

Transnational School Selection among Chinese Youth in Hungary

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要 旨

本論の目的は、ハンガリーにおける中国系の若者にみる学校選択の多様性と、それに影響を与える要因を明らかにし、教育による主流社会への統合とトランスナショナリズムの関係性について考察することである。筆者による2016年から2019年までのブダペストとロンドンにおける20代を中心とするハンガリーの中国系若者18名へのライフヒストリーを構成するインタビューを主な実証的データとして用いた。結論として、ハンガリーの中国系若者にみる学校選択の多様性は、教育による主流社会への統合とトランスナショナルな進路選択は相反するものではなく、複雑に絡み合っていることを示した。

Keywords: Hungary, Chinese migrants, transnationalism, school selection

Introduction

The Tiananmen Square protests in 1989 led to an inflow of Chinese migrants to Hungary. The protests gave rise to nationwide political unrest throughout China, and the country's economy became stagnant from 1989 to 1991. This coincided with the demise of socialism in Eastern Europe. At that time, a free market system was adopted in Hungary, in which consumers started seeking affordable Chinese products as they were not satisfied with the domestic products available to them [Nyíri 2011: 145]. In the early 1990s, Hungary played an important role as a distribution hub of Chinese imported goods in Eastern Europe. A large number of wholesalers sprang up in Budapest [Nyíri 2003: 252]. Moreover, an agreement was made between Hungary and China in 1989 which allowed the citizens of the two countries to travel to each other's country without a visa; the travel cost between China and Budapest was low. These factors caused an inflow of new Chinese migrants to Hungary [Nyíri 1998: 350-353].

However, the Hungarian government imposed migration restrictions in October 1991 with the aim of cracking down on smuggling and illegal migrants. The new rules required travellers who intended to enter Hungary for work to declare the details of their work. Tourists and visitors were no longer permitted to work in the country. The new rules also required Chinese migrants to obtain a visa to enter Hungary. Thus, it became difficult for Chinese to newly apply for a permit of stay in Hungary. Those who did not have sufficient funds, those who were engaged in smuggling, and those who were considering returning to their homeland left the country. In addition, twenty to thirty per cent of Chinese residents in Hungary were deported to China. Most Chinese migrants who have remained in Hungary since 1992 are financially successful [Nyíri 1998: 350-353]. Thereafter, the Chinese economy continued to grow, and the Chinese

Renminbi increased against other currencies. As a result, the number of Chinese immigrants to Eastern Europe stopped increasing in the mid-90s [Nyíri 2011: 145].

According to a Chinese association in Hungary, the Chinese population in the country in the 2000s was approximately 10,000 to 15,000 [Huang-McCullough 2005: 34]. The non-white population in Hungary is approximately 1 million, and Chinese migrants account for the largest proportion of the country's total non-white population [Nyíri 2014]. At the end of 2012, the Hungarian government introduced a new policy which granted permanent residency to non-Hungarians who purchased a certain amount of government bonds (five-year, no interest) or greater even if they had never lived in the country (the required amount of bonds was increased to at least 300,000 Euros from 1 January 2015). Alternatively, if an individual applicant held the majority of shares in a company and if the company purchased the required amount of Hungarian government bonds, the individual was granted permanent residency in Hungary (it was required that the applicant be at least 17 years old and have no criminal record) [JETRO website on Hungary 2017]. The majority of non-Hungarians who applied for permanent residency in Hungary through this scheme were Chinese. Affluent Chinese migrated to Hungary over the course of several years; however, this scheme was terminated in March 2017.

Given that the population of Chinese migrants in the UK and France is approximately 600,000, the number of those in Hungary is small. The historical background of Chinese migrants to Hungary is idiosyncratic, and they have a relatively short history compared to those in the UK and France. It can be said that Chinese migrants in Hungary are a minor group. Nevertheless, this paper examines Chinese migrants in Hungary because it is noteworthy that the children of Chinese immigrants in Hungary are exploring transnational lives. They are selecting schools in a diverse manner, which include not only local Hungarian schools where the language of instruction is Hungarian, but also bilingual schools where students study in both Hungarian and Chinese or Hungarian and English international schools, and overseas universities in China and other countries. Hungary is a small country with a weak labour market; therefore, there are limited employment opportunities in the local market. Wages are also low compared to other Western countries. Thus, there is a tendency for immigrant parents in Hungary to want their children to live outside the country. A number of international schools have a Hungarian branch. Moreover, there are Hungarian-Chinese bilingual schools that receive financial support from Chinese and Hungarian governments. Because of this situation, Chinese migrants have diverse school options. Meanwhile, Hungary is not proactive in accepting migrants and refugees. Local schools do not offer sufficient Hungarian language support for migrant children. It has been noted that the country can be relatively xenophobic. In such an environment, the children of Chinese migrants are having transnational education experiences and making transnational study and career choices outside of the dichotomy of Hungary or China. It can be said that the trend among these people suggests a burgeoning movement toward transnational educational experiences and career choices among the children of migrants in the current context of globalisation. Hungary is a marginal member of the European Union (EU), and the country's geopolitical position may have led a significant number of immigrant children in the country to have transnational education experiences and make transnational study and career choices. Such a phenomenon is rarely seen in major EU countries. This is the focus of this paper. This paper will question the current research framework which takes for granted the modern nation state system and views education for migrant children as an issue of integration into the host country. By doing so, it may be possible to redefine education for migrant children as an issue of transnationalism.

The aim of this paper is to elucidate the diverse school selection among the Chinese youth in Hungary,

as well as the factors which impact their school selection. It also examines the relationship between integration into mainstream society through education and transnationalism.

There has been a dearth of research into Chinese immigrants in Hungary. Existing studies have examined the historical background of such migrants [Nyíri 1998, 2003, 2011] and provided an overview of Fujian migrants in Hungary together with that of Fujian migrants in Italy and the UK [Pieke, Nyíri, ThunØ and Ceccagno 2004]. Only Nyíri [2006, 2014] has studied the transnational study and career choices among the Chinese youth in Hungary through interviews with a number of Hungary-born children of Chinese immigrants who migrated to the country as entrepreneurs in the 1990s. The focus of this paper is close to that of Nyíri's research. However, Nyíri's research was based on a joint survey conducted in government schools in Budapest in the early 2000s. More than 15 years have passed since the survey was conducted, and the situation of Chinese immigrants in Hungary has changed. The majority of Chinese children who participated in Nyíri's studies were born and raised in Hungary. On the other hand, most Chinese students who are currently enrolled in local Hungarian schools have recently moved to Hungary.

This study employs cultural anthropological methods from multi-faceted perspectives which include those of Chinese parents and Chinese communities in Budapest. The author collected data from 2016 to 2019. Prior to this paper, the author explored the role of Chinese supplementary schools in Budapest [Yamamoto 2018], the types of schools selected by Chinese migrant children in Budapest, and the education strategies adopted by their parents [Yamamoto 2019]. This paper is based on these prior studies, and mainly examines empirical data collected through interviews with 18 young Chinese participants, most of whom were in their 20s at the time of the interviews. Each participant talked about their life history in the interviews. This paper then analyses diverse, transnational school selection by the interviewed Chinese youth and the factors which give rise to such diversity. One of the interviewees was working in London, which is also where her interview was conducted. All interview participants received senior secondary education at least in Budapest. None of them were international students who came to Hungary for higher education.

This paper consists of three sections. Section I will summarise preceding studies on transnationalism among second generation migrants and define the paper's theoretical framework. The section will then define the concept of transnationalism within the theoretical framework. In what follows, the section will refer to a study on transnationalism in school selection among the Indian youth in Japan [Yamamoto 2016] for the purpose of comparative analysis. That study is one of the studies which have the closest relevance to this paper. Section II will examine the education environment surrounding Chinese children in Hungary in terms of the following two aspects: first, the available school options in Hungary, and second, the ages at which Chinese children migrated to Hungary and their family backgrounds. Section III will examine diversity in school selection by categorising the types of schools chosen by participants into three groups. In so doing, the author will draw on data from interviews with 18 young Chinese in Budapest. The majority of them are in their 20s. Section IV will start with an examination of the factors that impact school selection among the Chinese youth in Hungary by comparing these people with the Indian youth in Japan, based on the results of analysis in Section III. Section IV will then explore the relationship between participants' age of immigration and the way in which they are integrated into Hungarian society. The section will finally examine the relationship between diversity in school selection among the Chinese youth, and integration into Hungarian society through education and transnationalism. In so doing, the paper will also take into account the study and career choices made by participants after the completion of higher education.

I. Transnationalism in Second-Generation Migrants

1 The Concept of Transnationalism

A number of preceding studies, which explored transnationalism through the prism of the life history of migrant descendants, examined cases of second-generation immigrants in the US. Such studies developed discussion based on empirical research into the relationship between second-generation migrants and their parents' home countries (e.g. the number of visits to the home country, money transfers, and the perception of 'home'), and how such a relationship affects the formation of identity in second-generation migrants and their degree of assimilation⁽¹⁾ into their host country [e.g. Levitt and Waters (eds.) 2002]. These studies aimed to investigate the experience of migrant children in their home communities and the US by elucidating the subjective and objective connections between such children and the home countries of their parents. They also aimed to examine the relationship between assimilation and transnational practice [Levitt and Waters (eds.) 2002: 3]. A small number of studies have been conducted on cases of migrant descendants in Europe. They include a study on the relationship between Chinese migrant children in Spain and their home country, China [Torruella 2019], and that of the relationship between the children of Indian immigrants in the Netherlands and their home country, India [Gowricharn 2009]. It has been noted that empirical studies on transnationalism among second-generation migrants have been conducted from two different perspectives. The first perspective is that ties to the home country are important only for first-generation migrants but not for second-generation migrants, and in the second perspective, it is considered that the relationship between second-generation migrants and the home country of their parents is maintained [Somerville 2008: 23]. Irrespective of the perspective adopted, the discussion on transnationalism in second-generation migrants in preceding studies has solely focused on the relationship between such migrants and the home countries of their parents.

This study is unique in that it discusses transnationalism, taking into account not only the home countries of the parents, but also emigration to other countries. In contrast to cases in the US, second-generation immigrants in EU member countries who have EU citizenship can move freely within the bloc. Additionally, EU citizens are entitled to lower tuition fees for higher education within the EU. This paper examines cases of the Chinese youth in Hungary who have taken advantage of the country's geopolitical position as a marginal EU state. It allows them to be proactive in selecting transnational options for their future studies and careers. The paper views transnationalism as a concept which is not only based on ties with the home countries of migrant parents, but also the emigration of second-generation migrants.

Uesugi [2004] reviewed the introduction and development of, and changes in, the concept of transnationalism and redefined it. The researcher has noted that the meaning of transnationalism and the cross-border movement of people varies greatly between individuals who use such terms. Uesugi has also indicated that there is confusion about the use of related terms and concepts within disciplines such as anthropology. Interest in transnational phenomena started growing within academia from the early 20th century or possibly earlier. Transnationalism was formed as a substantial concept from the 1960s to the 1980s as there was a qualitative and quantitative increase in multinational corporations and international movements. Further, the concept was adopted in anthropological migration studies at the beginning of the 1990s. It has been found that this adoption posited transnationalism as a concept which is centred on pluralistic identity and pluralistic networks [Uesugi 2004: 29].

Uesugi [2004: 19] summarised studies on transnationalism in anthropological migration studies.

According to Uesugi's summary, the term 'transnationalism' was adopted by Schiller and colleagues [1992: 1] in describing that immigrants in the US from the Caribbean, Haiti, and the Philippines have dual identities for both their home country and their destination country (the US), and that such immigrants maintain a cross-border network between their two countries for a long period of time. The researchers referred to the term transnationalism as 'a phenomenon through which migrants build a conceptual space in which their home country and the destination country are linked with each other' [Glick Schiller et al. 1992: 1]. Thereafter, Basch and colleagues further developed the definition of transnationalism to 'a process through which migrants build and maintain a stratified, intertwined social relationship between their home country and their current place of residence [Basch et al. 1994: 7]. Subsequently, Vertovec [1999: 447] emphasised pluralistic identity and pluralistic networks which were not clearly mentioned in the existing definitions. The researcher referred to transnationalism as 'a pluralistic relationship or interaction which links people and organisations beyond national borders' [Vertovec 1999: 447]. Given such definitions, Uesugi proposed to redefine transnationalism as 'a series of long-term, continuous, ubiquitous phenomena among migrants which encompasses their pluralistic identities and pluralistic networks beyond multiple national borders' [Uesugi 2004: 29-30]. This paper adopts Uesugi's definition [Uesugi 2004: 29-30].

Uesugi has stated that studies at a micro- or mezzo- (middle-) level which focus on pluralistic identity and pluralistic networks would cast further light on transnationalism in anthropological research [Uesugi 2004: 30]. This paper can be posited as a study on the pluralistic identity of migrants in the sense that Uesugi pointed to. Transnational education experiences and transnational study and career selection among the Chinese youth in Hungary are linked to the formation of their pluralistic identities.

2. Transnationalism in School Selection: Cases of Indian Immigrants in Japan

The author has previously conducted case studies of Indian migrant children in Japan. In this study, the author examined the impact of school selection for the children of Indian migrant families on their transnationalism, while elucidating various background factors for diverse school selection by migrant families, as well as their study and career selections and the state of the cultural identity⁽²⁾ of the children [Yamamoto 2016]. The research interests of these case studies are closest to that of this paper.

The inflow of Indian immigrants to Japan has drastically increased since the 2000s. The majority of them are young IT technicians. Accompanying this movement, two Indian schools⁽³⁾ were opened in Japan in 2004 and 2006. The schools offer a curriculum in line with that of the Indian Central Board of Secondary Education. Students who complete the curriculum can obtain an Indian secondary education certificate. The author [2016] pointed to Indian immigrant families in Japan who resided in Japan prior to the vast inflow of Indian IT technicians. Such an inflow has given rise to a mainstream discourse in which Indian IT technicians send their children to Indian schools in Japan. Due to this discourse, those who had already been in Japan prior to the 2000s tend to be overlooked. By focusing on this group of Indian immigrants in Japan, the author shed light on their diverse school selection. The study found that their school options up to senior high school were Indian schools, local Japanese government schools, international schools, and private schools in India.

The study analysed seven families and in conclusion noted three factors that influenced their school selection. The first factor was the language of instruction in the school. Apart from two, all the participant Indian families did not choose a local Japanese government school because they considered that their children could only live in Japan if they attended a local Japanese school where only Japanese is spoken. The second factor was family finances. The annual tuition fees of an Indian school is approximately 1 million yen. Those

of an international school and an Indian private school are approximately 1 million to 3 million yen and approximately 300,000 yen respectively. Therefore, family finance was a significant factor in selecting a school. The third factor was gender. In India, most women marry through arranged marriage by their early 20s. Therefore, Indians tend to consider that their daughters should live with their parents and be protected until their marriage. In one of the participant families, the parents sent their two daughters to a school in Japan and their son to a private boarding school in India while the parents were living in Japan. The author analysed the life history of the Indian youth after graduation from senior high school. The findings suggested that school selection by parents up to senior high school do not determine the study and career choices of Indian youth following the completion of secondary education or their cultural identity. The author noted that the family's transnational relationship is reconstructed based on subjective study and career choices by the children and that such a relationship changes with time [Yamamoto 2016].

The Chinese youth in Hungary discussed in this paper are different from the Indian youth in the above study in that the former have a wider selection of schools and are more proactive in studying and working overseas, not only in their parents' home countries, but also in other EU member states.

II. Education Environment Surrounding the Chinese Youth in Hungary

1. Types of Schools Attended by Chinese Migrant Children

Day schools up to senior high school in Hungary that Chinese migrant children can attend can be divided into the following three types.

The first is government schools⁽⁴⁾ where the language of instruction is Hungarian. Special integration assistance for children with limited Hungarian proficiency is not provided in government schools in Hungary. Such assistance is provided at the discretion of individual teachers [Nyíri 2014]. Parents who send their children to government schools while they do not understand Hungarian hire private language tutors.

The second type is government and private bilingual schools⁽⁵⁾. From among such schools, one government school offers Chinese-Hungarian bilingual education. In Europe, there are no other bilingual schools where the languages of instruction are Chinese and a European language. The school started with 90 students, 90% of whom were Chinese. The remaining 10% consisted of Hungarian-Chinese children and non-Chinese, Hungarian children.

The author interviewed a Hungarian deputy principal in March 2017. According to the deputy principal, the 2008 Summer Olympic Games in Beijing gave rise to an increase in the popularity of Chinese in Hungary. This resulted in greater demand for Chinese language education as a second language in Hungary. Therefore, the school curriculum was revised so that Hungarians and other non-Chinese students could learn Chinese as a second language since 2008. The number of students in the primary level of the school was approximately 450 as of 2017, of whom approximately 30% were Chinese; the remaining students were Hungarians or those with other ethnic backgrounds. Most young Chinese immigrants who moved to Hungary in their teens leave the school within six months to three years, during which time they acquire a certain level of Hungarian proficiency and move to other schools [Yamamoto 2019].

In March 2017, the author visited a private English-Hungarian bilingual school which has students from pre-school to senior high school. The school posted advertisements in Chinese newspapers three years ago. Following this, the number of enrolled students with Chinese backgrounds drastically increased at the school, and the proportion of students with Chinese backgrounds exceeded half of the school's international students. The school limits the proportion of international students to no more than 20% to 25% of the total number of

students. The author also visited a government bilingual senior high school in March 2017. From among 50 international students enrolled in the school, 30 were Chinese. The school had only one Chinese student four years prior, indicating that the number of students with Chinese backgrounds significantly increased over the course of three years.

The third type is international schools where subjects are taught in English. Such schools have their own curricula independent of the Hungarian education system. International schools that Chinese children attend include the following types: American, British, Spanish, Turkish, and Austrian international schools and those operated by Chinese churches. Certain international schools have courses which also cover the Hungarian national curriculum⁽⁶⁾.

Additionally, three Chinese supplementary schools operate in Budapest. These schools are open on weekends. The oldest Chinese supplementary school in the city was founded in 1991 by a Chinese couple in their 60s from Harbin. The other two were opened in 2008 and 2014. These supplementary schools were founded by individual Chinese migrants with advanced academic backgrounds. They are open for approximately six hours on Saturdays and Sundays, and students learn not only Chinese (Mandarin) but also English and mathematics⁽⁷⁾.

2. Characteristics of Chinese Migrant Children in Hungary

The majority of Chinese migrants who currently attend schools in Budapest are those in their early teens who moved to Hungary within the last three years. Such children can be divided into two categories. The first includes children who migrated with their parents. Their parents migrated to Hungary for work or through an investor visa scheme which grants them permanent residency in the country. Such children reside in Budapest with their parents or mothers. The second category includes children who were born in Hungary but raised in China by their grandparents until they turned about ten years old. The children have then joined their parents in Budapest. Few Chinese children who were born in Hungary have continued studying in the country without being sent back to China for a certain period of time. Moreover, Chinese children who were born in Hungary and attended a local government school in Hungary had few Chinese friends during their school years and tended to have had negative experiences such as being bullied.

Nyíri [2006] has noted based on a survey in the early 2000s that the proportion of Chinese children born in Hungary has been increasing in schools in Hungary since the 2000s, whereas such children used to receive education in China for several years before they joined their parents in Hungary [Nyíri 2006]. Several schools in the eighth district of Budapest, where Chinese markets operate, have a large number of students with Chinese backgrounds. However, the schools have indicated that each school only has several such students and that the number at each school is therefore not significant [Nyíri 2006]. On the other hand, as mentioned above, students with Chinese backgrounds who migrated to Hungary in their early teens have currently become noteworthy in Budapest.

Their parents' places of origin vary. Most of them are in the wholesale business and wealthier than most Hungarians. The Hungarian government started an investor visa scheme at the end of 2012 which grants permanent residency to eligible applicants. Most non-Hungarians who migrated to Hungary through the scheme are Chinese. Such Chinese are highly educated and wealthy. They do not have to work following migration because they can live off the income they gained by selling real estate properties in China. Some start businesses as immigration brokers for other Chinese. Meanwhile, an increasing number of Chinese immigrants in Hungary have recently changed their jobs from wholesalers to tour guides for Chinese tourists.

Most Chinese parents in Hungary like their lives in the country and plan to continue living there. However, they want their children to attend an overseas university and find a job outside of Hungary.

III. Diversity in School Selection and Study and Career Choices among Chinese Migrant Children

This section will draw on data from interviews conducted by the author with 18 young Chinese (see Table 1 for the attributes of the participants) on their life histories. The section will examine participants' school selections. In so doing, participants will be divided into the following three groups: the first consists of those who completed their entire education in Hungary; the second consists of those who migrated to Hungary in the middle or after the completion of their secondary education; and the third consists of those who migrated to Hungary during their primary education.

From among eighteen participants, eleven were born in Budapest, six in China, and one in Florence, Italy. From among the eleven participants who were born in Budapest, five were raised by their grandparents in China for several years in their childhood. These participants joined their parents in Budapest when they were between the ages of eight and fourteen.

1. Participants Who Completed Their Entire Education in Hungary

Five participants completed their education from primary to secondary education in Budapest (Cases 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5). In Cases 1 and 2, the participants attended government schools in Budapest throughout their school years from primary education to the end of secondary education. The participant of Case 1 saw only two Chinese children in the primary school and the participant was bullied. A number of Chinese students are enrolled in the participant's senior high school, and he is no longer bullied; however, the participant is currently repeating the same year. As requested by his parents, the participant is planning to apply to a university in China after he graduates from senior high school. However, the participant stated that he does not want to attend a university in China.

In Case 2, the participant's mother has an advanced academic background. She considered sending the participant to one of the top schools in Hungary instead of an international school in order for the participant to be accepted to a prestigious university. Most Chinese children in the participant's generation attended international schools. Since the participant wanted to become a medical doctor, he started attending one of the top high schools in the area from Year 6. The school was particularly famous for its biology programme. He did not know what he wanted to do straight after graduation; therefore, he worked in a part time position for two years. Thereafter, he attended a university in Manchester, UK, where he studied Arabic. As his father fell sick, he returned to Budapest following graduation. He is currently working in a real estate agency.

The participant in Case 3 attended a government primary school, a government Hungarian-English bilingual school, and a government senior high school. Thereafter, she attended a university in London. The mother of this participant is a friend of the mother of Case 2's participant. The participant of Case 3 was sent to a government senior high school because her mother heard that it would be better to send her to a government senior high school than to an international school.

The participant of Case 4 attended a government primary school and a government Hungarian-English bilingual school. Following graduation, the participant attended an American international school as recommended by her father. As the participant wanted to go to China, she attended a boarding high school in Shanghai and a prestigious university there. Subsequently, the participant continued her studies at a graduate school in China. The participant lived with a Hungarian family as a child. Therefore, she is fluent in

Hungarian and English, and learned Chinese in a supplementary school in Budapest.

The participant of Case 5 attended a government primary school from Year 1 to Year 3 and from Year 6 to Year 8. He attended a Hungarian-English bilingual school from Year 4 to Year 5 and from Year 9 to Year 12. Following the completion of his secondary education, the participant majored in Chinese at a university in Budapest.

The above five participants who completed their entire education in Hungary selected government schools, international schools, and bilingual schools. Following graduation from senior high school, they attended universities in the UK, Shanghai, and Budapest. Transnational diversity was also observed in their subsequent career choices.

2. Participants Who Migrated to Hungary in the Middle of their Secondary Education or after the Completion Thereof

Seven participants migrated to Budapest in the middle of their primary or secondary education in China or after the completion of such education (Cases 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12). They migrated to Budapest in their early teens. From among these participants, three (Cases 6, 7, and 11) were born in Budapest. They were sent to China as children and received primary and secondary education while living with their grandparents in China. Thereafter, they joined their parents in Budapest in their early teens. The participant of Case 8 migrated from China with his mother, a pastor. The participant of Case 12 migrated from Italy with his parents. The participant of Case 9 migrated to Hungary on her own in order to learn to play the piano. The participant of Case 10 also migrated to Hungary on his own. The participant's parents are university teachers in China and obtained properties in Hungary through an investor visa scheme to acquire permanent residency.

A common aspect among the seven participants is that they had limited Hungarian proficiency when they migrated to Hungary. With the exception of the participant of Case 12, who was born and raised in Italy, these participants can be divided into the following two groups: a group consisting of participants who attended a local government school where they were required to have the same level of proficiency in Hungarian as that of local Hungarian students (Cases 6, 7, and 8); and the other consisting of those who attended schools where the language of instruction was English (Cases 9, 10, and 11). Participants in the former group (Cases 6, 7, and 8) migrated to Hungary in the middle of their secondary education. They attended a Hungarian-Chinese bilingual government school for six months to three years. Thereafter, they moved to a non-bilingual government senior high school. All three participants had difficulty in acquiring Hungarian; however, they overcame the language barrier in approximately two years. The participant of Case 6 stated that his teachers in the senior high school were very kind and helped him improve his Hungarian.

Those who attended a school where the language of instruction was English had limited opportunities to learn Hungarian (Cases 9, 10, and 11). Two participants (Cases 9 and 11) attended a Christian international school. Following graduation, the participant of Case 9 majored in piano at a university in Budapest, and that of Case 11 majored in Chinese at a university in Budapest. The participant of Case 10 studied in an English course at a top senior high school affiliated with an engineering economics college.

The participant of Case 12 was born in Italy. He completed half of his secondary education in Italy and migrated to Budapest with his parents at the age of ten. He attended an Italian school in Budapest for six years. Thereafter, he married a Chinese woman he met in Italy. He currently operates a bag wholesale business in Budapest. While his first language is Italian, he had no opportunities to use it in Hungary. He learned Hungarian through work-related conversations with Hungarian retailers.

As shown in the above cases, participants who migrated to Hungary in their early teens while in the middle of their secondary education or after they completed it found it difficult to acquire Hungarian. Those who attended a government school overcame the language barrier in approximately two years. In contrast, those who attended a school where the language of instruction was English or Italian had limited opportunities to learn Hungarian. Therefore, they have limited Hungarian proficiency. However, limited Hungarian proficiency did not necessarily cause the participants to attend an overseas university. The participants of Cases 8 and 11 studied an English course at a university in Budapest.

3. Participants Who Migrated to Hungary during Their Primary Education

Six participants (Cases 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18) migrated to Budapest at the beginning of their primary education or after they attended a primary school in China for several years.

Two (Cases 13 and 14) attended a government primary school in Budapest for one to two years following their immigration. They subsequently attended an international school from the second half of their primary education. The participant of Case 13 started to attend a government primary school in Hungary at the age of eight following his immigration. However, the participant did not understand Hungarian and received private language lessons for six months from a Hungarian tutor hired by his parents. The participant left the school after he attended it for one year because he was bullied. Thereafter, he attended a Christian international school and enjoyed himself there. While his parents want him to go to university, he wants to start his own business in Hungary without going to university.

The participant of Case 14 learned Hungarian from her father for four months before she started attending a government primary school. Due to her limited Hungarian proficiency, the participant was enrolled in a year for students who are two years younger than her. She attended the school for two years. Thereafter, the participant attended an American international school, where she was enrolled in a year for students who are one year younger than her because she had limited English proficiency. In her third year at the international school, the participant considered that it may be better for her to attend a senior high school in China. Therefore, the participant returned to Guangzhou, China and attended a senior high school there. However, the participant did not find the decision beneficial, and returned to Budapest and again attended the American international school. She attended a one-year university preparation class and thereafter majored in business in an English course of a university in Budapest. The participant changed jobs twice. She married a Chinese man who migrated to Budapest following his graduation from a senior high school in China. She was transferred to a branch in Iraq and worked there for four years away from her family. However, she is currently working in Budapest while raising her child.

The participant of Case 15⁽⁸⁾ completed his primary education up to Year 4 in China. However, he started his primary education in Hungary from Year 1 because he did not understand Hungarian. In Hungary, he played with local children who were younger than him. The participant completed Year 1 at the school and jumped to Year 5 the following year. He continued to attend the school until he finished Year 8 and graduated one year after students his own age. The participant learned Hungarian through private lessons from a retired Hungarian teacher for several years. As he found Hungarian difficult, he focused on mathematics. He passed an entrance examination for one of the top ten government senior high schools in Budapest when he was in Year 8. After graduating from the government senior high school, the participant studied at one of the top universities in London. He also completed his postgraduate education there. The participant failed to obtain Hungarian citizenship and was not successful in finding a job in London. He is currently working in the

Hungarian branch of a German automobile manufacturer.

The participant of Case 16 finished Year 1 of primary education in China before he migrated to Hungary. He attended a Hungarian-Chinese bilingual primary school from Year 2 to Year 8. Following graduation from the primary school, the participant attended a government senior high school. He is currently majoring in Chinese at a university in Budapest. The participant of Case 17 completed up to Year 3 of primary education in China before she migrated to Hungary. She attended a government primary school from Year 4 to Year 5 and a Hungarian-English bilingual government school from Year 6 to Year 8. Thereafter, the participant attended an American international school as recommended by her father. Following graduation, she completed a one-year university preparation course in the UK and subsequently studied at a university in Lancaster. She is currently working in an accounting position in London after finishing her postgraduate studies in the city.

The participant of Case 18 attended a Hungarian-Chinese bilingual primary school from Year 1 to Year 4. Thereafter, he attended two government primary schools for one year each. The participant changed schools because he was bullied in the first school where there was only one other Chinese student. Thereafter, he returned to China with his mother as his parents wanted him to improve his Chinese proficiency. He repeated Year 5 of primary school in China and continued to study there for a total of four years. The participant found studying at the school in China difficult. He returned to Budapest from Year 9 and studied for one year in an English course of a senior high school affiliated with an engineering economics college. Thereafter, he moved to and graduated from a Christian international school. While the participant wished to attend a university in the Netherlands, he was not accepted. The participant is currently studying journalism in an English course of a university in Budapest.

From among six participants in the above cases who migrated to Hungary during their primary education, only one (Case 15) attended Hungarian government schools throughout their school education from primary school to the end of senior high school. The participant of Case 15 was enrolled in a year for students who are four years younger than him due to his limited Hungarian proficiency. However, the participant overcame this adversity with his mathematics skills and was accepted to a prestigious senior high school. The other five participants attended a Hungarian-Chinese bilingual school, a Hungarian-English bilingual school, or an international school.

IV. Discussion

This section will examine diversity in the selection of schools among the participants examined in Section III, as well as diversity in their study and career choices from the following three vantage points: first, factors affecting school selection; second, the degree of integration into Hungarian society related to the age of migration; and third, the relationship between integration into mainstream society through education and transnationalism.

1. Factors Affecting School Selection

School options for migrant children in Hungary include government schools, bilingual schools, and international schools. Section III examined diversity in school selection among participants by dividing them into the following three groups: the first group consists of those who completed their entire education in Hungary; the second group consists of those who migrated to Hungary in the middle or after the completion of their secondary education; and the third group consists of those who migrated to Hungary during their

primary education. Three types of schools were selected in each of these three groups. No particular school was selected depending on the age of migration. Thus, it can be noted that the age of migration is not a determining factor for school selection.

Section II-2 pointed to the language of instruction in school, the financial situation of the family, and gender as factors affecting school selection by Indian immigrants in Japan [Yamamoto 2016]. In contrast to Indian immigrants in Japan, their Chinese counterparts in Hungary have additional options of bilingual schools, which are not available in Japan, government schools where the language of instruction is Hungarian, and international schools where the language of instruction is English. Interview data suggested that young Chinese migrants who struggled with improving their Hungarian proficiency following migration tended to choose a Hungarian-Chinese bilingual school. English-Hungarian bilingual schools adopt the Hungarian national curriculum. Therefore, those who attend such bilingual schools have greater opportunities to learn Hungarian compared to those who attend international schools where the language of instruction is English and where education is provided through a curriculum independent of the Hungarian one. In other words, young Chinese immigrants in Hungary do not face an exclusive choice between English or Hungarian for the language of instruction of instructor in school because they can attend a bilingual school. It is true that both Chinese migrant parents in Hungary and their Indian counterparts in Japan consider that learning English is important. However, it can be noted that in contrast to Indian immigrants in Japan, the selection of the language of instruction is not clearly linked to the selection of a school in the cases of Chinese immigrants in Hungary.

In terms of household financial situation, Indian immigrants in Japan can be divided into the following two groups: wealthy IT technicians and entrepreneurs, such as restaurant owners, who can send their children to international schools or an Indian school in Japan; and working-class chefs and waiters who are not wealthy enough to bring their families to Japan. In contrast, it was found that few Chinese immigrants in Hungary are unable to send their children to an international school due to financial reasons even if they were economic migrants whose migrations were driven by a desire for a wealthier life. It was also found that gender did not affect their school selection.

What follows will examine the factors affecting school selection among Chinese immigrants in Hungary. It is notable that the number of enrolments of students with Chinese backgrounds drastically increased in the private Hungarian-English bilingual school visited by the author in March 2017. The increase occurred three years after the school posted an advertisement in Chinese newspapers. Many of such children were born in Hungary but raised in China by their grandparents. The children have subsequently joined their parents in Budapest in their teens. Many of their parents are originally from Zhejiang or Fujian, China and have been living in Hungary for 20 to 30 years. Information about the school was rapidly shared between such parents as they have their own local network.

Meanwhile, the mothers of participants in Cases 2 and 3 are friends, both of whom are highly educated. These mothers have a different social background to that of the majority of the parents of Chinese students in the private Hungarian-English bilingual school the author visited. The mothers shared information that the academic level of elite government senior high schools is higher than that of international schools. Therefore, they sent their children to a government senior high school. Other Chinese parents have recently migrated to Hungary through work or an investor visa scheme for permanent residency. These migrants were seeking better lives than what can be found in large cities such as Beijing and Shanghai. They obtain information on schools from local real estate agencies, which they use to find their homes in Budapest. Alternatively, they

independently search the internet. Moreover, it was found that few Chinese children attended government schools in Hungary. A significant number of such children have experienced bullying and were forced to move schools.

The above findings suggest that the factors which play an important role in school selection for Chinese migrant children in Hungary are various levels of word of mouth including the network within the Chinese community, personal friend relationships, and local real estate agencies. Word of mouth between parents were also a factor for school selection among Indian immigrants in Japan; however, other factors had a more significant impact on their decisions. In the case of Chinese immigrants in Hungary, no other factors than word of mouth between parents had a significant impact on school selection. Backgrounds to such a situation may include: first, Chinese immigrant parents are relatively wealthy and do not have to choose a school based on their financial situation; and second, bilingual schools are available in Hungary, which are the midway between government schools, where the language of instruction is Hungarian, and international schools, where the language of instruction is English. Additionally, bullying also constitutes a reason for a Chinese migrant child to leave a government school for another. It was found that the above factors are intricately interrelated and lead Chinese immigrants in Hungary to select schools in a diverse manner, which is independent of the age of migration.

2. The Age of Migration and Integration into Hungarian Society

With the aim of elucidating how interview participants integrated themselves into Hungarian society, this section will examine their language, nationality, and cultural identity by dividing the participants into the following three categories: the first consists of those who completed their entire education in Hungary; the second consists of those who migrated to Hungary in the middle or after the completion of their secondary education; and the third consists of those who migrated to the country during their primary education.

First, all five participants who completed their entire education in Hungary attended a government school where the language of instruction was Hungarian or a Hungarian-English bilingual school at the primary education level. Their first language is Hungarian, and they are also fluent in English. All five participants have no problems with Chinese (Mandarin) conversation, but do not have advanced reading or writing skills in the language. Particularly, in Case 4, the participant lived with a Hungarian family during her childhood because her parents were busy with work. The supplementary school that she attended on weekends played an important role in her learning Chinese. From among the five participants, three obtained Hungarian citizenship. The participant of Case 2 stated that he experienced an identity crisis when he was in his late teens and tried to look like a Hungarian. However, the participant said that now that he has turned 25, he is confident in himself as he is.

Second, from among seven participants who migrated to Hungary in the middle or after the completion of their secondary education, six speak Chinese as their first language. Only the participant of Case 12 speaks Italian as his first language as he grew up in Italy. The participant of Case 12 migrated to Hungary at the age of ten. Thereafter, he had no opportunities to use Italian. He learned Hungarian through communication with his Hungarian retailers and taught himself English on the internet. While he can have conversations in Wenzhounese, he cannot read or write the language. The nationality of all the seven participants is Chinese. With the exception of the participant of Case 12, they all have strong identities as Chinese. The participant of Case 12 stated that he considers himself as neither Italian, Hungarian, nor Chinese, but as an independent self.

Third, the first language of the six participants who migrated to Hungary during their primary education

varies. From among the six participants, three (Cases 13, 17, and 18) have limited Hungarian proficiency. Those of Cases 13 and 17 speak Chinese as their first language and English as a second language. The participant of Case 18 has the same level of proficiency in English and Chinese. Those of Cases 14 and 15 speak Chinese but do not have advanced skills in the language; they have the same level of proficiency in English and Hungarian. The participant of Case 16 has the same level of proficiency in Chinese and Hungarian. Diversity in language skills was thus observed between those who migrated during their primary education. Their language skills were affected by combinations of various factors such as the schools they attended and their workplace experiences. In terms of nationality, only the participant of Case 13 obtained Hungarian citizenship at the age of 18. The other five have Chinese citizenship. The three participants with limited proficiency in Hungarian have strong identities as Chinese. Those of Cases 14 and 15 have limited proficiency in Chinese and do not have strong identities as Chinese; however, they do not necessarily consider themselves as Hungarians. The participant of Case 16, who has the same level of proficiency in Hungarian and Chinese, has been struggling with forging his identity.

As shown above, the first language of the five participants who completed their entire education in Hungary and two of the six participants who migrated to the country during their primary education is Hungarian. In contrast, seven participants who migrated in the middle or after the completion of their secondary education speak Chinese as their first language, irrespective of the school they attended. They also have strong identities as Chinese, indicating that their degree of integration into Hungarian society is the lowest among all participants. The findings from the interviews suggest that there is a correlation between the age of migration and the degree of integration into Hungarian society.

3. Study and Career Choices after Secondary Education

This section will examine the relationship between participants' study and career choices following the completion of their secondary education and their education experiences up to their secondary education. Among all interview participants, eleven received tertiary education, of whom six graduated from an international school, four from a government senior high school, and one from a Hungarian-English bilingual school. It is noteworthy that graduates of international schools do not necessarily attend overseas universities, while they had limited opportunities to learn Hungarian compared to those who attended a government or bilingual school. From among six participants who graduated from an international school, two studied at an overseas university. Both took advantage of their Hungarian citizenship. The participant of Case 4 attended a prestigious university in China as an international student; the participant of Case 17 attended a university in the UK because she was entitled to lower tuition fees as an EU citizen. From among the other four participants (Cases 9, 11, 14, and 16), three studied in an English course of a university in Budapest, and the participant of Case 9 is majoring in piano at a university in Budapest. Meanwhile, from among the four participants who graduated from government senior high schools (Cases 2, 3, 15, and 16), three (Cases 2, 3, and 15) studied at a university in the UK.

International schools in Hungary have curricula independent of the Hungarian national curriculum. It is intriguing that graduates from such schools remain in Budapest for their tertiary education and that those who graduated from a government senior high school, where the language of instruction is Hungarian, studied at overseas universities. The mothers of the three participants who studied in the UK after graduating from a Hungarian government senior high school had information that the academic level of the elite government schools was higher than that of the international schools in the area. All three participants graduated from an

elite government senior high school. They subsequently studied at, and graduated from, a prestigious British university. One of the three participants (Case 15) migrated to Hungary at the age of ten. Thereafter, he attended a primary school and was enrolled in a year for students who are four years younger than him because he had limited Hungarian proficiency. However, the participant overcame the language disadvantage, entered an elite government senior high school, and graduated from a prestigious university and a graduate school in London. The participant failed to obtain Hungarian citizenship three times. He was also not successful in finding a job in London. He is currently working in the Hungarian branch of a German automobile manufacturer. The participant of Case 18 stated that he would like to work in an online sales business after graduating from an international school. He indicated that he would like to continue to live in Budapest, although his Hungarian is not good.

The above analysis suggests that various factors are intricately interrelated in career and study selection among participants following the completion of secondary education. Such factors include parents' approaches to education for their children, the nationality of the children, and the children's chosen life trajectories. It can also be noted that graduating from an international school does not necessarily lead the graduate to select a transnational option for their career or further study, and that graduating from a government school, where the language of instruction is Hungarian, does not guarantee that the graduate will be integrated into the mainstream society of the country. In the previous section, the author noted that those who were born in Hungary and those who migrated to the country while they were young were integrated into Hungarian society to a greater degree in terms of nationality, language proficiency, and cultural identity. However, when examining the relationship between the participants' school selection up to senior high school and their chosen careers or study selections after completing secondary education, it is suggested that adapting to a government school may lead to a transnational option. On the other hand, certain participants continued to live in Hungary after they graduated from an international school despite not being fluent in Hungarian. In other words, an analysis of the interview data sheds light on diversity in the school selections among Chinese children in Hungary, suggesting that integration into mainstream society through education and transnational career and study choices are not mutually exclusive. Rather, these factors are intricately interrelated.

Moreover, the Hungarian education system does not offer sufficient language support to migrant children. Hungary is considered a xenophobic nation. However, school options for immigrant children include not only international schools where the language of instruction is English, but also Hungarian-English bilingual schools and English courses at universities in the country. Such an educational environment may help the immigrant youth choose their study and career trajectories through education outside of the dichotomy of integration into the mainstream society and transnationalism.

Conclusion

As the UK decided to leave the EU after a referendum, other EU member countries have started looking at stricter border control for immigrants and refugees. Therefore, the social backdrop to transnational study and career selection is constantly changing.

The author interviewed three Chinese mothers in Budapest in March 2018. They have children who attend a pre-school or primary school. These mothers want their children to choose a transnational option for their tertiary education; therefore, they are focused on English education for their children. On the other hand, they are also considering that it is important for their children to receive education in Hungary. Thus, in order

for their children to learn Hungarian, the mothers are planning to send them to a local school in Hungary until the end of their secondary education. In other words, the mothers are hoping that their children will adapt to a local Hungarian school up to the end of their secondary education while hoping that their children will choose a transnational option in the future.

Parents' approaches to career and study selections and those of their children are intricately interrelated. Children's intentions become clearer after they start their tertiary education. This paper elucidated diversity in the school selection of Chinese youth in Hungary. The paper noted that the backdrop to such diversity is the education strategies of immigrant families, which involve a complex relationship between integration into mainstream society and transnationalism.

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Notes:

- (1) Discussion on assimilation in these studies [Levitt and Waters (eds.) 2002] is built on the Segmented Assimilation theory by Portes and Zhou [1993]. The theory explains the academic achievement of second-generation immigrants who moved to the US after the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 was passed by the US Congress. The theory also explains the adaptation style of such immigrants in American society.
- (2) The case studies view cultural identity as follows: the name given to the ways of positioning the self in the narratives of the past [Hall 1989: 70]; and the point of 'identification' within historical and cultural discourses as well as 'positioning' rather than the real entity [Hall 1989: 71].
- (3) The India International School in Japan (IISJ) was founded in 2004. The Global Indian International School in Japan (GIIS) was opened in 2006, and is headquartered in Singapore.
- (4) Schools and pre-schools in Hungary are founded and operated by the following entities: the national government, local governments, the governments of minority ethnic groups, individuals, and private organizations. Private organizations include foundations and churches. Approximately 90% of children in Hungary attend a government school [Eurydice 2017]. Compulsory education in Hungary previously lasted eight years. The number of school years was changed to 12 from the 2004/05 financial year (13 years if the last year of pre-school is included). In principle, primary education consists of eight years, which are divided into two stages. The first stage consists of Years 1 to Year 4, and the second stage from Year 5 to Year 8. Each of these stages was further divided into two from the 2004/05 financial year, and there are currently four stages in primary education [Wakita 2009]. In principle, secondary education consists of four years and is normally for children aged 14 to 17. The types of schools include gymnasiums, technical junior high schools, apprenticeship senior high schools, and training institutions for special education. Students can be enrolled in a gymnasium at Year 5 or Year 7. Four-, six-, and eight-year gymnasiums are also available [Eurydice 2017].
- (5) Bilingual education in Hungary has been provided over the last 100 years or longer. In 1987, which saw the demise of socialism, ten gymnasiums were offering bilingual education in Hungarian and languages such as Russian, English, German, and French [Iida 2012: 46]. The number of bilingual schools continued to increase. At present, over 250 primary and secondary schools provide certain kinds of bilingual education. Two-thirds of bilingual education programmes are provided in Hungarian and English, slightly less than one-third are in Hungarian and

- German, and a limited number offer other languages [Iida 2012: 46].
- (6) The author described elsewhere the details of schools in Budapest that Chinese children attend based on the research in March 2017 [Yamamoto 2019].
- (7) The author explained elsewhere the role of weekend supplementary schools in Budapest that are attended by Chinese children [Yamamoto 2018].
- (8) The author has described the details of this participant elsewhere as Case B [Yamamoto 2018: 168-169].

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Transnational School Selection among Chinese Youth in Hungary

Table 1: The Attributes of Interviewees and Their School Choices

Case	Gender	Age at the Time of Study	Place of Birth	Year of Migration	Occupation	Nationality	Year of Migration of Parents	Place of Birth of Parents	Occupation of Parents	Primary Education (Y1-4)	Junior Secondary Education (Y5-8)	Senior Secondary Education (Y9-12)	University
Case 1	Male	18 years old	Budapest		Senior high school student	China	Parents: 1991	Wenzhou, Zhejiang	Chinese goods wholesaling	Government primary school (Y1-4)	Government primary school (Y5-8)	Government senior high school	
Case 2	Male	25 years	Budapest		Office worker	Hungary	Parents: 1991	Father: Hong Kong Mother: Suzhou	Father: Wholesaling Mother: Interpreter	Government primary school (Y1-4)	Government primary school (Y5-8) Government Junior high school (Y6-8)	Government senior high school (Y6-12); Worked part-time for two years in a university (Budapest) prior to entry to a university	Majoring in Arabic at a university in the UK (Manchester)
Case 3	Female	21 years old	Budapest		University student (living in London)	Hungary	Father: 1991 Mother: 1994	Qingdao	Chinese goods wholesaling	Government primary school (Y1-4)	English-Hungarian bilingual government school (Y5-8)	Government senior high school	University in London; majoring in English and theatre performance
Case 4	Female	22 years	Budapest		Postgraduate student (living in Shanghai)	Hungary	Father: 1990 Mother: 1992	Fujian	Chinese goods wholesaling	Government primary school (Y1-2) Hungarian-English bilingual government school (Y3-4)	American international school (Y6-10)	Boarding school in Shanghai (Y11-12)	University in Shanghai; majoring in marketing
Case 5	Male	20 years old	Budapest		University student	China	Parents: 1995	Wenzhou, Zhejiang	Apparel wholesaling	Government primary school (Y1-2) Hungarian-English bilingual government school (Y3-4)	Government primary school (Y5-8)	Hungarian-English bilingual government school (Y9-12)	University in Budapest; majoring in Chinese
Case 6	Male	15, 16, and 17 years old	Budapest	Lived in China from age 6 to 14 2014 (14 years old)	Senior high school student	China	Parents: 1998	Luoyang, Henan	Wholesaling Tour guide	Primary school in China	Junior high school in China Hungarian-Chinese bilingual school (half of Y8)	Government senior high school	
Case 7	Female	18 years old	Budapest	Lived in China from age 3 to 11 2010 (11 years old)	Senior high school student	China	Parents: 1998	Lishui, Zhejiang	Chinese restaurant	Primary school in China	Junior high school in China Hungarian-Chinese bilingual school (Y8)	Government senior high school	
Case 8	Male	16 years old	Guangdong	2011 (11 years old)	Senior high school student	China	2011 (Mother, divorced)	Guangdong	Pastor (Mother)	Primary school in China	Junior high school in China Hungarian-Chinese bilingual school (Y6-8)	Christian international school	University and graduate school in Budapest; majoring in piano
Case 9	Female	22, 23, and 24 years old	Beijing	2008 (14 years old)	Postgraduate student	China	Living in Beijing	Beijing	Office worker	Primary school in China	Junior high school in China	Christian international school	
Case 10	Male	14 years old	Shenzhen	2016 (14 years old)	Senior high school student	China	Living in Shenzhen	Shenzhen	Both of the parents are university teachers	Primary school in China	Junior high school in China	Senior high school affiliated with an engineering economics collage (English course)	
Case 11	Male	21 years old	Budapest	Lived in China from age 0 to 14 2013 (15 years old)	University student	China	Parents: 1998	Fujian	Chinese goods wholesaling	Primary school in China	Junior high school in China	Christian international school (Y10-12)	University in Budapest; majoring in Chinese (English course)
Case 12	Male	30 years old (married)	Florence, Italy	1998 (10 years old)	Bag wholesaling	China	Parents: 1998	Wenzhou, Zhejiang	Bag wholesaling	Primary school in Italy	Junior high school in Italy (Y5-6) Italian school (Y7-12)		
Case 13	Male	17 years old	Budapest	Lived in China from age 0 to 7 2011 (8 years old)	Senior high school student	China	Parents: 1998	Qujiang, Zhejiang	Chinese goods wholesaling	Primary school in China (Y1-3) Government primary school (Y4)	Christian international school (Y5-10; current)		
Case 14	Female	36 years old (married)	Guangzhou, Guangdong	1991 (11 years old)	Office worker	?	Father: 1990 Mother: 1991	Guangzhou, Guangdong	Chinese goods wholesaling	Government primary school (Y3-4; repeated)	American international school (Y6-12; skipped Y5) Senior high school in China (Y8)		University in Budapest; majoring in business (English course)
Case 15	Male	22, 23, and 24 years old	Sichuan	2004 (10 years old)	Office worker	China	Father: 1994 Mother: 2000	Sichuan	Chinese goods wholesaling Tour guide	Primary school in China (Y1-4) Government primary school (Y1; repeated)	Government primary school (Y5-8)	Government senior high school	University and graduate school in London; majoring in economics
Case 16	Male	22 years old	Budapest	Lived in China from age 0 to 7 2005 (8 years old)	University student	China	Parents: 1998	Lishui, Zhejiang	Apparel wholesaling	Primary school in China (Y1) Hungarian-Chinese bilingual school (Y2-8)		Government senior high school	University in Budapest; majoring in Chinese
Case 17	Female	31 years old	Fujian	1998 (10 years old)	Office worker (living in London)	Hungary	Father: 1990 Mother: 1992	Fujian	Chinese goods wholesaling	Primary school in China (Y1-3) Government primary school (Y4)	Government primary school (Y5) Hungarian-English bilingual government school (Y6-8)	American international school (Y9-12)	University preparation course in the UK (1 year) University in the UK (3 years in Lancaster, London, 1 year)
Case 18	Male	19 and 20 years old	Budapest	Lived in China from age 0 to 6 2005 (6 years old) Lived in China from age 11 to 14 2013 (14 years old)	Senior high school student University student	China	Father: 1995 Mother: 1993	Wenzhou, Zhejiang	Shoes wholesaling	Hungarian-Chinese bilingual school (Y1-4)	Government primary school (Y5), another government primary school (Y6); junior high school in China (Y5-8, overlap in Y5)	Senior high school affiliated with an engineering economics college (Y9; English course), Christian international school (Y10-11)	University in Budapest; majoring in communication and media (English course)

(Note 1) Government primary schools and government senior high schools refer to those in Budapest.

(Note 2) Unless otherwise stated, the current residence is Budapest.