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**Working Paper**

## Key trends and practices in diaspora education policy-making: Comparative analysis of three countries: Poland, Lithuania and Hungary

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# CMR Working Papers

128/186

**ANZHELA POPYK**

## **Key Trends and Practices in Diaspora Education Policy- Making. Comparative Analysis of Three Countries: Poland, Lithuania and Hungary**

March 2022

[www.migracje.uw.edu.pl](http://www.migracje.uw.edu.pl)

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## **Summary**

Education policy constitutes a substantial part of the diaspora policies in Poland, Lithuania and Hungary. Though, the main aim of the education policy for diaspora is to establish ties with the diaspora members by ensuring access to the native language learning, transmitting the home country's history, preserving culture and traditions. These pursue the superior purpose of bringing up ethnic identity and national awareness. This report evaluates and compares the diaspora education policies across three countries, with a spotlight on the post-accession emigration groups. The analysis indicates that Polish, Lithuanian and Hungarian education policies are built on formal and non-formal types of education, with little space for informal learning. Besides, the report showcases, the selectiveness of the policies in terms of ethnic and age groups of the diaspora. The paper ends with the suggestion on the directions to modify the educational policy towards making it more exhaustive by strengthening various forms of education.

**Keywords:** diaspora, diaspora policy, education, Poland, Lithuania, Hungary.

**Kluczowe trendy i praktyki w tworzeniu polityki edukacyjnej diaspery. Analiza porównawcza trzech krajów: Polski, Litwy i Węgier.**

## **Streszczenie**

Polityka edukacyjna stanowi istotną część polityki diaspery w Polsce, na Litwie i na Węgrzech. Jednak głównym celem polityki edukacyjnej dla diaspery jest nawiązywanie więzi z członkami diaspery poprzez zapewnienie dostępu do nauki języka ojczystego, przekazywanie historii ojczyzny, zachowanie kultury i tradycji. Realizują one nadrzędny cel, jakim jest podnoszenie tożsamości etnicznej i świadomości narodowej. Niniejszy raport przedstawia analizę i porównanie polityk edukacyjnych wobec diaspery w trzech krajach, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem grup emigracji poakcesyjnej. Analiza wskazuje, że polska, litewska i węgierska polityka edukacyjna opiera się na formalnych i nieformalnych typach edukacji, z niewielką przestrzenią na nieformalne uczenie się. Poza tym raport ukazuje selektywność polityki wobec grup etnicznych i wiekowych diaspery. Raport kończy się wskazaniem kierunków modyfikacji polityki oświatowej w kierunku jej uszczegółowienia poprzez wzmocnienie różnych form kształcenia.

**Słowa kluczowe:** diaspora, polityka wobec diaspery, edukacja, Polska, Litwa, Węgry.

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## **Introduction<sup>1</sup>**

Diaspora policy has various forms, layers and measures, and reveal the relations between the state and diaspora. In order to maintain the relations with the diaspora members and organizations, states apply different engagement approaches, which can be based on the partnership relationships and cooperation or embracement and caring (Gamlen 2013). The engagement practices can be realized in different spheres, including political, economic, social or cultural (IOM 2012). Political practices are aimed to activate diaspora members and institutions into the political life of the state, which can be realized through e.g., extending voting rights, admitting multiple citizenship, etc. (Bauböck 2019; Laguerre 2006). The economic approach of the diaspora policy mostly rely on inducing remittances, investments and entrepreneurship (Euro-African Dialogue on Migration and Development 2020). Social aspects include social protection, and aimed to produce social remittances (White, Grabowska 2019) and skills circulation (Euro-African Dialogue on Migration and Development, 2020). Whereas, the cultural element of the diaspora policy encompasses soft power, promotion of national language and culture, and presentation of the home country's traditions (ibid), which can be fulfilled through different forms of education.

While political, economic and social aspects of the diaspora policy are well researched in the political sciences (Bauböck 2019; Cohen 2021; Délano, Gamlen 2014; Kovács 2020b; Lafleur, Vintila 2020; Leblang 2017; Lesińska, Héjj 2021; Naujoks 2020; Nyysönen, Metsälä 2019; Pogonyi 2019; Sheffer 2009; Vass 2018), cultural, particularly educational, still require more attention and analysis, particularly because, in most of the cases, it constitutes the essential part of the diaspora policy.

The education policy-making for the diaspora is a complex process, which to a large extent depends on the nature of the diaspora (e.g., its size, location, type, engagement, emigration reasons and returning plans, etc.). Due to the numerous historical events, Polish, Lithuanian and Hungarian diasporas are not the exclusions in constituting the diversified diaspora groups. Apart from the past events, such as wars, borders shifts, treaties, or bi- and multilateral agreements, which led to the forced and voluntary emigration and appearance of kin-minorities, all three diasporas continue to grow and change. This happens due to the spreading transnationalism and globalization, which closely relate to the migration flows (Faist, Fauser, Reisenauer 2013; Levitt 2001).

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<sup>1</sup> The text is based on Research Project no. 2018/31/B/HS5/00913, funded by the National Science Centre, Poland.

The growing post-accession emigration from the Central and Eastern European countries is associated with the changing nature of diaspora from ‘liquid’ towards ‘solid’ one (Popyk et al. in print). Solidifying diaspora is primarily caused by the increasing emigration of children and youth, who migrate their parents. Besides, a growing number of child-births to Polish, Lithuanian and Hungarian parents abroad induced the growth of child and youth diaspora (ibid).

Hence, the changing nature of diaspora, which comprises various emigrant and ethnic minority groups, requires the states<sup>2</sup> to adjust the existing policy measures and directions in order to preserve national/ethnic identity and contacts with ‘young’ diaspora. The essential way to do so is by regulating the diaspora education policy. Though, education policy is often viewed in its narrow definition of formal schooling. This report, however, is aimed to demonstrate the significance of other forms of education, namely non-formal and informal, through picturing and comparing the diaspora education policies in Poland, Lithuania and Hungary. The analysis is completed by applying the three-dimensional analytical model of the diaspora policy (Lesińska, Popyk 2021). The first dimension, narrative, encompassed analysis of the official documents regarding the diaspora educational policies. The second dimension, structural, involved the analysis of the governmental infrastructure and official bodies responsible for the educational policy for diasporas. The third dimension, practical, analyses practices (programmes, strategies and measures) taken to run education policies. The comparative method and institutional approach are applied.

The report has the following structure:

First, we analyse and compare the definitions of “diaspora”, “diaspora policy”, and “diaspora education policy” in three states. Second, we present the states’ infrastructure and list the bodies which are in charge of the education policy for the diaspora. Third, we present the measures and strategies of formal, nonformal and informal education in three states. The report ends with the conclusions comparing various forms of the diaspora education policy.

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<sup>2</sup> ‘Home state’ or the ‘state’ is use here to refer to the state of own or ancestors’ origin, the Republic of Poland, Hungary and the Republic of Lithuania.

## PART I. Diaspora Education Policy Conceptualization

### *Defining “Diaspora”*

Defining diaspora requires efforts, time and scrutiny. The changing nature of mobility and translocality needs the reconsideration of the notion of “diaspora” (Brubaker 2006; Cohen 2008; Grossman 2019). In all three countries, Poland, Lithuania, and Hungary, the notion of “diaspora” have also had a vague definition because multiple groups of emigrants and non-emigrants are considered to comprise the diaspora groups. These groups include emigrants of an old emigration wave, pre-2004 emigration, post-2004 emigration, or/and ethnic minorities, who found themselves outside their homeland due to the borders’ shift after World War II, and their descendants (see also Gudelis, Klimavičiūtė 2020; Kovács 2020a; Stefańska 2017).

The International Organization for Migration (2004) proposes the following definition of “diaspora”: ‘people or ethnic population that leave their traditional ethnic homelands, being dispersed throughout other parts of the world’. Besides, the IOM’s Glossary on Migration (2019) states that diaspora includes:

Migrants or descendants of migrants whose identity and sense of belonging, either real or symbolic, have been shaped by their migration experience and background. They maintain links with their homelands, and to each other, based on a shared sense of history, identity, or mutual experiences in the destination country. (p. 49)

Different states and institutions across the world adopt this term to refer to different groups of citizens and non-citizens. The common reference notions are: “nationals abroad”, “permanent emigrants”, “citizen of (X) origin living abroad”, “non-resident of (X) origin”, “persons of (X) origin”, “expatriates”, “transnational citizens” (IOM 2020: 1).

The latest (though expired) document defining Polish diaspora policy ‘Governmental Programme of Cooperation with Polish Diaspora and Poles Abroad for 2015-2020’<sup>3</sup> stated that Polish diaspora uncounted 18-20 million Poles and their descendants living abroad. According to this document, the diaspora was categorized into four main groups according to the Polish

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<sup>3</sup> A new governmental programme on the diaspora policy has not been adopted at the moment of writing this report (January, 2022). The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland (MFA) announced the competition and priority tasks for 2021-2023 on ‘Cooperation with the Polish Diaspora and Poles Abroad 2021- Infrastructure of the Polish Diaspora’.



language knowledge, mobility potential, level of ethnic and cultural identification, as well as engagement in the cooperation with Poland. These groups included: national minorities living abroad, Polonia (the old diaspora group), emigration from World War II until the 90s of the XX century, and post-accession emigrants<sup>4</sup>. The last group, as a focus of this study, encompasses the emigrants to other EU countries after the accession in 2004. This group was characterized as labour or education migrants, who self-identify with Poland, and often visit the home country. They rarely participate in the diaspora community activities, Polish culture and education abroad. Among the key challenges, the Polish authorities saw, were to establish regular contact with post-accession emigrants, to teach the Polish language to the youngest generation, and to enhance the return to Poland<sup>5</sup>.

The Lithuanian governmental programme, called “Global Lithuania”- the Involvement of Lithuanians Living Abroad into the State’s Life – Development Programmes for 2011-2019’ (The Government of the Republic of Lithuania 2011), defined The Lithuanian diaspora of size about 1.3 million people as:

The part of the Lithuanian nation living abroad that consists of Lithuanians Citizens of the Republic and persons of Lithuanian origin, as well as persons of non-Lithuanian origin, deriving themselves from Lithuania, connecting themselves with Lithuania in historical, cultural, social, economic or political connection. (Global Lithuania Programme 2011: 2)<sup>6</sup>.

The Hungarian state refers to the diaspora as all Hungarians living abroad regardless of possessing the Hungarian citizenships, but rather united by ethnic and national ties. Hungarian diaspora, which is estimated up to 5 million people, half of whom reside on the former Hungarian territories, consists of three main groups: the old emigration, those who left Hungary in the XX century due to political reasons or persecution; the new emigration wave, which has started with the EU accession in 2004; and the Hungarian communities in the neighbouring countries of the Carpathian Basin, who were separated from their homeland due to the border

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<sup>4</sup> This clarification does not account the group of Polish emigrants, who left the home country in the 90s and at the beginning of XXI century due to various reasons, including economic or family.

<sup>5</sup> As our recent study (Popyk et al. in print) indicates, the post accession diaspora group of Poland requires reclassification and re-definition due to it changing nature of living abroad and keeping contacts with Poland.

<sup>6</sup> Note: most of the quotes from the official documents have been translated to English from Polish, Lithuanian and Hungarian by the author.

shift regarding the Treaty of Trianon in 1920. According to the ‘Act LXII of 2001 on Hungarians Leaving in the Neighbouring Countries’ the members of Hungarian communities are:

(...) persons declaring themselves to be of Hungarian nationality who are not Hungarian citizens and who have their residence in the Republic of Croatia, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Romania, the Republic of Slovenia, the Slovak Republic or Ukraine, and who  
a) have lost their Hungarian citizenship for reasons other than voluntary renunciation, and  
b) are not in possession of a permit for permanent stay in Hungary. (Act LXII of 2001: 1)

While diaspora is defined as:

(...) a geographically fragmented community of migratory origin that has integrated into the society around it, but is not fully assimilated and has a symbolic or objective relationship with related communities in other areas but considered to be of the same origin, real or imagined. (Rákóczi et al. 2017: 56).

The new migration wave (after 2004) is, however, rather viewed as a growing/developing emigration group, which in future will or will not become a part of diaspora (The State Secretariat for National Political Affairs 2016). The comparatively small number of Hungarian emigrants in Europe are shaded by the older emigration waves to the USA and Canada, and by the kin-minorities issues (Kovács 2020b; Pogonyi 2017; Waterbury 2017).

### ***Defining “Diaspora Policy”***

As the “diaspora” has been an equivocal term, the “diaspora policy” definition also meets some hindrance. If “policy” means a ‘high-level overall plan embracing the general goals and acceptable procedures especially of a governmental body’ (Merriam-Webster Dictionary 2022), diaspora policy would enclose the overall plan of introducing the home state’s goals and strategies of engaging with its diaspora. A wider definition of the diaspora engagement policy is proposed by IMISCOE Migration Research Hub:

Diaspora engagement policies consist of a variety of government measures aimed at engaging, maintaining or developing a relationship with their diaspora living abroad. These policies include ensuring the rights and protection of diaspora members, reinforcing national identity or sense of belonging, fostering strong relations and facilitating diaspora contributions to a country’s social and economic development (i.e. remittances).

Hence, the state's policy towards its diaspora pursues different aims and strategies of setting partnership relationships or/and embracing the diaspora members (Gamlen 2006).

The recent document defining Polish diaspora policy (MFA 2015), which was called a 'new diaspora policy' (Fiń et al. 2013), presented notable changes in the approach to the diaspora and home-diaspora relationships. In terms of Gamlen's (2006) classification of the state's diaspora policies, the Polish 'old' (Fiń et al. 2013) caring and *embracing* policy was changed into the *tapping* one, based on partnerships and cooperation. The governmental program foresaw the following principles: partnerships cooperation, preservation of the sense of connectedness with Poland, treating Polish culture as the common good, contribution to the relationship of the diaspora residence states with Poland, establishing a good image of Poland abroad, sustainable use of budget by the governmental organizations abroad. The diaspora policy consisted of 11 policy domains, inclusive of foreign, emigration, demographic, education, economic, tourism, international and state's cooperation, heritage and citizenship policies, preservation of national memorials and cooperation with Polish veterans.

The Lithuanian government views the "Global Lithuania" programme (The Government of the Republic of Lithuania 2020) aimed at:

(...) establishing cooperation and respect between the Lithuanian state and its diaspora, mobilizing foreign Lithuanians to strengthen the state and make its name is known, to encourage them to get involved in the state, mutual relations and political, civil, economic and cultural relations with Lithuania.

The Lithuanian policy programme, first adopted in 2011, encompasses detailed information on the diaspora description, the detailed description of the aims, and plans for the following years (the so-called Action Plan). In order to improve its relationships with diaspora policy, the Lithuanian government regularly evaluates the existing policy actions and annually sets the goals for the Action Plans. To provide a comprehensive policy, it delivers certain aims and tasks to the chosen institutional bodies (21 institutions in total), and, if needed, creates new departments or commissions. What's more, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania annually orders to conduct research called 'The survey of foreign Lithuanians on their status and needs'<sup>7</sup>, aimed to evaluate the situation and needs of the diaspora members

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<sup>7</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania. 2020 survey of Lithuanians abroad. Available at: <https://urm.lt/default/lt/globali-lietuva/globalios-lietuvos-programa/tyrimai>. Accessed January 13, 2022.

The actions undertaken to establish the relationships with the Hungarian diaspora have been scattered across various state institutions, periods and pursued different aims, as there is no single document presenting the diaspora policy. The diaspora policy in Hungary is viewed as the national policy, which can be described as:

National policy is the policy of the Hungarian state towards Hungarians abroad, which strengthens the relationship between Hungary and Hungarian individuals and communities abroad to prosper the united Hungarian nation, to preserve the identity of Hungarian communities abroad and to preserve Hungarian identity (Rákóczi et al. 2017: 57).

The most recent document, entitled “Hungarian Diaspora Policy. Strategic Directions” (The State Secretariat for National Political Affairs 2016) illustrates the needs and intentions to create the unified policy measures document. So far, the national politics towards diaspora was based on the programmes and competitions organized since 2010 (after changing the Hungarian Government’s approach to perceiving and contacting diaspora, but rather kin-minorities, since Fidesz, a conservative democratic party, has come to win the parliament elections).

The diaspora policy directed towards the Hungarian ethnic minorities in the neighbouring countries remains among the priorities of the foreign policy, as stated by the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade of Hungary (About Hungary 2021)<sup>8</sup>

### ***Defining “Diaspora Education Policy”***

Hungary, Poland and Lithuania set different aims and techniques for realizing diaspora policy tasks carried out in different areas, e.g., foreign, economic, consular, emigration, tourism and education policies<sup>9</sup>. The policies anticipate setting political and economic affairs with the diasporas and expect contributions to the development of the states. The education area of diaspora policy, however, has long been of key importance, although it has not always been highlighted or defined.

In the state policies, education has rather been seen through the lens of formal teaching and learning, passing the knowledge in organized public or private institutions, which act according to the formal educational system relevant to the national educational authorities

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<sup>8</sup> About Hungary, 2021. <https://abouthungary.hu/news-in-brief/fm-policy-for-hungarian-communities-abroad-is-soul-of-foreign-policy>

<sup>9</sup> The diaspora policy areas vary from country to country. The list is based on the ‘Government program of cooperation with the Polish diaspora (2015-2020)’.

(UNESCO 2012). Education is associated with primary, secondary or tertiary education, and also includes adult and specialist education (Council of Europe 2022; OECD 2015). Whereas, diaspora education policy is shaped by multiple factors, including the educational policy and standards in a home state; diaspora type and size; relations between the state and the diaspora; state's foreign policy; exigence of the diaspora members, etc. A number of the EU states take education policy as a priority (OECD 2019) of establishing ties with the diaspora members through providing education through different educational institutions, formal and non-formal (Garcés-Mascareñas, Penninx 2016; Nowak, Nowosielski 2018). Besides, the diaspora education policy often pursues the ultimate objective of establishing and preserving contact with the diaspora members (particularly the young generation) to promote national education, language and culture abroad or/and enhance the return migration (Council of Europe 2022; OECD 2015).

For instance, in 2015, the Polish government has viewed the diaspora education policy as an important way of maintaining ties with the Polish community and Poles living abroad. Polish government apprehends Polish education abroad through ensuring access to learning the Polish language, following Polish curricula, and providing the professionals (teachers) and students exchange. It is stated that:

(...) educational activities include ensuring the legal infrastructure which enables providing Polish education in the countries of residence of the Polish diaspora and Poles living abroad [Polonii i Polaków żyjących za granicą], secondment of teachers to work abroad and providing professional development of Polish teachers, running school consultation points, supporting Polish diaspora schools and granting scholarships for people of Polish origin studying in Poland and countries of residence (MFA of Poland 2015: 10).

The Lithuanian Government (2011) have perceived Lithuanian education abroad for Lithuanians in broader terms. It rather refers to formal and non-formal education as a tool for strengthening national identity through acquiring and nurturing Lithuanian culture and heritage. What's more, the impact is also put not only on providing language learning, but also ensuring language use for self-expression. This anticipates the development of the enhancement of using Lithuanian language on the daily basis and communicating Lithuanian in different community settings, which also overlaps with the policy tasks, such as 'to support the activities of foreign Lithuanians, as well as youth organizations, aimed at fostering Lithuanianness and community spirit in Lithuania and abroad cooperation of Lithuanians living in Lithuania, to establish the

concept of global Lithuania' (task 1.1.1 of 'Global Lithuania' 2020) or 'to support initiatives to foster Lithuanian traditional culture abroad' task 1.1.2. of 'Global Lithuania' 2020).

It is stated in the 'Global Lithuania' programme (2011: 2) that:

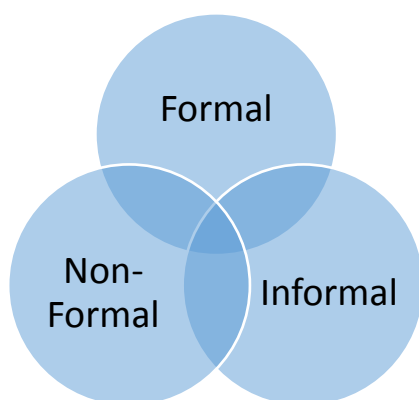
(...) general education and non-formal education activities of educational schools abroad, the purpose of which is to preserve the national identity of Lithuanians, to acquaint with the history, culture and heritage of the Lithuanian state, to help learn the Lithuanian language and to maintain and create conditions for self-expression in the Lithuanian language.

The lack of a unified diaspora policy program in Hungary results in the lack of explicit aims and measures of the education policy. Nevertheless, education, particularly for the kin minorities, remains among the key issues of the national and international politics of Hungary. Education is perceived as the support to the Hungarian children and students studying abroad to learn the Hungarian language in their home country (Act LXII of 2001).

There is also no single document that would articulate the purposes, measures and actions for the diaspora education policy, but the number of existing educational programmes point to the importance of preserving ethnic identity, belonging among the diaspora members through learning the Hungarian language and culture. The significance of education policy is also proved by the education strategy to develop the educational institutions operating in the diaspora, enclosed in the national policy strategy of Hungary presented in the "Hungarian National Policy - The Framework of the National Policy Strategy" in 2019.

As the Lithuanian case demonstrates, education can be also perceived as a wider concept of the process for a deliberate transmission of 'accumulated information, knowledge, understanding, attitudes, values, skills, competencies and behaviours across generations' (UNESCO 2012: 79). A greater part of this transition is being carried out through the other forms of education, such as non-formal and informal (presented in Figure 1 below).

Figure 1. Forms of education



Non-formal education, similarly to the formal one, is realized in organized and structured programmes. Though, it encounters the process of ‘personal and social education for young people designed to improve a range of skills and competencies, outside the formal educational curriculum’ (Council of Europe, European Youth Foundation 2022). Non-formal education is realized by the governmental and non-governmental organizations through organizing clubs (e.g., sport, music, theatre, and other interest clubs.) and community groups, which provide space for the socialization of the diaspora members, and exchange knowledge and skills (UNESCO 2012).

In the educational studies, non-formal education was primarily viewed as necessary for ‘acknowledging the importance of community re- sources for teaching and learning’ (La Belle 1982: 160). It was also popular among children and youth, who were not able to acquire the desired level of education through the formal learning due to their economic status or area of interest (ibid). Diaspora children and youth are also likely to have an impeded access to the formal education due to the limited number of schools abroad. Besides, non-formal education can provide space for doing activities of the interests and hobbies while practicing native language and culture.

Informal education is not institutionalized but intentional and deliberate and is not organized in a structured way as formal or non-formal education. Apart from being occurred through experiences and practices in families and communities, informal learning can also take place in public spaces, including museums, galleries, libraries, or sports centres. An important means of informal education is also media, for instance, films, music, or plays. Informal education refers to the life-long learning and acquiring knowledge, skills, attitudes and values

through consuming or experiencing the impact from daily or routinized practices (UNESCO 2012).

Coombs and Ahmet (1974: 8) defined informal education as “the lifelong process by which every person acquires and accumulates knowledge, skills, attitudes and insights from daily experiences and exposure to the environment”. The major differences between formal, nonformal and informal types of education are the intentional ‘institutional and programmatic emphasis’ (La Belle 1982: 162). Though, both works, Coombs and Ahmet (1974) and La Belle’s (1982) underline the significance of each form of education, and the power of their combination.

Consequently, researching the diaspora education policy, we see it as

*A process of transmitting knowledge, understanding, attitudes, values, skills, competencies and behaviours between the state and diaspora by applying various tools and techniques aimed to provide and support formal, non-formal and informal education, and is aimed to enhance the national and ethnic identity through respecting, acquiring, preserving and reproducing national culture, language, traditions, and heritage.*

The exhaustive diaspora education policy encompasses all three forms of education: formal, non-formal, and informal, which are described below.

Formal diaspora education in Poland, Lithuania and Hungary is realized in the formal governmental and non-governmental but recognized private bodies, such as schools or weekend schools (often established at the embassies). The main purpose of formal education is to teach Polish, Hungarian and Lithuanian languages, or other subjects in those languages. Apart from that, it is aimed to enhance the national identity through school learning practices.

Non-formal education is mostly realized by non-governmental organizations, churches, parents’ organizations. It is the most funded and common type of education among migrant children and youth. Poland, Lithuania and Hungary are different ways to perceive and support non-formal education for their diasporas. The main aim of non-formal education is to support the national language learning, and learning information (history, culture, traditions, news, etc.) about the home country.

Informal education is mostly realized during the everyday or regular contact with native (home country’s) language, culture (including popular culture), traditions (experienced not taught theoretically). Language and culture are absorbed naturally, e.g., during the consumption



of the cultural places (e.g., galleries, museums, theatres, libraries), media (e.g., music, films), mass media (TV, online portals, e.g., ethnic community groups, media resources available online), or experiencing certain events, for example, concerts, sports, or other events. Informal education provides the natural acquisition of a sense of ethnic and national identity, which is not taught through formal learning and is not written in the books but experienced in everyday life. The main task for the nation-state is not only to provide the ethnic consuming content but also proving space and place (physical and virtual) for forming and enhancing own identity and sense of belonging. The important agents of supporting informal education are family, ethnic communities and ethnic peer groups.

Among the fundamental means of informal education is learning during daily contacts, communication and practices. These include speaking the native language with children, promoting home countries culture and traditions, teaching to respect the ethnic cultural heritage and bringing up the awareness of the national and ethnic identity among the young generation of diaspora. These, often are left for individual families and parents and are rarely considered in the educational policies (see also Miodunka et al. 2018).

The following parts of this report present the comparative analysis of the three forms of diaspora education (formal, non-formal, informal) realized in three states: Poland, Lithuania and Hungary.

## **PART II. The Diaspora Education Policy-Making Bodies<sup>10</sup>**

### ***Poland***

The diaspora education policy is realized by multiple state institutions (see Annexe 2). First, the Chancellery of the President of Poland, particularly the Office of Cooperation with Polonia and Poles Abroad, which is also responsible for the budget assigned to support diaspora organizations and activities. The other important body is the Chancellery of the Prime Minister with its Department of Cooperation with the Polish Diaspora and Poles Abroad, which also regulate the financing of diaspora events and organizations.

The Senate, the upper chamber of the parliament, particularly the Chancellery of the Senate and Emigration Affairs and Contacts with Poles Abroad Committee (*Komisja Spraw Emigracji i Łączności z Polakami za Granicą*) and Sejm, the lower chamber of a bicameral

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<sup>10</sup> The detailed institutional structure responsible for the diaspora policy can be found in the report prepared by Lesińska et al. (2022)

parliament in Poland, with the Committee on Liaison with Poles Abroad (LPG) (*Komisja Łączności z Polakami za Granicą*). The responsible body for informing the Senate on the diaspora matters is the Polonia Bureau. The following responsible body is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Department of Cooperation with the Polish Diaspora and Poles Abroad and the Department of Consular Affairs.

The Polish education policy abroad is also under the responsibilities of the Ministry of Education and Science<sup>11</sup>, which supervises two state bodies. The first is the Centre for the Development of Polish Education Abroad (ORPEG), which realizes the education in the Polish language abroad, teaching and learning Polish, coordinates the education of Polish children and adolescents abroad. The second is the National Agency for Academic Exchange (*Narodowa Agencja Wymiany Akademickiej*) (NAWA) (created within the former Ministry of Science and Higher Education) – responsible for the coordination of the scholarship program addressed to young Poles abroad.

There are also some quasi-governmental institutions, the Association “Polish Community” (*Stowarzyszenie “Wspólnota Polska”*) and the Foundation „Aid to Poles in the East” (*Fundacja Pomoc “Polakom na Wschodzie”*), or Freedom and Democracy Foundation (*Fundacja Wolność i Demokracja*). Officially, they are non-governmental organizations, though both were created by the initiative of the government, and stay under its supervision. Both organizations actively support educational activities for the Western and Eastern diasporas.

In Poland, along with shifting from the “old” to the “new” diaspora policy in 2011 (Fiń et al. 2013), the government changed the approach to the diaspora education policy. First, Poland changed its key priorities from embracing into the hybrid policy (Nowosielski, Nowak 2017), while preserving a strong focus on the partnership strategy. This led to changes in financing the diaspora organizations, leaving many of the organizations’ leaders with the ambiguous procedure of financing competitions and regulations (Nowak, Nowosielski 2018). Second, the changing nature of the diaspora from the labour migration has been changing into permanent (family) migration, which is also related to the growing number of children and youth living abroad (see Popyk et al. in print). This led to enhancing the diaspora education not only in the Eastern countries (as it was in the old diaspora policy) but also in the Western,

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<sup>11</sup> The Ministry of Education and Science (MEiN) was created in 2005, and in 2006 it was divided into two ministries, the Ministry of Science and Higher Education and the Ministry of National Education. However, on January 1, 2021, those two ministries were replaced by the MEiN again.

European countries. As a result, the diaspora education policy making becomes even more challenging process due to the diversified diaspora nature.

### ***Lithuania***

In Lithuania, similar to Poland, the educational policy for diaspora is under the responsibilities of several state bodies. First of all, Seimas (the unicameral parliament of Lithuania) and the Commission of the Seimas and the Lithuanian World Community (*Lietuvos Respublikos Seimo ir Pasaulio lietuvių bendruomenės komisija*) is responsible for keeping ties and cooperation with Lithuanians living abroad. The other important body is the Commission of the Coordination of Lithuanian Diaspora<sup>12</sup> (*Lietuvos diasporos reikalų koordinavimo komisija*), which is subject to the Chancellery of the Prime Minister of Lithuania. The ministers from several ministries are among the members of this Commission. Besides, the Commission is supported by the Interinstitutional Working Group on Lithuanian Diaspora Policy Implementation (*Tarpinstitucinė Lietuvos diasporos politikos įgyvendinimo darbo grupė*), created by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Within the MFA of Lithuania operates the Department of Global Lithuania (*Globalios Lietuvos departamentas*) and the Consulates.

However, the most responsibilities for the educational policy implementation are shared between:

1. The Ministry of Education, Science and Sports, with its Department for Lithuanians Abroad - Department of Lithuanian Education Abroad (*Užsienio lietuvių švietimo skyrius*), the Ministry also supports the Vilnius Lithuanians' House;
2. The Ministry of Culture, National Cultural Centre of Lithuania (*Lietuvos nacionalinis kultūros centras*);
3. The Ministry of Social Security and Labour, the Department of Youth Affairs (*Jaunimo reikalų departamentas*).

Each governmental body has its webpage with information on the policy directions and measures. Besides, these state organizations provide information on the educational programs and report the body's budget for each year.

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<sup>12</sup> Before 2021, it was called the Commission of the Coordination of Affairs of Lithuanians Abroad

## ***Hungary***

In Hungary, there is no separate institutional body for regulating relationships with the diaspora in the education field (see Annexe 3). The Department of Consular Affairs and Citizenship (*Konzuli és Állampolgársági Főosztály*), which is a part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, is among the main intuitions which provide consular services and support to Hungarians living abroad and the members of Hungarian communities (ethnic minority groups) in the Carpathian Basin.

A number of institutions are engaged in the realization of different areas of diaspora policy. Educational affairs are regulated by two main bodies. The first is the State Secretariat for National Political Affairs (*Nemzetpolitikai Államtitkárság*), which is assigned to the Prime Minister's Office. The second is the Hungarian Standing Conference (*Magyar Állandó Értekezlet*), which is a consultative forum for Hungarians, living in the neighbouring countries. For those, who reside in the Western countries, the issues are coordinated by the Hungarian Diaspora Council (*Magyar Diaszpóra Tanács*).

Some responsibilities are also performed by The Ministry of Human Carpathites<sup>13</sup> (*Emberi Erőforrások Minisztériuma*), State Secretariat for International Affairs (*Nemzetközi Ügyekért Felelős Államtitkárság*), and State Secretariat for European Union Development Policy (*Európai Unió Fejlesztéspolitikáért Felelős Államtitkárság*).

Another important institution is the Hungarian Standing Conference (MÁÉRT)<sup>14</sup>, established in 1999 by the Hungarian Government. The main purpose of the Conference is to cooperate with the Government and prepare the recommendations for building the relations between the state and Hungarian living abroad. It combines several sub-commissions, including a commission of culture and education.

Despite having no official policy document, Hungary offers extensive educational programmes open for all diaspora members. the key organization in charge of organizing and financing the educational and cultural programmes is the Bethlen Gábor Fund. Similarly to

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<sup>13</sup> The ministry united the function of several ministries existing till 14 January 2011, including the Ministry of Education and Culture of Hungary.

<sup>14</sup> Members of MÁÉRT are the representatives of the Government : Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs, State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, President of the Office of Hungarians Abroad. Its members are also representatives of the Hungarian parliamentary parties and the President of the Western Region of the World Association of Hungarians (Political Hungary 2022).

Poland, the Fund is a quasi-governmental body, organized and supported by the Hungarian Government. Besides, the Fund is managed by a four-member committee:

The members of the Committee are the Minister for National Policy, the person appointed by the Minister for Public Administration, the person appointed by the Minister for Public Finance and the Secretary of State for National Policy (CLXXXII of 2010 Act - on the Bethlen Gábor Fund 2010).

Yet still, the educational policy actions are mainly targeted to the kin-minorities in the neighbouring countries. The Office of Prime Minister of Hungary (2021) informs about the institutions, which are responsible for the national (diaspora) policy (including education policy) of the kin-minorities:

1. The first, the Department of Diaspora and the South (*Diaszpóra és Délvidéki Főosztály*), which is subjected to the Prime Minister. Its tasks are to participate in the activities of the national policy related to the communities in the South (Vojvodina, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Northern Macedonia). It supposes to cooperate closely with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Hungarian Standing Conference (MÁÉRT).
2. The second, the Department of Transylvania (*Erdélyi Főosztály*), which is aimed to maintain “contact with Hungarian political, municipal, ecclesiastical, educational, cultural and social organizations, associations and other non-governmental organizations in Transylvania, as well as with the governmental bodies and representatives of Romania competent for minority issues” (The Office of Prime Minister 2021: 5569).
3. The third, the Department of the Highlands (*Felvidéki Főosztály*) has similar tasks as the Department of Transylvania, though is responsible for the different geographical areas, namely the Highlands, which is in the Czech Republic and Slovakia.
4. The fourth department (*Kárpátaljai Főosztály*) is responsible for maintaining relationships with the Hungarian communities in Transcarpathia and Ukraine.

Besides, there are two other departments, Department of National Law and Economics (Nemzetpolitikai Jogi és Gazdasági Főosztály) and the Department of National Policy Strategy and Planning (Nemzetpolitikai Stratégiai Tervező Főosztály), which refer to the State’s

Secretary for National Politics. They have a minor role in the educational policy-making process.

### **PART III. Exhaustive Diaspora Education Policy**

#### ***Poland***

In Poland, the aim of formal education is to support Polish language learning among the young Poles who stay abroad either permanently or temporally. Formal education foresees various methods of language learning. They include using the Polish school curriculum, the Polish language learning as the supplementary education, usage of the Polish language textbooks, teachers' development and exchange programmes.

The main institution responsible for supporting school education for the Polonia members and Poles abroad is the Centre for the Development of Polish Education Abroad (ORPEG)<sup>15</sup>. It supports the Polish language teaching abroad, and aims to enhance the formation of the sense of national identity living and residing outside Poland. It also prepares Polish children for the Polish national curriculum in case of returning or migration to Poland. Besides, it provides information on Polish education to the recent emigrant children and their parents provide contact with the Polish teachers as a part of the "Turn on Poland" (*Włącz Polska*) project and ensure distance education.

The education is held at 69 Polish schools, which realize Polish National Curriculum, located at the Polish diplomatic missions in 36 countries. Besides, in 2020, the Polonia Teachers' Centre organized 111 pieces of training, which is 45 meetings more than in 2019, for those teaching Polish children abroad (in terms of both formal and on-formal education). These trainings were attended by 4 250 teachers<sup>16</sup>. What's more, distance education, which has been held since 2015, in 2020, included 1459 Polish students, which is three times more than in

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<sup>15</sup> The Centre was created in 1973 and was called 'the School Complex for Children of Polish Citizens temporarily residing abroad'. In 2010, it changed the name to the current one, the Centre for the Development of Polish Education Abroad.

<sup>16</sup> The teachers' trainings were targeted to and attended by the teachers realizing both formal and non-formal diaspora education.

2015<sup>17</sup>, who cannot attend school in Poland due to their visit abroad, but would like to follow Polish National Curriculum.

Besides, formal education can also be taught at the European schools and the Accredited European Schools (which are not under the responsibility of the State). European schools ensure the European and national education for children of employees of the European institutions. In 2022, there are 13 European schools, two of which were established after the EU accession. The Accredited European Schools serve the education for children of diplomats and European institutions employees in the places where the European schools are not located. There, children follow European education with a strong focus on their ethnic and national identity. These schools are under the patronage of the government of the state where the school are located. The institutions which realize Polish formal education (apart from the European and Accredited European Schools) are under the responsibility and care (both formal, financial and meritorious) of the Polish Government.

Apart from the Polish schools (*szkoły polskie*), learning of the Polish language and culture is also realized in the Polonia schools (*szkoły polonijne*). Polonia schools are usually established by community members, non-governmental organizations, churches, parents' associations, etc. In total, there are more than one thousand Polonia schools in different continents (see ORPEG webpage). In 2021/2022 the schools were attended by 14 thousand primary school children, who were taught by 600 teachers (ORPEG webpage). Their aim is not only to follow the Polish curriculum and prepare children for the eventual return but rather to support learning Polish culture and traditions in the Polish language while living abroad. Most of the organizations provide not only non-formal education (organized learning), but also informal education (see below).

Although many Polonia educational organizations are not created by the Polish government, many of them are fully or partially financed by the Polish governmental programmes<sup>18</sup>. The financing process is mostly realized through open completions. As such, the completion of "Polonia and Poles Abroad" has been announced annually (KPRM 2021).

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<sup>17</sup> The information is provided by the ORPEG.

<sup>18</sup> A list of non-government organizations, which act in a field of cooperation with Polonia and Poles living abroad, and were financially supported by the Polish Government, was published on the Senate's webpage on December 17, 2019 as the resolution (<https://www.senat.gov.pl/o-senacie/organy/prezydium-senatu/uchwaly-prezydium/>). Though, it was abolished on April 15, 2020.

The 2022 edition's budget for the public tasks is PLN 52,5 million, 23,5 million of which is dedicated to education<sup>19</sup>. These tasks can be realized by the non-governmental organizations, which took part in the completion and got approval.

In 2021, the Ministry of Education and Science of Poland (2021a) announced the results of the competition "Polonia Family", according to which 240 thousand EUR (PLN 1,1 million) were allocated to support the activities of the Association "Polish Community". Apart from that, in 2021, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2021a) allocated over EUR 7 million (PLN 33 millions) to the implementation of the public tasks related to supporting Polish organizations abroad (mostly renovation and modernization of the buildings of schools or Polonia centres). This was three times more than in the previous, 2020, year. The 2022 edition's budget for the same competition is about EUR 2,2 million (PLN 10 million) (MFA 2021b).

Another governmental institution, which supports non-formal (and partially informal) Polish diaspora education is the Institute of National Remembrance (IPN, *Instytut Pamięci Narodowej*). It carries out 'works aimed at the permanent commemoration of facts, events and people related to places of struggle and martyrdom [and] provide[s] historical and educational materials, including lesson scenarios' (Polonia 2022).

Informal education for Polonia and Poles abroad is also realized through formal channels, such as organized and financed cultural and sports events abroad. These events are aimed not only to spread and enhance Polish culture, traditions, media, sports abroad but also to join the diaspora members together with their home country, as many are organized in Poland. Strengthening national and ethnic identity has also been backed in 2002 by proclaiming the second of May as the Day of the Polish Diaspora and Poles Abroad.

The diaspora events and the event for the diaspora members are financially supported by the Polish government. As such the recent competition "Public Diplomacy 2022"<sup>20</sup> organized and financed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2021b). The allocated budget is about 880 thousand EUR (4 million PLN). The completion aims to enhance the image of Poland abroad through promoting its culture, traditions and heritage. The previous editions, 2021 and 2020, were supported by 880 thousand EUR and one million EUR correspondingly. Although the applicant should be an organization registered in Poland, the key purpose is to strengthen

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<sup>19</sup> It should be noted, that a share of the budget is dedicated to support Polish media (1,1 million EUR) and ethnic events abroad (1,4 million EUR).

<sup>20</sup> The Competition's deadline for the application submissions is January 31, 2022.



the national image and national identity among the Poles living abroad through organizing various events, which are a part of informal Polonia education.

Informal education is being also realized by non-governmental Polish diaspora organizations and financed by various state bodies. For instance, the Association “Polish Community” organized and co-organized a number of sport and cultural events for Polonia and Poles living abroad. Recent events were “The 1st International Polish Diaspora Cross-Country Skiing Championship”, held in December 2021, and “International Polish Diaspora Swimming Tournament for Children and Youth”, held in November 2021. They were co-organized by the Polish Olympic Committee and supported by the Ministry of Sport and Tourism. Besides, the Polish Film Institute (which cooperates with the National Institute of Polish Cultural Heritage Abroad – POLONIKA ([*Narodowy Instytut Polskiego Dziedzictwa Kulturowego za Granicą POLONIKA*]) promotes Polish films and films of Polish directors abroad. Besides, the informal learning is also supported by broadcasting of the Polish public television dedicated for the diaspora members, TVP Polonia, created in 1992/1993.

Nevertheless, the essential part of informal education, which takes place in the family, is largely omitted in the state’s policies. More needs to be done on promoting national language and culture learning through active use with the family members and proving support on bringing up children abroad, in bi/multilingual families and homo/multicultural societies (Miodunka et al. 2018). Besides, it is important to provide essential support to the families keen on developing and cultivation Polish culture, language (and, thus, identity) in various foreign societal and cultural contexts (see Jeran et. al. 2019).

### ***Lithuania***

In Lithuanian diaspora policy, education had played one of the key directions for cooperation with the diaspora members. The policy is largely relied on building partnership relationships with the diaspora. Though, ensuring the national language earning and enhancing ethnic identity is among the policy priorities.

According to the recent “the Interinstitutional Action Plan for the implementation of the Programme for the Development of “Global Lithuania” (Seimas 2020) – Involvement of Foreign Lithuanians in State Life – for 2012–2021” the Lithuanian government prioritized the following tasks

1. to seek for foreign Lithuanians to maintain their national identity in the conditions of globalization;

2. to develop Lithuanian education abroad and help returnees to integrate into the Lithuanian education system;

2.1. to promote and support the activities of Lithuanian education in formal and non-formal<sup>21</sup> education institutions abroad and the integration of returnees into the Lithuanian education system.

Formal education is taught at the nine Lithuanian primary and secondary schools (Belarus – 2, Latvia – 1, Russia -1, Poland – 4, Germany -1); at the European schools with the Lithuanian education system (2), and the Lithuanian language learning (5), and the Accredited European schools (6). Formal education is under the direct responsibility of the Vilnius Lithuanians' House (the Ministry of Education, Science and Sports). Besides, the educational support for the learning materials and aids, as well as for the teachers' training is under the care of the Department of Lithuanian Education Abroad.

There are 254 non-formal Lithuanian education centres around the world, where about 9 thousand Lithuanian children and youth can not only learn the language, but also learn and practice Lithuanian culture and traditions (AIKOS). The countries with the highest number of learning centres are the UK (43), Norway (16), Germany (10), Ireland (10), and Spain (10).

The budget for financing the functioning of the non-formal education institutions is regulated by the Ministry of Education, Science and Sports (*Švietimo, mokslo ir sporto ministerijos* - ŠMSM) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (for the projects which do not fall into the category for ŠMSM). In order to implement the Action Plan (Seimas, 2020) for 2021 on funding the educational tasks, the ŠMSM allocated the budget to run 58 initial and 49 educational projects, with 280 thousand and 80 thousand EUR correspondingly (ŠMSM 2021a 2021b). Besides, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs assigned about 50 thousand EUR on other diaspora cultural projects (MFA of Lithuania 2021). During the previous years, the ŠMSM allocated 270 thousand EUR in 2020 and 287 thousand EUR in 2019 on educational projects abroad (ŠMSM 2020, 2019). The MFA of Lithuania also financed 48 diaspora educational projects in 2020, spending about 52 thousand EUR (MFA of Lithuania 2020b). It should also be noted, that a significant amount of the costs are assigned to the project realized other than EU countries, including the USA, Canada, Argentina, and particularly Russia.

Since 2020, the Ministry of Education, Science and Sports has funded institutions organizing sports events separately from the educational projects. As such, in 2021, assigned about 14 thousand EUR, while in 2020, the costs allocated to the sports events reached 19

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<sup>21</sup> Highlighted by the author.

thousand EUR. Besides, the Ministry of Culture developed the 2021-2023 plan for cooperation with the non-governmental diaspora institutions aimed to disseminate and popularize Lithuanian culture abroad (MFA of Lithuania 2020c).

The Lithuanian government also provides extensive policy programmes and activities to ensure informal education for diaspora children. Informal education is carried out during the cultural and sports events organized and supported by eight institutions, including the Ministry of Education, Science and Sports, but also the National Cultural Centre of Lithuania of the Ministry of Culture and the Department of Youth Affairs of the Ministry of Social Security and Labour. What's more, the National Radio and Television of Lithuania is intensively engaged in creating and sharing Lithuanian media abroad.

In total, in 2020, the Ministry of Education, Science and Sports of Lithuania spent about 3 million EUR (69% of the budget allocated to the Action plan realization) on different tasks planned in the "Global Lithuania" Action plan. This is a million more than during the previous years of the funds, ranging from 1,5 million, in 2012, to 2,5 million, in 2015 (MFA of Lithuania 2020c). Additionally, in 2020, the Lithuanian National Radio and Television spent more than 880 thousand EUR on the diaspora policy tasks. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Culture allocated 193 and 207 thousand EUR on the Action plan realization in 2020.

The evaluation survey for Lithuanians abroad (MFA of Lithuania 2020) demonstrates that 52,4% of the respondents preserve their Lithuanianess while listening or watching work created by the Lithuanians, and 60,7% declare following Lithuanian TV and media. Besides, 88,3% of the participants pointed to the importance for their children to preserve ethnic identity. Among the most common ways to keep Lithuanianess were not only formal and non-formal education, but also participation in the community events, consuming modern Lithuanian culture (62,9%), fostering traditions and holidays, practising Lithuanianess (62,7%), and participation in national and ethnic events (22,5%).

### ***Hungary***

In Hungary, the education for the Hungarians leaving abroad has only recently become accentuated in the national and foreign policy (Péter Szilágyi, Ministerial Commissioner for National Policy of the Prime Minister's Office). This is also supported by proclaiming 2012 to be the year of Hungarian kindergartens abroad, 2013 - the year of Hungarian primary school children abroad, and 2018 was proclaimed the year of Hungarian families living abroad.

There is little data available on the formal education for the Hungarian diaspora. Though, non-formal education is available at the weekend (Sunday) schools organized by non-government organizations and churches (The State Secretariat for National Political Affairs 2016). The Hungarian Government supports diaspora ethnic/national education by organizing conferences, exchange programmes (both students and teachers) or workshops for the qualified and unqualified Hungarian teachers abroad and in the state.

Though, primary and higher education for the Hungarian ethnic minorities in the neighbouring countries are among the priorities. The government provides special educational support and assistance, as stated by the Act LXII of 2001.

The major cultural and educational programmes are the following.

Kőrösi Csoma Sándor Program<sup>22</sup>, which was launched in 2013. Within the framework of the program, Hungarian young people from Hungary and abroad visit diaspora communities to promote Hungarian culture and language and support strengthening diaspora attachment to the state.

Sándor Petöfi Program<sup>23</sup>, launched in 2015, aimed to establish contact with the kin-minorities in the neighbouring countries by supporting cultural and educational events. About one million EUR is available annually for the implementation of the program.

Julianus Program<sup>24</sup>. In 2012, the Hungarian Diaspora Council decided to organize the Hungarian-linked memorial sites in the diaspora. The main goal of the Julianus Program is to preserve and promote the “Hungarian material heritage - buildings, works of art, monuments, memorial plaques, streets, libraries, archives and museums in order to make Hungarian culture widely known” (Act LXII of 2001). The programme targets the kin-minorities in the Carpathian Basin and the diaspora in another part of the world.

Programs of the Balassi Institute<sup>25</sup> has operated several professional projects aimed at preserving the identity of Hungarians living in the diaspora and developing formal and informal education. The institute runs the Summer University for the young Hungarian who could visit Hungary to learn the language and culture. The Summer University was cancelled till the pandemic ends (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade of Hungary 2022).

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<sup>22</sup> Kőrösi Csoma Sándor Program’s webpage: <https://www.korosiprogram.hu/>

<sup>23</sup> Sándor Petöfi Program’s webpage: <https://www.petofiprogram.hu/>

<sup>24</sup> Julianus Program’s webpage: <https://www.kulhonimagyarok.hu/kategoria/programok/julianus-program/>

<sup>25</sup> Programs of the Balassi Institute’s webpage: [www.emagyariskola.hu/](http://www.emagyariskola.hu/)

Határtalanul! program of the Secretariat for the National Policy of the Prime Minister, created in 2010. In 2021, 1,4 million EUR were assigned for the exchange programme for the high school students and 3,6 million EUR for the seven graders (Határtalanul.net).

Hungarian government greatly supports the national education for the young members of the diaspora (nurseries and kindergartens). Since 2011, the mission of the Government was to build and recondacts the building of the kindergartens and the educational and cultural centres, which were attended by 16,5 thousand children in 2012-2014.

Attention is also given to the families living abroad. As such, about 1,4 million EUR were spent on supporting families with children in 2018. Besides, another 500 thousand EUR were assigned to support the organizations dealing with the families. In total, in 2018, the Hungarian government spent about 18 million EUR on holding up 4,5 thousand on non-governmental diaspora institutions.

Youth (aged 15-29) is also accounted in the national policy of Hungary. In 2016, the Bethlen Gabor Fund spent 140 thousand EUR on the exchange of educational and cultural programmes, while in 2018 the budget was about 600 thousand EUR (State Secretariat for National Policy, 2018).

Finally, Hungarian media (particularly television and radio) abroad are also supported by the state. They broadcast not only the current news from Hungary and the Hungarian diaspora but also promote Hungarian music, culture, traditions and history, aimed to popularize them abroad and enhance the national identity of the diaspora members.

## **Conclusions**

This report presents the analysis of the diaspora education policies of three Central and Eastern European states, Poland, Lithuania and Hungary. It is shown that the states run three different approaches towards defining and supporting diasporas. Apart from the 'old' diaspora, which is present in all three state cases, Polish and Hungarian diasporas also include the ethnic minority groups, resending in the neighbouring countries. For this reason, a significant share of policy measures is directed towards the kin-minorities. Poland and Lithuania, however, are also characterized by an extensive 'new' diaspora, which has largely grown since the EU accession in 2004. Thus, a great part of the policy and state's budget is assigned to support the diaspora members and organizations in the Western European countries.

The Government of the Republic of Lithuania provides a comprehensive diaspora policy document, 'Global Lithuania' 2011-2021, which includes the annually set and evaluated goals,

measures and techniques directed to maintain the relations with the diaspora. Moreover, it states the bodies responsible for each task, and, thus, forming, the expanded infrastructure. There are several departments, located in the Seimas, the Chancellery of Prime Minister, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Social Security and Labour, the Ministry of Education, Science and Sports, and the Ministry of Culture, which perform the educational policy tasks (see Annexe 2). The governmental institutions also publish the evaluation and summary of the financed projects and tasks realization.

The Government of the Republic of Poland has been working on the new diaspora policy document, which would evaluate the existing approaches and the changing nature of the diaspora. The earlier programme (2015-2020) viewed post-accession diaspora as the labour migrants, who still preserved close ties with the state. This determined the policy approach and measures. The programme included the policy directions, while the Government assigned the responsible bodies for their realization. There are several education policy departments, located in the Senate and Sejm, the Chancellery of Presidents and the Chancellery of Prime Minister, and the Ministries Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Education and Sciences (see Annexe 1). The fund assigned to realize the policy tasks are shared between the Office of President (mainly), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Education and Sciences. The majority of the educational and cultural programmes are organized by the Association “Polish Community”, which often get funded from the national competitions directed to support diaspora.

Hungary’s diaspora policy is based on several national/ethnic programmes, which pursue different aims. The majority of which anticipate supporting and providing care for the members and organizations of the ethnic minority groups in the neighbouring countries. The state also has an extensive institutional infrastructure (see Annexe 3). Though, the main bodies are the National Assembly (the Parliament) and the Deputy of Prime Minister. Most of the actions and programmes for the diaspora are officially financed by the Bethlen Gabor Fund, which in turn is supported by the State Secretary of the National Politics of the Deputy of Prime Minister of Hungary.

An important issue common for the diaspora policies in three countries is the approach of teaching national language and culture. It mostly is based on the formal and non-formal forms of passing the knowledge, concentrating rather on the acquiring by children certain rules and practices. Language teaching for the Polish diaspora is mostly held at the Polish school, or the weekend schools and diaspora non-government organizations located around the world.

Lithuanian diaspora mostly learns language at the weekend schools. There are few Lithuanian schools abroad. Hungarian diaspora, however, is offered a variety of exchange programmes and scholarships to visit Hungary and study language and culture. Besides, special programmes are launched for Hungarian citizens to go abroad to teach children and youth in the diaspora.

The following issue which requires attention is the target age of diaspora children. Most programmes and activities for the Polish and Lithuanian diasporas are dedicated to children at the school age (6/7-18), just some are devoted to children aged 5-7 years old. Consequently, children at an early age (0-5) are less considered in the policy programmes. The responsibility for the national and cultural education at the age, when children learn their first words, skills, values and start to build their own identity, is mostly transferred to parents, often leaving them with a minimum of guidelines on bringing up children in a bi/multilingual family and society (see also Miodunka et al. 2018). The Hungarian education programmes, however, devote much of the attention and budget for supporting diaspora children in the nurseries and kindergartens in the neighbouring counties. The Hungarian exchange programmes are mostly dedicated to the youth aged 15-29. Lithuanian diaspora policy also anticipates active involvement in the states' culture and contemporary life.

Apart from formal and non-formal education, the states take action to ensure informal education. The important source of informal education in Lithuania and Hungary are media (television and radio). Informal education for the Polish diaspora takes place during the organized concerts, museum exhibitions, cultural and sports events held abroad and in Poland. Hungarian (particularly kin-minorities) and Lithuanian diasporas also engage in multiple sports and cultural events organized abroad. Lithuanian Ministry of Education, Science and Sports assign a separate budget for supporting sports events aimed to strengthen community ties, conceptions with the state and reinforce national identity.

It should be noted, that most of the diaspora programmes enclose the tractional culture and traditions, learning the home states history. Little space and budget are provided to support contemporary culture, proving the diaspora children and youth possibilities of learning and cherishing language and culture in ways that match with their interests, hobbies and needs.

Miodunka et al. (2018) in their work dedicated to the learning of the Polish language abroad also drew attention not only to the necessity to make formal education abroad more robust, but also the significance of strengthening non-formal and informal language learning. The last encloses promoting and supporting ethnic language learning and bi/multilingualism among Polish parents leaving abroad. The authors mentioned several possibly useful ways of

how the Polish Government could elaborate and implement the language learning policy, viz, to build the awareness of speaking Polish with children, to provide psychological and educational support for the Polish parents on teaching children their native language, to enhance Polish education abroad, to expand the stipend system for studying in Poland, and, a significant point, to adjust media and multimedia aids to the diaspora children's needs.

The last point has become even more actual along with the spread of the Coronavirus and changing mode of learning from the traditional to distance. Even though travelling back to Poland has become more impeded for the emigrants and diaspora members, distance learning opened new ways of promoting education via virtual channels as both parents, children and the institutions became more advanced at using digital platform ad sources. As such, remote education and work could become beneficial not only for promoting formal and non-formal education abroad through digital proving learning aids but particularly useful for strengthening informal learning of national language and culture through providing necessary digital resources needed for supporting parents and children abroad. These might include macro-level projects, e.g., national (or international) social campaigns for promoting ethnic and cultural ties with the homeland. On the mezzo level, it could anticipate support for the diaspora communities and schools, e.g. workshops for teachers and educators. While on the micro-level, it could anticipate the support for parents and children on how to uphold language learning by providing information (workshops, videos, leaflets) on the ways of using existing digital tools or practical (daily/family) language learning. This instinctively could strengthen the ethnic and national identities.



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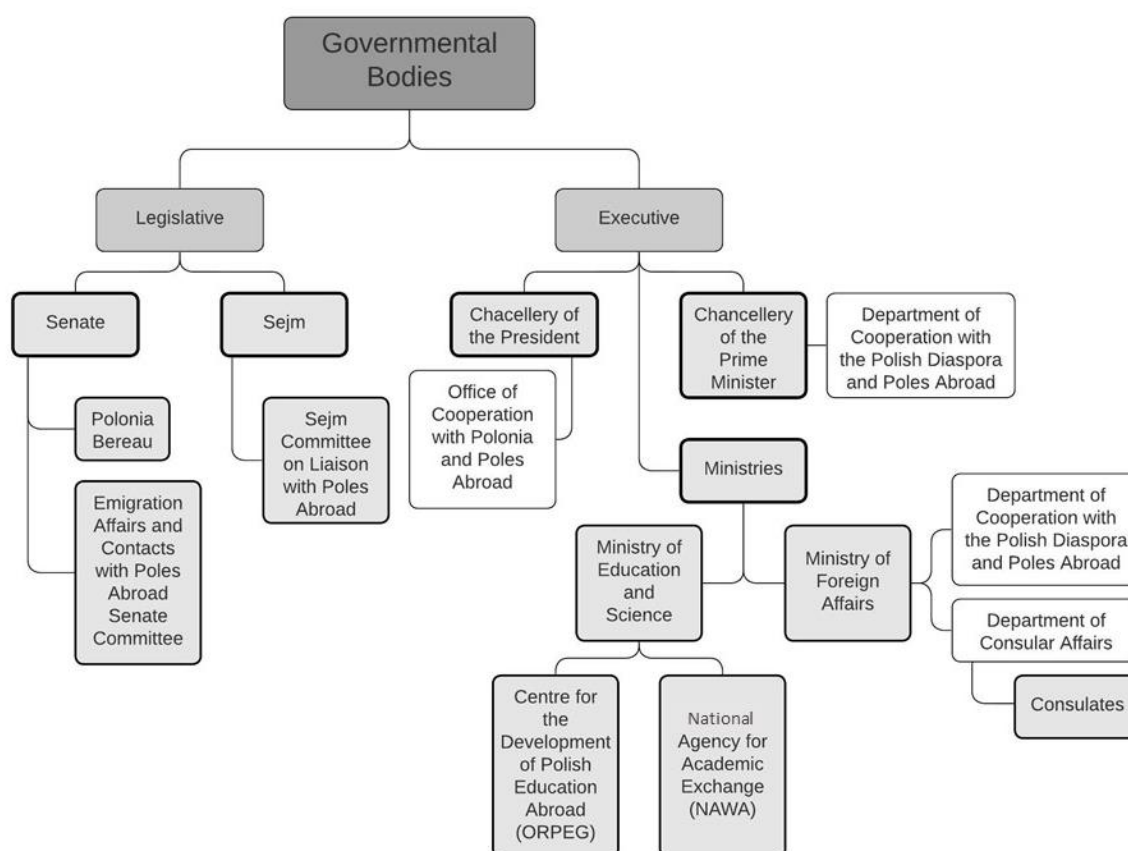
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## ANEXXE 1

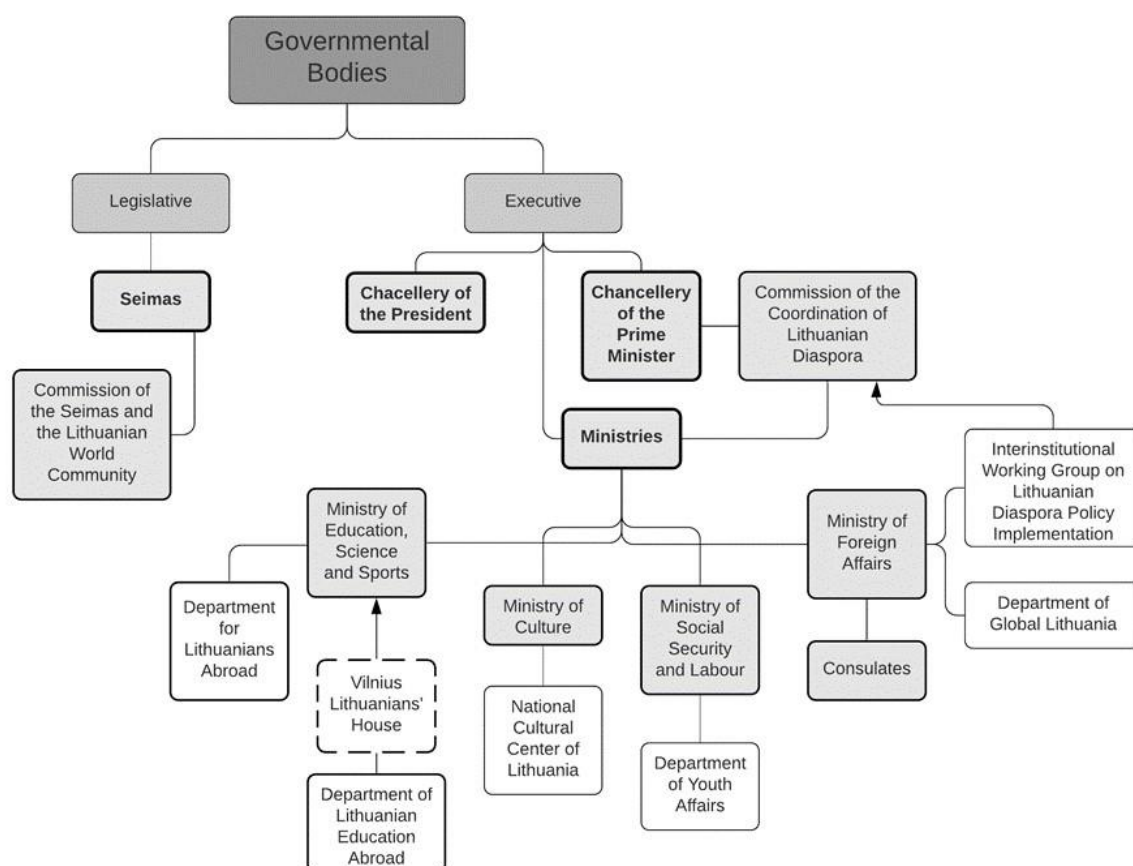
Figure 2. Governmental Bodies Responsible for Diaspora Education Policy in Poland



Source: Own elaboration<sup>i</sup>

## ANNEXE 2

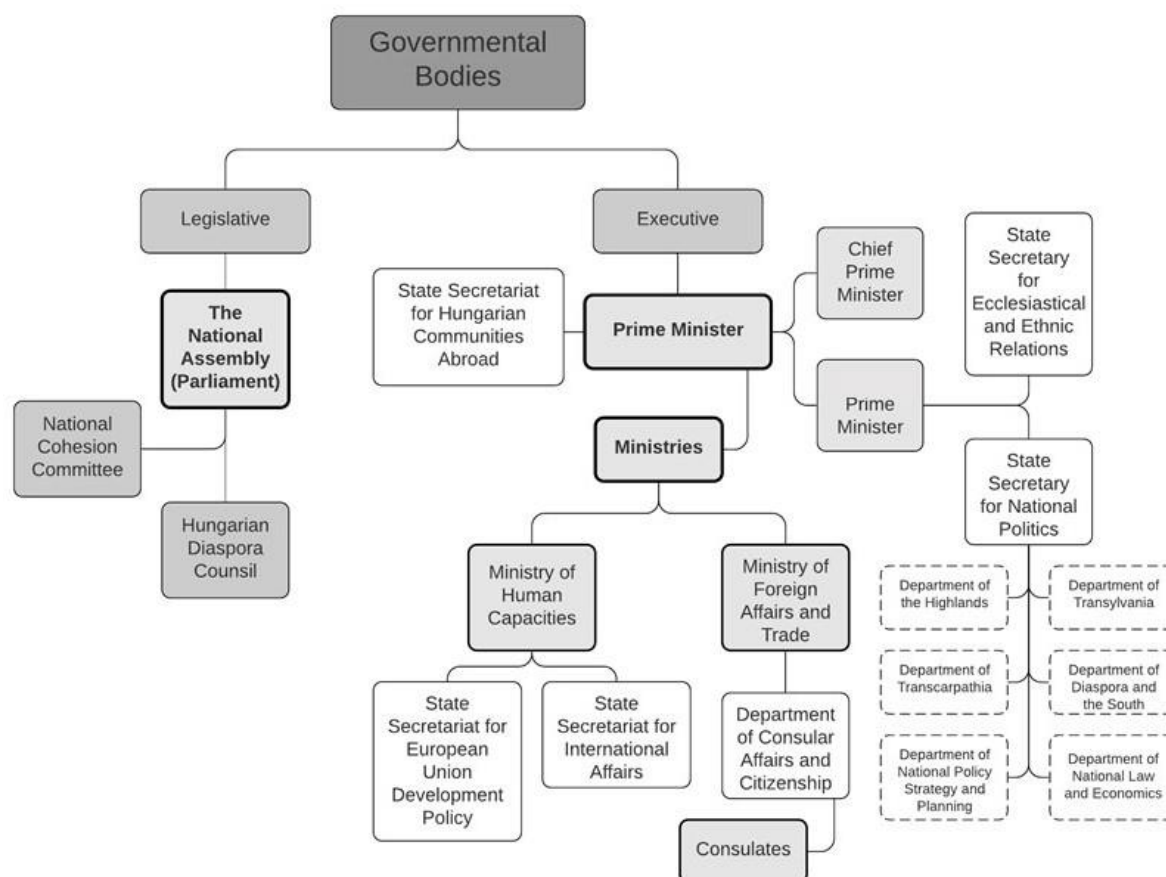
Figure 3. Governmental Bodies Responsible for Diaspora Education Policy in Lithuania



Source: Own elaboration based on the report prepared by Dominik Wilczewski in Lesińska et al., 2022.<sup>ii</sup>

## ANNEXE 3

Figure 4 Governmental Bodies Responsible for Diaspora Education Policy in Hungary



Source: Own elaboration<sup>i</sup>

<sup>i</sup> The infrastructure was consulted with Magdalena Lesińska.

<sup>ii</sup> The infrastructure was consulted with Dominik Wilczewski.

<sup>i</sup> The infrastructure was consulted with Dominik Hejj and Ágnes Erőss.