

Multilingualism Doctoral School
University of Pannonia



THE SUSTAINABILITY OF THE HUNGARIAN DIASPORA IN
DUAL/MULTIPLE NATIONAL IDENTITIES IN SÃO PAULO

PhD thesis
By
Máté Barnabás Csrepka

Supervisor: Dr. Judit Navracsecs

Veszprém, 2025

Abstract

This dissertation explores the sustainability of the Hungarian diaspora's dual and multiple national identities in São Paulo, with a focus on the intricate relationships between language maintenance, identity formation, and cultural continuity. Based on semi-structured interviews with representatives of key Hungarian diaspora institutions and the self-developed National Identity Profile Questionnaire (NIP-Q), the study provides an in-depth examination of the community's migration history, linguistic features, and evolving perceptions of identity.

A key finding of this research contradicts the initial hypotheses: the majority of respondents across four generations identify themselves as having mixed national identities, integrating elements of both Brazilian and Hungarian heritage, rather than exclusively aligning with one nationality. This mixed identity reflects the complex interplay of cultural influences in a diasporic context, where attachment to ancestral roots coexists with the lived realities of integration into the host society.

Another significant finding is the linguistic distinctiveness of the diaspora. Members maintain a heritage version of the Hungarian language, which retains features characteristic of the dialects spoken by the original immigrants during the significant migration waves of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This language has undergone a series of changes due to prolonged contact with Brazilian Portuguese, creating a distinctive bilingual linguistic repertoire.

The dissertation stands as an innovative contribution to the study of national identity and multilingualism in the Hungarian diaspora in Brazil, a topic that has been underexplored despite the wealth of research on Hungarian communities worldwide. The findings are valuable not only for the diaspora itself but also for the Hungarian National State Secretariat, offering a deeper understanding of identity preservation and language use in diasporic contexts.

Table of Contents

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION	4
CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW	5
2.1. Minorities and Language Policy	5
2.2. Language Policy and Minority Languages in Brazil.....	5
2.3. Culture and Language; Identity and Bilingualism	6
2.4. Hungarians in São Paulo	6
2.4.1. Language and education.....	7
2.4.2. Cultural sustainability and institutions	7
CHAPTER 3. DATA AND METHODS.....	8
3.1. Participants and instruments.....	8
3.2. The National Identity Profile Questionnaire (NIP-Q).....	8
3.3. Procedure.....	9
CHAPTER 4. RESULTS AND ANALYSES; DISCUSSION	9
4.1. Hungarian language and culture in the diaspora	9
4.2. Content analysis of the interviews	9
4.3. Results of the National Identity Profile Questionnaire (NIP-Q).....	10
4.4. Language use and contact phenomena	12
CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSIONS.....	12
References	13
Publications related to research.....	15

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Since 2010, the Hungarian government has launched multiple scholarship programmes to strengthen ties between the diaspora and Hungary, with a particular focus on maintaining Hungarian as a heritage language. Previous studies (Festman et al., 2017; Kazzazi, 2011; Szécsi & Szilágyi, 2012) have shown that time spent in the homeland, alongside active diaspora communities abroad, significantly supports minority language maintenance. Research by Fenyvesi (2005) highlights the importance of community institutions – heritage language schools, cultural associations, churches – in sustaining intergenerational language transmission and positive language attitudes.

Several initiatives are central in this context. The Rákóczi Association’s Diaspora Programme offers youth cultural immersion through short-term visits. The Balassi Programme provides longer-term study opportunities in Hungary for students in Hungarian studies abroad, and the Hungarian Diaspora Scholarship – first launched in 2021/2022 – has attracted hundreds of applicants globally. The Kőrösi Csoma Sándor Programme sends scholarship holders to work directly within diaspora communities for extended periods.

As one of the scholarship holders assigned to São Paulo in 2020, I worked in the Hungarian House, authored the second edition of the memorial book of the Association of Hungarian Entities in Brazil, and conducted extensive interviews and community mapping. These experiences laid the groundwork for the present research.

Historical and ethnographic studies on Hungarian communities in Brazil – such as Babarczy (2012) on 18th-century Jesuit missions, Boglár & Kovács (1999) and Óry Kovács (2008) on Jaraguá do Sul, and Pongrácz (2008) on the post-WWII diaspora in São Paulo – have documented cultural traditions, identity preservation, and institutional roles. This dissertation builds on these valuable earlier studies by providing a perspective that combines national identity research with heritage language maintenance, and by applying a specialized identity questionnaire (NIP-Q) in this community setting for the first time.

Research questions:

1. Are there generational differences in perceptions of Hungarian and Brazilian identities?
2. What are the main identity-shaping factors for Hungarian vs. Brazilian identity?
3. Do participants view their mixed identity positively?

Based on prior diaspora studies, I hypothesize stronger Hungarian attachment among older generations, a central role for language in identity maintenance, and a preference for a dominant single identity over dual identity emphasis.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Minorities and Language Policy

Minorities preserve cultural and linguistic diversity but often face political and economic marginalisation (Boas, 1940; Anderson, 1983; Rex, 1983; Spivak, 1988). Language policy can either protect or undermine minority languages, with *linguistic imperialism* (Phillipson, 1992) describing how dominant languages displace others.

Efforts to promote and revitalize minority languages – through education, media, and cultural initiatives – are supported by international frameworks such as UNESCO’s *Atlas of the World’s Languages in Danger* and the *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* (2001). Recent ecological approaches (Mühlhäusler, 2002; Spolsky, 2004) emphasize local contexts and the role of language education policy in shaping younger generations’ language use.

2.2. Language Policy and Minority Languages in Brazil

Brazil’s linguistic diversity includes around 220 languages, spoken by indigenous peoples, immigrant communities, and regional minorities. Historically, Portuguese dominance – rooted in colonization – marginalized many indigenous languages, and led to the loss of others.

Since the late 20th century, policies have shifted towards maintenance and revitalization, with constitutional recognition of indigenous languages and semi-official status for others (e.g. German, Italian, Japanese, Pomeranian, Kaingang, Guarani) at municipal or regional levels. These policies support bilingual education, cultural programmes, and language use in local administration.

Federal Decree No. 7.387/2010 frames linguistic diversity as a cultural asset. UNESCO’s frameworks have influenced national policy, encouraging initiatives for documentation, and intergenerational transmission of both indigenous and immigrant languages, including Hungarian. Implementation varies regionally, but government, civil society, and home-state cooperation play key roles in sustaining Brazil’s minority languages.

2.3. Culture and Language; Identity and Bilingualism

Language is both a medium of communication and a carrier of cultural values, shaping perception and identity (Sapir, 1921; Whorf, 1956). Cultural and linguistic sustainability requires policies supporting bilingual education, and adaptation to modern contexts, including digital media (Romaine, 2013; Crystal, 2000). For minority diasporas, sustaining language is central to preserving identity.

In Brazil, cultural diversity stems from indigenous heritage, European colonization, African slavery, and waves of immigration. This has created a “melting pot” (Freyre, 1946) and multicultural identity (*Brasilidade*) that integrates but also reflects historical inequalities.

Multilingualism does not automatically imply biculturalism or dual ethnic loyalty. Language knowledge can instead represent cultural capital and personal complexity (Maher & Winston, 2017). Individuals may identify with one or more cultures depending on their experiences, with bicultural bilinguals functioning in two worlds, monocultural bilinguals remaining within a single cultural frame, and bicultural monolinguals preserving cultural practices without the heritage language. Dual identity – identification with both heritage and host societies – often enhances life satisfaction and well-being (González & Brown, 2003; Klandermans et al., 2008). Bilingual identity is fluid and influenced by emotional and social ties to each language (Grosjean, 1982, 1996), while the degree of bicultural identity integration can determine whether dual identities are experienced as harmonious or conflicting (Miramontez et al., 2008).

Bilinguals can acquire their languages in separate contexts (coordinate), through translation from L1 (subordinate), or in the same environment (compound), influencing how languages are stored and connected conceptually (Weinreich, 1953; Pavlenko, 2005). Parental language practices strongly shape multilingual development, with strategies such as One Parent, One Language (Ronjat, 1913; Chevalier, 2015) increasing the likelihood of active multilingualism. Consistent use of the heritage language at home, reduced exposure to the majority language in family interactions, and avoiding unnecessary switching to the child’s dominant language are key to sustaining heritage language proficiency (Curdt-Christiansen & La Morgia, 2018; Braun & Cline, 2014; Lanza, 2007).

2.4. Hungarians in São Paulo

Estimates place Brazil’s Hungarian-origin population between 80,000 and 100,000, with the largest concentration in São Paulo and smaller groups in cities such as Rio de Janeiro, Curitiba,

Jaraguá do Sul, and Porto Alegre. The community's origins trace back to four major migration waves. The first (late 19th–early 20th century) brought mainly agricultural families, many from Veszprém and Székesfehérvár, who faced slow integration and eventual assimilation due to isolation from Hungary. The second wave, following World War I, comprised largely working-class migrants, many from territories lost after the Treaty of Trianon, who found work on coffee and sugar plantations. The third, during and after World War II, included wealthier, skilled professionals, as well as Jewish refugees, who often maintained their cultural identity through community activities. The fourth followed the 1956 revolution, with mostly young, educated urban migrants joining established Hungarian networks in Brazil. Despite political and personal divisions, shared concern for Hungarian heritage acted as a unifying force.

2.4.1. Language and education

The Hungarian language has been used in Brazil for more than a century, but like other immigrant languages it faces challenges of language shift. The community's early response was the creation of Hungarian schools, using bilingual curricula. Political changes in the mid-20th century led to nationalization and the closure of minority-language schools, though Hungarian Benedictines kept education alive at Colégio Santo Américo, alongside scouting and cultural programs. In recent decades, Hungarian language instruction has expanded through the University of São Paulo and the Hungarian House.

The Hungarian House's Language School, formally organized in the 2000s, saw a surge from 20–25 to 130–150 students after 2020 through active outreach, offering both in-person and online courses supported by scholarships. A 2022 survey showed most students study Hungarian for citizenship purposes, but also for general interest, ancestry, and cultural connection.

2.4.2. Cultural sustainability and institutions

Founded in 1926, the Hungarian House remains the main cultural hub, hosting commemorations, markets, dinners, and various cultural events. It adapted over time to include Portuguese alongside Hungarian, reflecting generational changes. The General Consulate of Hungary in São Paulo, central to the simplified citizenship process introduced in 2011, also plays a key role in community life, linking cultural motivations with practical EU mobility benefits.

Other key institutions have supported cultural continuity: Colégio Santo Américo (education and religious services), the Szondi György Scout Troop (youth leadership and

cultural training), and the Pántlika Folk Dance Group (folk culture preservation). The Balázs Péter Nursing Home, once a respected mono- and then bicultural care facility, closed in 2018. Together, these organizations form a dense network sustaining Hungarian identity in São Paulo despite assimilation pressures.

CHAPTER 3. DATA AND METHODS

This dissertation examines the Hungarian community of São Paulo through both qualitative and quantitative approaches, focusing on four generations of the diaspora. Generational definitions followed a clear structure: first-generation migrants are those who arrived in Brazil as adults (regardless of period or migration type); their children are second generation, grandchildren third, and great-grandchildren fourth. The 11 interviewees represented all generations, many holding significant roles in the Hungarian House, General Consulate, or cultural groups. Most of participants are higher-educated, and multilingual (Portuguese, Hungarian, Spanish, often English).

3.1. Participants and instruments

The qualitative element involved semi-structured interviews with 26 guiding questions on family, language, culture, and identity. Interview length ranged from 19 minutes to over two hours. Quantitatively, the National Identity Profile Questionnaire (NIP-Q) was completed by 78 respondents across all four generations (14 first-generation, 33 second, 22 third, 9 fourth). Most were born in Brazil, though 15% were Hungarian-born and others came from historically Hungarian regions of Romania and Ukraine. Ancestry was often mixed, reflecting broader migration flows.

Place of Birth	Brazil	Hungary	Austria	Ukraine	Romania	France	Total
Number of Respondents	61	12	1	1	1	2	78

Table 1. Respondents and their places of birth

3.2. The National Identity Profile Questionnaire (NIP-Q)

Developed for this study and inspired by the LEAP-Q, the NIP-Q captures self-definition and attitudes towards multiple national identities. Part 1 documents family origins and identity

ranking; Part 2 explores the relative importance of language, residence, religion, family, and cultural habits; Part 3 connects identity to personal domains (e.g., humor, media preferences) and perceptions of mixed identity. The aim is to reveal generational shifts in attachment to Hungarian identity and identify factors influencing cultural sustainability.

3.3. Procedure

Data collection occurred in two phases: interviews in 2020 and the questionnaire in 2023. Pandemic restrictions initially required online interviews, later replaced by face-to-face meetings. All interviews were recorded, transcribed, and reviewed for generational linguistic differences. The questionnaire, available in both Portuguese in Hungarian languages was distributed both in print at Hungarian House events and online via community networks. A small pre-test refined wording for clarity.

CHAPTER 4. RESULTS AND ANALYSES; DISCUSSION

4.1. Hungarian language and culture in the diaspora

The findings show a clear generational shift in language use. While first-generation Hungarians have maintained their L1, Portuguese has become the dominant language for subsequent generations. Hungarian use declines with each generation, often replaced by English or Spanish as a second language. For first-generation parents, teaching Hungarian and involving their children in scouting or folk dance was natural; however, mixed marriages and rapid assimilation have reduced these practices in the second and third generations. Despite the dominance of Portuguese in official events, loyalty to Hungarian culture remains strong, and community leaders increasingly prioritize cultural continuity over strict language requirements. Generational transmission has preserved regional Hungarian dialects brought by early migrants, but modern slang and expressions from contemporary Hungary have not entered the community's language use due to limited direct contact.

4.2. Content analysis of the interviews

Most interviewees identify as having dual or triple identities, with Hungarian and Brazilian as the dominant combinations. While older generations often place Hungarian above Brazilian identity, this is not strictly linked to age: some younger-generation members also strongly prioritize their Hungarian identity, while certain second-generation participants favor Brazilian identity.

Factors influencing language preference

- **Emotions** – Language choices are closely tied to emotional bonds and context. Hungarian often carries strong cultural and personal associations, such as religious life, literature, or traditional cuisine, which influence its use despite reduced daily practice.
- **Parental input** – Hungarian maintenance is more successful when both parents are Hungarian or when the mother is the primary transmitter in mixed marriages. Nonetheless, even some members of the youngest generation intend to pass on Hungarian language to their children and grandchildren in the future.
- **Social status** – Membership in the Hungarian community can confer unexpected prestige and appeal, enhancing the perceived value of the language and identity.
- **Attitudes towards language** – Older generations see high proficiency as integral to Hungarian identity, while younger generations view cultural engagement as equally important. Many younger participants limit Hungarian use to scouting, folk dance, or community language courses.

Cultural transmission remains a central goal. The Hungarian House plays a major role, offering dance rehearsals, community meals, holiday celebrations, and hobby groups. Older generations regard cultural knowledge – literature, music, history – as a core identity component, while younger generations show more varied levels of engagement, sometimes influenced by parental expectations.

First-generation members maintain unambiguous Hungarian identity, while younger generations – born and raised in Brazil – are more likely to identify primarily as Brazilian, especially in international contexts. Even so, many attach great importance to their Hungarian identity, often reinforced through community membership.

4.3. Results of the National Identity Profile Questionnaire (NIP-Q)

Responses suggest a generational trend: first-generation participants more often place Hungarian above Brazilian identity, while in the second and third generations the balance shifts towards Brazilian, and in the fourth generation Hungarian does not appear as a dominant identity at all. A few counterexamples exist, including participants with exclusively Hungarian ancestry whose daily life is nonetheless dominated by Brazilian identity.

Generation No. / More dominant identity	Gen. 1.	Gen. 2.	Gen. 3.	Gen. 4.	<i>Total</i>
Hungarian identity	10	11	5	0	26
Brazilian identity	4	22	17	9	52

Table 2. Dominant identity of each generation

Attachment levels to both identities are similar, however, the role of language differs markedly: Portuguese is considered “essential” to Brazilian identity by 73%, while only 39.7% view Hungarian as essential to their Hungarian identity. This suggests that while emotional closeness to Hungarian identity remains, it is less tied to active language use. When ranking five factors shaping identity (language, place of residence, religion, family, cultural habits), place of residence strongly influenced Brazilian identity but was negligible for Hungarian identity. Language was important for both, but more so for Brazilian. Religion played little role in differentiating identities, while family and cultural habits were rated as the most significant factors for sustaining Hungarian identity. Hungarian cultural customs were valued more highly than Brazilian ones, even among those identifying Brazilian as dominant.

Part 3 of the NIP-Q explored specific cultural domains. Brazilian identity was preferred for humour and sports allegiance, reflecting linguistic accessibility and the national passion for football. Hungarian identity dominated in culinary preferences and music, especially folk music, linked to community activities such as dance and cooking events. In literature, film, and personal relationships, no clear preference emerged. These results highlight the central role of the Hungarian House in sustaining cultural engagement.

Majority (61.5%) described themselves as proud of a mixed identity, with smaller groups identifying solely with Brazilian (19.2%) or Hungarian (14.1%) identity. Only one respondent expressed pride in neither.

Which statement is the most relevant for you?

78 answers



Figure 1. Perception of mixed national identity

4.4. Language use and contact phenomena

Interviews revealed extensive code-switching, loan translations, and morphological integration of Portuguese (and occasionally English) into Hungarian. This reflects both the ease of bilingual communication within the community and the influence of Portuguese dominance in everyday life. Speakers displayed frequent self-corrections, disfluencies, and adjustments in pronoun or case marking, particularly in the accusative, which is absent in Portuguese. While such features can signal attrition, they also illustrate a dynamic, adaptive form of Hungarian shaped by long-term contact.

CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSIONS

The findings reveal that psychological and sociological models of identity coexist within the community, but their relative weight shifts across generations. For first and second generations, Hungarian identity is grounded in personal memories, cultural knowledge, emotional attachment, and mother-tongue proficiency, while Brazilian identity is shaped by external, sociological influences. Among younger generations, this pattern reverses: Brazilian identity carries stronger emotional weight, though Hungarian heritage remains meaningful – especially for those connected to community institutions or family networks.

Language plays an important, but not exclusive, role in sustaining Hungarian identity. Emotional ties, family heritage, symbolic associations, and cultural participation emerged as equally or more influential. Brazilian identity is more closely tied to everyday life and social belonging, while Hungarian identity draws on heritage and affective memory. For most

respondents, dual identity is the norm, perceived as natural and largely harmonious. This “Brazilian Hungarian” identity strengthens community cohesion and ensures the continued relevance of Hungarian heritage in Brazil.

The study’s scope limits generalizability. The NIP-Q, though carefully designed and pilot-tested, has not undergone full validation, and the qualitative sample reflects a self-selecting group with potentially stronger engagement in Hungarian culture than average. The focus on São Paulo excludes other regional diaspora experiences that might differ in identity patterns and language use.

The mixed-methods approach proved effective in capturing both measurable trends and lived experiences. The results underscore the importance of emotional and symbolic connections in heritage maintenance, even where active language use is limited. Future research could broaden the geographic scope to compare diaspora communities within and beyond Brazil, include younger participants with minimal Hungarian proficiency, and apply the NIP-Q to diverse contexts. Linguistic studies focusing on the Portuguese-influenced Hungarian variety in Brazil would further enrich understanding of heritage language evolution.

References

- Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. Verso.
- Babarczi, I. (2012). *Magyar jezsuiták Brazíliában a XVIII. században*. L’Harmattan.
- Blackhawk, N., & Wilner, E. (2018). *The rediscovery of America: Native peoples and the unmaking of U.S. history*. Harvard University Press.
- Boas, F. (1940). *Race, language and culture*. University of Chicago Press.
- Boglár, L., & Kovács, N. (1999). *Brazil*. Panoráma.
- Braun, A., & Cline, T. (2014). Language strategies for bilingual families: The one-parent-one-language approach. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 35(7), 654–670.
- Chevalier, S. (2015). One parent, one language: The effect on the bilingual child. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 18(6), 602–615.
- Crystal, D. (2000). *Language death*. Cambridge University Press.
- Curdt-Christiansen, X. L., & La Morgia, F. (2018). Managing heritage language development: Opportunities and challenges for migrant families. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 19(1), 1–21.

- Fenyvesi, A. (2005). Hungarian language contact outside Hungary. In A. Fenyvesi (Ed.), *Hungarian language contact outside Hungary* (pp. 1–62). John Benjamins.
- Festman, J., et al. (2017). Multilingualism in heritage language contexts: Maintenance and shift. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 21(2), 137–152.
- Freyre, G. (1946). *The masters and the slaves*. Knopf.
- González, R., & Brown, R. (2003). Generalization of positive attitudes as a function of subgroup and superordinate group identifications. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 33(5), 607–621.
- Grosjean, F. (1982). *Life with two languages: An introduction to bilingualism*. Harvard University Press.
- Grosjean, F. (1996). Living with two languages and two cultures. In I. Parasnis (Ed.), *Cultural and language diversity and the deaf experience* (pp. 20–37). Cambridge University Press.
- Kazzazi, K. (2011). Heritage language maintenance in diaspora communities. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 32(3), 205–220.
- Klandermans, B., Sabucedo, J. M., & Rodriguez, M. (2008). Identity processes in dual identity organizations: The case of immigrant organizations. *Political Psychology*, 29(3), 441–459.
- Lanza, E. (2007). Multilingualism and the family. In P. Auer & L. Wei (Eds.), *Handbook of multilingualism and multilingual communication* (pp. 45–67). Mouton de Gruyter.
- Maher, J. C., & Winston, R. (2017). *Multilingual Japan*. Routledge.
- Miramontez, D. R., Benet-Martínez, V., & Nguyen, A.-M. D. (2008). Bicultural identity integration. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 39(3), 289–307.
- Mühlhäusler, P. (2002). Ecology of language. In N. Smelser & P. Baltes (Eds.), *International encyclopedia of the social and behavioral sciences* (pp. 4340–4343). Elsevier.
- Öry Kovács, M. (2008). *Magyarok Brazíliában*. Argumentum.
- Pavlenko, A. (2005). *Emotions and multilingualism*. Cambridge University Press.
- Phillipson, R. (1992). *Linguistic imperialism*. Oxford University Press.
- Piller, I. (1996). *Maintaining heritage languages*. Multilingual Matters.
- Pongrácz, L. (2008). *A brazíliai magyar diaszpóra*. Magyar Nyelvőr.
- Rex, J. (1983). *Race relations in sociological theory*. Routledge.
- Romaine, S. (2013). *The bilingual and multilingual community*. Cambridge University Press.
- Ronjat, J. (1913). *Le développement du langage observé chez un enfant bilingue*. Champion.

Sapir, E. (1921). *Language: An introduction to the study of speech*. Harcourt, Brace and Company.

Spivak, G. C. (1988). Can the subaltern speak? In C. Nelson & L. Grossberg (Eds.), *Marxism and the interpretation of culture* (pp. 271–313). University of Illinois Press.

Spolsky, B. (2004). *Language policy*. Cambridge University Press.

Szécsi, T., & Szilágyi, J. (2012). Immigrant Hungarian families' perceptions of heritage language maintenance. *Heritage Language Journal*, 9(2), 1–21.

Weinreich, U. (1953). *Languages in contact*. Mouton.

Whorf, B. L. (1956). *Language, thought, and reality: Selected writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf*. MIT Press.

Publications related to research

Csrepka, M. B. (2020). A São Pauló-i magyar közösség nyelvmegőrzésének nyomában „Kőrösi lencsén” keresztül. *Anyanyelv-pedagógia*, 13(3), 107–109.

Csrepka, M. B. (2022a). Hungarians and their dual identity in São Paulo. *Alkalmazott Nyelvtudomány*, 22(2), 126–145. <https://doi.org/10.18460/ANY.2022.2.008>

Csrepka, M. B. (2022b). Linguistic landscape of the most important Hungarian institutions in São Paulo. *Alkalmazott Nyelvtudomány*, 22(1), 143–158. <https://doi.org/10.18460/ANY.2022.1.009>

Csrepka, M. B. (2023). The sustainability of the Hungarian diaspora in dual/multiple national identities in São Paulo. In *Humán tudományok: válaszok a globális kihívásokra* [Humanities: Responses to global challenges] (p. 16). Pannon Egyetem.