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**SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY ISSUES REGARDING MAJORITY  
EDUCATION LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ETHNIC DIASPORA  
COMMUNITIES IN VOJVODINA**

Theses of the Ph.D. dissertation

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## **I. Introduction**

Nearly all Hungarian communities of the Carpathian Basin outside of Hungary are impacted by the phenomenon of ethnic diasporas. As a consequence of their distribution in the region, Hungarians living in such communities have a unique position, as unique social-cultural values form within a community due to the co-existence of individuals from different ethnic, religious, linguistic and cultural backgrounds, in light of the effect they have on each other. The heterogeneous cultural environment poses a number of questions regarding identity, education, language use and assimilation.

Native language use of the Hungarian minority of diaspora communities are becoming secondary in everyday situations and this causes the decline of the language, which in turn speeds up the process of assimilation. For this reason, native language use in education is of paramount importance in ethnic diaspora communities. Native language is very important, as is proficiency in the official language – the particularities of the ethnic environment require that individuals acquire the language of their surroundings as well. When choosing education language for their children, parents living in an ethnic minority keep these two factors in mind.

Retaining one's native language means survival for Hungarian minorities, especially for those who are a part of the ethnic diaspora. Education language plays a significant role in this, as language serves to establish and unite a community. Besides this, schools do not just simply impart knowledge, they also offer a "space for culture and language use" for members of the minority. However, that choosing one's native language as the education language is not always the obvious choice to make, not even if there are laws in place to enable members of a minority to choose their native language as the education language. This is because there are numerous factors that have an effect on choosing a school, such as the multiple cultural/language ties within a family, or the language proficiency of the child.

Choosing a school and a teaching language for a child from a minority language and cultural community is a complex task, they must face multiple dilemmas concerning their choice. One fundamental dilemma concerns what the child's education language should be, because the teaching language can influence the child's later path in education. This question is quite divisive, as education language and the school's

curriculum are topics that can start debates among laymen and education professionals alike.

In the schools of multicultural or multi-language communities, it is common to encounter students who are not studying in their native language or who “switch” languages during the course of their studies. In connection to this, my work examines the attitudes of parents, students, and educators, regarding language choice in elementary school education, within the framework of a human geography study, in which play important role the society of ethnic diaspora communities and the spatial features.

In many instances, it is quite difficult to open and maintain classes whose language of instruction is a minority language, so it is typical that Hungarian communities of the ethnic diaspora communities in Vojvodina make every effort to open classes, even with a lower number of students enrolled, despite the fact that many parents of a Hungarian lingual background from the same communities have already enrolled their children in institutions where the education language is Serbian. The decision to choose the non-native language as the education language is made on an individual basis, but its effect can be felt on the minority community as a whole. Thus, examining these individual choices, micro-community factors, and spatial aspects is worthwhile, as their consequence is tremendous – despite having had their native (minority) language available to them as the language of instruction, their decision was to choose the majority language for the education of their children. Besides asking parents and students about their choices, the educators’ opinions give us a better understanding of the subject as well, as their everyday work and experience in the field of education offers remarkable insight into the students’ competence and the possibilities for later achievement; thus, the views of the educators occupy a central part in my work.

## **II. The statement of the topic and its justification**

In a minority, one of the defining tools of nurturing native language and minority identity is education; multiple factors, however, can play a role in the process of choosing the language of education (SCHNEIDER, M. – BUCKLEY, J. 2002; PAPP Z. A. 2012a; MALMBERG, B. et al. 2013). Furthermore, the dilemma of education language choice can be further complicated by the question of whether the minority group is a larger, homogeneous minority community or if it is an ethnic diaspora community. In connection to this, we can examine the motivations behind institution choice from various approaches.

Taking pragmatic perspectives into account, we can differentiate between symbolic (language and culture) and rational (the school's facilities) motivation. Moreover, if taking the minority community's geographical position into consideration, we can differentiate between the individual motivations of those living in majority (ethnic block) or ethnic diaspora communities, as well as between the motivations of those individuals (parents, students, educators) who play a role in forming decisions concerning education language (PAPP Z. A. 2012a).

In the process of choosing an institution, students and educators (who also have to offer appropriate advice to parents on occasion) must weigh a number of issues, as the decision to make is quite important – it can influence the further education of the child, impacting his or her mental development, along with his or her relationships with the community and family (CSERNICKÓ I. – GÖNCZ L. 2009). This is due to one of the most important functions of education, the reproduction of culture – the passing on of the accumulated knowledge, formed values and norms to younger generations (BOURDIEU, P. 1996; HALÁSZ G. 2001).

The relevance of the issue is also justified by the fact that the change in regime has resulted in some issues concerning minorities being pushed to the foreground. A part of the research examines the effects of the changes 1989-1990 brought to education, for education leaders and for the social groups partaking in education, including minorities (KOZMA T. 2003). Furthermore, questions of ethnicity and connected local processes elicit more and more social interest nowadays (BALIZS D. 2015). Scientific institutions have also gradually begun to pay more attention to research concerning the topic of social diversity, in which various ethnicities and cultures are explored (KOVÁCS Z. 2017), since anyone of the geographers who wants to understand the cultural diversity of the world cannot ignore the study of languages (HAGGETT, P. 2006).

### **III. Aims and research questions**

Due to their low numbers in population, Hungarian communities of the ethnic diasporas live in unique social and socio-cultural environments – they also, in turn, represent a unique system of values and norms. Living together in a society creates a unique (multi-) language environment, in which general opinion holds that, in the case of minorities, both languages (the language of the state and the minority language) are equally important. Acquiring the official language is of key importance, as, in order to gain admittance to local post-secondary institutions or to be successful in the job

market, obtaining the official language is a basic requirement for members of a minority community. Besides this, knowledge and nurture of the native language is decisively important for the minority, as language plays a determining role in maintaining identity.

According to Vetési, a loss of prestige of Hungarian language education can be observed among Hungarians living in minorities in the Carpathian Basin (VETÉSI L. 1999). Data from Göncz (GÖNCZ L. 2004) shows that approximately 20-30 percent of (Hungarian) parents from Vojvodina decide to educate their children in the majority (Serbian) language. Other minority Hungarian ethnic nationals of the Carpathian Basin make a similar decision (CSETE Ö. et al. 2009; CSERNICKÓ I. – GÖNCZ L. 2009; ERDEI I. 2010). In addition, in the case of ethnic diaspora communities, population decline also affects the position and use of the Hungarian language (TÁTRAI P. 2017a).

It has become common for parents living in ethnic diaspora regions in Vojvodina to enrol their children in majority (Serbian) language education for various reasons. This happens despite the fact that Hungarian language education is made available to them (TÁTRAI P. 2017a). Thus, in Vojvodina, approximately 20 percent of ethnic Hungarian elementary students study in the Serbian language, and within this, in certain ethnic diaspora communities, the ratio of ethnic Hungarian students studying in the Serbian surpasses 50 percent.<sup>1</sup> We cannot ignore the fact that a significant number of Hungarian children study in Serbian classes because there are no opportunities for them to study in the area of their residence in their native language. According to a 2014 study, about 5 percent of students of Hungarian ethnicity who study in the majority language live in areas of Vojvodina in which a school whose language of instruction is Hungarian is no longer open, and where there are no available school buses to cover the distance to the nearest school that provides a Hungarian education language class (JOÓ HORTI L. et al. 2014). The question of education language becomes even more complex in the case of children born of mixed ethnicity marriages, as parents must decide between one or the other language as the language of instruction.

The general aim of the research study was to use soft methods to gain insight into the unique, individual motivation and background factors (“underlying background contents”), during which students and parents belonging to a minority Hungarian culture/roots choose Serbian as the language in education. Furthermore, I also considered it very important to

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<sup>1</sup>Strategy for Education Development 2010-2016, Hungarian National Council

find out what the educators' opinions are regarding the difficulties of choosing an education language for children beginning school. My goal, therefore, is the examination of the viewpoints of the Hungarian minority living in ethnic diaspora communities with respect to school and education language choice. The main question connected to my aim is:

- What individual, familial, cultural and micro community backgrounds are there for the practices of ethnic Hungarian minority parents in ethnic diaspora communities?

Further questions can be formed in connection to this:

- What aspects were taken into consideration when choosing a school?
- How did parents living in mixed marriages define the situation of choice that arose in choosing a school?
- Which social, economic and spatial factors affect choosing an education language in ethnic diaspora communities?
- What are the opinions of educators on the question of education language choice?

According to my hypothesis, the main influential factors in choosing a school or a teaching language for children include the “majority environment,” the ethnic composition of the family, and the prospect of later success.

The novelty of my research study stems from the facts that, on the one hand, it examines the conditions of education language choice of minority members living in ethnic diaspora communities from a social geography perspective; on the other hand, it places the opinions of educators at its centre. The analysis of the ethnic diaspora community society and the related spatial and local factors have important role in the dissertation. Through these, both geographical and pedagogical points of view emerge. It is not an aim of the research to “take a side” of education in either the majority (Serbian) or minority (Hungarian) language. The decision resulting in choosing an education language is subjective in every individual case, as every family has a unique position, background and conditions; thus, their decisions must always be totally respected.

#### IV. Methodology

The data used in the study is from the databases of the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia and the Provincial Secretariat for Education, Regulations, Administration and National Minorities – National Communities. In my efforts collecting secondary data, I attempted to examine and process all available literature that offer relevant information on the subject, while also using the electronic database of the Hungarian Scientific Bibliography (*Magyar Tudományos Művek Tára* - MTMT). Aside from the relevant literature, I also paid particular attention to the analysis of the strategic and development documents and action plans of the National Council of the Hungarian National Minority. These documents are available on the website of the National Council, which is where I accessed them as well. While examining the development documents and the action plan, I looked at the updated, most current documents of the Council (Population Action Plan (*Népességi akcióterv*) 2013-2017, Strategy for Education Development (*Oktatásfejlesztési Stratégia*) 2010-2016, Strategy for Hungarian Culture in Vojvodina (*Vajdasági magyar kulturális stratégia*) 2012-2018). I also used the documents and closing declarations of the Association of the Hungarian Pedagogists of Vojvodina and the Association of the Hungarian Pedagogists of North-Backa. Besides this, I expanded my work further with other relevant sources (e.g. laws, statistical reports).

During the empirical research process, I mainly used a qualitative (in-depth interview-based) method, thanks to which a more complete picture of the opinions of the interviewed individuals could be formed. I interviewed ethnically Hungarian students, or students from interethnic families, their parents, and educators from ethnic diaspora communities. The locations of the research were the Kikinda, Novi Sad and Sombor municipalities, in which, during the time of the research, both Hungarian and Serbian language education were available in elementary school so students and their parents had the opportunity to choose education language. The process of empirical research followed the following steps: choosing sample areas, finding interview subjects, conducting interviews, collecting data, processing the data.

Thanks to research scholarships<sup>2</sup> and grants<sup>3</sup>, I conducted interviews in 2013 and 2014 in three municipalities that can be considered

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<sup>2</sup>MTA Domus Scholarship 2013

<sup>3</sup>TÁMOP-4.2.4.A/2-11/1-2012-0001 number – National Excellence Program – National students or researcher support system planning and operating convergence program. The

to be ethnic diaspora areas. At the time, I interviewed elementary school teachers, students and the students' parents about the background of their choices regarding language of instruction choice. Of the total interviews, I conducted 13 in Kikinda, 14 in Novi Sad, and 15 in Sombor. Thus, 42 interviews were conducted in the three sample areas. In the research process, both structured and semi-structured interviews were used, with the students and parents/educators, respectively. Moreover, in the case of educators, I also asked questions about their own education and work experiences, about their choices regarding education language for their own children, which also yielded useful results. A part of the interviews with the educators can be categorized as "path of life" interviews. The advantage of this is that the interviewed individuals (the educators) recount their own lives and speak about their problems in their own words (TIMÁR J. 2001).

The applied methodology used in the empirical research was elaborated in earlier research<sup>4</sup>, which was conducted in Vojvodina and other Carpathian Basin regions in 2013-2014, on the subject of school choice and assimilation. The leading researcher was Barna Bodó, and the work was supported by the 2012 MTA Domus call for applications, under the title "Majority Language School Choice." I applied the topic, methodology, sample area choice and interview questions developed within the framework of the above-mentioned research study to the research I conducted in the sample areas of Kikinda, Novi Sad and Sombor. The work done in Kikinda<sup>5</sup> was conducted within the frames of the previously-mentioned research; the research in the areas of Novi Sad and Sombor<sup>6</sup>, was supported by the "National Excellence Program under number TÁMOP-4.2.4.A/2-11/1-2012-0001."

When choosing sample areas (municipality centres) for research, two important factors were taken into consideration. The first was the availability of education language – all three places had to have both Hungarian and Serbian education languages available for parents to choose. The second criterion was connected to the geographic location (regional location) of the places. Since defining relevant regions is a basic problem of

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project is realized with the support of the European Union and the co-financing of the European Social Fund

<sup>4</sup>Research study "Majority Language School Choice", supported by the MTA Domus scholarship in 2012

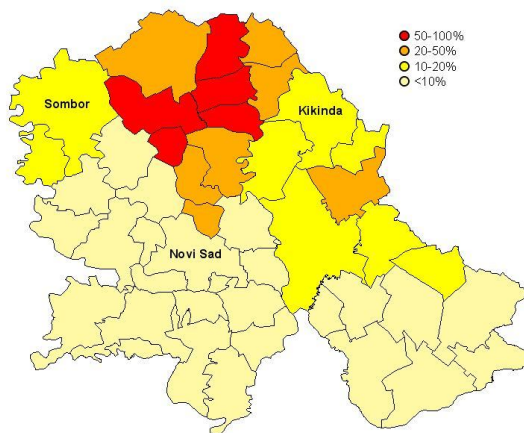
<sup>5</sup>MTA Domus National Scholarship 2013

<sup>6</sup>TÁMOP-4.2.4.A/2-11/1-2012-0001number – National Excellence Program – National students or researcher support system planning and operating convergence program. The project is realized with the support of the European Union and the co-financing of the European Social Fund



research that deals with regional aspects (FORRAY R. K. – KOZMA T. 1992.), I strove to “cover” the province’s eastern, western and southern parts when selecting the sample areas. This is the reason Kikinda, a city in the eastern part of Vojvodina, was chosen, along with Novi Sad (from the southern part of Vojvodina, in South-Backa), and Sombor (found in the western part of Vojvodina, in the West-Backa district) (figure 1.). Besides this, in choosing the sample areas, another factor played an important role – the National Council of the Hungarian National Minority’s 2011 report, according to which it is becoming increasingly difficult to initiate the opening of classes with Hungarian as the education language in the three chosen municipalities.<sup>7</sup>

Figure 1: The ratio of ethnic Hungarians by district in the province of Vojvodina (according to 2011 census data)



Source: the author’s own construction

In terms of population, of the examined sample areas, Novi Sad is the largest one, followed by Sombor and Kikinda. The examined areas are municipality centres, so the assessment was done in the circles of the urbanised population, to which it must be added that the urban surroundings aid in adapting to the dominant majority language, so language shift is a more common phenomenon in larger cities than it is in a rural environment

<sup>7</sup> MNT 2011: Reflecting on the Realization of the Strategy for Education Development

where the minority language speakers live in a concentrated area<sup>8</sup> (LAPONCE, J. 1987; PUSKÁS T. 2000).

In my opinion, every area that is not a part of the ethnic block can be considered to be an ethnic minority area; from the perspective of empirical research (defining sample areas), however, it is important to consider numbers and, thus, I used Irén Gábrity Molnár's ethnic diaspora definition, according to which "we use the concept of ethnic Hungarian diaspora to mean Hungarians outside of the borders of Hungary, living in areas or micro-regions where they represent less than 30 percent of the population in comparison with the majority ethnicity, at a disadvantage in terms of language, ethnicity or religion, in isolation from other ethnic Hungarians, in a deteriorated system of institutions, in constant danger of loss" (GÁBRITY MOLNÁR I. 2005a, p.24.).

In accordance with the applied methodology, I included sixth- and seventh-grade students studying in Serbian as the education language, who are ethnically Hungarian or come from mixed-ethnicity families. Interviews were also conducted with their parents and teachers. In my interviews with the teachers, I asked questions regarding the teachers' own paths in education, along with questions about the education of their own children, gaining further insight. Steering a bit away from my original vision, I later widened the aimed sample group (in all three sample areas – Kikinda, Novi Sad, Sombor), interviewing not only sixth- and seven-graders, but also fifth- and eighth-grade students; all in all, upper-level elementary students participated in the research. The widening of the subjects is justified by the fact that in many instances, the parents of the sixth- and seven-graders did not allow their children to be interviewed, so more subjects were needed for the research. Furthermore, in the case of Sombor, some of the interviewed teachers work not only in elementary school, but also in secondary school.

The selection and seeking out of subjects was initiated through personal links, which was later aided by the "snowball effect", the point of which is that the researcher collects data from a few individuals from the targeted population, those who can be easily found, and who suggest other individuals they know, providing the researcher with their contact details (BABBIE, E. 2008).

The questions asked in the interview can be categorized into five main groups. They pertain to: family background, education path, the

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<sup>8</sup>Laponce states in his work that a basic condition for survival of minority languages is that the members of the ethnolinguistic community live in real communities, in a concentrated area (LAPONCE, J. 1987).

characterization of the school, social relationships and the future plans of the students. Adapting to the language competence of the subjects, the questions were asked in the Hungarian and Serbian languages. The research mainly reflects the opinions of the educators and parents, because I received the most information from these two groups during the interview process.

## V. Summary of the research results

1. In consequence of the dominant Serbian language connection network in ethnic diaspora areas, the inner family language system has changed and the language spoken at home has come to be the majority language (Serbian). Language preference in ethnic diaspora communities is often decided by kindergarten age – in favour of the majority language. My research shows that **in most cases, the education language chosen for the child corresponds with the language spoken at home**; thus, the interviewed individuals studying in the Serbian language had no problems with the chosen majority language at school. Most families considered Serbian as the education language to be a natural choice, emphasizing later, “better” opportunities for the students. Students from ethnic diaspora communities studying in the official (national) language use their native language less and less. The language used to speak about education, the language of their studies has come to be the Serbian language, which means Hungarian is spoken only within the immediate family, or that it has lost its significance within the “framework of the home,” taking a secondary role, becoming limited to a “more narrow use” (i.e. for conversing with grandparents).

2. When choosing a school for their children, of the possible important factors, parents consider the **proximity of the school and family tradition** (the parents’, older siblings’ or the grandparents’ own schools) as the most important factors in deciding on an institution. Furthermore, the potential teacher’s and the school’s reputation is another important factor in choosing. Of the interviewed parents, none mentioned the facilities or equipment of the school or any ethnicity factor as those that are important for choosing a school.

3. Besides proximity and family tradition, the following factors were also taken into consideration when choosing an institution for children: due to **the “better” Serbian language competence of the child**, parents found it natural (automatic) to choose it as the education language; because of

**later opportunities**, they also enrolled the children in classes with Serbian as the language of instruction; studying at home (**completing homework**) **and helping children study** was proven to be another important factor in making the choice; **the parent's own positive/negative experiences** also played a role in the decision making process. Based on this list, the background and motivation of choosing a school can be divided into "bottom up" and "top down" factors. Later opportunities, help with studying and homework, the parents' own experiences can be considered as "bottom up" factors. A "top down" factor is the students' own lack of Hungarian language knowledge, since this would cause them to be unable to join for the Hungarian teaching class.

4. **Two geographic aspects** played an important role in the research. One is the ethnic composition of the town, which influenced the members of the minority not to "stand out from the majority ethnicity", causing them to opt for Serbian language education. But the factor is further complicated by the fact that the families have wide friend/relative/neighbour connections which are related to the town's ethnicity. The other important geographic viewpoint is the proximity factor, as it is important for parents that their children attend a school that is close to their home. This is an especially important expectation in the city of Novi Sad, where it is connected to the size of the city.

5. Individuals choosing majority education language often consider education in their native language to be a **social disadvantage**, an obstacle in later self-realization. They believe that children who are a part of the minority will have less success in the job market, because their (Serbian) language knowledge will be "weaker" in comparison with their peers who completed their studies in the Serbian language.

6. Of the interviewed parents, several lived in **mixed marriages** and were themselves from mixed-ethnicity families. **Children born in these families are, in most cases, automatically enrolled in Serbian classes** and the parents often do not consider it important to teach the children Hungarian at all, because the ethnic environment is mostly Serbian, so the Hungarian language is not given "as much importance." Children from such families speak the official language better than they speak Hungarian, so parents find it natural to choose Serbian as the education language for their children. Moreover, further education is also planned in the majority language. In some families, the language transfer process is disrupted,

Serbian becomes the dominant language. Consequentially, it can be confirmed that choosing a partner, along with one's interpersonal relationships, also influence choosing education language. According to the majority of the interviewed teachers, in the case of children from mixed-ethnicity families, it should be an advantage that the children grow up in two cultures simultaneously, and the situation should be turned into an asset for the children.

7. In most cases, it could be observed that interview subjects mixed Hungarian and Serbian words; therefore, the phenomenon of **language attrition** is observable.

8. It is important to point out that, despite the varied geographical positions of the examined municipalities (Kikinda, Novi Sad, Sombor), **similar processes** were observed in choosing education language.

9. While the native language of the parent helping his or her children in their studies is a deciding factor in most families living as minorities in cluster areas, my interviews show that in many cases, **helping their children in the Hungarian language is problematic** for parents, due to the fact that they themselves completed their secondary and post-secondary education in the Serbian language, and they use Serbian at their workplace. Besides this, the interviews also showed that students from ethnic diaspora areas where the Serbian language is dominant know and use the Serbian language to such a degree that it can help them in later success.

10. It is characteristic that parents from interethnic marriages living in municipality centres – urban areas – choose Serbian language education for their children. In contrast, parents from ethnically mixed marriages living in villages (rural areas) with a Hungarian majority often choose to enrol their children in Hungarian classes, thus showing that, within a village or town, **the majority language, which is connected to the ethnic makeup of the village or town, has a significant influence** on the family's decision concerning education language.

11. According to most interviewed teachers, those families in which children speak in the minority (in our case, Hungarian) language from a young age, must ensure that when choosing a school, **they do so by "adjusting" the education language to the language spoken at home.** If this is not done, it can affect the child's self-confidence, as he or she may

have trouble understanding the teacher's instructions. This could lead to struggles in keeping up in classes and lessons, needing extra attention so that the child may catch up in his or her studies, as well as in developing competence in the official language. These struggling students often feel out of place in their class, which affects their development. In the educators' opinion, therefore, the best argument for native language education is that basic education and basic competences are best acquired in the child's native language. But what if native language is not in the foreground for a child from a very young age? The familial language system may have already changed with the language preference of the parents and children may not speak their native language. In this case, it is obvious that it would not make sense to force the children to study in Hungarian, as they struggle to speak the language. Due to the fact that they do not know the language, they would likely also struggle to achieve good results, becoming frustrated by this and the fact that they cannot keep up with their classmates, which could possibly determine their later path in education as well. It is imperative that students' language and cultural backgrounds be taken into consideration when choosing education language.

12. Educators also pointed out that parents from minority diaspora regions should not be worried about their children not learning the Serbian language "perfectly," as **thanks to the particularities of our environment**, upon completing their elementary school studies, the students are able to use the official language. Furthermore, most teachers also emphasized that, in the case of students from Hungarian areas, acquiring the official language is very important, because if students do not speak and use the official language, they exclude themselves from later job market and education opportunities.

13. Education language choice must be looked at especially carefully in research, because it is proven that it influences the child's further education. As a final summary, it is important to highlight that at times it is rather difficult to separate factors influencing education language choice, and that they are **"dependant on one another" in most cases.**

## **VI. Potential applications of the research results**

The results of the study can be applied in a variety of ways in a practical sense.

- My dissertation topic directs attention at those living in territory of ethnic diaspora and at questions that emerge as a consequence of the mentioned processes; thus, the study can be useful in education planning and in identifying the education system's direction of development
- The dissertation highlights the emphatic presence of the prestige of languages, so if the Hungarian community living in ethnic diaspora areas wishes to maintain its schools, it is important that parents from mixed marriages consider it worthwhile to teach their children their native language, as this is the only action that can lead to the situation where they can choose an education language. For this to occur, it is necessary that these parents are prompted to view multilingualism as a value.
- In order to care the identity and culture of the Hungarian communities of the ethnic diaspora areas, the opinions of the members of these communities must be taken into consideration, and consequent repeated research studies should be conducted in order to evaluate their needs and note their remarks
- It is very important that attention is paid to educators, who are working in ethnic diasporas municipalities, that they are offered help with their profession, because research shows that the teacher's personality and professional calling are important in making education language choice
- Furthermore, the results of my empirical research can also be useful for those professionals who deal with the Hungarian political life in Vojvodina, focusing on minority education, and for the councils of the ethnic diaspora municipalities

## **VII. Publications in the topic of the dissertation**

TROMBITÁS T. – SZÜGYI É. 2012: A falusi magyar tannyelvű iskolák helyzete a Vajdaságban. – *A Falu* 27.4. pp. 27–35.

SZÜGYI É. – TROMBITÁS T. 2013: A vajdasági magyarok oktatási helyzete Szerbiában. – In: GALLIK, J. - RIGÓ, GY. - KRALINA HOBOTH, K. - VARGOVÁ, Z. (szerk): *Science for Education - Education for Science. Tudomány az oktatásért – Oktatás a Tudományért. Közép-európai Tanulmányok Kara, Konstantin Filozófus Egyetem, Nyitra.* pp. 84–101.

TROMBITÁS T. 2013: Többségi nyelvű iskolaválasztás a szórványban. – *Kisebbségkutatás* 22.4. pp. 87–97.

TROMBITÁS T. 2013: Vajdasági magyarok a többségi oktatásban: Iskolaválasztási stratégiák a szórványban. – In: JÓZSA K. – NAGY GY. –

DUDÁS R. (szerk): Geográfus Doktoranduszok XIII. Országos Konferenciája. SZTE TTIK Gazdaság- és Társadalomföldrajz Tanszék, Szeged. Cikk 19.

TROMBITÁS, T. – SZÜGYI, É. 2013: Basic education of the Hungarian minority in the territory of Vojvodina. – *Analele Universitatii din Oradea – Seria Geografie* 23.2. pp. 212–219.

TROMBITÁS T. 2014: Az újvidéki magyar kisebbség iskolaválasztási jellemzői. – In: KONCZ I. – SZOVA I. (szerk.): *A tudomány szolgálatában. Professzorok az Európai Magyarországért Egyesület, Budapest.* pp.149–160.

TROMBITÁS T. 2016: A többségi tannyelv-választást befolyásoló tényezők vizsgálata a vajdasági magyar kisebbség körében, tömb- és szórványterületen. – In: GARACZI I. (szerk.): *A fenntarthatóság perspektívái a Kárpát-medencében: Multidiszciplináris vizsgálatok. Veszprémi Humán Tudományokért Alapítvány, Veszprém.* pp. 389–407.

TROMBITÁS T. – SZÜGYI É. 2019: Education language choice of Hungarian ethnic diaspora communities in Vojvodina (Serbia). – *Deturope* 11.2. pp. 54–74.

### **VIII. Other publications**

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