



HUNGARY'S NEIGHBORS AS KIN-STATES



*Political, Scholarly and Scientific Relations
Between Hungary's Neighbors and Their Respective Minorities*

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and Their Respective Minorities*



Hungarian Academy of Sciences
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Preface

The political transition in Hungary in 1989 led to political, economic, and social changes; with the emergence of the basic idea in public opinion that the borders of the Hungarian nation do not coincide with the Hungarian state borders, and that the Hungarians living outside the national borders are also part of the Hungarian nation.

The Hungarian Academy of Sciences¹ took its share of this process. The 2009 amendments of Act XL of 1994 on the Hungarian Academy of Sciences included the issue of Hungarian science in the ethnic Hungarian regions abroad in the range of the Academy's public duties in the following wording: the Academy "shall liaise with scholars living abroad who pursue research in Hungarian and on Hungarian topics, and shall support Hungarian science in the ethnic Hungarian regions".² Thus, liaising with an effort to support Hungarian science in the ethnic Hungarian regions abroad is a public duty that the Academy set forth in law.

Twenty years ago the Academy's "Hungarian Science Abroad Presidential Committee" was set up to represent these issues. This 20th anniversary is a good occasion to evaluate and confirm further priorities.

It is also important to recognize that the academies of the neighboring countries have similar experiences. Building on this, we try to show what the academies, which are similar institutions in all the neighboring countries, are doing in order to promote Central European cooperation and the scientific ambitions of their own minorities. In the papers to follow, we will present the activities and networks of the academies of Hungary's neighboring countries except Austria,³ and their various scientific institutions working outside the academic structure, which are similar to the national scientific program of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and which have the same opportunities and character. We will outline the relationship between the science and scholarship of a kin-state and its ethnic minorities abroad, the role of minorities in the science policy of the neighboring countries, their historical background, methods of providing support and funding, and their similar research programs.

In this booklet we summarize the activity of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences concerning Hungarian scholarship and science abroad and present summaries of the more or less similar activities of the neighbouring countries.

¹ Hungarian Academy of Sciences - HAS; Magyar Tudományos Akadémia - MTA.

² Act XL of 1994 on the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Charter and Procedural Rules of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in a uniform structure. [http://mta.hu/data/cikk/11/97/91/cikk_119791/ALAPSZABALY_EGYSEGES_2015.07.21_honlapra_\(2\).pdf](http://mta.hu/data/cikk/11/97/91/cikk_119791/ALAPSZABALY_EGYSEGES_2015.07.21_honlapra_(2).pdf) (26-01-2016)

³ Act LXII of 2001 on ethnic Hungarians in the neighboring countries concerns all the neighboring countries except Austria.

Hungarian Science Abroad Presidential Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences – 20 years

The diverse history of the political transition in Hungary played an important role in Hungarian scientific life, as the changes created difficulties in liaising with the Hungarian communities living abroad – which were in a difficult situation in several respects – and necessitated the introduction of new, more conscious forms of cooperation. New joint research programs, especially in the area of ethnography, linguistics, literary and musical studies, art history, and history in general were launched in the 1960s through organized channels that were possible under the contemporary framework, as well as through informal channels. The great generation of Hungarian science, which emerged in the 1940s, and was still active between the 1960s and the 1980s, could see the rather short-lived efforts for reintegration following the Vienna Awards. Their successors saw the key to maintaining relations by mitigating damages and establishing the closest personal contacts as possible. During the last fifteen years of the party state, the appearance of intellectuals coming or fleeing from beyond the borders gave new impetus to Hungarian science, which was embodied, for example, in “minority research”, linguistic and ethnographic atlases, and a three-volume history of Transylvania.¹

The research scholars in Transylvania, Transcarpathia and the historic Upper Hungary (in Slovakia), who occasionally worked for a public institution but were left on their own in general, collected valuable materials in a state virtually without any institutions. The Institute for Hungarian Language, Literature and Hungarian Studies, working under the University of Novi Sad from 1976, was an absolute exception. Initiated by the World Federation of Hungarians, “international Hungarian” societies of different disciplines were founded one after the other in the second half of the 1980s; for example, the International Society of Hungarian Historians was established in 1986, on the 300th anniversary of the liberation of Buda from Turkish rule. The great opening after the political transition first took place in higher education. Several Western European organizations, including the European Protestant Hungarian Free University or the Mikes Kelemen Circle in the Netherlands, had an important role in shaping the international relations of Hungarian science.

Under the presidency of Domokos Kosáry, the Hungarian Academy of Sciences established relations with various Hungarian scientific societies and institutes, such as the Transylvanian Museum Society, which were either reestablished or newly founded. In this initial period, the regional academic committees also

¹ Köpeczi, Béla (ed.) *“Erdély története”, I–III*. Budapest, 1986.

quickly established relations with the closest Hungarian research scholars working in the area, trying to involve them into their own programs and research work.

At this point, we need to mention the Hungarian scholars working abroad who maintained their need for general Hungarian science in the decades of the party state, despite the extremely difficult circumstances, and made an important contribution through their lifework to ensure that the Hungarian-language research work in the neighboring countries was able to produce outstanding results, even in the most difficult times. These outstanding scholars include historian János Váradi-Sternberg in Uzhhorod, Attila Szabó T. in Cluj (who started the huge work of compiling the Transylvanian Dictionary of the Linguistic History of Hungarian), or another historian, Zsigmond Jakó, as well as Imre Bori, István Szeli, and Olga Penavin, who established Hungarian science in Yugoslavia. In Czechoslovakia, two literary historians – Lajos Turczel at the Department of Hungarian Language and Literature in Bratislava and Péter Rákos in Prague – as well as József Blazsovics, an expert of Turkish studies, can be considered as scholars most committed to general Hungarian science, even in the worst times. The experts working at the museums, archives, and libraries that were partly preserved by the communist Romanian and Czechoslovakian regimes played an extremely important role during these decades. The fine figures of science in the Hungarian diaspora included people like sociologist Károly Nagy (USA), librarian Elemér Bakó (Library of Congress, USA), historian Péter Gosztonyi (Switzerland), historian Béla Király (USA), and Dénes Sinor, who founded the Department of Uralic and Altaic Studies (now Central Eurasian Studies, USA, Indiana University).

In 1996, former Minister of Education Ferenc Glatz became the president of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and he gave priority to the development of a concept for Hungarian science abroad, addressing the issue of creating academic resources that ensure regular, organized relations and operations. The President of the Academy announced in the summer of 1996 that the academic research structure “would be based on a cultural nation”. In this context, the strategic objective was the integration of scholars who declared themselves as Hungarians into Hungarian science, including the activity of those colleagues working abroad who did not belong to this category but who still studied topics that affect the Hungarian economy, society, or environment, as well as the strengthening of scientific endeavors and organizations of the national minorities living within the national borders of Hungary.

The initiative that led to the institutionalization of Hungarian-Hungarian scientific relations was built on the long-standing professional history of academic institutes, the close personal relations among scholars, and the recognition of the importance of cooperation. The Hungarian Science Abroad Presidential Committee (HSAPC) was set up twenty years ago in 1996, and held its statutory meeting on September 18, 1996. The president of the Academy, Ferenc Glatz, invited

Dénes Berényi, former vice-president of the Academy and President of the MTA Academic Committee in Debrecen, to chair the HSAPC. He was later succeeded in this position by academician András Görömbei, a literary historian in Debrecen, and then by academician Károly Kocsis, a geographer. From the very beginning, the HSAPC included Hungarian scholars from the neighboring countries among its members, as well as the representatives of Hungarian scientific life and, as guests, the representatives of various Hungarian organizations that are affected by the objectives.² For twenty years now, the HSAPC has been a body of the Academy responsible for creating strategic programs for Hungarian science abroad, and for providing a forum for networking.

In the first ten years, the HSAPC was mostly concerned with debates on interpretation and creating the basic academic categories, structures and mechanisms. The Academy created the category of external member in 1990 for scholars living abroad who declare themselves as Hungarian, and since 2000 external public association membership has been open to any scholars living anywhere in the world who declare themselves as Hungarian and have an academic degree.

It was a milestone in the second decade when 96% of Hungarians living in the Carpathian Basin (81% of those living abroad) became EU citizens. Dismemberment was mitigated by the fact that the national borders were penetrable, which created a new situation and new tasks for the academic national science policy. Although the international nature of sciences is unquestionable, we can also establish that science, which is becoming increasingly more international in its institutions, will always have national responsibilities: the intellectuals pursuing research and teaching, as well as science and culture, will always have an invaluable role in the preservation of identity awareness. The research pursued in the Hungarian language and on Hungarian topics make an important contribution to this.

² Presidents of the HSAPC: Dénes Berényi, regular member of the MTA (1996–2006), András Görömbei, regular member of the MTA (2006–2011), Károly Kocsis, corresponding member of the MTA (since 2011). Honorary presidents: Ferenc Glatz, regular member of the MTA. Members (active members are highlighted in italics): From Romania: *Benedek, József, external member of the MTA*; Benkő, Samu, external member of the MTA; *Biró A., Zoltán*; Brassai, Zoltán, external member of the MTA; Egyed, Ákos, external member of the MTA; *Dávid, László*; †Fragó, József, honorary member of the MTA; *Péntek, János, external member of the MTA*; *Salat, Levente, external member of the MTA*; *Sipos, Gábor*; *Soós, Anna*; *Szabó A. Töhötöm*; Szilágyi, Pál; †Tonk, Sándor; Veres, Valér; from Slovakia: Bauer, Győző, external member of the MTA; *Dusza, János, external member of the MTA*; Hulkó, Gábor, external member of the MTA; *Kovács, László*; *Liszka, József*; Mészáros, András; *Vančonek Kremmer, Ildikó*; from Serbia: Bányai, János; †Berényi, János; †Bori, Imre, external member of the MTA; *Gábrity Molnár, Irén*; Györe, Zoltán; *Péics, Hajnalka*; †Ribár, Béla, external member of the MTA; from Ukraine: *Cserniczkó, István*; Orosz, Ildikó; †Soós, Kálmán; Spenik, Ottó, external member of the MTA; *Spenik, Sándor*; from Croatia: Bognár, András, external member of the MTA; Horváth, László; Lábadi, Zsombor; *Medve, Zoltán*; *Petrik, József*; Szkála, Károly; from Slovenia: *Bence, Lajos*; Göncz, László; *Kolláth, Anna*; from Austria: Cserján, Károly; *Deák, Ernő*; Kelemen, László; *Szoták, Szilvia*.

As far as Hungarian science is concerned, there are huge differences among the various Hungarian communities living in the neighboring countries, not in terms of significance but in terms of scale, the degree of institutionalization, the necessary and possible types of cooperation, and the research priorities. Different topics are on the agenda in the regions where there are essentially independent higher-education institutions than in the regions with only departments involved in Hungarian Studies. There are places where the role of the MTA is outstanding and scientific cooperation is in the interest of Hungary. In other places the role of the ministry responsible for culture and education may be more important, although the role of the Academy or even the churches is also indispensable. Liaising with the Hungarian science of the diaspora is yet another task in the area of joint work; here the recent past has created a new situation in addition to the characteristic features evoked by the well-known waves of Hungarian emigration in the past century. With the acquisition of Hungarian citizenship made easier and the world becoming more open, being bound to the soil is a thing of the past, with the emphasis being shifted to a sense of belonging together irrespective of location, and the greater possibility of joint work. The technological opportunities of the present age offer solid ground for the representation and integration of Hungarian science dispersed all over the world.

Although it is more than natural that the HSAPC focuses its operations on the Carpathian Basin, liaising with the more remote world was also the goal from the very beginning. Academic surveys clearly indicated that the Hungarian scholars in the diaspora wanted to participate more intensively in Hungarian science, and in the science of the Carpathian Basin. This need was the driving factor for the Academy, under the presidency of Szilveszter Vizi E. at that time, setting up the Western Hungarian Scientific Council (WHSC) in 2003 in order to assist the work of the HSAPC, which mainly focused on the neighboring countries. The WHSC was succeeded by the Subcommittee for Hungarian Science Outside the Carpathian Basin in 2011, which seeks to coordinate the work by representatives of Hungarian scientific organizations outside the Carpathian Basin, ensuring the exchange of information and coordination and thereby integrating the Hungarian scientific communities of the diaspora. The Subcommittee especially excels in increasing the number of the Academy's members coming from outside the Carpathian Basin, focusing on the young and the middle generations, as well as on third-generation Hungarians who may no longer be attached to the Hungarian language. The Hungarian scholars in the diaspora have recently launched several successful initiatives that resulted in the establishment of important Hungarian civil organizations. These new organizations have regularly liaised and collaborated with the world of science in Hungary. By now a large number of scholars of Hungarian origin constitute part of the academic network from the diaspora. The majority of the 196 academicians abroad, about 150 of them, play

an important role in the Hungarian scientific stakeholder network outside the Carpathian Basin.

Thanks to the academic scholarship programs created for Hungarian scholars abroad (*Domus Hungarica Scientiarum et Artium*), a significant Hungarian scientific potential has been created in the past two and half decades in Transylvania, Slovakia, Vojvodina and Transcarpathia, most of them at newly established universities, societies and collections. The bridge role deliberately taken by the Academy has helped greatly in including the Hungarian scholars of the diaspora in higher education in the Carpathian Basin, which was especially invaluable during the initial time of institutionalization. This community of scholars, both with its organized structure and high performance, concurrently represent the classical triple relation: a base for the community's self-knowledge and higher education, intensive networks of relations with the institutions of Hungarian science in general and those in Hungary, and trying to become part of the scientific circulation of the given country. Thus, by now the conditions have been created in certain areas to surpass the former, largely one-sided minority model, and move towards a multi-centered system and networking. Naturally, these ambitions have become particularly obvious in the natural and engineering sciences, which are less sensitive to the nationality issue, but there are increasingly more similar multidimensional collaborations in the social sciences in international research areas such as migration, regionalism, borderline regions or, as a matter of fact, bilingualism and the protection of historic monuments and buildings.

There are several Hungarian research topics that can be pursued more efficiently in cooperation with others working in the Carpathian Basin. There are some national tasks and research projects that should be performed primarily by Hungarian scholars working in a given region outside Hungary. By presenting and recognizing diverging development, the multi-centered Hungarian scientific structure can provide a framework for the painfully missing and badly needed integration, and even become its powerful driver. By providing special support for joint research, an equal, symmetrical system of relations can be created between the domestic and the foreign partners. At the same time, the academic *Domus* programs can become the drivers of cooperation with the scholars in the neighboring countries who belong to the majority, and help successful joint participation in EU tenders across several countries.

Although the international nature of science is unquestionable, there have been and always will be research tasks that should focus on national societies, and there will always be criteria that should be enforced in public and higher education offered in the native language. It is an important outcome, as well as a lesson of Hungarian-Hungarian scientific cooperation – since 1989 and especially in the first two decades of the academic network – that the networks of cross-border scientific research and analyses have proved to be successful and useful, especially

in research projects studying the mother tongues and minorities, as well as in providing institutions for the increasingly more comprehensive forms of cooperation.

Although the last period of over two decades have brought about a number of changes, the key objective, the most important commitment, remains the same. This work can also be facilitated by changes taking place in history. Citing István Bibó: “The only ones who can take advantage of changes are those whose internal balance is independent of such turns.”³

There have been important lessons learned on the basis of the first attempts to investigate, for example, the complex phenomenon of multi-centered linguistic approaches, the demographical processes, the economic and mental factors that determine the structures of national identity, the operation of educational and cultural institutions, the properties of social layers, and other key topics in a comprehensive, comparative, all-Hungarian context. Although the initiatives themselves and the plans for the methodology and the content of research projects usually originated in a research center in Budapest, and both funding and coordination were managed there, only those projects have eventually proved to be really successful, in which local and regional interests, criteria, intentions and objectives have been given equal importance. This also demonstrates that it is extremely important to try to create and operate well-balanced liaison models in the organization of research, in planning, in developing institutions, in training the next generation of scholars, and in every other possible area.

In the past twenty-five years, the effects of the differences between the West and the East, between the conditions for livelihood and research, have been apparent in the Hungarian part of the globe too, resulting in relatively significant migration. Having said that, we have always had to face the viewpoint of science policy treated by the majority as a fundamental moral principle, that what universal Hungarian and international science really needs is the extra knowledge and the network of stakeholders created by Hungarian scholars of minorities and the diaspora, established locally under unique circumstances, rather than by scholars who simply study the ethnic Hungarian minorities and the Hungarian diaspora. This is important for Hungary because, on the one hand, this is the only way in which it can create truly valid results, and on the other hand, because in many disciplines its strong regional position that goes beyond the frameworks of a nation state can make it an important actor in international cooperation. At the same time, it is the special knowledge, their local values, and multiple attachments of the Hungarian minority organizations that can confirm and reinforce the meaning and future of regional roles. As for the diaspora, pursuing scientific work and the stakeholder network are also the tools for preserving identity.

³ Bibó, István, “A válság és európai helyzetünk”. In: *“Válogatott tanulmányok”, II. 1945–1949*. Budapest, 1986, p. 77.

The excellent figures of this story – Ferenc Glatz, Szilveszter Vizi E., Péter Hanák, Dénes Berényi, and András Görömbei, as well as Zsigmond Jakó, Samu Benkő, Ákos Egyed, Imre Bori, Győző Bauer, István Csernicskó, and Károly Nagy from the communities abroad – the external members of the Academy, the ethnic Hungarian scholars applying for public association membership, as well as the staff of the Minority Research Workshop set up in 1997 at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the Minority Research Institute, the Secretariat of Hungarians Living Abroad providing the administrative background for the academic program and the HSAPC, and participants of the Domus Hungarica scholarship program have managed to create a living organization. They all have sought to pave the way, along courses of different experiences and conceptions but with the same strong sense of responsibility, for the framework of intensive cooperation between the academic scientific networks and Hungarian science abroad. On the one hand, this was meant to remedy a nearly 100-year-old – largely involuntary – failure. On the other hand, they were able to identify a diverse set of opportunities and tools for mutually beneficial cooperation by taking into account nationwide, regional, and international needs. In addition to a well-organized academic structure, reliability, and prestige, there has always been room for taking advantage of new impulses, initiatives, and forms of cooperation.

By 2016, the academic and university network of cooperation in all-Hungarian science has largely been able to overcome the initial difficulties in the organizational and conceptual problems inherent in the creation of programs and setting objectives. Solid forms of cooperation have been established among the center in Budapest, the universities in the country, and the Hungarian institutions and universities in Transylvania, Slovakia, Vojvodina and Transcarpathia. The constantly present suction effect of the mother country and Budapest also seems to be easing, and there are increasingly more scholars who seek to benefit from Hungarian-Hungarian cooperation in international networking.

We hope that this institutionalized form of Hungarian-Hungarian scientific cooperation – which of course needs constant improvement – would provide a solid basis for performing the task of science policy at a high level, thinking and working together in the central European region, and reintegrating the Hungarian scholars dispersed all over the world.

Science in Slovakia and the minorities

*Attila Simon**

Many contradictory features characterize the scientific life of minorities living in Slovakia, including the Hungarian community. Although there are public institutions (academic and university institutes and minority museums) that address the history, ethnography, and other (linguistic, regional, artistic, etc.) issues of Slovakian minorities, the Czech state and the current Czech government have failed to create, either before or after the political transition, the conditions for a network of institutions financed by taxpayer money through the public budget. Lacking this, only the Hungarian minority is able to operate an independent institution of their own in Slovakia, although it is struggling with a number of difficulties due to the problems that arise from the lack of public support provided by the Slovakian state, and the constantly changing Hungarian aid system.

1. The evolution of ethnic Slovakian communities beyond the present-day Slovak borders

Although the independent Slovakian state was established only on January 1, 1993, the crucial date for Slovakian statehood is October 28, 1918, as that was the time when the former northern Hungarian counties, which represent the territory of today's Slovakia, were separated from the Kingdom of Hungary and began a new life first under Czechoslovakia, and later the Republic of Slovakia.¹ The Treaty of Trianon (Versailles), which disregarded the ethnic reality in the region, also meant, among other things, that a large number of national minorities found themselves living in Czechoslovakia, and within that, in Slovakia. According to the 1921 census, 32% of the population living in the territory of modern-day Slovakia, about 900,000 people belonged to a national minority. The Hungarian minority was the largest among them (21%)² but there were numerous Germans, Rusyns (Ruthenians), Poles and Jews living here as well.

Although the national borders set forth in the Treaty of Trianon on June 4, 1920 went significantly beyond the ethnic Slovakian territories, a significant number of Slovak-speaking people remained to be living outside the national

* Forum Minority Research Institute (Šamorín / Somorja)

¹ Czechoslovakia was established on October 28, 1918 on the basis of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, which used to belong to Austria, and the northern Hungarian counties separated from Hungary as well as Transcarpathia.

² Popély, Gyula, *“Népfogyatkozás. A csehszlovákiai magyarság a népszámlálások tükrében 1918–1945”*; Budapest, 1991, p. 60.

Czechoslovak borders as a multi-ethnic heritage of the Kingdom of Hungary – in Hungary, Romania and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and, in part, the Republic of Austria as well. These communities were created largely due to the great migration of peoples after driving out the Turks (1699), when the depopulated territories in the Alföld (Great Hungarian Plain) were populated mainly with Slovaks living in Upper Hungary and serving as the main source of migration. The Slovak serfs coming from Liptov, Kysucké Nové Mesto, Gemer, Zvolen, and other territories were resettled mainly by big landowners in the depopulated estates in the Alföld and other regions, where they first created very populous communities and then large villages and market towns, such as Nyíregyháza, Békéscsaba, Szarvas or Nagylak (Nädlac).

After Trianon, the largest Slovak community (apart from the Slovaks who immigrated to the USA during the era of Austria-Hungary) was living in the territory of Hungary, more precisely in the Alföld, in Nógrád County in the Pilis Mountains, and several other regions. Their number was about 150,000, according to the 1920 census figures based on native language.³ However, this population began to decline rapidly at the end of the 19th century, and especially between the two world wars. Their assimilation was due to their social stratification and enclave-like settlement structure creating a diaspora, but also due to the intention of contemporary Hungarian governments to assimilate and homogenize them. In addition to Hungary, there are large numbers of Slovaks living in Romania (nearly 70,000) and Serbian Vojvodina (60,000) in this European region.

World War II and its aftermath left their mark on the fate of both the ethnic minorities in Slovakia and the ethnic Slovaks abroad. From 1945, Czechoslovakia attempted to create a purely Slav nation-state by force, which led to driving out the majority of ethnic Germans in Slovakia and radically reducing the number of the Hungarian population. The population exchange pushed by Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union had a key role in this, as a result of which nearly 100,000 Slovakian Hungarians were forced to move to Hungary, while 70,000 Slovaks volunteered to move from Hungary to Czechoslovakia.⁴ The population exchange hit the Slovaks in Hungary the hardest, as the relocation of many of their most self-conscious members further accelerated their assimilation.

By now the Slovak communities living in the neighboring countries have significantly decreased in number. Due to the linguistic similarity, the close educational and cultural relations, and the common Czechoslovakian heritage, the Slovak

³ Tóth, István, “Szlovákok a 20. századi Magyarországon”. http://www.sulinet.hu/oroksegtar/data/magyarorszag_i_nemzetisegek/szlovakok/fejzetek_a_mo_i_romanok_es_szlovakok_tort/pages/006_szlovakok.htm (10-10-2015)

⁴ See works such as: Szarka, László (ed.) “*A szlovákiai magyarok kényszerkitelepítésének emlékezete 1945–1948*”, Komárom, 2003; Molnár, Imre – Szarka, László (ed.) “*Otthonatlan emlékezet. Emlékkönyv a csehszlovák–magyar lakosságcsere 60. évfordulójára*”, Komárom, 2007.

community of 147,000 people living in the Czech Republic was quickly assimilated,⁵ where their number has been continuously declining since 1980.⁶ Currently, there are about 30,000 Slovaks living in Hungary,⁷ less than 20,000 in Romania, and about 50,000 in Serbia. On the other hand, despite the development after 1945, Slovakia remained as a non-homogeneous state, as minorities represent nearly 20% of its population. The largest minority group is the Hungarian community with its 460,000 people, followed by the Roma, the Czech, and the Rusyn (Ruthenian) ethnic groups.⁸

The aforementioned developments also show that the issue of the national minorities is treated differently in Hungary and in Slovakia, both from the point of view of history and the present, as for Hungary it means, in particular, caring for the Hungarian communities stranded outside the national borders against their will after Trianon, while for Slovakia, it means dealing with the issue of national minorities living in its own territory. Naturally, the Slovak nationality policy also attaches importance to promoting the preservation of the identity of the by now relatively small Slovak communities living abroad in historic regions. This, in turn, has a fundamental influence on the place of the minorities in the official scientific network of the two countries, as well as on how much interest Slovakian or Hungarian science shows towards the members of their own national community living abroad.

2. The role of the Slovakian Academy of Sciences in the scientific life of ethnic Slovaks living abroad

Science in the Republic of Slovakia is largely pursued within the academic and the university network; there is hardly any science outside them. The most important actor of the scientific network is the Slovak Academy of Sciences,⁹ which is

⁵ The main reason why this paper does not address the issue of Slovakian science in the Czech Republic is that Czech and Slovakian scientific activities are not fully separated, as demonstrated by joint projects and a series of joint conferences as well as interpersonal relations, while the Slovak scientific intelligentsia working in the Czech Republic do not see themselves as a national minority, nor are they seen as such by the Czechs.

⁶ The number of people declaring themselves as Slovak is constantly dropping in the Czech Republic: it was 359,370 in 1980, 314,877 in 1991, 193,190 in 2001 and 147,152 in 2011. www.czso.cz (01-02-2016)

⁷ The number of people declaring themselves as Slovak is constantly rising in Hungary: 9,101 in 1980, 10,459 in 1990, 17,693 in 2001, and 29,647 in 2011. http://www.ksh.hu/nepszamlalas/tablak_nemzetiseg (01-02-2016)

⁸ For details on the 2011 Slovakian census see Gyurgyík, László, "A szlovákiai magyarság demográfiai folyamatai 1989-től 2011-ig. Különös tekintettel a 2011-től napjainkig tartó időszakra", Somorja, 2014.

⁹ Slovenská akadémia vied / Slovak Academy of Sciences. <https://www.sav.sk/?lang=en&doc=10-10-2015>

defined by the 2002 Act on the Academy¹⁰ as an independent national institution financed by public funds. Its most important duty is to pursue basic research in natural science, technology, medicine, social sciences, and the humanities. In addition to the academic institutions, the universities represent the other important institutional network of science, and there is considerable interaction between the two networks, especially through the people working there and numerous joint projects.

Non-profit organizations pursuing scientific activities have also emerged in recent years in Slovakia, in addition to the academic and university networks. However, as the centralized system inherited from the socialist regime and the mentality perceiving science policy as a state monopoly are still strong, these institutions are in a much worse situation, not only in terms of their prestige and subjective recognition, but because they have to face a lot of obstacles as far as the financial resources for science are concerned.

In its present form, the Slovak Academy of Sciences has a relatively short past, as it became independent only when Slovakia became a sovereign state in 1993. However, its prehistory goes back a relatively long time. Thus, it sees all of those initiatives as its institutional predecessor, linked in the 18th century with the name of people like Matthias Bel (Mátyás Bél, Matej Bel) or Adam František Kollár. Obviously, these were not meant to have been separate Slovak learned societies, but they would have worked under the Kingdom of Hungary: both Kollár and Bél called these initiatives as *Societas litteraria*. The first but rather short-lived Slovak learned societies emerged at the turn of the 18-19th centuries, such as *Erudita societas slavica* (1787) and the Slovak Learned Society – *Slovenské učené tovarišstvo* (1792). This was followed by the establishment of the Learned Society of Kishont (Malohont) – *Učená spoločnosť malohontská* (1808) in the Gömör-Kishont (Gemér–Malohont) County.

The evolution of Slovak science was significantly delayed by the special features that arose from the 19th century Hungarian nationality policy, and the characteristic features of Slovak society.¹¹ Accordingly, scientific work in Upper Hungary (today Slovakia) in the era of reforms was pursued at religious education institutions, such as the Evangelical Lyceum in Pozsony (Pressburg, Bratislava) or Eperjes (Prešov). The first nationwide effort to organize Slovak science is linked to the cultural institution established in 1863, the *Matica slovenská* (“Slovak / Bee/ Mother”). The yearbook published by the *Matica* from 1867, *Letopis Matice*

¹⁰ Zákon z 19. februára 2002 o Slovenskej akadémii vied. https://www.vedatechnika.sk/SK/VedaATechnikaVSR/Legislatva/Z%C3%A1kon%20o%20Slovenskej%20akad%C3%A9mii%20vied%20%C4%8D.%20133_2002.pdf (16-11-2015)

¹¹ For the Hungarian nationality policy and the development of contemporary Slovak society, see Szarka, László, “*Szlovák nemzeti fejlődés – magyar nemzetiségi politika 1867–1918*”; Pozsony (Bratislava), 1999.

slovenskej, issued scholarly writings from the very beginning, and the general meeting of the Society held in 1868 made a decision on creating a scientific section within the Matica.¹² However, this plan was rendered impossible by the ban imposed by Minister of the Interior Kálmán Tisza on the Matica in 1875.

Even more important than the Matica was the initiative of Andrej Kmeť¹³ to establish a Slovak Learned Society in 1892, which eventually began to function a year later as the Slovak Museum Society (*Muzeálna slovenská spoločnosť*) in 1893. Functioning until the outbreak of World War I, this learned society published a scientific journal and was an important predecessor of the Slovak Academy of Sciences.

The first Republic of Czechoslovakia (1918-1938) was built upon the ideology of Czechoslovak doctrine that denies the existence of an independent Slovak nation. As a result, not only public administration was centralized, but the same applied to science as well. For Prague, Slovakia was in some sense a kind of periphery, so Slovak science received relatively little attention. The most important institution of contemporary science was Komenský University (*Univerzita Komenského*), which was to replace the Hungarian-speaking Erzsébet University that had been banned after the establishment of Czechoslovakia, where mostly Czech lecturers taught courses. The Šafárik Learned Society (*Učená spoločnosť Šafárikova*), which assumed the name of Jozef Pavol Šafárik, was created in 1926 with the support of the University, and considered one of its main tasks to organize scientific life in Slovakia, so it can rightly be seen as one of the predecessors of the Slovak Academy of Sciences.¹⁴

In contrast to the official Czechoslovakian doctrine of the Šafárik Learned Society, the *Matica slovenská*, which was revived after 1918, and the Slovak National Museum, also based in Martin (*Turčiansky Svätý Martin*), sought to represent a kind of alternative, dissident view of science in the spirit of an independent Slovak nation, and a science based on Slovak autonomy.¹⁵ This is true even though the activity of the former was focused more on issues of civilization than on science.¹⁶

¹² Kováč, Dušan, *„Dejiny Slovenskej akadémie vied“*, Bratislava, 2014, p. 28.

¹³ Andrej Kmeť (1841–1908) was a Catholic priest and polymath, who studied geology, botany and ethnography as well as history or archeology at the same high professional level (he was called the Slovak Schlieman).

¹⁴ Pavol Jozef Šafárik (1795–1861) was an evangelical priest of Slovak origin, a linguist, historian and an associate of the Imperial and Royal Library in Prague. He was an advocate of the relatedness of Slavic languages.

¹⁵ Hudek, Adam, “Vznik a vývoj Slovenskej akadémie vied a umení v rokoch 1942–1945”, *Forum historiae*, 2011, no. 1. http://www.forumhistoriae.sk/FH1_2011/texty_1_2011/hudek.pdf (10-10-2015)

¹⁶ Kováč, *ibid.*, p. 40.

In 1939, Slovakia became an independent state, while the Czech regions were annexed by Nazi Germany. This inevitably led to the transformation of the Slovak scientific institutional system. The first important step was the elimination of the Šafárik Learned Society, which was condemned as a Czechoslovakist institution, turning it into the Slovak Learned Society (*Slovenská učená spoločnosť*) and then establishing today's Slovak Academy of Sciences and Arts (*Slovenská akadémia vied a umenia*) in 1942. The Academy, which was created primarily on the basis of the Šafárik Society and involved only social science disciplines, was short-lived. After World War II, since its establishment was inseparably related to the totalitarian Slovak state that served the Germans, its academic functions were eliminated and it was degraded to function as a kind of learned society.

The Sovietization and centralization that characterized the state party dictatorship after the 1948 turn to communism were soon to have an influence on Czechoslovakian science, and as a result, its structure underwent far-reaching transformation in 1952-53. In addition to the Czechoslovakian Academy of Sciences, the Slovak Academy of Sciences (SAS) was also created, which now included engineering and natural sciences as well. All of this meant that the SAS was gradually being degraded to be an affiliated regional section of the center in Prague,¹⁷ culminating in the loss of its legal autonomy in 1960, and except for the short period of the Prague Spring in 1968, its competencies were gradually weakening.

Between the two world wars and during the socialist era, Slovak science was generally characterized by administrative subordination to Prague and the fights for competence between the Slovak Academy and *Matica slovenská*. In this period, the integration of science in the ethnic Slovak regions abroad was not included either in the academic structure or in the Academy's research and other programs. In addition, the act adopted by the Slovak National Council in 1963 explicitly excluded the possibility for any person living outside Slovakia to be a member of the SAS.¹⁸ This, of course, is related to the fact that the Slovaks living outside the territory of Slovakia – with the exception of American Slovaks and the Slovak political emigrants in Western Europe, who were unacceptable for the communist regime from the very beginning – did not pursue any meaningful scientific activity.

The Velvet Revolution in 1989 represented a turning point for our topic too, as the political transition not only resolved the Czech-Slovak relations and transformed the network of scientific institutions, but it also brought about a change in the relationship with the ethnic Slovak communities abroad. On the other hand, the political transition for the Academy meant, first and foremost, that the

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 126–128.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

institution formerly subordinated to politics and ideology was not able to function as an independent scientific organization. As a result of the political transformation, Slovakia became a sovereign state on January 1, 1993, which also entailed that Slovak science and the Slovak Academy of Sciences also became autonomous. The years after this comprised a period of gradual transformation in the life of the Academy, while Prime Minister Vladimír Mečiar gave various preferences once again to *Matica slovenská* during his term overseeing the Academy and its members, who were not amenable to discipline.¹⁹ However, this was stopped after the fall of the Mečiar regime in 1998. Although the governments led by Robert Fico since 2012 have presented several noble gestures towards the institution of the *Matica*, the position of the Slovak Academy of Sciences has remained unshaken.

The present structure and functioning of the Slovak Academy of Sciences is governed by the law adopted by the Slovak National Council on the Academy in 2002²⁰ and the charter of the Academy amended in 2013.²¹ If we look at these two documents in the context of the present topic, it can be established that the science of neither the ethnic Slovaks living outside the borders of Slovakia nor the national minorities living in Slovakia is represented in them. This issue was not addressed when the organizational structure of the Academy was developed, nor is there any reference to it in the passages that specify the mission and the duties of the Academy. Equally importantly, “minority science” also fails to appear in the tenders announced by public agencies for the support of scientific research projects. The two most important funds that are meant to finance large projects are the Research and Development Support Fund²² and the Research Competition Fund,²³ allocating smaller amounts that are maintained by the Slovak Republic Ministry of Education, Science, Research and Sport. Since only organizations registered in Slovakia are entitled to submit an application for support to these Funds, and the criteria for application are rather stringent, they are generally inaccessible for Slovak scholars living in the ethnic Slovakian regions abroad.

3. Slovakian science abroad and the support provided for it

Nevertheless, the facts mentioned above do not mean that the Republic of Slovakia does not support Slovakian science abroad, as the Slovak state is required

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 221.

²⁰ Zákon z 19. februára 2002 o Slovenskej akadémii vied. <file:///C:/Users/sys-admin/Downloads/133-SAV.pdf> (16-11-2015)

²¹ Štatút Slovenskej akadémie vied. <file:///C:/Users/sys-admin/Downloads/Statut%20SAV%202013.pdf> (16-11-2015)

²² Agentúra na podporu výskumu a vývoja – APVV. <http://www.apvv.sk/agentura> (16-11-2015)

²³ Vedecká grantová agentúra – VEGA. <https://www.minedu.sk/vedecka-grantova-agentura-msvvas-sr-a-sav-vega/> (16-11-2015)

to provide support for the preservation of the national identity of “Slovaks living abroad”, and their various cultural and other institutions, by the Constitution adopted on September 1, 1992.²⁴ According to Act 474/2005 on Slovaks living abroad,²⁵ this support is provided by the Office for the Slovaks Living Abroad (Úrad pre Slovákov žijúcich v zahraničí), which was created on the basis of the aforementioned law. The law also specifies who is regarded as a Slovak living abroad. The Office provides regular support for Slovaks living abroad in four different areas, one of which is the area of education, science and research. Although in 2013 the Office allocated about 20% (156 million euros of the total of 777 million euros) to support Slovaks living abroad in this area,²⁶ a more detailed analysis reveals that most of these funds go to education, and the amount going into proper science is rather insignificant.

Today, in accordance with the concept adopted by the Slovak government for the period between 2016 and 2020 in regard to the Slovaks living abroad, the development in the area of science is overseen by the Ministry of Education, which relies primarily on the help of the institutional network of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, the universities, and the Matica Slovenská.

In a broader sense, the support for the science of Slovaks living abroad also includes the program supporting the university studies of young Slovak people living abroad. In recent years, up to 70 Slovak students living abroad have received a scholarship to pursue their studies in Slovakia every year. On the other hand, Slovakia does not have a separate program to train and support doctoral students living abroad.

An important precondition for operating a support system to promote Slovakian science abroad is the existence of a scientific institutional system in the ethnic Slovakian diaspora abroad. However, due to the historical and social development of the Slovakian minorities mentioned earlier, this network of institutions is rather weak, and is basically confined to Hungary. Its most important institution is undoubtedly the Research Institute of Slovaks in Hungary,²⁷ which was founded by the Association of Slovaks in Hungary in 1990. Functioning as an interdisciplinary social-science research institute operated by the National Self-Government

²⁴ Ústava Slovenskej republiky z 1. septembra 1992. Strana 2658. Zbierka zákonov č. 460/1992. Čiastka 92 www.zbierka.sk. file:///C:/Users/Attila/Downloads/92-z460.pdf (05-11-2015)

²⁵ Zákon 474/2005 Z. z. o Slovákoch žijúcich v zahraničí. <http://www.uszz.sk/sk/zakon-4742005-zz-o-slovakoch-zijucich-v-zahranici> (05-11-2015)

²⁶ Správa o štátnej politike vo vzťahu k Slovákom žijúcim v zahraničí a o poskytnutej štátnej podpore Slovákom žijúcim v zahraničí za rok 2013 a návrh programu štátnej politiky vo vzťahu k Slovákom žijúcim v zahraničí na rok 2015. https://lt.justice.gov.sk/Attachment/Vlastn%C3%BD%20materi%C3%A1l_doc.pdf?instEID=1&attEID=67025&docEID=372338&matEID=7400&langEID=1&tStamp=20140610144834113 (05-11-2015)

²⁷ Výskumný ústav Slovákov v Maďarsku. <http://vusm.slovaci.hu/hu/az-inteczetrol/az-intezmenyrol> (05-11-2015)

of Slovaks, it pursues research especially in history, ethnography, cultural anthropology, linguistics, and sociology, but it is also active in pedagogy and publishing.

There is no other such institution in other countries like this Hungarian center, which features a number of full-time research workers with an academic degree, a research library of its own and extensive institutional relations. Although there is the Ivan Krasko Scientific and Cultural Society (Kultúrna a vedecká spoločnosť Ivana Krasku) functioning in Romania and the Vojvodina Slovak Cultural Institute (Ústav pre kultúru vojvodinských Slovákov), these institutions essentially carry out educational tasks, and their scientific activity in the strict sense is rather insignificant.

Although the science of Slovaks living abroad is not represented in the organizational structure of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, it can still be found in the research programs and the foreign relations of academic institutions, though their importance is rather limited. The Academy largely focuses on research programs affecting the Slovaks living abroad through programs studying the history, society and language use of these communities, and by building long-term cooperation with the scientific institutions of Slovaks living abroad. The cooperation with the Research Institute of Slovaks in Hungary is a good example of that, focusing on bilateral research projects in the past, but more recently increasingly focusing on the organization of study trips for individual scholars.

Looking at the research programs of recent years, it can be established that there are essentially three institutes among the academic research institutions – the SAS Institute of Ethnology (Ústav etnologie ústav SAV), the SAS Ludovít Štúr Institute of Linguistics (Jazykovedný ústav SAV Ludovíta Štúra), and the SAS Institute of Social Sciences in Košice (Spoločenskovedný ústav SAV) – which especially address issues related to the Slovaks living abroad.

The most prominent among these three institutions is the Košice-based Institute of Social Sciences of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, which was incorporated into the newly established Center of Social and Psychological Sciences (Centrum spoločenských a psychologických vied SAV) that was created when the institutes of the Academy were reorganized at the end of 2015. The Institute of Social Sciences in Košice began to function in 1975 with the unconcealed intention to provide a counterbalance against the Bratislava center of the SAS, and to pursue research into the social and economic features of Slovakia's eastern regions in particular. Over the years, the Institute was transformed several times, and eventually found its main profile in interdisciplinary research studying the relations among the different national and ethnic minorities, with special regard to the Slovak community in Hungary. The Institute of Social Sciences in Košice has implemented several joint projects with the Research Institute of Slovaks in Hungary in the past two decades, in which the division of labor in general was that in most cases the Institute in Békéscsaba commissioned and funded the projects, and the

Institute in Košice provided the necessary methodological background. These programs of the Institute in Košice are notably two research projects, headed by Mária Homišinová, that investigated the linguistic and communicative skills of young Slovak people in Croatia and Serbia.²⁸ She is also the leader of the research project studying the conditions of Slovak schools in Hungary.

The Institute of Ethnology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences launched a number of similar joint research projects with the Slovak Institute in Békéscsaba. The most important one of these was the project entitled *The Ethnological Study of Slovaks in Hungary*, which was implemented between 2006 and 2013.²⁹

The cooperation between the Institute of Linguistics of the Academy and the Research Institute of Slovaks in Hungary is based on a long-term agreement of cooperation signed by the two institutions for the period between 2012 and 2017. Several joint programs have been implemented in recent years by the two institutions under this framework agreement, which promoted the language use of Slovaks in Hungary.

In addition to academic institutions, Matica Slovenská undertakes the pursuit of scholarly research regarding Slovaks living abroad, as set out in its charter. The current organizational structure of the Matica has several sections that are responsible for science, among which especially the Institute of Slovak Literature, the Institute of Slovak History, and the Museum of Slovaks Living Abroad are involved in the study of ethnic Slovaks living abroad.³⁰ Nevertheless, the scientific activity of the Matica is not very significant; in fact, many people even go as far as to question whether the work pursued at the institution meets the criteria of scholarly work. There appear to be serious conflicts between the Institute of History of the Slovak Academy of Sciences and the Institute of Slovak History maintained by the Matica. The relationship is laden with mutual attacks, as the Matica considers the academic institution to be devoid of a national character.

The university sector participates in the study of Slovaks living abroad only haphazardly, which is obviously related to the quality of research work pursued at universities and its funding. One of the rare exceptions is the Vega project studying the everyday reality of the culture of Slovaks in Hungary, run by the Faculty of Humanities at the Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra (Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra) between 2013 and 2015.³¹

²⁸ Spoločenskovedný ústav SAV. Projekty. <http://www.svusav.sk/sk/submenu2/projekty/> (29-11-2015)

²⁹ Ústav etnologia Slovenskej akademie vied. Projekty. <http://www.uet.sav.sk/?q=sk/zoznam-projektov> (29-11-2015)

³⁰ Stanovy Matice slovenskej. <http://www.dmsnitra.sk/dokumenty/58-stanovy-matice-slovenskej> (20-10-2015)

³¹ VEGA 1/0873/13: Realita kultúry dolnozemsých Slovákov Zodpovedný riešiteľ: Jaroslav Čukan. https://www.ukf.sk/images/veda_a_vyskum/projekty/VaV-projekty-VEGA.pdf (29-11-2015)

4. Research programs involving national and ethnic minorities living in Slovakia

If we examine the study of national minorities in Slovakia and how it is done, we can conclude that the state has never provided targeted support for this. Apart from the previously mentioned Institute of Social Sciences in Košice, the state has not created a research institute specifically for this purpose, and it largely depends on the ambition of individual scholars whether an academic or university institution launches a research program for the study of minorities.

The fact that the Slovak academic institutions still devote more attention to the minorities living in Slovakia than to Slovaks living abroad may highlight the fact that the minorities in Slovakia themselves have greater weight than the Slovaks living abroad, and their societies are also more organized. The center for the research on these communities is the aforementioned Institute of Social Sciences in Košice, where at least half a dozen research projects have been implemented in the past 6-8 years, addressing more general aspects of the nationality issue or a particular Slovakian ethnic minority.³²

The top expert of minority issues at the Institute is Professor Štefan Šutaj, who has been the leader of three important projects in this area in recent years. Between 2012 and 2015, they studied the legal status of the national minorities in society under a joint project with the Faculty of Law of Charles University in Prague. Another project focused on the status of the national minorities in Czechoslovakia after 1945, and a third one addresses the issue of ethnic Hungarians in Slovakia after the political transition, all conducted under the leadership of Professor Štefan Šutaj. These projects were financed by funds supported by the Ministry of Education, Science, Research and Sport of the Slovak Republic.

In addition to the aforementioned studies, the Institute runs additional projects on the Hungarian minority. Two such projects were implemented in collaboration with the Department of History of Selye János University, addressing the history of the Hungarian minority between the two world wars.³³ On the other hand, the Institute in Košice also attaches great importance to the study of certain aspects of the life of Rusyns (Ruthenians) and the Roma.

Apart from the Institute in Košice, the aforementioned Institute of Ethnology also plays a role in the study of Slovakian minorities, although this research is focused especially on the Roma and the Jewish communities instead of the ethnic Hungarians. One example for the research pursued here is the project entitled *The Roma in majority society*, which was intended to examine the models

³² Spoločenskovedný ústav SAV. Projekty. [http://www.svusav.sk/sk/submenu2/projekty/\(29-11-2015\)](http://www.svusav.sk/sk/submenu2/projekty/(29-11-2015))

³³ Československá republika a maďarská menšina na Slovensku (1918–1929). Vega 2/0117/09; Československá republika a maďarská menšina na Slovensku (1930–1938). Vega 2/0023/12.

of coexistence, or the project called *The transformation of the Jewish community after 1989*.³⁴

In addition to studies by academic institutions, the ethnic minorities living in Slovakia are also studied at universities, museums and non-profit research institutions. One of the reasons why most of the universities do not pursue high-quality research is the fact that it is widely believed that the number of higher education institutions in Slovakia is too high. The study of the history, language, everyday culture, etc. of the ethnic minorities is mainly characteristic of the universities that operate in the ethnically mixed regions (Prešov, Nitra and Komárno/Komárom), where research on regional topics often addresses minority issues. The vast majority of research pursued at these universities is financed by the previously mentioned Scientific Competition Fund.

In recent years, the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Prešov³⁵ produced the best results among the Slovakian faculties of humanities, which plays an important role in the study of the Ukrainian/Rusyn minorities, among other topics, through its Center for Ukrainian Studies (Centrum ukrajinistiky)³⁶ or the Institute of History. Apart from the Faculty of Humanities, this is especially true of the University's Faculty of Greek Catholic Theology, whose projects inevitably affect the Rusyns and the Ukrainians. On the basis of the most recent organizational changes, the research being pursued at the institutes of Ukrainian, Hungarian and Roma studies is coordinated by the Center for the Study of the Language and Culture of National Minorities (Centrum jazykov a kultúr národnostných menšín).³⁷

The Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra is especially involved in the study of the Hungarian minority through its Faculty of Central European Studies. In recent years, linguistic research has been specifically pursued on this topic. Anna Sándor's research team studied certain linguistic contact phenomena that are characteristic of southern Slovakia between 2007 and 2009, and another resource team led by Ildikó Vančo investigated Hungarian-Slovakian bilingualism between 2008 and 2010.³⁸

³⁴ Ústav etnologia Slovenskej akadémie vied. Projekty. <http://www.uet.sav.sk/?q=sk/zoznam-projektov> (30-11-2015)

³⁵ See among others the 2014 ARRA report studying and ranking the Slovakian universities. Hodnotenie fakúlt vysokých škôl 2014. http://www.arra.sk/sites/arra.sk/files/file/ARRA_Sprava_2014_27_11_2014.pdf (30-11-2015)

³⁶ Filozofická fakulta Prešovskej univerzity v Prešove, Centrum ukrajinistiky. <http://www.ff.unipo.sk/cu/> (30-11-2015)

³⁷ Gréckokatolícka teologická fakulta. Grantové projekty riešené na fakulte. <http://www.unipo.sk/grackokatolicka-teologicka-fakulta/veda-a-vyskum/projekty/> (30-11-2015)

³⁸ Univerzita Konštantína filozofa v Nitre. Fakulta stredoeuroopských štúdií. Projekty. <https://www.fss.ukf.sk/index.php/sk/veda-a-vyskum-2/projekty> (30-11-2015)

The majority of university research projects studying the Hungarian minority are linked to the Faculty of Education of Selye János University. Its Department of History is especially active in this area, which has managed three projects that studied the history of Slovakian Hungarians in recent years. The Department of Hungarian Literature also runs research projects that study the ethnic Hungarians in Slovakia, as well as József Lízka and László Gyurgyík in the area of ethnography and demography.³⁹

Although museums do not play a major role in Slovak science, the special museums dealing with the preservation of ethnic cultures are still worth mentioning. Although their personnel and financial capacities are limited, these special institutions that are regionally managed by the Slovak National Museum (Slovenské národné múzeum) also undertake scientific research tasks as part of their activity in organizing exhibitions and developing documentations, since there is no separate academic organization for this particular area. There are altogether 6 such museums: the Museum of Culture for Carpathian Germans, the Museum of Hungarian Culture in Slovakia, the Museum of Jewish Culture, the Museum of Croatian Culture in Slovakia, the Museum of Ukrainian Culture, and the Museum of Rusyn Culture.⁴⁰ On the basis of the publicly available 2013 and 2014 reports of these institutions, the museums of German, Ukrainian and Jewish culture did the most in the area of scientific research, while the Museum of Croatian Culture did not pursue any scientific activity.⁴¹ The reason why the Museum of Hungarian Culture in Slovakia, which is responsible for the Mikszáth legacy in Sklabiná and the Madách legacy in Dolná Strehová, carried out a relatively small number of research projects is perhaps because only the Hungarian minority, of all the nationalities previously listed, has its own university and independent research institute, which means that this Museum in Bratislava is not really expected to pursue this kind of research.

In addition to the Museum of Hungarian Culture, there are additional regional museums functioning in South Slovakia that could participate in the study of Slovakian Hungarians simply by virtue of their geographical location. However, for various reasons, only some of them are able to meet this need. The most important of them is the Danube Region Museum of the Slovak National Museum based in Komárno (Komárom), which pursues traditional archaeological and botanical research, but thanks to some young colleagues who were recently hired, the historical and ethnological study of the region is getting an increasingly more

³⁹ For the research projects running at Selye János University see its website: <http://www.selyeuni.sk/hu/tudomany/kutatasi-palyazatok/kutatasi-projektek.html> (29-11-2015)

⁴⁰ For more information on these mediums see the website of the Slovak National Museum: <http://www.snm.sk/> (29-11-2015)

⁴¹ Výročné správy o činnosti múzeí na Slovensku za rok 2013 a za rok 2014. <http://www.snm.sk/?vyrocne-spravy-muzei-sr> (15-12-2015)

important role. The Gemer-Malohont Museum in Rimavská Sobota (Rimaszombat) plays a similar role in the Gemer (Gömör) region. One of its special research topics is the study of the Roma population in the region. Among the historical research projects carried out by the museum, the study of the development of Rimavská Sobota (Rimaszombat) and its region in the era of Austria-Hungary and during World War I deserves mention. No less important, the study of the Castle Museum in Fiľakovo (Füleke) and the Museum of Mining in Rožňava (Rozsnyó) also belongs to this category. The Archives in Šaľa (Vágsellye), which also pursues important research under the leadership of Veronika Novák as the branch museum of the Slovak National Archives, deserves special mention. It is responsible for the preservation of the archival documents of the districts in Veľký Žitný ostrov Island (Csallóköz), mainly inhabited by Hungarians, and the districts in Matúšova zem (Mátyusföld) with a mixed population, but it regularly organizes scientific conferences on Hungarian topics. The materials of these conferences are published in the yearbooks of the Archives.

The Hungarian minority is the only one of Slovakia's national minorities that has certain elements of a network of scientific institutions independent of the state. Apart from its numerical majority and more organized structure, the Hungarian community could maintain historical traditions thanks to the donation of 1 million korunas granted by President T. G. Masaryk of the first Republic of Czechoslovakia, as a scientific institution was established under the name of the Hungarian Society for Science, Literature and Art in Czechoslovakia (Csehszlovákiai Magyar Tudományos, Művészeti és Irodalmi Társaság).⁴² This institution, which became infamous as the Masaryk Academy in common parlance, was chaired by linguist Gábor Orbán between 1931 and 1937, and then by Protestant Bishop Elemér Balogh, focused on linguistic research but failed to achieve significant results. Its social position was also relatively weak, as public opinion saw the Masaryk Academy – with some good reason – as part of a so-called activist group that cooperated with Czechoslovakian government circles. The Masaryk Academy stopped functioning in 1945 when it was dissolved as part of the contemporary anti-Hungarian measures, and its property was confiscated.

The need for an independent network of scientific institutions in Slovakia emerged again during the time of the Prague Spring, when the Hungarian intelligentsia raised the possibility of establishing a Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Czechoslovakia, but the political situation quickly swept this plan away.⁴³ After the failure in 1968 and the standstill of the two decades following it, the political

⁴² For the history of the T. G. Masaryk Academy see Popély, Gyula, "A Csehszlovákiai Magyar Tudományos, Irodalmi és Művészeti Társaság", Pozsony (Bratislava), 1973.

⁴³ For more on the plans to build out a network of Hungarian scientific institutions in Slovakia that emerged in 1968 see Simon, Attila, "1968 szerepe a szlovákiai magyar intézményrendszer fejlődésében", *Fórum Társadalomtudományi Szemle*, 2009, no. 2., pp. 95–108.

transition in 1989 offered the possibility to establish some kind of a network of scientific institutions in Czechoslovakia, especially in the area of social sciences. The first comer in this respect was the Mercurius Social Science Research Group established in 1992, though it was more like a networking group of social scientists than an institution.

The breakthrough in this respect was undoubtedly the Forum Minority Research Institute (Fórum Kisebbségkutató Intézet) in 1996 (at that time called as Forum Social Science Institute). Serving as its director until 2014, Károly Tóth played a key role in its establishment and operations. By now the Forum Minority Research Institute has become a unique institution in the region. Although it is a non-profit organization, its center is home to a scientific library and archives, and it has an organizational network embracing several disciplines and a highly qualified research staff. Currently, the Forum Minority Research Institute has three scientific sections: the Ethnology Center (Etnológiai Központ) in Komárno (Komárom), the Section of Historical Research, and the Section of Sociological and Demographic Research, to which a fourth section was added in 2016, the Gramma Language Office (Gramma Nyelvi Iroda) engaging linguistic research.⁴⁴ Without being exhaustive, the following research projects that have been conducted in recent years deserve mention: the study of Hungarian values in Slovakia, the study of sacred reliefs and national symbols, the figures of the 2011 census that affect the Hungarians in Slovakia, and the activist policy pursued between the two world wars.

In the past two decades, the Forum Minority Research Institute has developed a comprehensive institutional and scientific network of relations with Slovakian, Hungarian and other scientific entities in the Carpathian Basin, including academic institutions of the countries concerned. The Institute is absolutely essential for social-science research also involving ethnic Hungarians in Slovakia, while it also operates and provides an institutional framework for the Hungarian Academic Council of Slovakia.⁴⁵ The Forum Minority Research Institute regularly organizes scientific conferences, and publishes 4-5 scientific monographs every year. It is also the publisher of the only Hungarian-language quarterly scientific journal, *Fórum Társadalomtudományi Szemle* (Forum Social Science Review). In recent years, the operation and the continuous upgrading of the Slovakia Hungarian Databank have been given priority.⁴⁶

In addition to the Forum Minority Research Institute, there are several other smaller research groups and non-profit organizations also pursuing scientific

⁴⁴ Fórum Kisebbségkutató Intézet / Forum Minority Research Institute. www.foruminst.sk (15-12-2015)

⁴⁵ *Akademická rada Maďarov na Slovensku / Hungarian Academic Council of Slovakia*. www.szmat.sk (15-12-2015)

⁴⁶ Slovakian Hungarian Databank. www.adatbank.sk (15-12-2015)

research in the ethnic Hungarian network of scientific institution. The Gramma Language Office is undoubtedly the most significant of these organizations, which has implemented a number of linguistic research programs since its foundation in 2001 and is an important component of the Termini Network of the Carpathian Basin. In addition, the Center for Cultural Anthropology (Kulturális Antropológiai Műhely) in Tornaľa (Tornalja), the Gemer-Malohont Museum Society (Gömör-Kishonti Múzeum Egyesület) in Rimavská Sobota (Rimaszombat), and several other smaller institutions represent the network of ethnic Hungarian institutions in Slovakia

Although the non-profit organizations in Slovakia play an indispensable role in the studies involving ethnic Hungarians in Slovakia, their funding is unresolved, as the Slovakian state does not have any special programs to support the scientific life of the minorities. Since support for science in Slovakia is almost exclusively confined to the academic and university institutions, these Hungarian institutions cannot apply for resources to the aforementioned two funds that are designed to support science. The regular annual competition announced by the Government Office of the Republic of Slovakia to support minority cultures might help solve this problem to some extent, although this program is designed primarily to support cultural activities. Although proposals may be submitted for partly scientific research, because of the exclusively one-year time frame of these programs, it is impossible to plan long-term research projects. Similarly, no applications are accepted for the operation of institutions, which means that the organizations concerned often need to reallocate some of their funds that have been granted for research projects to cover operating costs.

When we look at the network of institutions outlined above, we can see that the majority of the research programs run by them are related to the study of the history, ethnography, language use and social and demographic features of the ethnic Hungarians in Slovakia. In other words, they are closely related to programs designed to strengthen identity, which follows, in part, from the nature of the Hungarian aid system. Without this, the position of these institutions would become totally impossible. The two most important components of the Hungarian aid system are represented by the grants provided by the MTA, and through the Bethlen Gábor Fund.

The grants provided by the MTA are represented by the aid awarded to workshops since 2005, and the scholarship program called *Domus Hungarica Scientiarum et Artium* designed to support individual research projects. One of the important advantages of this program is predictability and the clear set of conditions, while its drawback is the limited amount of funding, especially for workshops. In contrast, the Bethlen Gábor Fund distributes large amounts among the ethnic Hungarian organizations abroad – especially outside its competition system – but only some of these funds are used to support research objectives, while

the system of awarding grants is not only nontransparent but also laden with contradictions, which is surely not beneficial for the ethnic Hungarians in Slovakia.⁴⁷

* * *

As the previous discussion demonstrates, the focus on minority issues in the science policy and the organization of research activities of the Slovak state is very different from that of Hungary. Since the Slovaks living abroad are relatively weak both in terms of their number and their identity, their network of scientific institutions – with the exception of the Research Institute of Slovaks in Hungary – does not exist, and since the minority issue in Slovakia has no significant role in public thinking either, the Slovak state devoted little attention to it. The concern for the science of Slovak communities living abroad does not have a place in the organizational structure of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, nor have institutionalized forms of support been established to promote Slovak science abroad. If we also take into account that the issue of Slovaks living abroad is represented in academic and university research only haphazardly, it is even more obvious that the current Hungarian government (primarily through the organization units created by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences for this particular purpose) pays more attention to Hungarian science in the ethnic Hungarian regions by orders of magnitude greater than what the Slovakian government does for Slovaks living abroad.

⁴⁷ For BGF's grant system see the institution's website: <http://bgazrt.hu/> (15-12-2015)

Minorities in Ukrainian science

István Cserniczkó – Csilla Fedinec***

After becoming independent, Ukraine inherited the territory of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic upon the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991.¹ The Ukrainian nation, which managed to achieve the status of a real state only by the end of the 20th century, has undergone different stages of national development to a greater extent than the majority of European nation states. The situations of ethnic Ukrainians living outside of today's Ukraine and the ways they are seen within their given countries are also different from the situations of ethnic Hungarian communities living abroad. From a Hungarian point of view, the critical issue is the situation of the ethnic Hungarian minorities that found themselves in a foreign country after the borders had been moved by force, while from a Ukrainian perspective, the only positive legacy of the Soviet era was that a region larger than what had ever been anticipated came under the jurisdiction of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic by drawing the new borders.

Ukrainian science defines minority groups on the basis of ethnic affiliation as minorities within the country, but outside the national borders, they are seen as part of the diaspora, irrespective of their origin.

1. Ukrainian communities outside of (today's) Ukraine

We do not have precise data on the number of Ukrainians living outside the national borders (and as the first and as yet only census was conducted in 2001 in the sovereign Ukraine, social scientists do not have reliable data on the current demographic situation in the country either). According to the estimate of Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it is somewhere between 12 and 20 million.² The book entitled *Ukraine in Maps*, jointly published by the Institute of Geography of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine and the Geographical Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (2008), estimated the number of ethnic

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¹ Smolyi, Valerii, "Specific features of historical evolution", In: Kocsis, Károly – Rudenko, Leonid – Schweitzer, Ferenc (eds.) *"Ukraine in Maps"*, Kyiv–Budapest, 2008, pp. 19–24.

² <http://mfa.gov.ua/ua/about-ukraine/ukrainians-abroad> (17-11-2015); <http://mfa.gov.ua/ua/consular-affairs/otr> (17-11-2015)

Ukrainians living abroad at 7-8 million.³ According to other studies, 37.5 million Ukrainians (about 81%) live in Ukraine out of the total of 46.2 million Ukrainians living in the entire world; the number of those living outside the national borders is close to 4.5 million in the successor states of the former Soviet Union and 4.2 million to the west of Ukraine.⁴ According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, the Ukrainian community living in Russia is the largest: the official statistics report 1.93 million people, but according to some estimates over 10 million live in the largest neighbor nation of Ukraine.⁵ At the same time, according to the World Bank there are over 6 million Ukrainians – the fifth-largest number in the world – who had left the country in the two decades before the current crisis.⁶ Although the persistent consequences of the current crisis are difficult to foresee at the moment, it is clear that the radical decline in the population continues to point toward a negative trend.

The ethnic Ukrainian communities abroad can be classified on the basis of their evolution as follows:

1. *Native Ukrainian minorities outside today's national borders.* In the early 20th century, the Ukrainian ethnic space was divided between two empires: most of the Ukrainians belonged to Tsarist Russia and the rest to the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Later, these regions were gradually transferred to the Soviet Union. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Independent Ukraine became one of the largest states in Europe in size. Nonetheless, some of the peripheral regions of the Ukrainian ethnic space remained outside the borders of the Ukrainian state (partly in Poland, Slovakia, and Romania, but the majority of them in the frontier zone of the neighboring post-Soviet republics, Russia, Moldova and Belarus).

2. *Groups of Ukrainians (or people of Ukrainian origin) who remained in the post-Soviet states due to the Soviet resettlement policy.* Another group of ethnic Ukrainians abroad comprises those “colonizers” who were settled down in the member states during the Soviet era as well as their descendants. It is obvious that the several thousand Ukrainians living in e. g. Kazakhstan or the post-Soviet Baltic States do not belong to the ethnic Ukrainian regions abroad. There are also a large number of Ukrainians living in the Asian regions of Russia. The native language of most of these Ukrainians is Russian and they belong to the Russian-speaking population of the given country. For example, according to the 2009 census, only 29.2% of the people of Ukrainian origin living in Belarus declared themselves as Ukrainian, and 61.2% of them as Russian native speakers. Nearly

³ Bochkovs'ka, Alla – Kocsis, Károly – Rudenko, Leonid, “Ethnicity, Language and Religion”. In: *“Ukraine in Maps”*, *ibid.*, p. 57.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁵ <http://mfa.gov.ua/ua/consular-affairs/otr> (17-11-2015)

⁶ Риндзак, Ольга, „Чинники еміграції та проблеми інтеграції українських мігрантів за кордоном”, *ScienceRise*, 2/2014, pp. 138–142.

80% of the Russian-speaking Ukrainians living in Latvia did not have Latvian citizenship even by the beginning of the 2000s, because they had not acquired the official language required for citizenship.⁷

3. *Political and economic migrants from overseas countries.* Numerous Ukrainians began to immigrate to the American continent as economic migrants as early as the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, especially from present-day Western Ukraine. There were several waves of migration in the Soviet era, when Ukrainians left the country for political considerations, creating a diaspora with national sentiments that had a decisive influence on the content of science being developed among them. In the years after the collapse of the Soviet Union, another wave of Ukrainian migrants arrived in North America.

Some studies estimate the number of people of Ukrainian origin in the United States and Canada at two million.⁸ According to the estimate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Kiev, 2.7 million people of Ukrainian origin live in these two countries.⁹ The Ministry estimates the number of people with Ukrainian origin living in South American states at more than 800,000 (500,000 in Brazil, 250,000-300,000 in Argentina, 10,000-12,000 in Paraguay and 1,000 in Chile).¹⁰

4. *Economic migrants who settled down temporarily or permanently in European states.* There are political refugees or their descendants living in Western Europe as well, but the Ukrainian migrants in these countries are primarily economic migrants. The unsuccessful attempts to become independent at the beginning of the 20th century, the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, and the creation of Soviet Ukraine gave rise to a diaspora with several thousand Ukrainians in central and western European countries. The permanent economic crisis of Ukraine after its independence achieved in 1991 (in 2015, the Ukrainian GDP was still below the level recorded in the last full Soviet year, 1990¹¹) made even more people take a job abroad, especially in Southern European countries, though people from Transcarpathia choose Hungary and Slovakia, and today the primary destination for Ukrainians are the Czech Republic and Germany.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine data includes 86,000 Ukrainians working in Spain, 42,000 in Portugal, and 32,000 in Greece,¹² but some studies estimate the number of Ukrainian nationals permanently working abroad between 1.5 and 7 million.¹³ The number of Ukrainians who settled down outside the na-

⁷ <http://www.belstat.gov.by/perepis-naseleniya/> (17-11-2015)

⁸ Bochkov's'ka, Alla – Kocsis, Károly – Rudenko, Leonid, "Ethnicity, Language and Religion". In: *"Ukraine in Maps"*; *ibid.*, pp. 58–59.

⁹ <http://mfa.gov.ua/ua/consular-affairs/otr> (17-11-2015)

¹⁰ <http://mfa.gov.ua/ua/consular-affairs/otr> (17-11-2015)

¹¹ IMF: World Economic Outlook Database, GDP, Ukraine, April 2014. (16-01-2016)

¹² <http://mfa.gov.ua/ua/about-ukraine/ukrainians-abroad> (17-11-2015)

¹³ <http://www.lp.edu.ua/node/2014> (17-11-2015)

tional borders in Western Europe in order to rescue their property accumulated in Ukraine is also quite large. The Foreign Ministry reported 123,300 Ukrainians living in Germany, 30,000 in Great Britain, 30,000 in France, 22,000 in the Czech Republic and 12,000 in Austria.¹⁴ The number of children of Ukrainian oligarchs studying at leading North American universities may also amount to several thousand.

5. Ukrainian nationals who have fled from the East Ukrainian war since 2014.

It is yet to be seen how the annexation (“temporary occupation”) of Crimea by Russia and the military operation – officially called an “Anti-Terrorist Operation” – of the (hybrid) war in Eastern Ukraine will influence the ethnic and linguistic composition of the country’s population. It is certain though that several hundred thousand people were forced to leave the front-line zone (many of them for foreign countries such as Russia), and several thousand men of military age left Ukraine out of fear of mobilization, and no one knows how many of them will return home. In view of the danger of war, Poland, Greece and the Czech Republic are evacuating their minorities living in Ukraine or are assisting them to relocate. By all accounts, the number of Ukrainian nationals living abroad has considerably increased as a result of the armed conflict.

2. Ukraine’s academic structure

The National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine¹⁵ was officially founded on November 27, 1918. This academic body came into being during the Civil War period when the Ukrainian People’s Republic was striving for independence. The majority of today’s Ukrainian territory, along with the Academy, was soon to become part of the Soviet Union. The work of the Academy had been determined by the Soviet academic structure up to 1991, when Ukraine became independent. The persistent economic difficulties of the sovereign Ukraine and the inherited Soviet stereotypes have made the revival of the Academy difficult. The president of the Academy has been Boris Paton since 1962, - he was reelected for another term just recently, in April 2015.

The National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine has 14 research departments within three sections: 1) the Section of Physical, Engineering and Mathematical Sciences including mathematics, informatics, mechanics, physics and astronomy, geoscience, physical and technical problems of material science, physical and technical problems of power engineering, nuclear physics and power engineering; 2) the chemistry and biology section including chemistry, biochemistry, physiology and molecular biology, general biology; and 3) the social sciences and humanities

¹⁴ <http://mfa.gov.ua/ua/consular-affairs/otr> (17-11-2015)

¹⁵ Національна академія наук України / National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. <http://www.nas.gov.ua/EN/Pages/default.aspx> (22-10-2015)

section including economics, history, philosophy and law, literature, language and art criticism. It has a comprehensive institutional network. The regional science centers include the following: 1) western center (in Lviv), 2) southern center (in Odessa), 3) north-east center (in Kharkiv), 4) the Dnieper center (in Dnipropetrovsk), and 5) the western center in Kiev. Earlier, there used to be a sixth regional research center in Crimea, but its funding was stopped in 2014 after the annexation of the peninsula by Russia. The structure of the Academy also includes the Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine,¹⁶ as well as 168 research institutions and 46 research-production units.

Only a few of the institutions working under the Academy address minority issues in some respect (such as the Institute of Sociology,¹⁷ the Kuras Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies,¹⁸ the Koretsky Institute of State and Law,¹⁹ the Rylsky Institute for Art Studies, Folklore and Ethnology,²⁰ the Ptoukha Institute for Demography and Social Studies,²¹ the Institute of Ukrainian Language,²² the Krypiakevych Institute of Ukrainian Studies,²³ etc.). Regional research has a central role in the area of social sciences and liberal arts, where the linguistic and cultural issues of the minorities living in the country are addressed primarily from an ethnic-political perspective. The (national and ethnic) minority is primarily seen as a political issue determined by historical conditions. It is especially the Hungarians, the Romanians and the Crimean Tatars that represent a political factor – the same ethnic communities that are characterized, along with the Russians, with a strong endeavor to preserve their language and that are clearly visible as a nationality at the county level, as their ratio comes close to 10% in certain regions. Until recently, the Ukrainian Russians have not emerged as a minority issue or as an ethnic minority in scientific research. Their social organizations represent the Russian-speaking people, the consumers of Russian culture rather than ethnic Russians – irrespective of their ethnicity. 95% of Ukraine's population comprised

¹⁶ Національна бібліотека України імені В. І. Вернадського / Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine. <http://www.nbuv.gov.ua/> (17-11-2015)

¹⁷ Інститут соціології / Institute of Sociology. <http://i-soc.com.ua/ukr/index.php> (17-11-2015)

¹⁸ Інститут політичних і етнонаціональних досліджень ім. І. Ф. Кураса / Kuras Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies. <http://www.ipiend.gov.ua/> (17-11-2015)

¹⁹ Інститут держави і права ім. В. М. Корецького / Koretsky Institute of State and Law. <http://idrnan.org.ua/> (17-11-2015)

²⁰ Інститут мистецтвознавства, фольклористики та етнології ім. М. Т. Рильського / Rylsky Institute for Art Studies, Folklore and Ethnology. <http://www.etnolog.org.ua/> (17-11-2015)

²¹ Інститут демографії та соціальних досліджень імені М. В. Птухи / Ptoukha Institute for Demography and Social Studies. <http://www.idss.org.ua/> (17-11-2015)

²² Інститут української мови НАН України / Institute of Ukrainian Language. <http://www1.nas.gov.ua/institutes/ium/Pages/default.aspx> (16-11-2015)

²³ Інститут українознавства ім. І. Крип'якевича / Krypiakevych Institute of Ukrainian Studies. <http://www.inst-ukr.lviv.ua/uk/> (16-11-2015)

Ukrainians and Russians, and at least a quarter of them belong to the ethnic Russian group.

At the same time, special attention is devoted to the minorities in Ukraine by each of the affected mother countries. Poland, Slovenia, Hungary and Romania provided a card that recognizes nationality and grants certain privileges in the given country, and two of these countries – going against Ukrainian regulations – even extended dual citizenship generously in order to forge closer relationships with their fellow citizens. Romanian diplomacy has been making constant efforts to ensure that Moldovans and Romanians are not separated in Ukraine. The Polish community, with its 150,000 people, is roughly as large as the Hungarian population, but the ethnic Polish people – unlike the Hungarians, who have strong ambitions to preserve their native language, have a low level of proficiency in the official language, and are less integrated into society – have been assimilated almost entirely, and the majority of them have become Ukrainian-speaking. At the same time, the Poles in Ukraine have a highly organized community with close ties with the mother country: Polish physicians and teachers go to Poland to acquire professional experience, while kids and young people spend their holiday in Polish youth camps and pursue their studies at Polish universities. Membership in social organizations specially supported by the Polish state is strictly subject to being a member of the Polish ethnic community. Hungary plays a leading role in research in that its Academy undertakes to manage the scientific activities of Hungarian communities living outside its borders, including Ukraine, and pursue organized multidisciplinary research into the given ethnic community.

Russia also supports “compatriots abroad” [соотечественники за рубежом], that is, the Russians living outside its national borders, as well as the representatives of the native nationalities living within its borders who live abroad. As interpreted by Russian politics, the former category comprises a demographic reserve, and is an important factor in Russian foreign policy. In accordance with the 1999 Russian Federal Law “On State Policy of the Russian Federation in respect of compatriots abroad” are Russian citizens permanently residing outside the Russian Federation, persons and their descendants residing outside the territory of the Russian Federation and related as a rule to peoples historically living on the territory of the Russian Federation, persons who made a free choice in favor of the spiritual, cultural and legal relationship with the Russian Federation and whose relatives in the direct ascending line formerly resided in the territory of the Russian Federation (persons who used to be citizens of the USSR, those who live in the countries that were part of the Soviet Union, persons acquired the citizenship of those countries or those who become stateless citizens; immigrants from the Russian State, the Russian Republic, RSFSR, USSR and the Russian Federation who used to have the proper citizenship and have become citizens of a foreign

country or stateless citizens).²⁴ Since 2006 there has been a Decree of the President on Measures to provide assistance to voluntary resettlement into the Russian Federation of compatriots living abroad.²⁵ The inclination to return home is growing every year; according to the state migration office data, over 160,000 people returned home in 2015.²⁶ According to the estimate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, there are 17 million Russian nationals and “fellow citizens” living outside the borders of Russia, the majority of them in Ukraine (Kazakhstan is in second place with 5 million people).²⁷ Another important concept in Russian political communication is “Russkiy Mir” (Russian World) – the community of people dispersed globally who are representatives of the Russian language and culture, or foreigners who study in Russia, have family, cultural and intellectual ties with Russia, and see it as a friendly country.²⁸ There are several foundations (also) financed by the state that participate in the implementation of these programs (Russkiy Mir Foundation, Alexander Gorchakov Public Diplomacy Fund, Foundation for Supporting and Protecting the Rights of Compatriots Living Abroad), which also take part in research projects by announcing competitions.

3. Programs and research projects for ethnic Ukrainians abroad

According to Article 12 Chapter I of the Ukrainian Constitution, “Ukraine provides for the satisfaction of national and cultural, and linguistic needs of Ukrainians residing beyond the borders of the State”.²⁹ A law of Ukraine on the legal status of foreign Ukrainians in 2004³⁰ also provides for this. The preamble of the law says that “The Ukrainian state helps development of national consciousness of the Ukrainians living outside of Ukraine, strengthening of ties with the homeland and to their return to Ukraine.”

²⁴ Федеральный закон от 24.05.1999 № 99-ФЗ (ред. от 23.07.2013) О государственной политике Российской Федерации в отношении соотечественников за рубежом. <http://base.garant.ru/12115694/> (15-01-2016)

²⁵ Указ Президента Российской Федерации от 22 июня 2006 года, Москва № 637 О мерах по оказанию содействия добровольному переселению в Российскую Федерацию соотечественников, проживающих за рубежом. *Российская газета*, 28 июня 2006 г.

²⁶ http://www.fms.gov.ru/fms/activity/stats/Statistics/Statisticheskie_svedeniya_po_migracionno/item/50443/ (15-01-2016)

²⁷ <http://kremlin.ru/acts/news/50643> (15-01-2016)

²⁸ <http://council.gov.ru/activity/documents/54355> (15-01-2016)

²⁹ Constitution of Ukraine. <http://www.legislationline.org/documents/section/constitutions/country/52> (17-11-2015)

³⁰ Law of Ukraine About foreign Ukrainians. <http://zakon0.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/1582-15> (17-11-2015); Orosz, Sándor, “Törvény és érdekvédelmi program a határon túli ukránok szülőföldi/anyanyelvű státuszáról”, *Pro Minoritate*, 1/2011, pp. 82–97.

In accordance with Article 1 of the law a foreign Ukrainian is a person being the citizen of another state or the stateless person, having Ukrainian ethnic origin or having origin from Ukraine. Those persons are considered to have the Ukrainian ethnic origin, who (or whose ancestors) belong to the Ukrainian nation and recognize Ukraine the homeland of their ethnic origin. Article 3 of the Act defines the criteria for having the status of foreign Ukrainians. These people include the following: the person considers himself as having Ukrainian identity; Ukrainian origin or ethnicity; lack of Ukrainian citizenship; age under 16; and a written application for obtaining the status of an ethnic Ukrainian living abroad. Pursuant to Article 10 of the Act, satisfying the ethnic, cultural and linguistic needs of Ukrainians living outside the national borders and the protection of the right of national minorities are an inalienable part of Ukraine's political activity. The status of ethnic Ukrainians living abroad is granted by issuing a card for "ethnic Ukrainians living abroad".

The Ukrainian government created the National Commission for Matters Concerning Ukrainians Worldwide by Government Decree No. 1024 of August 8, 2004.³¹ The commission has a meeting every quarter. Its key task is to evaluate the applications for the status of ethnic Ukrainians living abroad. According to the data issued on July 11, 2014, a total of 8,448 persons were granted this status. The website of Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs has a separate section that provides information on the application for the status of ethnic Ukrainians abroad.³²

In its decree No. 682 issued on June 18, 2012, the government approved the official program of liaising with the ethnic Ukrainians abroad for the period between 2012 and 2015.³³ This official program is designed, among other things, to slow down the assimilation of young ethnic Ukrainians abroad, organize Ukrainian-language courses for ethnic Ukrainians abroad, and use the intellectual, cultural and scientific achievements of Ukrainians living abroad in order to strengthen Ukraine's international prestige and image. The annexes to the documents list the various aids provided for ethnic Ukrainians living abroad, the amount of funds allocated for this purpose, and their source in the budget. The 20-page list includes very few items that are related to science, such as financial support provided for the organization of conferences.

Ukraine's Ministry of Education and Science has a separate program for Ukrainians living abroad. According to the information material posted on the ministry's official website,³⁴ the government provides 1,000 scholarships every

³¹ Національна комісія з питань закордонних українців при Кабінеті Міністрів України / National Commission for Matters Concerning Ukrainians Worldwide at the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine. <http://mfa.gov.ua/ua/about-ukraine/ukrainians-abroad> (17-11-2015)

³² <http://mfa.gov.ua/ua/consular-affairs/otr> (17-11-2015)

³³ <http://zakon3.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/682-2012-%D0%BF> (17-11-2015)

³⁴ <http://mon.gov.ua/activity/education/zakordonnim-ukrayinczyam/> (17-11-2015)

year for foreign nationals of Ukrainian origin, which can be used in 200 higher-education institutions (that have the relevant permissions) in the following subject areas: teacher training, humanities, artistic training, journalism, sociology and political science. The government does not provide scholarships for foreign Ukrainians in medical and health-care training.

According to the information provided by the ministry, Bulgaria, Lithuania, Moldova, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Hungary also support the higher-education training of ethnic Ukrainians abroad through scholarships on the basis of an interstate agreement. Only students of Ukrainian origin are eligible to apply for the scholarship that do not have Ukrainian citizenship but have a card issued to ethnic Ukrainians abroad.³⁵

The knowledge of Ukrainian is not a precondition for having the status of ethnic Ukrainian abroad on the basis of either the law on ethnic Ukrainians abroad, or the interpretation of the term *mother tongue* as defined by the Ukrainian Ministry of Education and Science. According to the interpretation of the ministry published on its website, *mother tongue* [рідна мова] “is the language of the parents (or one of the parents), the grandparents or the great-grandparents, with which the given person identifies himself and through which he is related to a particular national and/or ethnic group”.³⁶ Thus, in this interpretation, *mother tongue* is not the language first acquired, nor is it the most frequently used or the best-known language; rather, it is a kind of language of origin. For this reason, the Ukrainians abroad who do not have a command of Ukrainian sufficient for pursuing university studies can enroll in preparatory language courses for tuition of USD 1,500 per year.³⁷

In Ukraine, there is no intellectual and scientific center organized centrally as an organic part of the academic institutional structure whose task is to study the Ukrainian communities living outside the national borders, which are in significantly different situations from one another. On the other hand, the state archive network has its own archives for ethnic Ukrainians abroad.³⁸

Perhaps the most significant institution of foreign Ukrainians is the *International Institute of Education, Culture and Diaspora Relations of Lviv Polytechnic National University*.³⁹ Their key sponsors are the Norway Fund and the Open Ukraine Foundation.

³⁵ <http://mon.gov.ua/activity/education/zakordonnim-ukrayinczyam/ymovi.html> (30-12-2015)

³⁶ <http://mon.gov.ua/activity/education/zagalna-serednya/bagatomovna-osvita/slovnichok.html> (30-12-2015)

³⁷ <http://mon.gov.ua/activity/education/zakordonnim-ukrayinczyam/ymovi.html> (30-12-2015)

³⁸ Центральний державний архів зарубіжної україніки / Central State Archives of Foreign Archival Ukrainian. <http://tsdazu.gov.ua/index.php/en.html> (30-12-2015)

³⁹ Міжнародний інститут освіти, культури та зв'язків з діаспорою Національного університету Львівська політехніка / *International Institute of Education, Culture and Diaspora Relations of Lviv Polytechnic National University*. <http://www.lp.edu.ua/miok> (18-11-2015)

According to its website, the foundation of the research institute was justified by the fact that with Ukraine becoming independent, the relationship of official bodies with the Ukrainian diaspora in the West, which is well-organized and has much better financial possibilities, changed considerably, and so did the attitude of the diaspora, which defined itself as the opposition to the Soviet regime, towards sovereign Ukraine as a politically independent country. In the first half of the 1990s, the Ukrainian state needed the support of the Ukrainian emigrants that were integrated into the host states in the West in order to establish its legitimacy and consolidate its international position. On the other hand, the Western scientific approach, free from the communist ideology, and literature that suddenly became available, provided inspiration for social scientists at home.

The research projects of the Institute give priority to the revival of the language of Ukrainians living abroad, and to the studies carried out in connection with the teaching of the Ukrainian language. Currently, the key project is concerned with the study of more recent waves of immigration from Ukraine, providing assistance for Ukrainian nationals taking a job abroad for a particular period of time to return home, as well as studying and supporting their reintegration into Ukrainian society. It is also the task of this research program to explore the reasons behind mass emigration and analyze its (demographic, social, economic, political, legal, etc.) consequences and challenges.

The majority of Ukrainians working abroad leave behind their families. The study of issues related to children who are socialized in Ukraine without one (and often both) of their parents for a long time and the organization of Ukrainian language courses for and the study of the identity-consciousness of those children who are socialized abroad with their parents far away from the homeland are also part of the Institute's research program. The concept of so-called "social orphans" and "national orphans" has become a central topic in Ukrainian social science research as a result of this research program. The former category includes children who grow up without their parents who are working far away in another country; the latter category includes those who are living outside Ukraine with their parents working abroad during a period of time that is so crucial for socialization and the development of national identity. The research Institute raises issues worthy of serious studies in connection with the psychological development of the children who belong to the first group, and in connection with the development of a Ukrainian national identity and the acquisition of the Ukrainian language for the second group.

The Diaspora Research Institute in Kiev also deserves mention as a center of studying Ukrainians living beyond the national borders. Created at a civil initiative in 1994, this nonprofit institution is mainly concerned with historical research. Although it has numerous scientific publications and projects of its own,

it does not have its own website; it is present on another website as a guest as well as on Facebook, where a Wikipedia entry is posted on it.⁴⁰

The institutions working outside the national Academy and public higher-education institutions satisfy market demand and/or engage in heated debates with academic historiography.⁴¹

The key issue in the current complicated situation in Ukraine is one of the basic elements of Ukrainian national identity: the language issue. The language of the people living in the diaspora, and the results achieved in the standardization and codification of language by Ukrainian emigration, constitutes an integral part of the history of the Ukrainian language. Therefore, the traditions and viewpoints of the millions of Ukrainians living outside Ukraine cannot be disregarded in the codification of a modern and uniform Ukrainian standard language.

Until Soviet Ukraine was created and until Ukraine became independent in 1991 on this territory, the ethnic Ukrainian regions were under the rule of several different states. As a result, the standardization and codification of the standard variety of Ukrainian⁴² were taking place simultaneously in several places rather than in a single center. At the turn of the 19th-20th centuries, very few people emigrating from the western regions of today's Ukraine had a Ukrainian identity: most of them identified themselves as Rusyn or Transcarpathian Ukrainian, etc., since at that time there was no solid Ukrainian national identity among the emigrants. The struggle for preserving their own language was not being fought for keeping the standard Ukrainian variety, but rather for preserving the regional variety that they had acquired at home.

For example, in the early 1930s slightly different study norms were followed in Ukrainian within the Soviet empire in Soviet Ukraine, in Podkarpatska Rus belonging to the Czech Republic (on the territory of present-day Transcarpathia), and in present-day Western Ukraine, which was under the jurisdiction of Poland at that time. After World War II, when the majority of the ethnic Ukrainian regions were united under the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic as a member of the Soviet Union, the consolidation of Ukrainian spelling rules and Ukrainian linguistic standards began in accordance with the objectives of the Soviet language policy and language planning. At the same time, the majority of the Ukrainian emigrants fleeing from communism and the Soviet regime did not recognize the

⁴⁰ Інститут досліджень діаспори. https://www.facebook.com/Інститут-досліджень-діаспори-410455139079730/info/?tab=page_info (18-11-2015)

⁴¹ As for critical reflections, the most popular platform is: <http://historians.in.ua/index.php/en/> (16-01-2016)

⁴² Standardization: the process in which a language is codified in some way, creating its standard (literary) variety. Codification: the process in which variants are selected from grammar and vocabulary that collectively characterize this particular linguistic variety. The results of codification are generally summarized in grammars, dictionaries and spelling dictionaries. See for instance: Trudgill, Peter, *A Glossary of Sociolinguistics*, Edinburgh, 2003, pp. 23–24, 128.

Soviet-Ukrainian spelling norms, and despite the Ukrainian spelling rules and dictionaries published in Soviet Ukraine, those living in emigration continue to observe the norms that were in place before their emigration. One of the most remarkable examples of this is the consistent use of the spelling *гГ* [gG] by Ukrainians living in the West in their newspapers, journals and books, which was banished from Soviet Ukrainian spelling. Although the Ukrainian orthographic rules restored the use of *гГ* in the Ukrainian alphabet, the codification of new Ukrainian spelling rules based on consensus is still to come.⁴³

In addition to research pertaining to Ukrainian emigration, the studies of traditional ethnic minorities living outside of Ukraine constitutes a special trend. Among these, the debates on the identity of ethnic Ukrainians abroad, especially those of ethnic self-identity, deserve attention.

According to the official Ukrainian academic position – in line with the approach of the former Soviet Union – the Rusyns are not a separate ethnic group but an ethnographic group, and the language spoken by them is one of the dialects of Ukrainian.⁴⁴ On the other hand, some of the states neighboring on Ukraine recognized both Ukrainians and Rusyns as separate nationalities, ethnic minorities.

There are scholars in Ukrainian science who regard the Rusyns both within Ukraine (Transcarpathia) and outside its borders clearly as a politically motivated movement with separatist ambitions that threaten Ukraine's integrity, and Rusyns as a pseudo-minority. Others believe that "Rusyn identity has neither ethnic nor ethnographic or linguistic basis." Also, there are analysts who present the period of the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s as the return of "Rusyn nationalism" and evaluate the period of reviving Rusynian identity as marginal, provincial nationalism and a source of conflict. Additionally, some people believe that the Rusynian movement picking up momentum in the period of Ukraine's achieving independence is influenced by the former Committee for State Security of the Soviet Union), the conspiratorial policy of the United States, Russia, Hungary and Slovakia, and the political secret services of these countries.⁴⁵ In other

⁴³ Cf.: Ажнюк, Богдан, *„Мовна єдність: діаспора й Україна“*, Київ, 1999; Ажнюк, Богдан, *„Еволюція української мови в діаспорі (етно- і соціолінгвістичні аспекти)“*, Київ, 1999.

⁴⁴ The Council of Europe drew the same conclusion on the position of Ukraine regarding Ruthenians in its Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, which analyzes the application of the convention by Ukraine. See: Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. Opinion on Ukraine. 1 March 2002. <http://www.refworld.org/country,COESFCPNM,,UKR,,447eef6f4,0.html> (30-12-2015)

⁴⁵ Cf. works such as: Smith, Raymond A., "Indigenous and Diaspora Elites and the Return of Carpatho-Ruthenian Nationalism, 1989–1992", *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, Vol. XXI (Number 1–2, 1997), pp. 141–160; Нагорна, Лариса, *„Регіональна ідентичність: український контекст“*, Київ, 2008; Савойська, Світлана, *„Мовно-політичний сепаратизм як фактор дестабілізації єдності українського суспільства в умовах пострадянської трансформації“*, Київ, 2011; Балєга, Юрій, *„Політичне русинство, або Фенцико-Бродіївські привиди на*

words: According to Ukraine and the Ukrainian academic community, the people living in Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, Serbia and Croatia, which identify themselves as Rusyns, are actually Ukrainian and their language is a variety of Ukrainian.⁴⁶ The Ukrainian state and the academic community look at it with disapproval if a state recognizes the Rusyns in Ukraine as a distinct nationality. These states are typically seen as acting in this way in order to weaken the Ukrainian community in the given country, under Russia's influence, and hence indirectly Ukraine and the Ukrainian nation.⁴⁷ This is because "the official Ukrainian politics regards the Ukrainians outside its national borders as a constituent part of Ukrainian society defined in the broadest possible (geographical) sense, without which the entire community of Ukrainians could not be complete".⁴⁸

4. Institutions and organizations of the ethnic Ukrainians abroad

The studies on the several million Ukrainians living outside of Ukraine are not organized by a central research institution, nor does the Ukrainian academic structure have any institute whose tasks would include the organization and coordination of studies pertaining to ethnic Ukrainians abroad. The research on Ukrainians living abroad with a focus on social science is mainly connected to a few academic institutions, university departments and individual researchers. These research projects lack predictable state support and are funded by (foreign) competitions and – in most cases – by aid provided for ethnic Ukrainian organizations and institutions abroad. The focus of research on the ethnic Ukrainians abroad lies not with Ukraine but with the research institutes of Slavic and Ukrainian studies, university departments and institutions working outside Ukraine.

The Ukrainian diaspora is pretty well-organized. There are numerous societies and clubs engaged in organizing and bringing together the groups of Ukrainian people living outside of Ukraine. These include the Ukrainian World Coordinating Council,⁴⁹ the Ukrainian World Congress⁵⁰ or the European Congress of Ukrainians.⁵¹ These organizations, however, receive support only sporadically

Закарпатті”, Ужгород, 2010; Кривицька, Олена, “Демаркаційні лінії в етнополітичному просторі України”, Київ, 2015.

⁴⁶ Белей, Любомир, “Русинська мова в Югославії та Хорватії”. In: “Українська мова. Енциклопедія”. Київ, 2000, p. 527.

⁴⁷ Orosz, Sándor: “Törvény és érdekvédelmi program...”, *ibid.*, pp. 88–89.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 94

⁴⁹ Українська Всесвітня Координаційна Рада / Ukrainian World Coordinating Council. www.uvkr.com.ua (17-11-2015)

⁵⁰ Світовий Конгрес Українців / Ukrainian World Congress. www.ukrainianworldcongress.org (17-11-2015)

⁵¹ Європейський Конгрес Українців / European Congress of Ukrainians. www.eukrainians.net (17-11-2015)

from the Ukrainian budget for particular events or publications. What is more typical is that the organizations and institutions working abroad provide support for organizations for particular conferences and cultural programs, trainings, and the publication of books and papers in Ukraine. However, conducting scientific research and providing support for it does not belong to the core activities of the aforementioned organizations.

The International Association of Ukrainian Studies is responsible for promoting the scholars and the research projects related to the Ukrainian language, literature and culture.⁵² Founded in 1989, the Society has local centers in over twenty countries. It organizes the international congresses of Ukrainian Studies and has been regularly publishing the collection entitled *Наукові записки Міжнародної асоціації українців* [Research Publications of the International Society of Ukrainian Studies].⁵³

Numerous research institutions and universities outside Ukraine are engaged in the study of Ukrainian language and culture. Among them, the following are recognized as the most important ones: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies,⁵⁴ Ukrainian Studies at the University of Toronto,⁵⁵ Ukrainian Free University in Munich,⁵⁶ Associazione Italiana di Studi Ucraini (Italian Association of Ukrainian Studies),⁵⁷ Department of Ukrainian Philology at University of Warsaw,⁵⁸ Department of Ukrainian Language and Literature at University of Presov,⁵⁹ Slovak National Museum of Ukrainian-Ruthenian Culture in Svidnik, Ukrainian Studies Program at Columbia University,⁶⁰ Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard University,⁶¹ Ukrainian Studies at Stanford University,⁶² The Ukrainian Studies Endowment at the University of Washington,⁶³ American Association for Ukrainian Studies,⁶⁴ etc. The majority of the research centers working outside Ukraine have professional relations with scholars living in Ukraine and have launched numerous joint research projects. However, these are typically not financed by Ukrainian resources.

⁵² Міжнародна Асоціація Українців / International Association of Ukrainian Studies. <http://www.mau-nau.org.ua/index.htm> (17-11-2015)

⁵³ http://www.mau-nau.org.ua/_private/pro_mau/pro_mau6.htm (17-11-2015)

⁵⁴ <http://www.ualberta.ca/~cius/> (17-11-2015)

⁵⁵ <http://www.chass.utoronto.ca/%7Eetarn/courses/> (17-11-2015)

⁵⁶ <http://www.ukrainische-freie-universitaet.mhn.de/Eng/indexeng.html> (17-11-2015)

⁵⁷ <http://www.aisu.it> (17-11-2015)

⁵⁸ <http://www.ukraina.uw.edu.pl/gb/about.htm> (17-11-2015)

⁵⁹ <http://www.unipo.sk/PU/FF/kujl.htm> (17-11-2015)

⁶⁰ <http://www.sipa.columbia.edu/hi/ukr-series.html> (17-11-2015)

⁶¹ <http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~huri/about.mission.html> (17-11-2015)

⁶² <http://www.stanford.edu/dept/CREES/UkrainianStudies.html> (17-11-2015)

⁶³ <http://www.depts.washington.edu/slavweb/ukrainian/> (17-11-2015)

⁶⁴ <http://www.ukrainianstudies.org/nataffils.htm> (17-11-2015)

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Ukraine spends 0.2% of its GDP on financing science. In 2015, 5 billion hryvnias were spent on funding scientific research from the central budget, of which 2.3 billion was allocated to the national academy. This is roughly EUR 200 million, which is equivalent to the annual budget of a good university in the West. Academician Yaroslav S. Yatskiv said in January 2016⁶⁵ that neither the state, nor the academia or the business community and society have ever considered the promotion of science as important in Ukraine. Government officials have always been aware that the promotion of science and culture is a measure of national sentiment, so they have never spared positive slogans, but no more than that has ever happened. For example, the business community's imagination is never moved by the opportunities offered by high technology. As for society, the people settle for ensuring daily survival, where science is not a major concern.

⁶⁵ Яцків, Ярослав, "Слово про вітху та розпач". *День*, 2/2016. <http://www.day.kiev.ua/uk/article/tema-dnya-cuspilstvo/slovo-pro-vtihu-ta-rozpach> (15-01-2016)

Ethnic Romanians abroad and Romanian national minorities in Romanian science

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Our paper addresses the issue as to what role the research into Romanian ethnic communities abroad and national minorities in Romania plays in Romanian science. Our analysis primarily focuses on social science research (and within that on history). The Romanian diasporas emerged recently (one-and-a-half or two decades ago) as constantly changing and developing communities. Since the relevant, mainly sociological research has received more focus only recently, we can only provide a partial account of its results. Our analysis has been made rather difficult by the fact that there is no scientific institution responsible for research on ethnic Romanians abroad, and there is no long-term research strategy for this issue in the existing academic system either. Naturally, there are a few scientific centers whose research strategy includes this issue in various forms. Therefore, we had to draw our conclusions on the basis of an extremely wide-ranging, mosaic-like set of information, abandoning, to some extent, the illusion of being complete. We examined the most important scientific, educational and cultural institutions and publications that are potentially relevant for this issue. In some cases, we conducted surveys and, last but not least, scrutinized the data of the *Romanian Historical Bibliography* published in Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár).¹

1. Ethnic Romanians abroad

Born in the region of the Balkan Peninsula, the Romanian nation existed for a long time in the form of several political structures. Up to the 19th century, the majority of Romanians lived in two principalities (Moldova and Wallachia) that were partially independent or were under the protectorate of different empires. At the same time, a large number of Romanians lived in historic Hungary and later, after Moldova had been broken up, in the territory of the Russian Empire. In addition, the Romanian communities living in the different regions of the Balkans (the Vlachs and the Aromanians) also belong here. Modern Romania was established in 1859 with the merger of Moldova and Wallachia, to which Transylvania was

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¹ http://www.history-cluj.ro/Istorie/Ro/BIR/BIR_XIII.pdf; <http://www.history-cluj.ro/Istorie/Ro/BIR/BIR%20XII.pdf>; <http://documente.bcuccluj.ro/web/bibdigit/docbcu/documentare/Bibliographia%20Historica%20Romaniae%202004-2006.pdf> (19-01-2016)

added in 1918, and Bessarabia (eastern half of historic Moldova) was returned from Russia for a short period (1918–1940).

Like the history of several other Eastern European nations, the history of the Romanian nation is also characterized by the fact that a relatively large number of Romanian communities found themselves outside the state borders. The Romanians use the term diaspora or “românii de pretudindeni” [Romanians living elsewhere] for the Romanian communities living outside the country’s borders, which includes all the Romanians living outside of the Romanian state. As defined by the responsible and competent public authority for this issue, the Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Responsible for Ethnic Romanians Abroad (Departamentul Politicii pentru Relația cu Românii de Pretutindeni), ethnic Romanians abroad mean people who: are of Romanian origin; declare themselves to belong to the Romanian language and culture; declare themselves as having a Romanian identity; belong to Romanian linguistic and ethnic groups; and live in the neighborhood of today’s Romania, irrespective of how they call themselves or how others call them.²

From a historical perspective, the Romanian communities living outside the country’s borders can be grouped into three large categories. The first category includes those communities that first emerged in the territory where the Romanian nation was historically established but were not part of the medieval Romanian states, nor of the Romania founded in the 19th century, whose national borders were changed significantly after World War I, so they were completely left out of the political process whereby the Romanian state was built. This category also includes the Romanian communities living in the Balkans: the Romanians living in Serbia, Croatia, Bulgaria and Greece, the Vlachs and Macedonian-Romanians in Albania and Macedonia, and even the Romanian community in Hungary. The second category includes those communities that had the same past as the first group from a historical perspective, with the exception that they were part of the Romanian state for a shorter or longer period. These are the Romanian communities living in Bessarabia (the Republic of Moldova) and Bukovina (Ukraine). In this case, it is also obvious that these communities spent a relatively short time within the modern Romanian state, so they had only a limited chance to participate in the development of the modern Romanian nation. The third category includes the so-called Romanian diasporas in the West, which were created at the end of the 20th century as a result of the economic migration following the political transition in 1989 in several countries of the European Union, mostly in Spain, Italy, United Kingdom or Germany.³

² <http://www.dprp.gov.ro/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/Strategie-2013.pdf> (15-01-2015)

³ Iordachi, Constantin, “*Redobândirea cetățeniei române: perspective istorice, comparative și aplicate*”, București, 2012.

The Balkan Romanians, often called Aromanians, Macedonian-Romanians or Vlachs, belong to the ancient southern branch of Romanians. The presence of Aromanians in the Balkans was documented as early as the Middle Ages. By the end of the 19th century nearly two hundred communities in Albania had Aromanian majority or had a significant Aromanian population. The Aromanians were typically engaged in farming and shepherding. According to official statistics, there were 11,000 Aromanians living in the country in 1931, but certain Romanian estimates mention as many as 40,000. The awareness of and interest in the Romanian communities in Albania and the Balkans in general became stronger in the period of Greater Romania that was established after 1918. At the end of the 19th century, there were 17 Romanian-speaking schools operating in Albania, only six between the two world wars and two churches. After the communist takeover, this issue was taboo both for the Albanian and the Romanian governments. The number of Romanians in Albania was registered only in two censuses. According to these data, there were 2,381 Aromanians in 1950 and 4,200 in 1955. Today, the Aromanians in Albania are recognized only as a cultural minority. In the 2011 census, 8,266 people declared themselves as Aromanian.⁴

Bulgaria is another country where a significant Vlach community was registered in the 19th century censuses. After Bulgaria became independent, 49,064 Vlachs were registered in 1881. This number amounted to 79,748 by 1910. Between the two world wars, the number of people who declared themselves as Romanian stabilized around 70,000, but the number of those claiming that their native language was Romanian was over 80,000. The Bulgarian governments pursued a strong anti-minority policy on the eve of World War II. As a result, the Romanians were put into the collective category of “speaking other languages” in the censuses conducted at the beginning of the 1940s. The communist leadership after World War II did not pay much attention to the ethnic Romanians in Bulgaria, whose number dropped significantly due to the movement of people and the demographic trends stemming from socialist modernization. In 2001, 10,566 people declared themselves as Vlachs and 1,088 people as Romanian. In 2011, 3,684 people declared themselves as Vlach and 891 people as Romanian. The Bulgarian Romanians (Vlachs, Aromanians) are recognized only as an ethnic group but not as a national minority. This community is represented by the Association of Bulgarian Vlachs (Asociația Vlăchilor din Bulgaria), which publishes a bilingual paper and organizes Romanian language courses.⁵

19th-century Romanian travel books report that there is a significant Romanian community in Croatia as well, more precisely in the Istrian Peninsula, called Istro-Romanians, which currently constitutes the smallest ethnic group in

⁴ Cain, Daniel, “Românii din Albania”. In: Antonia Kacsó – Brândușa-Cătălina Zărnescu (red.) *“Românii de lângă noi”*, București, 2013, pp. 9–27.

⁵ Cain, Daniel, “Românii din Bulgaria”. In: *“Românii de lângă noi”*; *ibid.*, pp. 29–47.

Europe. In contrast to the Vlachs and the Aromanians, the Istro-Romanians did not start any national movement in the 19th century. In the 1920s, only one single Romanian-speaking school was operated. The Istro-Romanians are recognized as a national minority in Croatia, but their number is declining rapidly. In 2011, only 29 people declared themselves as belonging to this ethnic group.⁶

Thanks to shepherding in the Balkan Peninsula, large southern Romanian (Vlach, Aromanian and Macedonian-Romanian) communities settled down in Greece too. They did not have their own institutions until the 19th century, not even in religious circles. This was largely due to the nomadic lifestyle of shepherds. The Romanian state became open to the Romanians in Greece after the Romanian state was born in the second half of the 19th century. In 1916, 44 Romanian-speaking elementary and two commercial vocational schools operated in the territory of the country. The Turkish and Greek opposition prevented the establishment of an independent Romanian diocese. Paradoxically, it was much more difficult to get along as a Romanian in the Greek state after liberation from Turkish rule. Due to the resettlement policy of the Greek governments, the Romanian communities became disintegrated and many people went to live in Romania. In 1946, all the still-existing Aromanian schools and churches were closed, and the members of the community no longer appeared in the statistics either. There are only estimates for the number of Romanian people living in Greece. In 1928 19,703 and in 1951 39,885 Greek Romanians, that is, Kutso-Vlachs, were registered in the censuses. According to some estimates, their number is somewhere between 20,000 and 200,000.⁷

The Romanian (Aromanian) community living in Macedonia is even larger than that in Greece. The center of Romanians engaged in shepherding and trading was the city of Bitolia and its region. In the midst of the territorial realignment after the 1913 Balkan war, the historic Macedonia and its Aromanian communities were divided among Albania, Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria. The number of Aromanians living in this region between the two world wars was estimated at 425,000 (250,000 in Greece, 90,000 in Yugoslavia, 70,000 in Albania and 15,000 in Bulgaria).⁸ According to the 1981 Yugoslav census, 6,384 Aromanians were living officially in the Republic of Macedonia. The 1994 Macedonian census registered 8,467 Aromanian people. Their number rose to 9,695 by 2002. Their community is recognized as a national minority by Macedonia, which means automatic political representation. Their two largest organizations are the Vlach Party and the Vlach Alliance of Democrats. They have their own system of institutions as well as radio and television programs in their native language.⁹

⁶ Cain, Daniel, "Românii din Croația", *ibid.*, pp. 51–59.

⁷ Cain, Daniel, "Românii din Grecia", *ibid.*, pp. 61–75.

⁸ Cociu, Mircea, "*Spațiul istoric și etnic românesc*", București, 1942, p. 64.

⁹ Cain, Daniel, "Românii din Macedonia", *ibid.*, pp. 79–92.

The Serbian Romanians constitute the largest Romanian community in the Balkans. The Serbian Romanians, that is, Vlachs, constitute two regional groups. The ancestors of the Romanians living in Vojvodina, the Serbian part of Banat, settled down in the region in the 18th-19th century. In the 1910 census in Hungary, 75,383 Romanian natives were registered in the territory in today's Vojvodina. In the latest (2011) Serbian census, only 25,410 people declared themselves as being of ethnic Romanians in this province. The other large group is made up of the Vlachs, or Rumani, as they call themselves, living in Eastern Serbia, the Serbian Carpathians (also called Timočka Krajina). There is also a more or less contiguous ethnic space consisting of rural communities in the heart of the Serbian Carpathians. The majority of the Vlachs living here settled down during the period of great migrations and colonizations in the 18th century. The people living in the plains are called țărans, referring to their Wallachian origin, while those living in the mountains are called ungureni, which is an obvious reference to the fact that most of them came from Hungary. The Vlachs living here had a sort of fluctuating, from time to time dual (Vlach and Serbian) ethnic and linguistic identity. In 2011, 32,813 people declared themselves as Vlach and 2,073 as Romanian in this region. At the same time, 39,882 people said their mother tongue was Vlach and 2,346 said it was Romanian.¹⁰ According to unofficial data and certain estimates, the number of Vlach-Romanian people was 120,000. At the same time, the population of the Rudar Community, whose members also speak an archaic Romanian dialect, is estimated roughly at 10,000. The Romanian state tried to provide financial aid to the Romanians in Serbia, Yugoslavia between the two world wars. The community life of the local Vlachs, Romanians is strongly related to the church and to Vlach- and Romanian-speaking elementary schools.¹¹

The largest compact Romanian community living outside today's Romania lives in the present-day Republic of Moldova. Most of the territory of the Republic of Moldova was part of the Principality of Moldova in the Middle Ages. The Moldavian territories north and east of the river Prut were taken from the Ottoman Empire in 1812 and annexed to the Russian Empire under the name Bessarabia (which was later generally accepted in Romania too) with the status of a governorship in the Russian imperial administration. Several ethnic groups settled down in the region in the course of the 19th century: Lipovans, Russians, Germans, Jews, Bulgarians, etc. Bessarabia was part of Greater Romania between 1918 and 1940, and then it became one of the member states of the Soviet Union after 1945 as the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, it became a sovereign state as the Republic of Moldova in 1991. The ethnic conditions and the national identity of the Romanian-speaking population

¹⁰ http://pod2.stat.gov.rs/ObjavljenePublikacije/Popis2011/Knjiga4_Veroispovest.pdf (01-02-2016)

¹¹ Sorescu-Marinković, Annemarie, "Românii din Serbia", *ibid.*, p. 136.

was later influenced by the fact that it had not participated in the development of the Romanian nation and the related educational and cultural processes, which started in the 19th century. As a result, the community and national identity of the Romanian-speaking population is more strongly affected by what is called Moldavianness, suggesting that this region used to belong to medieval Moldova. The Soviet authorities reinforced this process as well. According to their self-definition, the overwhelming majority of the Romanian-speaking population declare themselves as Moldavian. In the 2004 census, 73,529 people of the total population of 3,938,679 (1.9%) declared themselves as Romanian and 2,742,005 (69.5%) as Moldavian.¹²

The Romanians in Ukraine represent a significant community in Transcarpathia and Bukovina, which is not compact everywhere. In the 2001 census, 32,152 Romanians were registered in Transcarpathia (in Maramureş, in particular), which represents 2.3% of the total population. The other important region inhabited by Romanians is the former Bukovina with Chernivtsi as its center (Chernivtsi Region/Oblast), where 19.8% of the total population declared themselves as Romanian (114,555 as Romanian and 67,225 as Moldavian) in the 2001 census in Ukraine. The Romanian-speaking community living in the region of Odessa is also significant, where 144,534 Moldavians were registered in 2001.¹³

In Hungary, the Western neighbor of Romania, 26,345 people declared themselves as ethnic Romanians in the 2011 census, 13,886 people defined Romanian as their mother tongue, and 17,983 people declared that they used Romanian in their family and among their friends.¹⁴ Their number between the two world wars was estimated at about 50,000. 12,624 Romanians were registered in 1970 and 10,740 in 1990. It has been typical in recent years that Romanians from Arad, Oradea and Satu Mare settled down in the Hungarian villages near the border in large numbers. The largest Romanian communities live in Budapest (6,189), Méhkerék (1,526), Kétegyháza (843) and Gyula (826), where they have several community and cultural institutions, including the Romanian-speaking high school in Gyula.¹⁵

In the years after the political transition, especially following the accession of the country to the European Union, several waves of migration started in Romania targeting Western European countries. The Romanians gave preference to Italy and Spain, which are closer to them linguistically, but a relatively large number of them live and work in Great Britain or Germany too. According to the data of the Ministry of Labor, 2 million Romanians took a job lawfully in one of the countries of the European Union in 2012, but the number of them living in

¹² Goşu, Armand, "Românii din Republica Moldova", *ibid.*, pp. 95–132.

¹³ Goşu, Armand, "Românii din Ucraina", *ibid.*, pp. 163–186.

¹⁴ [http://www.ksh.hu/nepszamlalas/tablak_nemzetiseg\(01-02-2016\)](http://www.ksh.hu/nepszamlalas/tablak_nemzetiseg(01-02-2016))

¹⁵ Sigmirean, Cornel, "Românii din Ungaria", *ibid.*, pp. 185–207.

Western Europe is somewhere around 2.7 million. There are about 1 million Romanian nationals living in Spain and Italy, respectively, 200,000 in France, and 140,000 in Great Britain.¹⁶

2. National minorities in Romania

There are a large number of national and ethnic minorities in the territory of the country. Greater Romania, which was created after World War I, was a true multinational country. According to the 1930 census, the total population of 18,057,028 included 71.89% Romanians, 7.89% Hungarians, 4.13% Germans, 4.03% Jews, 3.22% Rusyns, 2.26% Russians, 2.03% Bulgarians and 1.45% Romany.¹⁷ From an ethnic point of view, Transylvania and Bessarabia were extremely mixed in particular. Transylvania was inhabited from the Middle Ages by three large nations (Romanians, Hungarians and Germans), to be later joined by several other ethnic groups: Gypsies (Roma), Armenians, Jews, Slovaks, Serbs, Rusyns, etc. The 19th century saw the beginning of the building of two nations, those of the Hungarian and the Romanian, often laden with conflicts.

The characteristic ethnic and social diversity of the region was severely damaged by the two world wars and the ensuing changes in the status of various empires. The radical transformation of the region's ethnic, social and economic fabric took place during the 1947–1989 period when the Romanian Communist Party came into power after the war and established its dictatorial rule. Due to natural population growth and internal migration, the total population of Transylvania was constantly increasing, though emigration also resulted in significant losses. Transylvania contributed to less than a quarter of the country's population growth between 1910–1912 and 1992. While the population in the regions beyond the Carpathians had doubled, the number of people living in Transylvania increased only by about one and a half times, with its share in the country's total population dropping from 41.2% to 33.9%. Transylvania's population was about 7,723,000 in 1992, and its ethnic diversity diminished considerably. The ratio of Hungarians declined to 20.8%, that of the Germans to 1.4%, while that of the Romanians rose to 73.6%, which underpins the success of Romania in building its nation. According to the 2011 census, 83.5% of the altogether 20,121,641 people in Romania were Romanians, 6.1% were Hungarians, and the number of Germans dropped to 36,000, whereas 622,000 people officially declared themselves as belonging to the Roma ethnic group.¹⁸

¹⁶ <http://www.economica.net/cati-romani-muncesc-in-strainatate-si-unde-sunt-cei-mai-mult-67822.html> (10-01-2016)

¹⁷ Dragomir, Lia – Constantin Vlad – Ioan Dordea, *„Minoritățile naționale din România. Vol. I. 1918–1925. Documente”*, București, 1995, p. 8.

¹⁸ <http://www.recensamantromania.ro/rezultate-2/> (10-01-2016)

3. Study of ethnic Romanians abroad

As for the attitude towards the Romanian communities living outside the borders of the country, the most recent era can be divided into three major periods. After the establishment of the Kingdom of Romania and later Greater Romania, the government in power made significant efforts to provide moral, cultural and financial support in the second half of the 19th century for the Romanian communities living in the territory of the Balkan states that were created after the gradual decline of the Ottoman Empire. Schools and churches were built and trainings were started. After World War II, the Romanian Communist Party, in line with the policy of the Soviet bloc, treated the issue of the ethnic Romanians abroad as a taboo in socialist Romania even in the case of Bessarabia, which was an extremely important and sensitive region for the Romanian public. Between 1945 and 1989, after considerable losses due to assimilation (especially in the Balkan states), the Romanian communities were again in the focus of the Romanian general public and politics.

Since 1989, a government body, the Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Responsible for Ethnic Romanians Abroad, has been responsible for the most important political and cultural issues concerning ethnic Romanians abroad. The Department was set up in 1995 and has been working since 2001 as a Directorate with ministerial authority headed by a minister. Its basic objectives and tasks include the following: to preserve, strengthen and support the national, cultural and linguistic identity of ethnic Romanians abroad; to promote the image of Romania and Romanians in the countries where Romanians live as a minority; and to liaise with leading personalities living outside the national borders. The Directorate has a permanent budget provided by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which is occasionally complemented by donations. It has five major areas of activity: culture, education, traditions, media and civil society.¹⁹

The Directorate mainly focuses on supporting cultural programs, museums, memorial buildings and the publication of works written by the representatives of Romanian minorities. Although the description of its activities also includes the promotion of scientific research (folklore, sociology, archeology, historical studies), the Directorate has not implemented an independent social science research project of its own in recent years.²⁰ The most outstanding result in this area was the volume entitled *Românii de lângă noi* [Romanians living next to us], published in 2013. This book, which has many photos with historical value, presents the

¹⁹ <http://www.dprp.gov.ro/despre-noi/> (19-01-2016)

²⁰ <http://www.dprp.gov.ro/proiecte/actiuni-proprii-ale-departamentului-politici-pentru-relatiacu-romanii-de-pretutindeni-in-anul-2013/> (19-01-2016)

Romanian communities living in the historic regions neighboring on or close to Romania (the Balkan Peninsula) from a historical and demographic perspective.²¹

Social science and historical research is mostly pursued in Romania with-in two major institutional networks: at university departments and academic research institutions. There are several sections or branches operating within the Romanian Academy²² in the area of social sciences: The Nicolae Iorga Institute of History²³ and the Institute for the Study of the Totalitarian Regimes in Bucharest,²⁴ the Titu Maiorescu Institute of Social Sciences and Humanities in Timișoara,²⁵ the C. S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor Institute for Studies of Social Sciences and Humanities in Craiova,²⁶ the George Barițiu Institute of History in Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár),²⁷ the Institute of Social Sciences and Humanities in Sibiu²⁸, the Gheorghe Șincai Institute of Social Sciences and the Humanities in Trgu-Mureș (Marosvásárhely),²⁹ the Romanian Academy's Institute Bukovina in Rădăuți³⁰ and the A. D. Xenopol Institute of History in Jassy.³¹ The major universities in the country (in Timișoara, Oradea/Nagyvárad, Cluj-Napoca/Kolozsvár, Craiova, Bucharest, Jassy, Constanța, Sibiu) all have a department of history pursuing research in this area.

The issue of the ethnic Romanians abroad can be found, either directly or indirectly, in the activity of nearly all the research centers, although the forms and the focus of research varies a lot and this issue does not constitute the major line of research at these institutes. Looking into the bibliographical data on the topic, we can see two tendencies unfolding. The issue of the ethnic Romanians abroad is relatively popular among Romanian historians, but at the same time it is also

²¹ *"Românii de lângă noi"*, ibid.

²² Academia Română / The Romanian Academy. <http://www.academiaromana.ro/> (19-01-2016)

²³ Institutul de Istorie „Nicolae Iorga” / Nicolae Iorga Institute of History. <http://www.iini.ro/> (19-01-2016)

²⁴ Institutul Național pentru Studiul Totalitarismului / Institute for the Study of the Totalitarianism. <http://www.totalitarism.ro/> (19-01-2016)

²⁵ Institutul de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Titu Maiorescu” / Titu Maiorescu Institute of Social Sciences and Humanities. <http://acad-tim.tm.edu.ro/> (19-01-2016)

²⁶ Institutul de Cercetări Socio-Umane „C. S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor” Craiova / C. S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor Institute of Social Sciences and Humanities. <http://cis01.central.ucv.ro/academiaromana> (19-01-2016)

²⁷ Institutul de Istorie „George Barițiu” / Institute of History George Barițiu. <http://www.history-cluj.ro/> (19-01-2016)

²⁸ Institutul de Cercetări Socio-Umane Sibiu / Institute of Social Sciences and Humanities. <http://www.icsusib.ro/> (19-01-2016)

²⁹ Institutul de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai” / Gheorghe Șincai Institute of Social Sciences and Humanities. <http://icsu-ms.tripod.com/> (19-01-2016)

³⁰ Institutul Național „Bucovina” / National Institute Bukovina.

³¹ Institutul de Istorie „A. D. Xenopol” / A. D. Xenopol Institute of History. <http://adxenopol.academiaromana-is.ro/> (19-01-2016)

obvious that there are very few large research projects focusing on specific topics of this issue. This latter endeavor can perhaps be seen in certain thematic conferences and their proceedings.

The studies and analyses on the Romanian communities living in Ukraine and Bessarabia represent a special, popular category in Romanian historiography. This kind of research is concentrated (for cultural and geographical reasons) in the city of Jassy, at the university and the academic research institute working there. One of its highlights was the conference organized on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Proclamation of Independence of the Republic of Moldova in 2001 and the conference proceedings. The volume entitled *Bessarabia. Dilemele identității* [Bessarabia. The dilemmas of identity] is one of the most comprehensive works on this topic. The papers published in this book address the issue of Romanians living in Bessarabia using a threefold approach (identity, history, culture).³² The series of conferences entitled *Românii din afara granițelor țării: legături istorice* [Romanians living outside the national borders: historical relations] can also be tied to Jassy, which has been organized since the beginning of the 2000s.³³ The Romanian historical bibliography recorded 136 publications in the period between 2004 and 2012 (without claiming to be exhaustive), which focus on the history of the Romanians living in Bessarabia and Bukovina.³⁴ The topics that are given special emphasis include the issue of identity, Soviet nationality policy, the annexation of Bessarabia by Russia, the issue of schools and language use (in a discourse space strongly characterized by grievances), the period of belonging to Greater Romania and, last but not least, certain aspects of the history of the Soviet era. Nearly all of the independent publications that appeared in Jassy on smaller studies were published in various conference proceedings and books published by museums and universities.

The Romanians in the Balkans and Hungary also represent a popular topic. A total of 256 publications are recorded in the Romanian historical bibliography for the period between 2004 and 2012.³⁵ The range of institutions and publishers in this case is much wider than in the case of the Romanians in Bessarabia and Ukraine. Numerous thematic conferences were organized as studies were published in Timișoara, Craiova, Bucharest, Constanța (on Balkan Romanians), Oradea/Nagyvárad and Târgu Mureș/Marosvásárhely (especially on Romanians in Hungary). The Association of Aromanians (Fundăția Aromânilor) plays an important role in the publication of works concerning the Romanians in the Balkans. The most frequent topics of research and analysis in this area include identity,

³² Flavius, Solomon – Alexandru Zub (red.) *“Basarabia. Dilemele identității”*, Iași, 2001.

³³ <https://astraculturalaiasi.files.wordpress.com/2012/11/program-simpozion-2012-format-site.pdf> (04-12-2015)

³⁴ *“Anuarul Istoriografic al României II”*, Cluj-Napoca, 2015, pp. 229–233.

³⁵ Ibid.

social relations and nationality institutions. The research on the ethnic Romanians abroad is pursued partly by Romanian scholars and partly by researchers coming from the given ethnic group (in particular from those which have their own network of institutions).

There is much less historical analysis concerning the Romanian diaspora that came into being in the Western European countries and the United States in the 19th-20th centuries. Most of the works written on the Romanian migration after the political transition are sociological analyses. Several scholars working at the Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities in Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár) published analyses on this issue. The scholars working at the Department of Sociology at the Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár) and the Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities study the migration of the Hungarians in Romania as a special research topic.³⁶

The issue of the ethnic Romanians abroad occasionally appears in the activity of the Romanian Cultural Institute (Institutul Cultural Român), which is responsible for the promotion of Romanian culture.³⁷ The Institute has especially supported various culture activities (summary universities, conferences), the most important of which were the conferences organized in countries also inhabited by Romanians.³⁸

4. Research into minorities in Romania

As has been mentioned before, the ethnic diversity of Romania diminished considerably in the second half of the 20th century. The Germans and the Jews almost totally disappeared, the number of smaller ethnic groups (Rusyns, Ukrainians, Lipovans, Tartars, Turks, and Bulgarians) diminished, like the Romanian communities in the Balkans, their institutional structure became limited due to the nationality policy pursued during the socialist era, and they are often treated as a cultural minority although they are recognized as an ethnic minority. Although before the political transition the Romanian nationalities were represented in the public in the official propaganda, the party leaders did not create a separate

³⁶ Remus, Anghel Gabriel, „*Romanians in Western Europe*”, Lexington Books, 2012; Remus, Anghel Gabriel – Horváth, István (red.) „*Sociologia Migrației. Teorii și studii de caz românești*”, Iași, 2009; Horváth, István – Remus, Anghel Gabriel, „Impacts of Migration on the Sending Countries”, *Südost Europa Zeitschrift*, München, 2009; Horváth, István (ed.) „*Változó környezet: állandósuló trendek? Erdély és Magyarország közötti migrációs folyamatok*”, Kolozsvár, 2005, pp. 9–133.

³⁷ <http://icr.ro/> (20-01-2016)

³⁸ Buzilă, Varvara, „*Covoare basarabene*”, București, 2015; Papaghi, Valeriu, „*Viața Culturală a aromânilor în secolul al XVIII-lea și în prima jumătate a celui de al XIX-ea*”, ICR, 2015; „*Timoc. Lumea de dincolo*”, București, 2010; Iorga, Nicolae, „*Adevărul asupra trecutului și prezentului Basarabiei (1914–1940)*”, București, 2008; Cernov, Alexandrina – Ilie Luceac, „*Cernăuți/Chernovtsy 1408–2008*”, București, 2008.

research institute (or large-scale projects) to study their history and traditions. The nationality topics were addressed in certain thematic publications of the Romanian Academy or the Institute of Party History, and they had to be aligned with the current ideological-political line.³⁹

No independent institution was created for the study of the nationalities living in Romania in the first decade after the political transition either. Certainly, specific minority topics did make it into Romanian historiography. This period was characterized by a special kind of duality. The domestic academic institutes, museums, universities and archive centers published historical sources and analyses. It was typical that the latter were generally published in the regions inhabited by the given minority and written, in the majority of cases, by scholars of the given minority (especially by Hungarians and Germans, as well as by scholars studying Jewish history). The research on the Germans in Romania is concentrated in Timișoara, Sibiu and Brașov, while the research on the history of Romanian Jews has several centers in the country: in Bucharest, Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár) and Jassy.⁴⁰ On the other hand, the research supported (both financially and professionally) and managed from abroad played the most important role in this topic. Various Israeli, American, German and Hungarian institutions and research centers organized research work and conferences in this area (e.g. by the Teleki László Institute, the MTA Institute of History, and the MTA Institute for Minority Studies up to 2006). The Ethnocultural Diversity Resource Center in Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár) played an important role in Romania, publishing several works and volumes of historical sources on this issue.⁴¹ Several data collections and analyses were prepared on the situation of the Roma in Romania by the Târgu Mureș (Marosvásárhely)-based Liga Pro Europa, and a scholar working for the Nicolae Iorga Institute of History, Viorel Achim, and his colleagues have published several studies in the past few decades on the history of the Roma in Romania. The

³⁹ These include works such as: Koppándi, Sándor (ed.) *“A romániai magyar nemzetiség”*, Bukarest, 1981.

⁴⁰ There are several volumes of historical sources published on Romanian minorities in Bucharest. Dragomir, Lia – Constantin Vlad – Ioan Dordea, *“Minoritățile naționale din România. Vol. I. 1918–1925. Documente”*, București, 1995; *“Minoritățile naționale din România. 1925–1931. Documente, Vol. II”*, București, 1996; Bleoancă, Daniela et al. *“Minoritățile naționale din România. Vol. III, 1931–1938. Documente”*, București, 1999; *“România și minoritățile. Colecție de documente”*, Târgu Mureș, 1997.

⁴¹ <http://www.edrc.ro/resources.jsp> (20-01-2016) One of the outstanding pieces in this area is the series of historical sources published under the leadership of Lucian Nastasă. Andreescu, Andrea – Andrea Varga – Lucian Nastasă, *“Minorități etnoculturale. Mărturii Documentare. Maghiarii din România 1945–1956”*, Cluj, 2003; Andreescu, Andrea – Andrea Varga – Lucian Nastasă, *“Minorități etnoculturale. Mărturii Documentare. Maghiarii din România 1956–1968”*, Cluj, 2003; Andreescu, Andrea – Andrea Varga – Lucian Nastasă, *“Minorități etnoculturale. Mărturii Documentare. Evreii din România 1945–1965”*, Cluj, 2003.

center for the research on the Muslim (Turkish and Tartar) communities living in Dobruja is Constanța.⁴²

The Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities⁴³ was established in Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár) in 2007 in order to study the national and ethnic minorities in Romania, which operates as an independent legal entity under the authority of the Romanian government and the management of the Office of Inter-Ethnic Relations. Its basic objective and area of operation include the following: the study of how the national and other ethnic minorities in Romania seek to preserve, develop and manifest their ethnic identity, as well as to pursue research into their sociological, historical, cultural, linguistic, religious and other aspects. The colleagues and research groups working at the Institute approach the period between 1945–1989 from several different aspects: minority elites and minority institutions; state violence against the minorities; the minority issue in the mirror of the documents of the Securitate (1945–1989); minority organizations and initiatives between 1944–1953; Géza Domokos and the *Kriterion*; censorship and the minorities; and the narratives and rhetoric of all the minority elites.⁴⁴ The Institute's research on the Roma (where the name of László Fosztó should be noted⁴⁵) is dominated by the following: the auto- and hetero-identification of Roma identity; their social and ethnic definitions; putting poverty into an ethnic context; and endeavors of linguistic relativism.

The scientific output of the Institute in terms of both quality and quantity can be said to be outstanding: 60 working papers and 45 books; 3 anthropological documentaries; nationality chronologies and document databases have been prepared; and several sociological, anthropological and historical research projects have been completed. Since 2007, there has been ongoing research on the history of Hungarians in Romania after World War II (e.g. commitment to serving and its background in the context of the history of ideas; the participation of the Transylvanian Hungarians in the 1989 revolution; and the forms of self-organization by Hungarians). The Institute published the results of many of its research projects not only in Hungarian but also in Romanian and English.⁴⁶

⁴² The books published on the history of the Tartars in Dobruja is worth mentioning in this context: Cojoc, Marian (ed.) *“Tătarii în istoria Românilor”*; Muntenia, Constanța, 2004; *“Tătarii în istoria Românilor. Vol. II”*; Muntenia, Constanța, 2005.

⁴³ Institutul pentru Studiarea Problemelor Minorităților Naționale / Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities. <http://www.ispmn.gov.ro/> (20-01-2016)

⁴⁴ Horváth, István, *„A Nemzeti Kisebbségkutató Intézet Kolozsvár”*, Manuscript.

⁴⁵ See e.g.: Fosztó László, *“Colecție de studii despre romii din România”*, Cluj-Napoca, 2009.

⁴⁶ Fehér, Andrea – Fejér, Tamás – Gidó, Attila – Kovács, András – Kovács, Zsolt – Molnár-Kovács, Zsolt – W. Kovács, András – Wellmann László, “Az erdélyi magyar történetkutatásról”. In: Péntek, János – Salat, Levente – Szikszai, Mária (eds.) *“Magyar tudományosság Romániában 2001–2013 között. II”*, Kolozsvár, 2015, pp. 59–62.

In addition, there are several other research centers in Transylvania where research of various scales is pursued, mainly by individuals, on the Hungarians in Romania. In this respect, the work of Attila Hunyadi on economic history and the publications of Attila Gidó on the Transylvanian Jews deserve mention. Szilárd Tóth published studies on the history of the National Hungarian Party. The research pursued by Tamás Sárándi, András Tóth-Bartos, Sándor Oláh, Attila Hunyadi and Levente Benkő represented a major step forward in the study of the history of economy and society of the so-called “small Hungarian world”, that is to say, Northern Transylvania between 1940-1944. Zoltán Tibori Szabó, Attila Gidó, János Pál and Izabella Péter have pursued basic research on the history of the Holocaust in Northern Transylvania, the policy of the Christian churches against the Jews as well as the identity problems and the social situation of Holocaust survivors. Zoltán Mihály Nagy and Tamás Lönhárt have published analyses and collections of documents on the organization of Hungarian political representation in Transylvania and Romania after World War II and on the operation of the Hungarian People’s Alliance. Important results have been achieved in the study of the socialist era by Klára Lázok (state propaganda), József Gagyi and Sándor Oláh (the Hungarian Autonomous Province; socialist modernization and collectivization), Márton László (collectivization), Dezső Buzogány and Csongor Jánosi (the situation of the reformed church in the socialist era) and Zoltán Csaba Novák (the Hungarian policy of the Ceaușescu era).⁴⁷

The series of conferences organized in Sibiu on the ethnic minorities in Romania has been an outstanding event in Romanian historiography in the past ten years, the proceedings of which will be published in the form of a series of books.⁴⁸

* * *

The ethnic Romanians abroad and the national and ethnic minorities living in Romania constitute an integral part of Romanian science. Every year several dozen scientific publications are produced in this area. Historical works have predominated the scene concerning the Romanian communities established in the course of the past two decades beyond the so-called historic borders. The constantly changing Western European diaspora that has been created in the past decade has been the subject of sociological research. Although this issue has a relatively high popularity index, there is no institute or section of an institute that specializes in the study of ethnic Romanians abroad, as there is no consistent long-term scientific strategy in place either. This latter endeavor can perhaps be seen in certain thematic conferences and their proceedings. There are several (university and academic) centers in Romania concerned with the study of ethnic

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ See the eight volumes of the *Partide politice si minoritățile naționale în România în secolul XX* series.

minorities living in the territory of the country, but this research is mostly pursued by individuals or small groups. The support provided from the affected home countries (Israel, Germany, and Hungary) is significant. The Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities founded at the beginning of the 2000s provided a new impetus and brought a new approach to minority studies in terms of both professional content and methodology.

Serbian science and minority research

György Szerbhorváth*

In the last three decades, Serbia has undergone severe political, social and economic crises, culminating in the wars between 1991 and 1999. All of this had impacts on Serbian science too, and at this point it needs to be noted forthrightly that one of the reasons for the disintegration of Yugoslavia – which is quite controversial as far as its importance is concerned – was the draft memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts¹ disclosed in 1986, which stated, among other things, that the Serbian minority living in certain republics of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia – especially in the provinces of Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo – was in an unfavorable position compared to the majority nations. The draft, which triggered a huge scandal, had never been adopted, nor was the names of its actual authors made public. Moreover, it has never been revealed who leaked it to the media, but it is still cited as implicit evidence for Serbian nationalism and aspirations for a Great Serbia.

1. Serbs and minorities

1.1. Serbia at the beginning of the new millennium

According to the most recent 2011 census figures², Serbia's population was 7,186,862 (2002: 7,498,001, 1991: 7,822,795).³ The decline was not due to the separation of Kosovo, as the vast majority of Albanians had also boycotted the 1991 census, but rather due to demographic changes including migration, which equally affected the Serbian minorities. At the same time, a large number of Serbian refugees came to the country beginning in 1991, with over 200,000 arriving from Croatia within a few days in 1995, but this could not compensate for the population loss. Between 2002 and 2011 alone, the country's population declined by 4%.

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¹ Srpska Akademija Nauke i Umetnosti / Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts. <http://www.sanu.ac.rs/sanunov/istorija.asp> (03-09-2015)

² They do not include Kosovo, whose independence is not recognized by the Serbian Constitution, the Serbian state and the Serbian governments, and it is also relevant that the census was boycotted by three villages mostly inhabited by Albanians as well as some of the Muslim Bosnians in the Sanjak region, though not significantly.

³ "Popis stanovništva, domaćinstava i stanova 2011 u Republici Srbiji", Beograd, 2012. <http://pod2.stat.gov.rs/ObjavljenePublikacije/Popis2011/Nacionalna%20pripadnost-Ethnicity.pdf> (13-02-2015)

However, it needs to be added that this number may also include those who are living, studying or working abroad on a permanent basis. The number of Serbian people living abroad can only be estimated, but according to World Bank figures published in 2014, 14% of Serbia's population, that is, about 1.3 million people, worked or lived abroad, with about 1 million of them in Europe (especially in Austria, Germany, France and the Netherlands). According to a UN Food and Agriculture Organization report, Serbians transferred 2.82 million US dollars back home (which does not include the amounts transferred from overseas countries, notably significant amounts taken home by guest workers and expatriates). This amounts to 8% of GDP (although this is not the highest ratio in the northern Balkan region).⁴ All of this leads us to conclude that the number of people living outside Serbia is not only huge, but the diaspora is also the "ventilator" of the Serbian economy – in addition to international aid and loans. The unemployment rate is extremely high in Serbia anyway. According to official data, it was 19.2% in 2015, but the ratio between the gray and black economies is also estimated to be very high.⁵

There are only estimates for the number of people in the Serbian diaspora, as the migration of Serbians has been going on for over a century: at the turn of the 19th-20th centuries, it was mostly economic migration to overseas destinations; during World War II ex-servicemen left the country; later it was mostly political emigration; from the 1960s guest workers left for foreign countries; and from 1991 a large number of people fled from the wars and economic hardships. This latter reason had a significant influence on scientific and academic life. A large number of natural scientists and the technical intelligentsia left the country in the 1990s – especially for Canada – often including entire staffs of research centers.⁶ According to rough estimates, 1 million Serbians live in the USA, 800,000 in Germany, 300,000 in Austria (many see Vienna has the third largest Serbian city), 200,000 in Switzerland, 130,000 in Australia, 120,000 in France, and 110,000 in Sweden: about 2.8 million in total.

Members of the diaspora according to the Serbian censuses included those who were registered in 2011. According to this figure, the number of Serbian nationals working abroad was 313,411 (this figure must have grown since then). At the same time, it is questionable as to where the Hungarians should be classified since dual citizenship was granted, which led to a situation that today, according to some estimates, has at most 200,000 Hungarians living habitually in Serbia,

⁴ (VaM), "Mennyi pénzt küldenek haza a vendégmunkások?" *Magyar Szó*, 23.06.2015, p. 6.

⁵ <http://www.rts.rs/page/stories/sr/story/125/Dru%C5%A1tvo/1972320/Nezaposlenost+u+Srbiji+u+brojkama.html> (03-10-2015)

⁶ Palić, Svetlana, "Četiri miliona Srba našlo uhljebljenje u inostranstvu", *Blic*, 17.11.2011. <http://www.blic.rs/Vesti/Drustvo/266353/Cetiri-miliona-Srba-naslo-uhljebljenje-u-inostranstvu> (01-06-2015)

compared to the registered number of 253,899. The Serbian diaspora is getting increasingly younger (its average age is 34.7). Men (53.4%) slightly outnumber women, but the difference is getting smaller. The majority of them are living in Europe (22.5% in Austria, 17.9% in Germany, 13.1% in Switzerland, etc.). In 1971, people that left the country with secondary and higher qualifications were the least willing to leave, however, their number was 11 times higher in 2011 (41,185). “Brain drain” mostly affected the Belgrade region: 32% of the 12,000 university students living abroad are from Belgrade.⁷

On 1 January 2010, 17 197 Serbian citizens resided in Hungary. Between 1993 and 2010, 13 986 Serbian citizens (most of them native speakers of Hungarian) became Hungarian citizens. All in all, according to official statistics, in 17 years 31 183 Serbian citizens resettled in Hungary, most of them ethnic Hungarians.

Since the introduction of the system to facilitate the nationalization procedure this number has increased, although most of these new Hungarian citizens are also of Hungarian origin, but obviously there are some who declare themselves to be Serbian or who have not even relocated.⁸

1.2. Serbians living in countries neighboring with Serbia

The wars in the 1990s and the disintegration of Yugoslavia brought about radical changes in the life of Serbian communities as well. Over 200,000 Serbian people fled from Croatia and as a result, their number declined by 15,000 in 10 years, from 201,631 (4.54%) to 186,633 (4.36%) according to the latest census in Croatia.⁹ Yet it can be assumed that many of them regularly return home, have Serbian citizenship and are living in both countries or are simply registered as residents in Croatia.

Bosnia and Herzegovina consists of cantons, and the Serbian majority proclaimed the Bosnian Serb Republic, which is not recognized internationally. According to the preliminary results of the 2013 census – which was preceded by a huge debate because of the refugees – and some estimates, there were 1,103,991 Serbs living in the Bosnian Serb Republic (with an absolute majority), whereas there were about 95,000 Serbs living in a minority in the rest of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The ratio of Bosnians is below 50% in the entire Republic, and according to the total figure the number of the largest minority (Serbian) is 1,239,019.¹⁰

⁷ Stanković, Vladimir, “*Srbija u procesu spoljnih migracija*”, Beograd, 2014.

⁸ Kincses, Áron (ed.) “*Szerb állampolgárok Magyarországon*”, 2012. <http://docplayer.hu/4468063-Szerb-allampolgarok-magyarorszagon.html> (20-01-2016)

⁹ “*Popis stanovništva, kućanstva i stanova 2011*”, Zagreb, 2014. http://www.dzs.hr/Hrv_Eng/publication/2012/SI-1469.pdf (02-11-2015)

¹⁰ “*Rezultat popisa u BiH*”, *Vreme*, 09.09.2013. <http://www.vreme.com/cms/view.php?id=1150503> (02-11-2015)

Like Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina also raises the issue of whether the people included in the censuses are actually living there on a permanent basis. Kosovo is also special because the Serbians have a majority in certain local governments of the de jure independent state in the northern region, but the people living in Leposavić, Zubin Potok and Northern Mitrovica boycotted the 2011 census. Among those who were registered, the number of Serbians was 25,575 (1.47%),¹¹ whereas according to the 1991 census, this number was 194,190 (9.9%); it needs to be noted that the numbers were affected by the ethnic war constantly going on in this province.

The situation of the Serbians became special when in 2006 the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro collapsed – it is a long-standing debate whether Montenegrins constitute an independent nation or if they are Serbians. This issue has divided the “brotherly community” ever since. In 2011, the Montenegrins did not have an absolute majority (45%) and the ratio of Serbians was 28.7% (178,110).¹² A considerably lower number of Serbians live in the other neighboring countries (36,000 in Macedonia, about 23,000 in Romania, 7,000 in Hungary, 1,500-2,000 in Bulgaria, and the 15,000 Serbians living in Greece, the former “neighbor” of Yugoslavia, may also be mentioned here).

1.3. Serbian minorities

The ratio of Serbians in Serbia is 83.32% (which is 3.62 percentage points lower than in 2002). The ratio of minorities in Serbia amounts to 12.88% if the number of people who declare to have a regional identity or who declined to identify themselves (2.23%), or whose identity is unknown (1.14%) because they did not mark any ethnic identity (but things like extraterrestrial, a finding of a particular football team, etc.), is added. The population of most of the minorities declined, except for the Gorani (+67%), the Roma (+36.43%), the Bosnians (+6.75%), the Muslims (+4.18%) and the Germans (+4.18%), which is partly explained by natality (Roma, Bosnians, Muslims) and partly by the fact that after wartime, those who had felt themselves in danger were no longer afraid to declare their ethnic identity. It is a question whether the term Muslim should (also) include the religion. The number of Albanians cannot be interpreted due to the boycott. Out of all the minorities, the population of those who declared themselves to be Yugoslavians

¹¹ Zejneli, Amre, “Kosovo ima 1,74 miliona stanovnika, Srba skoro 1,5 posto”, *Radio Slobodna Evropa*, 12.09.2012. <http://www.slobodnaevropa.org/content/kosovo-ima-1739825-stanovnika-srba-skoro-1-5-posto/24715904.html> (02-11-2015)

¹² “Stanovništvo Crne Gore prema polu, tipu naselja, nacionalnoj, odnosno etničkoj pripadnosti, vjeroispovijesti i maternjem jeziku po opštinama u Crnoj Gori”, Podgorica, Zavod za statistiku, Saopštenje Broj 83, 12.07.2011. [http://www.monstat.org/userfiles/file/popis2011/saopstenje/saopstenje\(1\).pdf](http://www.monstat.org/userfiles/file/popis2011/saopstenje/saopstenje(1).pdf) (02-11-2015)

declined the most, which is understandable after the collapse of the Yugoslav state (-71.13%), followed by the Montenegrins (-44.2%) partly due to the separation of the two states, the Croats (-17.99%), the Hungarians (-13.43%), the Romanians (-15.17%), the Vlachs (-11.79%) and the Slovaks (-10.63%). For the latter population, assimilation, negative demographic tendencies and migration may be the reasons behind this phenomenon.

The largest population was still the Hungarian minority (253,899, 3.53%), although as has been mentioned before, in the past four years there have been dangerous signs of migration and low natality. They are followed by the Roma (147,604, 2.05%), the Bosnians (145,278, 2.02%), the Croats (57,900, 0.81%), the Slovaks (52,750, 0.73%), the Montenegrins (38,527, 0.54%), the Vlachs (35,330, 0.49%), the Romanians (29,332, 0.41%), the Macedonians (22,755, 0.32%) and the Muslims (22,301, 0.31%). The number of Bulgarians, Bunjevci and Ruthenians is between 10,000 and 20,000, while that of Goranci, Albanians, Ukrainians, and Slovenians is below 10,000, with other nationalities amounting to a total of 17,558.

2. Education and science

2.1. The development and current situation of education and science and Serbia

Serbia gradually became independent in the course of the 19th century. The Turkish rule had a strong mark on the development of education and science, which at the beginning primarily meant the study of literature, focusing on folk poetry and ethnography. This delay inevitably had an impact on science, which was able to fill in the gap during Yugoslav socialist modernization (the freedom of research was especially larger in the area of social science as in other socialist countries), but it obviously hindered the development of academic science.

83% of the population was still illiterate at the turn of the 19th – 20th century in contemporary Serbia – the highest rate in the whole of Europe. The situation was not better either as far as the school system was concerned: Velika Škola (Great School) was established in 1808, the first Serbian secondary grammar school was founded in 1835, and the first teacher-training institute in 1871 in Kragujevac. The University of Belgrade was founded in 1905 on the basis of the former “Great School” of law, philosophy and technology. In 1845, there were only 173 elementary schools (with 6,201 students) but as many as 117,294 students in 1,328 schools in 1910. The data around 1880 also shows the lowest value – with only 21 students per 1,000 people in the youngest country of Europe.¹³

¹³ Sundhausen, Holm, *“Historische Statistik Serbiens 1834–1914 – mit europäischen Vergleichsdaten”*, München, 1989.

The evolution of publicity was also laden with difficulties: the first Serb-speaking journal, *Slaveno-serbski magazin* (Slavic-Serbian magazine) was printed in Venice in 1768, later in Vienna and Novi Sad (Újvidék, in the Serb Athens), that is, Serbian intelligentsia and journals first emerged outside of contemporary Serbia, especially in the territory of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The first newspaper in the Serbian language was *Novine Srbske*, published in Kragujevac in 1834, which was seen as the cultural center of Serbia at that time.

Having said that, the organization of Serbian scientific life began at the beginning of the 19th century: The Society of Serbian Slavs (Društvo srpske slovesnosti) was founded in 1841, and after it was banned in 1864, it continued to function as the Serbian Learned Society (Srpsko učeno društvo). The Serbian Royal Academy (Srpska Kraljevska Akademija) was created on this basis by the law adopted in 1886, which was renamed as the Serbian Academy of Science (Srpska Akademija Nauka) in 1947, later to be named the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts. It needs to be noted that strong emphasis was placed on both public and higher education in the name of modernization in the socialist era, and several universities and colleges were founded in places such as Novi Sad, Priština, Kragujevac and Subotica (Szabadka). Serbian science was strongly influenced by the cooperation pursued with the academies in the other federal republics and the emigration of students, teachers and research workers – to the West as well. It needs to be noted that the Yugoslavian Academy of Sciences and Arts (Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti) was founded in Zagreb as early as 1866, which was transferred into the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in 1991.

There were 242,848 students enrolled in some higher education institution in the 2013-2014 academic year, 7,721 of them doctoral students.¹⁴ At the same time, there was only one doctor of sciences (DSc.) per 1,000 people, and the amount of money spent on science was only 0.3% of GDP.¹⁵ Private universities have mushroomed since the 1990s, which have become infamous rather than famous. Numerous corruption cases came to light as university diplomas and even MA and doctoral degrees were issued practically without any training for money, which has definitely reduced the value of higher education training.

2.2. The system of academic institutions in Serbia

It is especially important for our topic that the Republic of Serbia enacted a new law on the academy¹⁶ in 1992, which at the same time was terminating the

¹⁴ "Statistički godišnjak Republike Srbije – Obrazovanje", Beograd, 20.10.2015. http://webzrs.stat.gov.rs/WebSite/repository/documents/00/01/89/65/05_Obrzovanje.pdf (02-11-2015)

¹⁵ "Srbija na 1.000 stanovnika ima samo jednog doktora nauka", *Tanjug-hir*, 05.06.2015.

¹⁶ "Закон о Српској академији наука и уметности", *Службени гласник РС*, број 49/1992. The 1992 law was replaced by a new one in 2010: <https://www.sanu.ac.rs/Novosti/190-10.pdf> (20-

academies of the two autonomous provinces, Vojvodina and Kosovo. The 32 members of the academy in Vojvodina were simply “signed” by the Serbian Academy and created a separate section in Novi Sad. Only one member of Serbian origin was taken over from the academy in Kosovo (a sculptor), whereas the academicians with Albanian origins did not accept the new law and continued to pursue their work illegally, so to say. As a result of the dissolution of the academy in Kosovo, the Albanian intellectuals and scholars were even more wary of the central Serbian power and began to build their own institutions, finally resulting in Kosovo becoming independent.

The new states were created in a turbulent political situation when war broke out in Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and then in Kosovo too (there were also some armed clashes in Macedonia). In this situation, the sound of gunfire only partially suppressed the voice of the intelligentsia and the academicians, and it was the Serbian academicians taking a leading role in politics, especially historians and writers. The most famous one among them was Dobrica Ćosić, who became the first president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1992, although only for a short period of time. The author called “the father of the nation” passed away in 2014, but numerous historians and artistic members of the Academy are still active in the discourse about the nation, the interpretation of the war(s), and the search for those responsible, which still hinders the preparation of more sober assessments.

The Academy has its branches in several places, for example in Niš. As for research on the minorities is concerned, the Department of Social Sciences, which includes the Institute of Geography and the Institute of Ethnography, deserves mention. These institutions organize events and publish works that are closely related to Serb(ian) and Balkan topics, as well as themes connected to the former Yugoslavia, although not primarily and exclusively from the aspect of the minorities. The Department of Historical Sciences approaches the issues related to the Serbians and the other ethnic groups living here primarily from a historical point of view, but as we have already pointed out several times, during the turbulent decades it was difficult to separate the scientific activity of historians from their political activities and the base with the historians of the neighboring countries, which continues to be a problem even today. In the past few years, especially from 2014, World War I came into focus due to its 100th anniversary, and the debates were resumed on historical truth, minority issues, Kosovo, the situation of Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia, etc. These are classical national and minority policy issues.

01-2016). Section 6/12 stipulates that the Serbian Academy “shall especially cooperate with” the Bosnian Serb Academy. The law provides for scientific research and arts only in general without mentioning the Serbian minorities or the minorities in Serbia. It should be noted especially for this reason that the Bosnian Serb Academy was highlighted as an institution in the area of international cooperation, but it had political rather than scientific significance.

There are a number of teams working within the Department of Historical Sciences: the Szentendre Committee, which is mostly concerned with the study of old Serbian religious and other historical documents from Hungary; the committee responsible for the study of Serbians in Croatia; and the interdepartmental committee studying Kosovo and Metohija, not without reason, as the Serbs see Kosovo as the cradle of the Serbian nation.

Similarly, linguistic issues also became tools of a kind of political fight within the Department of Languages and Literature: a Serbo-Croatian language does not exist, with Serbian being an autonomous language, while Montenegrin, Bosnian and Bunjevac are not; they are just variants of the Serbian language. The several-decade-long debates about this, including those in the field of history, have an influence not only on scientific life but also, for that matter, on the publication of textbooks.

At the same time, the annual reports¹⁷ of the Serbian Academy – which address in detail the activities, events, books and journals of each department – also show that there are deliberate attempts to address issues related to ethnic Serbians abroad (putting aside the question as to when and where the border was) and to the minorities living in Serbia (in the given time). A committee was set up within the institution for the study of the life and customs of the Roma that is also concerned with the standardization of the Romany language, and a book was published containing positions, opinions and discussions that are intended to promote the creation of a strategy to improve the situation of the Roma people. There is also an interdepartmental committee that is concerned with the study of national minorities at human rights. For example, there is a joint project with the Serbian Institute of Budapest for the registration of cemeteries, monuments and inscriptions in Hungary with a subproject on the study of Serbs in Baranya County. The joint project with the Romanian Academy occurring between 2013 and 2015 was designed to study the identity and acculturation of Serbians living in Romania.

2.3. Balkan studies

This topic is also dominated by historical themes. There is a “joint” project at the Department of Historical Sciences launched in 2015, which is designed to collect documents from the period between 1920 and 1940 in collaboration with Athenian, Romanian, Montenegrin and Hungarian institutions.

The Institute for Balkan Studies was established within the Academy in 1934, although after the German occupation it suspended its operation and work resumed only in 1969 at this unique institution in the Balkans. Research at the

¹⁷ For 2014 see: https://www.sanu.ac.rs/Projekti/Bilten/2014_Bilten.pdf (10-11-2015)

institute has been multidisciplinary from the outset. Its staff members are studying the traditional diasporas (Romanian Serbs, Serbian Greeks, Catholic Slavs in Vojvodina) and future plans include the study of Balkan communities said to be semi-nomadic (the Roma and the Ashkali) or forced and/or organized migration and colonization in Vojvodina and the mobility of the Muslim community in Serbia.

2.4. Minority research outside the Academy

As has been pointed out several times before, the wars in the 1990s, the disintegration of Yugoslavia followed by permanent crises, and political conflicts in the 2000s all contributed to the marginalization of science in general. Still, professional centers were being created which had a key role in the active study of minority topics, the road to the war and various other social-science themes.

Mention must be made of the series of books *The Library of the 21st century* (Biblioteka XX vek)¹⁸ led by Ivan Čolović, which has been publishing the best of the works of (formerly) Yugoslavian and foreign authors as well as collections of studies in various social-science themes, including the issues of South Slavic languages (especially those written by Ranko Bugarski), ethnic and religious identity and culture, memories, national policy, the center-periphery issue and the wars. The majority of the 225 volumes published so far are not only a lasting outcome of a research center, but along with many other similar research projects, some of which can be seen as really unique, these took over the role of the academy, the academicians and the university system in several respects, and their independence – which was largely due to foreign foundations and sponsors – was a guarantee that they could fill in the gap in minority research too, often going against national discourse, taking a critical stance but staying within the realm of science (even though in some cases they also published pieces of political journalism).

From the 1990s, or more precisely, as of the 1990s, the journal *Republika* (Republic)¹⁹ led by Nebojša Popov played a leading role, publishing short analyses and assessments as well as research papers, The latter made up the monumental, pioneering volume of studies entitled *The Serbian Side of the War* published in 1996, which addresses in detail the ethnic aspects of the road to the war and the role of the Serbian Academy in it.²⁰

Another equally important forum was the Serbian Helsinki Committee, which had already addressed the issue of the Serbian minorities under the Milošević dictatorship and devoted a special volume to the minority in Kosovo, the impact of the NATO intervention, the situation of smaller religious communities, and the

¹⁸ <http://www.bibliotekaxxvek.com/> (10-11-2015)

¹⁹ <http://www.republika.co.rs/> (10-11-2015)

²⁰ Popov, Nebojša, *“Srpska strana rata”*, Beograd, 1996.

preparations of the law on the human rights of the ethnic minorities.²¹ Paradoxically enough, it was the heinous conditions of the war that led to the creation of creative communities that are still studying and documenting the situation of the minorities, or address theoretical issues of the minority situation, ranging from multiculturalism through interculturalism to legal frameworks.

Several local research centers were also created. Mention should be made of the Center for the Development of Civil Society in Zrenjanin (Nagybecskerek), which has launched several research projects and carried out fieldwork in communities in Vojvodina since the 1990s (for example in Temerin or Mali Iđoš (Kishegyes), where ethnic conflicts emerged, but the Center also addressed the issue of religious minorities and the situation of young people, etc.²²

Since the 1990s – after several hundred thousand Serbian refugees had arrived in Serbia from the neighboring countries and later from Kosovo – the issue of refugees obviously came into focus (although it remained to be a delicate question for the ruling power due to its unresolved nature), but in this respect, it was given a kind of activist, political interpretation. The first steps were made by non-governmental institutions outside the political system. As in the case of the other (minority) issues, it should be mentioned that the topic was covered by several relevant papers, such as *Sociologija* (Sociology) – the joint journal of the Sociological Association of Serbia and Montenegro and the Institute of Sociology and Social Research of the University of Belgrade – or the former *Sociološki pregled* (the Serbian Sociology Society). At the same time, a huge problem like that of the refugees (their problems, their return to the country they left behind, and their integration) was recently addressed, in an exemplary manner, in a joint Serbian-Croatian project and published in a book.²³

Certain minorities, especially the Hungarian population, also tried to create their own system of institutions independently from the Serbian state, but Hungarian science in Serbia, the study of minorities in particular, does not constitute the subject of this paper. From the 1990s, the Yugoslavian Hungarian Cultural Society has produced excellent books on Hungarian minorities, but it was more like a one-person workshop. Mention should also be made of the Scientific Society of Hungarian Studies,²⁴ which published 15 volumes of studies between 1997 and 2014 on the Hungarians in Vojvodina. The Institute for Hungarian Culture in Vojvodina has become an important documentation center but it is not very active in minority research. In general it was all about personal careers rather than

²¹ “*Manjine u Srbiji*”, Beograd, 2000.

²² Centar za razvoj civilnog društva / Center of Development of Civil Society. http://cdcs.org.rs/index.php?option=com_docman&task=cat_view&gid=13&Itemid=60 (10-11-2015)

²³ “*Studija o položaju izbeglih lica iz Hrvatske*”, Beograd, 2013.

²⁴ Naučno društvo za hungarološka istraživanja / The Scientific Association for Hungarology Research. <http://www.mtt.org.rs/> (20-01-2016)

organized minority research, and even though there were a few centers created, such as the Identity Research Workgroup of National Minorities in Senta (Zenta), its activity in this area is rather sporadic.

2.5. Reestablishment of the Academy in Vojvodina

The Vojvodina Academy of Sciences and Arts²⁵ was founded by the Parliament of the Province of Vojvodina on June 20, 1979, which at that time was supported by the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts as well. Since 1974 Kosovo and Vojvodina were “states within a state”, which many Serbian nationalists, including renowned academicians and politicians, complained about, which led to the elimination of Vojvodina’s autonomy in practice in 1988. In the first ten years the Academy in Vojvodina worked closely together with Matica Srpska (“Serbian /Bee/ Mother”), also based in Novi Sad, which can be seen as the oldest cultural institution of the Serbs.

The fate of the Vojvodina Academy of Sciences and Arts was soon to be sealed, and in 1992 it was terminated by the Milošević regime by the new law on the academy. Since its termination in 1992, the autonomist parties and movements in Vojvodina have been constantly seeking to revive the academy. The time was ripe for it three years after Slobodan Milošević’s fall, in 2003, but ten years later – after further political changes – the Serbian Constitutional Court found the decision on the reestablishment of the academy unconstitutional in 2013 and declared the activity of the academy pursued on the basis of the statute of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina as unlawful.²⁶ In response to this, the provincial government founded the Vojvodina Academy of Sciences, Culture and Arts on May 20, 2015,²⁷ which distinguished itself from the former institution by including the term “culture” in its name. The provincial government argued that there existed no national and state borders in science, art and culture. The “one nation, one state, one academy” kind of approach has long been outdated, in many states there are several academies similar to the regional Academy in Vojvodina. The Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts does not have members from the ethnic minorities, whereas the former Vojvodina Academy of Sciences and Arts did, and the Vojvodina Academy of Sciences, Culture and Arts founded later does have members from minority populations, including Hungarian members.

The several-decade-long debate on the Academy in Vojvodina is unfortunately also of a political nature, which can be interpreted basically in the context of

²⁵ Vojvodanska akademija nauka i umetnosti / Academy of Sciences and Arts of Vojvodina. <http://vanu.org.rs/> (20-01-2016)

²⁶ “VANU, VANUK”, *Vreme*, 17.06.2015. <http://www.vreme.com/cms/view.php?id=1315545> (11-09-2015)

²⁷ Vojvodanska akademija nauka, umetnosti i culture. <http://vanu.org.rs/?p=1828> (20-01-2016)

Serbian centralization, the existence of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, and regionalization. There is a shadow of a power struggle cast on it, which can neither facilitate the funding nor the work of the Academy.

3. Relationships and disputes with neighboring countries

3.1. Serbian academic life in Bosnia and Herzegovina

After Yugoslavia's collapse, quite large Serbian ethnic groups remained living in the former republics, which created a unique situation in the Balkans. This is how the Academy of Sciences and Arts of the Bosnian Serb Republic was established in 1996 in Bosnia and Herzegovina or, to be more precise, in the Bosnian Serb Republic, which has never been recognized internationally despite its Serbian majority. This institution is working in a "low-budget" mode: it has four departments (one of them is the Department of Social Sciences). Its website promotes very few events or publications. Although it cooperates with several academies in the region – including the Serbian Academy – it does not have any research project focusing on the minorities (the Bosnian Serbs do not see themselves as a minority since they have absolute majority in the Bosnian Serb Republic, whereas in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which neither their politicians nor the population recognize as the state by, none of the so-called constituent nations, the Bosnians, the Serbians and Croats, have an absolute majority). Instead, there are many programs (followed by volumes of studies) that are intended to serve a political cause and are attended by the ambassadors or representatives of the countries regarded as friends, such as Russia, Montenegro and Bulgaria, as well as by the domestic political elite, for example on the peace treaty made in Dayton.

The Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina²⁸ itself was created in 1966 from the Scientific Society established in 1951. The Balkanology Research Center is functioning within the Academy of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Their research focuses on archaeological, historical, anthropological, linguistic and ethnological topics, which have very serious political relevance in the extremely complex conditions in Bosnia and Herzegovina for issues of national development: which nation came first to a particular region; which nation has acquired or is now in majority in a particular region; how each nation has assimilated the others; whether those assuming the Muslim religion can still be regarded as Serbian; and how the native language should be called.

²⁸ Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine. <http://www.anurs.org/> (20-01-2016)

3.2. Debates between the academies of Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina

In order to illustrate the discussion above, it may be worth addressing a dispute and the exchange of letters that took place in 2015 between the Academy in Belgrade and the Academy based in Sarajevo. The Board for Standardization of the Serbian Language in the Department of Languages and Literature of the Serbian Academy (also called the Linguistic Institute of Serbian) adopted a resolution “on the status of the Bosnian language” to which the Department of Humanities of the Bosnian Academy sent a response.²⁹

The Serbian party decided on making this resolution in response to the debates published in the media which argued that “the Bosnians cannot understand the Serbian language,” and that the courts were blocking trials in the Serbian towns inhabited by a Bosnian majority population by saying that there were not enough Serbian-Bosnian translators available, etc. In their view, linguistics should answer two questions: does “the Bosnian language” exist, which is different from “the Serbian language”? Do the Serbs have to use the term “Bosnian language”, as the Bosnians insist? Then they provide various different arguments trying to prove that Bosnian is not a separate language, referring, among others, to the works of Bosnian authors working in Bosnia and Herzegovina. On the basis of the European Charter of Regional or Minority Languages, they argue that Bosnian does not differ from the Serbian language; these are just two names for the same language, therefore Bosnian cannot have his own status either linguistically or de jure. It may only be a separate language in a symbolic sense. Bosnian can especially not be regarded as a separate language in Serbia, from which it logically follows that there is no need for Serbian-Bosnian translators.

On the other hand, the Bosnian Academy firmly rejected the position of the Serbian Linguistic Institute stating that since its foundation it had never discussed any nationalist or current political topics, but now that the Serbian Academy raised this issue, they had to respond “to this controversial, politically driven and dangerous document.” In the answer they clearly argued that the existence of the Bosnian language is a fact and every nation has the right to call their own language as they wish. They firmly reject linguistic nationalism in general as well

²⁹ For the resolution of the Serbian Academy see: “Odluka odbora za standardizaciju o statusu bosanskog ili bošnjačkog jezika”. <http://www.isj-sanu.rs/rubrike/vesti/76/2015/08/25/odluka-odbora-za-standardizaciju-o-statusu-bosanskog-ili-bosnjackog-jezika.html> (19-10-2015); See the answer in: “Saopćenje Odeljenja humanističkih nauka Akademije nauka i umjetnost Bosne i Hercegovine povodom „Odluke“ Odbora za standardizaciju srpskog jezika Instituta za jezik SANU”. <http://www.anubih.ba/index.php/homepage/novosti/296-saopcenje-odjeljenja-humanistickih-nauka-akademije-nauka-i-umjetnosti-bosne-i-hercegovine-povodom-odluke-odbora-za-standardizaciju-srpskog-jezika-instituta-za-jezik-sanu> (19-10-2015)

as its Serbian and Croatian versions as they are based on myths. In addition, they note that after the four years of war, since then twenty years have elapsed, “the linguistic hatchets should finally be buried.”

We do not wish to present the position of the two parties in full here; instead, we just wanted to show that scientific questions constantly generate debates with current political relevance in the former member states of Yugoslavia, and these disputes often have an impact not only on the everyday life of the ethnic minorities living there but also on the relationships between different countries.

3.3. Serbian-Hungarian cooperation

One of the positive examples is the cooperation between the Serbian and Hungarian academies (SANU and MTA), the creation of the Joint Academic Committee of Hungary and Serbia³⁰, which the presidents of the two countries decided on in 2009. The primary objective of the committee is to clarify the common historical past. It aims to ensure that “the organization is as independent as possible from politics and is not influenced by political fluctuations working strictly on a scientific basis in order to explore the background of events that hinder historical reconciliation between Hungary and Serbia”.³¹

There has been some close cooperation in certain areas between the scientific, academic and university systems of the two countries. The cooperation between the Institute for Literary Studies of the MTA Research Center for the Humanities and the Department of Hungarian Language and Literature at the University of Novi Sad deserves to be noted here, as well as the joint project of the ethnography institutes of the two academies entitled *The culture and identity of ethnic minorities: Hungarians in Serbia – Serbs in Hungary*.

4. An attempt to revive the Serbian Academy

As has been stressed several times before, the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts has been severely influenced by politics, and some of its academicians have also become involved in politics in recent years. These Serbian academicians continue to appear in public as a kind of celebrity, who are often asked about different kinds of things and who are more than happy to talk about the seediest national issues, often pressing the national boundaries. In some sense, they assume the role of savior of the nation, pushing their public servant function and scientific and artistic activities to the background. As a result, there is a constant tension

³⁰ <http://www.magyarszerbmult.hu/> (19-10-2015)

³¹ http://www.magyarszerbmult.hu/?page_id=6 (19-10-2015)

within the Academy between the representatives of this approach and those who are committed to their profession and a special branch of science.

The latter approach is gaining the upper hand, which is demonstrated by the fact that in 2003 the internationally renowned architect Nikola Hajdin was elected president of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, succeeded by neurologist Vladimir Kostić in 2015.³² Upon his election, Vladimir Kostić stressed that the leadership of the Academy should offer constructive opinion for the public on national issues in which there is no consensus in order to help Serbia get back on its feet, but the primary duty of the Academy is to present the work of its members, highlighting the achievements at the time when “Serbia is living in an atmosphere of self-pity.”³³

Kostić sparked widespread outrage by a statement made in the fall of 2015. In his interview given to Radio Belgrade³⁴ he talked, among other things, about Serbia’s eternal national issue. The essence of his differentiated view, which was partly misinterpreted, is that the Province of Kosovo will never be part of Serbia again. The realities should be taken into account and he is much more concerned about the fate of the Bosnian Serb Republic, where “one and a half, two million” Serbians are living. Although he did not claim in the interview that in return for Kosovo Serbia should insist that the Bosnian Serb Republic become part of Serbia, many interpreted his words this way and attacked him, raising the question of whether the president of the Academy should have the right to express his opinion on an issue like this. This prolonged dispute demonstrated that the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts plays a traditionally important role as a national institution in Serbia whose authority is unquestionable. Meanwhile, the new president sees the Academy as a politically neutral institution and seeks to renew scientific life, an institutional system, and revive international cooperation, not excluding the possibility of providing an opinion on everyday issues from a scientific aspect if the need arises.

* * *

As can be seen in the discussion above, the issues of Serbian statehood have had a strong impact on nearly everything in the past few decades, including the scientific and the academic systems. Maybe it is no wonder that under such circumstances, Serbian science policy matters only in the Bosnian Serb Republic – although large numbers of Serbs live in the countries neighboring on Serbia, and even more in Western Europe and overseas. But for now, this policy can be

³² Bubnjević, Slobodan, “Izbori u SANU: Novi predsednik i novi akademici”, *Vreme*, 05.03.2015. <http://www.vreme.com/cms/view.php?id=1276235> (08-11-2015)

³³ Živanović, Katarina, “SANU da bude primer”, *Danas*, 08.04.2015. http://www.danas.rs/danasrs/dijalog/sanu_da_bude_primer.46.html?news_id=299981 (08-11-2015)

³⁴ “Šta je rekao dr Vladimir Kostić, predsednik SANU: Politika nam je pojela život”, *Vreme*, 22.10.2015. <http://www.vreme.com/cms/view.php?id=1336552> (08-11-2015)

interpreted only in a political rather than a scientific context (just like in the case of the Serbian minority on Kosovo). Although the Institute of Balkan Studies does address issues pertaining to Serbia and Serbian minorities, these research projects seem to be rather ad hoc compared to similar projects in Hungary, focusing on historical, ethnographic and linguistic issues rather than on the social, cultural, political, etc. life of the ethnic minorities. On the other hand, the role of the academic institutional system has been successfully taken over by scientific journals, university research workshops, as well as the initiatives of civil organizations and individual researchers.

Croatia's scientific and cultural relations with ethnic Croats living abroad

Árpád Hornyák*

1. Croatian ethnic minorities and diasporas in the world

The Croatian nation is one of Europe's most diverse nations in terms of composition. In the course of history, the Croats lost their sovereignty at the end of the 11th century, and since then most of them lived under the rule of the Kingdom of Hungary until 1918, from time to time enjoying different levels of autonomy. Over the course of centuries, a large number of Croats immigrated to territories outside of modern-day Croatia. Most of these territories were part of the Kingdom of Hungary before World War I, and after the Austro-Hungarian Empire had broken up they fell under the jurisdiction of other countries, so many Croats found themselves living in Austria and Italy. The majority of the Croatian nation lived in several large administrative units in a federative republic as a constituent nation in the first South Slavic state, and then maintained a similar status in the second South Slavic state that was created after World War II. However, after the disintegration of Yugoslavia they found themselves in a minority position in the states that were established on the basis of the former member states.

Today, there are nearly 4 million people living outside the borders of Croatia who are of Croatian origin and who are entitled, under Croatian law, to Croatian citizenship, and 25% of them speak or understand Croatian.¹ Therefore, with its domestic population of 4.5 million, Croatia is definitely high on the list of countries that has a close comparison between their mainland population and their ethnic population living outside the home-country national borders. Croatian legislation classifies the ethnic relations living abroad into three categories.

a) *National minority*: Croats living, for the most part, as natives in the countries neighboring with Croatia (Hungary, Serbia, Italy) or in the states that were created on the basis of the counties that used to form a federation together with

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¹ <http://www.hia.com.hr/iseljenici/iseljenici01.html> (01-03-2016) Croatian citizenship can be obtained by origin (through parents having Croatian citizenship), naturalization (by individuals living permanently in the territory of Croatia with a strong commitment to and respect for Croatia who apply for citizenship, including descendants as well as their spouses), birth (in the territory of Croatia irrespective of nationality of the parents) and on the basis of international agreements. Zakon o Hrvatskom državljanstvu. <http://www.zakon.hr/z/446/Zakon-o-hrvatskom-dr%C5%BEavljanstvu> (01-03-2016)

Croatia (Slovenia,² Austria, Macedonia, etc.) who are regarded by these states as such.

The Serbian Croats, especially those living in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, are regarded as autochthonous. Their number has diminished significantly in the past two decades (due to the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the prolonged Civil War). According to the 2011 census, 57,900 people declared themselves as ethnic Croats in Serbia, and 16,706 as Bunjevci, with 47,033 and 16,469 of them living in Vojvodina, respectively.³

The number of Croats living in Hungary is estimated by official Croatian data to be about as high as the population living in Serbia.⁴ The ancestors of the Croats living in Hungary today had come from various parts of ethnic Slavonian and Croatian territories at different times to the regions north of the Drava River, often fleeing from the Turks during the Turkish occupation (or thereafter) between the 15th and the 18th centuries.⁵

b) The *Croats living in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, who account for a significant number of ethnic Croats living abroad, represent a separate category. According to the 1991 census, their number was over 760,000. Today, it must be about 500,000. There is no precise data available because the figures of the latest census (2013) concerning the nationalities have not been published yet. What is unique about this Croatian community, in particular, is that it is one of the three constituent nations of Bosnia-Herzegovina (Croatian, Bosnian and Serbian), which derived its legal ground primarily from the historical development of these regions, in addition to numerical ratio and geographical vicinity. In the Middle Ages and later in the modern age, these regions used to be part of political structures that included the majority of Croats as well: The Kingdom of Croatia, then the Kingdom of Hungary, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and finally Yugoslavia. Thus, it is

² The approximately 50,000 Croatians living in Slovenia are not recognized as a national minority, under the premise that they are not native as they settled down there only under the second Yugoslavia.

³ [http://pod2.stat.gov.rs/ObjavljenePublikacije/Popis2011/Nacionalna%20pripadnost-Ethnicity.pdf\(01-03-2016\)](http://pod2.stat.gov.rs/ObjavljenePublikacije/Popis2011/Nacionalna%20pripadnost-Ethnicity.pdf(01-03-2016)) It should certainly be noted that there are significant deviations in numbers even in the data published by particular Croatian central public organizations. For example, according to the Office of Ethnic Croats Living Abroad, there are 47,033 Croatians living in Vojvodina (<http://www.hrvtiizvanrh.hr/hr/hmiu/hrvatska-manjina-u-srbiji/14>). On the other hand, the number published by the Culture Institute of Croats in Vojvodina is 56,546 (<http://www.zkvh.org.rs/index.php/bastina/hrvati-danas/6-hrvati-u-vojvodini-danas?showall=&start=1>) (01-03-2016)

⁴ <http://www.hrvtiizvanrh.hr/hr/hmiu/hrvatska-manjina-u-republici-madjarskoj/9> (2016-03-01) The number of Croatians living in Hungary is estimated at 50,000, while the website also shows the official Hungarian data over the 2011 census which shows that 26,740 people declared themselves as Croatian.

⁵ Sokcsevits, Dénes, "A magyarországi horvátok rövid története." <http://docplayer.hu/7592607-A-magyarorszag-i-horvatok-rovid-tortenete-sokcsevits-denes.html> (01-03-2016)

a native population tied to modern-day Croatia by myriad threads, including economic, emotional, cultural, and, most importantly, through political connections. This latter political attachment underpins their key role in the Croatian communities living outside the Republic of Croatia.

c) The third large group is represented by the *Croats living in a diaspora*. These people account for most of the Croats living outside the borders of the home country. The largest Croatian communities in the world live in Argentina, Australia, Germany, Canada and the United States. 1 million of them live in Europe, about 2 million in the United States and Canada, 500,000 in South America, and close to 300,000 in Australia.⁶ These communities had been created as a result of the migration waves and processes taking place in the past 150 years.

The large-scale migration of Croats to regions outside the borders of the Habsburg (Austro-Hungarian) Monarchy started in the second half of the 19th century. The emigration of Croats to overseas countries, especially the United States, began to take large dimensions in the 1890s, when about half a million Croats relocated to the land of great opportunities from Croatian territories up to the outbreak of World War I. This number increased by 150,000 between the two world wars. In both cases, emigration was mostly motivated by economic reasons, which was also true for immigration to the other overseas countries and Western Europe.⁷ The only difference was immigration during the period following World War II, when thousands of Croats decided to leave the country for political reasons. In this case, the main destinations were South America and Australia.⁸ Nonetheless, it is important to note that emigration targeting South America involved well over 100,000 people by the end of the 19th century.

In addition to the aforementioned politically motivated emigration from Tito's Yugoslavia, a new huge wave of immigration began to emerge in the 1960s targeting Western European states, especially Western Germany. The motivation for this was clearly economic. Originally, these people began with temporary residence, which is why they are called "guest workers", but in many cases the migration proved to be permanent. The aforementioned Croatian community in Europe, which now amounts to about 1 million people, is larger due to the outcome of this emigration process.

⁶ Australia is a good example for how difficult it is to determine the number of a particular community accurately, where 118,051 people declare themselves as of Croatian origin in the last (2006) census. On the other hand, the Australian Ministry of Foreign Affairs believes that there are 150,000 Croatians living in the country, while according to the Australian Croatians themselves their number is as high as 250,000. Top 5 zemalja u kojima živi najviše hrvatskih iseljenika. <http://croexpress.eu/vijest.php?vijest=2768> (01-03-2016)

⁷ Lončar, Jelena, "Iseljavanje hrvata u Amerike te Južnu Afriku". <http://www.geografija.hr/svijet/iseljavanje-hrvata-u-amerike-te-juznu-afriku/> (01-03-2016)

⁸ The Argentinean president, Peron, gave permission for 35,000 Croatians to settle there. <http://croexpress.eu/vijest.php?vijest=2768> (01-03-2016)

The independent democratic Croatia established in 1991 saw it as a key objective to maintain the union of several million Croats living outside the national borders, to nurture and preserve their cultural identity and strengthen their sense of belonging together. In order to ensure that, several governmental organizations have been set up and joined by other organizations created through civil initiatives.

2. Non-governmental organizations liaising with ethnic Croats abroad

2.1. Matica hrvatska

Established in 1842, Matica hrvatska (“Croatian /Bee/ Mother”) is the main sponsor of the scientific and cultural life of ethnic Croats living abroad, which has long-standing traditions. Matica hrvatska is an independent, non-profit, and nongovernmental organization that has become a national institution over time. Its members are organized into branches that can be established with the support of Matica hrvatska, or initiated by at least 10 prospective members who have a common interest in some area that belongs to the sphere of activity of Matica hrvatska. The organization has European branches in Austria, Belgium, Germany, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Hungary and Serbia. Hungary operates three offices in Pécs, Sopron and Budapest, respectively.⁹ Nevertheless, Matica hrvatska should be seen more like a virtual community-creating network of Croatian cultural institutions all over the world, rather than a financial sponsor of Croatian science in the ethnic Croatian regions abroad.

2.2. The Croatian Heritage Foundation

This association (Hrvatska Matica iseljenika) was established in Zagreb in 1951, and later revived in 1992 in order to function as a central national institution for the ethnic Croatian communities living outside the borders of Croatia, providing important support for various social and economic activities. From the very beginning it functioned as a social organization in the form of a foundation that creates, maintains, and nurtures relations with the Croats who immigrate to various parts of the world, as well as with their descendants, societies and clubs. Today, most of its activities are designed to organize various cultural, scientific, sports and information programs, and publish various books and works.¹⁰

⁹ By way of comparison, it has several branch offices, a total of 17, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, while it has only two in Germany. <http://www.matica.hr/ogracni/> (01-03-2016)

¹⁰ <http://www.matis.hr/index.php/hr/o-hmi-2/povijest> (01-03-2016)

2.3. The Croatian World Congress

This association (Hrvatski svjetski kongres) is an international, nonpartisan civil organization whose task is to coordinate the work of all the Croatian institutions outside the home country. Its main objective is to strengthen the sense of belonging together as Croats, help them achieve their ambitions, and ensure the continuity and development of the religious, intellectual, cultural, social, and sporting traditions of Croats. In doing so, the Croatian World Congress seeks to strengthen the relationship of Croats living all over the world with Croatia, as a central creative force; this is accomplished by strengthening and supporting the creative development of the social, religious, intellectual, cultural and sporting life of Croats.¹¹ The organization was founded in 1993 with its center in New York and operations in over 30 countries. In 1998, it was admitted to the UN as an international nongovernmental organization with the status of a consultant. It functions through a number of UN committees, one of which is obviously the committee responsible for relations with the home country as well as culture, sports and education. The Croatian World Congress recognizes the individuals and institutions that have done the most in the interest of Croats at its annual congresses by awarding various prizes and accolades.¹²

2.4. The Advisory Council for Croats Living Abroad

The Advisory Council for Croats Living Abroad (Savjet Vlade Republike Hrvatske za Hrvate izvan Republike Hrvatske), set up by the government of the Republic of Croatia in 2013, can be regarded as a semi-public organization that functions as a consultant, and which includes the representatives of ethnic Croats living abroad in addition to members delegated by the Croatian government and public figures.¹³ Its task is to assist the Croatian government in shaping its policy for ethnic Croats abroad, as well as planning and implementing various programs.

¹¹ <http://www.crowc.org/o-nama/openito> (01-03-2016)

¹² For promoting Croatian interest in the world, recognition of the efforts made by foreigners in order to promote Croatian national interests, etc.

¹³ 9 representatives of the Croatians in Bosnia and Herzegovina and 17 representatives of Croatian national minorities elsewhere (3 from Serbia; 2 from Hungary, Austria and Slovenia; and 1 from Bulgaria, Montenegro, the Czech Republic, Italy, Kosovo, Macedonia, Romania and Slovenia, respectively.) <http://www.zakon.hr/z/507/Zakon-o-odnosima-Republike-Hrvatske-s-Hrvatima-izvan-Republike-Hrvatske> (01-03-2016)

2.5. The Committee on Croats outside the Republic of Croatia

The Committee on Croats outside the Republic of Croatia (Odbor za Hrvate izvan Republike Hrvatske) functioning in the Croatian Parliament, the Sabor, also deserves mention. It has the rights and obligations equivalent to a working committee in legislative issues affecting ethnic Croats abroad, and has a voice in any international and other draft agreements that serve the interests of ethnic Croats living in the neighboring countries and all over the world, as well as in financial issues related to them. Its tasks include regular liaising with the ethnic Croats abroad that are initiating actions and proposals in connection with the Croats living in the neighboring countries and all over the world.¹⁴

3. The support provided for science and culture in the ethnic Croatian regions abroad

Appropriately, the most important sponsor is one of the public organizations of the Republic of Croatia, the State Office for Croats Abroad (Državni ured za Hrvate izvan Republike Hrvatske). The establishment of the Office was enacted in the act on “the Relationship between the Republic of Croatia and the Ethnic Croats Abroad” adopted in 2012. In addition to setting up the Office, the act also provided for the legal status of Croats without Croatian citizenship, and regulated the relationship of the different organizations dealing with the issues of ethnic Croats abroad, as well as the forms of cooperation between ethnic Croats abroad.¹⁵

The act classifies the ethnic Croats abroad into the three groups detailed previously: Croats living in Bosnia and Herzegovina, who constitute an independent and constituent nation of this independent state with equal rights; the Croatian national minorities living in certain European states; and Croats who immigrated to overseas countries and other European states, as well as their descendants. Like the other organizations with a similar mission, the State Office for Croats Abroad has responsibilities for all of these three groups.

The Office is responsible for coordinating and strengthening relations with the various organizations, institutions, cultural centers and Catholic missions, etc. of the Croats living all over the world, and provide them with support in order to promote the Croatian culture and language, as well as cooperation in science, the economy, and other areas. In its strategic plan determined for the period between 2015 and 2017, the Office significantly increased the number of cultural, scientific, and educational projects designed to strengthen relations and

¹⁴ Radna tijela Hrvatskog sabora, Odbor za Hrvate izvan Republike Hrvatske. <http://www.sabor.hr/Default.aspx?sec=5200> (01-03-2016)

¹⁵ <http://www.zakon.hr/z/507/Zakon-o-odnosima-Republike-Hrvatske-s-Hrvatima-izvan-Republike-Hrvatske> (01-03-2016)

cooperation with the ethnic Croatian communities living abroad, as compared to the period before 2015. In this plan, the number of culture programs sponsored by the Office, which demonstrates the level of development in regard to cultural cooperation with the ethnic Croats abroad, is designed to increase from a modest 16 in 2014 to 27 by 2017. The number of joint scientific, educational, and sports programs is designed to increase from 6 to 9 by 2017, increasing by one each year. These programs also include the project announced for the exploration of the history of Croats in Bosnia, and Croatian minorities and emigrants, which is perhaps the best sign of the degree of scientific cooperation with the ethnic Croatian communities abroad. According to the plan, the number of these should be increased from the initial 11 by one each year up to 2017, resulting in a final number of 14. The plan also includes a radical increase in the number of dormitory and training places for students of Croatian origin to pursue their studies in Croatia from an initial 52 to 110. As a new element, scientific and research projects were announced for ethnic Croats abroad, their number should be increased by one each year up to 2017.¹⁶ The range of programs eligible for support has been defined in accordance with the aforementioned three-category structure (Bosnia and Herzegovina, national minorities, Croatian emigrants in the diaspora). The open competitions announced for the support of Croatian national minorities have been supported through the embassies of 12 European states.

The 2013 budget earmarked 112.5 million kunas (EUR 15 million) in aid for the implementation of the programs and projects planned in 2014 and 2015, which was allocated by the State Office for Croats Abroad, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry for European Union Funds and Regional Development, the Ministry of Health, and the Ministry of Science, Education and Sport. Half of the entire amount, 61.2 million kunas (EUR 7.5 million), was managed by the State Office for Croats Abroad, with the provision that this fund should be able to cover the operation of the Association of Croatian Emigrants.¹⁷

The Croatian Ministry of Science, Education and Sport is responsible for teaching the Croatian language and nurturing Croatian culture among young people and children living across the borders, as well as those emigrants who speak Croatian in their family. At the same time, Croatian education is available to any children who would like to know more about Croatian culture and learn to speak Croatian. In addition to training programs organized and overseen by the competent Croatian ministry, there are forms of education in particular foreign countries which have become integrated into the education system of the host country and which are overseen by the education authorities of the host country. The training programs organized by the Croatian communities abroad and

¹⁶ Strateški plan Državnog ureda za hrvate izvan Republike Hrvatske za razdoblje 2015–2017. <http://www.hrvatiizvanrh.hr/pdf/hmiu1525654328.pdf> (01-03-2016)

¹⁷ <http://www.sabor.hr/Default.aspx?art=51589> (01-03-2016)

Catholic missions are also very important. The Ministry of Science, Education and Sport organizes and supports Croatian education, in part or in full, in over 20 countries in the world (Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Montenegro, Chile, France, Italy, Ireland, China, Hungary, Macedonia, the Netherlands, Norway, Germany, Poland, Romania, Russia, Slovenia, Slovakia, Serbia, Switzerland and United Kingdom). About 6,300 students and 95 teachers participate in these programs in 310 locations. The Ministry selects and employs the teachers, who pursue their activity on the basis of a uniform curriculum developed for the teaching of Croatian to foreigners.¹⁸

In the states where members of the Croatian ethnic minority are living, Croatian is generally taught under the regular education system. In this case, the support provided by the Croatian state is confined to offering summer seminars for teachers, organized by the Croatian Education and Teacher Training Agency in order to improve their professional skills. As far as it is permitted by the budget, the Ministry tries to promote the teaching of Croatian to young people and children of Croatian origin by buying textbooks and other teaching aids, and providing additional funding for the work of the teachers with the approval of the relevant education authorities in particular countries. The Croatian-language programs for the Croats who immigrated to overseas states (Australia, Canada and the United States) are generally integrated into the education system of the host country, or are offered by the Croatian communities and Catholic missions. The Ministry takes part in the organization of teaching Croatian and in the training itself in Chile and Argentina. In certain European states (such as Denmark, Sweden and Finland), the teaching of Croatian is truly integrated into the education system of the host country, so it is organized and financed by the host country.¹⁹

The Ministry provides 28 official language-instructor positions in Croatian language and literature, and co-finances three Croatian studies centers in Australia and Canada. In addition to the aforementioned positions and centers, which provide Croatian-language education for over 2,000 students in 21 countries, the Ministry supports, in part or in full, another 30 language instructors who do not belong to its competence. Irrespective of whether these language instructors belong to its competence or not, the Ministry regularly supplies them with literature, dictionaries, films and other multimedia teaching aids that are related to Croatian studies.

The students studying Croatian are provided with a one-semester scholarship by the Ministry to bring their Croatian to perfection at the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Zagreb and the University of Rijeka. In addition, they have the opportunity to stay at these universities for consultation or to pursue their own

¹⁸ *Narodne novine*, 194 (2003).

¹⁹ Hrvatska nastava u inozemstvu. <http://public.mzos.hr/Default.aspx?sec=2116> (01-03-2016)

research. As far as possible, the Ministry provides study-abroad trips for groups of foreign students in order to enable them to familiarize themselves with the Croatian culture and language.²⁰

There is another program created by the Ministry, called as Unity through Knowledge Fund (*Jedinstvo uz pomoć znanja*), which functions in the form of a foundation and is financed by a World Bank loan. This program has been designed to promote the return of scholars working abroad or those of Croatian origin, or at least establish connections between scholars working abroad and domestic researchers. Designed to support basic and applied research, this program seeks to promote, in addition to the above, research that creates new value for the Croatian economy and may develop the Croatian research infrastructure. It seeks to take advantage of the fact that there are millions of Croats living in the world who often work at state-of-the-art research centers and have world-class expertise, and who can be tempted to return home if there are appropriate circumstances provided for their work.²¹

4. Research into the ethnic Croats abroad and Croatian scientific centers in the world

The study of the ethnic Croats abroad is primarily carried out by the Croatian communities living outside the national borders, which seek to include Croatian resources in the financing of their activities.

Hardly surprisingly, the most important centers of Croatian science in the ethnic Croatian regions abroad were created in the territories that are closest to Croatia, where the bonds to Croatian core regions go back to the earliest times: in Serbia, Hungary, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. The latter region is a special case as Croatia is one of the three constituent nations of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and as such, its fundamental cultural and scientific needs are obviously financed by the public budget.

In Serbia, the Institute of Croatian Culture in Vojvodina (*Zavod za kulturu Vojvođanskih Hrvata*) is the key official institution of the Croats living in Serbia (Vojvodina), which was established by the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and the Serbian National Minority Council of Croats in 2008. The goal of this institution is to preserve and promote the development of the culture of the Croatian ethnic minorities living in Vojvodina. In accordance with the institute's charter, its activity is focused on working out development projects for the Croats in Vojvodina in the area of science, culture and arts. In order to achieve this goal, it pursues publication activities, research in the social sciences and the humanities,

²⁰ Propisani postupak za izbor lektora. <http://public.mzos.hr/Default.aspx?sec=2109> (01-03-2016)

²¹ <http://public.mzos.hr/Default.aspx?art=7620&sec=2163> (01-03-2016)

market research, and public opinion polls. It also operates libraries, museums and archives; creates and manages databases; and organizes seminars and workshops for teachers, etc. The Institute is divided into three large units responsible for: science and research; information, documentation and communication; and finally, the largest one promoting culture, the arts, and improving the expertise of ethnic Croats in the area of education, culture and science. The Institute coordinates the work of about 50 Croatian-culture institutions in Vojvodina.²²

The Croatian Academic Society (Hrvatsko Akademsko društvo) plays a key role in the scientific life of the Croats in Vojvodina, which is an association of Croatian intellectuals in Subotica (Szabadka) in particular. The Society coordinates the work of its members with academic qualifications throughout Vojvodina, but some of its members come from Belgrade and Croatia. Although it was originally founded in 1998 in order to promote social sciences, humanities, and research on the history, culture, sociology, psychology, demography, communication, economics and literature in connection with the Croatian nation in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, today most of its activities are confined to Serbia. The Society is divided into sections corresponding to the aforementioned disciplines.²³ Its most important project is also one of the outstanding enterprises of Croatian science in Vojvodina: the lexicon of Croats living in Vojvodina (Leksikon podunavskih Hrvata – Bunjevaca i šokaca [The lexicon of Danubian Croats: Bunjevci and Šokci]), which has already been published in 12 volumes.²⁴

The Scientific Institute of Croats in Hungary (Znanstveni zavod Hrvata u Mađarskoj) was established in Budapest, Hungary as a result of the joint effort of the National Self-Government of the Croat Minority, the leadership of the Association of Croatian Research Workers, and the staff of the Department of Croatian Language and Literature at the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Pécs in 2004.

The Institute began to work out its institutional structure in 2004 in order to publish the results of scientific research and set up its own science library and archives, which could, at the same time, create an infrastructure for constant networking with Croatian-minority scholars working at various locations in the country. One of the Institute's key tasks is to broaden the Croatian minority's research base in Hungary and train the next generation of research workers, but equal importance is attached to the promotion of research work implemented through the cooperation of various Croatian education institutions, social and civil organizations, etc.

²² <http://www.zkvh.org.rs/> (01-03-2016)

²³ http://www.had.org.rs/o_nama.php (01-03-2016)

²⁴ <http://www.matis.hr/index.php/hr/aktivnosti/dogadanja/3322-novi-svezak-leksikona-podunavskih-hrvata-bunjevaca-i-sokaca> (01-03-2016)

The main project of the long-term work plan developed at the time of its foundation was designed to explore and present the changes taking place in the traditional culture of Croats in Hungary from 1918 to the present day. The purpose of this research project was to describe and assess the changes that have taken place in the culture, society (social structure), customs, and identity of the Croatian minority in the 20th century, to be published in a lexicon presenting the Croats in Hungary. However, the preconditions for actually implementing this plan were not in place for about a decade. The organizational background of the project was developed only in September 2015, by which time the National Self-Government of the Croat Minority could become one of the main supporters, which tried to provide financial support for the lexicon project through several different channels. In view of the fact that there was a similar project in progress in Serbian Vojvodina for the preparation of the lexicon of Croats in Vojvodina, it was a natural step that the Institute contacted the research institutions of Croats in Vojvodina in order to exchange experiences, creating close cooperation between them in the past decade.²⁵

The only Croatian university outside of Croatia where training is offered in the Croatian language, which is otherwise one of the official languages of the state, operates in Bosnia and Herzegovina, more precisely in Mostar. The University dates back to the Franciscan college of theology established at the end of the 19th century. Today, it has 10 faculties as well as a faculty of fine arts with about 16,000 students, and it receives significant support from other Croatian universities, which allow their lecturers to teach in the training programs of the University in Mostar, with the Croatian government providing the necessary funds for it. In addition, the government in Zagreb provides the University with considerable funds for development.²⁶ The University operates several research institutes in the area of economics, architecture, Croatian language, literature and history, engineering, law and political science, social sciences, and karst research. There are numerous Croatian associations affiliated with the University, which take an active role in the promotion of the Croatian language and national awareness.

Between 2004 and 2014, the Croatian government allocated 243.8 million kunas (app. EUR 32.5 million) to support various projects submitted in the area of education, science, health, culture, etc. in the interest of ensuring the economic and social survival of the Croats living in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 2015 the central budget of the Republic of Croatia earmarked 20 million kunas (about EUR 2.66 million) for this purpose. The Croatian government enters into an aid agreement with the grantees, which is coordinated by an inter-ministerial committee.²⁷

²⁵ <http://mhti.hu/hirek/tanacskoz-as-a-magyarorszagi-horvatok-lexikonjarol> (01-03-2016)

²⁶ <http://www.hrvatiizvanrh.hr/hr/hmiu/hrvati-u-bosni-i-hercegovini/41> (01-03-2016)

²⁷ The amount defined in advance is distributed roughly equally among the following areas: education and science (5,350,000), health care (5,260,000) and other areas (4,390,000). <https://>

One of the greatest scientific undertakings of the Croats in Bosnia is the Croatian Encyclopedia of Bosnian Croats published by the Croatian Lexicology Institute, also affiliated with the University of Mostar (two volumes were published by the beginning of 2016), which is the first and only general and Croatian encyclopedia in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The fact that a comprehensive description and summary (in some sense a codification) of their history, national customs, and culture play a key role among three communities of the ethnic Croats abroad, provides a clear demonstration of the priorities of these communities: reinforcement of their identity that can guard against the greatest threat any ethnic community can face, assimilation. This is also manifested by a work published by the Ivo Pilar Institute of Social Sciences in Zagreb, the Lexicon of Croatian Emigrants and Minorities (*Leksikon Hrvatskog iseljeničtva i manjina*), which seeks to clarify, without being exhaustive, everything in its entries that can be known or may be worth knowing about the Croats living as minorities or emigrants.²⁸

One of the most important overseas research institutions is the Croatian Ethnic Institute established by Franciscan monks in Chicago in 1975 (*Hrvatski etnički institut*). The main profile of the Institute is the promotion of the Croatian language and culture, and the collection of literature pertaining to Croats, as well as monitoring the fate of Croats who immigrated to overseas countries, creating and operating a data bank for them, and pursuing demographical and sociological research on them.²⁹

In view of the special situation of the overseas Croatian centers and the limited number of employees, the Croatian government embraced the initiative originating from Australia to make a contract with various Croatian experts all over the world to participate, as virtual advisers, in the teaching and research activities of the Australian and Canadian Croatian Studies Centers.³⁰ This virtual Croatian Studies Center, aiming to coordinate all of the other centers, is based at the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Split.

The aforementioned initiative originated from Macquarie University in Sydney, which was the first in the world to establish a department of Croatian Studies in 1983. The Croatian Language Studies Center was also established here in 1998, and the Center for Croatian Studies Abroad was opened in 2008 as part of a joint project with the University of Split. The project was joined by the Croatian Studies

vlada.gov.hr/UserDocsImages//Sjednice/2015/261%20sjednica%20Vlade//261%20-%2014.pdf (01-03-2016)

²⁸ It is important to note that this lexicon was commissioned by the Association of Croatian Emigrants.

²⁹ <http://www.croatian-ethnic-institute.org/about.html> (01-03-2016)

³⁰ Škvorc, Boris: Centar za Hrvatske studije u svijetu filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Splitu. *Croatian Studies Review*, 5 (2008).

Center at Waterloo University and the Croatian Science Foundation of Australia and New Zealand, as well as the Croatian Studies Foundation in Toronto.

The aforementioned research institutions essentially conclude the list of overseas Croatian research organizations. An important initiative occurred in 2004 to organize a congress of domestic and foreign Croatian scholars for the first time, which was designed to coordinate the work of Croatian scholars working and living abroad.³¹ However, the congress was only organized one other time in 2007.

* * *

To summarize, it can be established that Croatia does not have a comprehensive strategy to support the science of Croatian minorities and the diasporas abroad. There are a few smaller and larger projects in progress that are supported, but they rarely belong to the world of science. The nature of cooperation between the Croatian institutions and the organizations of the ethnic Croats abroad is rather ad hoc, lacking a central body that could effectively coordinate this kind of collaboration, although there has long been a need for it, and, as we have seen, there are specific organizations that are declared to be set up for this particular task. The focus is not really on cooperation with the ethnic Croats living abroad and supporting their scientific activities, but rather on the nurturing of traditions, preserving cultural and national identity, and strengthening Croatian identity.

³¹ [http://www.matica.hr/vijenac/279/Stvaramo%20svjetsku%20mre%C5%BEu%20hrvatskih%20znanstvenika/\(01-03-2016\)](http://www.matica.hr/vijenac/279/Stvaramo%20svjetsku%20mre%C5%BEu%20hrvatskih%20znanstvenika/(01-03-2016))

Slovenia and science in ethnic Slovenian regions abroad

Attila Kovács*

This paper attempts to present Slovenia's science policy pertaining to Slovenes and Slovenian science in the ethnic Slovenian regions abroad through the discussion of the historical and demographic background, the policy of the Slovenian state designed to promote the scientific life of ethnic Slovenes abroad, and the network of research institutions in the Italian and Austrian ethnic Slovenian regions. Although Slovenian science policy generally puts Slovenes living in their ethnic regions abroad and Slovenes living in the diaspora (all over the world) under the same category, this study seeks to focus on Slovenian science in the ethnic Slovenian regions abroad.

1. Historical and demographic background

Slovenes belong to the northwestern group of South Slavs living in compact groups wedged in between Hungarians (to the east), Croats (to the south), Italians (to the west) and Austrians and Germans (to the north). Demographic data from the first decade of the 20th century shows that 90.5% of the 1,384,600 Slovenes lived in the territory of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, whilst the remaining nearly 10% lived in the north-eastern part of Italy (primarily in the Province of Udine), neighboring with the Habsburg Empire. The majority of Slovenes living in the Monarchy (1,252,900 people) lived in the Austrian part of the dualist state in the provinces of Carniola, Carinthia, Styria, Gorizia and Gradisca, and Istria (mainly in the province of Udine). In the 1910 census, 75,100 people of the 93,200 Slovenes living in the territory of the Hungarian Empire were registered in the Kingdom of Hungary, while the remaining 18,100 in counties that belonged to the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia.¹

Due to the peace treaties after World War I, the members of the Slovenian nation found themselves in four different states. The majority of Slovenes ended up in the newly established south Slavic state, where they were one of the three constituent nations (in addition to Serbians and Croats). Nearly 75% of the Slovenian population lived in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (renamed in 1929 as Yugoslavia) between the two world wars. The remaining 25% ended up in the three countries neighboring with the Kingdom², most of them in Italy, where

* IES – Institute for Ethnic Studies (Ljubljana)

¹ "Köztes-Európa 1763–1993 (Térképgyűjtemény)". Compiled by: Pándi Lajos. Budapest, 1997, pp. 52–53.

² Romsics, Ignác, "Nemzet, nemzetiség és állam Kelet-Közép- és Délkelet-Európában a 19. és 20. században", Budapest, 2005, p. 198.

their number was estimated at 300,000. Due to the plebiscite held in Carinthia in 1920, numerous Slovenes remained in the new Republic of Austria.³ According to the 1910 census, about 67,000 Slovenes lived in Carinthia, while the non-official calculations estimated this number at 115,000. However, in the 1923 census, only 39,292 people declared themselves as Slovenian in Carinthia.⁴ The smallest group of ethnic Slovenes abroad was the Slovenian community in Hungary. According to the 1941 census, 4,816 people declared themselves as native Slovenes in the territory of Hungary, most of them living in the Szentgotthárd District of Vas County.⁵

After World War II, Slovenia's eastern (Hungary) and northern (Austria) borders remained in the status that had been determined in the treaty system after World War I, whereas Yugoslavia and Italy managed to resolve the issue of the western border only with the Treaty of Osimo in 1975. Although the western borders of Slovenia (Yugoslavia) were moved a bit "westward" as compared to the borders determined after World War I, a considerable number of Slovenes remained within the Italian state.⁶

The largest group in the ethnic Slovenian communities abroad is the community of Slovenes living in Italy. According to official Italian data, the ethnic Slovenes living in a compact area here amount to 52,000, whereas Slovenian estimates hold that their number is somewhere between 83,000 and 110,000.⁷ The second largest group of ethnic Slovenes abroad is the Slovenian community living in Austria. According to the 2001 Austrian census, there were 13,000 Slovenes living in Carinthia, while the Slovenian figures estimated their number at 45–50,000. In addition to the Carinthian Slovenes, autochthonous Slovenes lived in Southern Styria (500)⁸, in Vienna (5,000) and Graz (1,000). The Slovenian communities in Graz and Vienna were created through internal migration.⁹ At the turn of the last millennium, the smallest group of ethnic Slovenes abroad was the Slovenian community in Hungary. According to the 2011 census, 2,385 people declared themselves as ethnic Slovenes and 1,723 as Slovenian native speakers in Hungary. 73% of the Slovenes live in Vas County, while the remaining 27% in

³ The plebiscite on the affiliation of the southern part of Carinthia was held on October 10, 1920. The majority of the people voted for Austria.

⁴ Sokcsevits, Dénes – Szilágyi, Imre – Szilágyi, Károly, *"Déli szomszédaink története"*, Budapest, 1994, p. 249.

⁵ Munda Hirnök, Katalin, "Slovenci na Madžarskem v luči popisov prebivalstva." In: Gams, Matjaž – Malačič, Janez (eds.) *"Informacijska družba – IS 2011. Zvezek B. Soočanje z demografskimi izzivi"*, Ljubljana, 2011, p. 46.

⁶ Sokcsevits, Dénes – Szilágyi, Imre – Szilágyi, Károly, *"Déli szomszédaink története"*, *ibid.*, p. 330.

⁷ Zupančič, Jernej, "Demografska slika Slovencev v sosednjih državah." In: Gams, Matjaž – Malačič, Janez (eds.) *"Informacijska družba – IS 2011"*, *ibid.*, pp. 140, 142.

⁸ In the so-called Radkersburg/Radgona corner (in Slovenian: Radgonski kot).

⁹ Zupančič, Jernej, "Demografska slika Slovencev v sosednjih državah", *ibid.*, pp. 140–143.

other regions all over the country.¹⁰ After the collapse of the Yugoslav state in 1991, the Slovenes living in Croatia found themselves in a minority status. According to the 2011 Croatian census, 10,517 ethnic Slovenes lived in the territory of Croatia, although most of them immigrated to Croatia because of economic reasons, and the number of “autochthonous” Slovenes was insignificant.¹¹

2. Academic and other institutions

The network of scientific institutions was established in the first Yugoslav state. The University of Ljubljana was opened in 1919¹², and the year of 1938 saw the foundation of the (Slovenian) Academy of Sciences and Arts.¹³

2.1. The Slovenian academic network

Section 3 of the Act adopted in 1994 on the Slovenian academy decrees states, among others that the Academy “shall provide support for the scientific, cultural and artistic activities of the entire Slovenian national community”.¹⁴ However, the Academy is not in a position to provide financial support for Slovenian science in the ethnic Slovenian regions abroad, and its activities are primarily confined to moral and substantive issues. The Academy defines its position on issues related to the life of ethnic Slovenes abroad (and the minorities within Slovenia) through the Committee for Ethnic Minorities Studies.¹⁵ The Academy founded the Scientific-research Center of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, which nonetheless acts as an independent legal entity.¹⁶ The Center includes 18 research institutes, of which the Institute of Slovenian Ethnology¹⁷ is the one that is mostly concerned with the study of ethnic Slovenes abroad, although in this respect the Fran Ramovš Institute of Slovenian Language¹⁸, the Slovenian Emigration and

¹⁰ http://www.ksh.hu/nepszamlalas/tablak_nemzetiseg (01-02-2016)

¹¹ <http://www.dzs.hr/Hrv/censuses/census2011/results/censustabshtm.htm> (01-02-2016)

¹² Univerza v Ljubljani / University of Ljubljana. <https://www.uni-lj.si/slo/> (01-02-2016)

¹³ Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti / Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts. <http://www.sazu.si/> (01-02-2016)

¹⁴ Zakon o Slovenski akademiji znanosti in umetnosti, Ljubljana, dne 20. julija 1994. <http://www.uradni-list.si/1/content?id=69838&smode=sem> (01-02-2016)

¹⁵ Odbor za preučevanje narodnih manjšin / Committee for Ethnic Minorities Studies. <http://www.sazu.si/> (01-02-2016) Interview with Nada Vilhar, the voluntary secretary of the Committee for Ethnic Minorities Studies, December 19, 2015.

¹⁶ Znanstvenoraziskovalni center Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti / Scientific-research Center of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts. <http://www.zrc-sazu.si/> (11-01-2016)

¹⁷ Inštitut za slovensko narodopisje / Institute of Slovenian Ethnology. <http://isn2.zrc-sazu.si/sl/predstavitev#v> (11-01-2016) Gradišnik Slavec, Ingrid, “Zadnje desetletje od šestih. Inštitut za slovensko narodopisje ZRC SAZU (1951/2001–2011)”, *Traditiones*, 40/1, 2011, pp. 115–138.

¹⁸ Inštitut za slovenski jezik Frana Ramovša / Fran Ramovš Institute of Slovenian Language. <http://>

Migration Institute¹⁹ and the Institute of Ethnomusicology are also worth mentioning.²⁰ The Anton Melik Geographical Institute²¹ played a key role in the past in the organization of the Slovenian research network in the ethnic Slovenian regions abroad.²²

2.2. Research institutes working outside the Slovenian academic framework

There are independent research institutions working outside the Academy in Slovenia as well. For the topic in question, the most important one is the Institute for Ethnic Studies – IES (or National Minority Research Institute).²³ Established on February 1, 1925, the main task of the Minority Institute (Manjšinski Institut) was to study the large groups of Slovenian ethnic communities living in neighboring Italy and Austria, as well as the German and Hungarian ethnic communities living in Slovenia. After Germany and Italy had overrun Yugoslavia in April 1941, the institute dissolved itself. The institute was “reorganized” under the name of Scientific Institute (Znanstveni inštitut) in January 1944 in the Kočevski Rog forest in Southern Slovenia, which operated as part of the Liberation Front. The primary task of the “guerrilla” Scientific Institute was to prepare background documents that supported the Slovenian and Yugoslav claims for the peace conference held after the war. After the war, the Institute worked under the University of Ljubljana between 1948 and 1956,²⁴ and from 1956, it continued to operate as an independent institution called Institute for Ethnic Studies (Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja). After Slovenia became independent, new areas were added to its research functions, in line with the new challenges.²⁵ The relevant research areas included: the Slovenian national issue; the situation of ethnic

isjfr.zrc-sazu.si/en/predstavitev#v (11-01-2016)

¹⁹ Inštitut za slovensko izseljenstvo in migracije / Slovenian Emigration and Migration Institute. <http://isim.zrc-sazu.si/sl/predstavitev#v> (11-01-2016)

²⁰ Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut / Institute of Ethnomusicology. <http://gni.zrc-sazu.si/sl/predstavitev#v> (11-01-2016)

²¹ Geografski inštitut Antona Melika / Anton Melik Geographical Institute. <http://giam.zrc-sazu.si/sl/predstavitev#v> (11-01-2016)

²² <http://www.slori.org/detail.php?id=34&t=pagina&lang=slo> (12-01-2016)

²³ Both terms are in use, but the official term is Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja / Institute for Ethnic Studies. <http://www.inv.si/domov.aspx?lang=slo> (01-02-2016)

²⁴ In 1948, the Scientific Institute was also dissolved, and its section concerned with border issues continued to work under the University of Ljubljana as the Institute for Ethnic Studies (Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja).

²⁵ Kristen, Samo, “Od Manjšinskega instituta do Inštituta za narodnostna vprašanja (1925–2015) – Ob devedesetletnici začetkov institucionaliziranega preučevanja etnične problematike na Slovenskem”. In: Medvešek, Mojca – Pirc, Janez (eds.), “90 let Inštituta za narodnostna vprašanja (1925–2015)”, Ljubljana, 2015, pp. 53–133.

Slovenian communities in Italy, Austria and Hungary; Slovenes in the former Yugoslav member states; the situation of Slovenian emigrants; studies of national communities (and other ethnic groups, esp. Gypsies or Romas) living in Slovenia; the situation of immigrants in Slovenia; and ethnic issues manifesting themselves in Europe and the world.²⁶ The research areas listed above show that the core activities of the Ethnic Research Institute affect the ethnic Slovenes abroad in several respects. The institute has not only been studying ethnic Slovenes abroad, but it also plays an active role in setting up the Slovenian network of research institutions in the neighboring countries.²⁷

It is also worth mentioning the Institute of Contemporary History, which studies the history of the Slovenian nation from the second half of the 19th century up to the present. Due to its core activity, it is also concerned with the history of ethnic Slovenes abroad.²⁸

3. Academic institutions in the ethnic Slovenian regions abroad

The political conditions for establishing research institutions in the ethnic Slovenian regions abroad were created only after World War II. The first Slovenian research centers in the ethnic Slovenian regions abroad were established shortly after the war in 1947 and 1951, specifically in Italy. This was followed by two other research institutes, one in Italy in 1974 and another one in Austria in 1975. After Slovenia became independent in 1991, a few other research institutions were created in Austria.

3.1. Italy

In chronological order, the first research institute in the ethnic Slovenian regions abroad was established in Italy. The History and Demography Section²⁹ began to function as a basic unit in 1951 under the (Slovenian) National and Study Library³⁰ established in Trieste in 1947. This institution pursues research in connection with the history and the ethnography of Slovenian communities in Italy. In addition, the institution's activities involving museum archives are also signifi-

²⁶ Statut Inštituta za narodnostna vprašanja. <http://www.inv.si/DocDir/Pravilniki%20INV%20in%20statut/Statut%20INV%202011.pdf> (11-01-2016)

²⁷ Kristen, Samo, "Od Manjšinskega instituta...", *ibid.*, p. 114.

²⁸ Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino / Institute of Contemporary History. http://www.inz.si/zgodovina_inz.php (12-01-2016)

²⁹ Odsek za zgodovino in etnografijo / Sezione per la storia e l'etnografia. <http://www.knjiznica.it/gradivo-odseka/opis-zbirk/> (12-01-2016)

³⁰ Narodna in študijska knjižnica / Biblioteca Nazionale Slovena e degli Studi. <http://www.knjiznica.it/> (12-01-2016)

cant.³¹ At the moment the History and Demography Section has three staff members: two research workers and one assistant.³²

The other scientific center of Slovenia in Italy is the Slovene Research Institute based in Trieste.³³ The establishment of the Institute in 1974 was related to a large-scale international minority conference organized in that year in Trieste, and also related to the demand of Slovenes in Italy to have their own research institution to provide data and analyses for political bodies and other decision-makers concerning Slovenian minority life. From the time of its foundation, the Institute had a close professional relationship with two research institutions in the mother country, the Institute for Ethnic Studies and the Anton Melik Geography Research Institute.

Between 1976 and 1983 the Slovene Research Institute also established research centers in three places inhabited by Slovenes: Gorizia, Cividale del Friuli and Val Canale. In 2007, the three research centers were closed – mainly for financial reasons – and today the Institute has only one center, which is in Trieste. The Institute pursues extremely intensive publication activities.³⁴ In 2015, it had six permanent staff members (four research workers) and eight external (research) workers. By today's standards, its research staff is relatively young. Its main research area is minority education and sociolinguistics, but it also pays attention to promoting the research potential of Slovenian students in Italy.³⁵

3.2. Austria

The existence of the scientific institutions of Slovenes in Austria – in Carinthia – is closely related to the level of political organization among the Slovenes in Carinthia. After World War II, two organizations represented the interests of Carinthian Slovenes: the Christian Democratic (conservative) National Council of Carinthian Slovenes established in 1949³⁶ and the left-wing Carinthian Alliance of Slovenian Organizations founded in 1955.³⁷ Due to the internal fights within the Council, a third political organization was created in 2003, the Community of

³¹ <http://www.knjiznica.it/gradivo-odseka/opis-zbirk/> (12-01-2016)

³² <http://www.knjiznica.it/o-nas/zgodovinski-pregled/> (12-01-2016)

³³ SLORI – Slovenski raziskovalni inštitut / Istituto sloveno di ricerche. <http://www.slori.org/> (12-01-2016)

³⁴ <http://www.slori.org/list.php?t=pubblicazioni&st=pubblicazione&lang=slo> (12-01-2016)

³⁵ <http://www.slori.org/detail.php?id=34&t=pagina&lang=slo> (12-01-2016)

³⁶ Narodni svet koroških Slovencev / Rat der Kärntner Slowenen. <http://nks.at/> (14-01-2016)

³⁷ Zveza slovenskih organizacij na Koroškem / Zentralverband Slowenischer Organisationen in Kärnten. <http://www.slo.at/> (14-01-2016)

Slovenian men and women in Carinthia.³⁸ The former two organizations include a wide range of institutions.³⁹

In the middle of the 1970s, the Slovenian Scientific Institute⁴⁰ was founded in Austria under the auspices of the Alliance of Slovenian Organizations following the example of the Slovene Research Institute in Italy. The Slovene Research Institute worked as the labor committee of the Alliance up to 1989. In addition to research, it was also concerned with the collection and publication of documents (the series entitled *Disertacije in razprave – Dissertationen und Abhandlungen*). In 1989, the Alliance renamed the labor committee, which then became an independent institution. Upon becoming independent, the institution was given a new name: the Alps-Adriatic Slovenian Research Institute.⁴¹ However, this institute was unable to really establish itself and it no longer functions today.⁴²

The colleagues who were not transferred from the committee to the Institute established a new Slovenian Scientific Institute⁴³ in 1990, which has functioned as a society. The primary tasks of the society included the study of cultural, economic, legal, political and other issues affecting the Slovenes living in Carinthia and Styria, but it was also active in the area of publishing in collaboration with the Klagenfurt-based Drava Publishing Company. Currently, the society has close to twenty members having wide-ranging relationships with all of the organizations of Carinthian Slovenes, as well as Austrian and Slovenian research institutions and universities. The number of full-time staff and contracted employees constantly changes, with one full-time and one part-time position filled in currently.⁴⁴

In 1992, the (Slovenian) Christian Culture Association⁴⁵ created the Slovene Ethnological Institute “Urban Jarnik”, functioning as a society.⁴⁶ The core activity of the research institute is ethnography research, but it also studies historical and linguistic topics in the bilingual territory of Carinthia.⁴⁷ It works together with

³⁸ Skupnost koroških Slovencev in Slovenk / Die Gemeinschaft der Kärntner Slowenen und Sloweninnen. <http://www.skupnost.at/> (14-01-2016)

³⁹ Jesih, Boris, “Med narodom in politiko. Politična participacija koroških Slovencev”, Celovec – Ljubljana, 2007, pp. 74–101.

⁴⁰ SZI – Slovenski znanstveni inštitut / Slowenisches Wissenschaftliches Institut.

⁴¹ Slovenski znanstveni inštitut Alpe-Jadran / Slowenisches Institut zur Alpen-Adria Forschung.

⁴² Stergar, Janez, “Slovenski znanstveni inštitut”. In: Voglar, Dušan (ed.): “*Enciklopedija Slovenije 12. Slovenska n – Sz*”, Ljubljana, 1998, p. 56.

⁴³ Slovenski znanstveni inštitut / Slowenisches Wissenschaftliches Institut.

⁴⁴ Grafenauer, Danijel, “*Nekaj informacij o Slovenskem znanstvenem inštitutu v Celovcu (SZI) in Slovenskem narodopisnem inštitutu Urban Jarnik (SNIUJ)*”. Manuscript.

⁴⁵ Krščanska kulturna zveza / Christlicher Kulturverband. http://www.kkz.at/home_sl/ (14-01-2016)

⁴⁶ SNIUJ – Slovenski narodopisni inštitut Urban Jarnik / Slowenisches Volkskunde-Institut Urban Jarnik. <http://www.ethno.at/institut.html> (14-01-2016). Jarnik, Urban (1784–1844) was a priest of Carinthian origin, who is recognized as the first renowned Carinthian Slovenian ethnographer.

⁴⁷ <http://www.ethno.at/dejavnosti.html> (14-01-2016)

the Klagenfurt-based publisher, Mohorjeva založba (Hermagoras Verlag).⁴⁸ The Institute had two full-time employees at the beginning of 2016.⁴⁹

The Slovenes in Hungary and Croatia do not have their own independent research institutions. However, mention must be made of the Institute for Ethnic Studies – IES in Ljubljana, which has always tried to ensure that members of the given community are also represented among the experts studying issues of the ethnic Slovenes abroad.⁵⁰

4. Support for science in ethnic Slovenian regions abroad

Even Tito's Yugoslavia supported the Slovenian organizations in Italy and Austria, regardless of whether they were left-wing or Christian Democratic oriented. Obviously, research institutions also received support for their operation through these organizations.⁵¹ The independent Slovenian government provides support for Slovenian science in the ethnic Slovenian regions abroad mainly through two organizations, the Office of the Government of the Republic of Slovenia for Slovenes Abroad, and the Slovenian Research Agency.

4.1. Legal background

The Slovenian Constitution (2011) also mentions the ethnic Slovenes abroad. Article 5 of the Constitution provides that the Slovenian state “shall take care of all the native Slovenian national minorities living in the neighboring countries, the Slovenian nationals who emigrated from Slovenia as well as the immigrant workers, and seek to promote the relationship with their home.”⁵²

A separate law provides for the ethnic Slovenes abroad. Article 13 of the Act that resolves the relationship between Slovenia and the ethnic Slovenes abroad⁵³ stipulates that the main executors of the cooperation between the Slovenian state and the ethnic Slovenes abroad shall be the Office of the Government of the Republic of Slovenia for Slovenes Abroad⁵⁴ and the Slovenian Parliament's Commission for Relations with Slovenes in Neighboring and Other Countries.⁵⁵ The Office

⁴⁸ Grafenauer, Danijel, “*Nekaj informacij...*,” *ibid.*

⁴⁹ <http://www.ethno.at/zaposleni.html> (14-01-2016)

⁵⁰ The same principles were enforced in connection with the native minorities living in Slovenia.

⁵¹ Jesih, Boris, “*Med narodom in politiko*,” *ibid.*, pp. 81–82.

⁵² The Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia, 2011.

⁵³ Zakon o odnosih Republike Slovenije s Slovenci zunaj njenih meja, 2006. <https://www.uradni-list.si/1/content?id=73044> (16-01-2016)

⁵⁴ Urad Vlade Republike Slovenije za Slovence v zamejstvu in po svetu / Office of the Government of the Republic of Slovenia for Slovenes Abroad. <http://www.uszs.gov.si/si/> (16-01-2016)

⁵⁵ Komisija Državnega zbora Republike Slovenije za odnose s Slovenci v zamejstvu in po svetu / Commission for Relations with Slovenes in Neighboring and Other Countries. <https://www.dz->

is the central administrative body of the Slovenian state in the area of relationships between Slovenes living all over the world and the mother country. Its tasks include especially operational issues pertaining to the Slovenian nationals living in the ethnic Slovenian regions and all over the world. In addition, the Office is also responsible for coordination of the policies of the different ministries pertaining to the Slovenian nationals living in the ethnic Slovenian regions and all over the world, as well as organizing and implementing financial sponsorship programs in the mother country. The importance of the Office is demonstrated by the fact that it is headed by a minister without portfolio.⁵⁶ The Slovenian Parliament's Commission for Relations with Slovenes in Neighboring and Other Countries is primarily concerned with substantive tasks: legislation, budget planning and providing an expert opinion, etc.⁵⁷

The law on the ethnic Slovenes abroad also addresses issues of science and higher education in articles 34–37. According to article 35, the Slovenian state is responsible for organizing and financially supporting the following: cooperation of Slovenes living in the world with institutions in Slovenia in the area of science and new technologies; inclusion of Slovenian scholars, young research workers and lecturers working abroad in scientific and research programs implemented by the institutions of the Slovenian state; and the international conferences which enable the creation of relationships and pursuing project work in collaboration with Slovenian scholars working abroad.⁵⁸ Article 36 stipulates that the Slovenian research institutes shall devote special attention to the investigation of the past and present social situation of Slovenian communities living in ethnic Slovenian regions abroad and all over the world.⁵⁹

In addition to the above law, several other regulations apply to the relationship between the ethnic Slovenes abroad and the mother country.⁶⁰

4.2. The Office of the Government of the Republic of Slovenia for Slovenes Abroad

Like many other countries, Slovenia is also faced with the problem of highly qualified research workers going abroad, which affects both the mother country and the ethnic Slovenian regions abroad. Therefore, the Office of the Government of the Republic of Slovenia for Slovenes Abroad,⁶¹ in cooperation with

rs.si/wps/portal/Home/ODrzavnemZboru/KdoJeKdo/DelovnoTelo?idDT=DT026 (16-01-2016)

⁵⁶ Zakon o odnosih Republike Slovenije s Slovenci zunaj njenih meja, Articles 13–15.

⁵⁷ Ibid., Article 16.

⁵⁸ Ibid., Article 35.

⁵⁹ Ibid., Article 36.

⁶⁰ <http://www.uszs.gov.si/> (16-01-2016)

⁶¹ Urad Vlade Republike Slovenije za Slovence v zamejstvu in po svetu / Office of the Government

Slovenian higher education and scientific-research institutions as well as other organizations, seeks to provide a solution to the problems that drive highly qualified Slovenian research workers to go abroad. These endeavors resulted in the action plan *Cooperation with Slovenian scholars and other highly qualified experts living abroad*, which is managed by the Office.⁶²

This action plan is designed to assess the current situation in science.⁶³ According to this assessment, Slovenia spends 1.54% of its GDP on science. The draft contains the following in connection with Slovenian science in the ethnic Slovenian regions: “Taken in a narrow sense, the common Slovenian scientific space, which includes the Republic of Slovenia and the territories inhabited by Slovenes as natives in the neighboring countries, has not been revived yet, unlike the common cultural space.” The same applies to the common Slovenian scientific space taken in a broad sense, which also includes the Slovenian research workers and scholars living in the world in addition to the territories inhabited by Slovenes as natives in the neighboring countries. The reason why this common scientific space has not developed yet is partly due to the fact that the Slovenian state mostly focused on creating this common space in the area of culture and devoted less attention to science in this respect. The action plan sets the targets to be achieved and the measures required for their accomplishment. Six out of the seven objectives listed in the plan concern the Slovenian scholars and experts working and living abroad (in the world) in several areas (cooperation, networking, joint strategies, etc.). One of these objectives, however, applies exclusively to Slovenian science in the ethnic Slovenian regions abroad: “Promoting enforcement of the common Slovenian scientific space, which includes the Republic of Slovenia and the territories inhabited by Slovenes as natives in the neighboring countries.” The action plan also mentions the measures that can serve the achievement of the aforementioned objectives. These measures include the creation of a register containing the names and contact details of Slovenian scholars and experts working all over the world, improvement of the SLOVENC.I.SI portal by posting scientific content that affect Slovenes living all over the world⁶⁴, organization of conferences in the mother country and the neighboring countries where Slovenian nationals are living, etc. The measures also include setting up the Committee for Science

of the Republic of Slovenia for Slovenes Abroad. <http://www.uszs.gov.si/> (26-01-2016)

⁶² “Akcijski načrt sodelovanja s slovenskimi znanstveniki in drugimi vrhunskimi strokovnjaki v tujini”, Urad Vlade Republike Slovenije za Slovence v zamejstvu in po svetu, Ljubljana, 2011. http://www.uszs.gov.si/si/znanost_mladi_gospodarstvo/znanost/ (26-01-2016)

⁶³ The action plan mainly concerns Slovenian science and Slovenian scholars working in the ethnic Slovenian regions abroad and all over the world. In this paper I focus on the issues that concern the ethnic Slovenes abroad. I analyze the parts of the action plan concerning the Slovenes living all over the world if they are relevant for the ethnic Slovenes abroad.

⁶⁴ <http://www.slovinci.si/kategorija/znanost/> (26-01-2016)

(Odbor za znanost), whose competence would especially cover the Slovenian scholars and experts working abroad (all over the world).

In addition to organizational and substantive issues, the Office of the Government of the Republic of Slovenia for Slovenes Abroad is also responsible for the financial support provided by the mother country for the ethnic Slovenian communities abroad. Thus, several Slovenian research institutes in Austria and Italy can receive money through the Office. Every year the Office announces a competition to support ethnic Slovenian institutions abroad, thereby providing part of the operating costs of the institutions in question. The aid provided over the past few decades amounted to 2-3 thousand euros per year. Due to the economic crisis, this amount was about 200 thousand euros in recent years. For example, in 2015 the institute in Trieste received 43 thousand euros and the two institutions in Carinthia 70 thousand each from the Office. This amount covered only a smaller part of the operating costs for the Italian institute; most of them were financed by the Province of Friuli-Venezia Giulia. On the other hand, the aid provided by the Office covers most of the operating costs of the two Carinthian research institutions.

Although it is related to higher education, it needs to be mentioned here that in 2015 the Office called for applications for the fourteenth time in order to recognize BA and MA thesis papers and doctoral dissertations written on a topic related to ethnic Slovenes abroad and Slovenian expatriates. Dissertations written and successfully defended in Slovenian, Croatian, Bosnian, Serbian, German, Italian, English and Spanish were eligible to apply. A total of 225 dissertations were submitted to the first thirteen competitions, of which 78 received an award. The budget of the competition announced in 2015 was 3,600 euros.

In general it can be established that support for Slovenian science in the ethnic Slovenian regions abroad is provided primarily through the Office of the Government of the Republic of Slovenia for Slovenes Abroad.

4.3. The Slovenian Research Agency

The Slovenian Research Agency⁶⁵ plays a similar role in Slovenia as the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund in Hungary. The Agency is responsible for providing support and professional supervision for Slovenian research institutions. The ethnic Slovenian research institutions abroad, already presented in this study, can participate in the competitions announced by the Agency since they are listed in its catalog. It is important to note that the Agency's calls for applications do not distinguish between the research institutions in the mother country and those in the ethnic Slovenian regions abroad. Both have an equal opportunity to apply.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije / Slovenian Research Agency. <https://www.arrs.gov.si/sl/> (26-01-2016)

⁶⁶ Incidentally, this is detrimental to the ethnic Slovenian research institutions abroad, as the quali-

It was only in the 2011 competition that the ethnic Slovenian research institutions abroad enjoyed a bit of positive discrimination. The call for applications in 2011 specified that 100 thousand euros in aid would be provided for a research project jointly applied for by one home-country institution and at least three ethnic Slovenian research institutions abroad.⁶⁷ In addition to research, the Agency also supports the publication of scientific journals. When the range of eligible applicants is specified, the call for applications specifically mentions “legal persons” representing the Slovenes working in the ethnic Slovenian regions abroad and all over the world. The Agency’s calls for applications to support the popularization of Slovenian science abroad have a clear focus on the possibilities of providing support for research institutions and societies in the ethnic Slovenian regions abroad.

In addition to these two institutions, other ministries also provide support for Slovenian science beyond the borders; however, this is provided indirectly (e.g. cultural support provided for the ethnic Slovenes abroad often affected scientific research).

* * *

The history of relationships between Slovenia and Slovenian science in ethnic Slovenian regions abroad goes back to the peace treaties that concluded World War I. As a result of the Versailles Peace Treaty, more than 25% of Slovenes remained abroad in Italy, in Austria and in Hungary. The need to pursue scientific research by Slovenes stranded in foreign territory emerged relatively early and was institutionalized in the form of the Minority Institute (Manjšinski Institut) founded in Ljubljana in 1925. After World War II, the number of research institutions studying the ethnic Slovenes abroad increased further in the mother country, especially in the area of social sciences.

The conditions for pursuing independent research into the ethnic Slovenian communities abroad and establishing research institutions in the ethnic Slovenian regions abroad were created only after World War II. The Slovenes living in the two democratic states functioning on the basis of a multi-party system, Italy and Austria, developed their own research network. Both in Italy and in Austria, two research institutions address scientific issues in the given Slovenian community in particular. What they have in common is that they are studying the past and traditions of the given community and building a comprehensive database. In ad-

tative and quantitative classification of Slovenian research institutions is more rigid and stringent than the Austrian or Italian system. As a result, the ethnic Slovenian institutions abroad find it harder to meet the requirements set by the Slovenian Research Agency.

⁶⁷ The winning proposal was submitted by the consortium led by the Institute for Ethnic Studies in Ljubljana, which included the Slovenian Research Institute in Italy, the Slovenian Scientific Institute and the Urban Jarnik Slovenian Research Institute of Ethnography, both in Carinthia.

dition, they also try to find answers to questions emerging in connection with the everyday life of the ethnic Slovenian communities.

Although the relationship between the mother country and the ethnic Slovenes abroad has a long historical past in the area of science, the Slovenes' scientific space has not been created in full; it is still in the process of taking shape. At the same time, it is worth noting that the research institutions in the ethnic Slovenian regions abroad have an equal opportunity compared to the research institutes in the country in the calls for applications announced by the Slovenian Research Agency, and that the Office of the Government of the Republic of Slovenia for Slovenes Abroad also seeks to provide significant financial, organizational and moral support for Slovenian science in the ethnic Slovenian regions abroad, and research in the home country focusing on this ethnic community.