

29.

***Education and Research of Roma in the
Countries of Central and Eastern Europe***

Edited by

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THE COUNTRIES OF CENTRAL AND
EASTERN EUROPE***



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Foreword

The education of Roma children and adults is a significant problem in the European Union, in most countries of Europe, and especially in her Southern and Eastern parts. It is the situation in Hungary, too.

The Department of Romology at the University of Pécs (Hungary) has rich experiences in the Roma education. The Department has Roma as well as non-Roma student among its MA and PhD candidates. The Department also has a long-lasting contact with the Gandhi Secondary School (Gimnázium) in Pécs and with other elementary and secondary schools in the region and in the country where Roma students are studying. The Department also organises MA and PhD study programmes for those who are interested in surveying and researching the Roma education in a comparative perspective (mostly in Hungary and Europe).

The authors of the present collection are doctoral candidates and members of the Department of Romology at the University of Pécs. They are studying the history and the present situation, the languages and culture of the Roma people. They are also committed to the improvement of their situation.

The editors hope that the present collection will be interesting for a wider audience, as it is proved to be useful for all of those who are studying and improving the Roma education in Hungary and elsewhere. .

23.09.2013

Prof. Katalin R. Forray
editor

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editor

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***Social Equality vs. cultural
identity:***

***Government Policies and Roma
Education in East-Central Europe***

INTRODUCTION

Aims and Scope

The aim of this paper is twofold. a) To describe the situation of the Roma population in Central and Eastern Europe, especially their situation in school and the education systems; and b) to analyse and compare government policies (especially educational policies) which influence the situation of the Romas and which may contribute to their future in those societies.

The twofold aim is reflected in the structure of the paper. First, we review theoretical and practical literature on government policies of national and ethnic minority communities. Second, we introduce a collection of country case studies and their findings related to Roma schooling and education policies in Central and Eastern Europe. Third, we compare those policies in the light of the theoretical models suggested by the literature. In the conclusion, we comment on the usefulness of the models in understanding Roma education policies of Central and Eastern Europe.

There are some key words and concepts which we use in the paper and which may need clarification: the people or migrating groups designated as ‘Roma’ are known by several names, most

common being ‘Gypsy’ (Egyptians). There is a lack of agreement about their own names within the groups. The term ‘Roma’ was accepted in 1971 when the International Roma Committee organized its first World Roma Congress in London. The word ‘Roma’ can be used as an adjective but also as a noun. To avoid misunderstanding and to follow the use of the literature we call those people ‘Roma’ (singular) and ‘Romas’ (plural). We shall also use the same word as an adjective as well as a noun.

Central and Eastern Europe—sometimes called East-Central Europe—is that part of the European continent which remained “behind the Iron Curtain” after World War II, and was liberated from the Soviet Empire or influence by the 1989/1990 political changes. Sometimes simply called ‘Eastern Europe’ the region is more complex than that. The region liberated during the turbulent years of 1989/90 is therefore a mixture of both Eastern and Western traditions and values and is called in this paper as East-Central Europe (ECE). (See Johnson 1996, pp. 10-11)

The paper in its present form is an attempt to approach the ‘Roma problem’ in a new way. Most of the existing literature analyse the situation of the Romas, its causes and its relations. We try to analyse it in the context of existing government policies which contribute to the present situation of the Romas and which may also improve or alter their situation.

Government Policies

One of the reasons for the situation of the Romas becoming a focused international issue has been the political transitions of the East-Central European (ECE) countries. The demolition of the Iron Curtain multiplied the number of possible connections between the Roma communities living on the Western and Eastern parts of the Continent, and shocking news about what happened to the Romas served as an alarm for the public in other European countries because of violence and intensifying migration (Bollag 1994, Costarelli 1993, Crowe 1994, Krause 2000, Liégeois 1994). Gheorghie (2001) describes this situation as the most challenging point in the recent history of the Roma people in the ECE countries.

Guy (2001), after describing the situation of the Romas--“the largest, poorest and most marginalised minority of Europe” (p.9)—

indicates the importance of the government policies. International debates on the Roma problem “has to lead to more pragmatic policies to aid the integration of Romas”. (pp. 9) Stewart (2001) in the same volume presents an analysis of Roma policy in the Communist government and party showing strong proof of forced assimilation to avoid political unrest and social turbulence. Acton (1997) says that a new Roma policy is urgently needed not only at the country level—in his case the UK—but also at the European level. Government policies connected with civic activities may promise a new future for the situation of the European Romas.

Acton and Mundy (1997) in their collection describe the Roma culture which led to the ‘Gypsy identity’. It may be an element of government policy that relies on the cultural identity of the Roma communities. The outstanding collection of Weyrauch (2001) goes further in the same line of argument showing how traditional ‘Gypsy Law’ is in relation to—or in disagreement—with the majority concept of law on which public policies rely. Acton—as early as the 1970s—looked through the history of ideology concerning the Roma population, mostly in the UK. This overview showed how an ethnic ideology under pressure of Victorian reformism would lead to nationalism (Acton 1974).

The contributors of the volume edited by Vermeulen & Perlmann (Vermeulen & Perlmann 2000, see also Kozma 2003) talk about the new wave of immigrants to Western Europe and the social and political problems that migration caused in the late 1980s and during the 1990s. The theories suggest two major types of government immigrant politics, one relying on cultural identity, the other built on the social situations of the immigrants. The case studies that follow the theoretical part of the book reflect the realities. The authors did not find model policies in various political situations but a mixture of policies of both models.

On the basis of this short review of the selected literature, two policy models aimed at supporting education of the Romas can be seen. (Fenyés 1999). Policy Model A deals with Roma communities as cultural minorities and aims at integrating them into the cultural minorities of the respective countries – while Policy B recognises them as groups with social handicaps. Policy A views schools and other institutions as responsible for developing Roma cultural identity by conveying and disseminating their cultural heritages.

Policy Model B uses education as a means for socio-economic equality. Both policy models have sought their own means of realisation after the fall of the Soviet Empire and the political transition. Both policies are legitimate, building on real social processes, seeking solutions for discrepancies, trying to find socially and legitimately effective answers to old questions. None of these policies can achieve their goal completely; however, they reflect on an important social group, the Romas, whose demands, opportunities and public appearance have to be considered in Central Eastern Europe.

Methodical Considerations

We tried to test the theoretical models of possible policy making suggested by Vermeulen & Perlmann (see *ibid.*) We took them as the possible theoretical models of the Roma education policies and studied some ECE countries and their actual policies of Roma education. The question was whether they would be applicable to the actual situation of Roma education in the ECE countries; and if so, which countries apply policy A or B. Further on, we also asked whether Policy A or Policy B would be more applicable to the actual situations of the various countries.

Nine government policies were selected to test our questions. They are the government educational policies of Albania, Serbia, Kosovo, Bulgaria, Croatia, Slovenia, Romania, Slovakia and Hungary. Case studies have been conducted longitudinally between 2000--2009.

The dominant method of the study was the selection and collection of country cases from the point of view of their Roma schooling and education policies. First, we selected the countries on the basis of our former studies (Forsay & Szegal 2000; Forsay 2009). Second, we looked for official data and personal connections; we also visited some countries and collected data and impressions on the spot. Third, we reorganised the collected data and tried to compare them by the help of the international statistical guides (Roma Demographic Table 2009).

GOVERNMENT POLICIES

Albania

During the communist era governments tried to assimilate the Roma communities to the socialist Albanian society. Overall employment supported this assimilation pressure: our target group was involved in the labour market most typically as unskilled workers. Roma communities had to participate in education, public health and housing as a result of enforced assimilation.

Their situation started to decay apace after the communist era. Today most of the Roma communities live in extreme poverty (World Bank, 2005). They are targeted by discrimination in the labour market: 80-90% of Roma people were unemployed in 1996 (World Vision, 2007). Today 78% of the Romas live below the poverty line whereas only 22% of the non-Romas share the same fate. Ninety-two per cent of our target group have difficulties with finding a job in the labour market because of lack of employment skills and social discrimination. Many of the Romas live on state or non-state (i. e. church) social aid that is still the most effective support in Albania. The informal sector is a basis for income of others who may work as musicians, construction workers, or those collecting paper or metal ware.

Lack of education also contributes to the difficult situation of the Romas. According to UNDP and UNICEF reports this characteristic is due to the poverty of Roma families (European Union, 2007). Many Roma parents are not educated themselves either, therefore – and because of their poor financial conditions – they do not realise the importance of educating their children.

Serbia

The number of Romas in Serbia is estimated at 100 000—500 000 people, which is 1-6.5% of the total population. Most of these people live in city slums, according to research findings 30% of them in extreme poverty, especially around the capital, Belgrade (73%). As registration of Romas is forbidden in the country we need to emphasise that the numbers and percentages in Serbia are merely

estimates. Official Serbian documentation of Romas and Kosovo refugees is often missing (Milivojevic, 2008).

Roma is the language spoken by most of the Romas and the majority of them also speak at least one other language (Serbian, Albanian, Hungarian, Romanian) depending on where they live. At first sight, the Roma population of Serbia is successful with regards to the Roma language; however statistics show that at least 70% of children do not finish primary school. According to the 2004 Helsinki report poor children in Serbia are practically excluded from education, health service and social services (Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia, 2004).

According to the data and analysis published in the report the reasons for substandard education of Roma children are dominantly poverty, negative stereotypes, discrimination and the interpretation of education in Roma communities. Experts say that the self esteem of Roma children is extremely low because of their experience with discrimination from the majority group, and negative evaluation of their own language and culture. Analysis reveals that Roma parents make their children earn money because of their poor financial circumstances. The environment of child labour is outrageous (United Nations Fund for Children, 2007).

The Serbian government has been participating in the program entitled The Decade of Roma Inclusion that was organised by the World Bank in 2005 and declared that it would improve the situation of the Roma minority as one of the priorities of the country. The fact that the presidency of the program was held by a Serb meant a significant step in 2008. In that year Serbia declared and introduced a new strategy: they invested 120 million dinars into the education of the Romas, they called on the support of ministries responsible for health services and education, ratified antidiscrimination legislation, and prepared a new bill of primary education.

The National Action Plan (2009) is the latest programme aimed at raising the status of Roma communities. A part of this plan is the employment of a respondent for Roma issues in every ministry of the government. In 2010, such an employee was working in the ministries responsible for education, health services, environment and economic projections

Kosovo

When international and NATO forces entered Kosovo in June 1999, the mass exodus of the 'Romas', 'Askali' and 'Egyptians' (RAE) began. Many of them joined the Yugoslavian army to avoid atrocities. Others had to face expulsion (United Nations Development Program, 2003) and escaped to Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia, Bosnia and Western Europe. A small group of RAE stayed in Kosovo and were labelled 'Internally Displaced' (IDP) and received permission from local authorities to reside. Ten years after they had been chased away from their homes, hundreds of Romas live in camps in settlements such as in Kosovska Mitrovica where even basic health service cannot be found –

The unemployment rate is quite high in Kosovo and is increasing year by year by 10-12% (United Nations Development Program, 2003). Employment in Kosovska Mitrovica is only 22%, the level of education is very low, and the RAE are both socially and politically marginalised. Before the conflict in 1999 most of the Romas lived in Mahalla and lived as day-labourers in construction and agriculture. Some of them found permanent jobs. Traditional working positions vanished due to the decay of the economy in general and the collapse of industries. Jobs that used to be done by RAE traditionally are done by Albanians today (United States Agency for International Development, 2004).

The education level of the RAE population is low. Parents who do not understand the significance of schooling are a huge drawback for their children whose labour and salaries are needed by the family. For girls, marriage typically takes place as early as at the age of 12-14. Due to the lack of teachers with RAE background children speaking Roma languages cannot adapt to schools. School failure results from the limited number of children speaking Serbian and Albanian. The presence of NGOs in this concern is a key to success: regions, where NGOs help schooling, 70% of children who are required to go to school by law do attend schools. We can assume that regions where NGOs support children, girls leaving school early can be prevented (United States Agency for International Development, 2004).

Bulgaria

The Roma population of the country can be divided into three larger groups: the 'Bulgarian Gypsies', the 'Turkish Gypsies' and the 'Vlach' which refers to the Romanian Romas. Within these larger groups the original sub-group identity is still alive to the extent that researchers describe the identity characteristics of the larger Roma group only in the case of Roma intelligentsia (Tomova, 1995).

'The Roma problem' has been an issue throughout the history of Bulgaria. Among reasons for the problem, a few should be emphasised, such as:

- the significant ratio of nomadic, non-settled groups,
- a high toll of assimilation into Muslim Turkish and Tartar communities,
- the organisation of their elite evident in cultural associations, newspapers, some schools and a theatre from the late 18th century on,
- permanent public anti-Romaism sustained by party regulations and media presentations.

The Roma Settlement Programme started only in the near past years in 1954 and lasted for more than a decade. In the first phase of the programme housing estates for around 20 000 Roma families were built on the outskirts of assigned settlements. This segregated, ghetto-like settlement was shifted into the Settling into the Bulgarian Neighbourhood program in the late 1960s, prescribing the number of Roma families that could be settled in a street (Tomova, 1995).

Until the end of the 1980s the purpose of the Bulgarian government has been the creation of the united Bulgarian nation – the Turks and the Romas who had opted to identify themselves as Turks were seen as major obstacles to these intentions. The requirement to change names to make Turks seem more Bulgarian, was mandatory for the Romas as well. For example, cultural clubs and football teams were ordered to take a name of a Bulgarian hero and there was a campaign against Roma musical bands in 1984. This programme, which mainly aimed at the assimilation of the Turks has affected the Romas as well and it only stopped because of international objections. Its psychological consequences however still live on and are articulated in spontaneous social anti-Roma campaigns, blaming the economic situation that has evolved after the

collapse of the Zivkov-regime on the Romas. Crime in particular is seen as the result of nomadic Romas living in the country.

The same contradiction prevailed in the field of education as happened in the case of settlements. One approach focused on assimilation attempts and pressure while in other cases segregation has taken place. The extremely low education level of the Roma population, the significant number of illiterates, and school age children not attending school are all features that have become more and more striking and troublesome. Two programmes were set up in order to increase the level of education of Roma communities. One involves taking children away from their families so that assimilation can work more effectively: weekday boarding schools have been set up. The other is setting up a system of Roma Schools, i. e. segregated institutions for Roma children that aimed at education at a level lower than general and focused on practising special skills. The third policy is schooling Roma children in institutions set up for the mentally disabled.

After the regime change masses of people lost their work and became impoverished. These people have suffered mentally and physically as a result of these processes. The educational index of the Roma people is far below that of the Bulgarian and Turkish population. Roma communities live in segregated, ghetto-like settlements even today. This is how Tomova (1995) was able to sample them when she carried out research in neighbourhood circles: their housing and living conditions are far below those of the Bulgarian population.

There are two factors detrimental to the education of school age children:

the poverty of masses who are unable to buy school equipment, feed and clothe their children properly.(School equipment and catering used to be free in Bulgarian schools),

objections of the wealthy Vlach, especially Lovari and Keldarashi groups against pressures for assimilation, their intentions aimed at keeping their traditions.

In order to solve the educational problems the Ministry of Education and the Ethnic and Demographic National Cooperation Committee, a state organisation responsible for minorities initiated a project with UNESCO and PHARE (Poland and Hungary: Assistance for Restructuring their Economies) support. They

published school books written in the three most widely spoken Roma dialects, and introduced facultative Roma language teaching or multicultural education projects in some schools.

Croatia

There are contradictory estimates regarding the total number of the Roma population in the country: it varies between 6 000 and 150 000. Unusually, the Roma Priests' Committee of the Croatian Bishops' Conference carried out its own research and found that one sixth of the Romas are Muslims. They live in the Northern region of Croatia, especially in Medjmurje County, Osijek and Baranja County, Sisak and Moslavina County and Zadar County. The most significant number of Romas living in Croatia is the so called Boyash.

The Croatian Constitution and the minority act ratified in 1991 bestowed equal rights on each national community who are allowed to be represented in parliament as long as the number of the community members reaches a certain number. In the case of the Romas the number is not high enough to enable them to send representatives to the parliament on a community basis.

In Croatia there has been no research carried out regarding the living conditions, the Romas' attitudes towards the majority group or that of the majority group towards the Roma. Experts report that wealthy Romas assimilate and identify themselves as Croats while amongst the poor there are people who apply for social aid and identify themselves as Romas even if they are Croats (Forray & Szegál 2000).

Living conditions and housing of the Romas is worse than the general level in the country; most Romas live in settlements. On the other hand they rejected the suggestion of the Croatian government, which suggested that they move into the villages of expelled Serbians. Their educational index is very low: they do not attend kindergarten or pre-school, they start school at the age of 7-8 instead of the age 6, they live far away from schools, so due to the lack of proper clothing and other reasons they attend school irregularly until they become teenagers – and at this point their education is most likely over as they start their own families at an early age. Earlier endeavours aimed at organising kindergarten or schools in their

settlements had not led to success and today they reject these kinds of initiatives because they suspect racism behind these efforts. Unsolved problems related to the schooling of the Romas cause real conflicts. Teachers report that most Roma children do not speak Croatian and they can hardly understand a word in Croatian because they speak “the Roma Language” at home. In their opinion this is the root of their failure at school. In spite of this factor, the number of Roma youth – probably not amongst those who live in settlements – going to secondary education is increasing slightly.

Numerous projects, initiated by the Roma Alliance in cooperation with the Ministry of Culture and the Roma Priests’ Committee of the Croatian Bishops’ Conference, primarily aim at developing Roma literacy and introduction of the Roma language in schools. Summer camps and schools represent another type of initiative that focuses on secondary school students, the future intelligentsia of the Roma. Organisations dealing with educational, cultural issues of the Romas lack connections to international groups. That may be the reason for the lack of multicultural and intercultural projects set up with other countries facing similar challenges (Szilágyi 1996a).

Slovenia

There are about 6 000-7 000 Romas living in this country who belong to subgroups. Most of them live in the Mura Region, they speak Roma or Hungarian. In the North-West of Slovenia the Sinto settled and there are new waves of Romas moving from Kosovo and Macedonia to the region of Maribor and Ljubljana. Most of them are settled but we can also find traditional travelling Romas in Slovenia (Szilágyi 1996b).

Since 1960 the social, cultural and legislative situation of the Romas has been a burning issue. Although a single act has not been ratified, several action plans and programmes have been developed aimed at supporting social, health and cultural conditions of the Romas.

Only one quarter of registered Roma children attend school regularly, one third of them do not go to school at all, while others go irregularly [rarely]. When explaining these features Roma families talk about traditional family occupations related to agriculture, along with poverty, early marriage, inappropriate

knowledge of Slovenian, school discipline, or lack of teachers to adapt to the Roma children.

Although the social status of the Slovenian Romas is worse than that of average Slovenians, according to the action plan regarding education, social status is not the factor that causes the biggest challenge but rather language (Szilágyi 1996b). Most Roma children do not speak Slovenian; therefore, year long language kindergartens have been organised aimed at developing children's Slovenian and other skills. One year has proved to be a short time to overcome shortcomings. The challenge is even more serious in multi-lingual regions of the country where Slovenian, Hungarian, Croatian and Roma are spoken. Therefore bi- or tri-lingual learning groups are created. Although this practice is often given as a positive example, as far as Roma children are concerned it causes extremely serious challenges. Children, whose mother tongue is Roma and who speak Roma only at home have to acquire two foreign languages at a time (Slovenian and Hungarian) and consequently they are not able to express themselves appropriately and are not able to understand transmitted information. As in these classes there are fewer Slovenian or Hungarian children – because parents register their children elsewhere – learning groups turn into “Roma classes” where education is trilingual.

Romania

Analysis of the social status, including education of national communities in Romania, including the Romas is facilitated by a report from the Romanian Institute for Human Rights (1994). According to this book the Romanian government does not find the status of the Romas problematic. They emphasise the important results below:

The Romas in Romania received ‘national minority’ status and in this way they can claim the same rights as any other minorities;

Representatives of the Romas are involved in the work of state organisations and offices;

Work has started in the field of education: as a feature of this phenomenon they mention three schools where Roma language teaching has been introduced (EU 2000)

Although so far only 55 pupils have participated in this programme the mere organisation of such a project is quite important considering that before 1989 Roma was not taught in Romanian schools at all. The ministry has a 'Roma issues expert' in every county, and financial support focusing on minority projects has been increased. The ministry mainly supports anti-discrimination actions. Also, the idea of setting up a research centre focusing on national and ethnic minorities was presented. Political articulation of the Romas is quite significant, Nicolae Gheorghe, the well-known representative of European Romas fights for their cultural and political rights on the European level (Gheorghe, N, 2001).

Slovakia

Before separation in 1991 the Slovakian government accepted a document entitled "Governmental policy concerning the Romas", which proposed several ways to improve the conditions of the Romas (Gallová-Kriglérová 2006). This document consisted of projects regarding education, employment and housing. Although some of the projects had started the following year, after the separation, realisation of every program related to the Romas stopped because of financial problems.

More projects have been introduced focused on developing the situation of the Romas since 1998 (Socio-graphic mapping of Roma... 2004), but we cannot report significant results. Billions of Euros have been invested into building low comfort houses that should have solved housing problems of the Romas but this project led to even greater segregation. The flats were built two to three kilometres away from towns and villages in areas that do not have any connection to public services, or in the case of children – schools. The most important sponsors have been the Ministry of Construction and Regional Development and the European Union (PHARE, Poland and Hungary: Assistance for Restructuring their Economies. In 2004 the government invested 200 million Euros into building low comfort social blocks of flats in towns where there is a large population of Roma. Fourteen micro regions with 134 000 inhabitants were identified. In 2006 they used 170 million Euros for renovating 24 blocks that consist of 432 low comfort flats. (Gallová-

Kriglerová, 2006). These flats were built for the Romas – and problems started the very moment they were settled. They had to settle outside the town in a strange environment surrounded with new and alien neighbours without any public services. School was very far from this area, children did not even attend when the weather was bad. In the district of Presov for instance 176 flats were built for 1236 (un-officially 1700) residents with the support of the Ministry of Construction and Regional Development. This district has become the second largest ghetto of Slovakia. The first one is situated in Kosice with almost 4400 official and another 900 un-official residents. Many of those living here do not have money so they have started to steal from neighbouring gardens. Presov is planning to build a wall around the district.

In education they continue their traditional practice: they send Roma children to special education classes without any prior psychological examination, classes where the level of education is very low and children are targets of discrimination. Today 59% of Roma pupils attend special classes. In Pavloce nad Uhom 99,5% of Roma children attend special classes. Parents often agree with schooling their children in such circumstances because they are not aware of the consequences of this kind of education. These special education institutions are maintained with a greater financial support; therefore they are ready to accept as many Roma children as they can regardless of the real skills of the pupils. “Roma children regularly face disadvantages because of inappropriate monitoring, non-transparent financial controlling, legislation deficit and enforcement” (Tichy 2009). The Slovakian National Action Plan that is being prepared for the Decade programme declares that “the number of Roma children learning in special education classes has to be reduced” but it does not define indicators and criteria to contribute to realising this purpose. Another suggestion is creating boarding schools. Some Roma parties as well as Amnesty International argue against this kind of institution: “Deepening the segregation of Roma children beside the general education system would contribute to infringing on their basic human rights” (Tichy 2009).

There have been successful programmes carried out between 2002 and 2006, mostly with PHARE support and that of the Roma Educational Centre in Presov. The secondary grammar school with eight grades (the Gandhi School) that was introduced for talented

children in Zvolen is well worth mentioning although later on they wanted to close it due to financial problems and lack of pupil interest. A similarly successful experiment is the Hronca Secondary School in Bratislava in existence since 2004 which offers courses in English and Roma. Training Roma educational assistants is also a remarkable programme. These assistants help Roma children at school to overcome language and other barriers.

Hungary

It has been primarily the Romas who paid the price of the regime change in Hungary because of the implosion of the planned economy and slow development of the market economy. According to one relevant study (Forray 2009) a high unemployment ratio corresponds to a great extent to low education levels and the lack of skills. The main channel of young people's vocational education in vocational schools at the secondary level has become much narrower and in this way access to secondary education was denied to many. The Roma community is far behind the majority of the society regarding their educational and vocational index. However, compared to other countries of the region, the country can report very positive results. About three quarters of young Romas remain in the compulsory education system for eight years. The most significant challenge in 2009-2010 was education at the secondary level, the remaining four years of compulsory education.

One of the main goals of the Hungarian education policy is to prepare as many Roma children as possible for a successful start of institutionalised education because a good start can ensure the completion of the eight primary classes. There are typical programmes aimed at fulfilling this goal – a kind of streaming of Roma children either based on failures (catch-up programmes) or success (gifted education). Another intention of Hungarian education policy is to direct as many young people as possible to secondary education to train them to take the matura/GCSE exams – a prerequisite for entering tertiary education in Hungary. State and non state or partial state, so-called 'public foundational' grants support those who continue their education successfully (Dezső, 2009).

The second priority of educational policies is to treat the Roma communities as a national minority. The 1993 minority act ratified

Roma communities as national minorities, the two Roma languages--Roma and Boyash--spoken in Hungary have become recognised languages as well as any other languages of national minorities living in the country. Institutions of public education receive nominal support based on educational programmes organised for Roma children. These programmes include Roma folklore and culture or are articulated as gifted education projects – tutorials for talented Roma children (Forray 2009).

Teaching Roma languages is an on-going goal, although due to lack of teachers there are hardly any schools where the languages could be introduced. Kindergartens and schools, which aim to satisfy special educational needs of the Roma population at a quality level, are notable. In most teacher training institutions, courses on particularities of the Romas can be studied, A specialisation in Roma Studies is being organised both in elementary teacher training and at the bachelor's level.

DISCUSSION

The initial question we raised was the following. Are the two models of minority policy making applicable to the educational policy making of the selected ECE governments? And if so, which model is chosen by whom? Can the governments' Roma educational policies be modelled with the help of those theoretical types? On the basis of the government cases we look for relevant answers.

Answer 1: Common Grounds

The ECE government policies have many features in common. From a certain point of view they may be seen as very similar (see the historic analysis of Stewart,2001). There are two reasons for this.

During the decades of state-socialism, the situation of the Romas had been shaped differently in these countries from European democracies where market-economies had flourished. The ideology of a class free society and the practice of a planned economy placed the Roma communities under strong pressure to assimilate. Bottom up community organisations were forbidden, caravan sites were illegal, employment and education was mandatory. Consequently an

important proportion of Roma communities of these countries affiliated into the class of unskilled workers of heavy industry and large-scale agriculture. Counter-balancing this situation, relative social welfare of the Romas was guaranteed. Regime change caused serious problems with the introduction of representative democracy and the so called liberal market economy. The Roma communities who had just started their assimilation process during the previous 30-40 years were left with no support. Demolishing planned economies had to get rid of unskilled workers first and previously available social welfare started to disappear together with employment. The collapse of the Ceausescu-regime in Romania generated an exodus among the Roma of Romania and shocked the rest of Europe. Mass petitions for asylum of Czech and Slovakian Romas in the early nineties warned the old continent that a time bomb was tickling due to the collapse of the Soviet Empire.

These post-Soviet government states were “ordered” to find solutions for the challenges represented by Romas as a prerequisite to join the European Union. Because of this and in spite of regional similarities, it is reasonable to conduct a comparative analysis of the country peculiarities.

Answer 2: Applicable Policy Models

The second answer to the initial question is that the theoretical models of minority government policies can be applied to the situation of the Romas in the ECE region. It can also be used to distinguish among government Roma education policies that seemed otherwise to be very similar because of their ‘common grounds’. On the basis of the case studies the policies can be characterised as follow.

Policy A built on the concern that the Roma community is one of the national and ethnic groups: its culture, traditions and language differ from those of the majority and the other minorities as well. Being representatives of such a community, their own nationality education has to be organised according to relevant legislation. This fact reflects the demand that the culture of the Romas deserves the same level of attention and respect as any other folk groups in a country: language and every other aspect of a culture represented by its people have to be assumed, cultivated and developed.

Consequently education has to be developed in a way that can serve the demands aimed at regular teaching of Roma languages and culture.

Policy B focuses on those with social handicaps. According to this policy, school has to be developed so that students who cannot get on with their studies in general circumstances could progress together with their peers. Students who are targeted by this policy are those with heavy social handicaps whether they be Romas or subjects of special education. The challenge is to guarantee equal chances for students at risk of failure because of social reasons and personal peculiarities in school: these students must have the same chance for development and progress as their peers who do not struggle with the same drawbacks. Most of the Romas in this sense belong to the category of those living with social handicaps or even more challenging: heavy social handicaps. The central task is catch-up education: finding the most appropriate ways that support these students to achieve more favourable results and more valuable school certificates.

These policy types have long traditions in the region. Both of them represent important values. The first one (Policy A) emphasises sustainability and development of Roma culture – it reveals the significance and equality of Roma culture and its components compared to other cultures. The second one (Policy B) aims at achieving equal social inclusion regardless of the nature of the social and cultural group targeted. Policy A understands the Romas as a group that can be distinguished from others by substantive cultural values and aims at ensuring individuals belonging to this group with equal social positions through cultural legislation. Policy B characterises the Romas as a group of people with social handicaps and therefore it aims at enabling them to achieve equal social positions through social justice measures. Both policies can be argued pro and contra. If Policy B prevailed, would it let the Romas be understood as a culturally different group of people? If Policy A is followed, what remains to the Romas living on the margins of our societies? Or should we instead understand the two policies as ones equally supporting our target group?

Answer 3: Combined Policies

Although our models are applicable to the ECE region and Roma policies of its governments, none of the governments follow one type of policy or the other exclusively. Rather, governments in the ECE region—as elsewhere—are combining elements of Policy A and B, as is quite common on the political scene. It is unusual that all of them prefer Policy B to A. An initial comparison of the government policies shows the following.

Both policy models are applied; the only question remaining is to what extent. Schools and education for the youngsters of Roma communities can focus on social mobility or strengthen their cultural identity. Languages can be taught in order to provide someone with skills that will give them a better chance in the difficult labour market or could steady one's community consciousness. There are policies of course that are exclusively typical of either Policy A or Policy B. For example building new housing estates in Bulgaria or Slovakia has a social nature primarily so they can be classified as a feature of Policy B. Different ways of protecting cultural inheritance on the other hand can be described as features of Policy A – even if surplus education facilitates finding one's place in the labour market.

These policies are characteristically interwoven, their pattern is coherent both historically and considering international affairs. Policy A usually appears in states where national consciousness has started to be re-formulated vigorously after the transition. It is not surprising – this kind of cultural and political atmosphere reflects the community consciousness. Policy B is typical in periods of times when one state or another is poised to join the European Union. In this case states are trying to meet the regulations of the European Union so they start to apply different forms and versions of Policy B almost irrespective of the readiness of targeted Roma communities and the achievability of results. Some leaders from the Roma communities in our case studies reject those applying Policy B because the support of the European Union has been obtained by aiming at integration and catching up. This is the case of the governments within the EU (Hungary, Slovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, Slovenia) and outside of it (Serbia).

This condition is typical of governmental policies considering Roma communities in the region. All of them are top down policies

where bottom up initiatives do not fit in or fit in slightly. Bottom up policies – although we have not investigated them in the present treatise – always appear as an element of the governmental policies such as the case of the Gandhi Secondary School in Hungary or Slovakia. The more the European Union supports top-down practices, the narrower latitude is left for bottom up initiatives resulting in fewer chances to observe such policies. Because of these circumstances, governmental policies are mostly contradictory and counterproductive. Policy B intends to raise Roma communities socially; however, this intention requires discrimination, even if it means affirmative action such as building new housing estates. Policy A focuses on strengthening the cultural identity of Roma communities, although it can lead to legitimising behaviour that is not acceptable to the majority of the society; e.g. the negative relationships of Roma communities to education and culture. The government policies of Serbia, Romania and Bulgaria show these features.

The contradictions above can be traced back to the same reason. Governmental policies of the region do not aim at supporting the challenges of Roma communities – or do not exclusively target them, but rather support those of the majority group. Furthermore – and this has been typical of governmental policy of the region, especially during the period of joining the European Union – these policies are articulated in order to ease the problems of the earlier member states of the European Union. Consequently the preference for Policy B can be observed everywhere where experts from the European Union arrive who usually lack information considering the particular local Roma communities. Their reports are formulated with foreign concepts based on earlier experience in other countries. These diagnoses do not focus on the needs of local Roma communities as much as on those of the sponsors who finance the programmes.

Every society in the region has an interest in the establishment of her own Roma middle class. Without any doubt the way towards establishing Roma middle classes can be reached by Policy B. At a certain point of development however governmental policies have to recognize the benefits of Policy A, even if this concept is foreign to European communities who would prefer homogeneous political nation states. A Roma middle class supported by Policy A will

necessarily require their own positions at political forums so that they can contribute to formulating their issues. In some countries – in the case of Hungary, for instance – we can already trace this process. We cannot foretell if the Romas of the region would identify themselves as national-cultural communities – as it can be observed in the case of several governments of the Balkan Peninsula (language teaching, multilingualism, ethnographical research) – or as a political entity, such as in Hungary.

To Sum Up

Two types of government policies towards Roma education have been discussed in this paper. Policy A deals with Roma communities as cultural minorities and aims at integrating them to the cultural minorities of the respective countries – while Policy B recognises them as groups with social handicaps. Policy A uses schools and other institutions to develop Roma cultural identity by conveying and disseminating their cultural heritages. Policy B employs education as a means for socio-economic equality. The two policies are partly complementary, but partly contradictory. Their representatives have been competing from the political transition (1989-93) on, and can also be connected to political ideologies and party politics. The years 2004-2010 proved to be a period of the domination of Policy B in the new EU countries of the region. Various socio-economic government projects have been launched; they have proven to be partly successful, but partly not. Policy A emphasises the outstanding importance of formal and non-formal roles of educational institutions. In this case it is hoped that the higher level of schooling would result in better chances to participate in the labour market and improved living conditions of the Roma population.

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Aranka Varga

Changes in Hungary's Education Policies

INTRODUCTION

Before discussing the education policy concerning the Roma in Hungary, some terms and dilemmas must be clarified with regards to this issue. Following this the subject is going to be presented from a historical aspect, focusing on the last 20 plus years succeeding the Regime change. All of the above points out how the education policy seeks to increase the Roma's educational success.

Core concepts and dilemmas

In education policy decisions, the primary consideration is to know the “target” whom the decision is going to affect. The issue of this study is much the same as what is also articulated in the academic world, which is to determine “Who is considered Roma”? (Ladányi - Szelényi 1997). The two approaches in responding to this question are based on different points of view and produce distinct numerical results. With respect to Romani research in Hungary, the dominant position in defining the Roma is based on their environment's judgement. The three most cited consecutive researches that were carried out in 1971, 1999 and 2001 concerning the Roma in Hungary, all share the same approach (Kemény és mtsai 2004). The other approach accepts self-definition in responding to the question „Who is Romani”. It is apparent that the two fundamentally different positions in defining who is considered Romani in Hungary produce distinctive populations. The approach that is based on environmental judgement estimated a population of approximately 540000 Roma in 2003, while based on a self-reported census from 2001, there were less than 200000 Roma living in Hungary at the time (Cserti Csapó

2011). Identifying this group in two separate ways is not only a theoretical question as it also results in numerical differences. With regards to the education policy, this issue means that in addition to the legislation dilemmas (Who is the target group?) proposed for providing services for the Roma, it is also difficult to determine the amount of the services because the number of the target group is also in question.

The next topic is also related to the identification of Roma. In many contexts, it has been typical of the various policies in Hungary to use the terms Roma and social handicaps synonymously. In the case of Roma, the term deprivation and their cultural identity go hand-in-hand most frequently, as if all members of this culturally diverse and complex group had been socially disadvantaged. Another interpretation of this concept could imply that only those members of the Hungarian society are socially disadvantaged, that belong some Romani group. This idea has also been reflected in the education policy of the recent decades, but in spite of the legal regulations in the area of education in 2002¹, satisfactory solution has not yet been reached. In creating an education policy, it is easier to target a group, whose members can be identified by objective factors, which in the Roma's case causes a social disadvantage. In our day, there is a great variety of opportunities for educational services to improve the situation of those who are socially disadvantaged, or in other words the low-skilled and low-income members of society. This also means that the education policy only focuses on preserving the cultural identity of the Roma, ignoring the disadvantages caused by discrimination.

It is troublesome that although the social and educational strategies that are utilized in the coexistence of the mainstream society and the minorities are known, there are divided beliefs about their results. Thus assimilation, separation, segregation, integration and inclusion all characterize certain periods in education policy to different extents, based on the given education policy's values and its relevant decisions. Hence the legal actions of education policy could either generate an individual or group assimilation to the society or it could also persuade some groups to voluntary separation, primarily

¹ Regulations Nr. 57/2002 and 58/2002 of the Ministry of Culture and Education

because that is how the group itself feels assured to maintain its own values (by separation). Education policy is capable of creating a setting in which a group is separated due to a real or perceived common reason (segregation). Education policy can promote the co-existence of individuals and groups in a shared physical space (integration) or the mutual inclusion personalized for the values of various individuals and groups (Varga 2006).

It is therefore important to examine (which will be addressed later on) what social strategies are used in forming education policies for the Roma. Nevertheless it is important to know that a democratic society's fundamental principal is equality or equal treatment, meaning that discrimination, such as segregation, is not present among groups or individuals. At the same time, however, to ensure equity is also a democratic goal in creating a social inclusion, in which the environment adjusts to the diversity on a social, cultural and individual level. Education policy can attain this environment by using the tools of the inclusive pedagogy.

From orphanages to Romani classes

The basic objective of the Romani-related education policy in Hungary, which has roots from more than a hundred years ago, was to support social inclusion. The decision-makers aimed to achieve this by various tools within the different approaches of social strategies.

At the end of the 19th century, in order to solve the education of Romani children, they were taken to foster homes. The intention of this act, coming from the assimilation approach, was to pull the children out of the families in order for them to become state preferred citizens. This measure was not successful as numerous obstacles arose during the implementation process: families hid their children and the intention and instruments of the local executions were insufficient (Varga 2012). At the beginning of the 20th century, all of this was replaced by an initiative that set up Romani schools and Romani classes to raise the educational level of Romani children, hoping in the success of segregation (Forray-Hegedűs 2001). This short-term regulation had little effect, but it drew the attention to the fact that those groups that have little experience in formal education can only be taught by providing additional services

for them. After the Second World War, the educational expansion also included the Roma. From this viewpoint the educational level of the Roma increased, but the rate of increase was not the same as the entire population's. This failure was due to the assimilation approach, which was based on popular internationalist principles in this era, and intended to assimilate the features of the Romani culture as a social disadvantage.

The idea to set up homogeneous Romani classes once again came to the forefront in the seventies, which was initially supported by the scholars, believing that the additional educational services (due to the segregated classes) would increase the educational level of the Roma. It soon appeared, however, that the separate classes inevitably lead to lower quality education.

Clearly this low-prestige job resulted in lower quality teachers, and it was not necessarily forced to provide excellent materials for the disadvantaged students. In addition, the teachers were not able to rely on the mutual learning effect, which has a developmental impact, in the homogenous student groups. Seeing all these trends, the scholars supported the elimination of Romani classes (Réger 1978).

So the directly organized Romani classes had been discontinued, thus the Roma were unable to keep up with the rapid educational development of the general population, without the Romani classes seeking to make up for their lagging. In fact, this situation suited the demands of the social-labour market of the Socialist period, as most of the Roma had been involved in elementary education, three-quarters of whom completed it as well and ten percent of Roma even obtained trades by the time of the Regime change. With regards to higher education for Roma (high school graduation or tertiary education) little progress was seen, but Socialism absorbed the essentially uneducated Roma primarily in the low prestige and loss-making industries.

In the eighties, increasingly more attention was paid to the educational situation of the nomadic people, among which were the Roma all over in Europe. After a seminar held by the Council of Europe in 1983, several case studies were published to explore the situation and to show the experiences and practices (Forray 1998). Hungary linked into this intellectual mainstream. The economic transformation after the Regime change in 1989 delicately affected

the uneducated Roma, but it also provided new opportunities for Romani-related educational initiatives.

From the regime change to the millennium

The issue of Romani education became a central problem again after the economic transformation following the regime change. This was because most of the Roma who had actively worked until the regime change lost their jobs in the elimination of state enterprises, and due to their low level of education they did not have a chance to adjust to the demands of the new labour market. At the same time the segregation processes also intensified: those, who had higher educational levels and were able to obtain jobs moved out of the increasingly disadvantaged regions and townships. The low-skilled Roma, who became unemployed, moved into the deteriorated areas. Roma are overrepresented in some areas (ghettos) and this phenomenon is also apparent in public schools. In addition to this, the latent selection mechanism has also increased. Even if people with different social backgrounds lived in the same areas, the higher educated and employed residents would have their children commute, in hopes that their children would gain a better quality education by not having to mingle with disadvantaged or Romani children. As a result, there were more than 700 schools where students were mainly Romani by the millennium (Havas és mtsai 2002). The most recent studies also point out that the educational integration of disadvantaged groups and the Roma cannot be achieved without a complex, coordinated sector intervention (Havas-Zolnay 2011).

The social changes following the regime change affected the education policy as well, even though the change was not necessarily immediate and radical. The education policy began to focus on the issue of social disadvantages, which included the remediation of Roma. The context of the remediation plan was implemented after the regime change in the education policy of the ethnic and minority groups. The first regulations quickly declared that those institutions which were able to establish a program to preserve the culture and

mother tongue of any minority group would receive federal support. The Roma, however, who were defined as an ethnic group, could only participate in the so called “differentiated individual or group remediation” program from federal support. Therefore, although the Roma were eligible for educational services for minorities even before the creation of the Minority Act in 1993, they were only eligible to receive federal support for overcoming their social disadvantages, while other minorities had the right to preserve their national identity in public schools. A ministerial decree was issued in 1991, which aimed to develop the Romani national identity beside their remediation, but it was never fully implemented (Forray 1993). A regulation called The Romani Education Remediation that was drafted later on for content specification purposes, described in details what mandatory and elective services could be considered as part of the two main categories (remediation and strengthening the identity) of Romani education. The issue that still remained, however, was that instead of ensuring the national and ethnic rights, this education service rather endeavoured to solve social problems. Due to the professional arguments, this regulation was altered in 2000 (by changing its name to “Romani ethnic education”), but its content remained the same, still primarily targeting remediation. According to the amendment, the mandatory classes had to be taught within the framework of separated ethnic educational programmes; however, this even forced the open-minded institutions to operate segregated programs. Although the opportunity of multi-cultural education in integrated groups appeared among the most important regulations, such as the Hungarian National Core Curriculum, it had a very low financial support and only for a short time. In other words, it was the education policy itself that, in spite of the decentralized system, developed and maintained the less productive segregated education through its regulations and the funding system.

Upon examining the content of the Romani remedial education that was part of the ethnic educational services, it is clear, that the proposed educational services mainly focused on compensating for disadvantages, rather than strengthening the Romani identity. Hence the program handled the issue of social disadvantages and ethnic education simultaneously. The national evaluation concerning this program in 2002 pointed out that most of the schools that had

disadvantaged and Romani pupils requested this fund. Certain aspects of productivity were also revealed, which suggested that the program undoubtedly needed further development for presenting a real breakthrough in the Romani education (Jelentés a cigány kisebbségi..., 2003.).

While the public education system's focus on the Romani remedial education did not yield spectacular results. The pedagogical innovations following the regime change also began to emerge in the field of Romani education. One of the innovators was the Soros Foundation that significantly supported the reformation of public education, especially the Romani education for a period of 15 years from the end of the 1980s (*Hatásvizsgálat*, 2000). Thanks to the Soros Foundation's financial support, public schools that targeted to promote the productivity of Romani pupils were established. This is how they began to organize the world's first Romani secondary school (the Gandhi High School) in Pécs in 1992, which was soon followed by the establishing of Collegium Martineum in 1995, a secondary school supporting the gifted Romani pupils located in a village next to Pécs. Both institutions endeavoured to compensate for the lack of Roma in the field of secondary school education or in obtaining a university degree. This fund also subsidized nationwide programmes that targeted to introduce innovative pedagogies, which brought a revival for the public schools educating Romani children. Thus, the Step by Step programme, which is based on US experiences, takes the pupils from the family to the school with its methods, relieving the seemingly unbridgeable differences. The Hálófeszítés (Web Staining) programme made it possible for hundreds of teachers, who mainly educated Romani children, to study Freinet, Montessori and Waldorf pedagogies in exemplarily institutions. The Soros Foundation also supported supplementary education for disadvantaged and Romani pupils, such as summer camps or mid-year academic preparations. The Fund also introduced a teacher-student patronage system throughout the country. The above mentioned activities originated from the so-called extracurricular institutions, ran by civic organizations (Amrita Association or the "Józsefváros" Study Group) and they generated similar study groups (for instance the Khetanipe, "Belső Tűz" or "Faág" Associations). The teacher-student patronage system and the study groups, whether they are spiritual, academic, cultural or

economic in nature, they all help the disadvantaged and Romani pupils obtain a secondary education diploma or gain higher education qualifications. In the first decade following the regime change, it was basically the Soros Foundation that supported the educational innovation for disadvantaged, mainly Romani pupils. Then the well-functioning innovations were first introduced in the public education, and then they gained governmental support as well as grants from the European Union. For instance, Romani students began to receive governmental scholarships in the second part of the 1990s. This system was replaced with the Hungarian Romani Foundation which was also known as the MACIKA scholarship from the acronym of the foundation. This monthly grant supported all Romani students who studied at elementary, secondary or college level institutions. In addition to the governmental support, the European Union's PHARE programme also provided resources to support the continuation and expansion of Romani-related civic experiments. Building on the pattern of Gandhi High School, the Chance for Romani Secondary School (which was named after András T. Hegedűs later on) was also established and it was subsidized by the European Union. This institution in East-Hungary, Szolnok assisted more than 500 pupils in either gaining a profession or a secondary school degree, thus providing an important chance for Romani and disadvantaged pupils who desired to study in secondary schools.

In the first decade following the regime change, the stagnant public education system with its influencing education policy devoted significant resources in the form of traditional teaching aids and teaching methods to support Roma in the public education area. The innovative initiatives also developed by means of some civic and EU support providing a pattern for education policy with its achievements in the decade that followed.

Current situation and education policy in the 21st century

At the millennium two important initiatives were implemented concerning Romani education. One of them was the organization Department of Romology at the University of Pécs. This unique academic initiative offers a Romani teacher education as well as a Master of Arts degree in Romology. The Department of Romology

also plays a significant role in Romani-related studies: it conducts researches, publishes books and organizes conferences. The department has a direct connection with the Wlislöcki Henrik College, which is an academic student group discussing Romani issues. It has a close association with the “Education and Society” Doctoral School of Education at the University of Pécs, which also has a specialization in Romani Studies, giving an opportunity for Romology graduate students to obtain a PhD education. The institutional development process at the University of Pécs has been ongoing for over ten years and provides various possibilities for Romani and non-Romani students to study Romology. The other outstanding initiative of the millennium is the Arany János Programme for Gifted Pupils. As part of this programme, 5-year-long secondary schools were established in the prestigious high schools of every county in Hungary, to provide special support for disadvantaged youth.

In its first year, only those were considered as disadvantaged pupils who came from townships, but later on the lower strata of society were also included. A study about the effectiveness of the Arany János Programme for Gifted Pupils showed, however, that although “the pupils who are obviously disadvantaged compared to the rest of the student body at their institutions, they still do not belong to the most disadvantaged social groups in terms of their parents’ educational level and occupation” (*Fehérvári – Liskó, 2006*).

After the millennium it became obvious, that the most underprivileged strata of the reforming society following the regime change were the Roma (*Kertesi, 2000*). Education clearly plays a key role in breaking out of the social disadvantages; however the educational level of the Roma was still characterized by large deficiencies at the millennium. In finding a reason for that, the researchers pointed out that students who had dropped out of kindergarten, were forced to start their elementary education with an “alternative curriculum”. Even those, who studied at common schools, were described with a higher rate of failure and drop outs (*Havas és mtsai, 2002*). The Romani students chose to study non-marketable professions in secondary schools and although the proportion of their applications to high schools increased, the rate of Romani pupils who obtained secondary school diplomas was

significantly lower than the population's overall rate (*Liskó, 2002*). This also resulted, in a small portion of Roma in higher education.

After the change in government leadership in 2002, the renewed education policy launched new measures that differed from the previous practice in many ways. The regulations that were first drafted separated the laws governing minority education from the education of disadvantaged pupils (Regulations Nr. 57/2002 and 58/2002 of the Ministry of Culture and Education). In other words, the regulations endeavoured to establish an inclusive educational environment, compensating for the disadvantages (Integrated Pedagogical System) through an integrated education for children whose parents were low-qualified and low-paid. Additionally, a Romani minority education was established upon parental request, which only focused on Romani identity strengthening elements, although this programme had reduced requirements in comparison to other minority programmes (Orsós 2012). In the next years the education policy was extended to provide further grants for mainly disadvantaged pupils, while the elementary school integration programme was gradually extended to the entire public education, from kindergartens to secondary schools. By 2008, every sector of the public education was able to request a developmental support, as long as it was used to prepare for the integration of disadvantaged pupils and to develop their various abilities both in kindergartens and in schools. Throughout Hungary, various types of educational institutions applied for normative per capita grant for the integration of close to 70,000 disadvantaged pupils by 2012. The financial investment in the special education of disadvantaged pupils has not only been raising the budget of the institutions, but also the teachers' wages since 2008. Billions of development funds (TÁMOP or HEFOP) of the European Union also contributed to fostering teachers and institutions that educate disadvantaged pupils. These grants are still available. The Csányi Foundation, which was founded from private resources and had one billion Forints as its initial equity, assists disadvantaged pupils from sixth grade up until they obtain a college/university degree.

The education policy promoted the improvement of the socially disadvantaged part of the society by reducing costs that were directly related to schooling. For instance, some children obtained free meals in kindergartens while their parents received

governmental support to enrol them in kindergartens. Additionally, it is mandatory to accept disadvantaged children into kindergartens. Disadvantaged pupils receive textbooks for free and they have to pay a reduced prize for meals in elementary and secondary schools.

Scholarship programmes also launched based on the experience of the patronage teacher-student programme of the Soros Foundation. Although the support system continuously changes and its resources are reducing, in the school year of 2011-2012 a programme called “Road to High School” provided mentor teachers and scholarships for 4,800 pupils, the “Road to the Secondary School Final Exam” programme for 2,440 pupils and the “Road to Profession” program for 2,337 pupils (www.wekerle.hu).

Secondary level education was also granted financial support: the János Arany programme, which subsidizes secondary schools that teach disadvantaged pupils, has been expanded by two additional programmes since 2005. The new programmes focus on disadvantaged pupils who now receive complex pedagogical services and boarding facilities. As a result, about 1,500 disadvantaged students are either preparing to pass the secondary school final examination or to attain marketable professions in secondary level schools and dormitories throughout Hungary (www.ajp.hu). Positive discrimination measures that were put in place in 2003 caused numerous debates about tertiary education. Disadvantaged students were uniquely supported by extra points and mentors to enter and stay in higher education. Disadvantaged pupils can still receive extra points in our day but unfortunately the number of assisting mentors (the most valuable support) decreased in the last years, most likely due to a lack of financial supports. Besides the Hungarian public education, social support was also impacted by the expectations to ensure equality and by the regulations that aimed to prevent segregation (Public Education Act Nr. 66), especially after 2006. It was part of this regulation series to establish, strengthen and develop a network of supplementary education institutions, the study groups. This procedure was an attempt to fit a civic innovation (the study groups) into a system of public schools. Exemplary associations, such as Amrita, Józsefvárosi, Faág Associations were all established through civic support or by the Soros Foundation in the second part of the 19th century. Between 2001 and 2003 they were able to

expand and consolidate into an emphasized programme of the European Union thanks to the pre-accusation fund. Today these associations help pupils in elementary schools in order to prepare for their efficacious educational progress in secondary schools so that they can either attain a profitable profession or successfully gain a secondary school diploma. The first study groups assisted in developing strata of Romani intellectuals by increasing their education in the middle of the 1990s, extending this endeavour mainly focused on the compensation of disadvantaged pupils in lower level education.

The above mentioned education policies were all concerned about the disadvantaged pupils with low educated and low-income parents. Today, most Roma are considered disadvantaged in Hungary. Therefore the above regulations aimed to address the issue socially surrounding the disadvantaged part of the society, without identifying this group as any particular ethnicity.

It is worth mentioning, that the educational level of Roma has been increase. The previously mentioned EU pre-accusation resources (PHARE), the tenders of the Open Society Institution as well as the subsidising EU grants that became available in 2012 have all been contributors to the intellectual growth of the Roma.

The firm education policies of the last ten years launched complex programmes that promoted educational equality. However, the strict distinction between Romani and disadvantaged pupils and the diverse educational programmes could not provide satisfactory solutions for the Romani's education deficiencies. This is primarily due to the other sectors' lack of cooperation in solving the issues such as discrimination, lack of jobs, housing circumstances), and also because the ongoing education processes only produce long-term results.

The main features of the current education policies

The new government elected in 2010 and its education policy concerning the Roma took a definite position on assisting the social remediation. To realize this goal, an independent State Secretary was established. In the spring of 2011, Hungary's key role in developing the EU's Romani strategy was also an important milestone. In going through the regulations of education policies in

the decade following the millennium, it is clear that an extensive support system had been developed, focusing primarily on the disadvantaged, and also on the Roma from kindergarten education to university. The education policy was the first to prepare supporting programmes; the other policies were less active in this effort and the coordination of the different policies was never realized.

The current government has a different structural thinking. The aim of the State Secretary for the social remediation of Roma was to implement the Romani Strategy with a harmonized series of measures. Using this strategy, the decisions of the education policy could be implemented in a wider range of social context which could result in increased efficiency. This kind of policy restructuring, which could improve the effectiveness of sector activities by synchronizing them, has several problems.

The fundamental concepts and dilemmas described in the first part of this study are still not fully clarified. Although the agreement between the National Romani Self-Government and the Hungarian Government, which describes its targets and expected results concerning the Roma in specific terms, seems promising, it is still unclear whom the agreement identifies as Romani: can someone be eligible for support based on self-identification or only based on the surrounding environment's judgment? It is also evident, that the currently undergoing restructuring procedures of the education policy do not necessarily sustain this programme. For instance the Public Education Act, which became effective in September of 2012, decreases the possibility of forming an equally supportive, integrated and inclusive educational environment for the disadvantaged as well as Romani pupils. The re-appearance of segregation, the numerous selection strengthening regulations and especially a particular regulation that reduced the pupils' age to participate in compulsory schooling to 16 years of age, all manifest these tendencies. While central coordination was being established for the social remediation of the Roma, specific measures that had produced tangible and direct results were not only underutilized in the applications of education policy in this area, but they were significantly and even more increasingly ignored. The true meaning of this tendency is that the decade long improvements in the education system are only partially ensured.

The “Útravaló” Programme, which is based on the teacher-student collaboration, is facing financial problems. The largest, additional normative per-capita grant, which has subsidized 70,000 disadvantaged, including Romani pupils in the past, is not included in the Budget Act of 2013. Likewise, the funds to subsidize the János Arany Programme are not included either. It was promising that the budget designated a special fund for building a network of Christian study associations for Romani students studying in tertiary education, but Romaveritas, which is a private foundation that has supported a number of Romani university students and was launched before the millennium, did not fit into this church organized (and thus state aided) network.

Although it is important, that the long missing policy synchronization concerning Roma may be conceptualized, but this cannot result in the weakening of the individual sectors’ support system at the same time. It is essential to keep a balanced approach during the system transformation in all areas, including education policy as well.

SUMMARY

The period after the change in political system was characterized by an expansion of education, which resulted higher educational opportunities for disadvantaged and Romani students. However, there is no significant progress in comparison to society as a whole. Surveys about the educational equality (conducted in 1,500 small villages between 2007 and 2010) state that pupils from disadvantaged families have higher chances to drop out or progress more slowly generally and are less successful. Therefore, in order to ensure equitable education, additional support is inevitable. In order to realize this objective, it is critical to reconsider all educational factors and to continually guarantee extensive support.

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Kitti Baracsi

School Narratives of a Camp's and a Quarter's Roma Students in Italy and Hungary

The paper discusses the situation of Roma children and adolescents in two different social contexts: One is an illegal camp of ex-Yugoslavian Roma refugees in Scampia, in one of the most deprived quarters of Naples, Italy and the other one is a deprived suburban area of Pécs, Hungary with a significant heterogeneous Roma population as a minority facing typical Eastern-European post-industrial problems. The focus is on the narratives of these children and adolescents about the school and the construction of Gypsy/Roma in these narratives. The analysis of the quarters' social context, the description of the camp's and area's community provides the background for the deep interpretation of the children's and adolescents' narratives about attending or not attending school, their everyday experiences inside the school, their own and their families' most common explanations of their conflicts with/in the school. The focus is on how the question of being Gypsy/Roma emerges in their stories about school. The comparison of these two different contexts gives some precious answers for these questions by creating a "glocal" perspective on them.

1. Who we are talking about?

The research has been implemented in two Roma communities, in an Italian Roma camp and in a Hungarian suburban quarter with a

significant Roma population or we can say to some extent that an ethnically segregated area. The study uses the term Roma or Gypsy alternately for general designation of the groups that are called and/or call themselves Roma or Gypsy, Kelderash, Kolompár or Boyash, Slavic Roma, Muslim or orthodox Roma. The archaic-Romanian speaking Hungarian Boyash hardly use the term „Roma” that is the plural form of the word „rom” in Romani language which means „man”, thus it is always problematic for them to identify themselves with that in the public discourse and usually use the term Gypsy. We can be more precise if we say that the research has been implemented in places where are living people who are used to be labelled as Roma or Gypsy and who use diverse terms to identify themselves.

Their identification is generally based on the opposition to other Roma groups. They often say that “we are not like them”, the Romanian Roma say about Slavic Roma, the Slavic Roma about Romanian Roma, the orthodox catholic Roma about Muslims in Italy, just like the Boyash Gypsies talk about Kolompár Roma. Another important phenomenon is the self-identification constructed upon the space: the others are created along the “borders” between camp sections or streets in a quarter.

2. Policies towards Roma in Italy and Hungary

2.1. Roma in the West and East

The comparison of two such different territories (as the result of some out-of-investigation reasons) with their different social and cultural context makes necessary to draw up the policy context in order to understand how Roma are treated and how we can imagine their position in the locality. Before giving a detailed description about the local contexts it has to be explained why is adequate to compare them: The European situation of Roma groups is a highlighted topic nowadays. Recently the European Union started to struggle romaphobia, discrimination and their exclusion from society by initiating some direct interventions on the situation of Roma. This policy change that defines the Roma population as a special target

group led to the creation of the national Roma strategies.³ The Roma groups are so diverse and dynamic that it is hard to create general statements about them, although there are some attempts that aim to examine their general situation based on quantitative data, but the heterogeneity and the way they are connected to localities always cause some problems in definitions and comparison. If we follow the categorization of Piasere, we can see that the way of being Roma in Italy and in Hungary is completely different (Piasere, 2009). Nevertheless “originally” both target groups belongs to the so called “Balkan model” which briefly can be described as one that is historically based on the forced integration or more likely assimilation of the Roma groups, unlike the Western praxis of persecution. If we take a look at the situation nowadays, we can see the different forms of anti-gypsy politics and the countries of Balkan model are not exceptions. (Stewart, 2012) Thinking about Romaphobia⁴ and trying to interpret why and how are Roma outsiders all over Europe we can explain the Hungarian and Italian examples as the distinction between being excluded as insiders or outsiders, in terms of having the citizenship or not. Romaphobia emerges in different forms against “Roma outside” and “Roma inside”, although there are some common elements. The widespread image of Roma is dangerous, connected to some forms of criminality, and is dirty. etc. It seems to be the “easier” way when Roma are outside: they can be excluded more easily practically and symbolically.

2.2. Strangers, nomads or a recognized minority living in poorness

The habitants of campo vecchio even those born in Naples are still considered like nomads. They are outsiders: not having citizenship and not being eligible for the family and social support system, but being targeted by the state of emergency⁵ that means that they have

³ http://ec.europa.eu/justice/discrimination/files/com2012_226_en.pdf

⁴ About Romaphobia: van Baar, 2011.

⁵ In May 2008, authorities declared a State of Emergency in Lombardy, Campania and Lazio.

been listed during the census in 2008 and have been controlled since that. They are labelled like nomads, not only by the media or the Italian state, but it is also a significant approach in the praxis of legal and social activists. The “cultural tolerance”, i.e. the recognition of their “different lifestyle” practically means that they have been living in illegal camps for more than 20 years without a single effort from the authorities to change the situation. The argumentation says that their culture is a non- or semi-sedentary one. In fact they are coming from the former Yugoslavia where lots of them had houses and did not have a nomadic lifestyle. Nevertheless we can find examples for families travelling all around Europe, making business from commercial activities, but we can find other people who do not really exit the city or even the quarter for long-long years. The question is not really of travelling or not but the perception of nomad that does not take into consideration the heterogeneous culture of these groups and their rights for adequate housing conditions. Using the term nomad as the opposition of the sedentary majority constructs a symbolic border in the age of global nomadism.

The situation of Hungarian Roma is different: they are Hungarian citizens, moreover a recognized minority, having access (theoretically) to the education, labour market and being benefited by the family and social support system. In spite of these facts they face discrimination and can be described as an underclass group, although some of them have a higher social status, but the people living in derogative conditions are overrepresented among them. The Hungarian cases are good examples for assimilation and the acculturation endeavours, sometimes creolization, but always connected with poorness where being Roma starts to lose its values.

2.3. Intercultural education and Roma students?

In Hungary the minority education and the desegregation endeavours were in focus for years and the discourse of intercultural education not really emerged on a policy level (only in scientific areas and in some local, but precious initiatives). In Italy the intercultural education is widely known and used on policy levels and in practice as well. (Alleman-Ghionda, 2008) Nevertheless it remains in the

discourse of immigrant education and rarely has the aim to answer the special needs of these groups, or if yes it often moves in the context of “nomads” having the misunderstood tolerance toward their “lifestyle”.

3. The local context

3.1. A Suburban Quarter in Hungary: the Underclass Status of Roma in István akna⁶

Pécs is a city in the South-Transdanubian Region of Hungary with a special atmosphere based on the idea of the „borderless city”. Numerous minorities are living together there, among others the Roma minority. The post-industrial problems are overwritten by the imagination of a diverse, colourful cultural life. Under this surface we can find several urban problems that are connected with the dual urban development of the past (Zolnay, 2008). The research took place at a former mineworker colony called István akna where after closing the mine thanks to some natural and some intentional selection processes now we can find a significant Roma population. Inside this suburban area we can also divide some territories and at the most peripheral part we can meet almost exclusively Roma families went through an assimilation process. There are both Boyash and Kolompár families and we find some examples for Boyash-Non Gypsy and also for Boyash-Kolompár mixed marriages, although traditionally these groups hardly have connections with each other. The social status of these families is low and the identity policy based on cultural representation and the civic activity is also weak. Being Gypsy is connected to negative contents also in their own narratives, thus the hiding or assimilation strategies are frequent. We cannot talk about “traditional” Gypsy culture and identity: these groups have a deprived social background, a mixed cultural background and if we try to examine the identity of adolescents seems to be more adequate to use the term of “bricolage” (Hall, 1992). The situation of István akna is a typical example for the underclass status of Roma. This territory and its population is in a

⁶ „Akna” means „mine”.

deprived situation where being Gypsy is totally connected to poorness and exclusion. The high unemployment rate and the low-qualified population, the lack of youth community activities supports an underclass culture. Rarely can be found a conscious young person or even a parent who is really proud and self-confident of being Gypsy/Roma, but they all call themselves Roma or Gypsy. Among the 300 habitants living here the rate of persons under 14 years is 33% and the rate of those who have completed not more than the elementary school is 60%. The students are obliged to go to school like during the last decades. But the quality of education is a different question. Only one fact: in one of the schools they are attending the rate of Roma students is among the highest in the whole town. (Zolnay, 2008)

The habitants of István akna are in a deprived situation in more aspects. It is an urban space, where the traditions start to be dissolved. The habitants are poor, their ethnic background is mixed and they are more like an underclass than a „proud” Roma community. We find strong ties built upon solidarity inside the community, but there are a lot of borders between the old and new habitants and the people living upper or down at this territory. Sometimes new habitants come as the result of urban development and the city’s policy against segregated areas closer to the city centre. Between the new habitants and the people living here for decades naturally emerge some conflicts. There is a heterogeneity inside the territory: we can draw a distinction between the three parts: down are living mostly non-Roma families, at the middle Roma and non-Roma families, both part consists of family houses, a part of them typically built for mineworkers. The third part is the upper one with blocks in decay.

The Gypsy/Roma customs are not organic elements of the community culture: The consistence of the population is too much heterogeneous and is always in change. The cultural rootless is another cause: in several cases in the former generation already started the assimilation. The complicated family relations, mixed marriages also stimulate these processes. There is a lack of cultural initiatives that reach them effectively and shows up the Gypsy culture as a valuable one. Although it is a suburban area with a

significant Roma population, the different cultural impacts are important. An example for that can be the boys coming home from the supermarket, having some fashionable clothes but using the Gypsy music as the tool of resistance during their travel, sometimes bothering the other passengers. We can find some complex, difficult identity strategies. Most of them are declared Gypsies but without values articulated by the narratives. The bonding to the language, music and other cultural products are also weak. In some cases the Gypsy culture can be valorised when they step out, in certain positions just like in the case of my contact person who is the leader of an NGO and a minority government representative.

3.2.A Camp in Italy: Slavic Roma⁷ in Campo Vecchio⁸

The frames of this paper do not really allow describing in detail the social situation in Naples. The “meridional” question, the post-industrial problems of the city and in particular some quarters, the “napoletano” culture, the presence of camorra, the situation of migrant groups are all very important if we try to understand the social and cultural context of the city. The place of the research is in Scampia, a periphery quarter of Naples where the unemployment rate is high and the drug market seems to be the natural element of the everyday life. In this context there is a camp or rather a group of camps called campo vecchio with ex-Yugoslavian Roma refugee habitants. 730 persons are living in these camps, some of them are Muslim, most of them are orthodox. Most of them came from Serbia, but there are significant groups from the other former Yugoslavian member states. They are speaking the different dialects of Romani, less but they also use the Serbian language and especially the young adults are speaking Italian and Neapolitan language quite well.

These groups are living in deeply derogative conditions and have to face the different forms of exclusion. Their legal status is strongly problematic: lots of these people do not have any identification

⁷ The Italian expression for the groups arrived from Yugoslavia is „rom slavi”.

⁸ „Campo vecchio” means „old camp”.

documents, lots of them do not have a permission of residence although they have been living here for more than 20 years (Sigona-Monasta, 2006). The conditions of the children are also problematic: they were born in Naples, but they have minimal chance to get the Italian citizenship. In this sense it seems that they are living in a vacuum. The legal problems and the motivation for learning have a strong correlation: without permission of residence there is no way to have an official certificate and get a legal job. On the other hand going to school is obligatory for the children and based on the data collected during the 2008 census after the declaration of emergency, thus the authorities have enough information to control that. The social conditions are also problematic regarding schooling: the campo vecchio consists of more smaller camps – some of these include better quality houses, some others are worse if we take into consideration the size and the material of the house, their distance from the road, etc. – but we can state in general that the lack of water system, electricity, the camps' stigmatized position in the city and the quarter, the environment (highway, illegal garbage) cause several disadvantages for the habitants and violates their right for sufficient housing conditions⁹. These problems cause also some very practical problems in schooling. Just a small but good example: it is not too hard to imagine how terrible could be to walk through the mud after a bigger rain and step into the classroom with dirty shoes. And we still did not talk about the problems of clothes, learning tools, etc.

Nevertheless Naples seems to be more “tolerant” in sense toward Roma if we know that the signal for the social service is less strict than in other regions. An investigation on children and the childcare system implemented by Osservazione Centre for Action Research Against Roma and Sinti Discrimination and the Association chi rom e.. chi no also had similar results: it is less typical in Naples to find cases when Roma children have been taken out from the family

⁹ There are some recent initiatives on the improvement of the housing conditions by the municipality but still inside the discourse of „emergenza”: first they intended to build a legal camp instead of this illegal one. The pressure of the NGOs had an impact of taking into consideration also other alternatives like building houses.

because of not attending school and in this question there is no significant difference between the situation of Neapolitan and Roma children (Osservazione - Associazione chi rom e... chi no, 2011). Sometimes it seems that the authorities are more tolerant although this tolerance is a symbolic exclusion by keeping a distance from them.

The identity of the habitants is not really based on a group identity, although some of them mention that they are Bankulesh or Kelderash, but the most important reference point for them is being “rom slavi” and “ortodossi” or “musulmani”. They identify themselves by this opposition between Slavic Roma and Romanian Roma, just like inside campo vecchio, between the different camp segments or they define themselves by constructing a distance between the Muslims and the Orthodox Roma. One of the camp is called the Swiss camp by the others because of the relative richness of the habitants. Another good example is that there are some families labelled like “dirties” by the others mostly because they do not really contact the others.

4. Methodology

4.1. Ethnography and the education of Roma students

If we try to draw up the status and impact of ethnographic research in education of Roma students, we find totally different situations in Hungary and Italy. Although in Hungary the investigation on Roma is an important line in sociology and anthropology and the question of education is in the spotlight of Roma related investigations, we can hardly find researchers defining themselves like educational ethnographers or declaring their works as ethnographic researches, but more likely as minority researchers or educational experts. In general we can hardly find somebody using this methodological frame: Gábor Eröss designates one of his studies as an educational anthropology joining to the French discourse (Eröss, 2008) Another example is the work of György Mészáros that is titled by the researcher as a “school ethnography”(Mészáros, 2009). If we focus on Roma issues we can hardly find somebody who uses this term,

although we can find several works that could be classified like that. There is a strong cultural anthropologic line in Roma investigations that is connected mainly to Csaba Prónai and his students and another line of minority research, both has some good examples for using ethnographic approaches in investigating Roma and their educational situation (Bakó, 2009; Kovai 2008; Feischmidt-Messing-Neményi, 2010).

In Italy, we also find some examples for this situation: cultural anthropological investigations focusing on education, especially in “Piasere school”. We can find an important investigation about ex-Yugoslavian immigrant children in a camp of Torino (Saletti Salza, 2003). Moreover there is a declared line of educational ethnography by Francesca Gobbo and her students (Gobbo, 2011) One of the products of this work is the Italian part of the international INSETRom project (Gobbo, 2009) that is an educational ethnographic research taken in schools and a project including training and curriculum development based on that. The results of the project are also investigated by ethnographic fieldworks.

4.2. Methods

The methodology of the investigations has an anthropological background. Although these are not “classic” anthropological fieldworks, in the sense of not living together with the community for a long period but is based on the long-term, everyday contact. First and foremost I use participatory observation and often use interviews if it is possible. The notes taken about interactions are interpreted in a reflexive way and the interviews are made in a narrative way, never using strict questions but asking the interview partners to talk freely about some topics.

The research is in its early stage with just a few months (3-3) spent on the fields. The interviews and field notes in István akna has been made in the spring and summer of 2011: first with 5 families living there, with mothers or other female relatives and the children attending elementary school and later with a small group of adolescents. The fieldwork in campo vecchio has been performed

from September till December in 2011. I had a regular contact with the habitants by entering the camp more times a week and observing the discussions between the activists of an NGO and the parents and students. These observations are recorded in the form of field notes. An important baseline of the research is that the school is an experience of the whole family or at least also the “business of” those persons who are responsible for the education inside the family. This is the cause for not asking exclusively the children or the parents.

I had a special way to access the communities in both places. In István akna the key figure who helped my research was the leader of an NGO and a minority governmental representative who suggested me some families to start my investigation with. This way of entering the field has some dangers, it has to be reflected that the selection of the first two families and the group of adolescents were impressed by this person and her intention to show the “better face” of István akna. In campo vecchio I had a similar situation by getting into the camp with the Association chi rom e... chi no. They implement action research projects and other social, cultural, education projects inside the camp. They have been working there for 10 years. Recently they started a school mediation project in partnership with other NGOs and with the support of the municipality. The municipality initiated the educational project because of the state of emergency. The accompaniment of the chi rom e... chi no colleagues offered their interpretation about the camp’s reality. Although because of these relations the circumstances have to be interpreted in a more reflexive way, without these persons it could not be possible to enter the camp/area such easily and have some precious interactions in a few weeks.

4.3. The position of the researcher

The narratives of identity emerge not by direct questions but the presence of the researcher and the basic interactions with the people activates the narratives and acts related to that. Some aspects of these can be interpreted as the symptoms of their relation to the world outside. As a gazhi, i.e. non-Roma, moreover as a non-Neapolitan

and especially as a woman entering the camps the researcher find herself in limited relations. The narratives set into motion are mostly about whiteness, blond hair, green eyes and the beauty, especially the beauty of the face. The women were telling me “bella” followed by inquiring looks and the girls simply called me “Bella” whenever they started to talk to me. Some mothers and grandmothers asked me to stay in the camp and be the wife of their sons or grandsons. The younger boys started to play with me, sometimes in an almost violating way and it was visible that they show the men that it is allowed to them. The men were always polite and helpful. The curiosity of the whiteness was not always positive: a 12-13 years old boy asked me why I am so white and he told me that he does not like that. He has never seen such a white person like me as in Naples it is not ordinary. The distance of whiteness became relative sometimes when it revealed where I am coming from. In other cases it seemed to be not relevant. It depends on the persons contact to their country of origin. Those who are living there for 20 years do not really feel me closer because of that, others who are younger but have regular contact with their relatives from Serbia have been more interested in it. They seemed to be pleased that my country is close to their home country or that I know some traditional plates that they also cook and consider as their own gastronomic heritage. The feeling of familiarity sometimes was inspired by the Roma music I listen. Being a stranger, having some lingual difficulties caused sympathy and my knowledge in Romani that is not more than some words made them to treat me as somebody “who knows our language”. I often heard the question: “Ti piace questa vita?”, i.e. “Do you like this way of life?” that was something including both the pride of being Gypsy and the shame felt because of the gazhi “look” on their life.

5. School narratives

5.1. Primary School Students and Their Parents in István akna

5.1.1. *“I do not really know what the Gypsy customs are.”*

“Although we are a Roma family in fact, I cannot say that we live our lives like that. We try to do it in a civilized way, adapt to others.” A mother’s narrative of being Roma has an external point of view loaded with several negative attributions like the Roma are bad and uncivilized. In this context being Roma is something wrong and she always feels necessary to clarify for the outsider that she is not like the others. It is similar but a little bit different from the often used self-identification of Roma that is based on the opposition with other Roma groups. But this mother thinks a little bit different way, she does not really think in groups, if she says we, it means mainly her family and we can find the roots of it in her family stories. *“I cannot talk, only some words, but I understand perfectly. My husband understands less, but there are some things that he understands. My father could not bear even the Gypsy music. He lived his life like a Hungarian. He disinherited me, because I started a relationship with János, because the colour of his skin is darker.”* The father of her chooses the way of assimilation by having a “non-Gypsy lifestyle” as he considered it and becoming an average Hungarian worker. The decision of his daughter to get together a visibly Gypsy man was against his intention to hide up. We have to understand that in this context being Gypsy hardly can be something that they can be proud of, even if the grandparents of the husband speak Boyash very well and the daughter understands it completely. The mother says: *“I do not really know what the Gypsy customs are. I like the music, not the one that so much... but the Bódi Guszti and Mary which is from the 21st decade, with more disco.”* The story is not an exceptional one, although there are others who are more conscious in their “gypsiness”. Being Roma is rarely associated with a positive content and some of the families try to make a distance from the others

living there and who they are talking about like: „*they steal, they do not work*”.

5.1.2. Relation to the School

Although the selection of school is mostly the result of compulsion because of some circumstances, e.g. the distance ¹⁰, the two of the four families do not really have conflicts with the school. They are in contact, the children go regularly and they know how to treat the conflicts if any. “*If my child comes home like that, I ask for a meeting by phone and get to know what the situation was. I do not attack. But if I judge so that my child has right, after I declare my opinion and do not allow, because she [the teacher] should not do that.*” - says one of the mothers. The other two families have more conflicts. One chooses a self-contained strategy: the mother has some conflicts with the teachers because she rarely goes inside the school. The teacher supposes that she does not want to go but she says that she has more things to do than the teacher thinks, although she is at home with the children. The other family, the only Kolompár one in this sample has several conflicts with the school. Their narratives are based on that they are discriminated because they are Roma. Nevertheless they mention some situations in another school when there was not a problem of being Roma although „there are only Hungarians¹¹”. Anyway being Roma is in the focus if they interpret their stories about school and they say that the teachers are racist and phlegmatic. Another mother says that her daughter never had a problem, but she will let her know how to react if there will be one. As she says: “*she knows who she can make friends with*”.

¹⁰ About selection processes and spontaneous segregation: Zolnay, 2008.

¹¹ The Roma in Hungary often use the opposition of Hungarian and Gypsy if they talk to a non-Roma researcher. In fact it is not their own distinction, we can say that they try to be polite and use an appropriate term but usually they talk about gazho, gazhi (the groups speaking Romani) or the Boyash people talk about non-Gypsies like „paraszt” that means peasant and comes from the traditional relation between Boyash Gypsies and peasants in the region.

5.1.3. Roma/Gypsy Culture Inside the School?

I asked the parents how much they feel a need for having the possibility to get a cultural education in school. In general we can point out that they think that the Gypsy culture should not be the part of the curriculum, because it belongs to their privacy or they feel so strong their cultural background at home – it is the case of the Kolompár family. Another cause is that they would like to protect their children from being considered like Gypsies in curricular or extracurricular activities. The lack of a real intercultural education causes that they cannot really imagine that this topic could be elaborated by the whole class without being labelled as Gypsies and being separated from the others. “I want him to know the Hungarian things and after when he will grow up, if he is interested in it, he can get to know more about it.” – says a mother who is the only one in my sample who does not live at the upper part, but in the typical mineworker family houses and lives with her non-Roma husband. The fear of stigmatization seems to be stronger in this case.

5.2. Three Adolescents in István akna

In this small group that included two girls and a boy was especially interesting the distance between their perception and the conclusions of the stories they told me. I listened to the stories about a teacher who did not like the Gypsies, but she was kind or the teachers who do not really care the Gypsy students, about putting them to the “C” class¹² that was full of Gypsy students or even signing in the class register that they are Gypsies. Their narratives of being Roma are strongly connected with the negative perception that they had to face in school. They always explain how different they are from the others and even if there were some bad cases, the school was appropriate.

The consciousness of their identity is not strong and they make a distinction between themselves and other Gypsies which is not only

¹² In Hungary the classes are signed with A. B. C, D, etc. It is ironic that also „cigány” that means Gypsy in Hungarian starts with the letter „C”.

impressed by the mentioned local situation but the teachers' opinion who talk about "good and bad Gypsies". It does not concur with the "ethnic borders": in the family of the interviewed students we can find examples for mixed marriages between Roma and non-Roma or Boyash and Kolompár (in spite of the traditional contrary between them). Two of the three students were a couple, the girl is Boyash, and the boy is Kolompár.

It is a little bit different in the case of the young girl who attended a normal elementary school but later, unlike the others went to a Roma secondary school – called Gandhi – which aims among others to build a strong Roma identity. She has learned both Gypsy languages and knows more about the culture. Her "mixed" family lost a lot from the cultural heritage, but she herself created a new "gypsiness" for herself. The role of the Roma secondary school is very important in this process, just like in other cases when students participate other affirmative programs (Feischmidt, 2008).

These adolescents cannot really be placed in the categories used in an investigation on Roma adolescents' identity: sometimes they seem to follow the underclass model, sometimes the ethnic ghetto model but in a sense they are colour-conscious. (Feischmidt-Messing-Neményi, 2010: 73-74.) It is clear that their identity is much more complex, where the repression and pride, hiding and showing is in a dynamic relation, where being Gypsy is always so much important how the current adequate strategy to prosper makes it necessary.

5.3. The Students of Campo Vecchio

5.3.1. "Do they go to school?"

The policy based on the state of emergency and the approach aiming the control causes that the basic question in the education of Roma students in Naples is that do they regularly go to school or not. The projects started by the municipalities force the participating NGOs to "interiorize" this perspective, although some of them do not really agree. It seems that in the local policies the education of Roma

students is a problem of quantity and not of quality. The image of unruly, slacker students is combined with the image of dirty Roma. The everyday praxis in Roma students' integration is their accompaniment to school (mainly by school buses) and the projects aiming the improvement of their hygienic circumstances. We have to point out that not only the municipalities but also the social service and the schools follow this approach. From this perspective there is no space for ask why are they still living in camps or to start to think what kind of educational practices could be used in order to improve their achievement. The definition of success is based on the presence, not on the quality of it. Being an observer of some discussions between teachers, directors and civil activists, it was clear that the school tries to exclude the problem: they state that all the problems come from the camps, from the families and the students and usually they are convinced that they have the appropriate methods. The municipality asks some NGOs to "mediate" but in this situation in fact it is more about increasing the presence of students in the school which seems to foster this approach. In spite of these it has to be recognized that going to school is a basic question. If we are walking around in the camps in the morning, we see several children hanging around. If we ask the parents – usually the mothers or grandmothers – or the students themselves, why they are not in the school, they all have their own explanation. Asking them why the children are not in the school naturally gives the role of a controller to the activists and the observer as well, although the colleagues have a 10 years long contact with the community. They had such a relation with some of the families that they were mostly open and honest in these questions but some others started to defend themselves by creating their own explanations. Anyway, these narratives are important and it is not a question if they are true or not: these are the narratives moved by the topic of school.

5.3.2. *"They do not want to go."*

Sometimes it is surprising how many times the parents or grandparents tell us that the children do not want something to do. Sometimes these are only panels, sometimes not, but it is important to understand what the role of a child (?) is in these camps. Being a

child here seems to be different and it is only one aspect that they can decide about school. It has double meaning: it expresses their role in the family system and that they are socialized, educated inside the camp for the things they really need to acquire for their everyday life. The other meaning is also important: the school is something to decide about. It is obligatory, the authorities bother them because of that, but they do not really feel important. The school from their perspective mainly cannot be the channel of mobility, the school is something that keeps the distance, it gives education but without the appropriate documents they cannot acquire a certificate and if yes, they are not able to get a good job. “The school is important” – this is an evident thought for everybody who can use the school as the channel of social mobility. The problem is that this chance sometimes remains a theoretical chance for some excluded groups of the society (for example also for Neapolitan children living in Scampia). We have to understand, that sometimes it is not evident that the school is important: without documents, sufficient housing conditions and even if these are given: without relational capital and the skills for getting a position on the legal labour market the school does not seem to have any value from their point of view.

Going to school sometimes means that the children feel bad: because of the lingual problems or the way how the others treat them. But not in every case: we have to understand that the population of the camp is heterogeneous - not only because of their country of origin or their different religions but also in social aspects impressed by their situation of their home country and their status get through the years or decades spent in campo vecchio. Some habitants find the way to exceed by their commercial activities, identity policy, NGO work or by educating their children. We know some examples for moving out of the camp and getting a “normal” job and living in a “normal” flat. Nevertheless these are the exceptions, without any official affirmative action only based on the skills, fortune of some families and the legal support given by some activists.

5.3.3. Adolescent(?) Girls and the School

It is clear that the girls of campo vecchio tend to drop out from school after the age 11-12. In the Italian system it is the age of finishing “scuola primaria” and starting “scuola media”. Several girls never attend “scuola media”. If we ask them why they do not go to school they often answer that they will go to another school organized by a priest especially for those who dropped out from the school. This solution is much more flexible and it seems that they have more trust in it. There was a case when going around the camp we met two girls and one of the girl’s mother. The mother’s answer for the question why they do not go to school was that they do not want to go. The two girls were smiling and seemed to be excited about the question of going or not to school. They does not seem like they would decide not to go to school and they do not really provide with a clear answer. The mother continues to give an explanation: “*it is dangerous because the drug consumers and what can I do if she does not help at home?*”. “*She is too old to go to the fifth grade, but she cannot go to the scuola media.*” If we try to interpret the sentences of the mother, we find that the fear of something dangerous and the needed help at home are strongly connected. Most of the families do not have other “property” than their daughter. The daughter and her virginity is something that is always an important question. The practice of arranged marriages does not seem to be so strong but the tradition of negotiation of marriages is still important. In this age the most safety place for the girls is the home in order to keep their innocence – practically and in the means of what the community thinks about them. They also have to help at home, because the whole family system is structured like that. The so called early marriage has complex motifs included cultural and economic ones: if we investigate some stories of arranged marriages, we see that these so called cultural customs has some very rational economic reasons in this context: for the girls the only insurance for the future is the good marriage and one of the most important requirements of having a good position on “marriage market” is the virginity of the girl. In these terms going to school with other boys seems to be a dangerous activity although this is only one interpretation from the several possible ones.

5.3.4. *Being married*

One afternoon we had a walk in the camp with a member of the Association “chi rom e... chi no” and he informed the girls about a theatre project for children and adolescents in Scampia that has been started that week. A little bit older (14 years old) girl was coming and the girls and the colleague asked her: “*Do you come to the theatre project this year again?*” “*No, I am already married*” – said proudly and walked on with a barrow full of garbage. This episode expresses a lot; being married is over every obligation.¹³

Another case was a boy’s story who does not attend regularly the elementary school. The parents told that the boy does not want to go to school and it seemed to be true. He is playing video games all the day. He says that he does not want to go, because once the teacher did not let him to go out to the toilet. If it is true or not, he seems to be shy and his face tells us that he truly feels bad in the school. Another day we met her mother who tells us that she cannot really decide about the boy, her mother-in-law will take him back to Serbia and he will go to the school there. She is almost crying when she talks about that. And here we come to another important thing: the role of the mother-in-law. In these families generally the grandmothers decide about the children. A new and young wife has no voice, she is only the daughter-in-law and her time will come when she will become a mother-in-law.

5.3.5. *The boys of campo vecchio*

If we look at the boys in the camp we can see them as the kings of this place: they are hanging around, they are self-confident, and they know everybody. They everyday learn a lot about life. If they are asked about the school, they are just smiling and starting to explain. They talk about shoes and clothes, although their shoes and clothes

¹³ The question is how to find the way to these girls/women. Chi rom e... chi no found one by creating “La Kumpania”, an intercultural project including training in cooking and catering services by a mixed group of Italian and Roma women.

are not bad and are completely clear. They say that the others tell them that they are Gypsies because of their clothes and that is why they do not want to go to school. In fact there are several other causes, but if we try to interpret these statements, we can see that the border between the school and the camp is also designated by the feeling of being Roma. Inside the school – and outside the camp – they are Gypsies, they are Roma that means something negative, but inside the camp they are themselves, not “the Roma boys”, having the chance to be proud and self-confident. In this context the camp means the protection and the school means the negative designation of being Roma.

6. Some initial conclusions

The most important finding concluded from the written cases is that the image of school constructed by Roma students in these special situations is always impressed by several economical, social and cultural phenomena. It is also visible that these circumstances have to be interpreted in order to understand the educational situation of the students. The question of identity seems to be more important than it is sometimes treated: being Gypsy is in a strong connection with school experiences and vice versa. The most important finding for a future work is the way how the Roma identity changes and children and adolescents who still live in these segregated areas are impressed by several cultural realities and construct their own identity, not one like the majority or their parents expect but another that is more fragmented and acts like a “bricolage”.

7. How to continue? The plan of an action research project

The research is in its start-up phase, the conclusion of the performed fieldworks and the comparison should be elaborated more deeply. I also plan to collaborate in the evaluation of the quantitative data collected by chi rom e., chi no whose mediation project will be finished soon. The continuation of the fieldworks makes necessary to collect multiple data. I plan to implement a long-term collaborative action research inside the schools or mainly in a classroom by working together with the teachers and in parallel continue the

research outside the school. In this interpretation the school is neither the place nor the pedagogy, but everything that is set into motion in the mind of students when they start to talk about their school experiences. In this aspect school is more like a reference point and the “space of school” is the network of places, persons, ideologies, emotions, etc. that are somehow connected to school. This interpretation allows taking into consideration the impact of the school created by the researchers mind, but the one created by the students in their own narratives in which we can find the impressions made by teachers, friends, social workers, activists, childcare systems and others inside and outside the school. I also plan to focus on some methodological and ethical questions regarding the problem of intervention and the roles and relations of different actors in the “space of education”. The next one year will be time of entering the schools and starting the collaboration with the teachers that seems to be the most challenging research aim I have ever had.

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Anikó Fehérvári

Romani Students and learning pathways

ABSTRACT

Due to the expansion of secondary education increasingly widening strata of society can be integrated into education, however the access to educational programmes is not the same between the different social groups. Romani students enter vocational schools with highest ratio, but even here some of them are still not capable to reach graduation. According to the studies only 40% of romani students can reach graduation. Several studies focusing on romani vocational school students have been conducted in the past few years with the support of high priority programmes of Hungarian Institute for Educational Research and Development. The paper analyses the path, scholastic record, plans and chance on labour market of romani vocational school students on the basis of two databases. Several events cause discomfiture to romani students at school: failure and grade repetition are overrepresented among them. Several students' carrier is a result of pressure, not a free choice. Their plans about the future are unsure and they rate their labour market chance worse comparing to non-romani students.

Keywords: vocational education and training, romani, chance

After the second world war, due to the adoption of 8-grade education the educational level of population increased at a great pace. Due to this the educational levels of romani students also increased rapidly in the 50s and 60s, even so the difference between romani and non-romani population also increased (Kemény, 1996). Kemény also stated that this process continued in the 70s and 80s. In the beginning of the 90s, due to the expansion of secondary education almost all of students finished elementary school advanced to secondary

education. Therefore expansion had a positive effect on the educational levels of all groups of the society, including romani students. At the same time romani students are still underrepresented in trainings giving high-school graduation, so the educational gap between romani and non-romani population is still wide, although education is indispensable to help their integration into society (Forray, 1999, 2011).

During the expansion of secondary education different schools participated in receiving the increasing numbers of students with different capacities.¹⁴ In the beginning of the 90s less than 1% of school-leaver romani students advanced to grammar-school. In 2002 20% of elementary school-leaver romani students advanced to secondary education and about 6% of them to grammar-school. Due to the expansion the ratio of students advancing to vocational school increased mostly. According to estimations, while in the beginning of the 90s nearly half of romani elementary school-leavers left education and less than third of them advanced to vocational school, in 2002 education leavers' ratio decreased under 10% and more than 60% of them advanced to vocational school. (Havas and Kemény and Liskó, 2002; Liskó, 2005) Due to the expansion the number of students in special vocational schools also increased beside vocational schools. (Fehérvári, 1996) Higher ratio of romani students is also notable here. So we can state that due to the expansion of secondary education mainly the low-prestige vocational education and training (VET) absorbed romani youngsters. Neither the last 20 years situation was the same. The result of researches show that ratio of romani students in high-prestige education is still low, especially in grammar-schools. According to a study in 2006 from 1,000 8th grade romani students 503 advanced to vocational school, 332 to technical college and 87 to grammar-school (the rest left education). (KERTESI AND KÉZDI, 2010).

¹⁴ In Hungary elementary education is 8 years long. Secondary education is general grammar-school (4 or 5 years) or vocational school (3 to 5 years) education. The forms of VET are special vocational school, vocational school and technical school.

Table 1: School careers after finishing elementary school, %

Educational programme	Non-romani	Romani	Nationwide data – rate among first class students
Vocational-, special vocational school	19,3	50,3	25,5
Technical college	41,9	33,2	36,4
Grammar-school	38,0	8,7	38,0
Left education (or repeated last year in elementary school)	0,8	7,9	

Source: Kertesi and Kézdi, 2010.; Ministry of Education and Culture, 2007.

However entering secondary education not necessarily means that the student will graduate. Due to the expansion elimination rate also increased, especially in low-prestige educational programmes, where the highest rate of romani youngsters can be found. According to a study in 2001 more than half of romani students advancing to vocational school can't reach vocational training because they leave school in 9th or 10th grade (Liskó, 2005).

The consequence of the career study launched in 2006 was that 40% of romani youngsters stays in secondary school without grade repetition. Comparing to non-romani youngsters the rate of students who can't graduate is 9-10 times higher among romani students. Therefore romani population's educational disadvantage comparing to non-romani population is still existing. (Kertesi and Kézdi, 2010) According to a study conducted in 2008 (Fehérvári, 2008, 2013), focusing on two schoolyears elimination rate is approximately 25% in vocational schools. The most endangered groups are students with low educated parents and romani students. The study also stated that eliminated students don't form a homogeneous group, they can be divided at least into two big groups by their learning motivations. The so called „errants”, who don't have learning motivation yet, but their choice of career and school derailed, even though with proper support they can be reintegrated into education. The second group

contains students who don't have any learning motivation. They are kept in school only by the law (studying commitments) and need more support to be reintegrated into education.

Several studies focusing on romani vocational school students have been conducted in the past few years with the support of high priority programmes of Hungarian Institute for Educational Research and Development.

1. The study focusing on school-leaver students in VET was conducted in the spring of 2010. The study is a unique because it's data includes vocational school and technical college students, so we can compare these two groups. It also includes two samples, the first one contains vocational school-leavers and the second one includes students graduated in technical college (after high school graduation). The data was collected in the schools, mainly in classrooms. Schools of the sample represent the type of settlement, region and educated vocation group well. In 68 technical schools and 62 vocational schools totally 2,533 (1,174+1,359) questionnaires were filled.(Tomasz, 2012).
2. The next database is based on a survey conducted in January 2011 among students studying in early vocational education and training (early VET)¹⁵ and traditional VET (in 9th or 10th grade).
The data was collected in 30 vocational schools, among 9th and 10th grade students. Nearly 2,000 students filled the questionnaire. The sample represents vocational schools with early VET. Data was also collected from a control group in all schools where it was available. Control groups contained students from the same grade, but from traditional vocational programme (TÁRKI-TUDOK, 2012).¹⁶

¹⁵ The early vocational education and training (VET) – schools have possibility since 2010 to launch 3 years vocational trainings. From 2013 this VET will become general in Hungary.

¹⁶ The studies were supported by New Hungary Development Plan Social Renewal Operational Programme's No. 3.3.1-08/1-2008-0002 project called "21st Century School - development, coordination".

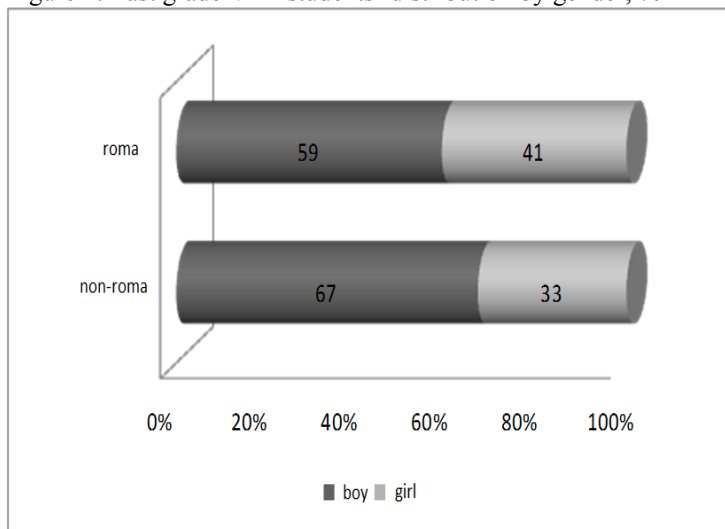
According to the first study, while among vocational school-leaver students the rate of romani students was 9%, the same rate in technical collage was only 1% (In the studies we measured romani ethnicity by own admittion, considering romani every student whose parents are both romani). Romani students are represented with a much higher rate in the second study, where rate of romani students was 16% in 9th and 10th grade. This difference can be explained different ways. The first possible explanation is difference of samples. While the first study's sample is nationwide and representative, the second includes only schools with early VET. The second obvious explanation is difference of grades. Among last grade students romani's rate is lower because they left education in the meantime. That means nearly half of romani students are eliminated from school before graduation.

This paper introduces the possible careers of romani VET students, their ways in education, failures and ambitions comparing to non-romani students by the results of these two databases.

Family background

The last grade romani VET students are significantly different to others by gender and hometown. If we take a look at the distribution of genders, we can see that the difference between girls and boys is lower among romani students (Figure 1). That can be explained by the different typical school careers: while most of non-romani girls choose training giving them high-school graduation, mostly grammar-school, among romani youngsters this rate is extremely low (as mentioned in the introduction). So among romani students there are no typical 'gender ways' of education, only vocational schools open the gates for them. Kertesi and Kézdi (2009) state the same, grammar-school matriculation has the highest denial rate.

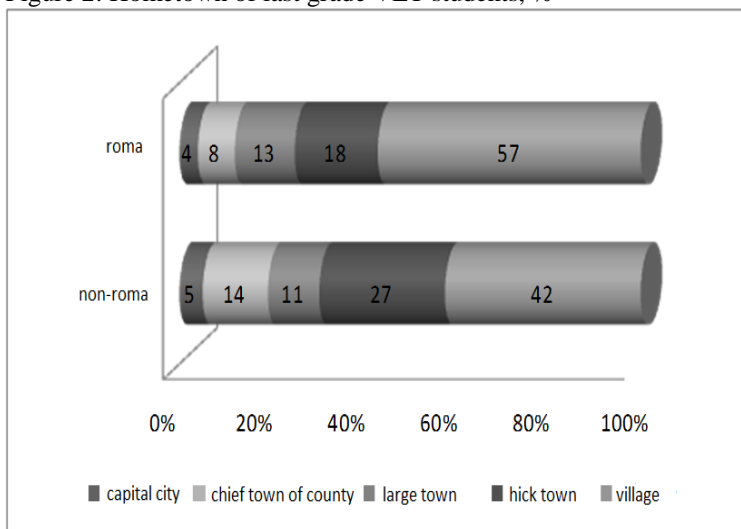
Figure 1: Last grade VET students' distribution by gender, %



Differences by hometown (Figure 2) show the well-known data about gypsy population. Although the rate of students living in a village is higher among VET students comparing to other educational trainings (Fehérvári, 2008).¹⁷ Comparing to non-romani students inside the training the difference is much higher. According to census data rate of romani students in the population is the most high in the little villages of South Transdanubia, Northern Hungary and Northern Alföld (Habicsek, 2009). Rate of romani urbanised population is extremely low comparing to non-romani students. While 62% of non-romani students live in cities, this rate is only slightly 40% among romani students (Cserti, 2012).

¹⁷ The mean of the rate of students living in a village is 45% in vocational schools, 35% in technical colleges and 28% in grammar-schools.

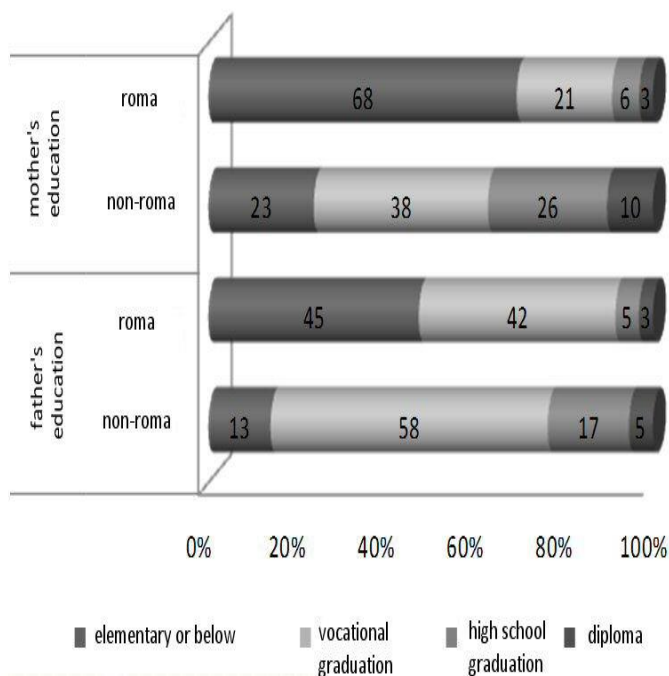
Figure 2: Hometown of last grade VET students, %



In secondary education mostly deprived students can be found principally in vocational and special vocational schools. At the same time if we divide data into romani and non-romani students, we discover that among students with the worse family background romani students have even more socio-economic disadvantage. Employment, financial and income status show multiple disadvantage.

According to the parents' educational data among romani students rate of low educated mothers is triple, rate of low educated fathers is five times more comparing to non-romani students (Figure 3). Among every hundred of romani parents only three have diploma and only five have high-school graduation.

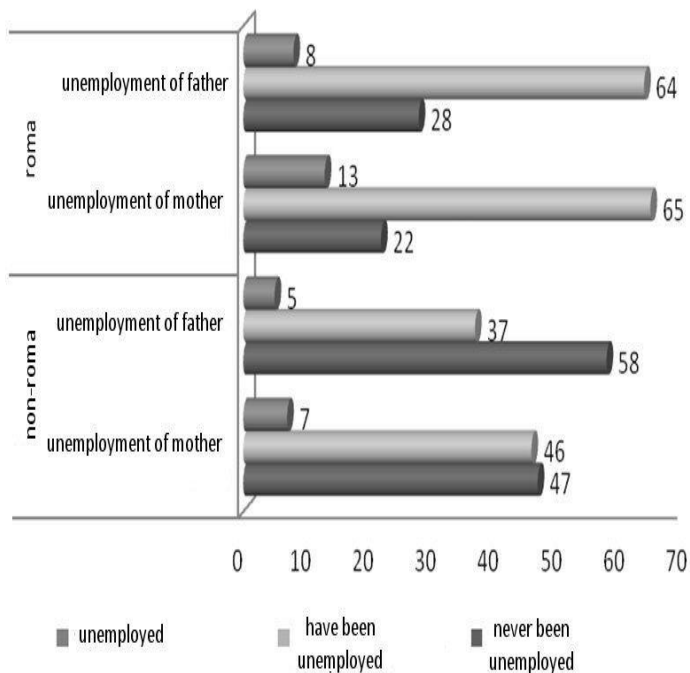
Figure 3: Educational levels of last grade students' parents, %



The same dramatic difference can be observed in the parents' employment status (Figure 4). In romani families three quarters of the parents have been unemployed or are unemployed at the moment comparing to non-romani students, where this rate is 42-53%. According to the data we can also observe that in romani families the males' situation is as bad as females', while in non-romani families females' situation is significantly worse. Otherwise this result is different from nationwide data, where before economical depression the males' better position could be observed, in time of economic depression males' situation got worse and their rate of unemployment passed females', especially in low educated groups (Fazekas and Kézdi, 2011). The high number of housewives makes more difficult to analyse females' employment data. Romani females

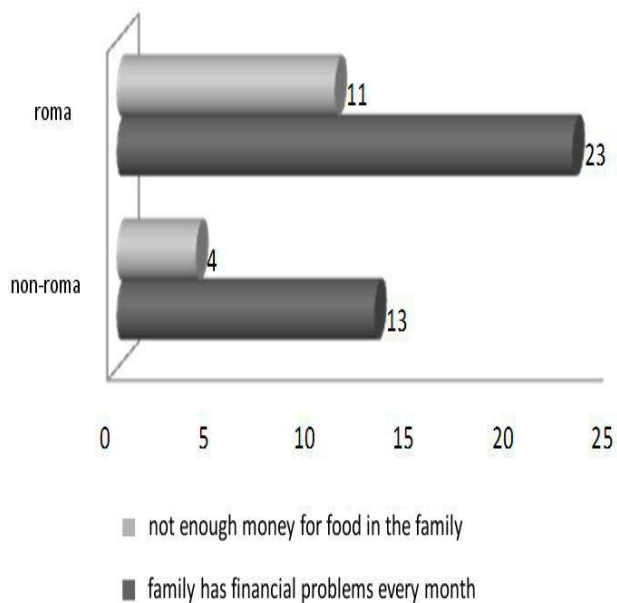
have twice high rate (18%) comparing to non-romani females (8%) in this field. Illegal and half-legal work make the employment situation more chiseled, which are the most frequent among low educated groups, but unfortunately we don't have available data about these types of work.

Figure 4: Employment status of last grade students' parents, %



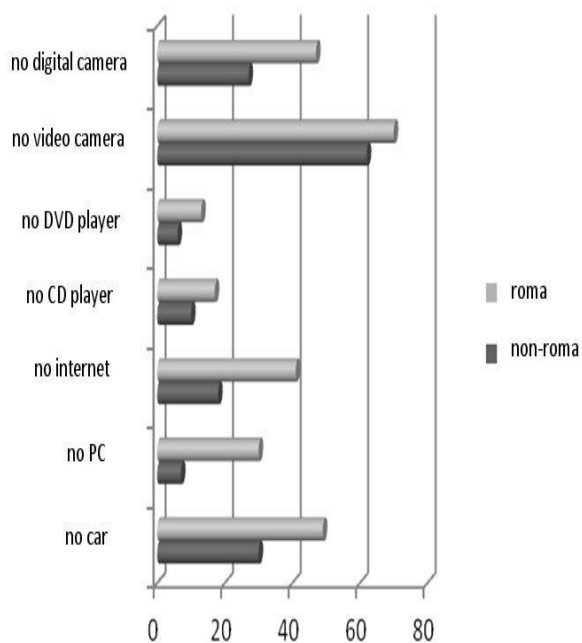
This employment data causes financial problems. More than tenth of VET students live in a family with permanent financial problems. This rate is double among romani students, every fourth family has financial problems. According to the students' report one family of ten can't even afford the food. This rate is more than double among romani students comparing to others.

Figure 5: Financial status of last grade students' parents, %



Situation is the same in the field of durable goods. Romani families are the less endowed according to all the seven questioned goods comparing to others. The figure below (Figure 6) shows that difference is the biggest between the two groups according to cultural capital related goods (computer and internet).

6. ábra Lack of durable goods of last grade students' families, %

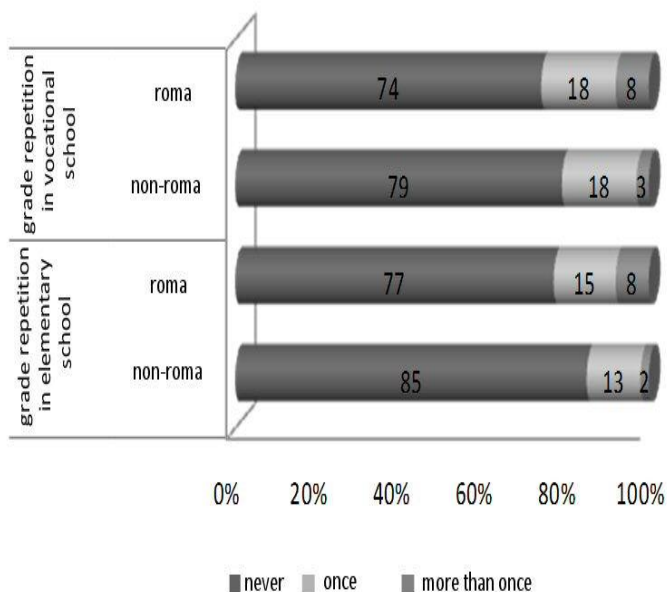


School career

The quarter of romani students must face failures in elementary school and it doesn't change in VET (Figure 7). According to the questionnaires the gap between romani and non-romani students was very wide in elementary school. In vocational school the difference decreased. The repetition of failures shows the biggest difference between the groups, because the rate of students with more than one failures is higher among romani students. For comparison, according to the technical college students database conducted also in this study in elementary school rate of students with at least one grade repetition is only 2.1%. So vocational school students usually have to face more educational failures then other secondary education

students. At the same time there is no difference between vocational and technical students in secondary education, the two groups have 21% rate of students have to take an exam at the end of the schoolyear because of failure (17% once, 4% more than once).

Figure 7: Educational failures of last grade VET students, %



Data about last grade students' failures shows differences rather in elementary education between the groups. While 16% of romani students repeated grade in elementary among non-romani students this rate is only 9%. In the same time this rate equalizes until the end of secondary education (9%), the difference between the two groups lies only in the frequency of grade repetition. This is higher among romani students. Among the 9th and 10th grade students in early VET the rate of elementary failures is much worse. The 27% of romani students repeated grade (5% more then one time), while this rate is only 19% among non-romani students. In vocational schools

rate of grade repeaters doubles in early VET comparing to last grade students. So our statement that half of the students with elementary school failures are leaving education before graduation is presumably true.

Among secondary educational programmes vocational school is where most unsuccessful students advance to, according not only to failures but results of mathematic and reading comprehension competence tests¹⁸. Competence tests have 10-year-long history, and the last 4 years allows us to compare the results of every single student. According to data of a two-year interval in secondary education students' results are getting better by the time in all programmes excluding VET, where results were stagnating or decreasing within the observed 2 years. The fact that the 6th grade elementary school students' mean of mathematic competence test points (full 6th grade population) is higher than the VET students' is a good example of their low results (Education Office, 2011).

We don't have available longitudinal data about the results of romani students, but the survey-part of the study was connected with the 8th grade students' competence test results from the starting year of the already mentioned career study (2006) by the researchers. Due to this we can compare competence test results of romani students to non-romani students within a single grade, a single class. Unfortunately the results are overwhelming, because fifth of romani students' reading comprehension test couldn't be evaluated (because they had too few points). Their mathematic results are more worse, half of them couldn't be evaluated. (Kertesi and Kézdi, 2009)

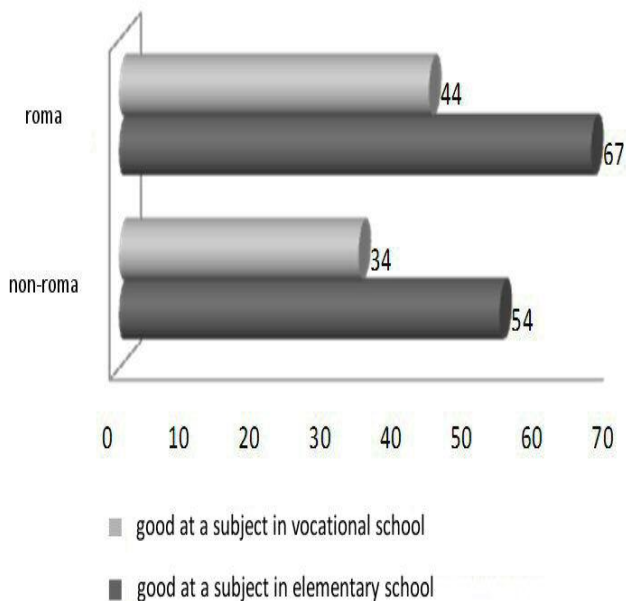
The authors were also curious about the causes of the very bad results. What is behind the difference? They examined if there has not been that much difference in the financial and income situation of romani families according to non-romani ones also if there would not have been the actual difference in performance between the two groups.

¹⁸ Hungarian Agency of Education organises competence tests of mathematics and reading comprehension with the participation of all 6th, 8th and 10th grade students. The tests are supplemented by questionnaires about the students' socio-economic background.

They stated that the difference of test results are mainly caused by not ethnicity but permanently bad living conditions that the school can't compensate. (Kertesi and Kézdi, 2012)

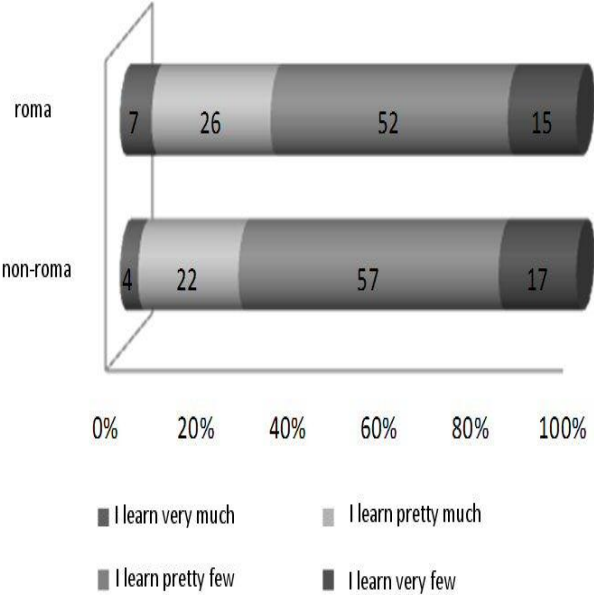
Returning to our study's data, despite of educational failures most of the students think there is a field or subject where he or she can perform above average, furthermore romani youngsters have rate themselves better than others. According to the opinion about themselves two-third of romani students were good at a subject. Only half of non-romani students think the same. As shown by the figure below (Figure 8) in vocational schools both groups' rate decreased, but romani students still kept their advantage. The rate of students who think there is a subject they are good at is 10% more among them.

Figure 8: Self-esteem of last grade VET students, %



Self-esteem data of students (Figure 9) show that romani students put more effort in learning to reach this result comparing to non-romani students. While third of romani youngsters learn pretty or very much, among non-romani students only one of four students answered the same.

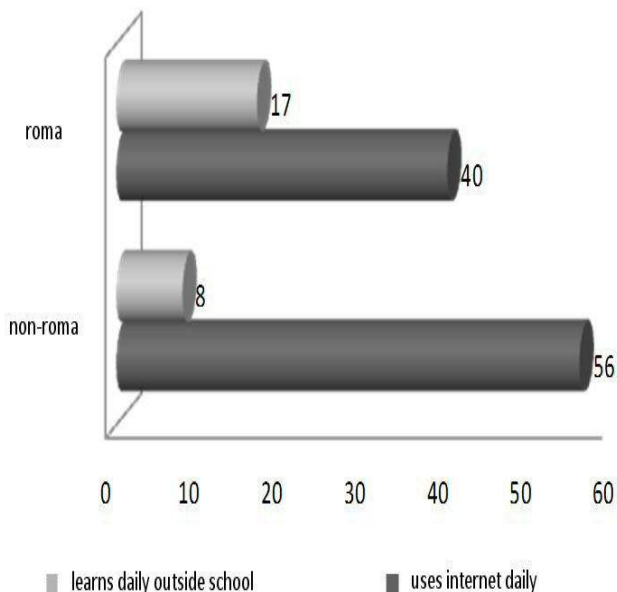
Figure 9: Self-esteem of last grade VET students 2., %



The role of learning among everyday activities confirms this statement. The 17% of romani youngsters learn every day, while this rate is only 8% among non-romani students (Figure 10). At the same time there is a big difference in another field between the two groups. While among half of non-romani students using internet has an important role in everyday activities, among romani students this rate is only 40%. Of course difference of availability can be observed behind this result. Lower rate of romani families have computer and connection to internet comparing to others. While 30% of romani families don't have computer and 41% don't have connection to

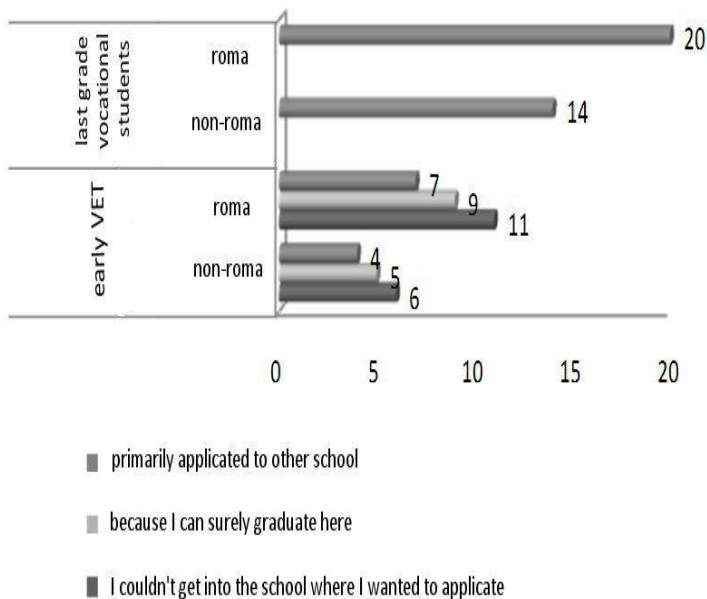
internet, among other families these rates are only 7% and 18% (Figure 6).

Figure 10: Everyday activities of last grade VET students, %



A successful choice of career can correlate with successful graduation. For the majority of romani students VET is the only alternative. However in vocational school among romani students higher rate of students don't learn in the school they wanted to. Comparing to non-romani students more of romani students didn't applied to their actual school or they didn't dare to applicate where they wanted to, because they were doubtful about the result.

Figure 11: Choice of school application among vocational school students, %



The unsuccessful choice of career can raise the chance of leaving education. Several students try to solve this problem by changing school or vocation underway. One of every five first or second grade students participated in the early VET study have changed or want to change vocation, while this rate is nearly 33% among romani students.

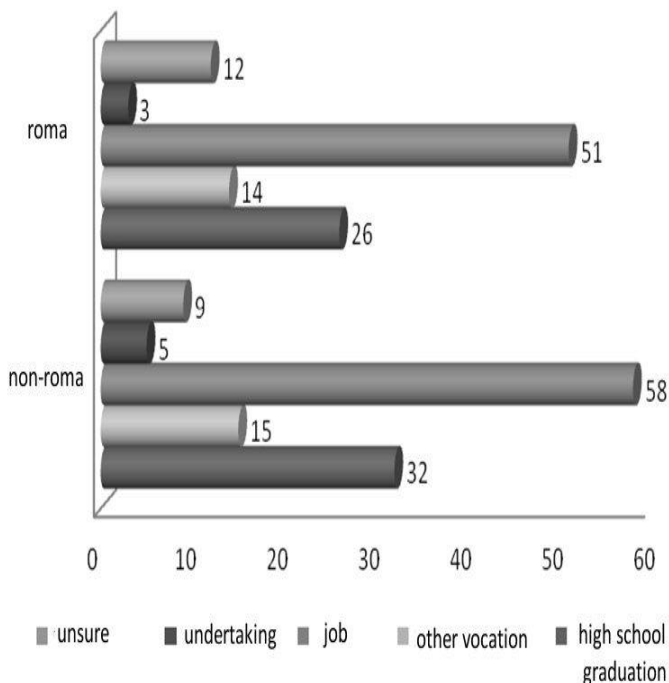
Plans and chances

The figure below introduces the future plans of vocational school students (Figure 12). Same rate of students in both groups (romani - non-romani) want to undertake a business or learn another profession. At the same time working and studying don't appear in the same relation, because less romani students plan to graduate comparing to others. They also have a few percent disadvantage in

the field of finding a job and we can also observe higher rate of unshures among romani youngsters. The survey was conducted in a few weeks before vocational examination, so very close to the graduation. The fact that more then 10% of romani youngsters don't know the first thing about what to do after graduation is very important for this end. Non-romani students' situation is much the same, only a thought better.

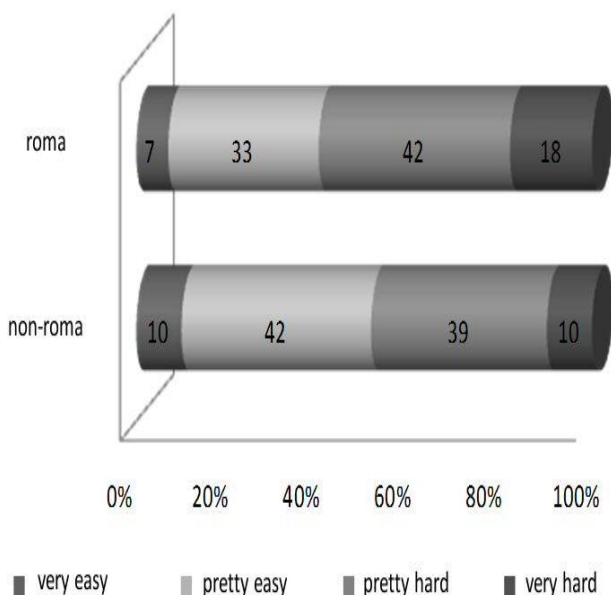
At the same time attitudes of students want to get a job are not the same, romani students and non-romani students have different reasons to work. While 30% of non-romani students have had enough of learning among romani students this rate is only 11%. On the other hand three of four romani students don't want to learn because they want to make money. Only 55% of non-romani students answered the same.

Figure 12: Plans of graduated VET students, %



There is also a difference between the two groups' future plans. Non-romani students are more positive about future comparing to romani students. The 60% of romani students think finding a job will be hard. Non-romani students' opinion is more balanced, half of them think they will find a job easily.

Figure 13: Last grade VET students' chance to find a job, %

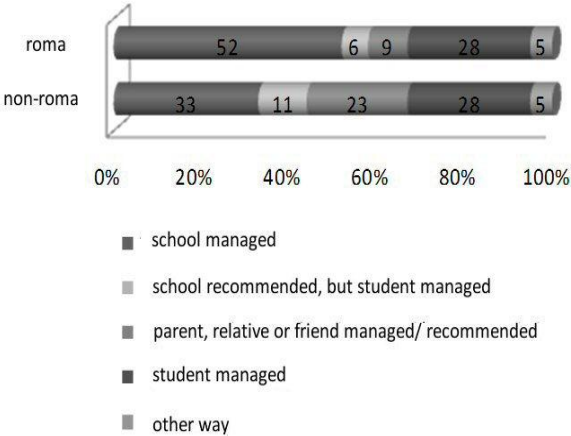


Several studies gave account about discrimination against romani students, which decreases their chance on labour market (Forsay, 2011). Our study implicitly can't confirm this statement, because it's focus group is not the same. At the same time early VET and last grade VET students' data show that schools sign significantly less student's contract (this contract is available for students on professional practice at a company) with romani students comparing to non-romani students. The 70% of first and second grade students on early VET have student's contract, while this rate is 60% among romani students. Among last grade VET students 30% of romani

students did not have student's contract all along their secondary education, while this rate is only 20% among other students.

We knew from other studies that student's contract increases the chance of finding a job later (Fehérvári and Tomasz, 2011). We were also interested in the way students found the company of their professional practice. There is a significant difference in this field too. For romani students mainly the school managed the professional practice, while non-romani students' parents, relatives and friends were more active. One of four non-romani students a relative or friend recommended a place, while among romani students this rate is one of ten. The role of school is also different between the two groups. Beside higher rate of romani students need the school as in interfefer, the school also has to put more effort into administration comparing to non-romani students. Among non-romani students 11% managed administration alone after the school's recommendation, while this rate is only 6% among romani students.

Figure 14: How could last grade students find a company for their professional practice? , %



We examined which factors increase somebody's likelihood to have a student's contract with linear regression analysis. The regression model includes the next independent dummy variables: hometown, low-educated father, inactive father, one of the parents is romani, sector of studied profession, year repetition in vocational school. We

ran the analysis and choose the best model with stepwise method. The model's R^2 (coefficient of determination) is not too high (so there may be more aspects determining the likelihood of student's contract we didn't include) and only four of the variables have significant effect on the likelihood of student's contract. The studied profession has the strongest effect, professions belonging to economical-services sector have positive, while agrarian sector's professions have negative effect on the chance of entering into a student's contract. Hometown has the second strong effect, living in a hick town has negative effect on likelihood of student's contract. The fourth included variable was romani nationality (or ethnicity). It has a significant negative effect on the likelihood.

Table 2: Linear regression model - which factors have an effect on likelihood of student's contract

<i>Modell</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>STD. Error</i>	<i>Beta</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
(Constant)	,78	,017		,000
ag2 economical-services sector	,186	,025	,219	,000
ag3 agrarian sector	-,185	,035	-,155	,000
l3 hometown – hick town	-,071	,022	-,094	,000
k4x romani nationality	-,094	,042	-,064	,000
R ,315	R Square ,099			

As we have seen before, 50-50% of last grade students think finding a job will be easy or will be hard and romani students are more pessimists in this field. However the youngsters have a great willingness to geographic mobility to reach this target. Most of them would commute to another town (85%) or county for a job. Moreover the rate of students who would go to a foreign country for a job is also very high (70%). There is no significant difference between the groups in mobility, so the attitudes of romani and non-romani students are the same.

In the last grade VET students' opinion the most important factors of success on labour market are expertise, good vocation and relations.

Hometown is the less important factor, we saw that the majority have willingness to leave home. The opinions of romani students and non-romani students are the same in this field. Analysis of variance show significant difference only at one factor, romani youngsters think good grades are more important comparing to non-romani students, so they think not only graduation but it's quality is also important.

Table 3: Which factors have an influence on finding a job in last grade students' opinion, means (1 to 5 scale)

	Relations	Age	Experience	Luck	Good presence	Good vocation	Good grades	Hometown
Non-romani	3,5	3,0	3,7	3,0	3,5	3,6	3,2*	2,7
Romani	3,5	3,0	3,7	3,1	3,5	3,6	3,5*	2,8
N	3,5	3,0	3,7	3,0	3,5	3,6	3,2*	2,7

**significant (.000)

SUMMARY

In the last 20 years several efforts were made to help integrating romani populaton, primarily through education. However data show that despite of educational expansion romani youngsters' educational level didn't improve significantly. Within secondary education vocational schools receive romani students with the highest rate. At the same time this is the place where leaving education is the biggest problem, affecting principally children of low-educated and romani families.

Educational performance of romani VET students is below non-romani students', in addition vocational school students' grades are worse comparing to other secondary educations. VET students had to face several failures so far in elementary school, especially romani

students. This thing doesn't change in secondary school, despite romani students make more effort to gain better grades comparing to others.

The romani students' plans about the future are insecure. Rate of students want to gain high-school graduation is lower among them, but rate of students want to learn another profession is equal comparing to others. In romani students' opinion they have less chance on labour market then non-romani students. Both groups have very high willingness to geographic mobility, majority of romani students and non-romani students would also move from home to get a job, even to a foreign country.

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*Translated by Szabolcs Varga.*¹⁹

¹⁹ This translation was made with the support of SROP-4.2.2/B-10/1-2010-0029 Supporting Scientific Training of Talented Youth at the University of Pécs.

Cserti Csapó Tibor

Research Centers in Central-Eastern European Region

The short history of the science

Although it's only a curiosity about the history of the science, but this information needs to be mentioned at the beginning of a reviewal paper like this one. The interest about roma woke up in the 17th century in the region, when a young man near Komárom went to the dutch city of Leiden to learn protestant teology. He was called István Vályi, who realised that the way his co-eds came from India speak like the gypsies from his village. The report of this finding was published in 1776 in a wiener paper called *Anzeigen aus den samtlichen k.u.k Erblandern*. This event opened the way for the ind-gipsy linguistic researches.²⁰

We can mention several works from different authors in the next century. Several coefficients fed this raising interest, one of these was the main intellectual and literary style of the era, the romanticism. The romanticism includes scientific curiosity rose in the western-, middle- and eastern european people (in line with the grow up of civil nation) towards the origin of different nations and folks, especially towards egzotic cultures. The much attendance given by the absolutist state also boosted the rise of this scientific curiosity. The Habsburg administration looked at the gypsies as potencial tax payers, workers, soldiers and threatened their cause like this. Tax payment's primar requisite is a reliable registration of workers and the hours they work. In their opinion the solution was to settle down the gypsies. The politicians in Wien wanted to integrate roma into serfdom, so they patronized every political or scientific

²⁰ Vágh M. 1983.

initiative and ambition, which helped to reach this goal.²¹ Lots of researches and censuses was started for this patronation's sake.

As a matter of fact the romani studies have become a real science only in the 40s of the 19th century, when the first important gypsy linguistic study was published, a two-part study called „Die Zigeuner in Europa und Asien” (Halle, 1844-45) from A. F. Pott. It's the first real scientific epidemiological and descriptive study about the gypsy dialects. In the next decades more and more similar studies has been published across Europe.²²

The last quarter of the 19th century was the first golden age of romani studies. Whole Europe joined in the studies: romanian, czech, german, russian, dutch, english, french, italian authors published linguistic, ethnical, historical articles and folk literature collections.²³ On the other hand we can say that during this long period the romani studies were not yet set up in workshops, only made by lonely professionals motivated by individual attendance and enthusiasm. That's why the establishment of the Gypsy Lore Society in the 80s of the 19th century in England is a very important event. The institute is still one of the centres of international romani studies. Since that the institute's journal (Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society) is one of the most important reviews of romani studies.

In Austro-Hungary archduke Joseph von Habsburg gave a big boost for the work of romani studies, who wrote his name in the book of romani studies as a linguist, but with ready assets and culturpolitical power he made an invaluable service for the other sectors of the science.²⁴

From the turn of the 19th century the centre of the cigánysághutató was the foregoing Gypsy Lore Society. Meanwhile in Middle, - and Eastern Europe - where most of the gypsies lived already -, romani studies did not exist at all. Only the 40s brought some change, when

²¹ Mezey B. 1986.

²² Szegő L. 2009.

²³ Vágh M. 1983.

²⁴ Szegő L. 2011.

Csenki brothers collected a notable folk literature data.²⁵ Johann Knobloch (a german professional) also collected a huge collection of folk tales in a concentration camp, which was published in 1953.²⁶

After the second world war the collection continued. The Association des Études Tsiganes was established in France in 1949. The journal of the association, Études Tsiganes published articles about gypsy folk literature, for example the collection of hungarian scientist András Hajdú.

In Hungary until the end of the 50s Imre Csenki, after that Kamill Erdős, Rudolf Vig, András Hajdu, József Vekerdi, Károly Bari and László Szegő conducted notable collections, but the processing of the collected data went slow, especially publication. In Jugoslavia professor Rade Uhlik and Slobodan Berberski – who spoke gypsy as his native language – did notable folk collecting work. In other Middle-, and Centre European countries linguistic studies were predominant.²⁷

As we can see there were some splendid collections, studies and publications, concentrating on linguistics and folk data collection in a large measure.

A long time should be passed for romani studies to become a formal discipline. It was happened at 1990 in the United Kingdom, at the place where this activity (including exploration of the language, social conditions and integration of different groups of gypsies) started to spread from to several countries of Europe. Naturally in the beginning the discipline used the instruments, methodology and mentality of other, already instutionalised and canonised disciplines to it's work. Later in some countries several workshops came off, primarily about several decisive and carismatic researchers and research institutes, with own crystallized issues inside romani studies. After all we still can't say that romani studies became a fully

²⁵ Csenki I., Csenki S., Pászti M. 1955.

²⁶ Knobloch, J. 1953.

²⁷ Szegő L. 2011.

independent discipline, with their own methodology, issues and instruments, differing from other disciplines. Romani studies borrows these things from the border regions of other disciplines and join them together to expand our knowledge about romani. Ian Hancock, Thomas Acton, David Smith and Michael Stewart were the decisive researchers of this inchoative stage.

The middle, but rather the second half of the 1990s is the period when the romani studies and it's workshops started to form in the eastern part of the continent, due to the more and more free atmosphere in the middle east of Europe because of the end of the communist era. That time national issues could be taken out again. The economical change in these countries also boosted this process. The change-caused worse living conditions and increasing number of marginalised and pauperised groups with more and more problems turned the researchers' attention towards new phenomena. On the ground of this process range of romani studies' vision got more and more wide and put more emphasis on demography, sociology, criminology and other sections of social sciences.

Great Britain

On the other side of the silver streak the most important representative of romani studies is the **Romani Project** within the confines of School of Languages, Linguistics and Cultures, working under the direction of Yaron Matras at the University of Manchester. They deal with discribing gypsy language, dialectology and in January 2006 they launched Romani Linguistics Website²⁸. Beyond classic linguistics they also focusing on sociolinguistics, moreover they studied the role of romani language in the forming of gypsy identity with Peter Baker and Dieter Halwachs (RomIdent Project).²⁹

The paper **Romani Studies**, which is still one of the most important papers of international romani studies, edited by Yaron Matras,

²⁸ <http://romani.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/index.shtml>

²⁹ Lakatos Sz. 2012.

published by the Gypsy Lore Society belongs to this workshop. Moreover **Gypsy Lore Society** holds a conference every year about romani studies, in 2012 kept between the 20th and 23th of September in Istanbul.³⁰

Linguistic studies

All across Europe there are running sociolinguistic and use-of-language studies about romani in several universities and institutes. Exemplary work is performed at the University of Graz, University Karl in Prague and at the romanian National Institute of Minority Research in Cluj-Napoca of this subject. In Romania a study is running in academic year 2011/2012 with the title „Actors, roles and judgments in the teaching of gypsy language in Romania” under the direction of Stefánia Toma. The study focuses on the place of romani in public education, admittance of educational instruments, the situation and attitude to educational tools of language teachers.

In the parisian Institute of Eastern Languages and Civilizations there is a permanent research to work out international romani literacy and language planning challenges under the direction of professor Marcel Courthiade.³¹

The international conference about gypsy language and culture was kept in Sarajevo in 1986, where the professionals of descriptive linguistics and standardisation of romani came together first time in history.

The first academic International Conference of Romani Language took place in Hamburg in May of 1993. The resume of the conference was published in 1995, with the title „Romani in contact”, edited by Yaron Matras. Later the conference became a permanent workshop and took place in Amsterdam (1994), Prague

³⁰ <http://www.gypsylloresociety.org/the-latest-news/2011annualmeetingandconferenceongypsystudies> (accessed: 06.09.2012.)

³¹ Hegyi I. 2010.

(1996), Manchester (1998), Sofia (2000), Graz (2002), Prague (2006) and St. Petersburg (2008).

Czech Republic

The first academic program of romani studies (including romani language and linguistics) was organised by Milena Hübschmannová in Prague, in **Karl University**. As Romani Studies it is still working under the direction of Viktor Elšík. The professionals of Faculty of Linguistic and Finno-Ugoristic work together in 3-year-long projects to write out the atlas of central romani dialects.³²

Austria

The „**Romani-Projekt**“ started in the autumn of 1993 at the **Research University of Graz**. It's a romani linguistic, scientific and pragmatical project, running under the direction of Dieter W. Halwachs with the support of Austrian government.³³ One of the main goals of the project is to codify the variant of romani used in Burgerland (and almost dead nowadays), revitalize it and frame it into uniformity. Due to this activity it became the official language of two magazines and several other issues.³⁴

In 2001 with the coordination of Yaron Matras and participation of Dieter Halwachs and Peter Bakker the so-called Romex dictionary and database have been published in **Grazi Tudományegyetem**. The dictionary contains twenty-five European dialectic romani collections and the database is refreshed permanently (<http://romani.uni-graz.at/romlex/>).³⁵

³² Lakatos Sz. 2012.

³³ (<http://romani.uni-graz.at/romani/>)

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<http://romani.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/whatis/linguistics/history.shtml> (accessed: 06.09.2012.)

³⁵ Lakatos Sz. 2012.

Slovakia

In Slovakia the researchers also paid attention to the language of gypsies living there in the 18th century. The gypsy question, after a long break between the two world wars, came into consideration again after the second world war. It happened in the time when permanent ethnographic work had been started among the gypsy population in Slovakia. In 1952 the 21-year old Emília Cajánková set out for gypsy settlements to make her first studies and in the same year she published her first paper. She organised, as yet the co-worker of the **Slovakian Academy of Sciences Institute of Ethnography**, the first collective study focusing on the past and present lifestyle of gypsy population of eight villages in Gömör region. In the time when assimilation of „gypsy born population” policy was dominant making this kind of studies and publishing results wasn't easy. The government's assimilation policy, which threatened the gypsy-problem as a social problem made this topic taboo for three decades. The temporary political realignment called „Spring in Prague” (1968-1971) and the short period after it brought a slight relief. In that time Milena Hübschmannová, a czech linguist published her replicated research results made in the eastern region of Slovakia. Later on she published only in foreign issues.

1986 is a milestone in scientific researches and studies about gypsy population. Due to the atmosphere became more free the Slovakian Academy of Sciences Institute of Ethnography could prepare and (in 1988) publicate the representational issue of *Slovenský národopis*, with more than twenty romani study– historical, ethnographical and sociological - papers of czech and slovakian researchers in it.³⁶ From 1986 the culture and lifestyle of slovakian gypsies were permanently studied by Arne B. Mann in the Slovakian Academy of Sciences Institute of Ethnography. Between 1987 and 1989 the Slovakian

³⁶ed. A. B. Mann, K historickým a etnokultúrnym determináciám spoločenskej integrácie Cigánov-Rómov v procese výstavby rozvinutého socializmu v Československu, *Slovenský národopis* Volume 36 Number 1 (1988)

Academy of Sciences Institute of Ethnography organised another collective project (coordinated by Arne B. Mann) to study family habits.³⁷

The political change in 1989 terminated the political intervention in science researches, so several new opportunities opened for romology to publicate results. So in Slovakia the more and more formal romani studies could also take off after the political change and the birth of independent Slovakia. In addition the decaying economical and social situaton of the gypsy population played an important part in this process. Slovakian Academy of Sciences Institute of Ethnography was one of the important fields of romani studies, the other one was USSR at the University of Nitre (see it below!).

At the University of Nitre (Univerzita Konštantína Filozofa v Nitre), at the Faculty of Social Sciences and Health Care (sociálnych vied a zdravotníctva) operates the Institute of Romological Sciences (Ústav romologických štúdií-URS). It was called Faculty of Romani Culture before, established in 1990, so as to prepare the teachers to work with gypsy children and to train social workers.³⁸ Their goal is advancing the slovakian gypsy population's sociocultural situation. During the education they put emphasis on the professionals' sense on locality in the psychological and social atmosphere where gypsy families and students live. They should also know well the gypsy population's mentality and psychological motives. That's the reason why the institute's making researches in parallel with education, which include all the levels and schools of gypsy education, gypsy culture, linguistic problems and the social determination of gypsy poverty.³⁹

³⁷ Mann, A. B.

³⁸ <http://www.urs.fsvaz.ukf.sk/o-nas> (accessed: 06.09.2012.)

³⁹ <http://www.urs.fsvaz.ukf.sk/> (accessed: 03.09.2012.)

Hungary

The first census, which included all territories of Hungary, was made in 1782. It contains data including all attributes about the gypsy population. In 1873 a census of gypsy population have been made by the decree of the ministry of home affairs. After all the first systematical, all-inclusive attempt to measure the gypsy's situation, made by Royal Statistical Office in 1893, was called "czigányösszeírás". During this period the roots of romology studies have been deployed and romology have revived in Austro-Hungary.⁴⁰

The academic literature meant archduke Joseph von Habsburg (1833-1905), Henrik Wlislöcki (1856-1907) and Antal Herrmann (1851-1926) under the term „first gypsology triad”. Due to their activity between 1880 and 1900 hungarian romani studies has good international reputation. Archduke Joseph von Habsburg wrote notable linguistic works. Wlislöcki and Herrmann's ethnographic collection was their main notable works. Both of them made participial observations, they joined a roving gypsy company for a long time. Some think they were the first antropologists whom studied gypsies.

Between 1990 and 1940 romology studies almost totally left off. In the 40s they rose up again, but under the shadow of the more and more „curious” radical right wing. Several *nyilas* organisation prepared for the „solution of gypsy problem”, that gave an ideological backup to the organisation of gypsy „*porrajamos*” (holocaust). The most important romological professionals in the decades following the second world war were called „second gypsology triad”, but they were not as close to each other as the first triad. Kamill Erdős made ethnographical collections primarily in Békés county, while József Vekerdi conducted an outstanding work in linguistics.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Cserti Cs. T. 2011.

⁴¹ Havas G. 1999.

After the second world war the development of the socialist estate had a negative effect on romology studies. Even until the 60s the so-called principle of automatism ruled national politics of the socialist state. This principle means that - because socialist society's structure compartmentalized into classes instead of nations - national problems should not be treated with high priority, because they will dissolve automatically through the development of the new social system.

At the end of the 60s sociology studies have been started again. Between 1970 and 1971 the Hungarian Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociology conducted a national survey under the direction of István Kemény. It was repeated in 1993, and in 2003 thirdly.

Among wide range researches the Központi Statisztikai Hivatal's panel study in 1992 or Központi Statisztikai Hivatal's representative survey - included 27,000 households - must be mentioned. In 1990 other polister companies and workshops also conducted small-sample surveys.⁴²

In spite of all antecedens romology can be related with higher education nowadays in Hungary and dealing with romology ties up closely with the education of pedagogues. This is an understandable connection, because pedagogy is the territory where - in the nurseries and schools - the effect which determined the background of gypsy communities and families for centuries works. The majority mainly interprets this situation as a problem. Due to the fact that education is the majority's territory, in the 20th century in Eastern Europe's (including Hungary) social environment the cultural, social, economical differences, intolerance and lack of understanding each other caused an increasing distance between the minority and majority.

As a reaction to this phenomenon gypsy related materials started to filter into education of pedagogues, only as one or two single subjects firstly, later as individual programs. Understandably these programs attract the majority of romologists, so they get integrated

⁴² Cserti Cs. T. 2011.

into high education's workshops. Accordingly these faculties and professorships are also the research centers of romology related sciences.

In Hungary among a large measure of these institutes the *romology related courses* are committed in some faculties, or appear as special colleges or optional courses.

Accordingly at the **Eszterházy Karoly College Faculty of Teacher Education and Knowledge Technology** in Eger romology was one of the high priority topics and also appeared in the curriculum as Romology, Cultural antropology I.⁴³

At the College of Nyíregyháza Faculty of Teacher Education Professorship of Folk Studies and Romology was organised. In the gradual qualification Roma studies I-II. (Folk studies – Social studies) were integrated into the curriculum of school teachers. A 120-hours postgradual programme was launched not only for pedagogues, but also for public servants who gets in touch with gypsies during their work.⁴⁴

One of the main researches at the **Eötvös Lóránd University Faculty of Social Sciences Professorship of Sociology of Minorities** is a study series about the aspects of gypsy identity. The goal of this study series is to look inside the categorization mechanism of ethnic identity and to unfold and interpret the social and psychological background of successful roma lifepaths. This series, which started in 1999 offers an outstanding individual field-work opportunity to the students. This faculty could not integrate romology into curriculum as an individual major or subject yet.

In Budapest at the **John Wesley Theological College** Pedagogy BA the course called „Social work with romas” is one of the optional courses. At the moment this course represents the gypsy related knowledge for the students.

The **University of Pécs Faculty of Adult Education and Human Resources** was also opened towards gypsy related knowledge in the

⁴³ <http://nevtud.ektf.hu/tematika.htm> (accessed: 22.04. 2008.)

⁴⁴ Jenei T. 2008.

past few years. Socially deprived groups, Gypsy Folk Studies and Romological Andragogy are optional courses⁴⁵ for I.-V. grade full-time students in different classes.

The **University of Pécs Faculty of Health Sciences** also realised the graduated professional's need of knowledge about gypsies. In the 2003/2004 school year the course called „History and culture of gypsy minority” launched, followed by the course „Gypsy family care” two years later.⁴⁶

At University of West Hungary Apáczai Csere János Faculty, in Győr social pedagogy training contains Romology I. and Romology II. courses.⁴⁷

The Professorship of Educational Methodology and Romology at Szent István University Faculty of Economics and Social Science in Gödöllő also proposed to integrate the courses of romology into students' educational programme. Courses are scientifically based on the collection located in Gödöllő. This collection mainly consist of the library holdings and archive, which were mainly collected by Balázs Gémes and belonged to the Research Institute of Romology operating in Szekszárd.

In other institutes romology study is more intense within specializations and trainings. In this case students gets a complementary certification of this knowledge beyond their basic diploma.

A special dormitory of romology is working at the **Keckskemét College Faculty of Teaching Practices**, under the aegis of

⁴⁵ <http://feek.pte.hu/feek/> (accessed: 15.04.2008)

⁴⁶ Angyal M. 2008.

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http://64.233.183.104/search?q=cache:AKXZbi2UwBQJ:ak.nyme.hu/fileadmin/dokumentumok/atfk/tematikak/SZOCPED_TANSZEK/GYORI_TEMATIKAK/N4/Romologia_2.doc+nyugat+magyarorsz%C3%A1gi+egyetem+romol%C3%B3gia&hl=hu&ct=clnk&cd=2&gl=hu (accessed: 05.04.2008)

Professorship of Hungarian Language and Literature. In the course of their work they try to put emphasis on general literacy and talent programmes beside special knowledge of educational and pedagogic work. Due to this the faculty has several optional courses for inquisitive students, including romology related courses.⁴⁸ A romology study group is working at the faculty for several years in order to familiarize nursery and school teacher students with roma culture and status inside society. Within this programme a lovani language course is launching from the autumn of 2006.⁴⁹

At the **Tessedik Samuel College Faculty of Pedagogy** in Szarvas nursery teacher and school teacher BA trainings include studiums with curriculum contains knowledge about the culture of gypsy ethnicity.⁵⁰ The institute has tradition of slovak and roman gentilital education firstly. They became specializations of nursery teacher and school teacher majors from the September of 2006, and romology as a new type of specialization.^{51 52}

At the **University of Miskolc Faculty of Arts, at the Professorship of Sociology** knowledge of romology have high priority in the students' curriculum for several years. It manifests in the shape of

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http://64.233.183.104/search?q=cache:92LbZEIRXnEJ:www.ketif.hu/kf_tfk/magyar.html+kecskem%C3%A9t+f%C5%91iskola+romol%C3%B3gia&hl=hu&ct=clnk&cd=1&gl=hu (accessed: 05.04.2008)

<http://64.233.183.104/search?q=cache:Mwp3PKa0ZJYJ:www.roma.hu/content.php%3Fpreview.44+kecskem%C3%A9t+f%C5%91iskola+romol%C3%B3gia&hl=hu&ct=clnk&cd=2&gl=hu> (accessed: 05.04.2008)

⁵⁰ <http://www.tsf.hu/tsf2005/index.phtml> (accessed: 05.04.2008)

⁵¹ Institute accreditation report – 2006/9/XI/2. sz. Hungarian Accreditation Committee regulation, available at: http://64.233.183.104/search?q=cache:vEcCNNGCbKsJ:www.mab.hu/doc/plhat_TSF_PFK.doc+szarvas+f%C5%91iskola+romol%C3%B3gia&hl=hu&ct=clnk&cd=8&gl=hu (accessed: 05.04.2008)

⁵² Ministry of Education number of qualification requirement: 21/2000. (V.3.)

unified and undivided Sociology major's romology specialization and optional courses of Sociology Bachelor of Arts (BA) major (especially in sociology of minorities). In addition one of the specializations of the recently accredited Sociology Master of Arts (MA) major is sociology of minorities.⁵³ The Regional Adult Education Centre launched romology and lovári language trainings in February 2008.⁵⁴ At the **University of Miskolc Faculty of Healthcare** there is a course called Roma culture.

The University tried to fall into line with centres of hungarian roma studies, when they started to organise Roma Research Centre from the co-workers of Sociology Institute, Institute of Cultural and Visual Antropology and former History of Minorities Source Exploration Workshop. The Sociology Institute's margin is marked out by these researches' territory inside Roma Research Workshop.⁵⁵

The third group contains the institutes and programmes where romology major gives individual diploma or graduation. That's the way **Apor Vilmos Catholic College's Institute of Romology and Operative Social Sciences and Professorship of Social Sciences and Romology** work in Vác. In addition the Collage has Gentilitial gypsy/roma school teacher and Gentilitial gypsy/roma nursery teacher MA major and specialization.⁵⁶ The students get the

⁵³http://romakutato.uni-miskolc.hu/index.php?option=com_content&view=section&layout=blog&id=11&Itemid=12 (accessed: 07.09.2012.)

⁵⁴http://64.233.183.104/search?q=cache:Bb_z9HaR2bsJ:www.felnottkepzes.uni-miskolc.hu/kepzes/viewtopic.php%3Fp%3D210%26sid%3D2749a84a3d24a7507a0b15592b8ecc8d+miskolci+egyetem+romol%C3%B3gia&hl=hu&ct=clnk&cd=1&gl=hu (accessed: 05.04.2008)

⁵⁵http://romakutato.uni-miskolc.hu/index.php?option=com_content&view=section&layout=blog&id=11&Itemid=12 (accessed: 11.09.2012.)

⁵⁶<http://www.avkf.hu/index.php/hu/kepzesek/alapkepzesek-ba/ovodapedagogia.html> (accessed: 07.09.2012.)

same diploma, but they know much more about roma culture, history, language and pedagogy of roma children.

These give opportunity to students to learn both lovari and boyash languages. The Collage requires all pedagogy students to acquire romology related knowledge. They threat roma students with high priority and help them to became good professionals.⁵⁷

At the Eötvös József College Faculty of Pedagogy in Baja school and nursery teacher BA students have opportunity to choose gentilital gypsy-roma specialization.⁵⁸ At the school teacher and gentilital (-gypsy-roma) school teacher full-time majors education is eight semesters long. The gentilital school teacher students learn, beside to teach all fields of knowledge, to teach subjects of environment studies, music and physical education in gentilital language for 1-4 grade students, and also to teach gentilital language for 1-6 grade students. The gentilital nursery teacher students, beside basic knowledge of their major, put emphasis on questions of gentilital mother tongue pedagogy, spreading gentilital culture and maintaining gentilital traditions.⁵⁹

The Institute of Pedagogy's Professorship of Romology and Educational Sociology and it's majors at the University of Pécs Faculty of Arts are also in this group.

Romology studies in Pécs have started with the initiation of Elemér Várnagy, who was working in the field of teacher's training. He already conducted some studies in this field and used his results during teacher's training. The concrete realisation can be connected with the activity of linguistics professor György Szépe and Bertalan Andrásfalvi, professor of ethnography. They tried to establish a gypsy professorship, maybe temporary an academic research group. Parallely Gandhi high school was

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http://www.avkf.hu/index.php?Itemid=5&id=31&option=com_content&task=view (accessed: 05.04.2008)

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http://64.233.183.104/search?q=cache:yTTmUwfYygIJ:www.ejf.hu/oktkut/tarolo/2006_felveteli_tajekoztato_pf.doc+baja+e%C3%B6tv%C3%B6s+j%C3%B3zsef+f%C5%91iskola+cig%C3%A1ny+szakir%C3%A1ny&hl=hu&ct=clnk&cd=3&gl=hu (accessed: 05.04.2008)

⁵⁹ Raicsné Horváth A. 2008.

established in Pécs. Its teachers are now the co-workers and leaders of the Professorship of Romology. Higher education of the students of Gandi high school was an important argument to establish Professorship of Romology in Pécs.⁶⁰

Between 1997 and 2000 romology worked as a specialization, under the direction of Katalin R. Forray by this time, then from the fall semester of academic year 2000/2001 also an academic major was started. From academic year 2006/2007, in line with the Bologna process and the realisation of „Universal European Space of Higher Education”, the traditional academic structure also changed. The undivided, 5 years long major was divided to a 3 (BA) and a 2 (MA) years long major. The romology BA major from academic year 2006/2007, the romology disciplinar MA major with boyash, romani language and culture and gypsy folk studies specializations and romology teacher major was started from academic year 2009/2010.⁶¹ The academical romology BA major integrates roma related results of human sciences to academic education. The training's purpose is to educate professionals knowing and understanding scientific questions of romology and capable of understanding and analysing the political, legal, lingual, cultural, educational, demographical and labour market status of romanis.

The Ph.D programme of University of Pécs „Education and Society” Doctoral School was accredited.⁶² In this programme, in subprogramme of pedagogic sociology can Ph.D students study academic romology. Due to the habilitated romology professionals, whom qualified here romology can soon appear as an individual programme. With this romology embraces the full spectrum of education including nursery and elementary school roma/gypsy programmes, high school programmes, higher education and Ph.D studies.

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http://commonline.academia.edu/ForrayRKatalin/Papers/1530565/A_romologia_tanszek (accessed: 10.09.2012.)

⁶¹ <http://nevtud.btk.pte.hu/menu/28/21> (accessed: 07.09.2012.)

⁶² <http://www.nevtudphd.pte.hu/> (accessed: 08.09.2012.)

Recognising that romology's progress supposes a need to step forward to become an individual workshop gathering all the diversified fields of the science, creating the basis of these disciplines' academic education, the Research Centre of Romology was established inside the University of Pécs Faculty of Romology and Educational Sociology in Spring of 2012.⁶³ Within the research centre launched the so-called „Workshop” programme in order to collect the researchers working in different fields of social sciences, make them cooperate, create a public platform and shape up the borders, ways and fields of cooperation.⁶⁴

Research Centre of Romology, Szekszárd

The Association of Research Gypsy Traditions was established in 1991, resuming the activity of former National Workshop of Gypsy Research (1979-1984). First of all they collected ethnographic material and started to build up the Gypsy Archive. In 1994 they started to construct the Gypsy Bibliography Informatic Database and made the historical and ethnographical conception of gypsy research. The purpose of collection, exploration and archivation of ethnographic, sociological, historical and geographical documents and the research based on this is helping the integration and elevation of roma the way they can retain their language, culture and identity.

The Research Institute of Romology in Szekszárd launched two series. The first one is Publications of the Research Institute of Romology, second one is the series *Studia Minoritatum*. The institute's director was Balázs Gémes (until his death), followed by Mrs Julianna László (Kalányos Jánosné László Julianna).⁶⁵

⁶³ Recommendation inside University of Pécs Faculty of Arts Institute of Pedagogy to establish Romology Research Centre in Professorship of Romology and Educational Sociology. Manuscript.

⁶⁴ Cserti Cs. T. 2012.

⁶⁵ Juhász É.-Rizsik J.K.. 2000.

At the **Hungarian Academy of Sciences Institute of Linguistics** in Budapest researchers as Andrea Szalai and Anna Orsós also conduct studies about gypsy languages. But co-workers of other research institutes of Hungarian Academy of Sciences also conducted roma related studies. Accordingly the names of Mária Neményi at the Research Institute of Sociology, Katalin Kovalcsik at the Institute of Musicology, Gábor Vargyas and Péter Szuhai at the Institute of Ethnography can be mentioned.

Romania

The National Institute of Minority Research based in Cluj-Napoca is a public institute under the direction of the romanian government's Bureau of Interethnic Connections. Their main purpose is studying the retaining, development and expression of ethnic identity (and these sociological, historical, cultural, religious and other aspects) of romanian gentilital miorities and other ethnic groups. The institute conducts studies, analyses and researches; keeps up partnerships with international institutes and organisations and organises seminars, courses, arguments, conferences and forums about several romanian minorities including romas.⁶⁶

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⁶⁶ <http://ispmn.gov.ro/> (accessed: 11.09.2012.)

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*Translated by Szabolcs Varga.*⁶⁷

⁶⁷ This translation was made with the support of SROP-4.2.2/B-10/1-2010-0029 Supporting Scientific Training of Talented Youth at the University of Pécs.

Anna Orsós

The state of the Gypsy languages (Boyash and Romani) in the region

This study is about the situation of the two gypsy minority languages – Romani and Boyash 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.

The Roma Population in Hungary

In an attempt to determine the Gypsy population in Hungary, there have been several Roma censuses administered in the past. However, the data is vastly controversial, due to which the Roma population is very poorly represented in the census statistics. It is nearly impossible to clearly define who they are as they live in peripheral areas, making it difficult to reach them. Various researchers have categorized the main characteristics of the Roma life based on several criteria, but a unanimously accepted definition has not yet been developed.

The surrounding social environment is influential on one's tendency to confess to his Roma identity. If the environment is receptive and treats divergence as a value, the community's and individuals' identity-corporation will appreciably grow due to the prestige they earn; while if this is not the case, then quite the opposite can be observed.

While we have a wide range of information about the Roma communities in the neighbouring countries, as well as in any other country of the world, there are only a few authentic sources available about their history. The main reason for this is that they had not kept any records for their posterity until the 20th century, when their written culture began to emerge. The only Roma documents available are products of conflicts between the mainstream society and the Roma, which is why there are no such records during "times of peace" in Hungary.

The number of Roma in Europe is estimated between 7 to 8,5 million, although relevant data is not available from all European countries (KEMÉNY, 2002). Based on certain estimates, Europe's largest Roma ethnicity is in Romania, approximately between 2,2 and 2,5 million. As reported by other studies, their official population grew from 227,200 (which was 1,1 percent of the total population) to 409,700 (1.8 percent of the total population) between 1977 and 1992. Approximately 650,000-850,000 Roma live in the territory of the former Yugoslavia: 450,000 in Serbia, 240,000 in Macedonia, 2580 Roma in Montenegro, 40,000-100,000 in Bosnia and Herzegovina and 60,000-150,000 in Croatia (KEMÉNY, 2002).

The estimated Roma population is 400,000-600,000 in Hungary, while the Hungarian Central Statistical Office's official estimate was only 190,000 in 2001.

The decennial censuses, which are also surveys of the population based on their mother tongue, have shown significant differences from the end of the 19th century. This can be explained by their nomadic lifestyle, which means both immigration and emigration.

The first planned, detail-oriented and thoroughly carried out Hungarian research about this ethnic group was completed as a Roma census on January 31st, 1893. This census dedicated an entire chapter to the status of the Roma's native language abilities and

ethnic characteristics. The following excerpt describes the 280,000 Roma who lived in Hungary at the time:

"... more than half of the Roma's, 52,16 percent cannot speak any Romani languages. In certain cases, the ability alone to speak Romani is not a determining factor for the Roma's individual place of living; most of the completely civilized individuals, such as prominent, artistic musicians, can speak a Romani language, while the often times under educated and truly wild individuals, who sporadically settled down in Vlach and Slovakian villages, cannot speak any Romani languages. But the large number of Roma that cannot speak their language is a sure indication that this ethnicity in general is drifting away from its traditional culture, while blending into the other elements of the nation..."(MEZEY, 1986).

One of the aims of this research from 1893 was to expedite the Roma's settlement by locating its wandering members. Among other conclusions, the analysis of the study found that the abandonment of Romani promoted the Roma's integration into mainstream society. Therefore, the state had no interest in taking any measures in preserving the Romani language; anything appearing to the contrary of that disinterest was simply part of the settlement process of the Roma, which contributed to the ultimate abandonment of Romani.

During this time, a number of regulations were created, most of which aimed to end the Roma's nomadic lifestyle and to urge their earliest possible settlement.

By the beginning of the 20th century, a vast majority of Roma abandoned their former lifestyle and settled down. As the Roma issue was considered a serious social problem, various efforts were made to stabilize their situation. Some of the provisions resulted in the mass emigration of already settled families.

Nearly eighty years had passed since the initial evaluation of the Roma in 1893 when the next comprehensive study was completed. The only demonstrative sociological research on the Romani population that contained statistical data about their numbers, the distribution of Romani language groups and their mother tongue, was conducted by István Kemény and his fellow researchers in 1971 (repeated in 1993 and 2003).

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

Table 1. Based on the results of the Roma census administered on January 31, 1893, as well as on the data of the nationwide surveys (*Kemény – Janky*) from 1971, 1993, 2003.

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 derived from the self-classification of the Roma surveyed, the opinion of the environment was taken into consideration instead, as the basis for the classification of the survey data. This was due to the many Roma who considered themselves Hungarians despite their acknowledgement of their origins as well as their mother tongue. Therefore, those individuals whom the non-Roma environment regarded as Roma were considered as such in this study: “our experience is that Hungarian society surrounding the Roma will define even the successfully assimilated Roma individuals as Roma. In a so defined Roma population, only the completely assimilated individuals are omitted, whom it would not be ethical to regard as subject to such research in any case.” (HAVAS – KEMÉNY – LISKÓ, 1995).

Based on the sociological study conducted in 1971, Roma can be classified into three groups with respect to their languages: the Hungarian speaking Romungro (who claim to be Hungarians or Musician Roma), the Hungarian and Romani speaking Vlach Roma, and the Boyash Roma who speak Hungarian as well as an archaic version of Romanian (KEMÉNY AND HIS FELLOW RESEARCHERS 1976).

Although this distinction has great sociological significance, linguistically it is problematical from various points of view. Namely, all Hungarian speaking Roma cannot be considered Romungro. For example, in the process of losing their native tongue as part of the assimilation, the Boyash still strongly preserved their Boyash identity, and so it is with other minorities. In the case of Roma who only speak Hungarian as their mother tongue, language and background are separated from each other, but admitting their group belonging remains to be an important factor of identity, even with the loss of their original native tongue.

The classification by Kemény does not mention that the Hungarian Romungros are not exclusively monolingual. Enclaves where Roma musicians still speak a Romani variant, called Romungro/Hungarian Romani, serve as evidence for this. Romungro is classified by the English-language dialectology as the so-called central dialect of Romani.

In determining the number of Roma in Hungary – by taking Kemény's surveys from 1993 and 2003 into account as well – it appears that the number of Romungros who confess to their ethnicity increased, while the number of Boyash and Vlachs who admit their identity decreased as a result of their integration.

Being part of the Roma ethnicity is considered a lower class status within a certain realm of society due to the fixed prejudices that have dominated during the centuries. The majority of Roma identify themselves as part of the mainstream society, and they usually adopt the language of the host country and the religion of the immediate environment. This is because only a number of countries regard them as a nationality, and in most other countries they classify themselves as an ethnic minority due to the lack of their own homeland. This is one of the reasons for the substantial discrepancies between the official census and the scientific estimations all over the world.

Labels for Roma

The traditional Hungarian name for this ethnic group is 'cigány'. Similarly to Hungarian it is 'ȱigan' in Romanian, 'cikan' in Czech, 'Zigeuner' in German, 'tzigane' or 'tsigane' in French, 'zingaro' in Italian and 'çingene' in Turkish'. Each of these terms originates from the Greek 'athiganos', which means 'outcast'.

The traditional name of Roma is 'gypsy' in English and 'gitano' in Spanish. These terms derive from the Latin 'aegyptanus' (Egyptian). The Latin name of the Roma in the Middle Ages was 'populus Pharaonis' (the people of the Pharaoh) which later changed to 'ciganus' (NAGY, 2005: 8).

Although Roma in Hungary generally accept the name 'cigány', the three main groups dissociate and distinguish themselves from one another. As a result, a significant part of the Hungarian Roma do not call themselves 'Roma': while the Vlach Roma ("oláh cigány") call themselves *Roma*, the Romungro and Boyash call themselves 'cigány' in spite of the wide acceptance of the term Roma in the public and political sphere. The term Roma in Romania only refers to those who belong to the same ethnic group. The word 'rom' means *man* or *husband*, while its plural version, 'roma' means *men* or *people*. ('Romnji', its female term means *Roma woman* or *wife*.)

Although there are diverse beliefs concerning the usage of these terms, the more and more widespread idea of using 'Cigány' and 'Roma' as equivalents will offer a solution for everyone.

Territorial distribution of Roma

The territorial distribution of Roma significantly differs from the territorial distribution that the country's population has as a whole. While less than ten percent of the members of any Romani group live in the capital, this ratio is twenty percent for the overall population. In addition, while 58-64 % of the Roma live in villages, only 38 % of the total population occupy the same area. (HABLICSEK, 1999).

The three Roma groups (Boyash, Roma and Romungro) are very unevenly dispersed over the country. The overwhelming

majority of Boyash live in the south-Transdanubian counties, accounting for close to thirty percent of the total Roma population in this region, as well as the majority of all Roma population in two of the counties within the region, called Somogy and Baranya. The number of Boyash is insignificant in other areas of the country.

The territorial distribution of the Hungarian and Romani speaking Roma is more even. In most regions, three-quarters of the Roma speak Hungarian as their mother tongue, and this ratio decreases to under 50 percent only in the south-Transdanubia regions. The proportion of the Roma who speak any of the Romani dialects is 20-25 percent in all regions.

Romani languages in Hungary

The Romani languages belong to the Indo-European languages. The number of Romani speakers, who are the Roma in Hungary, is estimated between five to ten million in the world. It is considered such a minority among languages that despite the international endeavours it only exists in the form of numerous regional dialects primarily, and not as a stand alone spoken language. (RÉGER – KOVALCSIK, 1999).”Lovari” is the most widespread among these dialects and it is rooted in the traditional occupation of horse-dealers.

Among the Romani language groups, there is even less information available about Boyash, an archaic dialect of Romanian, than about the above mentioned group. There are no publications or research from earlier times about the number, territorial distribution or lifestyle of the people of the Boyash, there are only a few short references available about them from records concerning the Roma. This is due to several factors. The most common reason is that the Hungarian speaking mainstream society cannot distinguish between the different Roma groups, therefore they consider the Romani and Boyash speaking Roma a homogeneous community. This is also supported by the fact that there are hardly any publications that contain information specifically about the Boyash or their language, and sources that deal with Roma in general or without any exact linguistic classification, are usually unverifiable and inaccurate.

Locations of Romani language communities in Hungary

A rapid linguistic assimilation can be observed in the population of the Hungarian Roma. The Hungarian Government's national politics, which has sought to assimilate the minorities from the early 1960's, has played a significant role in the acceleration of the assimilation process. In spite of this, the process of shifting from a minority language to native Hungarian has not yet taken place – although this process varies greatly in the different communities – since – as we demonstrated in our research – the language of primary communication is still one of the Romani dialects in a number of families.

As indicated by several linguistic studies, the loss of a native language for the advancement of another, primarily occurs when two groups come together. This phenomenon transpires if either a tribe blends into another group, or if a community in minority status adopts the surrounding majority group's culture (GUMPERZ, 1971). This was not exactly the case with respect to the Boyash as they managed to preserve their ethnic unity in spite of their language shift; this among other reasons made it possible for them to remain a homogeneous ethnic group all over Middle and Southern Europe (BORBÉLY, 2001).

Most likely the Romani languages have been in a diglossic situation from the beginning, as due to the coexistence with mainstream society, Hungarian has been the intermediary language (Ferguson, 1975). Diglossia in Ferguson's interpretation refers to two or more varieties of a particular language. In the case of Boyash, it would mean a distinction between the everyday version of Boyash and a sophisticated, grammatically more complex and more "elevated" version of Romanian, acquired in school education. However, today there is no relationship between these two languages; the language use is not functional, so we cannot really speak of a classic case of diglossia.

In a broader sense of diglossia, bilingualism may be considered diglossic. Bilingualism means that members of the community possess two particular language codes, whereas diglossia refers to the radical differences in their usages within the language culture of the community: therefore it is an essential characteristic of diglossia 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 one language only ((BARTHA,1999; RÉGER, 2002:39).

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 Boyash/Romani among relatives.

The primary base for language preservation is the family, which has an increasingly more slender status in this area, therefore its function in the process of language preservation is declining. In order to reverse this process, opportunities of Romani language learning should be provided in public schools. A consciously planned educational program, offering several options, would play a crucial role in the preservation of both the language and the community of its speakers. If Boyash/Romani speaking children were taught their native tongue in the course of formal education, it would slow down the process of language shift. Acquisition of knowledge in public schools would then explicitly trigger an increase in the reputation of Boyash, but most importantly it would place the preservation of language back within the families. Having achieved this, the schools would only need to concentrate on improving language skills, rather than establishing them from the ground up.

Romani languages in education

Theoretically the Roma have equal rights to have demands on preserving their mother tongue and their minority language education, both in the home and in public schools, as all other minorities in Hungary. In spite of this, it is clear that minority language education in Romani lacks with respect to both personnel and material resources.

Roma in Hungary rightfully complain that there are only a few Boyash or Romani speaking teachers; that teacher training does not include Boyash and Romani, and there are no textbooks, dictionaries or other teaching materials available. In accordance with the European standards, states should provide both for the facilities

of teacher training and for the production of appropriate teaching materials.

Legal and language policy framework of language teaching

The Hague Recommendations Regarding the Educational Rights of National Minorities (1996) 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 Constitution of Hungary, Article 15, paragraph (2) ensures all Hungarian citizens of their fundamental rights. Act Nr. CLXXIX from 2011 about the national minorities defines, among many other rights, the language rights of minorities.

Consequently, after passing the act on the Rights of National and Ethnic Minorities, the Roma had the opportunity for the first time, – similarly to other national minorities –, to have demands on organizing their minority education, and also to do away with the approach that associated their educational problems with social disadvantages only.

The Roma minority does not have a separate elementary educational system. On a secondary education level, there are only a few institutions (for instance the Gandhi High School in Pécs), that have special educational programmes for Roma minorities. The organization of Roma minority education – similarly to other forms of minority education – has to be initiated by the parents in writing. Without this, segregated Roma classes will result in negative discrimination against Roma pupils. It is worth mentioning, however, that it was the many times amended Decree Nr. 32/1997. (XI.5), established to provide Guidelines for Pre-School Instruction and School Education of the National and Ethnic Minorities, that determined the framework of education in the form of separate groups till the content amendment of 2003 became effective.

The guidelines for minority education was also changed in 2003: with respect to Roma education, all elements that targeted a remedial education due to the existing social disadvantages, were discarded. As a result of Decree Nr. 58/2002 of the Ministry of Education, schools were able to apply for additional normative per capita supply in order to teach the Roma culture or any of the Romani dialects. In other words, thanks to amendment Nr. 2002/147 of Decree# 32/1977, published in the Hungarian Journal (Magyar Közlöny), it has been possible to teach Romani or Boyash since 2003. Language teaching could also be organized within the framework of language camps or other programs with guest teachers.

Although this regulation was important from an educational policy standpoint, it has several potential pitfalls from a language policy point of view. Even with the regulation in place, the language education requirements were far from being realized. Additionally, the permissive clause in the modified decree does not at all elevate the status of Romani languages in comparison with other minority languages.

Neither the current Act of Public Education, nor the public educational concept that is going to take effect in the next school year meet the conditions for Romani language teacher employment.

Romani languages in public education

The Roma minority education takes place in a variety of forms in those educational institutions where minority education is taught. Some of the schools teach various languages and use a variety of education methods. Moreover, another possible area of education is the Roma ethnography, either combined with the teaching of a Romani language or without it.

Since 2005, our department at the University Pécs has been doing a research to explore those schools and kindergartens that carry a Roma minority educational programme combined with Romani and/or Boyash language teaching. We are also collecting information about the operation and effectiveness of these programmes, especially from those where Romani languages are also taught as part of the above mentioned forms of Romani education. According to our research conducted in 2009, Boyash was taught in

ten institutions and Lovari was taught in 27 schools of 23 townships as part of the minority education (ORSÓS 2012:94). The results of the study show that the Act of Public Education imposed different conditions for a foreign language than for a minority language. Although the practice of this Act is significant from a language policy standpoint, as it gives an opportunity for the minority languages to be introduced into public education, from a professional point of view this endeavour is doomed to failure with “skilled labourer” educators, who do not have any pedagogical or language teaching skills but language competence only.

The Public Education Act of 2011, which requires the organization of minority education for all ethnicities between fifth and twelfth grade without any distinction, does not solve the problem. This act also requires qualified language teachers while there is no Romani language teacher training in Hungary. Those schools that request normative per capita grant for teaching minority classes are also in lack of qualified minority language teachers. They seek resolution for the Romani teaching issue in a variety of ways, but usually these are just short-term endeavours that are contrary to the law.

Romology in higher education in Hungary

Students can only learn the two officially acknowledged Romani languages at the Department of Romology at the University of Pécs. However, this programme had not offered a teacher degree until 2005. Now this programme is available as well. In the Bologna-process, Boyash and Romani language education are part of the 3-year Romology bachelor programme. Liberal of arts or a teacher degree can be earned by completing the master’s program. The Romology programme of the Doctoral School of Education at the University of Pécs also offers a possibility for further training or academic work. The ultimate solution would only be to establish a Boyash and Romany language teacher training programme, similarly to other language teacher trainings. In order to achieve this, however, further fundamental research is necessary, so the sub-disciplines and academic conditions can be created.

CONCLUSION

Several methods exist to preserve the minority languages and to turn the current language shift around, but without the support of the mainstream society, these endeavours are less successful. While most minority individuals have a positive view on their mother tongue, this attitude must be enlarged by a supporting, contributing educational environment that assists to re-evaluate their mother tongue, even in the midst of the generational language shift.

*Translated by Andrea Ventilla*⁶⁸

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Beck Zoltán

The black butterfly

- a short essay about identity, power and reading strategies

What kind of skirt must she [Kiba Lumberg] wear to be accepted as a full-fledged member in the field of art: a Roma skirt?⁶⁹

Kiba Lumberg a Finnish artist made this installation in 2000 that motivated Nummelin to his question. We can see the ars poetic of Lumberg in this installation, the Black Butterfly that shows her first novel's title: *Musta Perhonen* (Black Butterfly, in English)⁷⁰. For one of the most important questions „**Who am I?**” Lumberg's answer is so simple and anachronistic at the same time.⁷¹ This autobiographic novel

⁶⁹ Nummelin, Esko, *Kiba Lumberg, Otherness and Nostalgia Dressed in Stories*, In. Junghaus Tímea-Székely Katalin ed., *Paradise Lost*, OSI, 2007, 121

⁷⁰ Lumberg, Kiba, *Musta Perhonen*, Sammakko, Turku, 2004. *The Black Butterfly*, the photo-collection of this installation is published in many albums of contemporary European art for today cf. Junghaus Tímea-Székely Katalin ed., *Paradise Lost*, OSI, 2007, 131-133), Junghaus Tímea ed., *Meet Your Neighbours*, OSI, 2006, 118, 120-121), and a monography about her artwork.

⁷¹ Sammakko, Turku, 2004, selection from the novel (hungarian):
<http://www.amarodrom.hu/archivum/2007/02/36.html> The

*gives us the worldview and world interpretation of dark skin women. The women have to be hushed up in that culture and may not tell their opinion. Actually, the whole system, and its working is based upon this principle. However, there are plenty talented among them who should be given opportunity to show themselves.*⁷²

The exhibit is an outstretched black skirt pinned with knives to a white wooden board behind bars. As a first step I try to get closer to the semantic horizon of Lumberg's installation by interpreting the step of others. The interpretation so far based on allegoric meaning strategies (sf. Nummelin (2007), R.A. (2007)). The starting point of the interpretations was an autobiographical element: the teenage Lumberg left her own (original) community because she wanted to choose her own individual (not original) way. But if we think this way we reach our ideological (maybe theoretic) limits. We disclose any individual way and we let binary oppositions ruin our thinking. At this very moment the allegoric experience is turning back: we become jailbirds behind our own bars of thinking, because we pushed the bottom on the machine of stereotypes and we had written a sentence even before our starting point, unperceived. Our sentence is a secret expectation of the majority, where we expect the minority to stay *Other*. If the

Metaphor of *Black Butterfly* (and other variations of the picturing elements: beautiful and lovely pets and animals without the typical attributes) is used in hungarian roma/gypsy literature – fs. Szécsi, Magda's artwork in '90-s: play (the title of her play is The Special Black Butterfly). The premiere of the play was at the Hókirálynő [Snow-Queen] Theatre, Budapest, 2005. 09. 25.

<http://hokiralyno.hu/galeria/eloadasok/pillango/index.html>

⁷² R.A. <http://www.amarodrom.hu/archivum/2007/02/39.html> (R.A.:there is the all information about the author – only a monogram of a journalist.)

imagined homogenic community becomes diverse or heterogenic when the preferences and aims of the members become different, then the points of views themselves will diverse and our relation to the *Other* will be different too. The experience of personality is going to change ars poetic act and moral authenticity obviously.

As a second step we define skirt as a suite of women and in this metonymic relation the skirt becomes the Romnyi (the roma woman) deprived of her liberty. But how can we explain the fact, that the skirt, which is itself the symbol of sexual and ethnic identity, appears to be like a

*prison uniform?*⁷³

What so far stood as a signal in our explanation, the skirt as a significant of roma women confronted in its own meaning as a timeless metaphor of deprived freedom. The black skirt changes direction by converting its denotatum and rating sign. At this moment the Black Butterfly, where the visual similarity gives the basic of the metaphor, is not just a visual figure of a woman who is held in captivity. Thus, the stability of our metaphorical formation vanishes among different meanings.

Actually, the Black Butterfly is the prison itself; it is the threatening power of tradition. There are pocket knives on the installation. (Remember: at first sight we had a simple semantic schema where the skirt and pocket knives were sexual symbols.) But now try to open this thin semantic horizon. The pocket knives with their wooden and metal handle among the pearls and pins decorating the skirt become as much patterns on the purple border of the skirt as its crucifiers. Are they constructing an immanent marker together? (Furthermore the story of crucifixion is part of the well known and popular gypsy mythology.)⁷⁴ I also think that the bars that for the first

⁷³ *Junghaus, Tímea-Székely, Katalin ed., Paradise Lost, OSI, 2007, 120*

⁷⁴ This mixture of Christian mythology and gypsy origin is a proliferated narrative tradition from the earliest historical sources.

impression only close up this skirt do something else as well. They take care of the world represented by the skirt and the pocket knives.

The bars, the skirt, and the pocket knives offer themselves for moving their own meanings. If these variable and topical elements meet each other in a strange metaphoric, metonymic situation like that, they can transpose and overwrite their traditional and stable meanings. The whole roma tradition is inaccessible and it is marked by the skirt here, but the skirt itself is not inaccessible for the pocket knives. The skirt is connected to them. This connection hides the world of opposite meanings and makes another border that is not a sexual or moral but an ethnic, cultural border: it is isolation and segregation together. The bars give meanings freedom but there is *no trespassing*.

The skirt and knives as glittering wings of a butterfly are laying in the Subconscious:

*I don't recall being a Gypsy, but I have Gypsies in my dreams, and Gypsies surround me.*⁷⁵

The skirt with the knives stays in the empire of dreams as a fragmented reality. More precisely, the self closes up her own desire from herself. And this is the newer horizon: the metamorphosis of the Self.

The Black Butterfly (the installation and not only the skirt) is the complex, desperate and uncertain tension of self-identity, which is not able to stabilize without making dialogues with other worlds, cultures, etc. However, this relation is not based upon the equality of power. The installation probably

The Legend of *Christ's nails* is one of the most popular tales of representation and self-representation too, because the Christian mythology is a legitimate frame from both sides.

⁷⁵ *Junghaus, Tímea-Székely, Katalin szerk., Paradise Lost, OSI, 2007, 21; cf. <http://nol.hu/archivum/archiv-445982>*

constructs and shows us the *situation of Subaltern and confronts the Majority with its own strategy of authority*.⁷⁶

It looks true, especially if we are aware of the political-social activity of Lumberg. It is not only her inner, invisible confrontation which is burdened with such ambivalent questions, but criticism of the whole society and roma communities. It certainly gives rise to a debate and critical remarks on Lumberg by representatives of roma communities as well.

The Black Butterfly is a montage, not only of materials like textile, wooden, metal and paint but of different powers, different mentalities, and different positions. There is no foreclosing of different meanings and strategies. There is only a certain placing of them into a metonymic relation where they can oscillate, confront, meet and so make an uncomfortable situation for those who want to identify them. The closed, stayed-alone, powerless and defenceless skirt-butterfly becomes inaccessible for them. However, inaccessibility is ambivalent in that case as it can deprive them of the safety of their power.

At last, we should not forget that the recipient himself/herself is staying in the place of installation – part of the exhibit, not a viewer but he/she is pressed to activity by the situation of the installation. Kiba's work forces the recipient to make decisions, to take sides. The interpretation is not a possibility but an obligation: a real personal, social responsibility and activity.

At this moment the *Black Butterfly becomes an exposure of a European narrative that possesses absolute authority*⁷⁷. A

⁷⁶ sf. *Lust, Iván, Desire and Authority*, Thalassa, 1999, 2-3, 7-44 (hungarian) and some authors of Postcolonialism (especially *Bhabha, Spivak*).

⁷⁷ sf. i.a. Le Baz's map collection.

Europe that shows around its own colonized gypsies in its garden of humans like it did with *Nanuk* at the beginning of the last century.

***Judit Balatonyi– Kitti Baracsi– Tibor Cserti
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Ideas and suggestions for examining discriminative mechanisms in housing policies

**Working paper about the meanwhile results of
research programme WE: Wor(l)ds which exclude**

The project sponsored by European Commission (FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND CITIZENSHIP, JUST/2011-2012/FRC/AG) stems from the empirical experience and studies of the partners as well as from the comparison of the results of research at European level on the issue of housing conditions of the Roma people, and of the housing and settling policies related to them. On the basis of the common features arising from the European context – unacceptable housing conditions, discrimination, forced evictions, widespread antiziganism – we have asked ourselves about the existence of a possible stereotyped social description of the Roma people, which has become a common element and tradition in European public discourse. This cognitive “core” would then take on local forms linked to the specific context and to the relationship created between certain Roma groups and a given territory, becoming a platform on which projects and policies are designed.⁷⁸

In this article we wish to disseminate our experiences and report about our results got during the first period of the research. This phase aimed to collect those documents (strategies, government

⁷⁸ website of the project:

<https://sites.google.com/site/wejusticeproject/home>

regulations, laws, ordinances, different draft programmes, local housing strategies, projects on settlement rehabilitation, anti-segregation plans, requests, answers to requests, decisions, decrees, official letters, invitations, proposals, surveys, contracts, collaborative agreements, etc.) which came off whether in the central governance or on the local governments.

The period of the research is from January of 2013 to December of 2014. The focus of the project is on the institutions, and the main action is to analyse the documents produced by national and local Public Institutions (laws, regulations, plans, acts, resolutions) concerning the Roma people, both in regards to language used and the measures proposed, Housing Policies in particular. On the issue of housing, the policies of social inclusion play a certain role, and “Romafobia” is essentially the fear of having the Roma close by. Stereotypes can be used for trade or in situations of conflict in which questions of identity are played out. The analysis of language and institutional measures include the study of the reasons and sources of the language utilized, of the measures proposed and of the actions taken, and it could clearly show what the stereotypes in action are, and how they produce effects on reality and on the everyday life of Roma people.

The leader organisation of research is from Italy the Michelucci Foundation, coordinates numerous projects and research, developing programs and proposals to integrate the local policies on the most relevant urban problems. It coordinates Regional observatory on Roma and Sinti settlements.

Co-works in the project the Centre for Ethnographic Research and Applied Anthropology (CREAa) at University of Verona, from Portugal the CRIA, which is a Portuguese centre for social and cultural anthropology. From Great Britain the International Centre for Guidance Studies at University of Derby participates, in Hungary the Department of Romology at University of Pécs controls the research. In Spain the organization Taller ACSA (it’s a Spanish no-profit organization founded by a group of anthropologist specialized in migration studies, minority studies and cultural studies)

contributes to the work. The Romanian partner is the ISPMN (Romanian Institute For Research On National Minorities) in Cluj Napoca, which conducts inter- and multidisciplinary studies with regard to the preservation, development and expression of ethnic identity, as well as about social, historical, cultural, linguistic, religious or other aspects of national minorities and of other ethnic communities living in Romania. In France LIRCES will handle the project element making anthropological film. It is one of the major laboratories of the faculty Literature, Arts and Human Sciences of the University of Nice, where ethnologists, linguistics and 'narratologists' investigate reality with reference to linguistic devices and to the production of texts.

The levels of collecting documents

- National documents: strategies, government regulations, laws, ordinances
- Local documents: draft programmes, local housing strategies, project on settlement rehabilitation, anti-segregation plan, requests, answers to requests, decisions (e.g. decision of general assembly), decrees, official letters, invitations, proposals, surveys, contracts, collaborative agreements

The housing politics, internally the directives and the proposals related to the housing of Gipsy/Roma population is determined by the national documents. The appearance of these in practices or in actual action plans belongs to the scope of the local. Our work on collecting documents does not extend to the middle level because the housing policy hasn't got any regional institutions in the Hungarian practice neither do the county administrations deal with these problems. However the necessity of the micro-regional research has emerged in the course of the analysis of documents. On the basis of our research it seems that lobby activities are increasingly active on the middle level of the delivery of housing problems.

The national documents

We have examined the following types of documents from the period of 2002–2010.

1. General laws, regulations dealing not explicitly with Gipsy people, but which record the rights related to the housing and the equal treatment. These documents are usually housing policies that also provide concrete financial aid.

2. Policies referring to the population with low socioeconomic status and documents concerning the special social status groups. In this way we examined documents regarding to groups living in segregated areas.⁷⁹ Moreover it would be noteworthy to extend our inquisition to programmes that aid the grant-aided people in settling and creating homes, because there are a lot of Roma people among them among them are a lot of Roma people. Maybe it would be possible to examine the policies on the right of asylum as well, because Roma refugee (families) are arriving to Hungary although not in big numbers.

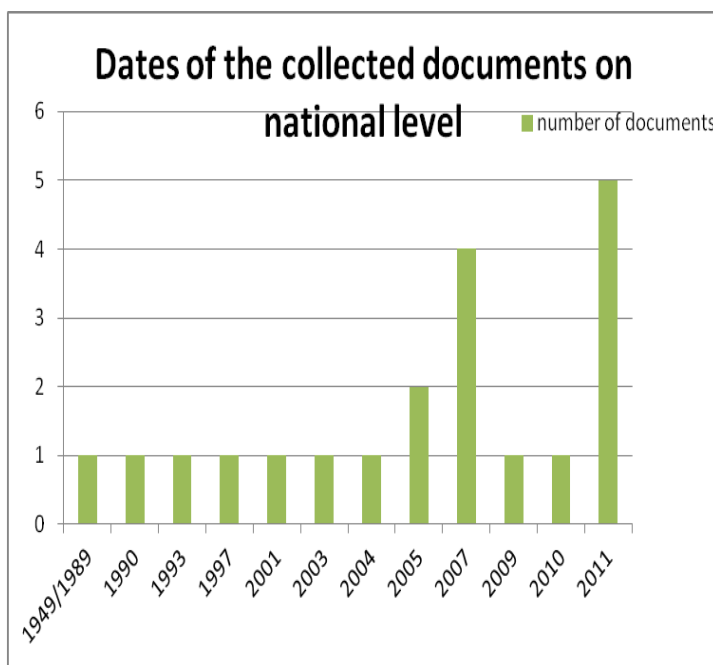
3. Supporting policies directed explicitly to the Roma: these documents declaredly relating to the integration of Roma people. The programmes that started on the basis of these documents are linked to the Roma Decade Programme.

After 2010 it seems to that the proportions modified between point number two and three mentioned above.

In the policies the Roma target group is mostly denominated (but continue to struggle among the labels of disadvantaged conditions, low social status and the naming of Roma as target group, e.g. the

⁷⁹ According to the Central Statistic Office in Hungary the concept of segregated are such a region where the rate of the lower-status people (population of the active age-group who possess not more than elementary school qualification and who don't have regular income) higher than 50 %. The setting where the population is over than thousand on the level of the housing block is it possible to select the segregated places.

title and the text of the Roma Strategy) and the framing of the Roma Strategy and the beginning of the elimination of the Roma enclosed settlements within the New Széchenyi Plan can also be linked to this period. Beside these documents one could also examine the financial laws of the related years and the execution of the laws.



Some important information, notes:

The Act LXXXVI of Year 1993 – neither the later modification of this – which recognizes the Gypsies as minority in law, does not include questions on housing issues

The Act CXXV of Year 2000 – dealing with the equal treatment and the promoting the equal opportunities – marked the housing as a stressed sphere. (Since 2005 the realizing of equal treatment has been supported by the Authority of Equal Treatment as well.)

The action plan of the Decade of Roma Inclusion: The national action plan was confirmed until the end of 2004, which determined the most important tasks and objectives for the period of 2005–2015. The Hungarian working group was formed in 11th March 2004. On the statutory meeting an agreement had been reached on that that the Roma Decade's Action Plan will be executed according to the strategies and rules equivalent to the Government Decree No. 1021/2004 (III. 18) and the parliamentary resolution on the Decade of Roma Inclusion that defines “a programme for the promotion of social integration of the Roma people”⁸⁰ The action plan includes two more tasks in the issue of housing: “Elaboration and implementation of a program which accelerates the housing-social inclusion of the people living in the Roma settlements or settlement-like settlements and infrastructural development in the areas densely populated by Roma.”

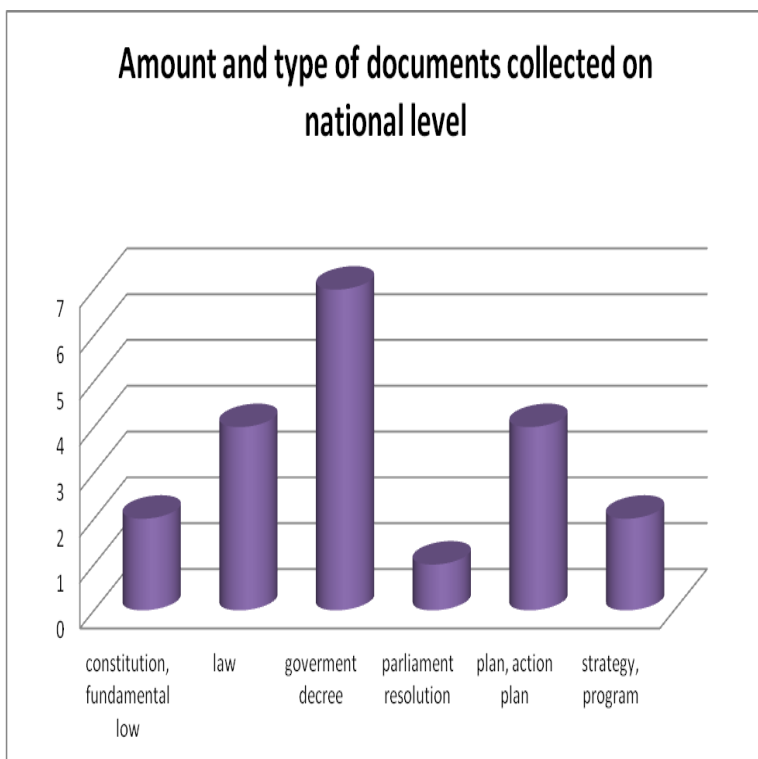
The Hungarian Roma Strategy doesn't exclusively tend to Roma as also shown by the Plan's subtitle. Rather it refers to the child-poverty and the Roma. The documents which refer to the Roma do not differentiate between the cultural subgroups of the Hungarian Roma. Although the National Social Inclusion Strategy contains references to the Boyash (“Beás”) and Lovári languages, but solely in linguistic aspect. So there is no reference to Vlach Gipsy (“Wallachian” or “Oláh”) or Romungro groups. In relation of the strategy the problem of the terminology is very important, in the English version of the strategy contains the “inclusion” idiom, but in the Hungarian version of the document uses the idiom “felzárkóztatás” (‘adaption, accommodation’).

Related to the analyses of the national documents has been proposed the problem of the determination of the corpus (documents including housing policies). The policies related to the supporting of housing have an effect on the housing of the Roma. The so-called “szocpol” (‘social-political support’) has determined the home-building attitude of the locals living in smaller settlements for a long time. Connected to

⁸⁰ In 2002 formed new government in a government regulation summarised the provision plans regarding to the Roma inclusion (in detail see point of 1.2.4.).

these many illegal and semi-illegal businesses emerged between the client (supported) and the developer. In this way the supports resulted the building of irregular, low comfort-level houses. The decision of 2001 was modified on several occasions, .in 2011 after the change of government new decisions were published parallel whit the government's strategy.

We can examine many laws exceeding the above mentioned ones, which in some aspect are dealing with the housing: mortgages, supports for young and families (etc.), in which there are no concrete Roma connections, but the method is interesting as the way they determine the target group is continuously changing.



Funds:

After the accession of Hungary to the European Union the Structural Funds had been formed the financial basis of the implementation of the Action Plan beside the state support.

The starting of the current government program related to Roma settlements was made possible by the Roma Strategy and the governmental initiation. But there was another change too: the modification of the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) decree (437/2010/EU – 19th may 2010) made possible to start the settlement windup programs. The sources could have been used by the communities (Gypsies) living in the margin of society for the support their living circumstances. Before that these sources could have been used for renovating the buildings in the areas of the cities by the 12 new EU states. Owing to the changes the ERDF could be put into use by the disadvantaged social groups in all member states – in municipal and rural areas for building new buildings.

In the case of the national documents it is difficult to determine the concrete aggregate which can be directly connected to the housing of Gypsies. The housing part of the Roma Strategy shows the financial background in only one passage that includes factual financial data, but this point of the program does not only refer to the Roma.

The quality and types of the collected documents

Constitution, Fundamental Law	2 pieces
Law	4 p.
Governmental regulation	7 p.
Parliamentary decision	1 p.
Plan, Action Plan	4 p.
Strategy, program	2 p.

Local documents

Locality of the local documents

Settling	Institution	Types of settlements	Region	Method of the collecting documents
Pécs	Mayor's Office of Pécs, Major Department of Social Welfare	Town	South Transdanubia	Direct +internet
Miskolc	Mayor's Office of Miskolc, Major Department of Social Welfare	Town	Northern Hungary	internet
Gordisa	Local authority	Country	South Transdanubia	Direct
Siklós micro-region	Micro-regional association	Micro-region	South Transdanubia	

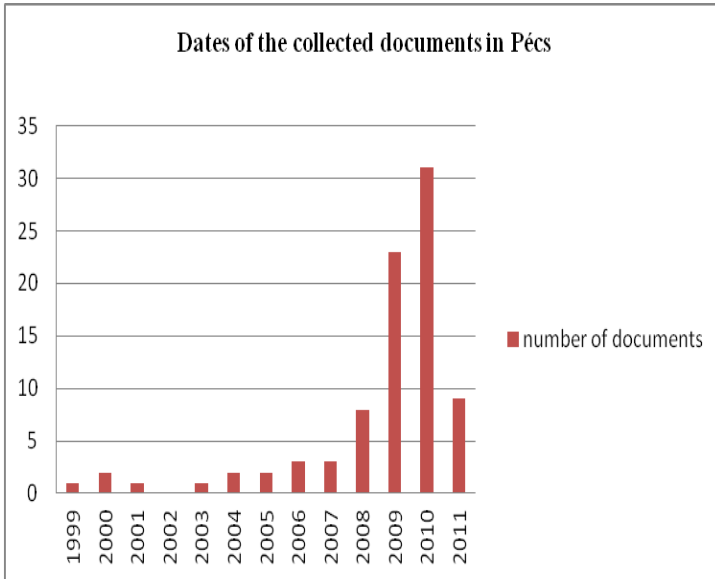
The quantity of the collected documents:

Pécs: 122

Miskolc: 46

Gordisa: 2

Siklós micro-region: 2



There are a number of documents about drainage development in Pécs which have not been inserted into the table yet. Although the focus of these documents is not concretely the question of housing, but the lack of drainage is one of the most problematic points regarding the quality of housing in the town and the strategy of developing the system (that has been financed by EU funds) is strongly connected to the concepts of urban development. The case of “Györgytelep” is a good example also for the failures of drainage development. According to that, the related documents might should be the subject of analysis.

Experiences, problems:

1. The definition, specification of the terms Roma/Gipsy ethnic groups mentioned in the housing programs means a conceptual difficulty. Who can be regarded as Gipsies in our research, and on what basis? How they get into the research sample? The category

of Gipsy is nothing else but “a reflection in our social consciousness created by a complicated historical process– a false reflection in major part” (Csalog 1973. 40).

In Hungary during the elaboration of housing policies by the authorities and the management of housing matters by the local governments the applicant’s or citizens ethnic or national affiliations aren’t registered. Moreover, they do not have any legal authorization for this according to the Law on the rights of nationalities No. CLXXIX. of 2011. (and its earlier versions) the recording or questioning these pieces of data without the contribution of person concerned is strongly forbidden. For this reason in the housing documents one can’t find such markings. One can only find out indirectly that the material is from a Gipsy applicant, or that there are any Gipsies affected by the decision of authority.

This indirect reasoning has a several possible ways:

By names: In our country there are such surnames that are typical of certain Gipsy groups. These are for example Orsós, Bogdán, Kalányos within the Beas group and typically the surnames with Slavonic-like –ics [-ič] endings, but there are many that are typical of the group and also prevail in the majority of society. Among the Vlach Gipsies these are the Oláh, Kolompár, Lakatos, Rézműves surnames but among the Romungros one can also find such typical surnames: e.g. Sárközi. During our collecting process we were looking for these surnames in the official documents, replies because out of many materials in a 10 years’ interval – especially in case of cities – there is no other information which refers to the ethnic, national affiliation of the applicant. We note here that primarily this was the method of the head of the Department of Housing and Social Issues of the city of Pécs. With the utilization of these typical surnames we can be sure that we achieve materials of such citizens who are related to some Gipsy group by origin but we do not know whether they are completely, half or quarter Gipsies through the surname of the father or grandfather which denotes the Gipsy ancestors. This could lead to mistakes as the people with Gipsy surnames do not always live among such life and housing conditions which could give reason to initiate them

in this research. The Gipsy people in Hungary are very heterogeneous based on their economic potential, social situation and life conditions. But in general it's characteristic of the majority of this ethnic group that they are living under such conditions which make them parts of the research. In unique cases the texts of documents clarified if one does not fall within the scope of research. On the other hand the collection of the documents can't be comprehensive because many other people bearing other surnames but identifying themselves as Gipsies fall is out of the cope of the research.

By residential area: In Hungary mainly in the cities but also in the villages have there are characteristic, segregated residential areas, districts, where the majority of the inhabitants or all dwellers are Gipsy people. We have been using this information during our collecting process and categorically looked for applications, requests submitted from addresses of these areas and the administration connected to them.. But our goal was also to get insight in the housing conditions of the Gipsies living together with the majority in other areas of the settlements. For this we could only use the personal experiences of the office staff and the administrators who could give reference on the ethnic affiliation of the people concerned. But this selection method is hardly objective and - by the way - illegal.

By firsthand experience of the administrator of authority: Probably no one can expect an administrator to provide an adequate answer on a question: which of her/his clients are Gipsies? They do not have a clear system of criteria on the issue, but -as the scientific discussions on the problem have been moving on for decades in Hungary demonstrates that - not even the experts are able to give an objective definition, acceptable for everyone and in all situations. But ware still convinced that we can use the term "Gipsy" determined by administrators not expertly by all means in such research situation. We do not know the basis on what he/she regards a person as "Gipsy" – name, skin colour, behaviour, lifestyle, financial situation, language use, front of the house, number of children in the

family etc. – but that doesn't matter from the point of view of our subject.

We examine the housing policy related to Roma people searching for excluding, discriminative mechanisms appearing in them. These attitudes happen to a person by reason of his/her supposed rating as Gipsy. The labelling as Gipsy by the environment or an office is discriminative because they aren't dealing with such questions e.g.: is the belonging real is the rating rightful; neither are they interested in the reasons of sorting to a group. The conclusion is more important but the conclusion – or stigma as you like it – appears when the administrator puts the document in the set of Gipsy files. For this reason we have every right to look for stereotypes in the document.

Summary: Unfortunately because of the measures in Hungary the most of general documents, directives do not include references on Gipsies, the institutions do not establish themselves on ethnic basis and do not support an ethnic point of view but take the concerned into account on the basis of needs and social situation of the concerned one. The field of housing policies works the same way. All of these are of course disadvantageous from the point of view of our research, however these principles - often made for Gipsies – do not name them directly. Although the overwhelming majority of Gipsies in Hungary lives in poverty and a big part of them in deep poverty, we still can not state that who is poor is a Gipsy. As it is not reversely true that who is a Gipsy has a bad social situation. The Roma ethnic cultures have a lot of aspects which contribute to marginalization and it occurs that the same ethnic, cultural features become such stereotypes the stigmatization of which is reasoned by society. Thus both the ethnic and the social features have such figures or figurations getting to surface which are mutually depending to each other, correlative and self-preservative. The majority of society differentiates two bigger groups fundamentally: at first the figure of socially rejected Gipsy – “who isn't welcome” (lazy, poor and the society has to support them according to a widespread stereotype). The other is based on that accepted perspective according to which the Gipsy

is a “friend” who was “assimilated” or “integrated”. So the concept of Gipsy in both cases labels two apparently very different groups of people. How does this appear on the level of discourses, decisions?

2. The problem of political correctness

During the last years – among others thanks to projects for the municipalities - the political correct communication had been excellently acquired. In Hungary since the period under survey there was an extremely powerful ambition on behalf of national politics to create the political correct language usage where the disadvantages are worded as social problems and the ethnic affiliation is interesting “only” in cultural aspect and all these appeared on the level of jurisdiction so our task is really hard to demonstrate the discriminative language of documents, but it doesn’t mean that we’re not going to find anything after digging deeper. But if we would reveal that everything works extremely well according to documents it means primarily in the light of current social processes that the changes in the official discourse – even if sums of money are assigned – do not absolutely yield to practical changes. All of these at the same time strongly question the future results expected from the efforts related to the European Roma strategies, namely what is achievable through changing policy.

3. Justifiability of research on micro-regions

Our point is that it is worth to examine the microregional level because on one hand the amount of documents produced, on the other hand the diversity and because of that only a microregional association is able to call many allowance so here we can find closer mutual actions with national politics by good chance. We had a look at the home page of the microregional association of Siklós from where we downloaded strategies, analyses. According to these we think that the municipalities are obliged to keep up double or rather triple communication because of the different allowance inbounding with non-Roma title or the allowance labelled according to any other needs but not to the local ones. So the decisions, resolutions demonstrate the local political situation but in parallel with it another

communication moves on in accordance with competition-projects which appears in the text of documents. Then the communication with local inhabitants shows another thing which can be better read out of semi-official than the official documents. It would be interesting to analyse the dynamics of these discourses overwriting or contradicting each other.

4. Attitude of officers, administrators

We can't report any resistance, the officers we met were at our service with pleasure and helped us in collecting documents.

In Pécs the head of department was eager that he got a feedback if accidentally wrong administration had occurred. In accordance with our request he collected documents for us according to deadline. At request of legal department of institution the anonymity of documents was ensured. It was made by deleting first names and giving – often expressive – pseudonyms. It's interesting that among the documents he collected and gave us were less sources from the early years of the period under survey contradicting the online database of the institution, where we found quite a lot of documents from the first years. It can be interesting why they did not think them relevant. The mayor of Gordisa village was also very kind and helpful. Earlier he worked at the office of district-notary so he had some overlook on the surrounding villages. First of all he tried convince us that he hasn't got stereotypes at all – this way he tried to earn the approval of the researcher.

Further works – on the basin of the 2nd Meeting in Lisbon (2013 summer)

In the following we will summarize the most important results of the 2nd meeting, where we presented some previous results (about the collected documents) and discussed the problems of the further works. We will talk about these problems: the principal aspect of collecting and analyzing of the documents.

Analysing the documents

In the course of the research the most important aspect for us is to analyse the language use of the final lectors of the documents, we are interested about their idioms. We will perform pragmatic analysis of the text and examine the metaphors. We have to investigate that the texts made by the power, the editors or authors of documents related to accommodations use what kind of linguistic schemata, how a document becomes to official decision, order etc. Furthermore how the stereotypes about accommodations of Roma are developed and became legitimate, which figures of speech, metaphors assign to the certain Roma groups. Anyhow it is important to keep in sight that e.g. the local projects of accommodation fit into a bigger national context. So it should be investigated also this wider national context (...)

Making clear the terms we use during the analysis (e.g. camp, integration etc.)

On the discussion, for example, a few problems about the usage of the term ‘integration’ arisen. Thus the different meanings of integration: the inner and external one. It is about two strategies namely there is a difference between to help the integration or integrational ambitions of the given group (e.g. authors of decisions) and to integrate a group according to our own goals and points of view. That is a significant difference. So it is an important question what is the opinion of certain institutions (e.g. the mayor’s offices) about the integration? It could be interesting to deal with it in accordance of particular documents. We also believe it will be necessary by all means, even to smaller extent, to perform a

historical analysis of the term in a smaller compass or at least to define our notions – to make conscious it is not always such a rejecting, overwriting definition in which everybody agreed, for example the integration, assimilation etc. We will try to dig deeper and examine how these terms appear in the social, political and scientific discourses! Back on the meeting it was a good example the notion of ‘camp’ for its necessity; what is a camp, how can and how cannot we use this term etc. What is a par excellence camp; segregated district, who made it for who?

The part of the project is to make an ethnographic film in the partner countries of the project which is based on a visual anthropological approach and aims at presenting the housing conditions of the Roma groups included the declaration of Roma people.

Problems in relation to the film

1. We mention here some problems, which we have to solve: by way of illustration we have to know what are actually the problems about housing? Also what are those unsuitable, wrong economic and social housing conditions to which we are paying attention. Can we use the term “wrong living condition” in a universal meaning? If we are thinking about the specific life-situation, a living quarter like bad matter on the basis of our personal cognitive patterns or exactly the current discourse of the power (the creators of the documents) invents and represents the concept of bad conditions? Whether this negative sign coincides with the real comfort-feeling of the Roma? Therefore what we or the elaborator of the development plans consider invalid, and the Roma living in this invalid live conditions hold a similar opinion of this question? So is this realisable that the point of view /scheme of the major society and the researcher determine the spectrum of the research – the problematic, stereotypic test / wording?

2. On the screen the worker of the civil sphere also speaking, they present some segregated districts and talk about the living condition of that places. But also important that the Roma people speak and they narrate and interpret their own situation and talk about their future prospects. Very important that the Roma people are also

speaking because the documents what we are analyzing deal with the Roma (at best), but are not' their interpretation, the text talk over head of the Roma.

3. In connection with the film making was realized the question of the ethicality as well. What will become of the film: maybe it will get on the internet, who will use this and how shall we control the fortune of the film? According to us we have to respect ethical codex of the anthropological film making, and we have to solve the arising problems in situ.

The next meeting date is 28-29th January 2014 (Granada). Until the next meeting we have to collect more documents and we have to finalising this, and moreover we have to find, and isolate the more plastic and almost stationary stereotypes connected the housing of Roma. For example in Italy the major problem is the question of purity and impurity.

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