felvidek.ma) was announcing an indefinite suspension for financial reasons.
- 13 The most-visited minority Hungarian-language portals have traffic of under 20,000 a day, but would need 300,000 to support themselves from advertising. The proportion of hits from servers in Hungary in 2008 was about 40 percent for Transindex and 70 percent for Kárpátinfo.
- 14 The Hungarian Academy of Sciences' Hungarian Scholarship Abroad program set out to integrate research outside Hungary in Hungarian and about things Hungarian. <http://www.mta.hu/index.php?id=1384>.

- Accessed March 30, 2010; research venues: <http://www.mta.hu/index.php?id=1729>. Accessed March 30, 2010.
- 15 *Mercurius Csoport; Fórum Intézet; Gramma Nyelvi Iroda; Selye János Egyetem; II. Rákóczi Ferenc Kárpátaljai Magyar Főiskola; Lehoczky Tivadar Társadalomkutató Műhely; Hodinka Antal Intézet; Kriza János Néprajzi Társaság; Szabó T. Attila Nyelvészeti Intézet; Max Weber Társaság; Apáthy István Egyesület; Entz Géza Művelődéstörténeti Alapítvány; Kulturális Antropológiai Műhely; Kutatási Programok Intézete; Sapientia–Erdélyi Magyar Tudományegyetem; Kolozsvári Magyar Egyetemi Intézet; Magyarságkutató Tudományos Társaság; Vajdasági Magyar Művelődési Intézet; Identitás Kisebbségkutató Műhely; Horvátországi Magyar Tudományos Társaság.*
  - 16 Summary of Hungarian language variants outside Hungary: Anna Fenyvesi, ed., *Hungarian Language Contact outside Hungary. Studies on Hungarian as a Minority Language* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia, PA, 2005). Integration of variants into the language corpus: <http://ht.nyud.hu/htonline/present.php?action=hatartalanitas>. Accessed March 30, 2010. Activity centers: János Péntek, “Termini: the Network of Hungarian Linguistic Research Centres in the Carpathian Basin” *Minorities Research* (2009) 11: 97–123.
  - 17 László Gyurgyík and László Sebők, eds., *Népszámlálási körkép Közép-Európából 1989–2002* [Censuses in Central Europe 1989–2002] (Budapest, 2003). Árpád E. Varga, works: <http://www.kia.hu/konyvtar/erdely/nepes.htm>. Accessed March 29, 2010.
  - 18 Ferenc Dobos, ed., *Az autonóm lét kihívásai kisebbségben* [Challenges of Autonomous Existence in a Minority] (Budapest, 2001); György Csepeli, Louk Hagendoorn, Antal Örkény and Mária Székelyi, “Research. Representation of Coexistence in Transylvania; Slovaks and Hungarians in South Slovakia; Majority and Minority in Hungary,” in Peter Huncik, ed., *Confidence Building in the Carpathian Basin* (Bratislava, 2000), pp. 24–157; György Csepeli, Antal Örkény and Mária Székelyi, *Nemzetek egymás tükrében. Interetnikus viszonyok a Kárpát-medencében* [Nations Reflected in Each Other. Inter-Ethnic Relations in the Carpathian Basin] (Budapest, 2002); Ferenc Gereben, *Olvasáskultúra és identitás. A Kárpát-medence magyarságának kulturális és nemzeti azonosságtudata* [Reading and Identity. Cultural and National Self-Awareness among Hungarians of the Carpathian Basin] (Budapest, 2005); Ferenc Gereben and Miklós Tomka, *Vallásosság*

*és nemzettudat vizsgálódások Erdélyben* [Examinations of Religious Feeling and National Awareness in Transylvania] (Budapest, 2001); Ferenc Gereben, ed., *Hungarian Minorities and Central Europe. Regionalism, National and Religious Identity* (Piliscsaba, 2002); Béla Bauer et al., eds., *MOZAIK 2001 Gyorsjelentés. Magyar fiatalok a Kárpát-medencében* [Interim Report. Young Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin] (Budapest, 2002); Attila Papp Z. and Valér Veres, eds., “Kárpát Panel 2007. A Kárpát-medencei magyarok társadalmi helyzete és perspektívái. Gyorsjelentés” [Carpathian Panel 2007. The Social Situation and Prospects of Carpathian Basin Hungarians] (Budapest, 2007). The largest research database on the subject: *Erdélyi vonatkozású társadalomtudományi kutatások adatbankja* [Database of Scientific Research Relating to Transylvania], at <http://kutatások.adatbank.transindex.ro/>. Accessed March 30, 2010.

- 19 József Liszka, *A szlovákiai magyarok néprajza* [The Ethnography of Slovakian Hungarians] (Budapest/Dunaszerdahely, 2002). The Cluj ethnographers and János Kriza Ethnographical Society: Vilmos Keszeg, “A romániai magyar néprajz kutatás egy évtizede” [A Decade of Hungarian Ethnographical Research in Romania], in Vilmos Tánzos and Gyöngyvér Tökés, eds., *Tizenkét év. Összefoglaló tanulmányok az erdélyi magyar tudományos kutatások 1990–2001 közötti eredményeiről* [Twelve Years. Summary Studies of Transylvanian Hungarian Scientific Research], 3 vols. (Kolozsvár, 2002), pp. 119–170. The WAC-Center for Regional and Anthropological Research, Miercurea-Ciuc: [http://www.kam-wac.ro/index.php?option=com\\_frontpage&Itemid=1](http://www.kam-wac.ro/index.php?option=com_frontpage&Itemid=1). Accessed March 30, 2010.
- 20 László Öllös, *Emberi jogok – nemzeti jogok. Emberi és polgári jogok-e a nemzeti kisebbségek jogai?* [Human Rights – National Rights. Are Rights of National Minorities Human and Civil Rights?] (Somorja/Dunaszerdahely, 2004); László Öllös, *Az egyetértés konfliktusa. A Magyar Köztársaság alkotmánya és a határon túli magyarok* [Conflict of Agreement. Hungary’s Constitution and the Hungarians beyond the Borders] (Somorja, 2008); Alpár Losoncz, *Európa-dimenziók* [European Dimensions] (Újvidék, 2002); Miklós Bakk, *Politikai közösség és identitás* [Political Community and Identity] (Kolozsvár, 2008); Levente Salat, *Etnopolitika – konfliktustól a méltányosságig* [Ethno-Politics – from Conflict to Equity] (Marosvásárhely, 2001).