

Theses of PhD dissertation

CONTINUITY AND SENSITIVITY

THE SOCIAL FUNCTION OF GREEK CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN HUNGARY

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The aim of the thesis, the circumscription of the subject

In the 21st century the social function of education institutions maintained by the Church is being rearranged. Based on the international comparison, it can be claimed that three aspects determine the role of churches / denominations in the education system of the given country. On the one hand, the denominational structure of the given country, on the other hand, the traditional role of churches in the state-funded education, the extent of their institutional network, and thirdly the organizational, pedagogical autonomy and culture of denominational schools (Dronkers and Avram 2014, Pusztai-Bacsikai 2015). According to the consensus developed in the millennium in Europe, the modern state generally provides the operation of the educational institutions for the children at school-age, and at the same time it guarantees institutional responsiveness to the pedagogical needs of the different cultural groups, and this way it also supports the operation of non-state schools (Pusztai 2004, Dronkers 2014). The functional diversity of the school maintaining sectors has been a prior area of education research (many international and domestic references), but recently, due to the processes of secularization and migration the denominational schools have got into the focus of academic interest (Coleman, J. és mtsai 1982, Beckley, G. 2012, Hill, P., Jochim A. 2009, Hunt, T. és mtsai 2013, Martin, S. 2014, Katherine, A. és mtsai 2016, Fleming, T. 2018). As the changes of Europe's religious composition is faster than it could have been historically expected (Smyth, Lyons and Darmody 2013), and there are significant differences between the countries of the European Union considering ecclesiastical education (Glenn and Groof 2012), a new research is needed in the new situation. Not only the denominational composition of the countries varies, but the content of religion and the attachment to the Church are also reinterpreted. As a consequence of globalization, the number of ecclesiastically religious believers is decreasing, while the proportion of the religious in their own way is constantly increasing. As a result of this, the expectations towards ecclesiastical schools are also changing. European countries can basically be divided into two groups in terms of school choice preferences and the social background of school selectors. In some countries the denominational schools are primarily chosen due to the value system proclaimed by the church, and their social composition reflects diversity.

Elsewhere, the composition of the denominational school carries a trace of significant social selection. In these countries the denominational schools have fewer students with a better ratio of teacher-students, and there the proportion of girls is higher (Dronkers 2014).

In multiconfessional countries, the school networks maintained by different churches have a distinctly different image or an announced program. It can further shadow the fact that, within a denomination the given institutions - due to their different regional-local situations - operate with different missions. Consequently, the expectations of school choosers cannot be described in a uniform way.

The rationale behind the research of Hungarian ecclesiastical schools is primarily due to their increasing role in the Hungarian education system. Religious schools have been the focus of many educational studies. Halász (1992), Szemerszki (1992) and Szigeti (1992) sought to find out about the circumstances of the changes in the maintainer during the period after the change of regime. Halász (1992), Mészáros (2000), Imre (2005), Rébay (2006), Erdős (2015) dealt with the historical research of the denominational education system. The inner world of ecclesiastical schools, Pusztai (2004, 2005, 2009, 2014, 2016) and Bacskai (2015) dealt with. The situation of ecclesiastical vocational colleges was analyzed by Jenei-Kerülő (2016) and Kardos (2014) in several ways. Pusztai (2004, 2009) had a research on the subject of elementary school choices and investigated the factors influencing school choice at secondary level. One of the most cardinal difficulties in researching the ecclesiastical education system might be that the aim is to search for a constantly expanding school network. Another further difficulty is that the culture of ecclesiastical schools can be defined to a certain extent, but the conditions of school transfer have very strongly defined the framework within which each church can create its own image. Tamás Szabó László (1999) draws the attention to that every school is a "special, double-bonded institution". On the one hand, it is part of a school system, so it has to assume substantial goals for the system as a whole, on the other hand the capabilities of its own environment also affect the goals to be achieved.

In the school network currently maintained by the examined Church, there are many kinds of institutions with varied fates and characters, and the identity and history of the Greek Catholic Church has greatly contributed to their development. The Greek Catholic Metropolia in Hungary is an independent entity within which the Catholic Church has its own diocese and independent image. Technically, it is an integral part of the Catholic Church, however its services are performed by the Byzantine rite. In the period before nationalization, it maintained more than 140 schools, all of which got into state hands in 1948. Today more than 5,000 students study in Greek Catholic ecclesiastical education.

Today, among the maintained institutions, there is a grass-roots school, a school taken over from the local government, a one-school village, a municipal institution, a school functioning in segregation, but also an educational institution located in county seats.

Besides catch-up schools, a number of schools have also got into the maintenance of the Greek Catholic Church. To determine the identity of these schools, you must take the fact into consideration that the Hungarian school system, the members of the Greek Catholic school network have special regional features, as well as the aspirations that partly aim to catch up with socio-culturally disadvantaged students and partly to provide some kind of specialization and division to make their school career more successful. Within this school network, further differentiation can be experienced in the proportion of Greek Catholics in the given settlement. This may be interesting from the point of view that when choosing a school how much it dominates whether the school is maintained by the church or not, or it is "sufficient" for school choosers that it is an ecclesiastical school but the denomination is not important.

With regard to the fact that none of the education sociologists have been involved in the research of the world of Greek Catholic schools, almost all the results of the dissertation are completely novel.

Our specific goals:

1. Regarding the fact that the Greek Catholic Church in Hungary is in a special position due to its multinational past, its geographical location and its position within the Catholic Church, we wanted to grab the historical roots of the educational role of this Church. One of the aims of the research is to examine the development of the Greek Catholic school network and the traces of identity searching in contemporary school life.

2. Since the continuity of the functioning of the Greek Catholic educational institutions has been interrupted for decades, it was among our aims to examine whether the decades of state socialism meant censorship to the catch-up pedagogy and the priority of turning to the disadvantaged children, that is, whether the continuity, restructuring or complete rearrangement of the educational principles may characterize the past centuries of Greek Catholic education.

3. Considering that the re-emergence of the school network after 1989, gave a number of new tasks to the leaders - who became school maintainers again- of the Greek Catholic Church, we intended to interpret the deep structure of the decisions behind the development of the current school network, to examine the circumstances of the first school transfer and to present the logic of current professional management from the point of view of local governments, diocesan maintainers and educational referents.

4. Since the central question of our research was the examination of the function of the Greek Catholic schools in the social and educational system, the interpretation of the mission of the Church leaders were not enough for us, but we aimed to identify the territorial and social embedding of the current Greek Catholic school system, and the students'/families' school choosing motif system and social background as well as to present how each social group interprets the pedagogical mission of Greek Catholic schools

Theoretical background:

In the **theoretical part** of our dissertation, we first put together the theories related to school choices. Several studies have been carried out to investigate the motivations behind the parents' decision (Schneider, M., Teske P. and Marschall (2000), Boudon (2003), Sági (2003), Pusztai (2004), Helen M. Marks and Rowley (2006), Paul T. Hill (2007), Lavy (2010), Kertesi and Kézdi (2014).

As a first step, we investigated the question whether parents have the right to choose a school for their children. The debate about the right to choose a school is partly due to a different relationship to certain principles (Hallian 1997). According to one point of opinion, when choosing a school all students should have equal access to schooling, regardless of their social background and individual performance, to which it would be essential to minimize differences between institutions and to distribute students equally. According to the opposing meritocratic principle, the student's later social position does not depend on his social origin but on his innate talent, acquired knowledge and diligence, so his choice based on knowledge and abilities and institutional selection have a major role. The two principles differ in the choice of school, because considering the first one the assumption that it is the best for society to have the same opportunity for everyone for schooling without special individual merit. On the other hand, according to the meritocratic principle, the individual has to use his own resources to maximize the potentials given by society. The conflict on the validation of these two principles makes the question of school choice complex.

In Hungary, the school system of state socialism was apparently avoided by the question of school choice, but Andor and Lisko (1999) point out that hidden selection mechanisms functioned within the system, "*an informal school system*" was developed under the obvious school system which differentiated mainly socially and even selected at the age of 6. At the same time they recall that due to the limited information flow, the decision to select a school could only be made in an informal way.

According to their approach, the changes after 1990 (local governments and churches became school maintainers, the order of funding changed) made public education complicated and difficult to understand, so the process of school selection has also changed. The theoretical framework was generated by examining the various aspects of school choice. There may be – among others - **political, legal, market-based, theological, social** aspects, each of which approaches the question of school choice from a different perspective. Finally, the third focal point of the theoretical part tries to find out whether free school choice may foster to deepen social inequalities.

On the whole, we can see that the question of school choice is approached by researchers from different disciplines from different aspects. Pedagogical researchers are seeking answers – among others - to the question of what organizational structure, pedagogical program and institutional infrastructure aspects, and other aspects related to the past and identity of the institution are the bases of parents' school choices for their children, furthermore to the question of what social background variables can each choice type be related to. Based on these aspects, we have developed our research preparatory studies and our hypotheses.

Research major issues

Preliminary empirical investigations were carried out in the preparation of our research. **As a first major issue**, we examined the most important points of the history of the school network maintained by the Greek Catholic Church. No detailed thematic education sociological analysis of the educational system of the Diocese of Hajdúdorog has been undertaken so far, so our study had to be almost entirely based on primary and archival sources. Regarding the fact that resources were not fully available, especially for the period of state socialism, we did not undertake to carry out a comprehensive sociological analysis of these periods. Therefore, we chose the thematic analysis, which included the analysis of the Greek Catholic teaching tools, curricula, school-work and the Greek Catholic cultural program, the Greek Catholic bishops' provisions related to education, the thematic systematization of articles related to the teaching and education of the Greek Catholic press, and finally the analysis of the condition of the Greek Catholic schools before 1948 which includes the many-sided presentation of school

buildings, getting to school habits, the situation of the contemporary Greek Catholics cantors. In the post-nationalization era, the institutions of Greek Catholic education seemingly did not work. During our research, however, we pointed out that the network of the Greek Catholic Church could give an opportunity for educational work within the ecclesiastical framework.

In the second chapter of our research, the focus is on the Greek Catholic education practice after the nationalization of 1948, in particular by analyzing the cultural rise of a Roma / Gypsy Greek Catholic community and the establishment of its school chapel, which took place during the period of state socialism in one of the most disadvantaged regions of Hungary, in a small village of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county. The pedagogical method developed here has also been incorporated into the current Greek Catholic pedagogical practice, mainly in the work of segregated schools.

The **third** major issue of our dissertation was the examination of the effect of the change of regime on the Greek Catholic schooling. We looked at this research question from the point of view of the then Greek Catholic bishop. The discretionary aspects of the decision-making on school transfers at that time were compared to the views of the current Greek Catholic Church leaders. We have found that the motivations behind the school transfers given by contemporary and current leaders are very similar. At the Greek Catholic level, it can be seen that the Greek Catholic Church as a school maintainer appears in two regions. Three institutions belong to the region of Northern Hungary and nine belong to the Northern Great Plain region. One-third of the Greek-Catholic primary schools can be found in the county seat, approx. half in the town and one quarter in villages. Except for one, all kindergartens, primary and secondary schools are located in the territory of three administrative counties (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county, Hajdú-Bihar county, Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county) based on the data from September 1, 2016. In short, the location of Greek-Catholic education and educational institutions is essentially consistent with the territorial presence of Greek Catholics. In the three Greek Catholic dioceses school transfers occur independently, but their pattern and structure are very similar. In the case of the Greek Catholic Church, the number of primary schools is dominant compared to that of secondary schools. In the three Greek Catholic dioceses school transfers occur independently, but their pattern and structure are very similar.

At the level of secondary schools, the institution of the independent grammar school appears in only one place. A significant role in vocational and grammar school education appears in all three Greek Catholic dioceses. It is interesting to note that in a complementary way, that is, different professions came to the front in each region. In the Diocese of the Hajdúdorog Archbishopric, the health and in a small number the agricultural, in the Diocese of Nyíregyháza, the social, in the Diocese of Miskolc, the economic, mechanical and informatical orientation is typical.

Henceforth, to support our research, we continued to analyze the situation of the Greek Catholic school network after 1989 as the **fourth** issue. We have found that the Pusztai approach (2014: 51), according to which the change of denominational education system can be identified with four main trends - the first is gaining ground, the second is system organization with centralization aspirations, the third is the increase of sectoral interactions, finally the fourth, turning to disadvantaged groups - can also be found in the formation of the school network of the Greek Catholic Church. To do this, we first studied the structure, geographical location and social embedding of the school network. Then we showed the size, equipment, student number, composition, study results and the teaching staff of these institutions.

The **fifth** issue of our dissertation was to look at the social background of the parents choosing the Greek Catholic primary school. The parents' labor market status, the highest level of education, denominational affiliation, religiousness, participation in ceremonies, family structure, housing conditions and family capital were examined. In this chapter, we set up three hypotheses that relate to the parents' social background and family capital.

Finally, the **sixth** issue of our paper explored the motivation for school choices at elementary schools maintained by the Greek Catholic Metropolia. In the first part of this chapter, we examined school choice from a political, legal approach, then mapped out sociological perspectives, and finally, we dealt with this issue in the documents of the Catholic Church. After this theoretical foundation, we studied the history of school selection (factors influencing school choice, fears and the time of school choice), and we also tried to find answers to the correlations between the school choices and the social background variables of parents choosing the Greek Catholic school. We have set up two hypotheses that ask about these correlations.

Outline of the methods used

Methodology of historical chapters

During the research, in the school history section (1646-1948) we followed the traditionally accepted method of education history. We searched for primary resources, as we had only some secondary resources available. Following the historical review, the analysis was conducted along the thematic nodes (Greek Catholic curricula, teaching materials, cultural program, bishops' provisions related to education, Greek Catholic media, condition of Greek Catholic schools, teaching and education). With regard to the fact that, after the nationalization of 1948, no Greek Catholic school could legally exist, so we have presented an example of the "underground" Greek Catholic ecclesiastical education through a case study. The data of the Population census of 2011 were used for the surveys of the Greek Catholic school network after 1989 and for comparing the social background variables of the parents who chose the Greek Catholic school.

Methodology of the qualitative examination of the contemporary Greek Catholic education

Within the national school system, in addition to the data of the 2011 census, we analyzed the data of the National Competency Survey of 2015, which was supplemented by analyzes carried out on the basis of own-made databases. Based on these, the databases of the *"Motivations of Parents Choosing a Greek Catholic School"* and the databases of the questionnaires *"Motivations of Parents Choosing an Ecclesiastical School"* were used. We performed the analyzes with the program SPSS 21, worked with contingency tables, analysis of variances and factor analysis, and applied the appropriate statistical tests.

The first questionnaire was surveyed in September-October 2015 with the help of parents whose children are in grades 1, 3 and 6 at Greek Catholic primary schools, where we aimed a full data collection. The base population was 1523, of which 1147 people, 75.3% of the base population. The lowest institutional rate was 53.5%, the highest ratio was 95%. The database represents the parents of Greek Catholic primary school children by grades and dioceses. Completing the questionnaire was voluntary and anonymous.

The aim of the questionnaire was to get acquainted with the expectations, needs and experiences of parents of students attending Greek Catholic elementary schools towards the given educational institution.

The institutions surveyed almost completely cover the Greek Catholic elementary school network. In a sense, the only exception was Miklós Sóka Greek Catholic Kindergarten and Primary School, which only partially participated in the research, since during the National Competency Measurement of 2015 grade 5 was the oldest.

Another self-made questionnaire, entitled "*Motivations of Parents choosing an Ecclesiastical school*", placed Greek Catholic school selectors in a comparative medium. The data collection took place in the months of May-June 2016 with the parents whose children attend grades 1, 3 and 6 of Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, Reformed and Evangelical primary schools in Nyíregyháza. We sought full data collection. We received a total of 478 questionnaires from the parents of nearly six hundred students. The database represents the parents of the ecclesiastical primary school pupils of the county seat by grades and denominations. Completing the questionnaire was voluntary and anonymous. In order to draw more general conclusions, we considered it necessary to type schools in some vital aspects. When designing school types, we have taken into account the size of the type of settlement where the school can be found, what religious / denominational dominance exists among the population of the settlement, and whether the only public education institution in the given settlement is the Greek Catholic school where parents can address their children or there are several schools to choose from. Another aspect was considered when establishing institution types, whether it is a mission-oriented school looking after fundamentally disadvantaged children or the education and upbringing of ordinary students are realized in the institution. Finally, we also looked at whether the institution has a special class.

Considering these aspects, we have created four school types: operating in a bishop's seat (2 schools), small town formative schools (3 schools), segregated schools (3 schools), urban transferred schools (4 schools).

With regard to the methodological results of the research, we must mention the extremely helpful cooperation of the head of the three dioceses, their educational references and the institutional leaders.

The parents' attitudes were also exemplary, with more than 75% filling in the questionnaire. It was necessary to make personal interviews to process the time of state socialism. The subjects at our disposal provided a satisfactory answer to all my questions.

Methodological results and limitations of the research

This research has given us the opportunity to explore – based on full sampling – the social background of the Greek Catholic school choosers, their educational and upbringing concepts regarding school choices, the expectations of the infrastructure of the institution, and how well they are fulfilled. In addition, we have found out how well the home education principles of school selectors are in line with that of the school.

Another interesting supplementary study might be to ask the Greek Catholic secondary school students about the factors influencing their choice of school and what they expect from the institution. During the course of our research, we certainly gained a cross-sectional view, later on – within a comparative study - we could compare the motives of school choices with the passing of years, and we can add interesting results to the comparison of different types of secondary education institutions.

The study was sampled nationwide in a denomination. The national level can be interpreted as a regional level, since the Greek Catholic elementary schools can be found only in the four counties of the country (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county, Hajdú-Bihar county, Jász-Nagykun- Szolnok county, Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county). The comparative research of the school selectors of the four denominations of the city has undertaken to compare the schools maintained by several churches at regional level.

Thus, these results cannot be used for the general characterization of the students of the denominational education sector unless the results of similar research carried out in the institutions of the other historical churches are also included in our analysis.

Thesis-like listing of Results

Considering the fact that in the dissertation we first went through the social background of the school choosing parents, the first hypothesis is related to this analysis. In H1, based on Gabriella Pusztai's research results in 2004, we assumed that the highest educational level and the labor market position of the parents choosing the Greek Catholic school are above the national average, but at the same time it can differentiate according to school types. These two values are the highest in the institutions of the bishop's seat, while the lowest in segregated schools. According to Róbert's (1986) and Pusztai's (2004: 163) approaches, parents' educational qualifications play the most decisive role in defining the social background of the family.

When formulating the first hypothesis, Pusztai's 2004 research shows that the rate of ecclesiastical students' fathers with vocational education is 10% lower and the rate of fathers with university education is 4-5% higher compared to the national average, despite their schools being in the region where the parental generation is less educated than nationwide. The difference between regions is also represented. (2015). To prove this hypothesis, we used the 2011 Census data, the National Competency Measurement Results of May 2015, the database of the questionnaire "Motivations of Parents Choosing a Greek Catholic School" (2015). One part of **our first hypothesis**, which is related to the highest level of education, can be partially confirmed. Data have not been supported that the highest educational level of the Greek Catholic school selectors is above the national average, but it can be confirmed that their pattern can be highly differentiated by school types. In summary, it can be said that the qualification and the labor market situation of parents of pupils studying in the institution types in the segregated regions differ the best from the Greek Catholic average. The pattern of urban transferred and rural formative institutions resembles the best in terms of the labor market situation and qualifications.

Our **next hypothesis** was related to the denominational affiliation of parents choosing the Greek Catholic school. According to our hypothesis, in the bishopric seats with several denominational schools, the proportion of Greek Catholic parents who choose the Greek Catholic school reflects their proportion of the

settlement. For this we have taken Pusztai's (2004) research results. In her approach on denominational schools, it is generally considered that each church establishes an educational institution for its own believers, and thus the establishment of a denominationally homogeneous institution can be diagnosed at the foundation. Pusztai showed that in the case of denominational secondary schools, 80% of students belonging to each church belong to their own denominational school. According to her research, Greek Catholic secondary schools were the most homogeneous at the turn of the millennium, and 90% of the students were Catholic. To supervise our hypothesis, we used the database of the questionnaire "Motivations of a Parent Choosing a Greek Catholic School" (2015). In the school-based analysis we can see that the presence of Greek Catholic fathers are the highest Hajdúdorog (84.7%) and Nyírac nád (56.4%). This is not surprising because 59.8% of the population in Nyírac nád and 80.9% in Hajdúdorog are Greek Catholics. This ratio is even higher in the affiliation of the mothers. 88.4% of the mothers who choose the Hajdúdorog school are Greek Catholics, and 51.6% of the Mothers are from Nyírac nád. At the same time, in the case of institutions located in bishopric seats, where other denominations also maintain schools, our hypothesis does not stand.

The **third hypothesis** was also connected to the social background variables of school choosing parents, but we continued to compare the data and examined how well the harmony between the school and the home education principles correlates to the highest level of education. Pusztai (2004: 204) raises the possibility that if the value system represented by home and school is very similar, it can help the student to have the most successful school career. To prove our hypothesis, we used the database of the questionnaire "Motivations of a Parent Choosing a Greek Catholic School" (2015). This hypothesis proved to be true, as we found that in the case of mothers with the highest qualification, the number of mothers who fully agree with the education principles represented by the school is constantly increasing.

The **fourth and fifth** hypotheses are related to the expectations of the school selecting parents. The fourth hypothesis is based on the fact that both in the Act on Public Education and in the Government Decree 110/2012. (VI.4) there is a reference to the relationship between the school and the family, which formulates an expectation towards schools: *"the main task of public education institutions is to mediate harmonious family patterns and to appreciate family communities"*.

It also emphasizes the fact that *"the role of the family is a priority, that the institution should involve the parents in the school life as actively as possible"*. Based on these provisions, we could assume that the role of family life in each school's educational work has a significant role, which can be formulated in relation to the parental expectations towards the institution. Three Of the synagogue documents of the Catholic Church explicitly provide guidance to Catholic schools, including Greek Catholic schools, emphasizing the importance of family life: Gravissimum Educationis (1965) (responsibility for education, tools for Christian education), Gaudium et Spes (1965) (appreciation of marriage and family dignity), Ad Gentes (predominancy of love). Pope John Paul II's apostolic exhortation intituled Familiaris Consortio (1981) also reinforces this in the chapter. According to Vatican standards, Catholic schools must have an explicit mission of family life. Thus, in our fourth hypothesis, it was assumed that for the parents of students attending a Greek Catholic school, education for family life is the most important educational value, regardless of their social status and qualifications. To justify this hypothesis we used the results of the database "The motivations of a Parent choosing a Greek Catholic school" (2015). This hypothesis has not been proven. Family life education in schools at the bishopric seat is not the most important educational value expected of the school, which may reflect the appearance of the metropolitan postmodern value system.

The **last hypothesis** was based on the assumption that the Catholic school is such an educational medium that needs protection and security for its pupils and which gives the opportunity for the students of different social groups to experience a sense of community in which the embracement of marginalized groups will be given special emphasis. To do so, there is a connection network that has a clearly protective function (Pusztai 2004: 246). Additionally, the hypothesis contains the presumption that Catholic parents suppose that Catholic schools have the same moral norm system as the church formulates. The fifth hypothesis, according to which the protective role of Greek Catholic schools is rather interpreted as "enhancement" by the parents of higher social status and as "elevation" by the school choosers of lower social has been proven.

All in all, we can see that the schools maintained by the Greek Catholic Church had an openness and ability during the 20th century to respond to the needs of disadvantaged groups of students. On the one hand, because the Greek Catholic society itself had a lower social status and on the other hand it operates in a disadvantaged region. In the pedagogy of the schools of the Greek Catholic Church, both the continuity of the catch-up pedagogy and the new social challenges appearing in this field (eg. the catching up of Gypsy/Roman pupils) are dominant. At the same time, we have also found that the Greek Catholic school can be interpreted in a broad social cross-section, so the social function of these educational and upbringing institutions is to educate varied students with different pedagogical values.

If we look at the further lines of our research, this research can be considered as the first half of a complex research in which we first made comparisons within a denomination and then it can be extended to a comparative study between denominations. The pattern of the educational network of the Greek Catholic Metropolia - despite the many differences - is mostly similar to that of the Reformed Church, which can be explained by the regional distribution of the Greek Catholic population, although both denominations maintain an education system in the eastern part of the country. An interesting further study could be to compare school preferences of parents choosing the schools in the education and upbringing networks of these two denominations.



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List of publications related to the dissertation

Hungarian book chapters (3)

- Inántsyt-Pap, Á.:** A görögkatolikus egyház által fenntartott iskolákat választó szülők döntését meghatározó elméletek komparatív elemzése.
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