

Gypsy Studies – Cigány Tanulmányok

Society and Lifestyles – Hungarian Roma and Gypsy Communities

23.



Forray R. Katalin, Beck Zoltán, ed.

**Society and Lifestyles –
Hungarian Roma and Gypsy Communities**



University of Pécs, Faculty of Humanities, Institute of Education,
Department of Romology and Sociology of Education

PÉCS, 2008.

**This volume was published as part of the research
project of Society and Lifestyles.**



Published by University of Pécs, Faculty of Humanities, Institute of Education,
Department of Romology and Sociology of Education •
7624 Pécs, Ifjúság str. 6. • Publisher: Forray R. Katalin • Editor: Cserti Csapó Tibor •
Editors: Forray R. Katalin, Beck Zoltán • Lecturer: Sári B. László •
Cover art: Ofszet Hungária Kft. • Printed by Ofszet Hungária Kft.
Pécs, Szabadság str. 28. • Director: Takács Imre • Printed in 100 copies •
ISBN: xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx • ISSN: 1586–6262

Content

Katalin R. Forray – Society and Lifestyles	7
Roma nation in the Hungarian society	14
Research methodology and questionnaire design	19
Pálmainé Orsós Anna – Issues of Beas language teaching and language planning in Hungary	21
1. Gypsies in Hungary	21
2. Gypsy languages in Hungary	26
3. Gypsy languages in school education	28
4. Summary	35
Works Cited	37
Lakatos Szilvia – Gypsy languages in Baranya County	43
Introduction	43
1. Gypsy language or Gypsy languages?	45
2. The language status of the Gypsy/Roma minority	49
3. Linguistic attitudes	55
4. The linguistic features of the Gypsy/Roma community in the city of Pécs	58
5. Language politics: minority language rights	59
Summary	61
Works Cited	62
Aranka Varga – Gypsy children in education – inclusive school based on cooperation	66
Introduction	66
1. Educational indicators	67
2. Educational forms – the legal framework	71
3. Roma pedagogy vs. inclusive education	76
Works Cited	84

Tibor Cserti Csapó – Spatial-sociological description of the Roma population in Hungary	89
The settlement of the Gypsy population in Hungary	89
1. Geographical-spatial distribution in Hungary	89
2. Spatial distribution of the Roma population in Southern Transdanubia	107
3. Distribution of the Roma population by settlement type	109
4. Migration processes	111
5. Segregation	119
Works Cited	125
Sources	126

Katalin R. Forray – Society and Lifestyles

Towards Enhancing Social Harmony through Knowing Subcultural Communities

This research project of fifteen partner institutions from ten countries, headed by Vytautas Magnus University (Vilnius, Lithuania), aims at enhancing our knowledge of the social status of the various groups with different lifestyles. The primary objective of the three-year (2006–2009) project is to gather information on the position of various European value systems in new Member States of the European Union.

The project has been funded by the European Union under the social sciences and humanities section of the Sixth Framework Programme. Its aim is to study communities which represent different worldviews, values and beliefs. The area to be investigated – the ten participating states – comprises post-communist countries. As long as those more or less totalitarian systems prevailed, such minority groups could not exist, or at least not appear in public.

These communities are sometimes collectively referred to as „fringers”. The term stands for small, extreme groups living on the fringes of society. The designation „fringers”, however, does not fit all groups in question, thus its use has been avoided throughout the project. Not all communities were included in the study, and each group has some specific characteristics. (An example could be the group of Muslims found by one of our colleagues in Bratislava, or the hip-hops in the neighborhood of a Romanian university.)

It was not the intention of this project to find and describe each and every „fringer” community of the region, as that would have been far beyond the scope of the programme. The goal was rather to describe groups of as many kinds of values, norms and habits as possible, which, somehow, act to disrupt and divide the monolithic structure of society. As a consequence, the sample includes some communities which are made up of only a couple of families (e.g. Euro-Indians in Bratislava) as well as groups of several hundred people (e.g. Lithuanian nationalist skinheads).

In the early stages, the multitude of communities seemed to be some diffuse mixture, yet our analyses and comparisons led to the definition of three well-distinguished groups for the purposes of this research project:

1. „Taste” subcultures
2. New religious movements

3. Ethnic/religious groups.

The first category covers hippies, punks, skinheads, solitary neo-cottagers, new-Bohemians, Euro-Indians, hip-hops, drug users, club-movements, football hooligans, criminal gangs and political communities of radical youth. These groups, made up of a varying number of (primarily young) people, are basically held together by sharing a common taste – in clothing, in hair-dos, in music. Of course, things are much more complicated than that, and no one truly believes that there are no significant differences between football hooligans and young intellectuals moving into abandoned villages for shorter or longer periods of time (certainly as a part of their lifestyle). Moreover, coherence within these groups might be provided by ideas other than „taste”, as well: worldviews, values or lifestyle in the broadest possible senses of these words.

The second group includes communities such as krishnaists, movements with a Celtic background, followers of Roerich’s Buddhist teachings, Orthodox Christian followers of Visarion, believers of the ancient Latvian Dievturi Church, Romuva (ancient Baltic religion) and Slavlanie (another ancient Slavic religion), new-pagans, other communities with roots in the Far East, etc. This second group is rather diverse, too, yet the dimensions along which we can categorize their elements seem to be clearer. It is apparent that the majority of new religious communities found and analyzed by our researchers in their own country or region belong to one of the following types: ancient and/or pre-Christian religions with emphasis on national identity (cf. ancient Lithuanian and Slavic religions), early Christian movements expressing the desire for a true community or Far Eastern religions.

Finally, the third category consists of Gypsy/Roma communities, Muslim minorities in Slovakia and radical Muslim groups in Russia. Even though different Gypsy communities can be found in any one of the participating countries, it was our department which took on the task of exploring Roma issues – thus involving Gypsies as a „fringers” community – within the framework of the present study. The rather small community of Slovakian Muslims – just like the Muslims of Kazakh origin we found in Russia – are actually an ethnic community (Afghans), keeping their traditions alive as an immigrant ethnic minority, assimilating the spouses whom they married locally.

The primary aim of this comparative study is to

- determine the degree of subgroup differentiation in post-communist societies,
- study the process of differentiation,

- to compare both the subgroup structure and the differentiation processes in the post-communist societies to those observed in Western Europe – the reason for the participation of e.g. British researchers.

A further objective is to observe and describe how groups emerge, grow, function and disappear. The description of these processes might be of interest both in terms of theory and practice. This matter is clearly important for cultural anthropology and sociology, especially because these processes are clearly nonlinear, and recent advances in computational tools make such studies finally possible. These research topics are of great practical concern and applicability because they can facilitate the solution of problems in social cohesion and inter-group tensions.

The project will take an interdisciplinary approach, primarily based on the aspects and methodologies of cultural, social and political anthropology. Fieldwork will be focused on revealing the real life of these groups, and on understanding their values, beliefs, worldviews and religions. Developing a comprehensive understanding of these previously unseen, colorful worlds would have hardly been possible by means of verbal methods only. Consequently, the research plan included the requirement of multi-stage, multi-method presentation right from the beginning.

As one could expect from any decent research project, our tasks did not only comprise the collection and annotation of related literature, publications and internal and external links. Most of the communities under analysis wanting *to be seen and/or heard*, the making of photographs, sound and video recordings proved to be really important.

In order for the comparative research to succeed, meetings and conferences are crucial, as they provide an opportunity to hear from and report on project progress, delayed or early completion of some scheduled items, possible organizational or interpretational problems.

It is the „nature“ of youth subcultures that inevitably requires the project to include meetings where not only verbal presentations are held but research participants can gain personal experience of the communities in question. For example, it was part and parcel of our conference in Pécs that we took a fieldtrip in the Ormánság region and participated in a dance event. Our Lithuanian partners in charge of the project and hosts to the majority of conferences invited participants to alternative arts festivals and folklore events which also served as preferred meeting points for the communities in question. Kernavė, for example, hosted a feast of pre-Christian Lithuanian history and

cultural heritage, while in Zarasai a festival of post-folk, emo and other music genres and related „lifestyle communities” was held.

Some of the movies presented might be considered pieces of art, as well, beyond documenting the everyday life, holidays or habits of a community.

All the sound and video recordings, in addition to the written documents can be found on the SAL project homepage.

Hungary is represented in the project by the Department of Romology at the University of Pécs (Faculty of Humanities), whose researchers set out to explore the lifestyles of the Hungarian Gypsy/Roma communities and their position in the social field.

The novelty of this approach is that it allows for a comparison between various „lifestyle communities” and different societies. As a result, we will get a picture of how each subculture of the participating countries interprets and articulates their identity, separation and social involvement. It has also been investigated how the society of the majority (media, science) acknowledges the existence of the various minorities, and what the relationships between different subcultural communities look like.

The inclusion of Roma issues does not only broaden the picture, but it also seems inevitable. This holds true even though one had to and still has to expect different communities to demonstrate significantly different characteristics in several dimensions of the study. The point is not that ethnicity is not a „chosen” or a „choosable” attribute (although the degree of identification might vary in most cases), as it applies to some other communities under analysis (for Muslims, Indians, as mentioned above). It is not a relevant question, either, whether Gypsy or Roma communities are true „lifestyle-groups” (not necessarily as one single group or community – I pursued this argument in previously, and no claims were formulated to the contrary).

Much more important are some unique characteristics of practical importance, which required efforts different from (most of the time: stronger than) what was typical for the other subcultural communities. First of all, we have to mention the population of the community, which amounts to several hundred thousands in case of the Roma, while some subcultural communities hardly exceed 20 to 50 people. Another factor is the huge amount of literature available on Roma communities, which, of course, makes things a lot easier on the one hand: an undertaking to explore each and every aspect of Roma issues would have been far beyond our capabilities. On the other hand, however, hav-

ing to review the tenfold of the usual two or three publications is definitely a hardship. We encountered the very same features in each stage of the research: in exploring and describing existing literature and documentation, in the scientific description of a comprehensive system of relationships, in conducting and analyzing the interviews and in planning, conducting and analyzing the questionnaire survey. On top of these, further difficulties emerged with language. Problems of the scientific and everyday use of the English language set aside, attention must be given to the severe difficulties encountered in comparative empirical studies as demonstrated by, in this very case, the issues of adapting the questionnaire to the Hungarian environment and then translating it back into English.

Describing the Hungarian Roma within this framework allows for outlining a picture uniquely rich in detail. The ethnic dimension and the extent to which people retain their traditions is a particularly important aspect (the most numerous subgroups of Hungarian Roma are Romungro (or „Hungarian”) Gypsies, Vlach (or „Wallachian” or „Olah”) Gypsies and Boyash (or „Beás”) Gypsies). Thus, we also desire to know what cultural values each Gypsy/Roma subgroup has, which of those values they think is their own, and what they think about the other Gypsy/Roma groups and the culture prevailing in majority society.

The first phase of the project was the planning stage: our team happened to be in the enviable position of joining in to a completed tender with funds already secured, yet still being able to have some of our own professional ideas accepted. A particularly important person in establishing and maintaining links to the project management team in Lithuania was Szabolcs Fekete.

The next stage involved the collection and review of documents, data and literature – here, everyone from the department had their own role, with organizational tasks having been shared between Szabolcs Fekete and Mónika Balázsovcics.

Subsequently, the required studies on the situation of the Roma population were written by the staff of the Department of Romology – the studies featured in the book you are holding in your hands right now.

Next we interviewed prominent, typical members of the Gypsy/Roma community based on the interview plan prepared in collaboration with other project participants. Some of the findings of the interviews were presented at the conference held at our university, and a more in-depth analysis will follow during the evaluation of the questionnaire survey.

The function of the questionnaire is to reveal both the unique and the common characteristics of the communities in question. As implied earlier, a common structure for the questionnaires was developed by the Lithuanian party – which questionnaire had to be adapted to our country: translated into Hungarian and revised to suit our target group. Results will be presented in a later publication.

The present compilation will undertake the task of introducing the international research project itself (Katalin Forray R.) and its homepage and archives (Mónika Balázsovics). The presentation given at the 2007 conference organized by our department provides a summary of research findings up to that date, yet does not include an analysis of the interviews. Additional studies describe the Gypsy/Roma population under analysis according to five different aspects, also introducing their issues to be addressed in the comparative part of the study. Each of the five authors (Zoltán Beck, Tibor Cserti Csapó, Szilvia Lakatos, Mrs. Anna Pálmai, Aranka Varga) looks into one element of their lifestyles.

We cherish the hope that outcomes of our project will be useful not only for the development of the social sciences but in that of the members of sub-cultural groups as well. It is presumed that the SAL project will raise tolerance towards different attitudes and lifestyles and hence enhance social harmony.

SAL project participants

Project Coordinator: Egidija Ramanauskaitė Kiškina (Vytautas Magnus University, Centre for Cultural Studies, Lithuania)

Project Management: Juras Ulbikas and Linas Eriksonas (Europarama, Lithuania)

The project unites 15 partners from 10 countries:

- Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania (VMU),
- Europarama, Lithuania (EP)
- Institute of Lithuanian Scientific Society, Lithuania (MSI)
- University of Central Lancashire, United Kingdom (UCLAN)
- University of SS. Cyril and Methodius in Trnava Slovakia (UCM)
- Tallinn University, Estonia (TLU)
- Daugavpils University, Latvia (DU)
- University of Pécs, Hungary (U of Pecs)

- Warsaw Agricultural University, Poland (WAU)
- Dunarea de Jos University of Galati, Romania, (UGAL)
- University of Warwick, United Kingdom (UW)
- University of Salford, United Kingdom (USAL)
- Centre for Analytic Studies and Development, Russia (CASD)
- Scientific Research Centre Region, Russia (SRC Region)
- Centre of Sociological, Political and Psychological Analysis and Investigations, Moldova (CIVIS)

Translated by Márk Palotás

Roma nation in the Hungarian society

Project Leader: Prof Katalin R. Forray

Assistant: Mónika Balázsovic

Facts

The size of the Gypsy/Roma population in Hungary is about 500.000–600.000. The Roma population is divided into different ethnic and/or socio-economic sub-groups.

Initial Questions

- Are there different lifestyles within the Gypsy/Roma population in Hungary? Do those lifestyles contribute to their social integrations?
- Do various lifestyles depend on the different socio-economic backgrounds of the various subgroups (i. e. connections between career patterns and schooling levels)?
- While losing their ethnic traditions and receiving new identities, do ‘fringers’ belong to the ‘underclass’ – or do they create parts of the ‘over-class’ (dominant groups)?

Research Findings

1 The *Romungro* call themselves „Raj-Gypsies“, „Gentleman Gypsies“. They are better educated than the other groups, often send their children to higher education. They are proud of their Gypsy origin. They despise the other groups of Gypsies. They lost their language. Their culture connects them with the middle class of the majority of the society. If the groom is coming outside of the musicians, he is usually called a „jew“. The most successful families live in Budapest and other city centres of Hungary.

Our thematic publication under SAL-Project: *Forray R. Katalin, Muzsikusk-nak lenni / To be Musician, PTE, Pécs, 2007, 80 p. language: Hungarian.*

The *Boyash* live in the South of the Transdanubian region of Hungary. Originally living in small villages, they are moving today to larger centres. They are integrating quickly. Music, dances, costumes, dishes and the language are the remained elements of their traditional culture. They view themselves as peaceful, hard-working people contrary to other groups. They are despised by the other Gypsy/Roma groups, because of their assimilation. There are

discrimination and prejudices from the majority because their dark skin. The poor Boyash communities still live in small villages with high unemployment rate.

Our thematic publication under SAL-Project: *Sánta Alíz, Szokások, babónák beás közösségeiben – gyerek szemmel / Traditions, Superstitions in Boyash Communities by Child's Eye, PTE, Pécs, 2008, 89 p. language: Hungarian.*

The Olah Gypsies (the *Roma*) live scattered throughout of Hungary, however they have remained in close contacts. The sub-group which has saved its cultural tradition consists of those who speak the Romani. Traditional dresses are only worn by the elderly, but their music and dances are popular everywhere in Hungary. They consider themselves the real Gypsies (proud of being the true Gypsies). The most successful members are mostly entrepreneurs (e.g. construction business) and traders. They are the main point of the antiziganism in Hungary.

2 The elite of the Roma / Gypsy community can be divided into three groups:

- *traditional leaders* of the communities (the ‘Voivodas’ – Chiefs – and their families) – they are unknown for the dominant society,
- *artists* and other the educated people – they have respect in the dominant society,
- *politicians* – they live away from the own ethnicity, it would be necessary, to make a new researchwork in this subgroup.

3 In Budapest (the capital of Hungary) the Roma/Gypsy people is partly living in ‘ghettos’ and partly scattered. However the Gypsy/Roma population it is present mainly in the poorest rural areas of the country. Their lifestyles as a ‘ghetto’ population may cause critical social situations. The ‘underclass’ of the ‘ghettos’ is a niche for criminalism.

4 There are strong prejudices against the Gypsies which concenter the Gypsy population as a homogeneous community. In case of economic and moral crisis, prejudices may create social and ethnical tensions.

5 The analysis of the mainstream newspapers showed that one theme dominated the public discourse in the year of 2008. It was the crimes committed by Roma gangs; as well as petty larcenies committed by Gypsies from the rural areas. The government is helpless in this respect. It may therefore be expected that the Gypsy/Roma people will be the scapegoat of the present economic and political crisis.

Our thematic publication under SAL-Project: *Lakatos Szilvia, A romani nyelv a közoktatásban, in. Tízéves a Romológia (konferenciakötet) / Romology of Ten, PTE, Pécs, 2008, 171–182.*

Selected Data

Table 1

Conflicts between the dominant society and Roma according to the place of residence*

		Capital	City	Small town	Village	Summa
Prejudice	Ps	5	22	37	40	104
	%	11,6%	31,4%	35,9%	30,1%	29,8%
Discrimination	Ps	18	23	11	20	72
	%	41,9%	32,9%	10,7%	15,0%	20,6%
Culture/language	Ps	8	7	23	21	59
	%	18,6%	10,0%	22,3%	15,8%	16,9%
Unemployment	Ps	9	18	22	42	91
	%	20,9%	25,7%	31,4%	31,6%	26,1%
Politic	Ps	1		9	5	15
	%	2,3%		8,7%	3,8%	4,3%
Education	Ps	2		1	5	8
	%	4,7%		1,0%	3,8%	2,3%
Summa	Ps	43	70	103	133	349
	%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

* Only the valid answers

Table 2

Conflicts between the dominant society and Roma according to the ethnic group*

		Boyash	Lovari	Romungro	Other Gypsy groups	Summa
Prejudice	Ps	19	3	1	4	27
	%	25,0%	10,7%	25,0%	28,6%	22,1%
Discrimination	Ps	15	10		1	26
	%	19,7%	35,7%		7,1%	21,3%
Culture/language	Ps	8	3	2	3	16
	%	10,5%	10,7%	50,0%	21,4%	13,1%
Unemployment	Ps	32	11	1	9	50
	%	42,1%	29,3%	25,0%	42,8%	41,0%
Education	Ps	2	1			3
	%	2,6%	3,6%			2,5%
Summa	Ps	76	28	4	14	122
	%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

* Only the valid answers

Table 3

People's Self Images

Emotional/cohesive	59,8%
Diligent/intelligent	13,5%
Honest	7,0%
Open	4,9%
Vivacious	4,7%
Traditional	1,6%
Multi-coloured	1,4%
Malevolent	1,4%
Tzigane	1,2%
Lasy, not working	0,9%
Religious	0,7%

Policy Recommendations

1 The multiculturalism, cultural alternatives are not familiar for the society of our “transit” countries. The society is intolerant with the visible subculture groups. In Hungary the Roma community represents a visible minority, so they have to recognize the signs of prejudices. The economical regression drives to the nomination of scapegoats. The Roma community or other subcultural groups are the most adequate for this role. The necessary policy would be the continuous fight against racism and xenophobia from the early childhood to old age, and from the school to the media.

2 The Gypsy community has to understand and learn how to take on and express his own identity. The young intellectual has to develop and practice the new models of behaviour. It is necessary to involve mediators between minority and the dominant society. They could be the young Roma intellectuals also.

3 The society has to learn how to discuss those problems and how to deal with them. Only this way can the interethnic tensions be eased. Studies like our SAL Project may be useful and necessary to learn how to discuss questions like ethnic identities and subcultural communities. Projects like our SAL may this way contribute to social freedom.

Publications

Balázsovics, Mónika (2008), Research and International Cooperation via Internet: The case of the SAL Project. In: Forray, Beck 2008: 100–112

Cserti Csapó, Tibor (2008), A Territorial and Sociological Survey of the Gypsy Population in Hungary. In: Forray, Beck 2008: 85–99

Cserti Csapó, Tibor, ed. (2008), The Tenth Anniversary of Romology. Pécs: The University of Pécs, 250 p. (Hungarian)

Forray, R. Katalin (2007), To be a Musician. Pécs: The University of Pécs, 80 p. (Hungarian)

Forray, R. Katalin (2008), Society and Lifestyles in the Hungarian Gypsy Communities: An Introduction. In: Forray, Beck 2008: 5–7

Forray, R. Katalin (2008), Society and Lifestyles: Questions of Methodology. In: Forray, Beck 2008: 8–21

Forray, R Katalin, Zoltán Beck eds. (2008), Society and Lifestyles: Hungarian Gypsy/Roma Communities. Pécs: The University of Pécs

Lakatos, Szilvia (2008), Romani Language in Baranya County, Hungary. In: Forray, Beck 2008: 40–61

P Orsós, Anna (2008), Boyash Language Teaching and Language-planning in Hungary. In: Forray, Beck 2008: 22–39

Sánta, Alíz (2008), In the Children's Eyes: Traditions and Superstitions in the Boyash Community. Pécs: The University of Pécs. (Hungarian)

Varga, Aranka (2008), The Education of Gypsy Children: Inclusive Schooling Based on Cooperation. In: Forray, Beck 2008: 62–84

Research methodology and questionnaire design

The present empirical study is part of an international research project (SAL) aimed at exploring the lifestyle and characteristics of the various social groups/subcultures living in Europe. In Hungary, analyses were focused on the Gypsy/Roma minority, being the most populous such group in the country. This research was conducted by the Department of Romology and Sociology of Education at the University of Pécs, Prof. Katalin R. Forray DSc being in charge of the project. Both the staff and the students of the department took part in the project.

Each country participating in the SAL project agreed to develop a methodology which allows for the comparison of the lifestyles and characteristics of the various groups in question. Attention must be given to the fact, however, that different groups might require different methods. Applying the very same instrument for e.g. a small group of 20 people as for the Gypsy/Roma would be very questionable from a methodological point of view.

A standard questionnaire developed by participating countries provided the basis which had to be adapted to the studied group by each research team. Our questionnaire was worked out observing the characteristics of the Hungarian Roma and the requirement of comparability. The first part of the questionnaire included questions about the system of values of respondents, followed by those on individual and community activities related to the group. Also covered was the relationship of the group to the majority society and vice versa. Some questions were related to musical and other arts interests, and last but not least, we asked about the demographic attributes of respondents. The majority being so-called open questions, this one was clearly not a standard structured questionnaire in its classical sense of the term. The reason for that was our intention to portray the Gypsy/Roma lifestyle as objectively as possible, thus interview situations had to be more realistic as they usually are in the case of questionnaire surveys. Another advantage of open questions is not forcing the respondents' way of thinking into some rigid structure. Consequently, answers cannot be directly compared, as there might be just as many different answers as respondents. Thus, following a careful review of all completed questionnaires, the coding of open responses was completed by two researchers simultaneously (excluding potential bias due to differences in interpretation), based on an elaborate system of criteria.

Concerning methodology, respondents' unequal reading and writing skills seem to be of most concern. Occasionally, surveyors assisted respondents in reading and interpreting the questions, which might obviously cause bias.

Due to the nature of the studied group (differentiation between members and non-members being difficult), the most suitable sampling method appeared to be snowball sampling. In order for the sampling to be truly effective, initial subjects were chosen with respect to the heterogeneity of the Roma and the geographical distribution of each group. Consequently, our sample involved respondents from Romungro, Boyash and Vlach etc. groups, and we also managed to include North Hungarian, Transdanubian etc. Gypsy/Roma groups as well as inhabitants of Budapest, the capital of Hungary. For the purposes of this study, we recorded as Gypsies/Roma only those who avowed themselves as such. The survey was conducted in October and November 2007 by surveyors chosen from amongst the department's students.

Translated by Márk Palotás

Pálmainé Orsós Anna – Issues of Beas language teaching and language planning in Hungary

1. Gypsies in Hungary

In the rank of the size of the Gypsy population Hungary occupies the fourth place (after Rumania, Bulgaria and Spain) among 38 European countries. (Bureau of National and Ethnic Minorities, 2005)

Several censuses on the Gypsy population were administered in the previous centuries, yet the data are very controversial, therefore it is also remarkably incomplete in the statistics of the national census. As Gypsies live on the periphery, they are hardly accessible, and to define who they actually are lacks straightforward parameters. Although several attempts along different criteria were made to put the main notions of being Gypsy into categories, there has not emerged an accepted uniform definition.

Being a Gypsy is of low prestige for a certain part of society due to the fixed prejudices that dominated during the centuries. The majority of the Gypsies declare themselves as belonging to the majority population and usually adopt the language of the host country, and the religion of the immediate environment. This is because only some of the countries regard them as a nationality, and in the case of other countries, because of the lack of a homeland, they classify themselves as an ethnic minority. As a result of this, there are especially great differences between the data of official census and of scientific estimations.

The population of the Gypsy minority in the Censuses (1949-2001)	
Year	Gypsy Nationality
1949	37,598
1980	6,404
1990	142,683
2001	190,000

Table 1. Data of Hungarian Nationalities (Budapest, HCSO, 1992)¹

1.1. *The population of Gypsies*

The data of the censuses of every ten years, which are also registers of people's mother tongue accordingly, have shown significant differences since

1 National Census of 1990. Data of Hungarian nationalities by counties, Hungarian Central Statistical Office. Budapest, 1992.

the end of the 19th century. This can be interpreted as a result of the wandering life style, which meant emigration and immigration at the same time.

The first – prepared, carefully carried out and detailed – Hungarian research on this ethnic group was a “Gypsy-register” done on the 31st of January 1893, which deals with the aspects of nationality and language of the Gypsies in a separate chapter. About Gypsies in Hungary then amounting to a population of 280,000, we learn the following:

“... more than half of all the Gypsies, 52.16%, doesn't speak the Gypsy language. Speaking their language alone does not necessarily influence their habits; completely civilized individuals, such as prominent musicians are likely to speak their mother-tongue, whereas among those who acquired the language and settled down, especially in Vlach (Oláh) or Tót villages, we find persons of low intellect and wild temper. Thus, the big number of non-speakers of a Gypsy language is a proof of abandoning their origins and advance to the other elements of the nation...” (Mezey 155)

One of the aims of the research of 1893 was to take a survey of the wandering Gypsies to hasten their settling down. Throughout the analysis of the research, it has been found – among others – that abandoning their mother tongue promotes their integration into the majority population. Accordingly, it is not in “Power's” interest to take measures for preserving the Gypsy language; on the contrary, the latent interest points to the settling down of the Gypsies, or the process of language decline.

In this period numerous decrees were passed, most of which were aimed at putting an end to the wandering lifestyle of the Gypsies, and at settling them down as soon as possible.

The majority of the Gypsies abandoned their former lifestyle in the beginning of the 20th century, and they were settled down. Many different efforts were being made to stabilize their situation because the Gypsy issue was considered a serious social problem. Some of the provisions resulted in mass emigration of already settled families.

Nearly eighty years had passed after the examination of Gypsies of 1893 when the next extensive research was done. The only representative² sociological research on the Gypsy population, which contains statistical data about the number, and the distribution regarding language groups and mother tongue,

2 Results of the Gypsy register of 31st January, 1893 in Hungary. Hungarian Statistical Review. Special Issue, Vol. IX, 1985.

was conducted by István Kemény and his fellow researchers in 1971 (repeated in 1993 and 2003).

The population of the Gypsy minority in Sociological research	
Year	Number
1893	280,000
1971 ³	270,000–370,000
1993 ³	420,000–520,000
2003 ³	520,000–650,000

Table 2. [On the 2003 survey of Roma. Data regarding demographic, language use and nationality.] *Beszélő*, 10. 2003. 64–76.

The proportional classification of Hungary’s Roma into three language groups was also based on these sociological surveys. (Kemény 1974; Kemény-Janky 2003). Due to the misleading data coming from self-classification, it was rather the opinion of the environment that was taken into consideration as the basis of the classification for the survey, as many Gypsies claim to be Hungarian despite their confession of their mother tongue and their origins. Based on this, people were reckoned as Gypsies, whom the non-Roma environment regarded so: “our experience is that a Gypsy neighbourhood would reckon even the successfully assimilated as Gypsy. In a population defined in this way, only those totally assimilated – with no trace left to their roots – are omitted, and, actually, it would not be ethical to regard them as subject to such surveys.” (Havas-Kemény 1995)

Based on the sociological survey of 1971, Gypsies can be classified into three groups regarding their language: the Hungarian speaking ‘Romungro’ (who claim to be Hungarian or Musician Gypsies), the Hungarian and Romani speaking ‘Vlach’ Gypsies, and the ‘Beas who speak Hungarian and an archaic version of Rumanian (Kemény his fellow researchers 1976).

Although this classification is of great importance from a sociological point of view, it is linguistically problematical from various points of view.

Namely, we cannot call all Hungarian speaking Gypsies Romungro. Just like those Beas who lost their language in the process of assimilation but strongly preserve their Beas identity, similarly to other minorities. In the case of Gypsies who speak only Hungarian as their mother tongue, language and background are separated from each other, but admitting their group belong-

3 *Roma Population of Hungary 1971–2003*. National researches of 1971, 1993, 2003. (Kemény István – Janky Béla)

ing is still an important factor of identity, despite the loss of their original native language.

The classification by Kemény does not mention that Hungarian Romungros are not exclusively monolingual. As a proof of this, there are enclaves, where the Musician Gypsies still speak the Romungro/Hungarian Gypsy variant of Romani, which is classified by the English-language dialectology as a so-called central dialect of Romani.

To determine the number of Gypsies in Hungary – also taking into account the representative surveys by Kemény of 1993 and 2003 – it can be stated that the number of Romungros, who admit their ethnic belonging, has increased, whereas in the case of Beas and Vlachs this tendency is decreasing as a result of their integration. The number of Gypsies in Hungary is estimated at present 570–600,000, but in other's opinion this can be up to 800,000 to one million (Kemény, Janky 2003).

1.2. Territorial distribution of Gypsies

The territorial distribution of Gypsies significantly differs from that of the country's population. Whereas less than 10% of the members of any Gypsy group live in the capital, this ratio is 20% for the overall population. What is more, 58–64% of the Gypsies live in villages, which is measured up only by 38% for the total population (Hablicsek 1999).

Considering the results of the 1971 survey, the number of inhabitants of Gypsy settlements has decreased largely: in 1971, 65% of Gypsies lived on separated settlements, which is only 13,7% in the year of 1994. This is due to different factors. The rise in the standards of living since the middle of the 1970s, the all-round improvement of Gypsy employment triggered positive changes in the poor housing situation, but the program on the removal of Gypsy settlements of the 1960s jointly with the related preferential bank loans also played an important role, despite the negative effects of the very same administrative measures.

The three Gypsy groups (Beas, Vlach, Romungro) are to be found very unevenly dispersed over the country. The overwhelming majority of Beas live in the south-Transdanubian counties; 30% of the total Gypsies live in two counties of the region, and they form the majority among all Gypsies in the counties of Somogy and Baranya. Beas speaking Gypsies are hardly to be found in other regions of the country.

1.3. Designation of Gypsies

The traditional Hungarian name for this ethnic group is Gypsy. Similarly to Hungarian it is *țigan* in Rumanian, *cikan* in Czech, *Zigeuner* in German, *țigane* in French, *zingaro* in Italian and *çingene* in Turkish. Each of these expressions has its trace in the Greek *atsziganosz* (*athiganos*) meaning “outcast”.

Gypsies are called “Gypsy” in English and *gitano* in Spanish. They derive from the Latin *aegyptanus* (Egyptian). Gypsies were named in the medieval period populous Pharaonis (“Pharaoh’s people”) in Latin, in later times it changed to *cinganus*. (Nagy 2005)

Although Gypsies in Hungary generally accept the designation ‘*Gypsy*’, the three main groups distance and distinguish themselves from one another. As a result of this, a significant number of Hungary’s Gypsies – e.g. Romungros and Beas – do not call themselves ‘*Roma*’, despite the wide acceptance of the term in the public and political sphere. The term itself in Romani refers to people only, who belong to the particular ethnic sub-group, meaning ‘Roma man’, or ‘Roma husband’. (The female counterpart of the word is *romnji*, ‘Roma woman’, or ‘wife’).

Although opinions differ concerning the terms, many people consider “Gypsy” to be right, but the more and more widespread usage of the double “Gypsy/Roma” can offer a solution for everybody.

As numerous sociological researches show, belonging to the Gypsy minority is – everywhere in the world – a peculiar status. Claiming one’s identity and its dimension are influenced by both the narrower and the wider social environment. If there is a tolerant milieu, which attributes value to difference, people will assume their identity to a greater extent due to its higher prestige, while otherwise the tendency will be the opposite.

We have a wide range of information about the present of Gypsies in the neighbouring countries, or elsewhere in the world, however, there are only a few authentic sources available about their history. The reason for this is that their written culture had not emerged until the beginning of the 20th century, not leaving traces for the posterity, therefore the only documents available are products of the conflicts between the majority population and the Gypsies, and we do not have such documents from “times of peace” in Hungary.

The number of Gypsies in Europe is estimated 7–8.5 millions, although date is not available from every European country (Kemény 2002).

2. Gypsy languages in Hungary

Gypsy languages belong to the Indo-European languages. The number of ‘Romani’ speaking people, spoken also by a group of Gypsies in Hungary, is estimated 5-10 millions in the world, it is, however, still in a minority status. Despite international endeavours it exists primarily in a non-standard spoken form, with numerous regional dialects (Kovalcsik – Réger 1999). Among these dialects *Lovar* (Vlax Romany) is the most widespread. It is a dialect rooted in the traditional occupation of the “horse-dealer”.

We have even less information about *Beas*, an archaic dialect of Rumanian. There are no publications or research from earlier times on the number, territorial distribution or lifestyle of Beas people, only a few short references are to be found in writings about the Gypsies. This is due to several factors. The Hungarian-speaking majority population cannot differentiate between the groups of the Gypsy, and most frequently they regard the group of Romani and Beas speaking Gypsies a homogeneous community. It is also supported by the fact that there are hardly any publications that contain information about Beas people or their language, and sources which deal with “Gypsies” in general or without any exact linguistic consideration are usually unverifiable and inaccurate.

We are not familiar with the evolution and the dialectal varieties of Beas in Hungary and in other countries. What is more, a systematic and descriptive phonology and grammar of Beas is unavailable in these countries. In this respect, the written culture of Hungary’s Beas is more developed than in any other neighbouring countries. Due to the proximity of the border, Hungarian Beas have contact with other Beas people living in Kutina, Virovitica or Čakovec in Croatia, in Timișoara in Rumania, and in the Serbian Tresnjevac. Our linguistic experience emerging from the contact of these communities shows that the varieties spoken by these countries’ Beas are similar to that of the Hungarian’s.

The development of Beas written culture started in the 1990s and is moving on with rapid strides, whereas in the neighbouring countries this will be a task for the following decades.

2.1. Scenes of language use in Hungarian Beas communities

A rapid linguistic assimilation is to be observed in the population of Hungarian Beas. The acceleration of this process was highly influenced by minority policy of the Hungarian governments, which, from the 1960s to the recent past, forced an assimilation of the minorities. In spite of this, the process of switching from the Beas native language to Hungarian as a native language has not yet concluded – although this is greatly varying in the different communities –, since – as we demonstrated in our research – the language of primary communication is one of the Gypsy languages in a number of families.

According to several linguistic surveys, the loss of the native language on the benefit for another language primarily occurs when two groups are mingled. It occurs if a tribe melts into another group, or if a community in minority status adopts the surrounding majority group's culture (Gumperz 1971). This is by far the case with the Beas, since they preserved their ethnic unity beyond their language shift; therefore they could remain a homogeneous ethnic group all over Middle and Southern Europe (Borbély 2001a).

Probably Beas was, from the beginning, in a diglossic situation because Hungarian was/is the intermediary language in the coexistence with the majority population (Ferguson 1975).

Diglossia in Ferguson's interpretation refers to one or more varieties of a particular language. Considering Beas, it would mean a distinction between an everyday variety of Beas and a sophisticated, grammatically more complex standard variety of Rumanian acquired in school education. However, today there is no relation between the two varieties; this language use is not working, so we cannot really speak of a classic case of diglossia.

In a broader sense of diglossia bilingualism can be handled as a diglossic situation. Bilingualism means that members of the community possess two particular language codes, whereas diglossia refers to the radical difference of the two languages' role in the language practice of the community: therefore it is an essential characteristic that the two languages *together* perform the function which, in the case of monolingualism, is fulfilled by either the intimate or the official varieties of the language (Bartha 1999; Réger 2002, 39).

The whole Beas speaking community uses two different languages in clearly distinct roles: the use of Beas is connected to the sphere of the family, and, as yet, it has not come to function in miscellaneous official situations.

Our research conducted in the circle of Hungarian Beas explicitly shows that Hungarian is the intermediary language in the coexistence of Beas and the majority population (Orsós – Varga 2001). Although, as a result of changes in the recent years, Hungarian has now an advantageous status in the workplace, it is still not exclusively so, just like the use of Beas/Romani among relatives.

The primary basis for language preservation – the family – has a more and more slender status, therefore its function in the process of language transmission is in decline. In order to reverse this process, opportunities of language learning should be established in schools. A consciously planned educational program, which would offer several possibilities, can play a crucial role in the preservation of the language and its speakers. If Beas children were taught their native language in the course of formal education, it would slow down the process of language exchange. Acquisition of knowledge in schools, then, would explicitly trigger an increase in the prestige of the Beas language, and it would result in –most importantly – a replacement of language transmission back to the families. Having achieved this, schools would only have to concentrate on language teaching, and not on establishing conditions for acquisition in the first place.

3. Gypsy languages in school education

Gypsies –in principle – have equal rights to have demands on preserving their mother tongue and on minority language education, just like other minorities in Hungary. In spite of this, it can be ascertained that minority language education in Gypsy languages lacks in essential conditions, both in terms of personal and material resources. Hungary’s Gypsies rightfully complain that there are only a few Beas or Romani speaking teachers, that teacher training does not include Beas and Romani, and there are no textbooks, dictionaries or other teaching materials available. In accordance with European expectations, states should provide the facilities of teacher training and for the production appropriate teaching materials

3.1. Language policy and legal frames of language teaching

The Hague recommendations regarding the education rights of national minorities reads:

“The maintenance of the primary and secondary levels of minority language education depends a great deal on the availability of teachers trained in all disciplines in the mother tongue. Therefore, ensuing from their obligation to provide adequate opportunities for minority

language education, States should provide adequate facilities for the appropriate training of teachers and should facilitate access to such training”

The basis of minority education is Article 68 paragraph (2) of the Constitution, which ensures to receive school instruction in the mother tongue. Consequently, after passing the act on the Rights of National and Ethnic Minorities, Gypsies had an opportunity for the first time –similarly to other national minorities – to have demands on organizing their minority education, and also to get rid of approaches to their educational problems exclusively from a point of view of social disadvantages. There is no separate system of minority institutions on the primary level education of Gypsy pupils, and on the secondary level there are only few institutions (like Gandhi Secondary School in Pécs) which operate along a Gypsy minority education program. In spite of this, there are numerous segregated Gypsy classes and groups in today’s public schools, which is not intended by Gypsy parents demanding minority education, but it is a result of latent selectional or direct segregational processes.

The organization of Gypsy minority education – similarly to other forms of minority education – has to be initiated by parents and in writing. Without this, segregated Gypsy classes will result in negative discrimination against Gypsy pupils. It is important to make mention of the several times modified No. 32/1997. (XI.5) MKM **Decree on the Guidelines for the Pre-School Instruction and School Education of National and Ethnic Minorities, which – till the content amendment of 2003 – determined the framework of education in the form of separate groups.**

Unfortunately, this decree had effects on the designation and content regulation of improvement education of Gypsies. Before that, several experts and the Ombudsman of Education criticized this designation because it assumes a substantial correlation between the life of Gypsies and the necessity of an improvement education. No. 13/1999 (III.8) OM Decree of the Ministry of Education re-named this form of education, without any content modification: Gypsy minority education. Therefore, at schools, alongside the preservation of Gypsy identity – being a Hungarian ethnic national minority –, a compulsory “revisional education” was continued at schools in the name of securing nationality rights. This hardly democratic duality resulted in ongoing debates over Gypsy improvement education.

Many arguments contributed to a change of Act LXXIX. of 1993 on Public Education in 2003.

Significant measures of education policy were taken in favour of improving the general educational situation of Gypsy children in the past few years.

The several times amended 57/2002. (XI.18.) OM decree of the Ministry of Education regulates the framework of extra normatives, aiming at a successful talent-care of disadvantaged children in an integrated environment. As a professional back-up for the introduction of the decree the National Educational Integration Network (hereafter NEIN) was founded in the first half of 2003, which, in turn, founded forty-five basis institutions in four regions of the country, where the population of Gypsies is significant. In the course of its professional operation, the network organized Integration Pedagogical System (hereafter IPS) trainings for educators of the forty-five basis institutions, and carried on by introducing IPS in schools. The newly defined target group of this pedagogical service is especially important because it does not link social disadvantages to ethnic belonging.

The establishment of IPS therefore meant a contextual change in the principles of nationality education: in the case of Gypsy nationality education the elements which targeted an improvement education based on social disadvantages, were discarded. As a result, according to the 58/2002 OM decree of the Ministry of Education schools can demand on extra normative supply for teaching Gypsy culture or any of the Gypsy languages. Teaching Romani or Beas has been possible since 2003, provided by the 2002/147 amendment of the 32/197 MKM Decree, published in Magyar Közlöny. According to the amendments, the number of weekly lessons was decreased to two, therefore it made the fusing of classes (block seminars) possible, and so language teaching can be organized in the framework of language camps or other programs with guest teachers.

This measure, even though very important with regard to educational policy, from point of view of language policy cannot be considered effective, as it does not provide the conditions of language teaching. In case of Gypsy language, there is a permissive clause in the modified decree that does not elevate the prestige of Gypsy languages in comparison with other minority languages.

In accordance with the Public Education Act, the conditions for employment in teachers' position are different in case of minority language teachers than in case of other foreign language teachers. According to the law:

“In all types of schools, only applicants with a degree in teaching languages or teaching foreign language and literature can be employed. In case of national or ethnic minority languages, until 1st September 2006, applicants with a degree in teaching and at least an intermediate C level language examination certificate or an equivalent certificate can be employed in teacher’s position. In case of Bulgarian, Gypsy (Romani, or Beas), Greek, Polish, Armenian, Ruthven and Ukrainian languages, persons holding an advanced C level state language exam certificate or any equivalent document can be employed, without commencing higher education studies, for an unlimited period of time.”

The application of these criteria is also significant from a language policy point of view because it makes the introduction of a minority language into public education possible. However, it is rather a preconditioned failure in professionalism, i.e. for a speaker of the language to work as a “qualified” teacher without having the particular qualification.

To provide conditions for the training of language teachers is a more and more pressing issue, because schools demanding for Gypsy nationality normative – lacking in qualified language teachers – try to maintain the teaching of Gypsy languages in various ways, which, though, cannot be warranted in the long run.

Yet, it is not only the lack of qualified language teachers that hinder a broad and high-level teaching of Gypsy languages, or of native language teaching. Except for some schools, no technical conditions are at service: namely, there is a lack of textbooks and auxiliary teaching materials that are indispensable for setting up such programs.

The first school to teach Gypsy languages was the Gandhi Secondary School, established in 1994. Until then teaching Beas or Romani was to be found neither in primary nor in secondary schools, moreover, the differentiation between the two languages caused these schools basic difficulties. Unfortunately, this problem remains for the most part, and sometimes they are considered the other’s dialect, while Beas belongs to the Latin, Romani to the Indi cluster of the Indo-European languages.

3.2. The situation of teaching and surveying Beas in the Hungarian higher education (Case study exemplified by the work of the department in Pécs)

In the year of 2000 at the Department for Gypsy Studies, University of Pécs a training of students of humanities was introduced, which – paired with other social or teaching majors in a period of ten semesters – provides a comprehensive knowledge in the field of Romology. A criterion for the train-

ing is the acquaintance with a Gypsy language. The Beas and Romani language classes offer an access to materials written or spoken in Gypsy languages. These courses are concluded with a university language filter test, which is often substituted by taking a combined elementary state accredited language exam.

First, students get acquainted with major directions in the linguistic research on Gypsies, with the social and cultural situation of the Gypsies in Hungary and Europe. Other subjects of the social sciences are integrated in the training: ethnography, law, demography, sociology, socio-geography, psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics.

In the sociolinguistic courses students are offered an opportunity to be acquainted with the practical aspects of the situation of Gypsy languages, such as education programs in schools teaching Gypsy languages. Furthermore, they have the chance to survey the prestige of the Gypsy languages in the three most important target populations: among Gypsy pupils and their parents, and among educators.

Besides acquiring basic research methodology, students conduct micro-researches, with the help of which they can examine various sociolinguistic hypotheses or can try and find solutions for particular problems.

In the course of planning a sociolinguistic fieldwork and data collection, students get a true picture of the status of Gypsy languages, of the language use of different Gypsy individuals and communities, and of the time and quality of their language acquisition. These micro-researches promote language planning, and we experienced in several cases that putting Gypsy languages in focus position triggered an upgrade in the value of Gypsy languages among native speakers of the language. It is especially important and promising that there is an increasing interest in the re-acquisition of the language among Gypsy intellectuals, in spite of their former intention to assimilate and melt into the majority population.

Furthermore, in these fieldwork activities, a number of factors come to the surface that (may have contributed to those social and language exchanges resulting in language shift, which happen to occur in the life of a community.

Such factors are: the population of a given language group, geographical position compared to other groups, educational and occupation background of the speakers, the rate of group-intern or group-extern marriages, the social and/or cultural similarity between the contact groups, the language policy of

the governments, the degree of support for the minority, the system of education, the attitudes of the majority and minority, etc. (Bartha, 1993).

In the course of fieldwork students will have the chance to examine the process of language transmission, and the proximity of reversing an already ongoing language shift of a community – via conscious language planning.

To analyse this we use Fishman’s eight stage scale, which states that the higher stage a community on this scale is, the lower the chances are for reversing the process of language shift.

8. stage	The social isolation of the remaining speakers of the minority language. Need to record language for a possible later reconstruction
7. stage	Minority language is only used by the elderly, and who are beyond childbearing age. The spread of the language among the youth is necessary.
6. stage	The minority language is transmitted from generation to generation, the language is used in the community. Need for support of language transmission.
5. stage	Language literacy at home, school and inside the community. Need to support literacy, especially as it lacks state support.
4. stage	Minority language exists in lower education. Need to support the minority financially.
3. stage	Minority language appears in the workplace including those where native speakers interact with the majority.
2. stage	Lower governmental services and mass media are available in the minority language.
1. stage	Appearance of the minority language in higher-level education, occupational, governmental and media efforts.

3. Table. Graded intergenerational disruption scale of generations (after Fishman 1991)

3.2.1. Selections from sociolinguistic papers

Here follows a selection of sociolinguistic research papers conducted and written by students of the University of Pécs, which deal with the situation Gypsy speakers of the region – mainly Beas – their attitudes to their language, and with the opinion of public education teachers considering Gypsy languages. Although the survey sample is not representative in any cases – it was not our goal –, the writings are remarkably informative regarding the status and prestige of Gypsy languages.

Excerpts from two papers, which – among others – are concerned with the speakers’ linguistic situation, and motivation in language learning:

In connection with the future of Gypsy/Roma languages 93.75 percent of the survey subjects is optimistic, and assumes that more and more books and newspapers will appear on the scene in Romani or Beas, and an increasing number of language schools will provide the

teaching of these languages. Only one pessimistic participant can imagine that a total language loss will happen. One tenth of the opinions relates to a more “reasonable” future: they would simply regard Beas as an equally valuable language.

The findings of the survey indicate that teaching Beas in the examined settlements occupies a place in life – its justification is unquestionable. (Plazzeriano, 2004)

Opinions differ significantly in how the knowledge of the Gypsy language influences life. 41 percent of the women questioned claimed that knowing your mother tongue has a definitely positive effect on your life. 29 percent of them thinks there is no significance whether you know it or not, and 23 percent of the answers indicates that you get into a disadvantaged situation if you speak Beas. One person could not take a stand on this issue. In the majority of the cases, people also supported their ideas, and the support they gave were very diverse. The most important aspect in the question of the necessity of Beas is that it has an important place in the family and community life.

Those having a negative stand claim that if they only speak Beas they will not be employed and will be looked down on, if they speak only Beas among others. (Farkas 2004)

The following two excerpts reflect the attitude of teachers toward Gypsy languages and its place in the curriculum:

Regarding teaching Gypsy languages we got various positive answers. More participants approve the teaching of Gypsy languages due to the sense of achievement it provides, some reasoned for the necessity of promoting native languages, while others argued for it based on a high number of Gypsy pupils. One of them said: if children like learning it, why should they not. In contrast to the expected, not every teacher would like to learn Gypsy. In a school where almost 100 percent of the pupils are of Gypsy origin, only one! teacher (from the younger age group) claimed an attraction to Gypsy languages, moreover, he/she was planning to start learning it. It is especially interesting that one of those disfavoured to learn the language was a 25 year old teacher in the beginning of his career. (Bundity 2004)

In the course of examining the prestige of the Gypsy languages in a suburban school, where the presence of Gypsy pupils is significant, over 30 percent, teachers gave following answers to my inquiry, whether they approve the teaching of Gypsy languages: one-third of the teachers questioned approves it, two- third of them disapproves to teach it. (Jakab 2004)

4. Summary

In the issue of Hungarian Gypsy languages, the most pressing and up-to-day task is to prepare the soil for teacher training.

Recently, the Ministry of Education has not shown any activity either in legitimating language requirements, or in the preparation of educational syllabus. The decree allowing for the teaching of Gypsy languages makes the teachers rather vulnerable, so professional help is essential for them in their daily routine.

One of the possibilities would be the teaching of methodology at the University of Pécs, which tries to make teachers (not of foreign languages) acquainted with the basic methodological requirements. However, this is only helpful for students of Romology until setting up conditions for language teacher training. Until then there are many tasks to do.

4.1. Language planning and language policy objectives to be

Since it is the state's responsibility to establish the conditions for language teacher training, it is important that the state shall act as a coordinator between the parties interested in the establishment of language teacher training or it should delegate its responsibility to an institution that would carry out this task. Native activists are not able to do this; although they speak the language, their qualification does not make it possible to act as teachers.

Therefore it is necessary that language teaching universities and the Research Institute of Linguistics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences cooperate.

Universities can give the fieldwork for necessary research to be done the students body, while the Research Institute of Linguistics may support the work by providing the professional background.

It is crucial that universities use, test and justify the results obtained so far – therefore cooperation between universities and HAS-Research Institute of Linguistics is indispensable.

Surveys and research of scholarly character on the linguistic status of Beas Gypsy communities lack institutional and financial background, and without these, language planning is not possible.

The interest toward minority languages is on the increase, yet, we are short of the necessary conditions to satisfy the needs of those interested (there

are no language courses, further education for language teachers, textbooks, multimedia devices, etc.)

In lack of scientific language planning and standardization – exactly due to the increasing interest in society – there is a great danger of the spread of work void of scientific basics. The lack of the linguistic criterion system of Romani/Beas (initiated and prepared by the ministry of Education) further increases this danger.

Supplementary linguistic activities would contribute to establishing teacher-training programs of university departments, for which we do not have either the sufficient personal or technical conditions.

4.2. Development proposals

The description of different levels of language:

- phonetic research
- morphological information
- descriptive grammar
- semantics of Gypsy languages
- basic research in language history
- anthropological research
- research on language vernacular.

Innovative developments to accomplish:

- lexicographical work
- computerized corpus-linguistics
- training of new linguists
- setting up a linguistics and information centre

To emancipate state acknowledged Gypsy languages – equal to other languages acknowledged by the Law on minority right –, to operate basic and master trainings and to support identity preservation, we definitely need to support the teaching of Gypsy languages, to organize Lovar and Beas language courses. For this, status and corpus planning is required; a production of teaching materials and records via language centres at university departments are indispensable, which could give a framework for a scientific and professional background.

Translated by Róbert Szekeres

Works Cited

A nemzeti kisebbségek oktatási jogairól szóló hágai ajánlások [The Hague recommendations on the education rights of national minorities] 1996. Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Arató, Ferenc – Varga, Aranka. Együttműködés az együttnevelésért. [Cooperation for an Integrated Education] *Educatio*, 3. (2004).

Bartha, Csilla. Minég csak magyarul beszélünk. ALL THE TIME – Magyaroknak lenni túl a Kecegárdán. [To be Hungarian beyond the Castle Garden] *Magyar Nyelvőr*, 1993. 491–495.

Bartha, Csilla. A kétnyelvűség alapkérdései. [The Basic Questions of Bilingualism: Speakers and Communities] Budapest, Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó, 1999, 123–129.

Borbély, Anna. A magyarországi beás nyelv helye a román nyelven belül. Cigány nyelvek nemzetközi szemináriuma. [The place of Hungarian Beas language in the Rumanina language. International Seminar on Gypsy Inaguages] Conference volume. Department for Gypsy Studies, University of Pécs, 2001a, 75–84.

Borbély, Anna. Nyelvcseré. [Language Exchange] Budapest, MTA Nyelvtudományi Intézet, 2001b, 17–30.

Bundity, Tilla. A cigány nyelv oktatása az Egyházasharaszti Általános Iskolában. [The teaching of the Gypsy language in the Egyházasharaszti Primary School] Seminar paper. Department for Gypsy Studies, University of Pécs, 2004.

Doncsev, Toso (ed.). Állami intézkedések a magyarországi cigányok társadalmi integrációja érdekében. [State measures to support the social integration of Hungarian Gypsies] Budapest, Office of National and Ethnic Minorities, 2000.

Farkas, Imre. Az anyanyelv átörökítésének helyzete gyulaji beás cigány családokban. [Language transmission in Beas families in Gyulaj.] Seminar paper. Department for Gypsy Studies, University of Pécs, 2004.

Ferguson, Charles. Diglossia. In: Pap Mária and Szépe György (eds.). *Társadalom és nyelv. Szociolingvisztikai írások.* [Society and language. Sociolinguistic papers] Budapest, Gondolat, 1975, 291–317.

Fishman, Joshua A. Bilingualism with and without diglossia; diglossia with and without biligualism. *Journal of Social Issues.* 23:2 (1967): 29–38.

Fishman, Joshua A. Reversing Language Shift: Theoretical and Empirical Assistance to Threatened Language. Clevedon, Multilingual Matters, 1991, 81–121.

Gal, Susan. Mi a nyelvcsere és hogyan történik. [What is *Language Shift* and How Does It Take Place?] *Regio, Kisebbségi Szemle* 1 (1991): 66–76.

Gumperz, John J. The Speech Community. In: Anwar S. Gil (ed.) *Language in Social Groups. Essays by John J. Gumperz*; Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1971, 114–128.

Hablicsek, László. *A roma népesség demográfiai jellemzői, kísérleti előreszámítás 2050-ig.* [Demographic features of the Roma population, experimental expectation till 2050] Budapest, KSH – Népeségtudományi Intézet (Central Statistical Office. Demographic Research *Institute*) 1999.

Havas, Gábor – Kemény, István. A magyarországi romákról. [On Hungarian Roma] *Szociológiai Szemle* 3 (1995): 3–20.

Jakab, Natália. A cigány nyelvek presztízse egy pécsi peremkerületi iskolában. [The prestige of Gypsy languages in a suburban school in Pécs]. Seminar paper. Department for Gypsy Studies, University of Pécs. 2005.

Jakabffy Elemér. Foundation's web-site, Kolozsvár. Media Index Egyesület, 1999–2006. <http://www.jakabffy.ro/>

Kemény, István – Janky, Béla – Lengyel, Gabriella. *A magyarországi cigányság 1971–2003.* [„Roma Population of Hungary 1971–2003] MTA Etnikai-nemzeti Kisebbségkutató Intézet (HAS-Research Institute of Ethnic and National Minorities) Budapest, Gondolat, 2004, 37–49.

Kemény, István – Janky Béla. A 2003. évi cigány felmérésről. Népesedési, nyelv- használati és nemzetiségi adatok. [On the 2003 survey of Roma. Data regarding demographic, language use and nationality.] *Beszélő*, 10 (2003): 64–76.

Kemény, István (ed.). *Beszámoló a magyarországi cigányok helyzetével foglalkozó, 1971-ben végzett kutatásról.* [Report on the Study about the Situation of Hungarian Gypsies in 1971]. Budapest, MTA Szociológiai Kutató Intézet [Institute of Sociology, Hungarian Academy of Sciences], 1976.

Kemény, István. A magyarországi cigány lakosság. [Roma of Hungary] *Valóság*, 1 (1974): 63–72.

Kemény, István. A magyarországi cigányság szerkezete a nyelvi változások tükrében. [The structure of Hungarian Gypsies regarding language change] *Regio* 10.1 (1999): 3–14.

Kemény, Márton. A romák és szintik zenéje, nyelve és irodalma. [Music, Language and Literature of the *Roma* and *Sinti*] *Kisebbségkutatás* 11.1 (2002).

Kenrick, Donald. Cigányok. A Gangesztől a Dunáig és a Témzéig. (transl.) [Gypsies: From the Ganges to the Thames] Budapest, Pont Kiadó, 1993.

Kertesi, Gábor – Kézdi Gábor. *A cigány népesség Magyarországon. Dokumentáció és adattár.* [The Gypsy. population in Hungary. Documentation and data base] Budapest, Socio-typo, 1998.

Kisebbségek Magyarországon. 2005. A Nemzeti és Etnikai Kisebbségi Hivatal kiadványa. (Minorities in Hungary. The Office for National and Ethnic Minorities) Budapest.

Kovalcsik, Katalin – Réger, Zita (szerk.). Romani nyelv és kultúra. [*Romani Language and Culture*] *Acta Linguistica Hungarica*, 46 (1999): 3–4. (Papers on Gypsy languages, in English)

Labodáné, Lakatos Szilvia – Pálmainé, Orsós Anna – Varga Aranka. A magyarországi cigány nyelvek. Roma tanulók iskolai pszichológiája. [Gypsy languages in Hungary. School psychology of Gypsy pupils] Pécs, University of Pécs, Institute for Psychology and Department for Gypsy Studies, 2002.

Mezey, Barna (szerk.). *A magyarországi cigánykérdés dokumentumokban 1422–1985.* [Documents of the Gypsy Issue in Hungary 1422–1985.] Budapest, Kossuth, 1986.

Nagy, Pál. Fáraó népe. A magyarországi cigányok korai története. [Pharao's People. The Early History of Hungarian Gypsies] Pécs Gypsy Studies – Cigány Tanulmányok 15., Department for Gypsy Studies, University of Pécs, 2005.

Orsós, Anna – Varga Aranka. A beás nyelv állapota. [The Status of Beas language] *Iskolakultúra* 1.12. (2001): 58–64.

Orsós, Anna. Beás nyelvkönyv. [Beas textbook] Kaposvár, Cs V.M. Tanítóképző Főiskola (Csokonai Vitéz Mihály Teacher Training College), 1994.

Orsós, Anna. A magyarországi cigányok nyelvi csoportjai. [Language groups of Hungarian Gypsies] *Cigány Néprajzi Tanulmányok* 6., Budapest, 1997, 194–199.

Orsós, Anna. A beás nyelv szociolingvisztikai helyzet. Friss kutatások a romológia körében. [The sociolinguistic situation of Beas. Recent researches in Romology] *Gypsy Studies – Cigány Tanulmányok*. 10., Department for Gypsy Studies, University of Pécs, 2002.

Plazzeriano, Gábor. A beás nyelv a nyelvi, nyelvtanulási attitűdökben. [The Beas language. Language and language learning attitudes.] Seminar paper. Department for Gypsy Studies, University of Pécs, 2004.

Réger, Zita. Cigányosztály, „vegyes” osztály – a tények tükrében. [Gypsy classes, “mixed classes” in the light of facts] *Valóság*, 21 (1975): 77–89.

Réger, Zita 1988. A cigány nyelv: Kutatások és vitapontok. Műhelymunkák a nyelvészet és társtudományai köréből. IV. 155–178.

Réger, Zita. *Utak a nyelvhez: [Ways to Language]* Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó. 1990.

Réger, Zita. Cigány gyerekek nyelvi problémái és iskolai esélyei. [*Gypsy Children’s Language Problems and chances in schools*] *Iskolakultúra*, 5 (1995): 102–106.

Réger, Zita. Cigány gyermekvilág. Olvasókönyv a cigány gyermekfolklorból. [The Way of Gypsy Children: Textbook of Gypsy Child Folklore] Budapest, L’Harmattan Kiadó. 2002.

Saramandu, Nicolae 1997. Cercetări dialectale la un grup necunoscut de vorbitori ai românei: băiașii din nordul Croației. București, *Fonetică și dialectologie* XVI, 97–130.

Pálmainé Orsós Anna:

A magyarországi beás nyelv oktatási és nyelvtervezési kérdései

A tanulmány a magyarországi cigány kisebbség nyelveinek - a romani és a beás – helyzetével foglalkozik. Ezen belül elsősorban a beás nyelvvel kapcsolatos oktatási, nyelvpolitikai és nyelvi tervezési problémákat és feladatokat vizsgálja a szerző.

Az írás ismerteti a magyarországi cigány nyelvekkel kapcsolatos, azok általános sajátosságait bemutató nyelvészeti és a nyelvhasználatot vizsgáló szociolingvisztikai jellegű kutatásokat, s a cigány nyelvek sajátos iskolai helyzetét hazánkban.

Sajnálatos módon a két hazai cigány nyelv – az Európa Tanács által is szorgalmazott – emancipálásához szükséges oktatás- és nyelvpolitikai jellegű tervezés napjainkban még nem kezdődött el, miközben a nyelvi közösségek mindegyikében tetten érhető a nyelvcsere folyamata. A tanulmány javaslatot tesz a megvalósítandó fejlesztési feladatokra is.

Beas language teaching and language planning in Hungary

This study is about the situation of the two gypsy minority languages – Romani and Beas languages – in Hungary. The author will mainly focus on one of these languages – the Beas language – its teaching, language politics and the occurring problems that could turn up whilst language planning.

The study also mentions the languages' written characteristics and introduces a research regarding its linguistics and its language use – sociolinguistics. We will also get a brief insight to the current situation of this language in our education in Hungary.

Unfortunately the two gypsy languages – which are also accepted by the European Union-are still not treated as they should be. For these languages to be dealt equally and taught in schools and institutes, we need several arrangements concerning its language – and education politics whilst there is an obvious tendency a certain language change/shift in both languages. This study will try to propose in some attempts in changes and developments.

Die Fragen von Unterricht und Planung der Beas Sprache in Ungarn

In dieser Studie geht es um Sprache von zwei in Ungarn lebende zigeunerische Minorität, Romani und Beas. Im Zentralpunkt des Textes sind die Problemen und Aufgaben der Unterricht, der Sprachpolitik und der Sprachplanung von der Beas Sprache.

Die Studie fasst verschiedene sprachwissenschaftliche und soziolinguistische Forschungen zusammen, die über die zigeunerische Sprache in Ungarn untersuchten, und tematisiert die eigene Umstände die zigeunerische Sprachen in der Unterricht.

Bedauerlicherweise ist die unterricht- und sprachpolitische Planung zu – durch auch die Europäischen Union akzeptierte – Emanzipierung die zwei zigeunerische Sprache bis Heute noch nicht angefangen, obwohl man kann der Prozess der Sprachwechsel in der Sprachgemeinschaften beobachten. Die Studie stellt einen Antrag auch für die absolvierende Entwicklungsaufgaben.

Lakatos Szilvia – Gypsy languages in Baranya County⁴

Introduction

Baranya County is one of the areas of the South Trans-Danubian region which hosts the greatest number of national minority groups, thus it was necessary to carry out the research concerning the identity and language use of the minority groups described in this paper. Here I must emphasise the fact that the Gypsy/Roma communities of the examined area preserved their traditions and identity to a great extent, and it can be measured by the crucial gauge of language use, language protection and transmission within the communities.

During this research 90 members of the Gypsy/Roma minority filled in an individual questionnaire in 17 townships: Abaliget, Adorjás, Alsószentmárton, Gilvánfa, Hidas, Hirics, Komló, Kóros, Kölked, Mágocs, Pécs, Pécsvárad, Sásd, Selye, Siklós, Siklónagyfalu, and Szigetvár.

Unfortunately, the drafters of the questionnaire missed to make a distinction between the two Gypsy languages – the Beas and the Romany –, thus, the linguistic distribution of the informants can not be found out unambiguously from the data. This deficiency of the questionnaire could have been avoided easily for sure, if the drafters (sociologists and minority experts) had had recourse to e.g. the teachers of the Department of Romology of the Faculty of Arts and Humanities at the University of Pécs. Nevertheless, this failure of the drafters just supports my opinion that it is not clear even for the experts on Gypsy/Roma communities that there are two Gypsy languages officially in Hungary: Beas and Romany.

It can be generally stated that the majority of the completed nationwide⁵ and regional sociological surveys did not take into account the fact that beside the non-Hungarian Roma groups speak different native languages in Hungary. While the nationwide research does not make a distinction between these Roma native languages at all, the experts of our regional research note in their summarizing study that they met mostly with Beas informants in the course of interviews in Hidas, Selye and Szigetvár.

4 This paper is based on the results of the questionnaires by Mária Zayzon Demeter, which were collected in tables and assessed by Tamás Híves.

5 Kertesi – Kézdi 1998.

Since the 1980s the censuses have included a question concerning languages spoken besides those concerning nationality and the informants' native language. As "Gypsy language"⁶ can be found among the answers for the questions concerning native and spoken languages, it is possible to examine and analyse the Gypsy/Roma communities assimilated linguistically to a lesser extent. The exact number of Gypsy/Roma citizens and Gypsy native-speakers does not emerge from the collected and public data, but one can observe correlations between the Gypsy/Roma nationality and the Gypsy native language on the basis of the data of the 1980 and of the 1990 censuses. The following categories represent the distribution of the minority group well: Gypsy/Roma nationality and Gypsy native-speaker; Gypsy/Roma nationality but native-speaker of another language; other nationality and Gypsy native-speaker; other nationality and native speaker of another language. The headcount of the different groups and the groups' distribution within the Gypsy/Roma minority is shown in Figure 1.

Groups of the Gypsy/Roma population census	1980		1990	
	Quantity	%	Quantity	%
Gypsy/Roma nationality, Gypsy native-speaker	3,299	6.8	43,393	26.4
Gypsy/Roma nationality, Native-speakers of another language	3,105	6.4	99,290	60.4
Other nationality, Gypsy native-speaker	24,616	50.6	4,679	2.8
Other nationality, Other native-speaker, but speaker of a Gypsy language	17,613	36.2	17,044	10.4
Together	48,633	100.0	164,406	100.0

Figure 1 The number of persons avowing themselves Gypsy/Roma or Gypsy native-speakers and the speakers of Gypsy language in the census of 1980 and of 1990. (Source: Kertesi – Kézdi 1998)

The significant scatter of data may have been caused by the uncertainty of the informants and the questioners, the ambiguity of the categories' meaning, the political situation of the '80s and the prejudice and discrimination against the Gypsy/Roma minority in those years. According to my assumptions the informants in the third category are persons living in intermarriages and the informants belonging to the fourth category are those who did not confess to their Gypsy/Roma identity in those years.

6 As the object and the volume of this paper does not allow for dwelling on definitions, I must note here that by Gypsy languages I mean Romany, Beas and their different dialects.

1. Gypsy language or Gypsy languages?

There is a constantly renewing debate among the Gypsy/Roma intellectuals even in our days whether Gypsy can include any languages and their dialects spoken as native language by Gypsy/Roma individuals other than the Romany language and its dialects. This problematic question is polarized by non-Gypsy researchers and linguists to a lesser extent than by some representatives of the different Gypsy/Roma intellectual groups.

1.1. *The linguistic distribution of the Gypsy/Roma communities*

1.) Most of the **Romungros** identify Hungarian as their native language, but members of some groups still speak the Carpathian dialect of the Romany language (the Carpathian dialect can be found as language islands in two traditional communities in Csobánka, Pest County and in Versend, Baranya County).

2.) The **Beas** speak the archaic dialects (Ticsan, Muncsan, and Argyelan) of the Romanian language spoken before the language reform in the 19th century's.⁷ Muncsan and Argyelan are living dialects in the villages of Baranya County inhabited by Beas Gypsies. Ticsan is a living dialect in some villages of the Tiszántúl region. In the summary of her research Andrea Szalai draws attention to the generalising character and unstructured meaning range of the picture of the Bea sized up by the non-Gypsy environment and to the differentiated character of the self-reflective category system made up in the Bea native-language (Beas Gypsies, non-Beas Gypsies, non-Gypsies).⁸

3.) The majority of the **Wallachian Roma**, even those who use another dialect in the family, speak the Lovari dialect of the Romany language. It is beneficial to know the Lovari dialect for individuals having international trade or cultural relations, because this dialect is widely known and recognized as the lingua franca of several different groups.

A closed community consisting of several large families of Wallachian Roma live in Pécs. It is important to note that members of the community do not use this name, but it is mainly used as a collective name by the non-Gypsy environment. They define themselves as Kolompár Roma or, in some groups, they call themselves Kelderás Roma due to the heterogeneity developed by the intermarriages. Both definitions are used for self-identification as well as for group-identification.

7 Szalai 1997, 7–9.

8 Szalay 1997, 391.

We can find several dialects of the Romany language in Baranya County, but since there have not been a complete sociolinguistic research in this county, I have to rely on my empirical experiences about the dialects used in the region.

In my opinion, the Lovari dialect is becoming more and more dominant in Hungary. This assumption is supported by the fact that the Lovari dialect has been included in the accredited state exam system organised by the Centre for Advanced Language Learning since the middle of the '90s and that we can see the Lovari dialect in most cases of the language exams organised by the Foreign Language Office of the Faculty of Arts and Humanities at the University of Pécs. The students at the Department of Romology and in the Gandhi secondary school acquire the Lovari dialect in the course of their studies due to the simple fact that their teachers usually speak this dialect as a native language.

1.2. Closed communities with Gypsy native language in Baranya County

Sociological and demographical correlations can be observed between the language spoken by the different Gypsy/Roma communities and the types of the township inhabited by them. The small villages typical in Baranya County provided a favourable environment for the Gypsy/Roma communities to protect and preserve their native language.

On the basis of the data of the counties assessed by Gábor Kertesi and Gábor Kézdi we can name the townships inhabited by closed communities speaking Gypsy native as their native language by comparing the data of the census in 1990 with the township data of the Gypsy/Roma students' number in the different grades collected by the Ministry of Education and Culture in the school year of 1992/93. The command of language is 100% in the communities of these (exclusively) rural townships. According to the data of sociological comparison coming from many sources, these townships of Baranya County were the following at the end of the 20th century:

Csebény, Horváthertelend, Ibafa, Tengeri, Zók, Nagykozár, Töttös, Kistamási, Markóc, Dunafalva, Egyházasharaszti, Felsőszentmárton, Geresdlak, Drávaszerdahely, Márfa, Székelyszabar, Tésenfa, Szörény, Alsómocsolád, Nagytótfalu, Botykapeterd, Olasz, Varga, Somberek, Somogyviszló, Szabad-szentkirály, Babarcszölös, Csarnóta, Kőkény, Szilvás, Szebény, Vejtí.⁹

⁹ Kertesi – Kézdi 1998, 324–333.

On the basis of the township research we can appoint that the above mentioned townships are not inhabited by Gypsy/Roma exclusively, but the whole population (just 10–15 persons in some cases) of each township speaks the Gypsy language (used by the sociologists as a collective noun) as their native language. Nowadays, Beas is spoken as native language by many residents of Alsószentmárton and Gilvánfa beside these villages. It is important to emphasise that the rate of the Gypsy/Roma residents of these villages is over 90%. The Roma residents of Berkesd and Pettend speak the Lovari dialect as their native language.

1.3. The general status of the Gypsy/Roma minority according to the local government

Almost all townships of Baranya County have Gypsy/Roma residents. Their proportion ranges from 1–90%.

There was 110 Roma Minority Self-Governments established in 2004, and 102 of them are still working today. The members of the Gypsy Minority Self-Governments possess right of consultation at the meetings of Local Governments. The relation between the Local Government and the Gypsy Minority Self-Government is different in each township.

In townships lacking Gypsy Minority Self-Government like Mágocs, Baksa and Palotabozsók the Gypsy/Roma are represented by Gypsy/Roma spokespeople. Hereinafter I present the results of the assessed questionnaire sent to the 300 Local Governments of Baranya County and answered by 202 of them. The questionnaires support our assumption that a significant part of the Gypsy/Roma population is in the employment of public utility, or unemployed, or goes out charring by the necessity of supplying the family.

In spite of the documents protecting minority languages and allowing for their use in the public offices, the official language of the Gypsy Minority Self-Governments is Hungarian. This phenomenon can be explained by the late standardisation of Gypsy languages, the deficiencies of official language and terminology and the unpreparedness of public offices.

The Gypsy Minority Self-Governments play an active part in the development of the protection of the Gypsy/Roma communities' traditions on a county level. They organise for example the Roma Day annually in several townships of the county (in Berkesd, Pécs, Abaliget, Siklónagyfalu, Diósviszló, Hidas, Nagydobsza, Kistamási, Lúzsok, Hetvehely, Siklós, Keszű, Versend, Sásd, etc.).

In Baranya County there operate more Gypsy/Roma non-governmental organisations than in other regions of Hungary. These organisations work in Komló, Siklónagyfalu, Vajszló, Pécs, Keszű, Berkesd, and Diósvizsló.

1.4. The general status of the Gypsy/Roma minority according to the individual questionnaires

The questionnaire was filled in by 90 Gypsy/Roma individuals, 25.9% of the total number of possible informants. The number of the male and female informants is almost the same (44 female and 43 male), and three people did not answer the question concerning gender (probably due to ignorance).

From the point of view of age distribution, the number of young, 20–29 year-old individuals is significantly high (31 people, 34.0%), which is followed by the number of 40–49 year-olds (17 people, 18.9%). The number of the 30–39 year-old individuals is almost the same (16 people, 17.8%) and then a decreasing tendency sets in with the number of the 50–59 year-old (14 people, 15.6%) and the 60–69 year-old (8 people, 8.9%). Three 69 year-old individuals (3.3%) filled in the questionnaire, which is an interesting fact because the average age of the Gypsy/Roma population is less by 10 years than the average age of the total population. One person did not answer this question due to unidentified reasons.

Two individuals did not answer the question concerning school degree, 12 people have less than 8 grades, 38 people finished primary school only, 21 of them finished vocational apprentice school, 14 people graduated from secondary school, and there were even 3 people having received a degree in higher education.

As for the size of the family: 23 individuals do not have children, or at least they do not mention it, which number equals to the number of the families having 2 children (23 people). The number of informants raising 3 children is 19. Having only a single child is not typical of the Gypsy/Roma families, even so 14 people gave that answer to the question. This can be explained by the age distribution of the informants. Finally, 11 people have 4 or more children.

2. The language status of the Gypsy/Roma minority

2.1. Linguistic competence

54 people of the 90 (60.0%) speak a Gypsy language and 36 of them do not speak a Gypsy language, or did not answer the question.

		Yes		No / No answer		Total	
Nationality	Gender	Nr.	%	Nr.	%	Nr.	%
Gypsy/Roma	Male	29	67.4%	14	32.6%	43	100.0%
	Female	24	54.5%	20	45.5%	44	100.0%
	No answer	1	33.3%	2	66.7%	3	100.0%
Together		54	60.0%	36	40.0%	90	100.0%

Figure 2

Two individuals, a male (age 50–59, finished 8 grades only) and a female (age 60–69, graduated in secondary school) speak another minority language as well. Three people did not answer the question and 85 informants do not speak the language of any other national minority.

		Yes		No / No answer		Total	
Nationality	Gender	Nr.	%	Nr.	%	Nr.	%
Gypsy/Roma	Male	1	2.3%	42	97.7%	43	100.0%
	Female	1	2.3%	43	97.7%	44	100.0%
	No answer		0.0%	3	100.0%	3	100.0%
Together		2	2.2%	88	97.8%	90	100.0%

Figure 3

Ten informants speak other non-minority languages beside Hungarian. 8 of them are 20–29 years old, 1 of them is 30–39 years old, and the last one is from the 40–49 year-old age group. 1 of them finished 8 grades the most, 3 people finished vocational apprentice school, 4 people graduated from secondary school and 2 of them have degrees in higher education. These people know other non-minority languages, too, but they do not speak them at home.

		Yes		No / No answer		Total	
Nationality	Gender	Nr.	%	Nr.	%	Nr.	%
Gypsy/Roma	Male	4	9.3%	39	90.7%	43	100.0%
	Female	6	13.6%	38	86.4%	44	100.0%
	No answer		0.0%	3	100.0%	3	100.0%
Together		10	11.1%	80	88.9%	90	100.0%

Figure 4

Among the informants 7 people speak German besides Hungarian. 4 of them are between 20–29 years old, 2 of them are 30–39 years old, and 1 of them belongs to the 40–49 year-old age group. 2 of them finished 8 grades the most, 4 of them finished vocational apprentice school and 1 of them graduated from secondary school.

2.2. Language use within the family

Among the 44 female informants, 24 speak a Gypsy language beside Hungarian within the family. Out of the 43 male informants, 29 gave the same answer. In contrast with our assumptions more men than women use a Gypsy language within the family, at least in the communities examined in our research.

Nationality	Gender	Yes		No / No answer		Total	
		Nr.	%	Nr.	%	Nr.	%
Gypsy/Roma	Male	29	67,4%	14	32.6%	43	100.0%
	Female	24	54.5%	20	45.5%	44	100.0%
	No answer	1	33.3%	2	66.7%	3	100.0%
Together		54	60.0%	36	40.0%	90	100.0%

Figure 5

Among the 54 people speaking a Gypsy language, 25 finished 8 grades the most. 11 people speak a Gypsy language among the 12 having finished less than 8 grades. According to the answers of the people having finished vocational apprentice school and secondary school, we can draw the conclusion that the higher educational degree they have, the less they speak a Gypsy language. The 3 people with university degrees make an exception, however, we have to note that it is obligatory to have a language exam for graduating in higher education, thus the 3 informants have probably passed an exam in their native languages.

Nationality	Degree	Yes		No / No answer		Total	
		Nr.	%	Nr.	%	Nr.	%
Gypsy/Roma	Less than 8 grades	11	91.7%	1	8.3%	12	100.0%
	Max. 8 grades	25	65.8%	13	34.2%	38	100.0%
	Vocational apprentice school	9	42.9%	12	57.1%	21	100.0%
	Secondary school	6	42.9%	8	57.1%	14	100.0%
	Higher education	3	100.0%		0.0%	3	100.0%
	No answer		0.0%	2	100.0%	2	100.0%
Together		54	60.0%	36	40.0%	90	100.0%

Figure 6

13 people (41.9%) among the 31 informants between the ages 20–29 and 12 people (85.7%) in the 50–59 year-old age group use a Gypsy language within the family. 11 people (68.8%) of 30–39 of age, 10 people (58.8%) between 40 and 49, 6 people between 60 and 69, and 2 over 69 use a Gypsy language within the family. 1 person did not answer the question.

Nationality	Age	Yes		No / No answer		Total	
		Nr.	%	Nr.	%	Nr.	%
Gypsy / Roma	20–29	13	41.9%	18	58.1%	31	100.0%
	30–39	11	68.8%	5	31.3%	16	100.0%
	40–49	10	58.8%	7	41.2%	17	100.0%
	50–59	12	85.7%	2	14.3%	14	100.0%
	60–69	6	75.0%	2	25.0%	8	100.0%
	69<	2	66.7%	1	33.3%	3	100.0%
	No answer		0.0%	1	100.0%	1	100.0%
Together		54	60.0%	36	40.0%	90	100.0%

Figure 7

2.3. Linguistic socialisation of children

Just like every other minority, the Gypsy lay store by the transmission of their native language to the children, and, thus, it supports the recognition of the Gypsy language as foreign language in education. At the same time, only the children of 6 people (2 male and 4 female) among the informants have the possibility to study one of the Gypsy languages as a foreign language in school.

Surprisingly, 70 people did not answer this question, and 14 people answered that their children do not study any of the Gypsy languages as a foreign language in school.

Nationality	Age	Yes		No		No answer		Total	
		Nr.	%	Nr.	%	Nr.	%	Nr.	%
Gypsy/ Roma	20–29		0.0%	3	9.7%	28	90.3%	31	100.0%
	30–39	1	6,3%	4	25.0%	11	68.8%	16	100.0%
	40–49	2	11,8%	3	17.6%	12	70.6%	17	100.0%
	50–59	1	7,1%	4	28.6%	9	64.3%	14	100.0%
	60–69		0.0%		0.0%	8	100.0%	8	100.0%
	69<	2	66.7%		0.0%	1	33.3%	3	100.0%
	No answer		0.0%		0.0%	1	100.0%	1	100.0%
Together		6	6.7%	14	15.6%	70	77.8%	90	100.0%

Figure 8

Among the 6 parents whose children have the possibility to study one of the Gypsy languages as a foreign language, 2 people have less than 8 grades, 3 people have 8 grades at the most, and 1 person finished vocational apprentice school. Contrary to all expectations, the person having a degree in higher education did not answer the question.

Nationality	Degree	Yes		No		No answer		Total	
		Nr.	%	Nr.	%	Nr.	%	Nr.	%
Gypsy/ Roma	Less than 8 grades	2	16.7%	1	8.3%	9	75.0%	12	100.0%
	Max. 8 grades	3	7.9%	10	26.3%	25	65.8%	38	100.0%
	Vocational apprentice school	1	4.8%	3	14.3%	17	81.0%	21	100.0%
	Secondary school		0.0%		0.0%	14	100.0%	14	100.0%
	Higher education		0.0%		0.0%	3	100.0%	3	100.0%
	No answer		0.0%		0.0%	2	100.0%	2	100.0%
Together		6	6.7%	14	15.6%	70	77.8%	90	100.0%

Figure 9

10.0% of the informants (6 male and 3 female) answered that their children study the very Gypsy language used in the family in school. Significantly many informants (77.8%) did not answer this question and 11 people (12.2%) gave negative answers.

Considering age, we can observe that language use within the family is more important for the younger (20–29, 30–39, 40–49 year-old) age groups, while 28.8% of the 50–59 year-old informants did not use any of the Gypsy languages within the family.

Nationality	Age	Yes		No		No answer		Total	
		Nr.	%	Nr.	%	Nr.	%	Nr.	%
Gypsy/ Roma	20–29	3	9.7%	1	3.2%	27	87.1%	31	100.0%
	30–39	2	12.5%	2	12.5%	12	75.0%	16	100.0%
	40–49	2	11.8%	2	11.8%	13	76.5%	17	100.0%
	50–59	1	7.1%	4	28.6%	9	64.3%	14	100.0%
	60–69	1	12.5%		0.0%	7	87.5%	8	100.0%
	69<		0.0%	2	66.7%	1	33.3%	3	100.0%
	No answer		0.0%		0.0%	1	100.0%	1	100.0%
Together		9	10.0%	11	12.2%	70	77.8%	90	100.0%

Figure 10

Two people with less than 8 grades gave a positive answer, and two people of same qualifications gave a negative answer to this question. 21.1% of the informants having 8 grades the most gave negative answer, and only 10.5% of them answered that their children use the language within the family.

Nationality	Degree	Yes		No		No answer		Total	
		Nr.	%	Nr.	%	Nr.	%	Nr.	%
Gypsy/ Roma	Less than 8 grades	2	16.7%	2	16.7%	8	66.7%	12	100.0%
	Max. 8 grades	4	10.5%	8	21.1%	26	68.4%	38	100.0%
	Vocational apprentice school	2	9.5%	1	4.8%	18	85.7%	21	100.0%
	Secondary school		0.0%		0.0%	14	100.0%	14	100.0%
	Higher education		0.0%		0.0%	3	100.0%	3	100.0%
	No answer	1	50.0%		0.0%	1	50.0%	2	100.0%
Together		9	10.0%	11	12.2%	70	77.8%	90	100.0%

Figure 11

There was only one positive answer in the Gypsy/Roma minority for the question concerning the school's international relations with foreign schools

(in the mother country, for example). This question is irrelevant with respect to the Gypsy/Roma minority.

Almost half of the informants (42.2%), 38 people (16 male and 22 female) know of an example of learning a Gypsy language again in adulthood.

Among the informants between the ages 20–29 the number of positive and negative answers was equal. 9 people (56.3%) among the 30–39 year-old know of such an example, while 12 individuals (70.6%) among the 40–49 year-old gave negative answers, while only 5 people (29.4%) answered the question affirmatively.

Nationality	Age	Yes		No		No answer		Total	
		Nr.	%	Nr.	%	Nr.	%	Nr.	%
Gypsy/ Roma	20–29	15	48.4%	15	48.4%	1	3.2%	31	100.0%
	30–39	9	56.3%	6	37.5%	1	6.3%	16	100.0%
	40–49	5	29.4%	12	70.6%		0.0%	17	100.0%
	50–59	5	35.7%	9	64.3%		0.0%	14	100.0%
	60–69	2	25.0%	5	62.5%	1	12.5%	8	100.0%
	69<	2	66.7%	1	33.3%		0.0%	3	100.0%
	No answer		0.0%		0.0%	1	100.0%	1	100.0%
Together		38	42.2%	48	53.3%	4	4.4%	90	100.0%

Figure 12

With respect to the degrees of the informants, having 8 grades the most 12 people (31.6%) gave positive and 25 people (65.8%) negative answers to the question, and among the informants having finished vocational apprentice school 10 people (47.6%) know, while 11 people (52.4%) do not know of such an example.

Nationality	Degree	Yes		No		No answer		Total	
		Nr.	%	Nr.	%	Nr.	%	Nr.	%
Gypsy/ Roma	Less than 8 grades	5	41.7%	7	58.3%		0.0%	12	100.0%
	Max. 8 grades	12	31.6%	25	65.8%	1	2.6%	38	100.0%
	Vocational apprenticeship school	10	47.6%	11	52.4%		0.0%	21	100.0%
	Secondary school	8	57.1%	4	28.6%	2	14.3%	14	100.0%
	Higher education	3	100.0%		0.0%		0.0%	3	100.0%
	No answer		0.0%	1	50.0%	1	50.0%	2	100.0%
Together		38	42.2%	48	53.3%	4	4.4%	90	100.0%

Figure 13

The examination of the audience of the different minority programmes in the media can play an important role in the research on the importance and consciousness of language use within a minority group. 7.8% of the informants read newspapers written in Gypsy languages, 16.7% of them listen to Gypsy/Roma programmes on the radio, and 37.8% of them watch programmes in Gypsy languages on television. Having analysed the answers given by minorities, it can be stated that Gypsy/Roma residents pay attention to the Gypsy press and Gypsy programmes on the radio in a smaller proportion than members of other minorities. At the same time, the most popular source of information is television for the Gypsy/Roma, a case similar to other minorities?

3. Linguistic attitudes

If we examine extent to which the majority is expected to know a given minority language, we can collect information about the relationship between the given minority language and its users, and about the importance of the minority language in its users' identity.

Taking into consideration the school degree informants have, we can state that the expectation towards the majority to know the Gypsy language is increasing with school degree up to A-level qualifications. Though due to the small number of answers, we cannot draw far-reaching conclusions from the answers informants having degrees in higher education gave, it would be interesting to do further research into why the most of them do not attribute greater significance to the demand that majorities speak Gypsy in townships

of mixed population. Only 2 of the aforementioned informants (66.7%) think that speaking Gypsy is of high importance, while 1 of them did not answer the question. 25.6% of male and 22.7% of female interviewees expect the majority to know and speak their minority languages.

Nationality	Degree	Yes		No		Do not know		No answer		Total	
		Nr.	%	Nr.	%	Nr.	%	Nr.	%	Nr.	%
Gypsy/ Roma	Less than 8 grades	2	16.7%	1	8.3%	3	25.0%	6	50.0%	12	100.0%
	Max. 8 grades	7	18.4%	12	31.6%	4	10.5%	15	39.5%	38	100.0%
	Vocational apprentice school	7	33.3%	5	23.8%	3	14.3%	6	28.6%	21	100.0%
	Secondary school	5	35.7%	3	21.4%	1	7.1%	5	35.7%	14	100.0%
	Higher education		0.0%	2	66.7%		0.0%	1	33.3%	3	100.0%
	No answer		0.0%		0.0%	1	50.0%	1	50.0%	2	100.0%
Together		21	23.3%	23	25.6%	12	13.3%	34	37.8%	90	100.0%

Figure 13

The expectation among the 60–69 year-old people is significantly high (66.7%), among the 50–59 year-old significantly low (14.3%), just like the expectation of the group between 40–49 year-old (17.6%), while 31.3% of the informants between the ages of 30–39 expected the majority to know the given Gypsy language, 37.5% of them did not, and 31.3% of them did not reply to this question at all.

Nationality	Age	Yes		No		Do not know		No answer		Total	
		Nr.	%	Nr.	%	Nr.	%	Nr.	%	Nr.	%
Gypsy/ Roma	20–29	9	29.0%	10	32.3%	3	9.7%	9	29.0%	31	100.0%
	30–39	5	31.3%	6	37.5%		0.0%	5	31.3%	16	100.0%
	40–49	3	17.6%	4	23.5%	2	11.8%	8	47.1%	17	100.0%
	50–59	2	14.3%	2	14.3%	3	21.4%	7	50.0%	14	100.0%
	60–69		0.0%	1	12.5%	4	50.0%	3	37.5%	8	100.0%
	69<	2	66.7%		0.0%		0.0%	1	33.3%	3	100.0%
	No answer		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	100.0%	1	100.0%
Together		21	23.3%	23	25.6%	12	13.3%	34	37.8%	90	100.0%

Figure 15

3.1. The importance of speaking minority languages from an intraethnic point of view

61.1% of the informants (55 people) of the Gypsy/Roma minority expect the members of their minority group to know and speak a Gypsy language, 20.0% (18 people) of them do not, and 18.9% (17 people) did not answer the question. The knowledge of Gypsy/Roma history and literature was important for 40 people (40.0%), 15 people (16.7%) thought it was not, and 35 people (38.9%) did not reply to the question.

The preservation and protection of the minority's traditions was important for 52.2% of the informants, while it was not important for 14.4% of them, and 30 (33.3%) did not answer the question.

35 of the 90 informants (38.9%) expect the members of the minority group to declare their national minority identity, whilst 19 people thought otherwise, and 36 people gave no answer.

3.2. The protection of the minority language

According to the opinion of 46.7% of the informants (42 people), more and better minority kindergartens and schools should be established for the sake of protecting the native languages of the Gypsy/Roma citizens of Hungary. 38.9% of the informants think that the families should protect and transmit the language better and 16.7% of them (15 people) think that the members of the minority group should know their history and culture better. Only 1 person holds that it would be useful to generalise bilingualism in the townships, and 4 individuals think that libraries should be developed.

Answers interesting for us were given to the question: what can be done to prevent the Gypsy/Roma minority from forgetting its native languages. According to the answers of 7 seven informants replying to the question the followings could help the preservation of the native languages of the Gypsy/Roma minority: education, better life circumstances, future planning, support for the poor and more work.

4. The linguistic features of the Gypsy/Roma community in the city of Pécs

Only 28 informants filled in the questionnaire in the city of Pécs, and, thus, the survey is far from being representative. Nevertheless, some general ideas can be drawn on the basis of the results.

There were 13 male (46.4%) and 15 female (53.6%) informants, mainly between the ages 20-29. Taking into consideration their school degree 32.1% of them graduated from secondary school, 28.6% of them finished 8 grades only, 25.0% of them finished vocational apprentice school, and 10.7% graduated in higher education.

71.4% of them speak one of the Gypsy languages, only 1 person (3.3%) speaks the language of another minority, and 8 people speak another non-minority language.

The protection and preservation of traditions and the use of the native language is very important for the communities of the Gypsy/Roma minority of Pécs. The local Gypsy Minority Self-Government and other Gypsy/Roma non-governmental organisations play an active role in that. We have to emphasise the work of the teachers at the Department of Romology of the Faculty of Arts and Humanities at the University of Pécs lead by Katalin R. Forray, an institution enabling Gypsy/Roma and non-Gypsy students to study Beas and Romany and the cultures, history and traditions of the Gypsy/Roma communities. The students can earn their degrees as Romologist – Beas language teachers, or as Romologist – Lovari language teachers.

Thanks to Anna Orsós Pálmainé, an accredited exam of Beas can be taken in the Profex Language Exam Centre.

Gandhi High School is a significant example of secondary level education in Gypsy/Roma culture and language, and was the first place where the teaching of the Gypsy languages started officially in 1994.

In the primary schools of Magyarmecske, Nagyharsány, Kétújfalu and Hetvehely the children can study Beas, and in Versend Lovari courses are offered.

5. Language politics: minority language rights

While doing research on the status Gypsy in Hungary, we have to take into consideration the development of the international law protecting Gypsy languages and culture.

The development of international law started to flourish within the institution of the Council of Europe in the end of the '80s. The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (hereafter: charter) signed by the Hungarian Republic among the first countries is the document of international law protecting the vindication of language rights for minorities in Hungary.

The declaration of the Hungarian diplomatic accession was in 1992. The Hungarian law implemented the Charter on 7th April, 1995 first; the National Assembly of Hungary ratified it by the decision 35/1995. (IV.7.). The Charter became effective in Europe on 1st March, 1998. The National Assembly of Hungary proclaimed and enacted the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (Strasbourg, 1st February, 1995) by passing the Law 1999. XXXIV.

The first Article of the Charter defines the concept of regional or minority languages: “the languages traditionally used within a given territory of a State by nationals of that State who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the State’s population and different from the official language(s) of that State”.

The Charter is different from earlier international agreements in two respects:

- 1) The object of regulation is language rights exclusively;
- 2) The text of the agreement gives plenty of rope to the national law of individual states joining it.

The Charter does not define – and, therefore, does not distinguish – individual and collective language rights. It is about the protection of the languages and approaches based on the recognition that “the historical regional or minority languages of Europe, some of which are in danger of eventual extinction, contribute[s] to the maintenance and development of Europe’s cultural wealth and traditions”. The principle of the Charter, consisting of five parts, is that the assurance of multilingualism is the obligation of every single state.

The Charter includes nine fundamental principles that are obligatory for the states with respect to all the languages falling under the jurisdiction of the Charter:

- “the recognition of the regional or minority languages as an expression of cultural wealth;
- the respect of the geographical area of each regional or minority language (...);
- the need for resolute action to promote regional or minority languages in order to safeguard them;
- the facilitation and/or encouragement of the use of regional or minority languages, in speech and writing, in public and private life;
- the maintenance and development of links (...) between groups using a regional or minority language and other groups (...);
- the provision of appropriate forms and means for the teaching and study of regional or minority languages at all appropriate stages;
- the provision of facilities enabling non-speakers of a regional or minority language living in the area where it is used to learn it if they so desire;
- the promotion of study and research on regional or minority languages at universities or equivalent institutions;
- the promotion of appropriate types of transnational exchanges (...).”

It is obligatory for every state to choose at least 35 self-executing decrees (the total number of them is almost 100) for the vindication of these fundamental principles, and at least three of these decrees have to concern education, three of them should apply to cultural activity and cultural institutions, and one of them have to include decrees concerning jurisdiction, administration, mass media and communication and the economical and social life.

It is important from the point of view of this paper that according to the 3rd paragraph of Article 1. the non-territorial languages fall under the jurisdiction of the Charter. As a consequence, Gypsy/Roma native languages are offered the possibility to make the first tentative steps on the “European route” of linguistic emancipation.

At the beginning of the ‘90s, the democratic development of the region resulted in the minorities’ great hopes and expectations for fulfilling the promise of political freedom. It was expected that the rules for protecting minorities and their rights (language rights among others) supported by legal guarantees and the possibility of the vindication of these rules in international forums will be based on international contracts in a short time. These expectations have not been fulfilled until our days. However, the Charter and the other agree-

ments concerning the issue must be interpreted as a significant step towards the fulfilment of these expectations.¹⁰

The government guaranteed to have completed two reports about the status of Gypsy languages and a proposal for the protection of these them by the deadline of December 2005. A study was completed by Anna Orsós Pálmainé¹¹ about the status of Beas, and József Daróczi Choli and Imre Vajda¹² produced a report on the status of Romany. As the result of these reports, we expect the development of the protection for Gypsy languages in the near future.

Summary

In the present study I have tried to prove that there was no representative sociological and sociolinguistic research available about Gypsy languages and their use in Baranya County. Scientific research and ethnological studies are the works of a handful of researchers of special interest and significant diligence; still publications concerning the issue are hard to come by even these days.

At the same time we can look into the future with great expectations since the institutional background of minority languages in Baranya County is in a much better shape than the average in Hungary.

Nevertheless, the status of Romany and Beas in the beginning of the 21st century is much more important than their institutional support. Now, we can be sure that these two languages are excluded from the circle of the languages doomed to extinction. We can be certain of this because these languages have reached the basics of linguistic standardisation and grammatical description, and the basics of lexical fixation in ever-expanding bilingual lexicons. Interest in the re-learning of native languages and culture among people caring for the memory of their Gypsy/Roma ancestors is significantly high. Moreover, the official state recognition of the two different languages encourages many non-Gypsy individuals to study them.

Translated by Imre Miska

10 Szalayné 2003, 221–222.

11 Orsós Pálmainé, Anna: *Beas in education in present day Hungary: survey, description and assessment* (For the Office for National and Ethnic Minorities).

12 Daróczi Choli, József – Vajda, Imre: *Lovari in education in present day Hungary: survey, description and assessment* (For the Office for National and Ethnic Minorities).

Works Cited

Borbély, Anna. “A magyarországi beás nyelv helye a román nyelven belül.” [The Place of the Bea Language within the Romanian] *Cigány nyelvek nemzetközi szeminárium. Konferenciakötet.* Pécs: PTE BTK Romológia Tanszék, 1989.

Demeter Zayzon, Mária. “A magyarországi kisebbségek nyelvi jogai.” [The Language Rights of the Minorities in Hungary] *Nyelvi jogok, kisebbségek, nyelvpolitika Kelet-Közép-Európában.* Ed. Nádor, Orsolya and Szarka, László. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó – Magyar Kisebbségi Könyvtár, 2003, 220–231.

Erdős, Kamill. *Cigánytanulmányai.* [Gypsy Studies] Békéscsaba: Gyulai Erkel Ferenc Múzeum, 1989.

Kemény, István, Fleck, Gábor, Derdák, Tibor and Orsós, János. “Nyelvi csoportok és nyelvhasználat.” [Language Groups and Language Use] *A magyarországi romák. Változó Világ 31.* Ed. Kemény, István. Budapest: Úmtudató Kiadó – Press Publica, 2000.

Kemény, István. *A magyarországi cigányság szerkezete a nyelvi változások tükrében.* [The Structure of Hungarian Roma Groups in Light of Linguistic Changes] Régio 1. (1991).

Kertesi, Gábor and Kézdi, Gábor. *A cigány népesség Magyarországon.* [The Gypsy Population in Hungary] Budapest: Socio-typo, 1998.

Labodáné Lakatos, Szilvia, Pálmainé Orsós, Anna and Varga, Aranka. “A magyarországi cigány nyelvek.” [Gypsy Languages in Hungary] *Roma tanulók iskolai pszichológiája.* Ed. László, János and Forray R., Katalin. Pécs: PTE BTK Romológia Tanszék, 2002.

Orsós, Anna. “A magyarországi cigányok nyelvi csoportjai.” [The Language Groups of the Hungarian Gypsies] *Cigány Néprajzi Tanulmányok 6.* Ed. Bódi, Zsuzsanna. Budapest: 194–199.

Orsós, Anna. *A magyarországi cigány nyelvek szociolingvisztikai, nyelvpolitikai megközelítése.* [The Sociolinguistic and Language Political Approach of the Gypsy Languages in Hungary] (MS)

Réger, Zita. *A cigányság helyzetének nyelvi és iskolai vonatkozásai.* [The Linguistic and Educational Concerns of the Status of the Gypsy] Szociálpolitikai értesítő 2. (1984).

Réger, Zita. *A cigány nyelv: Kutatások és vitapontok – Műhelymunkák a nyelvészet és társtudományai köréből.* [The Gypsy Language] Budapest: MTA Nyelv- tudományi Intézet, 1988.

Réger, Zita. *Cigány gyerekek nyelvi problémái és iskolai esélyei.* [Language Problems and Educational Chances of Gypsy Children] Iskolakultúra 24. (1996): 102–106.

Steward, Michael Sinclair. *Daltestvérek. Az oláh cigány identitás és közösség továbbélése a szocialista Magyarországon.* [Songbrothers] Budapest: T-Twins Kiadó – MTA Szociológiai Intézet – Max Weber Alapítvány, 1993.

Szalai, Andrea. *A beások. Az etnikai identitás határai a nyelvhasználat tükrében.* [The Bea] Kritika 12. (1997): 7–9.

Szalayné Sándor, Erzsébet. *A kisebbségvédelem nemzetközi jogi intéz- ményrendszere a 20. században.* [The International Legal Institution System of the Minority Protection in the 20. Century] Kisebbségi monográfiák 3., Budapest: MTA Kisebbségkutató Intézet – Gondolat, 2003.

Szilvia Lakatos:

Gypsy Languages in Baranya County

In the present study I have tried to prove that there was no representative sociological and sociolinguistic research available about Gypsy languages and their use in Baranya County. Scientific research and ethnological studies are the works of a handful of researchers of special interest and significant diligence; still publications concerning the issue are hard to come by even these days.

At the same time we can look into the future with great expectations since the institutional background of minority languages in Baranya County is in a much better shape than the average in Hungary.

Nevertheless, the status of Romany and Beas in the beginning of the 21st century is much more important than their institutional support. Now, we can be sure that these two languages are excluded from the circle of the languages doomed to extinction. We can be certain of this because these languages have reached the basics of linguistic standardisation and grammatical description, and the basics of lexical fixation in ever-expanding bilingual lexicons. Interest in the re-learning of native languages and culture among people caring for the memory of their Gypsy/Roma ancestors is significantly high. Moreover, the official state recognition of the two different languages encourages many non-Gypsy individuals to study them.

Gypsy languages in Baranya County

Two Gypsy languages are officially accepted in Hungary: Beas and Romany. The traditional languages are very important for the Gypsy/Roma communities in order to save their traditions and their identity.

The improvement and protection of both languages is provided by the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages.

In this research 90 Roma people filled in a questionnaire in 17 townships: Abaliget, Adorjás, Alsószentmárton, Gilvánfa, Hidas, Hirics, Komló, Kóros, Kölked, Mágocs, Pécs, Pécsvárad, Sásd, Sellye, Siklós, Siklónagyfalu, and Szigetvár.

Within the use of Romany and Beas languages I mention the use of these languages within the family, the linguistic socialisation of the children, the teaching and the preservation of these languages. The Department of Ro-

mology of the Faculty of Arts and Humanities at the University of Pécs has the ambition and possibility to protect these languages.

Translated by Imre Miska

Aranka Varga – Gypsy children in education – inclusive school based on cooperation

Introduction

As teachers we confront the fact day by day that at primary school there are just few Gypsy children among well-performing students, while among students failing in something, requiring special education and dropping out of school we can find the significant number of them. This fact is also confirmed by national and international investigations which examine the admission and progress of children studying at different levels of the general education in the light of their family background as well. As kindergarten and primary school teachers it is especially painful to see that children starting with similar abilities run a totally different scholastic course which depends on what family background they were born to. The differences in financial circumstances and between the requirements of the school and the family could be bridged over more simply in the “without stake” community of the kindergarten and in the one-teacher system of lower primary education. But dysfunctions strengthening inequality appear even here: Gypsy children are rather left out of kindergarten education, and at the school entry, Hungarian education system effectuates a strong selection mechanism, which results in internal as well as interscholastic segregation. The structure of senior school years – subject teachers alternating each other and teaching in one or two hours a week, the pressing necessity of the curriculum to acquire – makes it all the more difficult to establish personal contact beyond the subject, and hinders the identification and understanding of typical problems of this period as well as the common search of solutions, which deepens the differences between students. All this shows that chances for a successful school career among Gypsy and non-Gypsy children are multiply. In the last decades several proposals, laws, regulations and exemplary initiations were made to solve this problem. Cases observed in everyday practice and exerting a strong influence on the educational situation of Gypsies shall be considered in their historical context, examined from the point of view of the sociology of education, educational policy and pedagogy, and supported by demographical statistics as follows.

1. Educational indicators

Educational statistics of the Gypsy and the direction and the way of progress will be presented here by the surveys of the last decades concerning the Gypsies. In addition to this, a comparison with global social indicators will also be necessary, and in relation to this, a review of efficiency, that is, success in the labour market.

1.1 *Country-wide surveys of the Gypsy: 1971, 1993, and 2003*

István Kemény's and his working team's surveys of 1971, 1993 and 2003¹³ show the situation of the Hungarian Gypsy in numbers. Educational statistics prove that despite the significant changes of the educational level of the Gypsy in the last 30 years, the tendency of an increasing distance between the Gypsy and non-Gypsy population is still observable today. In order to fully comprehend this difference, here are some educational characteristics from the comparison of the statistics of the three surveys:

Wide-ranging kindergarten education of Gypsy children has not been solved yet.

Even the statistics of 1993 show that a great proportion of Gypsy children drop out of kindergarten. This is a problem because most literature on education mention that kindergarten education is extremely important for groups of society whose children are unsuccessful at school.

According to the statistics of 1993 and 2003, Gypsy children's participation in kindergarten education has been reduced because of the insufficient capacity of these institutions.

The disadvantage is also accumulated thereby that there are more people who cannot register their children at kindergarten among those who live in disadvantaged settlements and regions. So these little students enter the school without in any preparation whatsoever.

The proportion of young people with primary school qualification only has significantly increased among Gypsy youth.

While in 1971 86% of the Gypsy population had no primary school qualification, in 1993 this proportion decreased by half (42%), and in 2003 it was diminishing steadily. Now the whole society is characterized by primary school qualification in general.

13 Kemény 1976.; Kemény 1994.; Kemény – Janky – Lengyel 2004.

The primary school (8 class) qualification increases more intensively, especially in the younger generation, which means that – according to the statistics of 2003 – 20% of the Gypsy population aged 20 to 40 years did not obtain primary school qualification.

There is a difference concerning the obtainment of primary school qualifications between Gypsy groups. In 2003, Gypsies aged 20 to 24 years, whose mother tongue is Hungarian or who are Beás Gypsies had primary school qualification in equal proportion (84–85%), Oláh Gypsies had it in a smaller proportion (72%).

It is a characteristic of the 90s that 81% of the entire population and 31% of the Gypsy population finished primary school at the age of 14. At the age of 15, considering the entire population, this value is 90%, among the Gypsies it is 44%. At the age of 16 almost the entire population (96%) obtains the primary school qualification, but among the Gypsy youth this value is only 63%. The reason for this can be late school entry and high rate of failure and the consequence is the decrease in chances for proficiency at secondary level.

The quality of the participation in secondary education and the measure of proficiency is changing significantly.

Regarding the Gypsy population, in 1993 the social stratum of skilled workers appeared (12% of the Gypsy population), but mainly in trades which are less prospering in the labour market.

Between 1971 and 1993 the number of people who had taken an A-level examination was not changing significantly (it was between 2–3%), but this ratio was increasing till 2003. However, a distinction must be made between people who has been registered at an institution providing A-level certificates and people who obtain it, because surveys show that a considerable part of Gypsy students drop out of secondary school.

Considering social causes of proficiency at secondary level, it is important to emphasize that during the time of the change of the political system, the number of students who were qualified to secondary school increased significantly (with 40%), while the number of people with primary school qualification decreased in equal proportion. This means that the augmentation of places and the decrease of the number of applicants together opened secondary schools for a big crowd of young Gypsies. This tendency was further strengthened by the fact that in the normative financial system of the general education,

it is an institutional goal to register as much students as possible in September, while preventing them from dropping out is of lower priority.

The education of Gypsy students is characterized by segregation.

One of the different forms of segregation is the orientation of students to different primary schools (normal schools or schools with special curriculum). The problem is double-sided: from the point of view of the labour market, schools with special curriculum hardly give a useful qualification, and regarding their organisation method, they offer their service in a separated form. Although the number of students who had been orientated to schools with a special curriculum had been decreased till 1993, the proportion of Gypsy students compared to non-Gypsy students had been increased by degrees. According to the survey of 2003, 14.5% of Gypsy students go to a special school. This number can even be higher, if we take into consideration those Gypsy students too, who are in classes with low number of participants or in classes of “catching up” programs. All in all, we can say that every fifth Gypsy student takes part in an education, which is a dead-end from the point of view of the labour market, and in a form of education which separates them from students studying normal curriculum, even during their school years.

Another form of segregation is created latently in normal education by selection mechanisms which are characteristics of the Hungarian educational system. Local and regional segregating processes intensify the selection as well. In 1971 “c” classes were established “for the benefit” of Gypsy children to help them to catch up. These classes have eliminated from the system step by step under the pressure of professional counter-arguments, but during this time latent selection mechanisms became more determinant. In the ‘80s, separation was performed latently by classes with special curricula, while nowadays, school segregation in-between schools is becoming more and more dominant. According to the statistics of the surveys of 2003, 13% of Gypsy students go to a homogeneous class or school. In Budapest, the chance of segregated education is three times more than in a village. Further studies¹⁴ demonstrate that segregated education of Gypsy students also means a low-quality education service, which is manifested in the teaching staff as well as in material conditions.

14 Havas – Liskó 2004.

1.2. Educational level in comparison with country-wide statistics

In his study¹⁵, Gábor Kézdi compares Kemény and his team's statistics of 1993 to the statistics concerning non-Roma people of the Central Statistical Office.

Educational level of the population aged over twenty in Hungary, 1993 (%)		
Educational level	Roma people	non-Roma people
0–7 classes of the primary school	43	19
8 classes of the primary school	41	25
Vocational school	2	1
Trade school	12	21
A-level certificate	2	24
Higher educational certificate	0	10
Sum total	100	100

Table 1. Statistics of 1993 on the educational level of people living in Hungary

In the comparison of the educational level of the Gypsy and non-Gypsy population, statistics concerning the youth show a greater difference.

Number of people with higher than elementary (8 classes) education in Hungary, 1993 (%)						
Age	Roma people			non-Roma people		
	Vocational school	Trade school	A-level certificate	Vocational school	Trade school	A-level certificate
20 to 30 years	2	17	3	2	34	46
Sum total	22%			82%		

Table 2

While in 1993, almost 50% of non-Roma people aged 20 to 30 had an A-level certificate, this number could hardly reach 3% among Gypsy youth.

Further study	1996/1997		1997/1998		1998/1999	
	Non-Gypsy	Gypsy	Non-Gypsy	Gypsy	Non-Gypsy	Gypsy
Does not continue his/her studies	2,3	16,5	2,8	16,1	3,2	14,9
Special vocational school	4,4	8,6	5,4	10,4	3,2	9,4
Trade school	36,5	61,6	34,9	57,5	36,8	56,5
Vocational high school	38,3	9,3	37,3	12,0	38,1	15,4
High school	18,3	3,7	19,3	3,8	18,4	3,6
Sum total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
N	167,0	168,0	176,0	176,0	177,0	182,0

Table 3. Proportion of people continuing their studies among school-leavers (%)¹⁶

¹⁵ Kézdi 1999.

¹⁶ Liskó 2002.

The statistics of the table above show only the input of institutions giving an A-level certificate. Further research shows – as was mentioned earlier – that the drop-out of Gypsy students is very significant. This means that the increase of inputs at the secondary level, which arises from the educational expansion, does not necessarily mean a progress concerning the obtention of A-level certificates among Gypsy students. The question is how many young people do finish these institutions, how many do continue their studies in a school having a low prestige, and how many finish their studies before obtaining any certificate. Even the percentage of students continuing their studies is not without interest as well as the worth of a career-starter with an A-level certificate at the labour market.

2. Educational forms – the legal framework

2.1. Historical review of the education of the Gypsy

The Gypsy research of 1893 also touches upon literacy besides language skills. It says that “the percentage of people who are able to read and write among the entire population is seven times as much among men and ten times as much among women as among the Gypsies”.¹⁷

In the period after this report made 120 years ago, a great variety of attempts were initiated expecting the assimilation of Gypsies from the improvement of their educational situation. At the beginning of the 20th century, there was a regulation which legitimized the displacement of Gypsy children from their family and to children’s homes.¹⁸ From the ‘40s, in settlements densely populated by Gypsies, “Gypsy schools”¹⁹ were established, which was a more humanitarian form of Gypsy assimilation. From the beginning of the ‘60s, the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Worker’s Party discussed the “improvement of the situation of the Gypsy population” on several occasions, in which education and culture were supported to play an important part. Besides kindergartens and schools for Gypsies, the establishment of “Gypsy classes” came into prominence, and it is still a question under professional discussion.²⁰ The question of teaching Gypsy languages and teaching in Gypsy

17 Mezey 1986, 155.

18 Departmental order of fundamental importance on the legal declaration of the abandonment of children (1908), Regulation No 86.471/1916 of the Ministry of Interior Affairs on the accommodation for wandering Gypsy children in children’s homes. See: Mezey 1986, 210–211.

19 Order on the establishment of the school for Gypsies in Pankasza (1942). See: Mezey 1986.

20 Réger 1974.; Réger 1978.

languages arose as a part of this debate. It is due to the linguist Zita Réger that this question has been made clear scientifically.²¹

The real change in educational chances for the Gypsy was effected by the change of political system. The new constitution (1990), the law on minority rights (1993) and the public education act (1993) create a legal framework for the different Hungarian minorities to exercise their nationality rights.

2.2 The principle of equal opportunity and education for ethnic minorities in Hungarian educational policy

There is a study²² showing the historical development and the turn of view about equal opportunities and the educational policy of five countries, and which makes a review of the last forty years of the circumstances in Hungary. The study states that from the '50s, emancipation measures were mainly administrative. Later, these measures became more appeased, which entailed the differentiation of education. At the same time, the notion of equal opportunity appeared in the socialist scale of values. In the decentralized educational policy of the period after the change of the political system, there had not been any complex program till 2002, which would have aimed at equal opportunities and been effective against exclusion. Measures relating to the education services for Gypsy and/or disadvantaged children can be found at the level of educational financing.

The period after the change of political system was characterized by the development of the regulation of minority education. Tendencies of educational policy, which threw light upon the appearance of sociocultural differences in school, can be followed up in this process very well.²³ Among other things, "catching-up" programs for Gypsies was an example for this, which was a much discussed question from several aspects, and the results of which were doubtful as well.²⁴ Legal framework, historical development and possibilities of this question are treated in Forray's study²⁵, who makes a professional proposal at the same time to provide an answer to the abnormalities. The first two of

21 Réger 1984.

22 Bajomi – Berkovits – Erőss – Imre 2003.

23 Forray – Hegedűs 2003, 13–14.

24 The order No. 32/1997. (XI.5.) of the Ministry of Culture and Education on the issue of the Directive on the kindergarten education of the national ethnic minority and of the Directive on the school education of the national ethnic minority (*Magyar Közlöny* 95. (1997): 6634–6639.).

25 Forray 2000.

her “directions of solution” point the basically unsuccessful character of the “catching-up programs for Gypsies”.

“It is a source of a permanent confusion that the relieving of consequences of the disadvantaged social circumstances and the promotion of ethnic minority culture are interlinked and blended in the educational program for Gypsies. Both objections are justifiable and executable, but it would be necessary to make a clear distinction between the two.

Catching-up programs cannot be applied as a national program to the whole verticum of education. This has its place in the pre-school period and in the period of schooling. Catching-up classes at higher levels should aim at the correction of individual deficiencies and not of an ethnic group. The same holds for the care of talented children.” (Furray, 2000)

In of autumn 2002, the educational administration set apart the school service of the compensation for social disadvantages (under the name of skill-developing and integrative preparation) and the program of preservation for Gypsy identity (under the name of ethnic minority program for Gypsies) in a regulation²⁶. The target groups of the two services were differentiated as well: those students could be drawn into the integration program, whose parents were low-qualified and low-paid, while participants of the ethnic minority program for Gypsies were children whose parents had applied for the program.

The ethnic minority program for Gypsies is explicitly referred to among the Hungarian ethnic minority programs. This means that although the content of the service is similar to the minority education of other ethnic minorities (preserving one’s identity, knowledge relating to the own ethnic group and their literature, language and history), the allocation is specially retrenched.

It is possible to teach Gypsy ethnology in Hungarian – without any language teaching – three classes a week, which might as well be integrated into the curriculum of other subjects and not in an extra timeframe.

Besides ethnology (one class a week), Gypsy language is facultative (two classes). Language teaching can be carried out in an intensive course.

The simplification of ethnic minority education for Gypsies described above has been a question under discussion from then on. According to the supporters, this is a temporary situation, which facilitates the introduction and the widespread dissemination, especially with the insufficient amount of teach-

26 Regulation No. 11/1994 (VI. 8) of the Ministry of Culture and Education §39/D. (4) and §39/E (4) Regulation of the Ministry of Education No. 58/2002.

ing material necessary for the program, and the lack of language teacher training. Opponents, on the other hand, emphasize that language teaching of this kind (unqualified “teachers”, insufficient number of weekly classes) doesn’t enhance the low prestige of Gypsy languages.

Sociologists determined the target group (multiply disadvantaged people) of another norm in 2002 (norm of skill-development and integrative preparation) by what they judged the two most important categories. Up to date, the major part of people belonging to these categories (low-qualified and low-paid people) is constituted by Gypsies. Although Gypsies are present latently in the target group of this program – for the very reasons described above –, it is important to stress that it is not Gypsy children who are targeted by the program. In spite of the fact that they will always be social disadvantaged groups because of the social stratification, in the long run it can be expected that this group will not always be constituted by Gypsies. So it is necessary to declare that in a democratic country, social condition cannot be synonymous with ethnicity.

This approach characterizes the program as well, during the introduction of which schools and special vocational schools supply pedagogical service for disadvantaged students establishing a high-quality school environment. Elements of this are as follows:

Equal opportunity is manifested by the fact that the supplementary subsidy relating to pedagogical assistance for disadvantaged students can be requested only if students belonging to the target group and other students get prescribed pedagogical service together. This means that the regulation defines the education allocation, which – following from basic human rights – works against segregation.

The professional guarantee and supporter of equal opportunities is the integrative pedagogical system²⁷, which has the intention to disseminate co-education among schools. It requires not only the elimination of existing forms of segregation, but it demands the integration of pedagogical and methodological contents from the institutions as well, which make co-education successful.

If any of the two goals is infringed, no successful integrative preparation is possible. Creating conditions for education without segregation (for example by the modification of the proportion of children with different social conditions) is not a guarantee for the establishment of a long-range and deeply rooted integration practice. This requires the assurance of equal opportunities, that is,

27 A hátrányos helyzetű tanulók integrációs és képesség-kibontakoztató felkészítésének pedagógiai rendszere. Oktatási Közlöny XLVII. 20 (2003 Augusztus 6.): 3241–3248.

the establishment of a pedagogical institution becoming inclusive in the spirit of cooperation. Recipient institutions have to enforce the heterogeneity of the environment. This must be realized in the services as well: social relations or learning and teaching materials of the institution, for example, should be accessible with equal opportunity for the entire community. The two goals – the elimination of segregation (that is co-educating framework for the organization) and inclusiveness (real equal access to knowledge) – are inseparable.

2.3 Strategies of coexistence

During the coexistence of different groups of the society different requirements and strategies of majority and minority have been established. So we can talk about the assimilation, marginalization, segregation, separation or integration of a minority group. These strategies were of different levels of importance in the different periods.

There is an interaction in the establishment of the forms of coexistence: the strategy of the education system²⁸ and the strategy of the school depend on the approach of the social environment. The way in which the school represent social diversity in the institution²⁹ and the results of this relating to the success of children coming from different social environment at school are very interesting questions.

Hungarian and international experiences of recent decades show clearly that neither the strategy of assimilation nor the strategy of segregation can help solve the problem of successful school achievement independently of the social circumstances.³⁰

Segregation³¹ and the process of reproducing social inequality are still dominant in the Hungarian education system as shown in the diagram below, which is based upon the data of the year 2003 of a Hungarian town.

28 Kozma 1993.

29 Forray – Hegedűs 1999, 144.

30 Derdák – Varga 1996; Derdák.– Varga 2003.

31 Havas – Kemény – Liskó 2002.

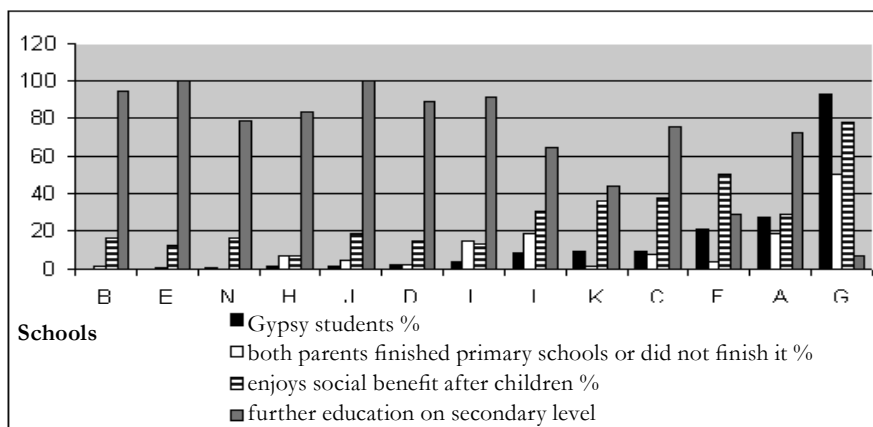


Table 4

Benefits of the strategy of co-education among children with different sociocultural background are verified.³² But in order to achieve this not a Roma pedagogy³³, but a change of pedagogical views and methods is necessary. Regarding the integrative preparation regulated by the above mentioned order of the Ministry of Education, the renewal in terms of views and pedagogical background should manifest itself in the Integrative Pedagogical System.

3. Roma pedagogy vs. inclusive education

3.1. Inclusive pedagogy in the education of Gypsy/Roma children

A Hungarian study³⁴, which was born along the meeting of cultures, and the aim of which is to describe Roma/Gypsy children's school situation while giving a detailed analysis of inclusive education, urge a paradigm shift instead of the preservation of previous school strategies and practices. The new approach – based on international experiences– doesn't categorize Roma students by labelling (expressing their otherness and deficit). It considers every student as an individual entity and it proposes a pedagogical provision for the different educational demands in the light of this conception. The educational framework of inclusive school services is based on the principle of heterogeneity. The fight against exclusion, an open-minded and tolerant atmosphere, all forms of cooperation (in the relationship between teacher and teacher, student

32 Kagan 2001.

33 Forray 2001.

34 Réthy 2004.

and student, student and teacher, teacher and parents), activity-oriented education forms (complying with the child-centred and alternative pedagogical practices), the differentiated education based on individual education plan and adjusted to the individual requirements, the application of a great variety of evaluation methods and the change of the traditional pedagogical roles are features dominantly defining the characteristics of this educational form. It is important that the inclusive school is a continuously developing system. The quality of the particular situations of this system can be described by means of requirements like the measure of decentralization, the application of open organizational forms, the variety of teaching and learning materials, the standards of school management and teaching, an inclusive comprehension of the differences among students, monitoring and developing, and the characteristics of school maintenance (conditions, degree of supply, legal regulation, social environment).

The simultaneous appearance of the above mentioned criteria result in a paradigm shift within the formal framework of knowledge acquisition and socialization. We can say that the new approach and the practice that realize it is high-quality pedagogy – for example to implement multicultural education – without new limits and in favour of the requirements and success supposed to be objectives for the students. First of all, this conception considers students as independent personalities in their own complexity who cannot be categorized for the very reason of their particularity, which, in turn, is a result of infinite combinations of characteristics. Only a reaction to continuously changing requirements formulated in the light of individuality can really be inclusive.

3.2 Integration as framework for educational organizations assuring equal opportunity

The educational expansion of the last hundred years has resulted in a social claim, which demands that the democratization of the education system must become an instrument providing a possibility of mobility for members of society independently of their social condition. Theories and surveys of sociology and sociology of education argue for and against this possibility. Between theories and investigations there is an everyday pedagogical practice. Successful or unsuccessful students, young or elder teachers – applying traditional methods or having innovating intentions – and families with different social background demand the same of the school: taking care of the process of socialization of their children with as much solicitude as possible. Solicitude as high-quality environment of education means that the school exploits material

and human resources during the processes of learning and organizing education, the output show real results and all this applies true to every child, i. e., the school is characterized by fairness.³⁵

Analysis in the PISA reports of 2000 and 2003 touched upon the relation between family background and students' results. Based on these findings, Hungary belongs to the countries in which family background exercises a great influence on school career and chances at the labour-market.³⁶ This also means that in Hungary, the education system is unable to provide equal opportunities for students with different socio-cultural backgrounds, which means that our education system doesn't meet the requirements of high-quality education. One reason for this is that even at the entry level of the education system, selection mechanisms are well-detectable. This kind of selection at school – among others – results in the emergence of homogeneous classes, and intensifies disadvantages, because the cultural capital of families works only through the spectrum of students a school hosts.³⁷

The 2000 report on Hungarian education states in a special chapter³⁸ that social disadvantages do not translate necessarily into educational disadvantages: pedagogical factors can be determinant in the children's success at school. But this needs a dissemination of education services, which assure equal opportunity (which means a form of organizing education resulting in equal access) and equal opportunities (which is realized by the inclusive system resulting in the compensation for differences).

The multicultural perspective – understood as an effective, successful and fair take on social heterogeneity – can only be effective, if its first step is assuring heterogeneity at the level of the framework of educational organization. Such “integration” enables only the possibility of co-education. To assure success, a paradigm shift relating to the content and methods – besides the educational framework – should be effected.³⁹

35 Lannert 2004.

36 Vári 2003.; Felvégi 2005.

37 Lannert 2004.

38 Radó 2000.

39 Arató – Varga 2004.

3.3 *Cooperative education as an inclusive system assuring equal opportunity*⁴⁰

If we consider multicultural education as creating the high-quality education environment described above, we must agree to pose the following question: “Is multicultural pedagogy a new pedagogy?”⁴¹ That is to say that multicultural pedagogy is rather a framework of views, making the dissemination of inclusive pedagogy possible during its history by focusing on the social context of the school (emancipation of difference) and by the democratization of the school as social institution (providing equality).

It is a fundamental view of the inclusive education that the inclusive environment should be created by considering the individual (social, cultural or biological) differences of students in their complexity, paying special attention to them, and observing them on principle. The idea of inclusive environment also entails that all people taking part in the education (teachers, students, parents) become acquainted with individual differences in the spirit of cooperation, accept them as a value, and build on them.⁴² This assures – on the basis of the principle of children’s right – the high-quality education environment, where efficiency, successfulness and equality can be realized. The pedagogical toolbar created in the spirit of inclusive pedagogy can democratically assure the practical aspects of the multicultural perspective on education. The framework of this toolbar is cooperative education, which has been functioning for about five years and which is a result of the educational requirement of a successful coexistence of cultural diversity without conflicts. It became apparent in a short time that cooperative educational organizations represent pedagogical principles – and realizes concrete methods of them – which meet all three criteria of high-quality education. So today this system points beyond the initial intention: today it is not only a generally interpreted democratic view with only one method (mosaic)⁴³, but a range of activities – based on fundamental principles –, which can operate a real inclusive system on a daily basis. This range of activities is called cooperative education. It is important to know that only a democratic cooperation described and implemented concretely – compared to the general notion of cooperation – and helped by practical principles can properly be referred to as real cooperative education. The guarantee of

40 Arató–Varga 2006.

41 Boreczky 1999.

42 Torgyik 2004.

43 Aronson 1978.

real cooperation is the co-appearance, in the greatest possible number, of basic principles enumerated below.

The principle of flexibility

The principle of flexibility in educational organizations means that cooperative learning processes should be organized in such a manner that they should correspond to the participants' and organizers' personal, common and professional-educational requirements recognized and formulated together and to the identified exigencies, wishes and ideas. That is to say that learning processes should be organized on the basis of individuality.

The other side of the principle of flexibility is the following: the education organizer can respond to the requirements and exigencies incurred only because during the cooperative learning he/she is not attached to the methods, but to the idea of cooperative education. Keeping to these principles, interiorizing these attitudes and demonstrating behavioural models mean further help for the organizer. On this basis, he/she can make a selection among different methods and combine newer methods of them.

The principle of simultaneous parallel interaction

The principle of simultaneous parallel interaction counts the direct actions/interactions of participants, i. e., the number of simultaneous personal interactions during a disposable unit of time.

According to the principle of simultaneous parallel interaction, we should strive for the highest number of simultaneous personal interactions. For this reason, the principle of parallelism conduces to smaller cooperative groups.

The principle of positive interdependence⁴⁴

According to the principle of positive interdependence, the organization of learning processes should secure cooperation as the only way to acquire knowledge. This means that we create structures which motivate cooperation, and participants can only learn successfully, if they cooperate.

The principle of positive interdependence manifest itself clearly in the above mentioned "mosaic" method by Aronso, which helps the positive interdependence by classical simplicity: it distributes tasks and contents of learning materials among group members, and invites them to put them together in a mosaic-like way.

44 Johnson – Johnson 1994.

The principle of equal participation

The principle of equal participation declares that the learning processes of cooperative educational organizations should be organized in a way that enables everybody to access common knowledge. It doesn't mean that everyone contributes the same to the common work. It means that everyone contributes with equal opportunity – in accordance with his/her own abilities and to his/her place in the process of knowledge acquisition – to the creation of common knowledge.

The principle of equal participation can realize the democratic principle of equal opportunity – by means of educational organizations – in practice as well.

The principle of individual responsibility and accountability

To assure the principle of individual responsibility and accountability, learning processes must be organized in a way that provides everybody with an appropriate and clearly defined task – in line with his/her requirements and exigencies –, for which everyone is accountable.

The most important supporters of the principle of individual responsibility and accountability are cooperative roles assigned to and functioning within a small group.

The principle of permanent cooperative exchanges

Besides the student's individual responsibility, the principle of permanent cooperative exchanges assures that special attention is paid to the organization of a public sphere of knowledge too.

According to this principle, all feedbacks are helpful to students who are eager for knowledge. So the feedbacks provided by classmates are as important as the feedback of the teachers. Exchanges in a small group maintain the possibility of and encourage a value-free public estimation of knowledge, or the lack thereof.

The principle of consciously developed personal and social competencies⁴⁵

The principle of consciously developed personal and social competencies requires an attitude which is indispensable for the efficient performance of educational organizations. The basic idea of competence-based development is that everyone has plenty of abilities, which are – independently from

45 Johnson – Johnson – Holubec 1990.; Benda 2002.

each other – at different levels of progress among students who are eager for knowledge. For this very reason the starting point must be the condition of individual competences, and it must be verified by measuring the progress of abilities, and whether the pedagogical processes have influence on the fields needing development.

This principle is in a particular correspondence with the inclusive pedagogical view, which integrates students into the processes of knowledge acquisition together with the complexity of their characters.

As a way of educational organization, cooperative learning can provide an instrument – based on the basic principles described above – to the real efficiency of the inclusive education system – and therefore to the perspective of multicultural education. This fact is underscored by the comparison made through the “filter” of the three units⁴⁶ of high-quality education environments, where cooperative learning compared to traditional methods of educational organizations is:

- more effective, because it guarantees for the highest number of participants to participate in learning processes in a given amount of time. The efficiency is also intensified by the fact that this participation does not refer to the possibility of silence, but to active or rather interactive forms of learning. That is to say that – through the basic principles and means of cooperative learning – it pays special attention to exploit the maximum of the resources of people participating in the knowledge acquisition during the learning process – besides the organizers and administrators – , building on their prior knowledge.
- more successful, because by diverse means of knowledge acquisition a more profound knowledge built on personal experiences comes into being, and this also enables the development of individual talents. Participants of the cooperative learning approach exercise strategic problem solving abilities, and they develop their personal and social abilities individually, in relation to and in accordance with their learning abilities. In addition to this, a multilateral manifestation of the results becomes natural by means of exchanges in a smaller or bigger group – which is constantly present in the process of knowledge acquisition – and in the light of the evaluation of the group and its teachers.

46 Lannert 2004.

- more equality driven, because through its basic principles, attitudes, ability models, small group structure and cooperative functions and means it can really assure the democratic right of equal access to knowledge for every participant. So it not only establishes the framework of equal opportunity by bringing knowledge through general and obligatory education to everybody (in a heterogeneous environment, pushing selection into the background), but it also creates real equal opportunities within this system by paradigmatic transformation of content, whereby the multicultural perspective is enforced by means of cooperative learning in the way of becoming inclusive.

All in all, we can say that during the process of the practical realization of inclusive educational environments, the basic principles of cooperative learning must be enforced in more and more segments and among all participants of the educational process. This assures the inclusiveness of education by practical means in order to enable the implementation of the trilateral requirements of multicultural education in unison (individual successes, survival of communities and social development).

It is clear that inclusive education – as a general social idea – is interested in the establishment, maintenance and continuous development of an institution where individual students are successfully integrated by pedagogical means, and without labelling and categorization. It realizes the basic principles of democratic societies and serves as a model for social inclusion. Inclusive – high-quality – educational environments are unthinkable without securing the multicultural perspective on education, where the inclusive system is made up of the building blocks of cultural and communal particularities as values, manifesting themselves in the individuality of students.

Translated by Anna Eszter Zeller

Works Cited

11/1994. (VI. 8.) MKM rendelet 39/D. § (4) and 39/E. § (4) http://www.oktatasjog.extra.hu/jog/11_1994MKM.pdf

58/2002. OM rendelet. *Magyar Közöny* 1998/34 IV. 24.

“A hátrányos helyzetű tanulók integrációs és képesség-kibontakoztató felkészítésének pedagógiai rendszere.” *Oktatási Közöny* XLVII. 20. (2003): 3241–3248.

Arató Ferenc and Varga Aranka. “Együttműködés az együttnevelésért.” *Educatio* 3. (2004): 503–508.

Arató Ferenc and Varga Aranka. *Együtt-tanulók kézikönyve*. Pécs: PTE BTK NTI Romológia-Nevelésszociológia Tanszék, 2006.

Aronson, Eliot. *The Jigsaw Classroom*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1978. www.jigsaw.org

Bajomi Iván, Berkovits Balázs, Erőss Gábor and Imre Anna. “Esélyegyenlőség és oktatáspolitikai öt európai országban.” *Educatio*, Winter (2003): 580–602.

Benda József. “A kooperatív pedagógia szocializációs sikerei és lehetőségei Magyarországon.” *Új Pedagógiai Szemle* 10. (2002): 21–33.

Boreczky Ágnes. “Multikulturális pedagógia – új pedagógia?” *Új Pedagógiai Szemle* 4. (1999): 26–38.

Derdák Tibor and Varga Aranka. “Az iskola nyelvezete – idegen nyelv.” *Új Pedagógiai Szemle* 12. (1996): 21–37.

Derdák Tibor and Varga Aranka. “A hátrányos helyzet tartósodása.” *Educatio* 4. (2003): 131–135 .

Felvégi Emese. “A tanulói teljesítményt meghatározó tényezők – PISA 2003.” *Új Pedagógiai Szemle* 2. (2005): 69–78 .

Forray R. Katalin and Hegedűs T. András. *Cigány gyerekek szocializációja*. Budapest: Aula, 1999. 28–33.

Forray R. Katalin and Hegedűs T. András. *Cigányok, iskola, oktatáspolitikai*. Budapest: OKI – Új Mandátum Kiadó, 2003.

Forray R. Katalin. *A kisebbségi oktatáspolitikáról*. Pécs: PTE BTK, 2000.

Forray R. Katalin. “Romapedagógia?” *Iskolakultúra* 12. (2001): 119–122.

Havas Gábor, Kemény István and Liskó Ilona. *Cigány gyerekek az általános iskolában.* Budapest: OKI – Új Mandátum Kiadó, 2002.

Havas Gábor and Liskó Ilona. *Szegregáció a roma tanulók általános iskolai oktatásában. Kutatási záró tanulmány.* Ms., 2004.

Johnson, Roger T., and Johnson, David W. “An Overview of Cooperative Learning.” *Creativity and Collaborative Learning.* Ed. Thousand, J., Villa A., and Nevin, A. Baltimore: Brookes Press, 1994. <http://www.co-operation.org/pages/overviewpaper.html>

Johnson, Roger T., Johnson, David W. and Holubec, Edythe J. *The New Circles of Learning: Cooperation in the Classroom and School.* Edina, Minnesota: Interaction Book Company, 1990.

Kagan, Spencer. *Kooperatív tanulás.* Budapest: Önkonet Kft., 2001.

Kemény István, Janky Béla and Lengyel Gabriella. *A magyarországi cigányság 1971–2003.* Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó – MTA Etnikai-Nemzeti Kisebbségkutató Intézet, 2004.

Kemény István, ed. *Beszámoló a magyarországi cigányok helyzetével foglalkozó, 1971-ben végzett kutatásról.* Budapest: MTA Szociológiai Kutató Intézet, 1976.

Kézdi Gábor. “A roma fiatalok középiskolai továbbtanulása.” *A cigányok Magyarországon.* Ed. Glatz Ferenc. Budapest: MTA, 1999, 217–229.

Kozma Tamás. “Etnocentrizmus.” *Educatio* II. (1993): 18–24.

Lannert Judit. “Hatékonyság, eredményesség, méltányosság.” *Új Pedagógiai Szemle* 12. (2004): 3–16.

Lannert Judit. “Differenciálás és szelekció a magyar iskolákban.” *Iskolakultúra* 1. (2003): 70–73.

Lannert Judit. “Hatékonyság, eredményesség, méltányosság.” *Új Pedagógiai Szemle* 12. (2004): 3–16.

Liskó Ilona. “Cigány tanulók a középfokú iskolákban.” *Új Pedagógiai Szemle* 11. (2002): 17–39.

Mezey Barna, ed. *A magyarországi cigánykérdés dokumentumokban 1422–1985.* Budapest: Kossuth, 1983.

Művelődési és közoktatási miniszter 32/1997. (XI. 5.) MKM rendelete a Nemzeti, etnikai kisebbség óvodai nevelésének irányelve és a Nemzeti, etnikai kisebbség iskolai oktatásának irányelve kiadásáról. *Magyar Közlöny* 95. (1997): 6634–6639.

Radó Péter. "Egyenlőtlenségek és méltányosság a közoktatásban." *Jelentés a magyar közoktatásról.* Ed. Halász Gábor and Lannert Judit. Budapest: OKI, 2000, 343–349.

Réger Zita. "Kétnyelvű cigány gyerekek az iskoláskor elején." *Valóság* 1. (1974): 50–62.

Réger Zita. "Cigányosztály, „vegyesosztály” – a tények tükrében." *Valóság* 8. (1975): 77–89.

Réger Zita. "A cigányság helyzetének nyelvi és iskolai vonatkozásai." *Szociálpolitikai értesítő* 2. (1984): 140–173.

Réthy Endréné. "Inkluzív pedagógia." *Megközelítések.* Ed. Nahalka István and Torgyik Judit. Budapest: Eötvös Könyvkiadó, 2004, 231–245.

Torgyik Judit. "Hatékony iskola: együttműködő iskola." *Új Pedagógiai Szemle* 10. (2004): 32–41.

Vári Péter. *PISA vizsgálat 2000.* Budapest: Műszaki Könyvkiadó, 2003.

Varga Aranka:

Gypsy children in the education – inclusive school based on cooperation

In this paper I argue that during the process of the practical realization of inclusive educational environments, the basic principles of cooperative learning must be enforced in more and more segments and among all participants of the educational process. This assures the inclusiveness of education by practical means in order to enable the implementation of the trilateral requirements of multicultural education in unison (individual successes, survival of communities and social development).

It is clear that inclusive education – as a general social idea – is interested in the establishment, maintenance and continuous development of an institution where individual students are successfully integrated by pedagogical means, and without labelling and categorization. It realizes the basic principles of democratic societies and serves as a model for social inclusion. Inclusive – high-quality – educational environments are unthinkable without securing the multicultural perspective on education, where the inclusive system is made up of the building blocks of cultural and communal particularities as values, manifesting themselves in the individuality of students.

Translated by Anna Eszter Zeller

Zigeunerkinder in der Schulung: die auf Zusammenarbeit basierende inklusive Schule

Die Studie gibt eine Zusammenfassung über die Elemente des inklusiven Unterrichtsmodells, bzw. über die Grundsätze der kooperativen Unterricht. Inklusivität spielt während des Erziehungsprozesses eine sehr wichtige Rolle in der Verwirklichung der drei Erwartungsziele der multikulturellen Erziehungsanschauung (individuelle Erfolge, Fortbestand der verschiedenen Gemeinschaften, gesellschaftliche Entwicklung).

Das inklusive Erziehungsmodell (als allgemeines Gesellschaftsideal) ist in der Ausgestaltung, Unterhaltung und kontinuierlichen Entwicklung solcher Einrichtungen interessiert, in den sich die Integration der Schüler hinsichtlich ihrer eigenen Individualität, ohne Kategorisierung verwirklichen kann. Durch diese Erfahrungen wird die Verwirklichung der Grundsätzen der demokratischen Gesellschaft ermöglicht. Die inklusive (qualitative) Unterrichtsum-

gebung, in der das inklusive System durch die sich in der Individualität der Schüler manifestierenden kulturellen und gemeinschaftlichen Eigenschaften als Wert aufgebaut wird, ist ohne die Akzeptierung der multikulturellen Erziehungsanschauung undenkbar.

Tibor Cserti Csapó – Spatial-sociological description of the Roma population in Hungary

The settlement of the Gypsy population in Hungary

Some centuries ago, Gypsy groups in Hungary led a wandering lifestyle, which was their way of finding their role in the social division of labor, always looking for work opportunities, sources of living currently available for them in local micro-communities. Consequently, there is no efficient way of assessing their then spatial distribution. The Habsburg monarchs (Charles VI., Maria Theresa, Joseph II.), however, had a coherent policy on the Gypsy issues and aimed at settling these people down, hence making the levying of taxes on them possible, and at having them gradually adapt to the norms of the majority society, thus, in the end, at assimilating these communities. The census of 1893 already showed that nine tenth of the Roma in Hungary led a settled life by then. This way of living became absolutely dominant by the 20th century.

The present study analyzes the spatial distribution of today's Gypsy population in Hungary, along with its historical roots and the problems related to it.

1. Geographical-spatial distribution in Hungary

The distribution of the Roma population within the country's territory is not homogenous. It is a historical fact that some areas, regions are characterized by a higher proportion of Gypsy inhabitants. Today's distribution patterns have been influenced by geographical, economic and social as well as historical processes. And, even though the great social-economic transformations of the 20th century left their mark on the distribution of this people, as well, as they induced some typical migration processes with typical directions, this kind of historical stability is still reflected in some „classic” regions of settlement.

In the first place, therefore, we are going to look for the reasons why some regions of Hungary have more Roma inhabitants, both in absolute and in relative terms, than some other areas where their concentration as compared to the total population is lower.

However, we are not very likely to find one single factor which could account for spatial differences on the whole. Various analysts have brought up a number of different potential explanations for the phenomenon. Chances are that these factors all had some influence, possibly varying in extent by region,

and that it is the combination of them which can provide the explanation we are looking for.

1.1. Factors affecting spatial distribution

1.1.1. Physiographic reasons

a) Antal Hermann, in his analysis of the 1893 census of Gypsies, wrote that there were two densely populated areas protruding from Transylvania (Erdély) towards the inner regions of the country. One of them is the northern, northwestern part of the Great Hungarian Plain (Alföld) in front of the mountain rim, while the other is the southernmost region of the Great Hungarian Plain directly neighboring Romania and former Serbia. The author gives an explanation of a physiographic nature for the concentration of Gypsy people in these areas: according to him, neither the mountains (where making a living is rather hard) nor the completely flat plain fit the Gypsy „nature” in terms of natural endowments (raw materials needed for traditional Gypsy crafts), the absence or presence of which explains the settlement patterns of Gypsies.

1.1.2. Social-economic environment

b) Another important factor influencing the settling of people is the social-economic environment. It might have played a role where they could find a market for the output of their traditional crafts.

c) It is worth mentioning the fact that the various counties and municipalities applied highly differing approaches in implementing the resolutions of the Habsburg monarchs. Obviously, Roma people always sought for regions where harassment by local administration was less severe or where the enforcement of those resolutions remained weak.

d) The state and structure of the local economy and the relevant inequalities between the various regions might also have had an effect on settlement. Neither the more advanced state of embourgeoisement, the more developed industrial and agricultural sector in Northern Transdanubia (Észak-Dunántúl), nor the intense agricultural activities and the puritan lifestyle of local small-holders in the southern part of the Great Hungarian Plain supported traditional Gypsy crafts, therefore wandering Roma craftsmen avoided these regions (Pomogyi 1997).

e) The process was further affected by the potential presence of other minorities and the receptiveness of local inhabitants. Roma people found it hard to settle down in towns with a German or Southern-Slavic population, especially because of the very rigid social structure of Germans. Hence one

might find a settlement with hardly any Gypsy inhabitants while the neighboring village, with similar geographical endowments, is home to a large number of Roma. In Somogy county, for example, they constitute only 1.9% of the population of Csoma, a village previously inhabited by ethnic German people, whereas the equally populated Büssü, originally inhabited by Hungarians, boasts a 49.3% proportion of Gypsy citizens.

f) Historical processes, the central government's approach towards and measures affecting Gypsies, and the changing tendencies of the social-economic environment had an important role, without a doubt. During the era of socialist nationality policies, when their isolated gypsy camps on forests' perimeter were abolished (which began shortly after 1961 as a consequence of the 1961 resolution on the abolishment of settlements not satisfying certain social requirements, passed by the MSZMP KB (Hungarian Socialist Working People's Party, Central Committee)), they moved primarily into nearby townships, predominantly villages. Furthermore, attention must be given to where Gypsy communities had been moved to by the central administration (predominantly so-called „dwellings of inferior value” constructed on the outskirts of small villages, abandoned manor houses, mine camps, military barracks, etc.).

During the 20th century, with traditional Gypsy crafts losing ground, and especially under the circumstances of socialist industrialization, natural factors were losing importance. Economic factors and interventions of a political nature, however, began to have an increasingly significant influence on the process of spatial restructuring. Starting in the 1950's, the enormous demand for unskilled workforce created by fast-paced industrialization and the construction of industrial cities induced heavy migration towards industrial regions and towards the capital.

After the political transition, as a result of the collapse of the socialist industry and soaring unemployment rates, the very opposite happened, and the Roma started to migrate back to the agricultural regions of the countryside.

1.2. Spatial distribution of the Roma population

Today, some 20% of Gypsies live in the Southern Transdanubian (Dél-Dunántúl) counties (Zala, Somogy, Baranya and less typically Tolna), 51% belong to the north-eastern part of the country (Nógrád, Heves, Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg and Hajdú-Bihar counties), with nearly 10 percent concentrated in the capital. It is apparent, however, that they are hardly

represented in more prosperous regions, such as the counties in Hungary's northwestern territories (Cserti Cs. 2006).

The demographic transformation among the Gypsy population following World War II caused a kind of relative overpopulation in the regions traditionally inhabited by Gypsy people. Changes in the social-economic field, at the same time, also affected the spatial distribution of the group in question. The restructuring of Hungary's economy – industrialization, development of the centers of heavy industry, urbanization process unfolding in the capital, in politically preferred rural cities and in heavy industrial regions – naturally affected the spatial distribution and the migration patterns of the Roma as well as those of the country's entire population. Migration brought about some shifts in emphasis of their spatial distribution. During the migration process, the hope for a better living, a better wage or simply for a job were appealing (in this era of industrialization and huge state-funded investment projects, it was relatively easy to find a job as an unskilled construction worker). On the other hand, the economic underdevelopment of rural areas together with the collectivization and mechanization of agriculture acted against Gypsies' attempts to enter the wage economy, thus remained a mitigating factor to migration.

The concentrated distribution of the Roma population in today's Hungary is well illustrated by the fact that 15% of the country's area is home to 50 percent of all Gypsy inhabitants.



Figure 1 Spatial distribution of the Roma population in Hungary
(Source: KSH, data from the Population Census 2001)



Figure 2 Geographical regions of Hungary with the highest proportions of Gypsy inhabitants

- I. Budapest and surroundings
- II. Southern Baranya, Ormánság, areas along the river Dráva
- III. Zselic, Völgység
- IV. Inner Somogy
- V. Northern foothills of the Bakony

- VI. Nógrád basin
- VII. Cserhát
- VIII. Surroundings of Ózd
- IX. Aggtelek karst, Szuha Valley
- X. Borsod basin, surroundings of Miskolc
- XI. Cserhát, Zemplin mountains
- XII. Bodroghöz
- XIII. Eastern territories of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county
- XIV. Eastern territories of Hajdú-Bihar and Békés counties
- XV. Middle-Tisza Region, Jászság

The following map illustrates the general state of Hungary's micro-regions. It is apparent at first sight that underdeveloped and severely underdeveloped micro-regions (categorized employing a variety of complex indices) overlap with those territories of the country where Gypsies are overrepresented in the population.



Figure 3 Disadvantaged regions as based on complex indices
(Source: MTA RKK 2002)

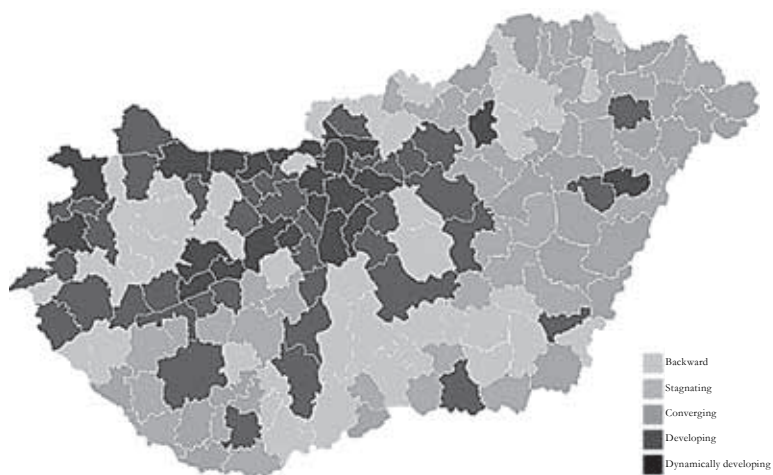


Figure 4 Development levels of micro-regions as based on complex indices
(Source: KSH 2002)

Looking at employment statistics of Hungarian micro-regions, we find that the areas with the least favorable labor market characteristics practically coincide with those where the absolute number and the proportion of the Gypsy population are highest. This indicates a self-fulfilling process. These parts of the country have a long history of an unfavorable economic structure and weak employment figures – a fact that encouraged the settling of Roma people, a group of society who had been crowded out of more prosperous regions where they could not find their place, nor any job opportunities. On the other hand, the majority of Roma people living in these regions are characterized by low school qualification levels and low levels of professional skills, thus they are multiply disadvantaged – in an environment where potential employers are rather scarce, anyway. As a result, employment figures of these micro-regions are further worsened by the large numbers of hopelessly disadvantaged people living there.

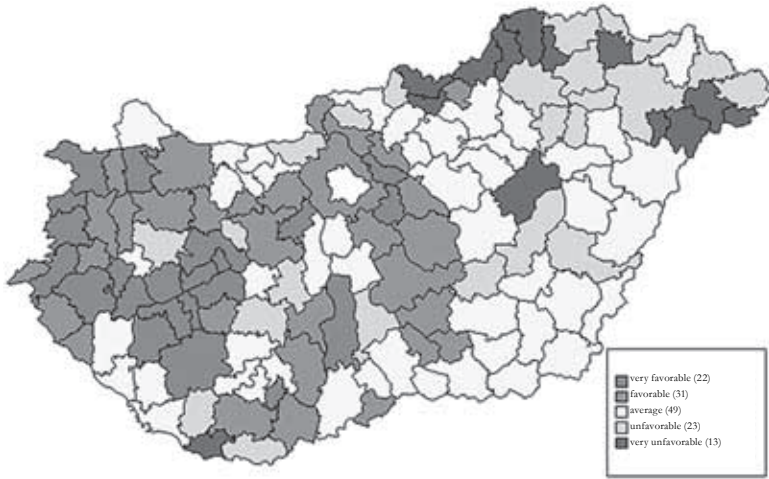


Figure 5 Employment / unemployment position of statistical micro-regions
 (Source: MTA RKK 2003)

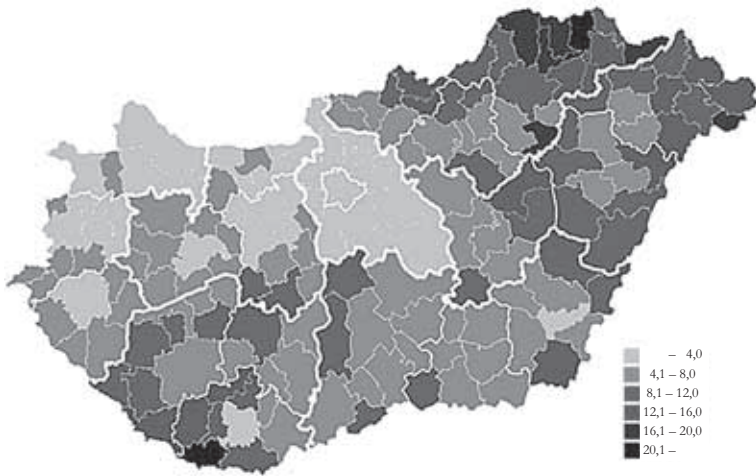


Figure 6 Registered unemployment rates
 (Source: KSH 2004)

The above statement might be supported by our next figure which shows the spatial distribution of economic activities (and hence potential employers) by micro-region. Disadvantaged, backward regions clearly and significantly overlap with the territories inhabited by a large numbers of Gypsies.

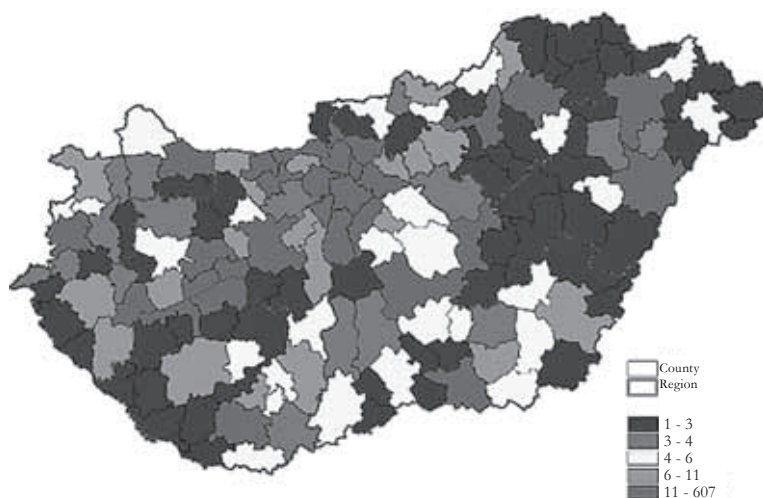


Figure 7 Spatial density of economic organizations in 2000
 (Source: VÁTI 2002)

The comparison of the demographic status of micro-regions to that of the territories inhabited by the Roma leads to mixed conclusions. Some of the micro-regions (Northern Hungary) boast much more favorable demographic figures as compared to the total population average. Probably, this is partly due to the younger age distribution of relatively large local Gypsy populations. There are some micro-regions representing the total population average in terms of demographics (primarily in the eastern border region and the Middle Tisza Region), and some with an unfavorable demographic status (mainly in Southern Transdanubia and Inner Somogy), where demographic aging, population decrease and the low number of births is most probably related to the micro-village settlement structure characteristic of the region. In these areas, the presence and the unique demographic characteristics (as compared to the majority society) of Roma people are insufficient to offset unfavorable demographic processes.

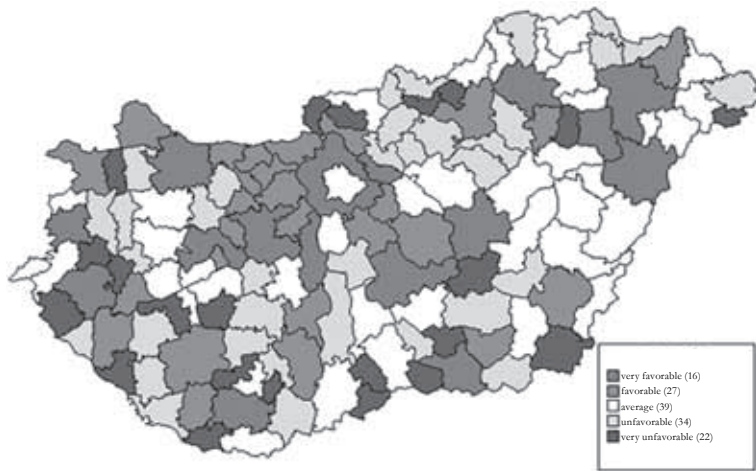


Figure 8 Demographic status of statistical micro-regions
(Source: MTA RKK 2002)

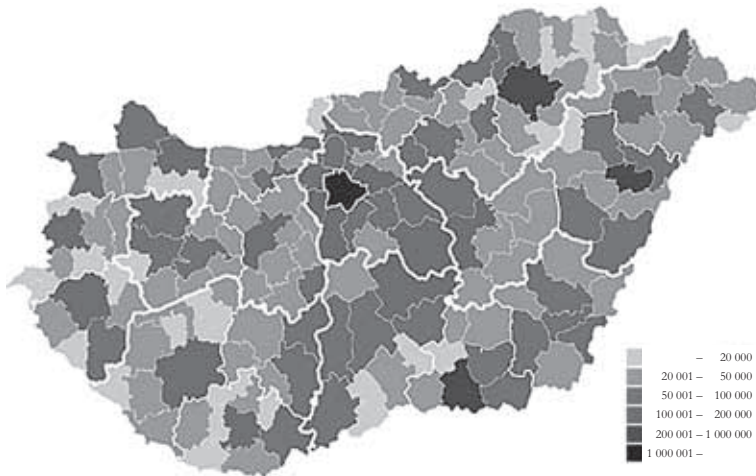


Figure 9 Resident population of micro-regions
(Source: KSH 2004)

The next map demonstrates that the areas inhabited by larger numbers of Roma people are typically characterized by small settlements, which, again, is interrelated with the social-economic status and the breakout opportunities of this minority – as the disadvantages in transportation geography of

these villages inevitably mean an unfavorable economic structure, the lack of job opportunities and difficulties in accessing employers in regional centers of gravity. Furthermore, it means a limited access to educational infrastructure, to further education, to skills acquisition opportunities, thus maintaining the socially disadvantaged status caused by low levels of education.

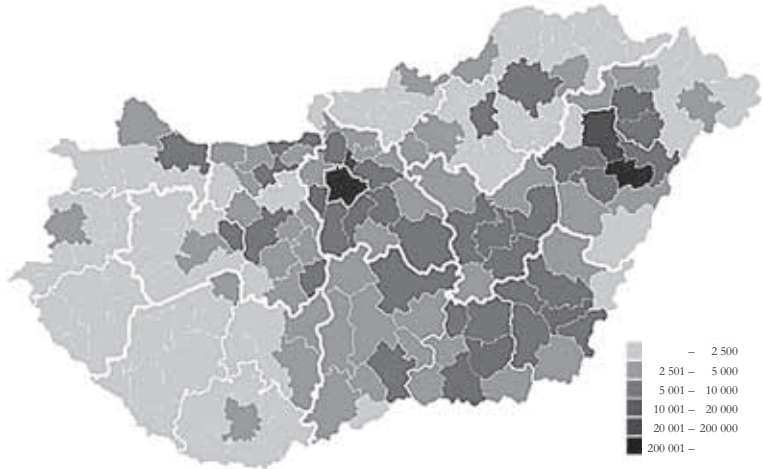


Figure 10 Average population of Hungarian settlements
(Source: KSH 2004)

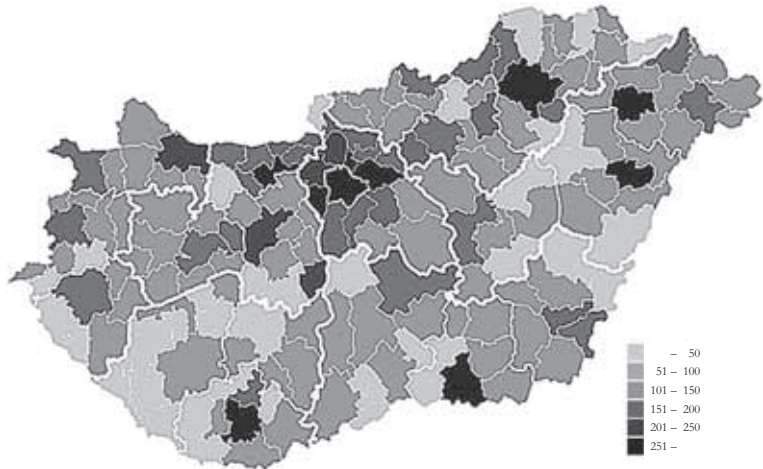


Figure 11 Population densities in Hungary in 2002
(Source: KSH 2004)

Regions with unfavorable educational qualification figures also appear to overlap with those having a high proportion of Roma inhabitants. This is clearly a consequence of Hungarian Roma lagging far behind in terms of educational qualification.

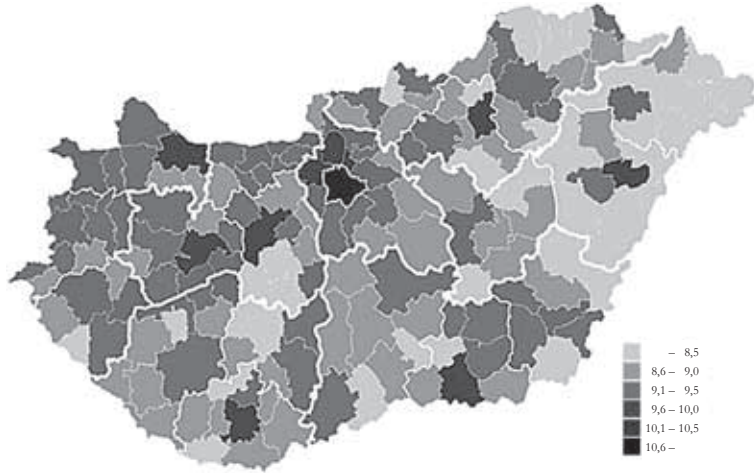


Figure 12 Average completed years of education amongst the population above the age of 7 (Source: KSH 2004)

Statistics on personal income tax per capita reflect well on the development level and the economic status of the country's regions and the living conditions of local citizens. The areas where the Roma live typically belong to the lower categories. Which is again an aftermath of the historical underdevelopment and economic backwardness of these territories; exacerbated by the fact that following the political transition, the vast majority of Hungary's Roma population found themselves in an extremely weak position in the labor market, and hence with very low income levels, acting to further deteriorate statistical figures.

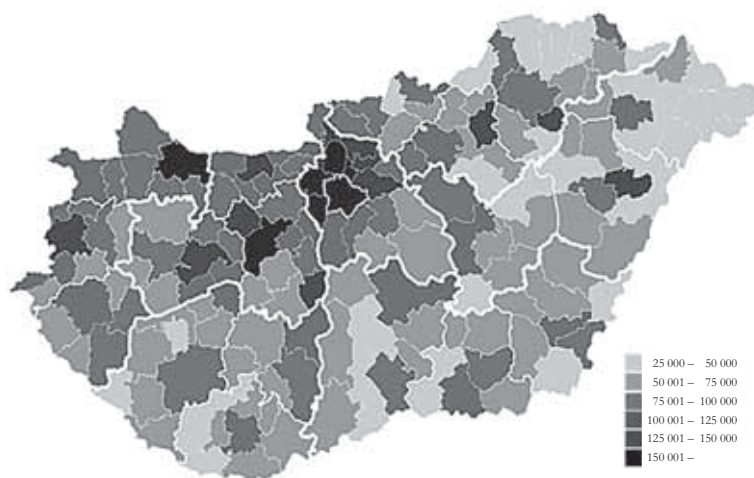


Figure 13 Personal income tax per capita
 (Source: KSH, as based on 2004 APEH figures)

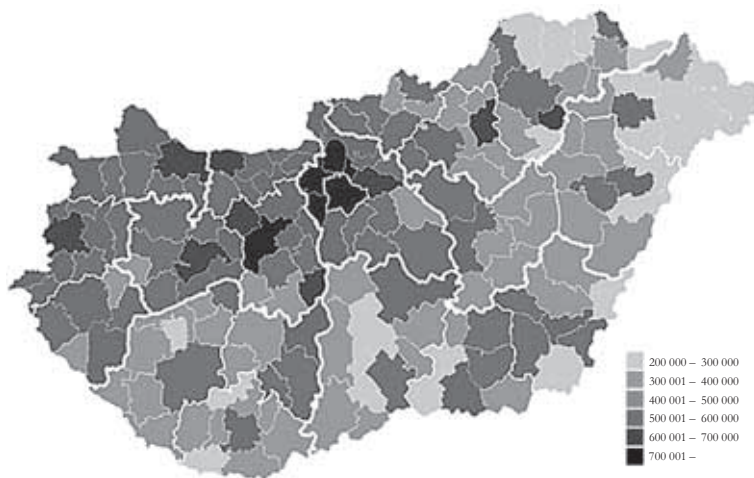


Figure 14 Income taxed under personal income tax, per permanent resident
 (Source: KSH, as based on 2004 APEH figures)

The analysis of living conditions, too, shows the backwardness of regions traditionally inhabited by Gypsies. The share of so-called „full-comfort” dwellings (dwellings with a room of at least 12 m², kitchen, lavatory, public utilities (electricity, potable water, sewage, hot water and central heating equipment)) is below, while the share of those „without comfort” (dwellings with a

room of at least 12 m², kitchen, access to outdoor lavatory and potable water, individual heating equipment) is above the average. The share of dwellings with access to the public gas distribution network, public potable water supply and the sewage system is lower.

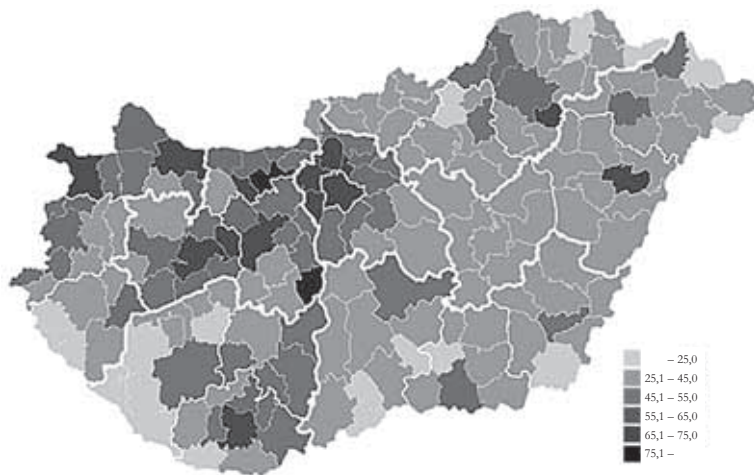


Figure 15 Proportion of „full-comfort” dwellings
(Source: KSH 2002)

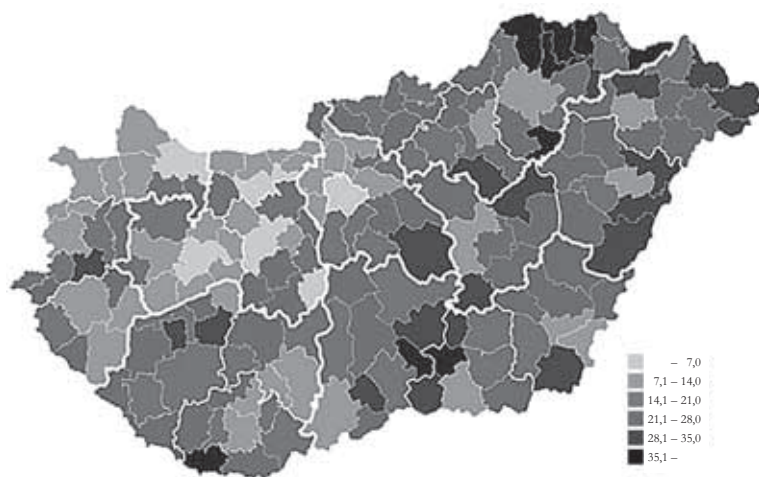


Figure 16 Proportion of dwellings „without comfort” in 2002
(Source: KSH)

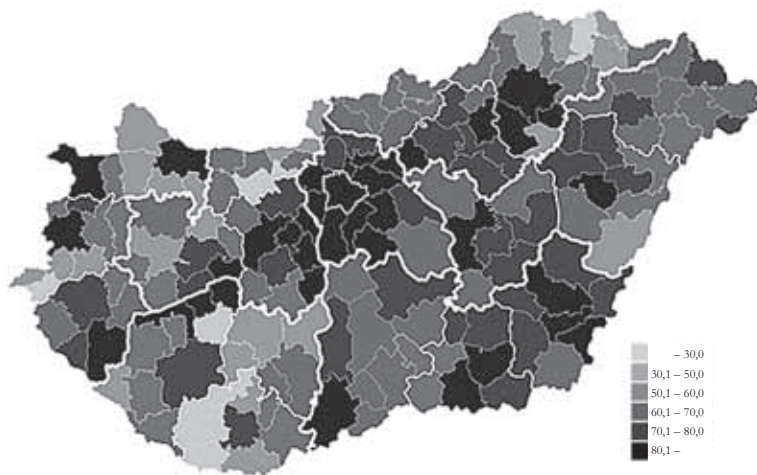


Figure 17 Proportion of dwellings with access to the public gas distribution network in 2004
(Source: KSH)

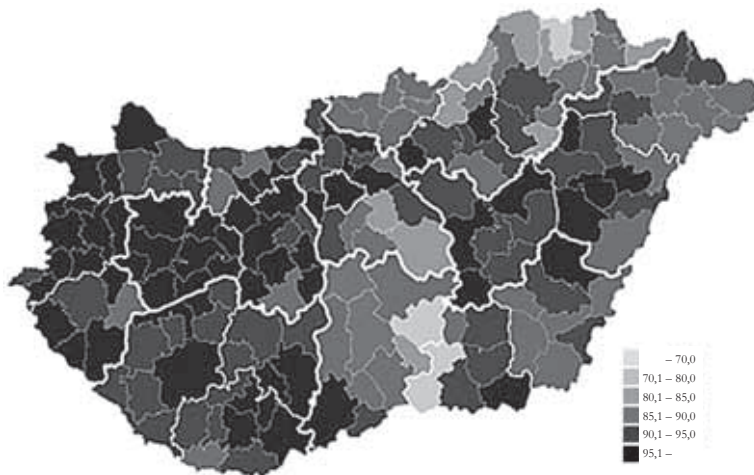


Figure 18 Proportion of dwellings with public potable water supply in 2004
(Source: KSH)

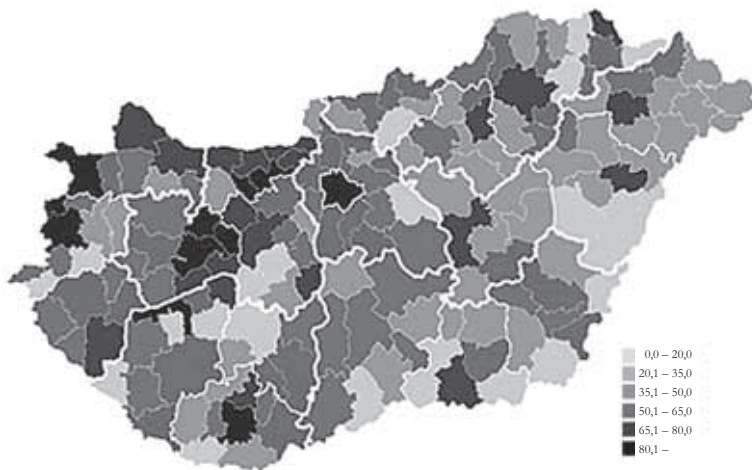


Figure 19 Proportion of dwellings on a public sewer system in 2004
 (Source: KSH)

The following figures imply that the populations of the regions in question traditionally rely on making a living in agriculture while industrial employers are rather infrequent. The share of modern economic sectors (tourism, for example) is also small.

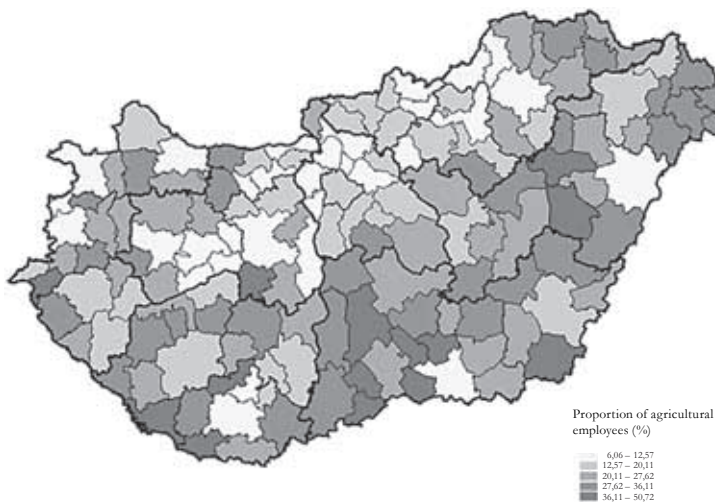


Figure 20 Proportion of agricultural employees in 2000
 (Source: VÁTI Kht as based on KSH figures)

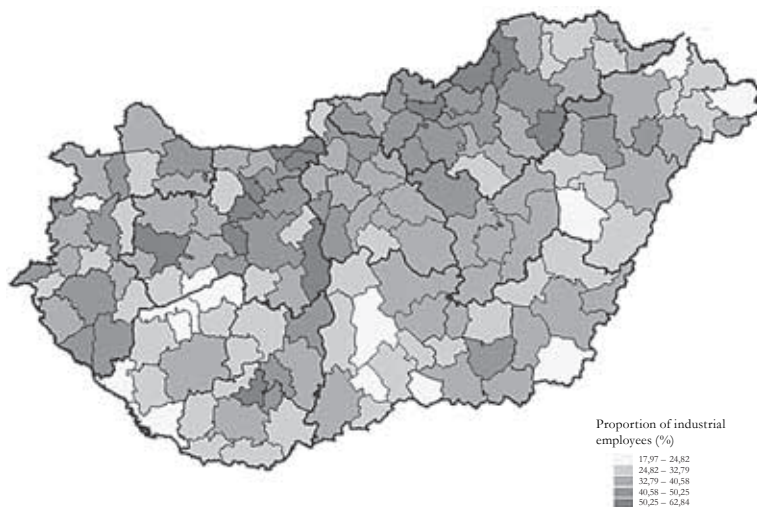


Figure 21 Proportion of industrial employees in 2000
(Source: VÁTI Kht as based on KSH figures)

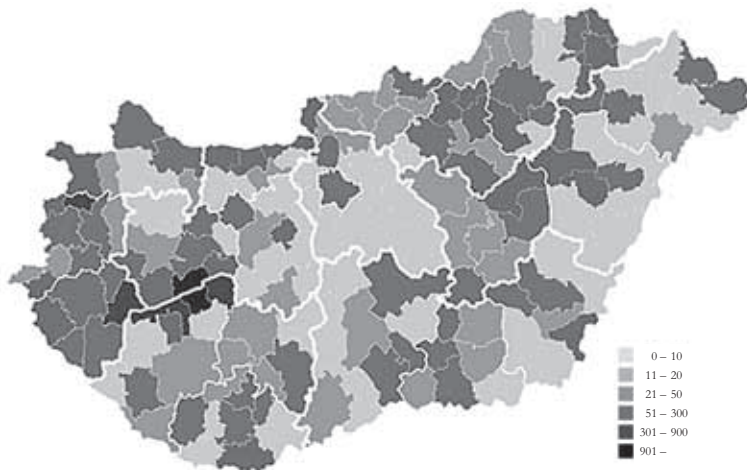


Figure 22 Commercial accommodation per 1000 inhabitants in 2004
(Source: KSH)

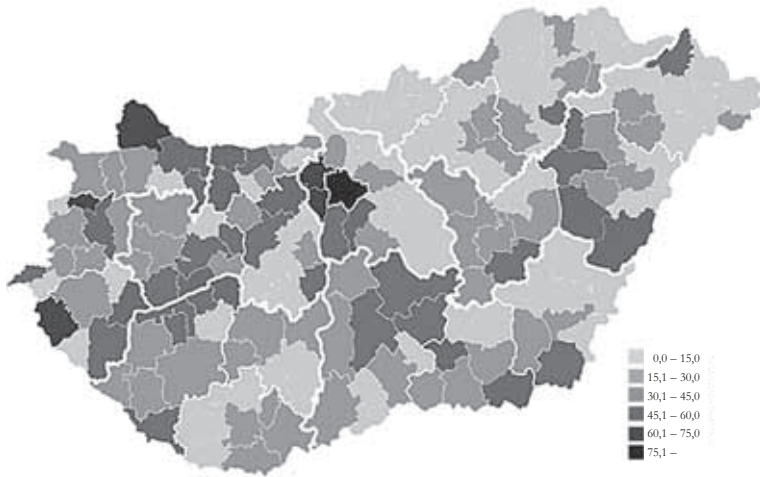


Figure 23 Proportion of foreign guests in 2004
(Source: KSH)

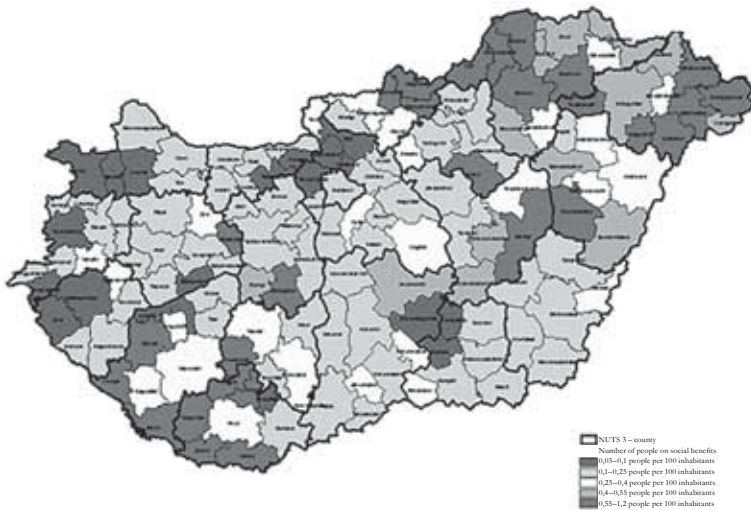


Figure 24 Number of people on regular social benefits per 100 inhabitants in 2000
(Source: VÁTI Kht as based on KSH figures)

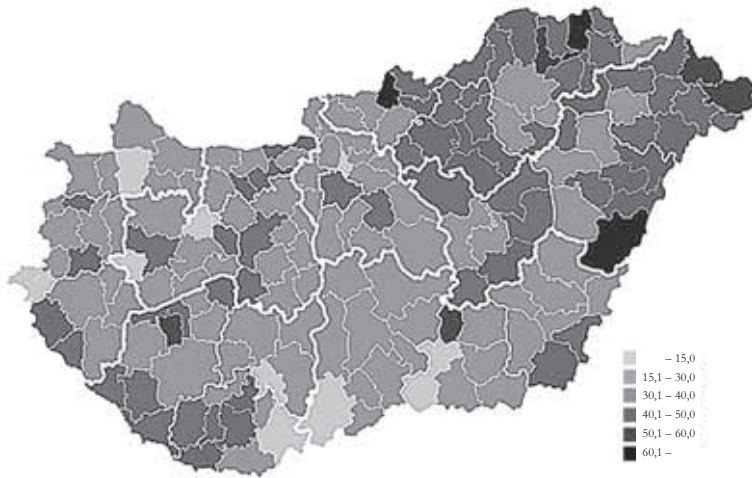


Figure 25 Rate of violent crime and misdemeanor offenses per 1000 inhabitants in 2004
(Source: KSH)

2. Spatial distribution of the Roma population in Southern Transdanubia

Areas with larger numbers of Gypsy inhabitants in the Southern Transdanubian region are:

a) Areas along the river Dráva: the outskirts of the city of Siklós and the near vicinity, with a Gypsy population of about 7,000 people. Their average share in the settlements' total populations is about 20%, yet significantly higher in some micro-villages. One of the most typical micro-villages, multiply disadvantaged micro-regions in the country. A marked characteristic has been the migration of Hungarian inhabitants from micro-villages; their place was taken by Gypsies, though their share of the population in these areas (e.g. Ormánság) had been rather low previously.

b) Zselic-Hegyhát: another micro-village region, heavily hit by demographic erosion, with some 6,500 Roma inhabitants, constantly increasing due to new families moving in. The agriculture-based local economy is unable to completely absorb the supply of workforce, therefore the number of commuters to nearby cities is high.

c) Inner Somogy: basically, an agricultural area relatively poor in natural resources, its industrial and tertiary sectors are in an underdeveloped state.

Roma population amounts to about 7,500 – dispersed throughout the region. The two major commuter cities (Nagyatád and Marcali) are unable to provide employment for all of them, therefore the share of people commuting to other regions is high (Kocsis – Kovács 1991).

d) Balaton hinterland area



Figure 26 Settlement of the Roma population in Southern Transdanubia (Source: Magyarország Nemzeti Atlasza by Kocsis K.)

As for Baranya, we can conclude that it is a county with a particularly high share of Roma population. The inhabitants of Alsószentmárton are all Gypsies, and there are several more settlements where the Roma constitute the majority, in addition to some 70 settlements where the share of Gypsies in the total population reaches or exceeds 20%.

Out of the 301 settlements in the county, 200 have a total population below 500. The vast majority of Gypsies settled in this county – apart from

the county seat – live in these micro-villages. This fact alone means social disadvantages, thus if we also consider that the Beas constitute some 90% of the county's total Roma population, we clearly have to count them as multiply disadvantaged.

There are no geographically determined, distinguishable, uniform Gypsy settlement areas in Baranya county – the Roma live dispersed, together with the other ethnic groups. Gypsies have been living in 259 settlements of the county; the number of settlements with at least 100 Roma inhabitants rose from 36 in 1970 to 41 by 1980. The latter figure constitutes 16% of the total number of the county's settlements. In 1980, there were two settlements with the share of Roma inhabitants above 50% (thus in majority), and 33 settlements reported a proportion somewhere between 25–50%. The decrease in non-Gypsy population was highest in the villages where the number of Gypsies increased above the average. In the majority of settlements with Roma inhabitants, there are Vlach Gypsies as well as Beas Gypsies (Hoóz 1991).

3. Distribution of the Roma population by settlement type

The census of 1893 reported 13.3% of the Roma population to have lived in cities, with the remaining 86.7% living in rural areas. The historical and economic processes we reviewed earlier not only caused changes in spatial distribution, but the proportion of Gypsies living in cities has been constantly increasing, as well. The most important factors fostering Gypsies' migration to the cities were the industrialization and urbanization processes of the socialist era, and the attempts to abolish gypsy camps (the latter, though not solving the problem of „ghettos”, began to turn some of the suburbs and poorish downtown districts of cities into slums by driving large groups of Gypsies towards these areas). As a consequence, figures show the following changes: a 1971 study by Kemény report a 22% share of cities in Gypsies' place of residence. By 1986, urban population reached 41.1%, with 58.9% in rural areas. This was still behind the average Hungarian urbanization level (58.9% share of urban population), and it has not improved since then, as some 63% of the total Hungarian population now live in urban areas.

Differences appear to be even more significant if the smallest settlements are considered when analyzing the distribution by settlement type of the Roma and the non-Roma population. The share of total population living in settlements with less than 2,000 residents is 16.8%, whereas the same proportion for the Roma amounts to a stunning 40%; the figures are 7.8%

and 20%, respectively, for settlements with less than 1,000 residents. In typical micro-village regions (Northern Hungary, Southern Transdanubia and the eastern territories, where Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg is the only county with a larger number of villages inhabited by less than 1,000 people), the share of those living in micro-villages is even higher (Havas 1999b). Thus the Roma population can typically be found in the rural areas of Hungary.

	Total population (%)	Roma (%)
Budapest	19.5	9.1
Rural cities	42.5	30.4
Settlements	38.0	60.5
Settlements with less than 2,000 inhabitants	16.8	40.0
Settlements with less than 1,000 inhabitants	7.8	20.0
of which:		
– micro-villages in Southern Transdanubia	20.9	52.5
– micro-villages in northern regions	12.1	22.9
– micro-villages in eastern regions	5.2	16.2

Figure 27 Distribution of total population vs. the Roma by settlement type
(Source: Havas 1999b)

In areas traditionally inhabited by the Roma, the share of urban resident Roma is still lower than the relevant country-wide average (15.3% in Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county, 15.5% in Heves county and 26.4% in Baranya county), which also implies that the Roma who had left their place of birth in the past primarily chose large cities and industrial centers outside their own county as their new home (Kocsis – Kovács 1999).

The situation in Baranya county is very similar. While the share of urban residents among the total Roma population was 13.3%, as stated in the first Roma census of 1893, this ratio increased to 41.1% by 1986. In Baranya county, the figure was 26.4% in 1986, however, there were only seven cities in the county at that time – now, there are twelve: Pécs, Pécsvárad, Komló, Mohács, Sellye, Siklós, Szentlőrinc, Szigetvár, Bóly, Harkány, Sásd and Villány. Out of the 653 settlements in Baranya, 32 became cities while 621 are categorized as settlements. Data suggest that the share of Roma among the population of settlements in this region is above the country's average.

From among the 4,699 persons reporting Gypsy to be their mother tongue in the 1980 census, 3,356 (71%) lived in settlements. Based on the com-

plementary data collected at the same time, 20,416 persons were considered as Roma, and 15,600 of them (76%) lived in settlements (Hoóz 1991).

Before the era of industrialization, the majority of Beas in Southern Transdanubia lived in forest camps, primarily assigned to them by or occupied with the consent of the manor court, doing logging work and, in addition, taking advantage of the vicinity of parklands needed for their tub-making activities (Szuhay 1997). This traditional structure was eroded by traditional Gypsy crafts losing ground along with an enormous demand for unskilled workforce generated by the industrialization of the country, and by the socialist regime's aspiration to abolish Gypsy camps. Industrial centers having been rather far from their original habitation, a strong wave of commuter traffic was generated. Those industrial regions, however, where Gypsies found stable and fixed employment, started to be inhabited by families moving in from the camps, trying to avoid having to live far from each other for longer periods of time, which was actually an inevitable part of commuters' life (Szuhay 1997).

This was a period of significant changes in the spatial distribution of the Roma population, affecting industrial cities in the first place, leaving rural areas basically unaffected (Szuhay 1997).

Gypsies living in camps have always had the intention of moving into the villages. In the case of more prosperous settlements, however, opposition from original inhabitants was not the only obstacle: relatively high land and house prices were just as important. In the 1980's, therefore, the former inhabitants of camps had a tendency of moving to the stagnating, and even more to the backward villages with decreasing populations (Szuhay 1997). Another possibility was to move to the deteriorating parts of settlements. Thus, camps remained untouched or were simply moved within the village.

4. Migration processes

Notwithstanding our above statements on the spatial distribution of the Roma and the changes thereof, the traditional geographical distribution of the Gypsy population has not changed too much. The majority still lives in Northern Hungary, the northern part of the Great Hungarian Plain and in Southern Transdanubia, just like during the preceding centuries. Data rather suggest that we should focus on the changes in proportions within these regions.

Comparing the data on spatial distribution contained in the 1893 census with those of today, Southern Transdanubian counties jumped forward in the „ranking” of areas most inhabited by Gypsies, indicating that these areas re-

ceived significant numbers of Roma immigrants of Romanian mother tongue at about the turn of the century and afterwards (Havas 1999). Later, intra-country migration patterns further strengthened this process.

Percentage of population	Great Hungarian Plain	Northern Hungary	Pest county	Transdanubia
1893	1.3	1.8	0.4	0.8
1984	4.1	8.2	2.4	3.0
Percentage of Roma population in Hungary				
1893	43	22	6	28
1984	29	27	18	23

Figure 28 The proportion of Roma population by region, in percentage of total population and in percentage of the Roma population of Hungary (Source: Kocsis 1989)

While at the end of the 19th century, half of the Roma population lived on the Great Hungarian Plain, this figure dropped to about one third by the 1980's, thus the Plain lost in significance among the regions inhabited by Roma. Their absolute number in this region, however, increased, it was only their share in Hungarian Roma population which declined. Migration flows started off from the (primarily rural) areas of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county and Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county, heading towards Budapest and the cities in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county and Hajdú-Bihar county. The share of Northern Hungary in the total Roma population constantly increased up until the end of the 1980's (the decline of heavy industries). At the same time, Northern Hungary, too, is characterized by a high rate of natural population growth, thus the number of Gypsies living there has been and is constantly increasing. The situation is similar in the region of Hungary's capital, as well. The constant growth in population was accompanied by the increase of their share within the total Roma population until the 1990's. The last decade of the 20th century, though, witnessed a turnaround and the Roma in the capital now represent a lower percentage of the total Gypsy population of Hungary. The share of Transdanubia has been permanently decreasing. Increasing population but a decreasing share in total Roma population is characteristic for Southern Transdanubia, while in Western Transdanubia the relevant proportion increased, as well. These figures, however, only indicate some shifts in the

spatial distribution of the Roma, whereas the actual size of the population has been constantly growing in each mentioned region. Inter-county migration, however, was lower from Southern Transdanubia, Gypsies rather moved to large cities and socialist industrial centers of the same region.

Details of these shifts in distribution are reflected in county-level data. In the 1893 census, the five counties with the largest number of Gypsy inhabitants, in ascending order, were: 1. Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, 2. Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg, 3. Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok, 4. Bács-Kiskun, 5. Baranya. By 1984, the list showed some changes: 1. Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, 2. Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg, 3. Győr-Moson-Sopron, 4. Baranya, 5. Pest. When considering the share of Roma as compared to the total population of each county in 1983: 1. Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg, 2. Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, 3. Nógrád, 4. Heves, while in 1984: 1. Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, 2. Nógrád, 3. Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg, 4. Somogy, 5. Baranya. The increase in comparison to 1978 was most marked in the counties Borsod and Zala, and Budapest. Gypsy population growth in Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg, Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok and Baranya slowed down, Győr-Moson-Sopron and Tolna even witnessed a decrease in absolute terms (Kocsis 1989). Analyses by István Kemény et al. indicate similar tendencies (Kemény 1997).

	Gypsy population			In percentage of Hungarian Roma			In percentage of total population		
	1971	1993	2003	1971	1993	2003	1971	1993	2003
Northern Hungary	65000	114000	183000	20.4	24.3	32.1	6.5	9	–
Eastern Hungary	74000	93000	112000	23.0	19.8	19.7	5	7	–
Southern territories of the Great Hungarian Plain	51000	56000	54000	16.0	12.0	9.4	3	3.5	–
Budapest	61000	85000	101000	19.0	18.2	17.8	2	4.5	–
Southern Transdanubia	64000	107000	100000	20.0	22.8	17.5	4	7	–
Western Hungary	5000	13000	20000	1.4	2.9	3.5	1.3	4	–
Total	320000	468000	570000	99.8	100.0	100.0	3	5	6

Figure 29 Gypsy population in Hungary by region
(Source: Kemény 1997)

	Proportion of Roma population to total Roma population of Hungary	Roma population (persons)					Proportion of Roma population (percentage)			
	2003 ⁴⁷	1893 ⁴⁸	1978 ⁴⁹	1984 ⁵⁰	1993 ⁵¹	2003 ⁵²	1893	1978	1984	2003
Budapest	10.4	cc. 600	30000	41 337	38 450	60000	0.12	1.40	2.90	3.5
Baranya	5.1	3978	22000	23 495	16 955	28900	1.32	5.00	5.43	7.1
Bács-Kiskun	2.0	4 446	10 000	10 200	14 043	11 500	1.14	1.70	1.81	2.0
Békés	7.6	3 817	9 000	9 896	6 226	43 300	1.07	2.10	2.31	10.9
Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén	17.5	8 698	65 000	73 906	54 599	99 300	2.13	6.80	9.23	13.3
Csongrád	2.8	2 878	6 000	7 360	6 684	15 800	0.88	1.40	1.62	3.7
Fejér	3.1	2 076	5 000	6 214	7 743	17 800	0.90	1.30	1.47	3.7
Győr-Moson-Sopron	2.1	2 052	4 000	3 880	1 326	11 900	0.72	0.80	0.90	2.7
Hajdú-Bihar	5.5	3 680	17 000	21 990	44 200	31 300	1.14	3.10	3.98	5.7
Heves	9.2	3 255	17 000	18 013	26 975	52 000	1.43	5.00	5.20	16.0
Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok	4.5	5 125	21 000	21 815	12 977	25 700	1.50	4.80	4.94	6.1
Komárom-Esztergom	0.6	1 501	6 000	6 765	4 974	3 500	0.63	1.90	2.09	1.1
Nógrád	5.5	2 356	16 000	17 665	24 163	31 300	1.67	6.40	7.45	14.2
Pest	3.6	3 456	20 000	22 119	12 478	20 400	0.87	2.10	2.25	1.9
Somogy	5.2	2 111	20 000	20 548	25 384	29 600	0.73	5.40	5.75	8.8
Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg	6.6	8 331	36 000	41 770	49 515	38 500	2.53	7.00	7.13	6.6
Tolna	2.1	1 995	11 000	10 396	9 584	11 900	0.77	4.10	3.88	4.8
Vas	1.3	2 065	6 000	6 614	4 041	7 500	0.95	2.10	2.33	1.8
Veszprém	2.8	1 417	7 000	7 030	4 215	15 800	0.55	1.60	1.80	4.2
Zala	2.3	1 111	6 000	8 987	29 163	13 300	0.47	2.50	2.84	4.5
Total	100	64 948	325 000	380 000	393 715	570 000	1.08	3.04	3.56	6.0

Figure 30 Distribution of the Roma in Hungary by county, and changes thereof from 1893

An increasing number of Gypsy communities began to appear in the cities – the Roma, previously typically found in rural areas, turned towards urban territories. The role of Hungary's capital increased markedly. In the end of the 19th century, Budapest and Pest county together represented some 6% of the Roma population. Their share grew to 20% by the 1990's. The Roma

47 Kemény, István et al. 2004.

48 Data from the Roma Census of 1893.

49 Estimates from County Councils.

50 Estimates from County Councils.

51 *A cigányság helyzete, életkörülményei*. KSH 1994.

52 Kemény, István et al. 2004.

population of the capital was about 600 people in 1893, an estimate of 30,000 was reported in 1978, and data from 1984 center about 41,000. Today, their number might be somewhere between 80–100,000, nearly 20% of all Hungarian Roma (Kocsis 1996).

In the years following the political transition, the cities, county seats and the Budapest agglomeration remained primary migration destinations for the Roma.

In the cities, and in Budapest as well, they could settle in neighborhoods/districts which were abandoned by their former inhabitants, primarily the more well-off communities (Józsefváros, Kőbánya, Pesterzsébet). They moved into gradually deteriorating apartment houses, starting off the process which has more or less turned these areas into slums by now. During the era of socialist housing estates projects – along with the government’s inclination to abolish slums and Gypsy camps – large numbers of Gypsies moved into housing estates in the cities. After the resolution restricting people from settling in the capital had taken effect, migration to Budapest came to a halt, and the Roma population of the suburbs and the settlements surrounding the capital started to grow rapidly, too. It is characteristic of the process of concentration is that a large number of those who were unable to leave rural areas right in the beginning became commuters (on a daily, weekly or, in the case of some more distant places of work, on a monthly basis; primarily from counties in the southern part of the country). If they managed to „take roots” in the city after a while, their family and relatives also started to move in soon.

Béla Janky based his analyses of the migration patterns of the Gypsy population on the 1993–1994 Gypsy study of István Kemény, Gábor Havas and Gábor Kertesi. Data in the following table suggests that Roma are characterized by a higher willingness to migrate as compared to the total population of Hungary. This might have a variety of causes.

The probability of leaving one’s hometown because of marriage is higher in villages (due to the relatively small population, the chance of finding a spouse from somewhere else is higher). The share of Roma living in villages is, however, much higher than that of the total population (Janky 1999).

Migration rates/mobility is higher amongst the youth. The Roma population, at the same time, is of a much younger age structure than non-Roma groups, which might also be a factor acting to increase Gypsy migration rates.

Year	Total population	Roma population
1988–1992, average	19.3	25.0
1990	20.2	32.6
1992	19.5	21.7

Figure 31 Rate of permanent migrations per 1,000 inhabitants, in the age group of 15 and above, total population vs. Roma population

(Source: Janky 1999)

Yet, at the same time, there is no sign that the Roma would leave their place of birth during their lifetime more or maybe less frequently than average. Looking at the data by age group – which seems reasonable, as there might be a high number of Roma who have not left their place of residence yet, because of the lower average age of this ethnic group – we do not see a significant difference in frequency of migration as compared to the population average.

Age group	Total population (1996)	Roma population (1993)
15–39 years	60.9	60.2
40–59 years	43.4	48.1
Above 60 years	42.9	43.0
Total	50.9	56.0

Figure 32 Proportion of those living at the same place of residence as at the time of birth by age group, Roma population vs. total population

(Source: Janky 1999)

The same data arranged by settlement type show that the Gypsy living in settlements demonstrate a lower rate of moving, while urban dwellers' figures practically coincide with those of the total population. It is striking, however, how much the Gypsies living in Budapest hang on to Budapest.

Place of residence at the time of birth	Total population (1996)	Roma population (1993)
Settlement	47.7	54.3
City	62.5	61.5
Budapest	39.2	89.4

Figure 33 Percentage share of those at or above the age of 15 living at the same place of residence as at the time of birth by settlement type, Roma population vs. total population

(Source: Janky 1999)

The share of migrations from Budapest among all migrations is twice as high for the total population as for the Roma. Migrations between villages, however, occur twice as frequently among the Roma as among the total population. Although if one takes into consideration the differences in the

distribution of the two populations by settlement type (the higher share of Gypsies living in rural areas and the higher share of the total population living in Budapest), differences in the rate of migrations between settlement types disappear.

Place of residence at the time of birth	Total population, at or above the age of 0	Gypsies, at or above the age of 15
(orientation)	Percentage of total migrations	
Budapest › city	4.4	1.8
Budapest › village	6.1	3.6
City › Budapest	5.5	4.4
City › city	12.7	4.2
City › village	20.7	17.5
Village › Budapest	6.0	8.7
Village › city	21.0	17.0
Village › village	23.6	42.8
Total	100.0	100.0

Figure 34 Orientation of permanent migrations between settlement types among the total population vs. Roma population (1988-1992)
(Source: Janky 1999)

As for the share of intra-county and inter-county migrations among all migrations, about two thirds of Gypsy migrants remain within the same county, thus the relative distance to the new place of residence is lower. This figure amounts to approximately 55% among the total population.

	Percentage proportion of intra-county migrations among all migrations					
	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	Avg.
Total population (at or above the age of 0)	55.3	55.6	55.0	54.3	51.7	54.4
Roma population (at and above the age of 15)	69.1	66.9	70.4	68.0	66.1	68.1

Figure 35 Percentage proportion of intra-county migrations among all migrations, total population vs. Roma population
(Source: Janky 1999)

No large wave of inter-regional migrations exists among the Roma. The majority of migrants (typically not more than 2 or 3 percent of total population in any given year) remain within the same county. Still, a slow flow towards Budapest and the Western territories might be observed (Janky 1999).

Janky also analyzed the migration rates of the 1970's, but he could not find any significant differences between the two populations, nor their migration tendencies (Janky 1999).

On the other hand, a relatively small difference in the age structure of the Beas and that of other Gypsy groups was detected by Janky. The Beas were characterized by a slightly older age structure than the rest of the Gypsy population. Janky reasoned that the tendency of „Hungarization” is much stronger amongst the Beas, which clearly affects younger generations to a larger extent, thus the age structure of those with Beas as their mother tongue will necessarily become older (Janky 1999).

Janky also made some interesting conclusions about migration patterns by mother tongue. There were significant differences between the Beas and the other Gypsy groups in the number of previous places of residence, but the characteristics of those with Romani as their mother tongue were different from those of Hungarian-speaking Gypsies, too.

	Beas	Hungarian	Romani	Total
Unchanged (%)	37.5	56.1	52.3	54.9
Has moved (%)	62.5	43.9	47.7	45.1
Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Figure 36 Comparison of place of residence at the time of birth and at the time of data collection (1993) by mother tongue
(Source: Janky 1999.)

Yet, there were not much more Beas having moved to another county or region than as compared to other Gypsy groups. Thus, they are also primarily characterized by intra-county migration.

	Beas	Hungarian	Romani	Total
Unchanged (%)	86.5	83.1	78.7	83.1
Has moved (%)	13.5	16.9	21.3	16.9
Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Figure 37 Comparison of county of residence at the time of birth and at the time of data collection (1993) by mother tongue
(Source: Janky 1999)

5. Segregation

Along with migration, it is inevitable to mention the process of segregation (settling in separate places) as a factor dramatically worsening the living conditions of the Roma.

Segregation, as far as rural/urban sociology is concerned, denotes the phenomenon of the residential (spatial) separation of the various social groups. The area, settlement or district where a specific type of population is concentrated, gradually separates from the totality of remaining settlements or the remaining districts of the city both in spatial terms and in terms of sociology. Social distance, hence, turns into spatial distance.

Thus segregation is the spatial separation of social layers, the over-representation of a given layer in the social structure of a given district or region, as compared to the share of that layer in the total population of the city or the country. Segregation, by enlarging pre-existing differences in socio-structural status, brings about social disadvantages and solid differences in residential conditions and standards of living (Farkas 1996).

The Roma in Hungary have always been characterized by a tendency of settling down in separated areas – because of the social distance between the Roma and the non-Roma ethnic groups and the closed, inward nature of their communities, which again was a result of the prejudice and the offenses against them.

As early as in the resolutions of Maria Theresa, the settling of Gypsies in ghetto-like, segregated areas was prohibited. Nonetheless, it was this era when Gypsy camps began to gain ground – a process that is still going on. (The 1779 census reports only one camp in Somogy county, whereas by the beginning of the 20th century, there were more than a hundred of them.)

According to the 1893 census, in nearly 40% of Hungarian settlements, the permanently settled Roma population lived dispersed among non-Roma inhabitants (not separated), with a share of 64% living in houses. These indicate a certain degree of integration⁵³ (Pomogyi 1995).

Residential segregation is estimated to have grown to 90% by the first half of the 1900's (Csalog 1997).

53 A Magyarországon 1893. január 31-én végrehajtott cigányösszeírás eredményei. Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények, Új folyam, IX. kötet. 1895.

Camps, however, are only one form of residential segregation. A broader problem is the so-called „ghetto-issue”, several types of which were described by Zsolt Csalog (1997):

- It was a frequent spontaneous phenomenon from the 19th century on that Gypsies concentrated in a given street of a settlement (for example Csurgó).
- Efforts for the abolishment of the camps often resulted in the birth of very similar residential patterns – the cheapest, technically most outdated streets and areas became ghettos of a more and more homogenous population (e.g. Siklós).
- The abolishment of Gypsy camps often remained a formality; inhabitants were assigned emergency dwellings in former military barracks or the servants’ quarters of abandoned manor houses (e.g. Kaposvár).
- Even though the resolution of 1964 required former camp residents to be settled dispersed among the population, this was largely ignored in practice. The so-called „CS” (referring to „csökkentett színvonalú”, meaning „of inferior quality”) constructions were completed in closed units on the edges of the settlements, officially justified by saving in some ancillary costs.
- The newest form of segregation is the process of spontaneous „Gypsyization” in today’s micro-village regions (Csalog 1997). This process will be discussed in detail below.

One might observe that recent decades have witnessed a constant flow of Gypsies from the camps to inner areas of the settlements, which trend, however, has more recently been slowed down by migration flows of a similar extent in the opposite direction (Janky 1999). The former process was fostered by the socialist campaign of the 1960’s for the abolishment of Gypsy camps. These efforts, and most significantly the family home building programme built on interest-free loans, indeed yielded some results, but the reproduction of camp lifestyle is still going on. Many camps were largely abandoned, on the one hand as a result of the loan programme and, on the other hand, owing to the economic boom unfolding in the end of the 1960’s, but also because of better job opportunities. However, new camps came to life, as well (Berey 1991).

The abolishment of camps became topical in the beginning of the 1960’s. Within the framework of the comprehensive political reform concept, the first 15-year housing development plan was developed, the passing of which was

shortly followed by the 1961 resolution of the MSZMP on the abolishment of settlements not satisfying certain social requirements. Relevant time series data from housing records suggest that the programme must have been an enormous success. In 1964, a total of 48,966 affected dwellings were recorded, whereas the number of dwellings in camps to be abolished appears to have dropped to 6,277 by 1984, with the population of these dwellings recorded as 222,160 and 42,066 people, respectively. The truth, however, was by far gratifying. A camp, for the purposes of the resolution in question, was defined as a spatially separated area with at least four dwellings not meeting relevant social requirements. Thus statistics did not account for the totality of socially unacceptable dwellings: what they included – and hence, what the measures targeted – was the most apparent, spatially concentrated form of this phenomenon only (Berey 1991).

The 1980's already witnessed a widespread decline in the construction and housing sector, the constructions of camp residents were also slowing down; in a number of areas the abolishment of camps came to a halt or even reversed. Construction rates began to decrease.

- The wages of camp residents could not keep in line with increasing construction material prices. Saving for a home loan downpayment became difficult.
- With real estate prices on the rise, loan amounts more and more frequently proved out to be insufficient to pay for a dwelling (even for one in a less favorable technical condition).
- The re-settling of the ever increasing number of those below or above working age and of old, ill inhabitants, who did not have any kind of financial background. Local councils did not have the material resources to solve these housing issues, and a portion of those affected was reluctant to give up their everyday environment and move to some other place.
- Dwellings in the camps could not be demolished as they were usually inhabited by more than one family, and not all of them could take part in the relevant programmes. Thus by the beginning of the 1980's, efforts for the abolishment of Gypsy camps ran into a deadlock in the entire country.

What is more, the process induced by successful re-settling projects must not be considered as a clearly positive one. The moving of Gypsies from their camps into abandoned rural dwellings had fatal consequences for the everyday

life and the local society of affected settlements, as it did not only increase the tension between the two ethnic groups but it also set into motion an erosion of the housing markets of villages large enough in extent to turn the pre-existing selective migration trends of disadvantaged settlements into a wave of people running away from these villages (Kocsis – Kovács 1999). To make things worse, these measures even failed in abolishing the phenomenon of Gypsy camps and in prohibiting their reproduction. According to Zsolt Csalog (1997), a 40% share of today's Gypsy population live in classic Gypsy camps, while more than 70% are estimated to be subject to residential segregation.

The migration flows of Gypsies to the cities during the decades of socialism seemed to be slowing down in the 1980's as a result of the then visible signs of an economic crisis and with preferences shifting away from previously glorified socialist industrial cities, and another migration process in the opposite direction, towards the rural areas appeared to unfold.

In recent decades, Gypsy population most markedly grew in the disadvantaged, stagnating, secluded areas of the country, typically characterized by a micro-village settlement structure, with weak administrative, commercial, cultural functions and bad infrastructural and communal conditions, and in backward industrial regions (Cserti Cs. – Forray 1998).

In these disadvantaged regions, a certain process of „ethnic homogenization” already started before the years of the political transition, however, the 1990's witnessed an acceleration of this process. This has been particularly apparent in multiply disadvantaged micro-villages. Young, able-to-work, socially more mobile members of the population are leaving these aging villages for large cities with more favorable conditions, and the worthless houses of these abandoned villages are getting occupied by social groups of deteriorating social conditions, who lost their grounds and their living elsewhere – for example Gypsies. In former socialist industrial cities, the majority of job opportunities suitable for the unskilled, unqualified workforce disappeared during the years of the political transition. For them, it is still easier to find a secure livelihood in villages, where the conditions for household food production and collection are given.

These disadvantaged villages, however, constitute the end station of geographical mobility, a kind of dead end street – social rise is nearly impossible. The chances of labor market integration, of acquiring a job are very low – just think of their distance from potential employers, the disadvantages in terms of

transportation geography and the costs of commuting to cities with potential job opportunities (Cserti Cs. 2000).

Employment in these areas is very low, and because of the lack of infrastructure and capital inflow, there is no hope for improvement in the short run. A characteristic of these multiply disadvantaged groups of Gypsies is, furthermore, the disastrous housing conditions, clearly apparent in terms of hygiene, health and lifestyle, as well. These latter accompanying symptoms again hinder the acquisition of a job.

It is a typical process that Gypsies concentrate, or their share of the population increases significantly, in settlements where social-economic development has come to a halt, the original population is aging or is „voting with their feet” and, if possible, move to settlements with better endowments, better opportunities and promising a better quality of life. Our case studies detected this phenomenon in all three settlements. The high share of Roma in the population means the concentration of poverty in these settlements – as it is a result of the moving in or the staying of the „outcast”. Ethnic tensions and social tensions disguised as ethnic tensions further worsen the situation (Bíró et al. 1998).

The appearance, the gaining ground and the population growth of the Gypsy in villages, therefore, is a function of the economic and social status of those villages, and, thus, it might be interpreted as an outcome of a process (Szuhay 1997). Residents’ attitude towards the „Gypsyization” of villages is related to the population retaining ability and the economic opportunities of those settlements (Szuhay 1997).

Families unable to leave segregation behind will not be able to assimilate, either, and assimilated families hit by segregation in their place of residence will dissimilate (Csalog 1997).

The public image of a district does indeed influence migration processes; the succession of some settlements was observed to have accelerated when changes in the public image of that area occurred.

Members of a given social layer tend to appear dispersedly at first, later moving in in ever increasing waves. Simultaneously, original inhabitants slowly start to move out of the area, and the process later speeds up and turns into a kind of escape. During the process, a so-called „clip-point” might be determined, where there is a sudden turn in the proportions of the two different population groups. The phenomenon was studied on the appearance of people

of color in large American cities, yet the process can be generalized and applied to the process of Roma people replacing non-Roma people in Hungarian villages or some urban areas. First, when the share of low-status residents reaches 5%, house prices in the area begin to sink as a result. Original residents still tolerate a 5 to 25% share of newcomers, but if their proportion exceeds this „clip-point”, the original population starts to flee in panic, they sell their homes and the resulting devaluation of dwellings further accelerates the inflow of poorer groups (Cséfalvai 1994). The very same process took place among Hungarian settlements. In 1994, the number of settlements with the proportion of Roma above 8% was already 675. The figure was above 25% in 94 of them, and in 9 settlements, the Roma constituted the majority (Kocsis 1996).

In recent decades, Gypsy migration into some of the capital's districts (districts 6 to 9) has accelerated to a similar degree. By 1986, a stunning 47% of Budapest's Roma population already lived in these areas. The share of Roma children in primary education was 2.7% in 1971, whereas it climbed to 8.3% by 1986 in these areas. The then 3.5% Roma population in these districts induced a strong ghettoization process, and its continuing growth causes even more severe social and ethnic tensions (Ladányi 1993). The Hungarian population seems to be even less tolerant to Gypsies as were the original inhabitants of American cities to people of color in the above example.

In line with the Roma-populated rural areas of Baranya county, Somogy county has also been suffering from a process of spontaneous segregation, the majority of settlements has been homogenizing in terms of ethnicity at a constantly increasing rate. In Somogy, the 1990 census already reported the number of settlements with a Roma population of 15% or above to have climbed to 16 – and all of them were villages from the above category.

Translated by Márk Palotás

Works Cited

Berey Katalin. *A cigánytelepek felszámolása és újratermelődése.* In Utasi Ágnes – Mészáros Ágnes (szerk.) *Cigánylét.* Budapest, MTA Politikai Tudományok Intézete, 1991.

Bíró Boglárka – Cserti Csapó Tibor – Csánicz Szabolcs – Forray R. Katalin – Wilhelm Zoltán. *A dombóvári kistérség cigány lakosságának helyzete (Szakértői jelentés a Dombóvári Kistérségi Társulás számára).* (1988, Kézirat)

Csalog Zsolt. *Cigánykérdés Magyarországon 1980 előtt.* In Vajda Imre (szerk.) *Periférián – Roma szociológiai tanulmányok.* Ariadne Kulturális Alapítvány. 1997.

Cséfalvay Zoltán. *A modern társadalomföldrajz kézikönyve.* Budapest, IKVA Könyvkiadó, 1994.

Cserti Csapó Tibor – Forray R. Katalin. *A cigány kisebbség iskolai oktatásának helyzete a Dombóvári Kistérségben.* Iskolakultúra, 12. (1998): 37–44.

Cserti Csapó Tibor 2000. *Hátrányos helyzetű népesség, cigány lakosság a Duna-Dráva Nemzeti Park területén.* In Tóth József – Wilhelm Zoltán (szerk.): *Konzerváció, Modernizáció, Regionalitás a Dél-Dunántúlon.* PTE Földrajzi Intézet, Pécs, 2000.

Cserti Csapó Tibor 2006. *Szociológiai, szociális tényezők a cigány népesség vizsgálatában.* In Forray R. Katalin (ed.) *Ismeretek a romológia alapképzési szakhoz.* HEFOP 3.3.1-P-2004-09-0134/1.0 Budapest, Bölcsész Konzorcium, PTE, 161–187.

Farkas János. *Építészet-, település- és városzociológia.* Budapest, BME Szociológia Tanszék, 1996.

Filó Csilla. *A humán erőforrás fejlesztést befolyásoló tényezők az Ormánság kistérségben.* (Ph.D dissertation), Pécs, PTE TTK Földtudományi Doktori Iskola, 2007.

G. Fekete Éva (ed.). *A tartós munkanélküliség kezelése vidéki térségekben.* Miskolc–Pécs, MTA RKK Vidékfejlesztési Műhely, 2002.

Havas Gábor. *Cigányok a szociológiai kutatások tükrében.* In: *A cigányok Magyarországon. Magyarország az ezredfordulón – Stratégiai kutatások a Magyar Tudományos Akadémián.* Budapest, MTA, 1999.

Havas Gábor. *A kistéleplülések és a romák.* In: *A cigányok Magyarországon. Magyarország az ezredfordulón – Stratégiai kutatások a Magyar Tudományos Akadémián.* Budapest, MTA, 1999/B.

Hoóz István. *A társadalmi folyamatok és a cigánynépesség.* In Utasi Ágnes – Mészáros Ágnes (ed.) *Cigánylét.* Budapest, MTA Politikai Tudományok Intézete, 1991.

Janky Béla. *Lakóhely-változtatások a cigányok körében.* In *A cigányok Magyarországon. Magyarország az ezredfordulón – Stratégiai kutatások a Magyar Tudományos Akadémián.* Budapest, MTA, 1999.

Kemény István – Janky Béla – Lengyel Gabriella. *A magyarországi cigányság – 1971–2003.* Budapest, Gondolat Kiadó – MTA Etnikai-Nemzeti Kisebbségkutató Intézet, 1997.

Kemény István. *A magyarországi roma (cigány) népeességről két felmérés tükrében.* Magyar Tudomány, 6. (1997): 644–655.

Kocsis Károly – Kovács Zoltán. *A cigány népesség társadalomföldrajza.* In: *A cigányok Magyarországon. Magyarország az ezredfordulón – Stratégiai kutatások a Magyar Tudományos Akadémián.* Budapest, MTA, 1999.

Kocsis Károly – Kovács Zoltán. *A magyarországi cigánynépesség társadalomföldrajza.* In Utasi Ágnes – Mészáros Ágnes (szerk.) *Cigánylét.* Budapest, MTA Politikai Tudományok Intézete, 1991.

Kocsis Károly. *A népesség nemzetiségi és vallási tagozódása.* Földrajztanítás, 36. 3–4. (1996).

Kocsis Károly. *Magyarország jelenlegi etnikai térszerkezetének sajátosságai.* Földrajzi Közlemények, 4. (1989).

Pomogyi László. *Cigánykérdés és cigányügyi igazgatás a polgári Magyarországon.* Budapest, Osiris – Századvég, 1995.

Szuhay Péter. *Cigányok a falu társadalmában.* In: Vajda Imre (szerk.) *Periférián – Roma szociológiai tanulmányok.* Ariadne Kulturális Alapítvány. 1997.

Sources

- A Magyarországon 1893. január 31-én végrehajtott cigányösszeírás eredményei. Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények, Új folyam, IX. kötet. 1895
- A cigányság helyzete, életkörülményei. Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 1994.
- Magyarország Nemzeti Atlasza
- www.vati.hu
- www.ksh.hu
- www.bmmk.hu

Cserti Csapó Tibor

Területi-szociológiai jellemzés a magyarországi cigány népesség körében

A cigányság megoszlása az ország területen belül nem egyenletes. Tanulmányunkban a mai magyarországi cigányság területi elhelyezkedését, ennek történetiségét, problematikáját elemezzük.

Territorial – sociological report on Gypsy population in Hungary

Distribution of gypsy on the territory of the country is not equitable. Since long time the preferred particular parts of Hungary and not preferred the others. And it is a historical difference in concentration. Among the reasons we can find reasons of the natural environment (they preferred those landscapes, where the found raw materials for the traditional gypsy works, and of course found market for they products). We can find social-economical reasons: they could find the holes of the division of labour in the low developed parts of the country. The gypsies moved there, where the local government was more indulgent with them. They migrated there, where the local society was more hostile, first of all the other minority communities of the country were the most belligerent and the hungarians lived villages were the most tolerant.

Nowadays about 20 percentage of gypsies live in Southern-Transdanubien (in counties Somogy, Baranya, Zala and Tolna), 51 percentage in the Northern and Eastern part of Hungary (in counties Nógrád, Heves, Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg and Hajdú-Bihar) and 10 percentage of gypsies live in the area of the capital.

The most of these ranges are economically undeveloped, there are no working places, high the rates of unemployment. These parts of the country are represented with little villages and the little village means bad working possibilities, bad traffic connections to the working places of the center areas. Means low salary, hard availability of the education system so conserved the low qualification grade of the population who live there. In these areas we can find bad life circumstances (etc. low comfort of the flats).

In addition the gypsy population live in the parts of the country separately, segregated from manor society because of the preconceptions, prejudices of majority. They live in separate gypsy villages, or far from the villages in empty military buildings, in empty manor houses, etc. In the settlements they live in apart streets, in separated districts.

