Klaudia Szeidl, Antal Aubert

The Role of Minority Education in the Expansion of the Functions of Hungarian Landscape Houses

The stages of Hungarian cultural life can be seen in landscape houses, which hold and demonstrate the local community's appreciation of ancient times and the culture of the local ethnicities in a museum-like environment. The uniqueness of the Hungarian landscape house network is noted in the fact that in 2002 they were nominated on the tentative list of UNESCO World Heritage sites. In the lifecycle of the landscape houses, there has been a change in paradigm, owing to which the museum function has lost its central role. Our research focuses on a survey of the efficiency of the cooperation between landscape houses and minority educational institutions. In the framework of such cooperation, the present state of the landscape houses and their programme supply have been mapped. In terms of feedback, students participating in minority education were asked about their opinion on and their experiences surrounding landscape houses.

Keywords: cultural tourism, Hungarian landscape house network, landscape house utilisation model, minority education, function expansion.

Vloga manjšinskega šolstva pri širjenju programa tradicionalnih madžarskih podeželskih hiš

Pomemben element madžarskega kulturnega življenja so tradicionalne podeželske hiše, ki v muzejskem okolju ohranjajo in prikazujejo zgodovinske vrednote lokalne skupnosti in kulturo tamkajšnjih narodnosti. O edinstvenosti madžarske mreže podeželskih hiš priča dejstvo, da so bile slednje leta 2002 uvrščene na poskusni seznam Unescove svetovne dediščine. Vendar pa se njihov namen sčasoma spreminja in tako njihova muzejska funkcija ni več v ospredju. Prispevek temelji na raziskavi o učinkovitosti sodelovanja med podeželskimi hišami in manjšinskimi izobraževalnimi ustanovami. V okviru tega sodelovanja sta bila opredeljena trenutno stanje podeželskih hiš in njihova programska ponudba. Z namenom pridobitve povratnih informacij glede možne uporabe podeželskih hiš smo preučili mnenja in izkušnje v manjšinsko šolstvo vključenih učencev.

Ključne besede: kulturni turizem, mreža tradicionalnih madžarskih podeželskih hiš, model uporabe podeželskih hiš, manjšinsko šolstvo, širitev ponudbe.

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Correspondence address: Klaudia Szeidl, University of Pécs, Faculty of Sciences, Doctoral School of Earth Sciences, Ifjúság str. 6, H-7624 Pécs, Hungary, e-mail: szeidl.klau@gmail.com; Antal Aubert, University of Pécs, Faculty Faculty of Sciences, Institute of Geography and Earth Sciences, Department of Tourism, Ifjúság str. 6, H-7624 Pécs, Hungary, e-mail: aubert@ttk.pte.hu.

1. Introduction

One of the central elements of the international tourism market is cultural tourism, established on the values of a local society in which, owing to its complexity, unique attractions came into view. Landscape houses attract visitors in a museum-like system mainly with static exhibitions, but with the appearance of new trends, the base function of the property as a museum was slowly but surely overshadowed. Parallel to this, the needs and the demand have been transformed as well, and previous travel habits have been altered. Tourists favour visiting spectacles that are peculiar and offer uncommon visitor experiences.

The main aim of the present study is, besides designing the lifecycle of landscape houses, to suggest utilisation opportunities for cultural institutes. As a result of preliminary surveys, we have detected that the lifecycle of landscape houses is facing a change, since with their basic museum function falling into the background, it became necessary to rethink the opportunities provided by them. One of the downsides of landscape houses is their static exhibitions. The creation of a community space strongly bonded to a certain ethnic group will assure the future of the institution. One of the pillars of the function expansion is to combine the houses with minority education as an authentic location for subjects on folklore and other thematic days. Adequately arranged museum pedagogy workshops and the work of the trained staff are essential elements for this. The results of the survey within the framework of the research serve as feedback on the students' opinions, experiences, and levels of satisfaction surrounding landscape houses.

2. Methodology

Due to the multifaceted approach to the topic, a variety of data collection methods have been used. The survey was structured around 4 subunits. First, we framed the theoretical background of the Hungarian landscape houses through a secondary source analysis, based on the studies of Hungarian geographers, historians, and political scientists dealing with the ethnic background and their spatial allocation of Hungary, and the studies of ethnographers researching the ethnic values and the history of the landscape house network. In the next step, as a summary of the field surveys and the interviews with the leaders of the related organisations, we received accurate information on the present state, programme supply, difficulties, and future plans for the landscape houses. Finally, during a two-step questionnaire survey, we gained further knowledge from the managers of the landscape houses about the institutions, and we also mapped the opinion and experiences of the students on the landscape houses included in minority education. As a result of the interviews carried out with 56 landscape house managers, we created a landscape house utilisation model that includes those secondary functions, which contribute to the enhancement of their tourism functions and to the maintenance of visitor interest. The presentation of the programmes and the museum pedagogy workshops helped us to compile the questions for the survey.

3. The Ethnic Issue in Hungary

A country's cultural engagement is significantly influenced by the attractions associated with the nationalities living in the region. The word ethnic, derived from the word *ethnos*, meaning folk, comprises the historically evolved community of people who share common and relatively stable cultural features and are aware of their unity and their distinctness from other similar communities (Bromlej 1976). The notion of nation, which refers to a historically common origin, is ambiguous in Europe, with the result that the notion of nationality is also different in Western and Eastern Europe. While in Western countries it means belonging on the basis of citizenship, in Hungary it is understood as a national minority. In other words,

[t]he group of people living in the certain country but not belonging to the majority, hence living in minority, which is interconnected and disassociated primarily by the language, culture, common historical past and the behavioural peculiarities and psychological characteristics from other ethnic groups and nations (Kósa 1980, cited in Tóth 2002, 188).

In Hungary, ethnic groups are defined by law as follows:

According to the Act CLXXIX of 2011 on the Rights of Nationalities, all ethnic groups resident in Hungary for at least one century are nationalities which are in numerical minority amongst the population of the State, are distinguished from the rest of the population by their own language, culture and traditions and manifest a sense of cohesion that is aimed at the preservation of these and at the expression and protection of the interests of their historically established communities (Act on the Rights of Nationalities 2011).

Under this Act, there are 13 granted national minorities in Hungary: Bulgarian, Greek, Croatian, Polish, German, Armenian, Roma/Gypsy, Romanian, Ruthenian, Serbian, Slovak, Slovenian, and Ukrainian, as well as Hungarian for the Roma and Armenian national minorities (Act on the Rights of Nationalities 2011, Section 22).

3.1 The History of Minorities in Hungary

The ethnic structure of Hungary changed at the end of the 17th century, after the 102 Turkish occupation. In order to terminate the spatial inequalities, based on the serious loss of population, and also to revive the economy, an internal migration process had begun. From the northern and eastern mountains, thousands of Slovakians, Ruthenians and Romanians migrated to the unpopulated areas (Szabó 1941). Nevertheless, this arbitrary process did not bring the expected results, so the Imperial Court commanded organised settling (Szita 1996). The 1722-1723 Hungarian national assembly commanded the settling of the unpopulated areas with German settlers (Tilkovszky 1997). Within the framework of the settling, which was organised in 3 waves, tens of thousands of German-speaking residents arrived first in the villages of Banat, Bačka and South Transdanubia. The most successful settling was initiated by Empress Maria Theresa (1740-1780) between 1763 and 1773, during which 40,000 Germans were settled in South Hungary (Bellér 1981; Manherz 1998). By the end of the 18th century, the total population of the Carpathian Basin increased from the earlier 4.3 million to 9.9 million, of which 3.1 million were Hungarians and 6.8 million were non-Hungarians, resulting from the settling of the German, Serbian, Romanian, Ruthenian and other ethnic groups (Wellmann 1989; Kovács 1920; Szabó 1941; Kocsis 1996). As an effect of these measures, a basic asymmetry in the ratio between the Hungarians and the nationalities were eventuated, and through the state-organised settling, these closed ethnic settlement blocks were created (e.g., the area populated by the Germans named Schwäbische Türkei in the South Transdanubian area of the country), where certain nationalities could preserve their traditions, identity, and culture in a rather homogeneous environment (Kocsis 1996; Manherz 1998).

Concerning the nationalities in Hungary, the 19th century was an era of assimilation and Hungarianisation. The occupation of the Hungarian ethnic space and the spread of the Hungarian nation and language were also aided by the government's decree supporting conscious Hungarianisation, wherein Hungarian became the official language and the rights of nationalities were tightened in the 1868 law (Kocsis 1996; Manherz 1998). The assimilation primarily affected the urban population, owing to which in the 1910 census 77.5 % of the country's urban population considered themselves Hungarians (Kocsis 1996). The Treaty of Trianon of 4 July 1920 made radical changes to the history of the Hungarian nationalities. Two thirds of the area of Hungary was annexed to the neighbouring countries, which, apart from the loss of several millions of Hungarians, affected the minorities as well. The redrawing of the national border severed many Slovenian, Croatian, and German settlement groups. With these processes, the ratio of the non-Hungarian population decreased to 7.1 % (Kocsis 1996). After the World War II, due to the compulsive migrations and state organised ethnic and agrarian and socially aimed settlings, millions changed their places of residence (Kocsis 1996). The sanctions on these nationalities concerned the population in several waves. Those of German nationality suffered forced deportation in the greatest measure, which was called *málenkij robot*, namely forced labour. The next negative demographic wave was caused by the 0060th command in the Soviet zone on the deportation of the German population based on collective guilt. Between 1945 and 1948, nearly 220,000 Germans were deported. The settling in of the Szeklers from Bukovina and the Slovakian Hungarians took place parallel to the expelling of the Germans. During the Czechoslovakian-Hungarian population exchange, around 73,000 Hungarian Slovakians were deported to Czechoslovakia (Kocsis 1996). These migration processes and their negative impacts on the identity of the nationalities led to the disintegration of ethnic areas. It led to the majority of the intellectuals leaving and to a drastic decrease in consciousness of nationality. In the area of present-day Hungary, between 1941 and 1949, the number of members of specific nationalities decreased from 660 thousand to 129 thousand (Kocsis 1996). The period after the world war, the deportation, the confiscation of property, the forced settling, and the outlawry to this day still have an impact on the lives of the Hungarian nationalities, especially on the Germans (Frank et al. 1998). The second half of the 20th century saw the beginning of a revival and strengthening of national identity.

The 1990s brought a new turning point in the life of the people of these nationalities, but unlike the past, the new measures supported the ethnic groups. Based on different ethnic values and traditions it became possible to form cultural organisations, followed by the appearance of ethnic language and culture in public education. In the years after the 1989–1990 change of regime, nationality became a central issue. Based on the 1993 Hungarian nationality law, the first minority local governments were formed in 1994, first on a local and then on a national level (Amending Act on Public Education 1997). With this step, the government emphasized the importance of the preservation and the transmission of ethnic values. As an impact of the measures supporting nationalities, the number of civilian organisations started to grow by the millennium, and with the establishment of countless dance groups, choirs, orchestras, etc., the maintenance and transmission of ethnic culture has been assured for future generations.

Currently, the major nationalities in Hungary are the Germans, the Croatians, and the Roma. Romanians, Serbians and Slovakians are also present in high numbers. The members of the other ethnic groups are present in minimal numbers only, sporadically in a few settlements.

3.2 The Nationalities in Numbers

In Hungary, ethnic affiliation is requested within the framework of the censuses every decade. In Tables 1 and 2, the distribution of minority nationalities

in Hungary is presented between 1941 and 2011. The political measures after World War II drastically redrew the ethnic composition of the country. Because of the forced relocations and changes in population, the number of people of 104 other nationalities in the country decreased by hundreds of thousands. Those of German nationality were the most affected by the events in 1940, owing to which the number of Germans decreased by more than 90 % by 1949 in Hungary. Since the basis for the 1945–1948 deportation was the data from the 1941 census, the remaining German population did not dare to declare their ethnic affiliation, since they were afraid of the further sanctions. A further large decrease can be seen in those of Slovakian nationality as well, which was caused by the intergovernmental Hungarian-Slovakian exchange of population. With the subsidence of the political conflicts, as a result of the laws on the rights of the nationalities, from the 1960s, a strengthening of the identity of the nationalities came into prominence again, which later, during the years of the change of regime, became one of the central issues.

	1941		1949		1960		1980	
	According to nationality	According to mother tongue						
Croatian	4,177	37,885	4,106	20,423	14,710	33,014	13,895	20,484
German	302,198	475,491	2,617	22,455	8,640	50,765	11,310	31,231
Roma	27,033	18,640	37,598	21,387	56,121	25,633	6,404	27,915
Romanian	7,565	14,142	8,500	14,713	12,326	15,787	8,874	10,141
Serbian	3,629	5,442	4,190	5,158	3,888	4,583	2,805	3,426
Slovakian	16,677	75,877	7,808	25,988	14,340	30,690	9,101	16,054
Slovenian	no data	4,816	no data	4,473	no data	no data	1,731	3,142

Table 1: The distribution of the Hungarian nationalities between 1941 and 1980

Source: Hungarian Central Statistical Office (2011).

From the early 1990s, community life and civil society organisations linked to nationalities became possible, and the first national minority local governments were elected in 1994, providing an organisational background for national minorities. After the turn of the millennium, tradition-preserving associations and clubs were formed one after the other. As a result of the free exercise of nationality rights and the provision of a legal and organisational framework, public confidence seems to be reviving, which has significantly increased the acceptance of a person's nationality.

	199	90	20	01	2011		
	According to nationality	According to mother tongue	According to nationality	According to mother tongue	According to nationality	According to mother tongue	
Bulgarian	no data	1,370	1,358	1,299	3,556	2,899	
Greek	no data	1,640	2,509	1,921	3,916	1,872	
Croatian	13,570	17,577	15,597	14,326	23,561	13,716	
Polish	no data	3,788	2,962	2,580	5,730	3,049	
German	30,824	37,511	62,105	33,774	131,951	38,248	
Armenian	no data	37	620	294	3,293	444	
Roma	142,683	48,072	189,984	48,438	308,957	54,339	
Romanian	10,740	8,730	7,995	8,482	26,345	13,886	
Ruthenian	no data	no data	1,098	1,113	3,323	999	
Serbian	2,905	2,953	3,816	3,388	7,210	3,708	
Slovakian	10,459	12,745	17,693	11,817	29,647	9,888	
Slovenian	1,930	2,627	3,025	3,180	2,385	1,723	
Ukrainian	no data	674	5,070	4,885	5,633	3,384	

Table 2: The distribution of the Hungarian nationalities between 1990 and 2011

Source: Hungarian Central Statistical Office (2011).

4. The Landscape House Movement in Hungary

In Hungary, in the system of museum institutions, the landscape house appears as a separate group, which is inspired to preserve the cultural historical values of the local population and to demonstrate it to visitors. Other institutional systems that are similar to landscape houses, which were nominated for the tentative list of world heritage, functioning as Hungarian remembrance locations, can be found primarily in Europe in Germany (*Heimatmuseum* or *Heimatstube*) and in Ireland, Scotland and Wales in the form of heritage centres.

4.1 The Concept and Description of Landscape Houses

In defining a landscape house, the museum as a space for the presentation of cultural goods is an indispensable notion, since the landscape house is a special form of museum institution in the Hungarian cultural scene. According to the international definition by the International Council of Museums (ICOM),

[a] museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment (ICOM 2004, 7).

According to Hungarian judicial regulations, a museum is a public service and museum institution, which is composed of scientifically catalogued collections of cultural goods. These goods have a scientific and educational purpose, they also aid in heritage protection and knowledge presentation, and besides its collection, a museum preserves, catalogues, restores, scientifically elaborates, publishes, exhibits, and mediates in any other ways to promote lifelong learning and sustainable development. A museum also has the necessary material and physical resources and qualified human resources (Act on Historical Institutions 1997; Amending Act on historical Institutions 2012).

According to Bodnár et al. (2017), historical buildings preserve memories of the past, and through their central allocation, play an accentuated role in the museums' tourist attraction along with the themes of the exhibitions and the related interactivity.

According to the Hungarian Act on Historical Institutions (1997, Par. 3 of Art. 48), the traditional landscape house is an exhibition place of public utility, which is, by the permission of the minister, eligible to exhibit cultural goods, architectural sites, and buildings or a group of buildings together with their accessories and equipment. Furthermore, traditional landscape houses are open-air folklore collections which, together with locally collected and reserved objects, present a certain settlement's or landscape's traditional material culture – the furnished indoor spaces of the buildings that are important from the point of view of folk architecture (possibly qualified as folk monuments), sometimes workshops, farming buildings, or simple industrial establishments (Bereczki 2009, 1). Based on this, in the case of traditional landscape houses, the exhibition is not only established inside of the building, but the building itself is a part of the exhibition. The objective of the exhibition place is to present the folk culture of the local community and preserve and present the material and intellectual values for younger generations of locals and for visiting tourists (Füzes 1997, 312).

In the case of landscape houses, besides the exhibited objects, the division of the land, the allocation of the buildings, and the division of the dwelling building all reflect the peculiar lifestyle and traditions of the given nationality. One of the largest nationalities to live in Hungary is the German nationality, so we compared the characteristics of Hungarian landscape houses with the description of Swabian landscape houses. The living space of German families is well demonstrated by the bent parcelled farmhouse described by Mendöl (1963), which at the same time also refers to the ethnic agricultural activity. A typical Swabian peasant house has a whitewashed gable wall facing the street, with two

street windows with coloured (yellow, brown, or green) shutters. The long side of the building faces the courtyard, where one used to enter through the street door, but these doors have now lost their former function through renovations and alterations. Behind the ornate door, there is a long and spacious corridor, the porch. Upon entering the house, one first encounters the kitchen, where most of the family life took place, and from here the doors open in two directions. The street room was used to receive and entertain strangers, this was the so called clean room. The living room and bedroom open from the other side of the kitchen. Behind them, we find the chamber and sometimes the summer kitchen, then the horse stable and the cow and oxen stable. The pig and poultry hutches are situated across the courtyard from the house, and beside them one finds the corn-crib (Mendöl 1963). The living spaces of the different nationalities differ from those of the Germans mostly in colour and decoration, and in the absence of agricultural activity, the farm building would have been replaced with workshops for industrial activities.

4.2 The Lifecycle Model of Landscape Houses

The undulating life curve of tourist attractions was first conceptualised and mapped by Butler (1980), who found that tourist attractions follow a similar life course, regardless of their theme, wherein the difference can be primarily demonstrated through the length of time of a certain lifecycle period. In the case of landscape houses, one can easily define the designated periods (Chart 1).

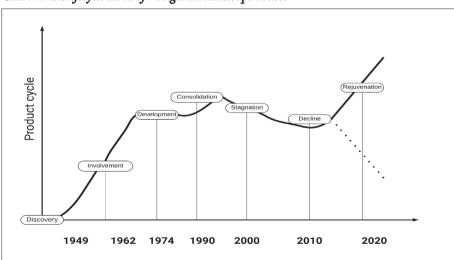


Chart 1: The lifecycle curve of Hungarian landscape houses

Source: Own editing.

I. Discovery

The formation of the institutional system of landscape houses dates back several decades. The idea of establishing such institutions was sparked by the village lifestyles related to nationalities, their spiritual traditions, and the strengthening of folk art and a sense of identity in the second half of the 20th century.

II. Involvement

The extension of the 1949 Act on the Protection of Monuments to include ethnographic values and the creation of the network of county museums in 1962 created a professional framework that greatly facilitated the creation and professional development of landscape houses.

III. Development

The catalyst for the establishment of the network of landscape houses was the decision of the Council of Ministers in 1974, which provided significant financial support for the establishment of landscape houses, village museums, and open-air museums for the presentation of locally-preserved folk monuments (Bereczki 2009, 2). The first wave of landscape house establishment took place between 1974 and 1984, during which nearly 200 landscape houses opened their doors. With regard to the spatial allocation, the Great Plains Region and the South Transdanubian Region, populated by Croatian and German nationalities, can be highlighted.

IV. Consolidation

By 1985, the first wave of country house foundations had come to an end and a period of intense consolidation had begun. The presence of the members of the network of country houses became part of public consciousness and a cultural base was established.

V. Stagnation

In the mid-1990s, the life curve of the country houses entered a phase of stagnation, a period which caused considerable damage to the network of almost 300 establishments. As a consequence of the reorganisation, the county museum network ceased operation, thus the connection with professional monitoring organisations, together with the support from the management of the landscape houses, also came to an end.

VI. Decline

The ownership was reorganised as a consequence of political changes. The majority of the museums were then run by local governments. The lack of financial sources and the professional integration, together with the negligence that followed the change in ownership, resulted in an atrophy of the landscape house network.

VII. Rejuvenation

At the turn of the millennium, as a result of the appearance of various tender opportunities and the strengthening of identity, new tendencies appeared in regard to the landscape houses. Since an interest in local values became prominent, the preservation and transmission of peculiar cultural values gained more and more attention. A combination of factors led to a second wave of landscape house creation in the first decade of the 2000s, with more than 50 landscape houses being granted operating licences. In this boom, besides the assurance of financial sources from tenders, the reorganisation of ownership relations also had a positive influence on this process. The operation of most of the landscape houses was transferred from the municipal governments to the national minority governments and NGOs, thus strengthening the role of the country houses in preserving national identity.

Hungarian Landscape houses are at a crossroads. In order to ensure the survival of the institutions, to preserve the values of the nationalities, and to present them to visitors, it is becoming increasingly important to rethink and reorganise the services and programmes offered by landscape houses. Both for the members of the nationality and for the demand of tourism it is necessary to provide experiences and to the acquire new things. For this reason, it is foreseeable that in the future, successful institutions and attractions will be open to today's demands and trends, and that they will be integrated into the tourist supply.

4.3 The Role of Landscape Houses in Tourism

One of the pillars in the realm of cultural attractions in Hungary is the presentation of folk customs, traditions, and heritage values related to the nationalities that reside in the country. Landscape houses, and the collection of material and spiritual goods, can also be interpreted as a form of roots tourism in Hungary (Falk & Dierking 2013). Identity and seeking one's roots play a decisive role in the motivation of those enquiring about landscape houses, and further on, they also embody a return to memory, the revival of memories of times gone by, which is why we can define landscape houses as a kind of memory site. While the last few years have seen an increase in the demand for ancestral prints in Hungary, owing to the impact of international trends, the main motivation of the demand has changed drastically. The demand for cultural goods among consumers has increased, with a focus on acquiring new knowledge and learning in an interactive way, i.e., the search for experience.

In order to satisfy the needs of experience-oriented demand it becomes necessary to rethink and reform the elements of the cultural attractions and to assure opportunities for gaining experiences. As a consequence of this focus change, emphasis has been moved from the exhibited objects to the visitors, since an object cannot necessarily maintain long-term interest (Simpson 1996).

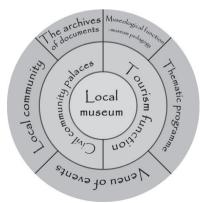
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According to the new museum pedagogy ideology, the exhibition plays a crucial role, since it is not the exhibited object, but rather its context and its interpretation, in other words the museum experience, that is the most important (Ross 2004). Therefore, one of the success factors in present day museums lies in their investment into objects with content (Walsh 1992). In the process of knowledge transfer, interpretation becomes more interesting for the visitors than the object itself. As discussed by Smith (2003, 78), it is not a question of whether an object is visually interesting or not, but whether it could generate any interest. In the Hungarian museum institution system, landscape houses represent a peculiar group, since, in the case of the exhibited objects presenting the local minority heritage values, interpretation became particularly important. With the loss of the elderly generation, there is a shrinking pool of people with relevant knowledge about the function of the exhibited objects in everyday life and how they are used. In Hungary, landscape houses alone have difficulty competing with other tourist attractions, but the new supply elements, appearing as a result of the paradigm shift in recent years, has led to a significant reduction in the negative view of museums as being boring and dusty. According to Hooper-Greenhill (2000), the market role of museums is determined by the needs of a relatively narrow social group, which is particularly true in the case of Hungarian landscape houses.

For this reason, landscape houses with a basic museum function should be equipped with new, additional functions that attract the interest of tourists and provide visitors with an unforgettable experience beyond the mostly-static exhibitions and interiors (Szeidl & Aubert 2018, 462).

Based on joint research with the Central Directorate of Hungarian Landscape Houses, those secondary functions have been collected, and they can serve as an alternative in expanding the functions of ethnic landscape houses.





Source: Szeidl and Aubert (2019, 57).

Based on the target demand, the landscape utilisation model in Figure 1 can be divided into two groups. On the one hand, to the tourism functions, which contribute to enhancing tourism competitiveness, and on the other hand, to the social functions, which serve to enhance the ethnic identity of the local population. In other words, they serve as a civilian community space in the cultural framework of the specific settlement.

The educational activities in the museum, which are based on the basic museological function, serve to strengthen the tourism potential, since in the present knowledge-based society, museums working as informal venues for lifelong learning have become more important among attractions. Edutainment, i.e., learning in an entertaining way, is a fundamental task of the postmodern museum, which is also a role expected by the visitors (Falk & Dierking 2000). The thematic programmes that are attached to various special days and holidays (e.g., carnival, Easter, harvest, Christmas) can be defined as stabilisers in terms of the tourism supply. During certain programmes (e.g., craft activities, craft demonstrations, food preparation), visitors become users of the exhibited objects, and the resulting co-creation further enhances the experience and the satisfaction of the visitors (Simpson 1996). It is important to note, however, that it is not advisable to put the expectations of the guests before the exhibition, as this can cause the objects to lose their value and significance (Smith 2003). For this reason, programmes and related technical equipment should be designed to be closely linked to the objects preserved in the landscape house.

The exhibition space, as a novel utilization of the location of the traditional landscape house, both enriches the role of tourist and civilian community space. The events organised in an authentic environment on the one hand strengthen the tourism potential of landscape houses, and on the other hand, besides the cultural satisfaction of the visitors, they contribute to strengthening the ethnic identity of the local population. A common example is the creation of a separate activity space inside the landscape house, while an outdoor or covered (tent, barn) event space in the courtyard allows for the organisation of events for smaller or larger groups. Although, due to their capacity, the event spaces in landscape houses are not adequate for the organisation of larger regional or national events, the smaller events still serve as a platform for the local and neighbouring civilian organisations, local producers, and guest caterers. These locations can be used not only for a larger audience, but they also serve as extra space for rehearsals (dance groups, bands, choirs), organising handcraft workshops and literature classes, thus further strengthening the community-shaping functions of landscape houses. In addition to this, the documents included in the exhibition, or in several places the specially-created document library, serve as a starting point for ethnographers and historians, thus laying the foundations for the preservation of the historical and folkloric values of the local community for future generations (Szeidl & Aubert 2019, 57).

5. The Role of Landscape Houses in the Renewal of Minority Education

5.1 The Current Situation of Minority Education in Hungary

The rough historical events of the 19th and 20th centuries significantly influenced the education of Hungarian ethnic groups in their mother tongues. First, the Nationality Act of 1868 restricted the rights of national minorities, and a few years later, the Act of 1879 made the teaching of Hungarian language and literature compulsory in non-Hungarian schools (Szenyéri 2008). By tightening the law, the government aided in triggering the process of spontaneous assimilation. Nationalities who wished to belong to the middle class that ran the state were quickly Hungarianised. To speak and feel Hungarian was to be a member of the gentry (Manherz 1998). In the first part of the 20th century, and until 1945, minority education was present in Hungary in 3 forms. Type A included institutions where education was provided in the group's mother tongue and in the national language. In these schools, all subjects - except Hungarian language and literature – could be taught in the mother tongue of the given nationality, in accordance with the laws of the time. In type B schools, the language of instruction was distributed proportionally, so that half of the subjects were taught in the national language and half in Hungarian. The language of instruction in Type C schools was Hungarian, and the other national language was taught only as a subject (Bindorffer 2011, 54).

In the period after World War II, the legislative background changed continuously; in the beginning, type B schools were abolished, then the status of ethnic language schools was changed. Fearing political sanctions, the those of nationalities other than Hungarian were afraid to claim their ethnic affiliation and identity, and this decrease in the number of ethnic students resulted in the termination or contraction of institutions. After the Second World War, there was no German-language education in the country until the mid-1950s, when those of German nationality, who were declared war criminals, were deprived of education in their mother tongue, and German-language classes were not even begun, citing the expulsion. After the sentence was lifted, their citizenship rights were restored, and German education could resume.

Initially, German education took the form of C-type schools (Kállai 2011, 13). It was primarily the Romanian, Slovakian, and Southern Slavic schools that became victims of the 1961 regionalisation of schools, and so they merged into the Hungarian schools. In the 1962/1963 school year, the total number of primary schools teaching minority national languages was 318 (139 German, 12 Romanian, 54 Serbian-Croatian, 106 Slovakian, 7 Slovenian), in which there were 25,800 students (11,219 German, 290 Romanian, 3,876 Serbian-Croatian, 9,902 Slovakian, 513 Slovenian). On the contrary, the number of ethnic bilin-

gual schools decreased to 26 (2 German, 10 Romanian, 8 Serbian-Croatian, 6 Slovakian), and ethnic language education was only assured for 2,504 students (Kállai 2011, 10). One of the turning points in minority education was the 1985 law, which provided the chance for a step-by-step restitution of ethnic language education, and among the principles of the law, the issue of minority education received great emphasis. The law soon made a difference, and by the autumn of 1989, more than 58,000 pupils were receiving national minority education in Hungary (Föglein 2004, 9, cited in Kállai 2011, 10).

After the change of regime, the government provided opportunities for minorities to exercise their national minority rights, for the strengthening of identity, for the establishment of civil society organisations for the preservation of cultural assets and, last but not least, the first national minority local governments were elected in 1994. The freedom of national culture reinvigorated the population's exercise of nationality, and they began building a network of nationality organisations. This positive change not only gave a green light to cultural life, but also brought to the fore the possibility of national education. The Governmental regulation in the national curriculum (Transitional Rules of Public Educational Act 1995) assured the realisation of minority education in several forms. The currently applicable Decree on the Issuance of the Guidelines for the Pre-School Instruction and School Education of National and Ethnic Minorities of the Ministry for Culture and Education (2013) states that because of the different languages and specific cultural characteristics of the national and ethnic minorities living in Hungary and the diversity of nationalities, national minority education can be organised in the following five forms:

- a) Native language education: In native language education, with the exception of Hungarian language and literature, education and instructional work take place in the minority language. The pedagogical programme includes a teaching schedule for the native language and literature subjects and for ethnography.
- b) Bi-lingual minority education: Bi-lingual minority education contributes to the achievement of minority education goals by providing a deeper understanding of the language and by using the language as a language of instruction. This form allows the school to use the language in real-life situations, and ensures the development of balanced bi-lingual knowledge. The pedagogical programme includes a teaching schedule for the native language and literature subjects and for ethnography.

Within the framework of bi-lingual education, at least three of the subjects specified in the pedagogical programme (with the exception of native language and literature) must be taught in the minority language and must amount to at least 50 % of the total weekly class hours. Bi-lingual education may be extended to include all subjects under the condition that the language of instruction be the minority language for at least 50 % of the total weekly class hours. Regulations on language preparation grades must also be applied in this form of bi-lingual minority education.

114 c) Language training minority education: Language training minority education contributes to the achievement of minority education goals by teaching the language and subjects on literature and minority ethnography.

Language training minority education can be conducted in two forms:

- Traditional language training education, in which the language of instruction is Hungarian; instruction of the minority language and literature shall be conducted within class hours starting from the 1st grade. Instruction of the minority language and literature shall amount to at least 4 hours of the mandatory weekly class hours, and five hours a week for German language training schools. With the exception of German language training schools, the mandatory weekly hours dedicated to instruction of the minority language and literature may be distributed between various grades or between weeks in a particular grade, under the condition that the number of obligatory hours is no less than 3 hours per week in any grade.
- Extended language training minority education, the goal of which is to prepare for bi-lingual forms or native language forms of minority education. Study of the minority language and literature is conducted at the same time as instruction in the minority language. The minority language and literature shall be taught for at least 5 hours per week. Study of at least three subjects in the minority language must be made possible. Instruction of the minority language and literature and the classes held in the minority language account for at least 35 % of the weekly class hours. The extended language training form may commence in 1st grade and be concluded by 8th grade.
- d) Academic improvement education for the Roma minority: Academic improvement education for the Roma minority ensures familiarization with Roma cultural values and the teaching of information on the history, literature, arts, music, dance culture, and traditions of the Roma minority. Instruction in Romani is a non-obligatory element of this programme, but depending on the needs of the parents, it ensures instruction of the form of Roma language spoken by the parents. This form of education facilitates the academic success of Romani pupils in school and reduces any disadvantages which may be present. It ensures instruction on the situation, rights, organizations, and institutions of the Roma minority. Using pedagogical tools, it facilitates the integration of the Roma minority, without any expectation of assimilation.

Inter-cultural education: Inter-cultural education can be organized by schools implementing any of the forms listed under Paragraphs a) - d) of Title 1 "forms of minority education" (hereinafter referred to as "minority education" for the purpose of this Title) for those pupils who are not taking part in

minority education in the school in question. The goal of inter-cultural education is to teach both pupils not participating in minority education and pupils participating in minority education about the culture of the particular minority within the framework of non-obligatory class hours (Decree on the Issuance of the Guidelines for the Pre-School Instruction and School Education of National and Ethnic Minorities of the Ministry for Culture and Education 2013).

Since the middle of the 2000s, a few national minority local governments have established and operated educational institutions or have taken over the maintenance and operation of national minority educational institutions. At that time, the largest minority education centres were established in, e.g., Budapest, Baja, Pécs.

A number of national minority local governments have joined the operation of educational and training institutions in the last 10 years. Along with a change in those providing maintenance, the form of financing of institutions has also changed; the maintenance costs of an institution previously financed by the state are now borne by the national minority local government. This change in structure impacted the number of classroom and leisure time workshops related to the presentation of ethnic peculiarities, and these were enhanced significantly. Infrastructural developments also took place in several institutions. At the start of the 2019/2020 school year, 138 training and educational institutions – of those 56 were nursery schools, 73 were elementary schools, 8 were grammar schools and 1 was a technical college – were maintained by national minority local governments. In the 2019/2020 school year, 17,500 students took part in minority education, of whom 11,859 were enrolled in elementary schools, 1,935 in grammar schools, and 35 in technical colleges (Hungarian Central Statistical Office, 2020).

5.2 The Landscape House as an Educational Space

In addition to teaching one's mother tongue and literature, national minority education places great emphasis on the specific culture and traditions of the nationalities concerned. In minority schools, pupils can learn in detail about the main characteristics of their nationality through the subject of ethnography. The concept of ethno-ethnicity as a subject means knowledge that a nationality group considers to be valid for itself and that functions as the group's self-knowledge, thus helping it to define itself and to experience its difference from others (Kállai 2011, 55).

This subject is built around the following topics: development of oral and written skills in one's national language, familiarization with and participation in historical traditions, mother tongue culture, music, arts, folk poetry, customs and traditions, getting to know the life, culture and history of the mother country and, through understanding the values of different cultures, educating for tolerance and the acceptance of diversity (Kállai 2011, 55). Thanks to a number of national and mother country funding sources, students involved in national education are active participants in project days with various themes. The particular syllabus in minority schools allows for extra-institutional education as well. On these project days, students visit locations that are closely related to the history and particular culture of the specific nationality. Landscape houses as cultural institutions are excellent locations for familiarizing the students with the values of these nationalities. The permanent and periodic exhibitions in landscape houses greatly promote the creation and strengthening of the pride of the nationality. During the museum pedagogy workshops, students can familiarize themselves with the functions of the various personal articles, the various agricultural tools, and the related labour processes. The time spent in the landscape house and the workshops plays an important role in the process of building a community.

As a result of the present study, we received feedback from students participating in nationality education on how useful it is for them to visit the nationality's landscape house and to participate in educational sessions at the museum. A total of 418 students from 9 minority schools took part in the survey. Owing to the Covid-19 pandemic, the questionnaire was completed in spring 2020 and the survey was conducted online in class, under teacher supervision. In the survey, we asked about the experiences, satisfaction, and opinions of students from German, Slovakian, Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian minority schools.

Eighty-four % of respondents had been to a landscape house, and most of them (79%) had visited a landscape house with their classmates during a school programme. Several students had also visited institutions presenting national values in the company of their families and group mates (band, dance, choir). Chart 2 shows the factors that students liked most during their time at the landscape house. All of the nationalities considered the playful activities, the craft activities, and cooking together to be the most enjoyable activities. This was followed by the traditional costume fitting and traditional activities, which are ranked in order of popularity. For those of German nationality, dancing, singing and playing music together stand out. Of the thematic events, the harvest was highlighted by respondents, and was particularly popular among the German ethnic group. The least number of responses related to the Easter traditions and the Advent period, which might be because these events are not available in the programme of all landscape houses.

The students participating in the survey rated their experience in the landscape house by rating the strength of predefined indicators. Based on the responses received, we can conclude that landscape houses are interesting and exciting places where students can have playful and educational experiences. Respondents partially or strongly disagreed with the statement that landscape houses are boring and uneventful (Table 3).

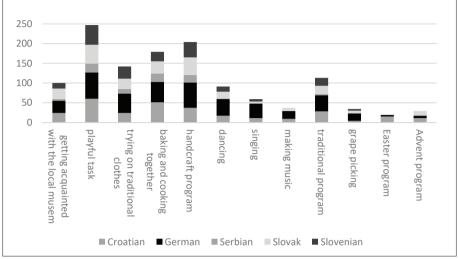


Chart 2: The programmes popular among students at the landscape houses

Source: Own empirical data.

	interesting	exciting	boring	edifying	playful	eventless	realistic
School 1							
School 2							
School 3							
School 4							
School 5							
School 6							
School 7							
School 8							
School 9							
	4.34	4.01	2.97	3.41	3.88	2.81	3.67

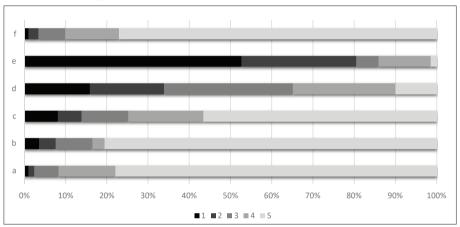
Table 3: The strength of attributes related to landscape houses based on the students' answers

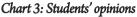
Source: Own empirical data.

At the end of the survey, students assessed the accuracy of the predetermined statements based on their own opinions and experiences. The results shown in Chart 3 indicate that the students like learning in landscape houses, where they can gain useful knowledge. Seventy-one % of the respondents would like to visit landscape houses more often and take part in more thematic programmes and activities as much as possible. The willingness of getting to know the values of other nationalities is no longer as tangible. The answers provided by the students

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are proportionately divided between the negative, neutral, and positive responses. Respondents agree that the authentic environment provided by landscape houses makes it easier for students to learn and that the knowledge they acquire here greatly helps them to learn the mother tongue of their nationality.





a) It is better to learn in a landscape house than at school/at home.

b) I would like to take school trips to a landscape house more often.

c) I would like to take part in more workshops at a landscape house.

d) I would like to get to know landscape houses of other nationalities as well.

e) I can learn more easily in the classroom/at home than in a landscape house.

 $f) \quad \mbox{The knowledge acquired in the landscape house helps in language learning.}$

Source: Own empirical data.

6. Conclusion

The network of landscape houses is unique in Hungarian cultural life, and it contributes to the preservation of the population's national identity and the cultivation of traditions. Deriving from the multi-ethnic composition of Hungary, the preservation and maintenance of landscape houses is of key importance in the life of the national minorities, since they play a key role in the demonstration and transmission of the minority culture, assuring the memories of the past remain for future generations. Since the turn of the millennium, new trends in cultural offerings have been emerging, with the result that the museum function, understood as the basic function of landscape houses, is slowly being pushed into the background. At the same time, there is a parallel need to create and introduce new elements that continue to be attractive and have a positive impact on the growth of visitor numbers. The landscape house model includes a number of elements and options that can be used to ensure that landscape houses remain at the centre of the national community. The channelling of landscape houses into minority education and the strengthening of pre-existing cooperation can establish a stabilisation and an increase in the number of visitors and can also provide a chance for enhancing the programme supply in landscape houses. The effectiveness of museum pedagogy workshops, configured for various age groups, is proven by the survey conducted during this study, which showed that students participating in nationality education prefer to visit landscape houses and participate in various thematic activities, where they can learn about the values and traditions of the minority nationalities, their everyday objects, and enrich their knowledge of their national language in an authentic environment.

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