

# ABSTRACTS

***Réka Ambrus: The French Burqa Ban in the Electronic Media. Based on the Webpages of Spiegel Online, Al Jazeera, Radio Free Europe and Project Syndicate***

The essay is based on the articles found on the websites of *Spiegel Online*, *Al Jazeera*, *Radio Free Europe* and *Project Syndicate*. I analyzed all those reports, interviews and essays, which were written on the theme of the French burqa ban and appeared in 2009/2010. I choose this period because at this time, the French Parliament elaborated and legislated a law which interdicted to cover face in public spaces. It was emphasized that they were doing this for the goodness and freedom of the Muslim women.

Such a legislation caused a huge media response, because other European countries were prepared to deliberate such laws, too.

The *Spiegel Online*, the *Al Jazeera*, the *Radio Free Europe* and the *Project Syndicate* had written about this theme and presented various approaches to the problem. Their articles were built around such keywords as private freedom of the people, freedom of religion, freedom and equality of women, minority problems and integration, terrorism and public safety and islamophobia. What I found really interesting was that around these keywords pro and contra arguments, too were built. I called this phenomena bipolar rhetoric. My essay presents one by one all these themes and analyzes all arguments that were built around them. According to the side on which the reasoning person or institute is, the use of these categories is ambiguous. What is interesting again, is that all of the arguments are logical. Everyone was right, but saw the problem from a little bit different perspective.

The essay analyzes the impartiality of these media sites concerning this topic, too. Most of the texts were really detached, but in some essays and interviews about politicians presenting their own beliefs, I found *Spiegel Online* and *Radio Free Europe* not really neutral. As long as these two media products seemed to be against the law deliberated by their own society, *Al Jazeera* presented the whole situation without fear of favour.

**Keywords:** burqa ban, freedom of religion, freedom and equality of women, minorities, integration

**János Fodor: Relations between Hungary and Romania in the Socialist Era. The Consequences and the Circumstances of the 1958-1959 Negotiations**

In the Hungarian historiography there were several attempts to exhaust the Hungarian and Romanian relations, in the period of communism. The aim of my study is to add useful information, to supplement the existing bibliography, focusing on two major events, which defined the diplomatic playground of the Eastern Block. The Hungarian and Romanian relations were always delicate questions, especially after the Second World War, not to mention the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. In 1958 a meeting took place between the two countries' delegations, lead by the two leaders of the socialist party, Gheorghe Dej, and János Kádár. The main goal of the meeting was to discuss the differences between the two states, and also to present a peaceful relationship towards Moscow. Besides these goals, the two parties had their own ideas: Hungary was trying to avoid its diplomatic isolation, while Romania was trying its own way of gaining prestige and independence from the USSR. The result of the meeting was different for both sides: while it was a total disaster for Kádár, it was an unexpected success for Dej. In 1959, Hungary took steps to change these results, without any success. Also, these events influenced the faith of the Hungarian minority in Romania.

*Keywords:* Hungarian-Romanian relations, diplomacy, negotiations, Hungarian minority

**Tamás Kiss: Census 2011: Processes and Policy Directions**

My study analyses the demographic processes of the past ten years, in view of the upcoming Romanian census. In the first part I briefly summarize the extant knowledge on demographic processes of the last decade concerning the Hungarians from Transylvania. In the following, I try to think through questions repeatedly raised in academic and political debates concerning the definition (borders) of the Transylvanian Hungarian community and the connected public policies concerning them.

In the second part of the study, I analyse the following issues:

1) Does the statistical registration of double affiliations have its legitimacy? Are there Hungarian-Romanian hybrid identities in Transylvania and should they be registered?

2) Should we be speaking of a Hungarian nation(ality) or a Hungarian linguistic community in Transylvania? What are the benefits and damages of each option?

3) What about the marginal groups connected to the Hungarians: the Hungarian-speaking non-Hungarians, the Roma?

4) What about the Szekler ethnicity, appearing as a separate census category?

5) How does the possibility of acquiring Hungarian citizenship transform the Transylvanian Hungarian political community?

These issues, repeatedly raised with regard to the 2011 census, play an important role in the way we regard and will regard the Transylvanian Hungarian community in the future. In addressing them, I try to provide a few guidelines based on the literature on *ethnic categorisation*. I hope that these issues – if not the relative data on reproduction – will provoke numerous people to join the debate.

*Keywords:* demographic process, census, hybrid identity, linguistic community, ethnicity

### ***Attila Papp Z.: Observations on Tamás Kiss's Discussion Paper***

The author recognizes the work of Tamás Kiss, nonetheless he focuses on some lacks and conflicting statements. Kiss describes very well the present demographic condition of the Hungarian minority, but he does not deal with some important socio-demographic aspects (occupation, education, marriage etc.). It is true that education and mixed marriage are discussed in some part of the paper, but these important phenomena are interpreted almost exclusively in a certain „ethnic framework”.

Papp also argues that there is a major inner conflict between two of Kiss's main statements. Tamás Kiss, on the one hand, emphasizes the necessity of shifting the criteria of minority belonging from ethnic self affiliation to mother tongue. In Kiss's view by this strategy one can „enlarge” the Hungarian minority with Hungarian speaking Roma community, too. On the other hand, he denies the possibility of census registration of multiple ethnic identity, and he argues that the mere existence of the multiple identity is a means of a nation-state policy. In contrast, Papp argues that denying multiple ethnic identity serves nation-state purposes, and arguing for maintaining social practices based on „true” (single, mutual exclusive) ethnic identity reinforces the minority's ethnocentric discourses. By this argu-

mentation, despite its remarkable bibliography, Kiss's discussion paper itself becomes ideological and ethnoessentialistic.

*Keywords:* multiple ethnic identity, Hungarian minority, ethnic framework

### ***Levente Salat: Transylvanian Hungarian Identity in the Crossfire of Hungarian and Romanian Public Policies***

An important merit of Tamás Kiss's study is that it offers a specialist context to raise an issue that has been regarded in the past twenty years as closed and answered by definition, according to the interests of the main actors of the Hungarian public sphere from Romania. The latter rejected as unnecessary all initiatives to question the definition, nature, borders and sustainability of the Transylvanian Hungarian community. However, Kiss points out, alternative definitions of the community focus our attention on different problems and raise the necessity of different public policies. Sociological models underpinning different community-definitions and the ensuing measurement techniques in their turn may enforce various political and identity processes.

After summarizing the main points of Tamás Kiss's paper, important from my perspective, I offer a few remarks as reflections on these points. Finally, I present my position concerning the phenomenon of double citizenship and the effects it can be expected to produce.

*Keywords:* Hungarian identity, political process, identity process, community, double citizenship

### ***Attila Seres - Tibor Dömötörfi: The Hungarian School Question in Braila between the Two World Wars***

Our historiography has noted the phenomenon of migration to the Romanian Kingdom from Hungary, especially from Szeklerland, the South-Eastern periphery of the Hungarian state with backward economic structures, bordering Romania, and closer to the Romanian capital and larger Romanian industrial centres, in the period from the creation of the unified Romanian state in the second part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the outbreak of the First World War. Historic researches attempted to map not only the scale and social origins of the process, but also the legal status of Hungari-

ans migrating to Romania, their networks in the mother country, and the problems of their national, social, cultural and ecclesiastic self-organisation.

Similar migration processes took place after the First World War among the masses of Hungarian minority coming under Romanian rule. In our view, the intensity of these as compared to previous such processes increased rather than decreased, partly due to the fact that on the enlarged territory of Greater Romania the state borders between Transylvania and the traditional target areas of migrants in the former kingdom ceased to exist. Between the two World Wars, the migration of Hungarian popular masses to the larger cities of Greater Wallachia and the Danube region could be interpreted as a branch of the Transylvanian ethnic core area of Hungarians from Romania, or as the relocation of ethnic boundaries. In reality, however, this diaspora, with its spectacular fragmentation and the several acculturation effects affecting it in the new environment needed to be seen as a serious ethnical and demographic loss of blood of the whole Hungarian entity. This is why the problem of Hungarian emigration was continuously present in the social and political discourses of contemporary Transylvanian Hungarian public opinion, very sensitively reflecting on assimilation trends, as the phenomenon could be interpreted as a kind of a fate symbol in the visions of the minority's future. Nevertheless, our knowledge of the development of the inner community life of Hungarian colonies in the great cities is relatively scarce, even compared to the academic work on the history of Hungarians in the Romanian Kingdom in the age of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

Our paper studies the Catholic Hungarian school and the history of the building hosting it in Braila, founded in the age of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, but cut from the Hungarian-language school system after the First World War. We chose to study the topic because such a reconstruction can shed light on an important element of the history of the Hungarian minority, namely that the fate of extra-Carpathian Hungarians and their problems remained in the view of Hungarian foreign policy, despite the increasing number of tasks facing Hungarian minority protection after the Versailles treaties. The Braila school question allows us to look into the negotiation processes of Hungarian-Romanian bilateral interstate relations. As certain Latin and Greek-rite dioceses and monastic orders from Romania and ecclesiastic social organisations from Hungary were also involved, the question also reached the Vatican, and was raised on the international diplomatic arena. Moreover, as we shall see, its repercussions indirectly in-

fluenced the pastoral care of Catholic Hungarians in Bucharest in their mother tongue. The reconstruction of the case was carried out based on Hungarian diplomatic sources. Unfortunately, despite extensive research in Bucharest, we did not manage to find the parallel Romanian sources on this complex and multi-faceted issue, neither in the Romanian National Archives, nor in the Archives of the Romanian Ministry for External Affairs. The available Hungarian source-base could be enlarged, and the more thorough and thus better grounded analysis of the perspective of Romanian government and ecclesiastic agents will be possible in the near future by going through the documents in the Archives of the Catholic Archdiocese of Bucharest.

*Keywords:* migration, diaspora, acculturation, ethnical and demographic loss, extra-Carpathian Hungarians

### ***Ferenc Szilágyi: Possible Theoretical Foundations of the New Romanian Local Administration***

At the end of the 20th century, Romania, opening towards the west, faced a new challenge. At the same time it joined the EU it became necessary to take over and use the European Union's territorial-hierarchical system here, too. The question was how this could be realized without conflicting with the former, but currently seemingly „effective” federalization and regionalization terror. The internal politics and the external pressure worked in an opposite direction. The Romanian NUTS 2 levels were established at the upper limit of the size suggested by the EU. The first level has not been introduced in our days. From 2008 the Romanian President called for working out a new administrative system with more levels.

*Keywords:* regions, counties, administrative reform, autonomy

### ***Vilmos Tánzos: The Hungarian Linguistic Competence of the Moldavian Csángós in 2008-2010***

The article presents the levels of linguistic competence among speakers of the Moldavian Csángó dialects according to generations and geographical locations. According to a research project conducted in 2008-2010 there are intense processes of language shift taking place among the Moldavian Csángós, i.e. among the population of Hungarian origin living in Mol-

davia, the eastern part of Romania. The 2002 census recorded the number of Moldavian Catholics (Csángós) to be 232 045, the study shows that nowadays only 48 752 (21%) people, most of them belonging to the older generations, still speak the Hungarian language of their ancestors.

The findings of the research published in the article are relevant for understanding the stages of the language shift taking place as well as the processes of the ongoing ethnic and linguistic assimilation characteristic for the Moldavian Csángó villages. Such a research is extremely important today because we do not know the number of the speakers of Csángó dialects and we have no exact knowledge regarding the current stages of assimilation processes and we do not know whether a complete language change of the Csángós is inevitable in the foreseeable future. There are significant differences among generations of speakers and also among the Csángó settlements themselves in terms of the intensity of linguistic assimilation.

The results published in this article can be applied within the concrete education process involving the Csángós and within the further researches in the fields of linguistics and ethnography.

*Keywords:* linguistic competence, ethnic and linguistic assimilation, language change

### **László Vetési: Comments on the Issues of Registering Linguistic Border Communities with Transitional Identities**

Analysing census data, outlining and appraising demographic prospects are important tasks of researchers of the Institute for Research of Ethnic Minorities. This dialogue is long overdue, and we might even be a bit late in initiating it.

I would like to address in the form of comments the identity and registration issues of our population living on linguistic borders, with special regard to the problems of assimilation, mixed marriages, migration, as well as the theoretical-conceptual problems raised by Tamás Kiss like the concept of hybrid identity, the registration of hybrid identities etc.

Finally, without claiming to exhaust them, I address the tasks by which communities sharing an ethnic identity could be organised into regular, self-identifying and self-controlled communities of voters.

*Keywords:* linguistic border, hibryd identity, self-identifying and self-controlled communities of voters, migration, mixed marriages, assimilation