

THE ROLE OF ROMANI STUDIES IN HIGHER
EDUCATION:
A COLLABORATIVE PROJECT BETWEEN
THE UNIVERSITY OF PÉCS AND THE UNIVERSITY
OF PREŠOV



University of Pécs
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
Institute of Education
Department of Romology and Sociology of Education
Romology Research Centre

Pécs, 2021

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This volume introduces Roma Studies training programs in Pécs, Hungary and Prešov, Slovakia. The Romology (Roma Studies) training program in Hungary was established in 1997, and in Slovakia it started in 2019. This volume presents the specifics of both training programs. The first study in the volume is a detailed overview of the training program in Prešov; therefore, the introduction section only presents the training program in Pécs.

The Department of Romology and Educational Sociology has been operating at the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Pécs since 1997 as a unique training program to teach scientific knowledge about the Roma population. The BA, MA and teacher training programs of the department integrate Roma-related research from the humanities and social sciences into higher education. The department trains professionals to understand the scientific aspects of Roma Studies and interpret the political, legal, linguistic, cultural, educational, demographic and economic conditions of the Roma. From 1996, Roma Studies specialization have been organized within the framework of the Department of Linguistics at the University of Pécs Faculty of Humanities. György Szépe, professor of linguistics, has cared deeply about this specialization. At the beginning, Andrea Szalai led and organized the specialization, and since 1997 Katalin Forray R. has been the director. Since the 2000/2001 academic year, the department has been working independently within the university to provide full-time and correspondence training. Since the 2005/2006 academic year, the department has also offered teacher training for trainees to obtain primary and secondary school teacher degrees in Roma Studies.

As a result of the Bologna Process, since the 2006/2007 academic year, the five-year training program has been replaced by a three-year BA and a two-year MA, providing Romani or Boyash language specialization and Roma Culture Specialization. Since 2016 the department has also offered a six-year teacher training program. In addition to teaching, the department's activities are extremely versatile and diverse. In 2001, the department launched the Wlislöcki Henrik Student College (WHSz) with support from the European Union's pre-accession (PHARE). The mission of the WHSz is to bring together Roma/Gypsy students attending the various faculties and departments at the University of Pécs as well as those who are interested in Roma studies and culture. Beside teaching the Romani and Boyash languages, the department contributes to the linguistic examination of both languages. The educators of the department participate in creating, monitoring and evaluating the school leaving examination for subjects related to the Romani, Boyash and Roma culture. They have a close working relationship with Gandhi High School, both in terms of graduation and in the higher education of young students finishing their studies in Gandhi High School. The department is also involved in the content creation and organizational work of the National Primary School Study Competition (OÁTV). Along with all these activities, the department conducts research on Roma, Gypsy culture, language, education, employment and social situation.

Training Programs

Romology (Romani Studies) BA

This program trains professionals to mediate between Roma communities and different types of institutions and organizations that serve these communities. The needs of Roma communities can be professionally and effectively represented by trained Roma Studies Experts, and the initiatives of the different organizations and institutions are represented in the local Roma communities for efficient communication and to address current issues. Collaborating with professionals from other fields – such as sociologists, social politicians, teachers, lawyers and medical

doctors – is essential for Roma Studies Experts. The two officially accepted languages spoken by Hungarian Roma are taught as well. Our graduates have the opportunity to learn both Boyash and Romani languages, and after the first semester they can decide which languages they want to continue with to attain a B2 level language exam by graduation. Graduates may work for national and international organizations, companies and municipalities in the fields of cultural management, journalism and public relations (PR). Graduate Roma Studies experts may use their knowledge in several fields such as public administration, health, education and armed forces, and they frequently work in social and civil spheres. Graduates also have the opportunity to continue their Roma Studies at the MA level.

Romology (Romani Studies) MA

The MA training program has three specializations:

- Specialization in Boyash Language and Culture
- Specialization in Romani Language and Culture
- Specialization in Roma Ethnography

The program trains Roma Studies Experts who know the languages, the cultural background and history, and the current issues and social status of Roma communities, mainly focusing on Europe. Graduates are trained to collaborate with professionals from other fields related to Roma Studies, such as sociologists, social politicians, teachers, lawyers and medical doctors. Graduates are prepared to conduct research independently and collaboratively in different fields related to Roma Studies. They often conduct ethnographic, anthropological, linguistic and sociological research.

Our graduates may work with international organizations, EU organizations, local governments and social organizations, cultural associations, schools and extracurricular programs. The diverse content of this program provides a wide range of job opportunities, depending on what field of Roma Studies (education, social issues, minority rights, cultural anthropology, languages, etc.) is the most interesting for the individual graduate. Graduates are prepared to continue with their studies as PhD students and/or to apply for the two-semester Roma Studies teacher training program.

Teacher Training Program

The new system, which was first launched in 2013, offers teacher training with two subject specializations. Roma Studies teacher majors can be paired with several other majors. In addition to the specialisation and methodology courses, students are also required to take pedagogical and psychological courses. The last two semesters of the training program is an internship.

Romology (Romani Studies) in General Teacher Training Programs

Since 2015, students in the Faculty of Science and Humanities have been able to take Roma Studies as an optional course. The course discusses topics related to the field of Roma Studies. Thematic units offer basic Roma Studies knowledge that helps trainees to see social processes in an understandable and interpretive way and prepare them to become teachers and critical intellectuals who contribute to the development of a more open society.

Romology (Romani Studies) Ph.D.

The Education and Society Doctoral School of Education Sciences started in 2006 at the University of Pécs. It has two programs: Educational History and Educational Sociology. The Educational Sociology program includes a wide range of areas.

Traditional educational and sociological issues play an important role in the program: the link between social inequalities and education, the interdependence of social processes (demographic, migration, urban network) and education policy decisions, the relationship between the economy and the labour market with vocational training, and the emergence of social inequalities in education. The training focuses on higher education, and instead of looking at the issues of inequality, it concentrates on comparative and educational policy analyses, as well as problems of institutional leadership and management. The Bologna Process and current changes in higher education are particularly topics reflected upon in some of the PhD courses. The Sociology of Education program includes the Roma Studies specialization. Within the specialization, the disciplines of the BA and MA degree programs (linguistics, literature, sociology, etc.) are taught. The development of Romani and Boyash languages, the design of development and traditional areas of culture such as storytelling, and the applicability of fairy tales in education are the focus of this specialization. Additionally, it includes historical, educational, sociological and methodological aspects with special attention on social inequalities and their effect on education and career.

The Romology Research Centre

The Romology Research Centre was established at the University of Pécs Faculty of Humanities Romology and Sociology of Education Department to bring together national and international research on the Roma/Gypsy population. The Research Centre not only conducts research but also creates and provides an inclusive and analytical space where researchers and intellectuals can meet to discuss and debate issues. The concept for this initiative was shaped by the historical features of science and by classical disciplines.

Therefore, the Research Centre has three main disciplinary committees: Linguistic, Sociology of Education and Social Sciences. The committees' core members are students and colleagues at the department and the Wlislöcki Henrik Student College, and these members also invite additional researchers and professionals to the committees. Researchers and professionals join the centre from national and international universities, but private individuals from civic organizations and NGOs are welcome to join as well.

The Research Centre provides a platform for dialogue between Hungarian and international researchers, professionals and Roma colleges. The Wlislöcki Henrik Student College (WHSz), the Romológia folyóirat (Roma Studies Journal), the Horizons and Dialogues Conference, the Gypsy Studies Journal, and the Education and Society Doctoral School of Education are all important participants in the Research Centre.

The 11 studies in this volume introduce the Romani Studies training programs in Pécs, Hungary and Prešov, Slovakia. In addition, the studies provide insight into the disciplines explored in these training programs, and the researchers raise several questions and dilemmas in the field of Roma Studies. The volume is highly recommended to all interested persons who would like to learn more about the work we do related to Roma Studies in higher education.

Anna Orsós
Head of Department
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ALEXANDER MUŠINKA:
TEACHING THE ROMANI LANGUAGE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF PREŠOV

This paper presents the current situation of teaching the Romani language at the University of Prešov, which the author presents in the broader context of Romani studies at this university. As this topic has not been comprehensively explored yet, this article is the first attempt to systematically introduce this issue, which has a very strong tradition and a wide multidisciplinary scope at the University of Prešov. The author also explains the teaching of the Romani language and Romani disciplines in the context of the system of national minority education in Slovakia.

Keywords: Field of study Romani Language and Literature, Romani studies, University of Prešov, national minority education in Slovakia.

Romani studies and the study of Roma and Roma topics at the University of Prešov have a long multidisciplinary tradition. Unfortunately, this topic has not been comprehensively analysed so far, and therefore we perceive this study as one of the first contributions to the overall picture and the position of Romani studies at the University of Prešov. At this point, the focus will only be on the study of Romani studies at the University of Prešov, not only in accredited fields but also in the broader context of the social situation in Slovakia.

The following statement can be found on the official website of the University of Prešov: *“The University of Prešov ranks among the most reputable and distinguished universities in the Slovak Republic. The University was officially established by the Act no. 361/1996 Coll. on 1 January 1997 as Pavol Jozef Šafárik University in Kosice division.”*¹ As mentioned above, the University of Prešov was established as an independent public university, by separating from the already existing Pavol Jozef Šafárik University, which was established in 1959 by merging the then Košice branch of the Medical Faculty of the University of Bratislava and the Higher Pedagogical School in Prešov. Currently, the University of Prešov has a total of 8 faculties with more than 8,300 students. In 2019, the University of Prešov had 142 accredited full-time fields of study at the bachelors, masters, and doctoral level and 88 fields of study in distance learning programs.²

In addition to the independent faculties, education at the University of Prešov is also provided by university-wide research centers, including the Center for Languages and Cultures of National Minorities, which also includes the Institute of the Ruthenian Language and Literature, the Institute of Hungarian Language and Literature, and the Institute of Roma Studies.

The Institute of Romani Studies (IRS) of the University of Prešov operates within the university-wide scope of activities, which from a formal point of view is one of the newest institutes at the University. It was officially established on January 1, 2011, but its activities did not start from the ground up. From a formal point of view, this institute underwent certain organizational changes, which date back to the 90s. *The Institute of National Studies and Foreign Languages* was established at the University of Prešov by director and biologist Prof. Ivan Bernasovský and later historian Prof. Štefan Šutaj, and it later became the independent

1 Look for more: <https://www.unipo.sk/en/en/university/about/>

2 Look for more: Jana Burgerová - Adriana Butoracová: Annual Activity Report of the University of Prešov 2019 Prešov, The University of Prešov, 2020, 192 pages. ISBN 978-80-555-2500-6

Research Center with director and biologist Prof. Jarmila Bernasovská. Since its establishment, the Institute of Romani Studies has viewed itself primarily as a research center. This institute did not carry out independent pedagogical activities, because at that time the University of Prešov did not yet have an accredited and relevant field of study.

The IRS has provided and coordinated scientific research since its establishment, not only at the University of Prešov. The research focused on a wide range of multidisciplinary, scientific, and professional topics related to the Roma ethnic group. Thematically, it was research focused on the issues of anthropology, history, geography, language, culture, political science, and society related to the Roma ethnicity. Territorially, the IRS primarily focused (and still focuses) on Roma research in (eastern) Slovakia, but in a broader (Central) European context. The goal of the IRS, and of course of the entire University of Prešov, is to establish an independent Romani library that archives materials with a nationwide reach.

However, the research of Roma issues at the University of Prešov goes much deeper than 2011, when the Institute of Romani Studies was established. Besides the independent research of the author of this article, extensive research conducted by the biologist prof. Ivan Bernasovský focused on the issues of physical anthropology and biomedicine of Roma. Initially, it was primarily the area of biological characteristics of this ethnic group, but in recent years, more and more emphasis has been placed on the field of medicine at the level of DNA analysis.³ The Department of Biology is currently continuing this research, such as the work of Prof. Jarmila Bernasovská, Associate Professor Iveta Boroňová, and Dr. Sona Mačková.

Romani themes were also very important for the andragogical research conducted by Dr. Mária Dubayová, which currently being continued by Associate Professor Ivana Pirohová, Dr. Marek Lukáč, and Dr. Silvia Lukáčová. We also find very high-quality research at other departments and institutes, including the research of prof. René Matlovič and prof. Kvetoslava Matlovičová from the Department of Geography and Applied Geoinformatics.

Until the establishment of the Institute of Romani Studies, employees working at the Faculty of Education had a dominant position in Romani research. These were primarily pedagogical teams from the Department of Pre-school and Elementary Pedagogy and Psychology (prof. Milan Portík, prof. Iveta Kovalčíková, Dr. Monika Miňová), the Department of Special Education (Associate Professor Bibiána Hlebová), and the Department of Natural Sciences and Technological Disciplines (prof. Jozef Liba, Associate Professor Alica Petrasová). The Faculty of Education still holds an important place in research on the education of Roma.

The work completed by university staff related to the topic of the Roma includes several hundred individual books and monographs and over a thousand articles and studies. The comprehensive discussion of this material is beyond the scope of this paper. The most important examples will be listed briefly: the monographs of Ivan Bernasovský and Jarmila Bernasovská titled *Anthropology of Romanies (Gypsies)* (Bernasovsky, 1999); Mária Dubayová's *Roma in the Processes of Cultural Change* (Dubayová, 2001); Milan Portík's *Determinants for the Education of Romani Pupils* (Portík, 2003); René Matlovič's *Roma Minority in the Geography of the Population of Slovakia* (Matlovič, 2005); and Alexander Mušinka and Kveta Matlovičová's *Atlas of Roma communities in Slovakia 2013* (MUŠINKA, 2014).

The Institute of Romani Studies is active in organizing various seminars and conferences. It has published several monographic publications or collections, and it actively participates in

3 The research of prof. Bernasovský focused on the ethnogenesis of the Roma. He was the first to confirm the connection of the Roma with members of the Indian caste Gade Lohar, which belongs to the Dalit group.

domestic and international scientific research and grant activities. A few of the conferences and publications are discussed below:

In 2011, the international conference *Post-crisis Recovery: Increasing Employment and Inclusion of Roma* was organized in cooperation with the Slovak Foreign Policy Association and the Government Office of the Slovak Republic within the National Convention on the European Union. A collection of the same name was published from this conference (ed. Mušinka, 2011). More than thirty experts from Slovakia, the Czech Republic, and the USA spoke at this conference, representing both the academic community and state and public administration. In 2012, the IRS organized a second international conference titled *Theoretical and Practical Questions of Political Participation of the Roma at the Local Level*, again in cooperation with the Slovak Foreign Policy Association, the National Democratic Institute in Bratislava and the Government Office of the Slovak Republic. A collection was also published from this conference (ed. BENČ, 2013).

In 2019, within the research project *Study of Kinship Relations in Roma Communities in Slovakia*, the IRS organized an international conference titled *Roma - Family - Kinship: An Interdisciplinary View*, from which a collection of the same name was published in two volumes (ed. BERNASOVSKÝ, 2019, 2020).

The Institute of Romani Studies also pays great attention to the systematic mapping of various activities and projects aimed at Roma in Slovakia. In this regard, in addition to the already mentioned Atlas of Roma Communities in 2013, of which the institute was also the coordinator and implementer, the IRS prepared and published several publications: a monograph by Alexander Mušinka entitled *The Things That Worked: Examples of successful activities on the level of local administration aimed at improving the situation of the Roma* (Mušinka, 2012), as well as a follow-up to this work entitled *The Things That Work: Examples of municipalities that successfully coexist with the Roma* (Mušinka - Pollák, 2018). In 2012, the IRS published the collection *(Il)legal settlements: Possibilities of self-governments and mechanisms of land settlement in the environment of Roma settlements* (Mušinka, 2012). In 2016, the IRS prepared a policy paper entitled *Spišský Hrhov Municipality: a model of a successfully functioning municipality in the process of public administration reform and in the context of multicultural coexistence* (MUŠINKA, 2016).

A very interesting publishing activity of IRS is the participation in the publication of the book by Michal Smetánka and Jozef Schmiedl titled *Multinational Medzev: Memories of the Coexistence of Germans and Roma* (SMETÁNKA – SCHMIEDL, 2012). As the name suggests, it is a unique attempt to look at the issue of interethnic relations in a particular locality through the perspective of two national minorities.

Even though the introduction stated that the Institute of Romani Studies was established primarily as a scientific research institute and did not perform independent pedagogical activities, its employees actively participated in teaching other accredited fields of study, which primarily included teaching Romani and anthropological subjects.

The situation changed significantly in 2018 when the Ministry of Education of the Slovak Republic approved the accreditation of the new bachelor's study program *Romani Language, Literature and Realities in Combination* at the University of Prešov, which started to be taught from the 2019/2020 school year as a general education subject.

It is a classic teacher education program, which is so far accredited only for the bachelor's degree, which is completed in combination with other teaching specializations. The University of Prešov offers students the ability to complete this program of study with 24 different combinations. Romani language, literature, and social conditions can be studied in combination with

the following specializations: biology, ecology, physics, geography, mathematics, pedagogy, technology, fine arts, ethical education, French language and literature, English language and literature, history, aesthetics, philosophy, music art, German language and literature, Russian language and literature, Slovak language and literature, Ukrainian language and literature, citizenship education, physical education, Hungarian language and literature, and Ruthenian language and literature.

Anna Orsós (a pedagogue, linguist and guarantor of a program of study), Alexander Mušíka (a cultural anthropologist), Lucia Segřová (a historian), Lenka Gorořová (a linguist), and Jana Gáborová-Kroková (a literary scholar) currently work at the IRS. The study department is managed by Mária Berezovská. As part of individual lectures and seminars, students are provided with a comprehensive education in the field of Romani language and Romani dialectology, in the field of Romani literature, Romani history, culture, and society.

The IRS is not only the only university institute in Slovakia that offers the study of teaching the Romani language and literature in combination with other teaching specializations, but it is the very first pedagogical institution in the history of Slovakia that offers the possibility of this field of study. The only partner institute that offers a similar program is the Institute of Romani Studies at the Faculty of Social Sciences and Health Care at Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra, which provides educational programs in social services and counseling.

We currently have completed the first two years of this study program at the University of Prešov. Accreditation of the master's degree is currently being prepared, which should make the study of the Romani language and literature a full-fledged university program, and the graduates will be fully qualified teachers within the education system in Slovakia.

In order to better understand why the study program for Romani Language, Literature and Realities is offered at the University of Prešov, it is necessary to briefly describe the context in which this program originated.

The Roma in Slovakia are the second-largest national minority. The above statements apply regardless of what method we use to examine our sources.⁴ According to the 2011 Population and Housing Census, 105,738 persons registered as Roma in Slovakia.⁵ However, if the principle of ascribed ethnicity is used, which the Atlas of Roma Communities in Slovakia relied on in 2013 (Mušíka, 2014), according to qualified estimates it can be seen that at least 402,810 inhabitants are living in Slovakia who are perceived as Roma by the environment (regardless of their nationality in the census).

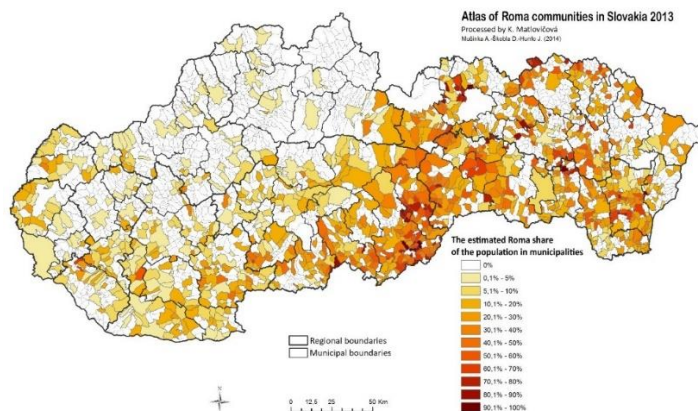
The Roma in Slovakia, unlike some other national minorities, do not form a single homogeneous territorial group, which means that they do not inhabit a particular area, but are present in varying degrees throughout Slovakia.

However, most Roma live in the eastern and southern regions of Slovakia. If we use the data estimates from Atlas 2013, then a total of almost 60% of all estimated Roma in Slovakia live in the two East Slovak regions of Prešov and Košice. It is estimated that there are approximately 240,813 Roma in these two regions – 126,606 in the Košice Region and 114,207 in the Prešov Region. The spatial distribution of Roma in Slovakia as well as these two regions is graphically documented by the maps below.

4 We can use the methodology of *declared ethnicity*, which is used by the Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic within the Population and Housing Census (the last one took place in 2011 and the latest is currently underway), or *ascribed ethnicity*, which was used by the Atlas of Roma Communities in Slovakia 2013 (hereinafter Atlas 2013).

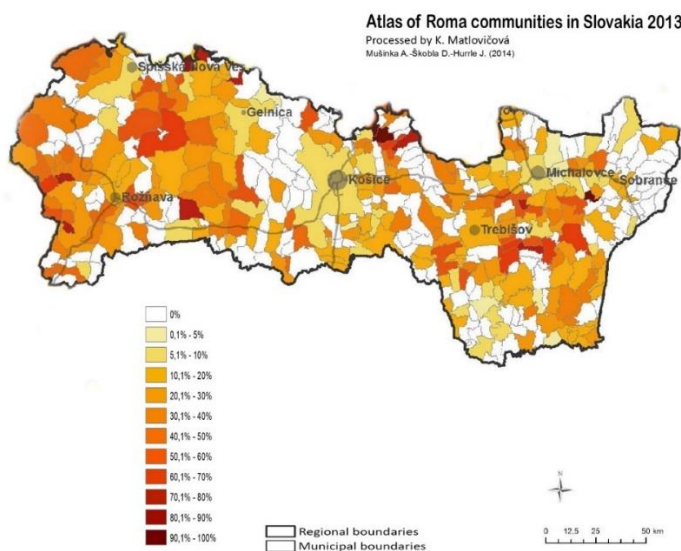
5 Source: Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic. https://slovak.statistics.sk/wps/wcm/connect/1f62189f-cc70-454d-9eab-17bdf5e1dc4a/Tab_10_Obyvatelstvo_SR_podla_narodnosti_scitanie_2011_2001_1991.pdf?MOD=AJPERES

The estimated Roma share of the population in municipalities in Slovakia



Source (MELIKANTOVÁ, 2020)

The estimated Roma share of the population in municipalities in Košice Region



Source (MELIKANTOVÁ, 2020)

It is this region in which the University of Prešov operates, and a significant (if not dominant) number of students are from the East Slovak region. At the same time, the University of Prešov has a long tradition of preparing teachers for educating national minorities. The University of Prešov has an accredited Ukrainian Language and Literature study program, which prepares teachers for Ukrainian national minority schools in Slovakia. In addition, the Ruthenian Language and Literature program of study is accredited here, which prepares teachers for educating Ruthenian national minorities in Slovakia. It was therefore natural that the management

of the University of Prešov was interested in accrediting the teacher education program to meet the needs of the emerging Roma national minority education in Slovakia.

For a better understanding, it is appropriate to briefly explain national minority education, and the place that national minority schools have within the education system in Slovakia.

In principle, three types of national minority education are recognized in Slovakia. Schools teaching in the language of a national minority are the first type. These are the school facilities in which all subjects should be taught in the language of a national minority, with the state language being taught as a separate subject. This type of school is officially intended for three nationalities - Hungarian, Ukrainian, and Ruthenian. However, it is implemented only for the Hungarian national minority. For Ukrainian and Ruthenian school facilities, which officially report teaching in the language of a national minority, the actual teaching is closer to the second type of national minority school. These are the schools with the language of a national minority, which means that the subjects are taught in the state language, but the school also teaches the language of national minorities. The third form of national minority education is the teaching of the language of a national minority as a complementary subject, which is optional. The establishment of national minority education is in principle not tied to the presence of representatives of a particular nationality in the city or municipality. The establishment of the national minority school is primarily from parent requests to establish such a school or provide teaching of minority language and literature at a particular school. The second condition is the existence of qualified teachers who have university master's degrees in relevant programs of study.

The situation of the Roma national minority in Slovakia in the context of national minority education shows considerable differences and particularities. Despite Roma being the second largest national minority, the Roma in Slovakia do not have their own national minority education system. Schools or educational institutions that focus on the education of Roma students from the position close to national minority education are almost exclusively private schools. State institutions with this objective do not exist. The most common argument for why the relevant Roma national minority schools do not exist is the absence of qualified teachers of Romani language and literature.

In the materials of the Ministry of Education and its subordinate state institutions, the register of schools and school facilities available on the website of the Slovak Center of Scientific and Technical Information⁶ states only one school institution in which education is carried out in Slovak and Romani language. It is the Zefyrín J. Malla⁷ Private Grammar School in Kremnica, founded by the civic association eMKLub Kremnica. It is an eight-year grammar school, where the Romani language is also taught. The above-mentioned register does not list any schools that only teach in the Romani language. There are currently several primary and secondary private schools in Slovakia where Romani language is taught: Private Primary School in Košice, Private Music and Drama Conservatory in Košice, and Private Secondary Vocational School in Kežmarok, among other examples.

The paradox of educating the Romani national minority in Slovakia is that schools have long pointed to the high need for qualified teachers of Romani language and literature or at least teachers who would be proficient in Romani. The reality in Slovak schools in which Roma pupils are educated (kindergarten, primary, special, etc.) is that in many cases, education is realized to a greater or lesser extent in the Romani language. However, it is not about education in the sense of national minority education (even unofficial), but about overcoming objective language barriers that arise from the difference between the official language of instruction and the mother

6 http://www.cvtisr.sk/cvti-sr-vedecka-kniznica/informacie-o-skolstve/registre.html?page_id=9229

7 Webpage of the secondary grammar school mentioned: <http://sgkca.edupage.sk/>

tongue of some Roma students. In many cases, the situation is such that Roma students do not speak a language other than Romani.

If you try to find information on the website of the Ministry of Education of the Slovak Republic on Roma education, you will find that Roma will probably not appear in the section on educating national minorities⁸ but in the section on special and inclusive education. This paradox clearly illustrates how society approaches and perceives the education of Roma in Slovakia.

The activities of a state institution, which already has the education of Roma in its name, are similarly oriented. The Roma Education Center in Prešov (ROCEPO) is an integral part of the Methodology and Pedagogy Center in Prešov, with has a nationwide platform. It was established within the PHARE project in 2001. Although the aim of this institution is „... to take into account the specific needs and conditions of the Roma **national minority**, with an emphasis on effective educational, information, documentation and counseling services, especially for teachers in schools with a high number of Roma children and pupils”,⁹ a significant (if not dominant) part of the activities is oriented not in the context of national minority education but in the context of educating students from socially disadvantaged backgrounds or marginalized Roma communities.

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8 There is only one document in this section entitled *Excerpts from generally binding legal regulations in force concerning the provision of education and training of children and pupils belonging to national minorities in the Slovak Republic* (https://www.minedu.sk/data/files/6098_vynatky_z_predpisov.pdf) in which education of Roma national minority is mentioned once in a statement: „The Hungarian, Ruthenian, Ukrainian, German and Roma national minorities in the Slovak Republic have exercised the right to education in their mother tongue or to education of the mother tongue and literature of the national minority.” (P. 24)

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The aim of this study is to recount and examine a course that provides teacher trainees at the University of Pécs access to some aspects of Romany Studies in their academic curriculum. In the following sections, we attempt to reflect on and summarise the experiences and perspectives of both students, researchers and professors. As part of this reflection, the historical context concerning the course, some thematic changes and potential ways of future development will be considered. In addition, we will review a survey that consists of two questionnaires (pre- and post-term) submitted by 131 students in the summer semester of 2017. This survey assists in understanding how students' knowledge and attitudes changed from the beginning to the end of the semester.

Keywords: Romani Studies, teacher training, Gypsy/Roma, curriculum

1. Introduction

There are multiple motives behind such a course within the teacher training curriculum. On the one hand, the national core curriculum sets the goal of including contents regarding nationalities and minorities on every level of public education. This goal can only be met if future practicing teachers have already acquired relevant basic knowledge in this area in their training. Content that considers Hungarian Gypsy/Roma is especially important, as they make up the largest national minority in the country. On the other hand, the course attempts to augment teachers' and teacher trainees' inclusive attitudes as well as to develop intercultural areas of competence (see GORDON GYÖRI, 2014), both of which have already been recognised as necessary developmental areas for this profession by numerous studies. One of these studies written by Kállai, detailed his 2007 research, which examined higher education Romani Studies courses. In his report, Kállai also mentions Kaltenbach's ombudsman inspection (KALTENBACH, 2001) which revealed that only 7% of teacher trainees could be described as free of prejudices in general and tolerant towards the Gypsy/Roma. Furthermore, Kállai refers to Vásárhelyi's research (VÁSÁRHELYI, 2003) conducted among history students, which clearly showed that more than one third of the 500 participants could be considered racist (KÁLLAI 2012: 4). A significant result of the 2007 research was that – although prejudices declined only to a small extent – students who attended courses with Romani Studies content were more considerate and empathetic towards Gypsy/Roma people, and they were also less likely to close themselves off from job opportunities involving Gypsy/Roma students or clients (KÁLLAI 2012: 19).

From 2014, a so called “palette” course preceded the creation of this coursework, which aimed to familiarise students with the most important and relevant information about the different fields of study within Romani Studies. Each professor of the Department of Romology and Sociology of Education Sciences presented their own research areas in order to bring students an up-to-date summary of what Romany Studies entails. To this day, there are multiple courses

10 This study was, apart from a few alterations, based on the following work: Andl, Helga – Beck, Zoltán – Cserti Csapó, Tibor – Lakatos, Szilvia (2018): Romológiai ismeretek és tanárképzés. In: Cserti Csapó, Tibor (ed.): Horizontok és Dialógusok. VII. Romológus Konferencia. Pécsi Tudományegyetem BTK NTI Romológia és Nevelésszociológia Tanszék, Pécs. 17-47.

in the MA teacher training programme that contains content about Gypsy/Roma (such as *School and Society*, *Education Sociology* and *Inclusive Pedagogy*). These supported by study materials summed up in two volumes titled *Inclusive Pedagogy* (VARGA, 2015), with a significant part of these volumes discussing contents related to Romani Studies.

From 2015 onwards there has been an increase in the number of students who attend these courses – most of them coming from the teacher training programmes of the Faculties of Natural Sciences and of Humanities and Social Sciences as well as from the Episcopal Theological College of Pécs: in the 2015/2016 academic year there were only six groups each with 20-25 students, followed by eight groups in 2016/2017 and ten groups in 2017/2018 all with 20-25 students attending the courses. The growing number of attendees indicated to professors that constant integration of new material and steady improvement was necessary in order to keep the courses relevant. To achieve this, professors established an ever-growing task bank and continued to develop the curriculum.

The course description lists the following goals: “*The course discusses topics that are connected to different areas of Romani Studies. The thematic units provide students with basic knowledge in Romani Studies that may help them observe and understand social processes and contribute to the creation of a more open society.*” The purpose of this course is not to present the potential narrative nature of Romany studies or the narrative called Romology (see BECK, 2013: 20), but instead the general goal is to create a meeting place for different scientific fields and perspectives within a set thematic framework.

The topics considered in the course included: Romani Studies as a scientific discourse; the problematic aspects of conducting research related to Gypsy/Roma communities; the European and Hungarian Gypsy/Roma groups; the historical research of Gypsy/Roma; social approaches; ethnographical and cultural studies; and issues of representation and self-representation through the lens of artistic work. As the participants of this course are all teacher trainees, we focus on the school attendance trends of Hungarian Gypsy/Roma and the support programmes, as well as the representation of Gypsy/Roma in official learning resources and materials used in schools. In previous years, students had the opportunity to familiarise themselves with curricular and extracurricular programmes, institutions, and even different Gypsy/Roma civil society organisations (or non-governmental organisations) and their function. For instance, students were able to visit the “Tanoda” (study halls or extracurricular tutoring program) of Khetanipe, a local Roma civil society organisation in Pécs, which aims to support students with social disadvantages –Gypsy/Roma youth in particular. Furthermore, students could explore a crucial aspect of Gypsy/Roma history at a museum exhibition titled *Parajmos – Roma Holocaust Exhibition*. Throughout the course, we were able to improve and structure our topics on the material developed by the professors and researchers of the Department of Romology and Education Sociology in the Institute of Education Sciences at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of Pécs (e.g., CSERTI CSAPÓ, 2015; ORSÓS, 2015; VARGA, 2015; Romológia Journal).

2. Survey regarding the course

In order to be able to constantly and systematically develop the course, we completed a survey among students who participated in the course in the summer semester of 2017, particularly those in their second year at the university. Building on the results gained from this survey and other experiences, we made several alterations to the plan for the 2018 summer semester. The changes were mostly in the areas of student work and course fulfilment.

2.1 Methodology of the survey

In the course of the survey, we employed questionnaires both at the beginning and at the end of the semester. These questionnaires consisted of closed and open-ended questions, and they were answered by 130 and 131 students respectively.

The aims of the survey were categorised and established as follows:

- regarding the students: their knowledge of the subject at the beginning and at the end of the course, the manner in which they relate to the subject, their primary and secondary school experience, and the subject- and programme-specific ideas mentioned by students in connection with the integration of Romani Studies content into the course;
- regarding the course: determining potential directions for development;
- regarding the survey: specifying and finetuning the questionnaire for future use.

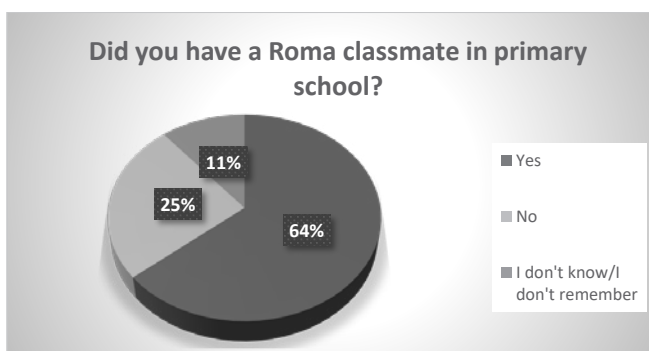
2.2 The results of the survey

2.2.1 School experience (*Have you had any Gypsy/Roma classmates or teachers either in primary school or in secondary school?*)

First, we were interested in whether students have encountered any Gypsy/Roma people during their studies. This could be crucial information, as past experiences, however superficial, inform present prejudices which may be countered by positive experience as well as by acquiring deeper knowledge.

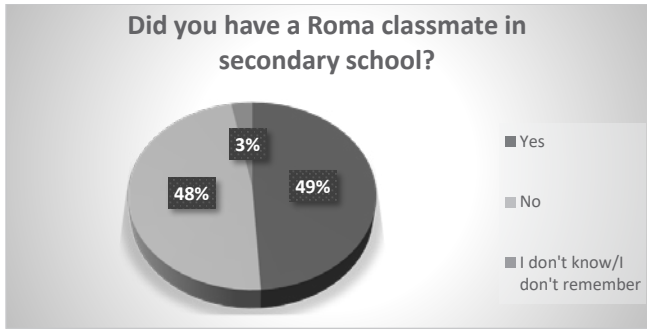
As it is to be expected, quite a significant portion of the students who submitted their questionnaires had attended primary school with Gypsy/Roma students. It was a pleasant surprise that almost half of the 130 students had studied with Gypsy/Roma students in secondary school as well, although this percentage was smaller compared to primary school. This data may prove that nowadays it is quite common for Roma/Gypsy youth to be present in grammar schools (gimnázium) – a type of secondary school that most Hungarian students attend before coming to university – and not only in the institutions that are specifically designed for their attendance.

Figure 1.



A quarter of participants claimed to have had no such experience in primary school, and the number of those belonging to this group in secondary school almost equals that of those who had attended an institution with Gypsy/Roma students. The group of students who were unable to answer the question unequivocally is also sizeable. Furthermore, the percentage of uncertain students regarding primary school attendance seems quite high at 11%.

Figure 2.



Another preconception regarding the results of the survey was that it was quite unlikely for students to have had any Gypsy/Roma teachers at either primary or secondary school. Thus, after the results were assessed, it was rather surprising that around 4% of participants had actually been taught by a Gypsy/Roma teacher in primary school and 7% stated the same about their secondary school experience. These results may be attributed to the fact that a few of our students at the University of Pécs come from institutions where a higher frequency of both Gypsy/Roma students and teachers is present – the prime example for that is the Gandhi Secondary Grammar School in Pécs, which was the first Roma/Gypsy nationality secondary grammar school in Europe. The teaching staff at this particular secondary school includes both Gypsy/Roma and non-Roma professionals – it is therefore quite possible that students who had attended this grammar school are responsible for this arguably positive data. Moreover, the decade-long work carried on at the Institute of Education Sciences at the University of Pécs, which also includes the Department of Romology and Sociology of Education, constantly contributes to the increase in the frequency of Gypsy/Roma teachers at different educational institutions.

Figure 3.

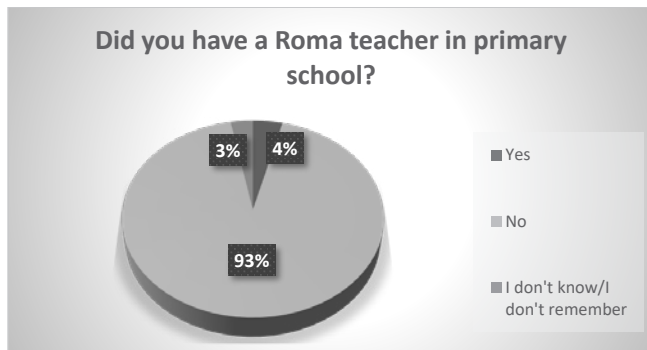
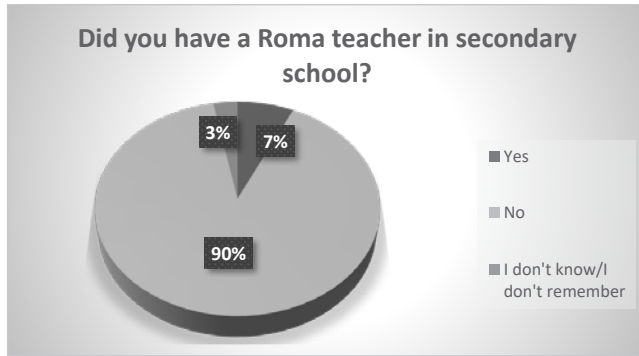


Figure 4.



2.2.2 On the considerate and appropriate use of Gypsy/Roma terminology

Following the analysis of the respondents' answers to the questions, "What do you associate with the term 'Roma'?" and "What do you associate with the term 'Gypsy'?", we found that after the thoughtful reflection on the two terms that were incorporated in the course programme, our students used them in a more considerate manner. By the time of the questionnaire at the end of the semester, students were able to notice and analyse the different possible uses and meanings of the terms in a scientific context. Although we cannot speak of a typological approach yet, the main characteristics of this generally considerate reflection on the students' part will be listed below with examples taken from their answers. It is important to note here that these results were not categorised in an effort to fulfil or adhere to any previous scientific expectations; rather, it was the students' answers that governed our categorisation and analysis. Thus, the possible areas that should be focused on – and which usually appear on multiple discourse levels – are not determined by a presupposition on the researchers' part.

The aforementioned answers include those which

- (1) talk about the idea of self-naming – in the case of the term *Gypsy*: "*Many Roma people use this term when talking about themselves (Boyash)*"; in the case of the term *Roma*: "*it is Olah Gypsies who call themselves by that name*";
- (2) allude to the heterogeneity of the Gypsy/Roma communities: "*A term which can be further divided into the different groups of the Roma*";
- (3) allude to the different Gypsy languages: "*usually it is used by the Boyash but other groups could be using it as well*"; or "*it means human, man in the Gypsy language*";
- (4) talk about the historical-etymological aspects of the terms: "*the word is of Greek origin, originating from *atsiganos*, meaning excluded, isolated*"; or "*it originates from the word *Rom**"; and
- (5) criticise or practice the use of these terms in the public (social, political, legal) domain, this being more frequent in the first questionnaire rather than the last. The stereotypical practices which were ingrained in some students in the case of both terms (especially in the case of *Gypsy*) in the first questionnaire shed light on the fact that the students were not able to detect their own stereotypes. By the end of the course, students managed to reflect on their practices and become more aware of stereotypes in general: "[Gypsy/Roma are] *a group that draws a lot of stereotypes*".

In addition, the analysis of the survey attempts to quantify the stereotypes, connotations and non-knowledge-based elements that were mobilised by the use and explanation of the terms

Roma and *Gypsy*. The initial supposition is that the quantifiable differences in use between the first and the last questionnaire indicate the success of the course in decreasing the practices that mobilise stereotypes. This part of our analysis was conducted with the help of the following question:

How frequently do stereotypical, non-knowledge-based ideas, connotations or value-associations appear in the explanations of the terms *Roma* and *Gypsy*?

Table 1. The frequency of stereotypical, non-knowledge-based ideas in the explanations of the terms *Roma* and *Gypsy*

	questionnaire at the beginning of the semester	questionnaire at the end of the semester
Roma	20	12
Gypsy	34	13

Basically, these results show that the students who attended the course have gained insight into different thinking practices and acquired knowledge that shifted their stereotypes; this is particularly apparent with regard to the term *Gypsy*. Here, the negative associations which are typically attached to this term shifted, resulting in a narrative that is not rooted in a fictitious moral value system.

2.2.3 The interpretation of the *Gypsy/Roma* as a concept among the students (Which category fits *Gypsies* best?)

Both the beginning-of-semester and end-of-semester questionnaires were designed to ask the participants to categorise their interpretation of the *Roma/Gypsy* group according to pre-determined categories. Each student could choose multiple categories and, additionally, they could create their own categories as well. This question was crucial for us as it provided information on the students' preconceptions and indicated whether this superficial, non-knowledge-based interpretation would change by the end of the semester.

Table 2. The interpretation of the *Gypsy/Roma* as a concept among the students

Which category fits <i>Gypsies</i> best? (beginning-of-semester results)		Which category fits <i>Gypsies</i> best? (end-of-semester results)	
1. people	29	1. people	35
2. a nation present in multiple countries	25	2. a nation present in multiple countries	30
3. nationality	27	3. nationality	51
4. ethnic group	108	4. ethnic group	83
5. language group	27	5. language group	41
6. social strata	24	6. social strata	22
7. a category constructed by external society	3	7. a category constructed by external society	9
8. other:	0	8. other:	3

Number of answers		Number of answers	
No answer	6	No answer	5
One answer	60	One answer	53
Two answers	35	Two answers	37
Three answers	27	Three answers	25
Four or more answers	8	Four or more answers	16

As it can be seen in the data presented in the table above, the students' preconceptions and how they interpret the Gypsy/Roma group changed over the course of the semester – this pattern can be seen by looking at the most significant changes. While at the beginning of the term most answers bore the influence of the superficial use and everyday meanings of the term “ethnic” (about 83% of the students), this was not the case in the end-of-term questionnaire (where about 63% of students chose this category). There was a marked increase in the number of participants who picked the category “nationality” (from 21% to 39%). By the end of the semester, there was an increase in the number of students who associated the categories “people”, “a nation present in multiple countries” or “language group” with the Gypsy/Roma, and the number of those who made the external society responsible for the categorisation of Gypsy/Roma tripled. Finally, the fact that there was a decrease in the number of participants who picked only one category or none at all suggests that the course was successful in broadening the students' horizons with regard to the categorisation and conceptualisation of Gypsy/Roma.

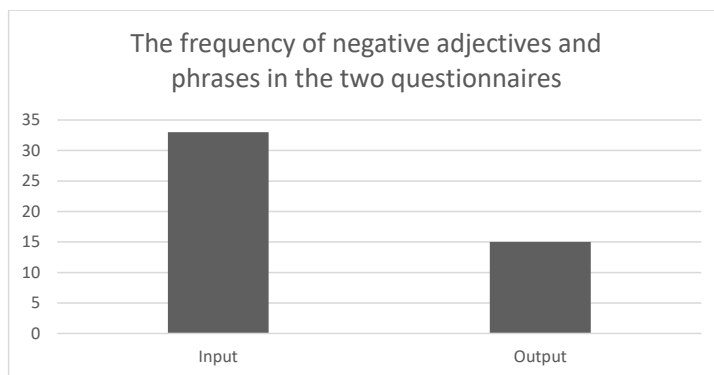
2.2.4 How the Gypsy/Roma are judged among students

We asked our students to write down three adjectives or phrases that they would identify as common characteristics of the Gypsy/Roma. Our supposition was that the first questionnaire would produce mostly negative features based on their superficial experiences and stereotypical ideas, although we hoped that the end-of-semester questionnaire would prove that this course could actually alter these opinions. Naturally, we also structured the course in a way that would make it possible for students to operate with scientific categories rather than simple adjectives.

As it was expected, the beginning-of-term questionnaire produced quite a lot of negative adjectives and phrases. After summing up the results of both questionnaires, it is quite clear that there was an improvement among participants in this regard. The adjectives mirrored the topic typically found in everyday discourse: laziness, avoidance of work; problematic behaviour; aggressive behaviour; temperamental, testy nature; violence; criminal tendency; deviancy; Gypsy mafia; scary; theft; loud speech. Still, there were a few statements that could not simply be read one way or the other – they could be negative, neutral, or possibly even positive. Such areas described would be demographic features (“many children”, “big family”, “young motherhood” and “family-centredness”), segregation and inhabitancy (“[Gypsy] settlement”, “segregated settlement” or “isolation”), social circumstances and disadvantages (“they suffer prejudices”, “they are in a disadvantageous situation”, they are poor”, “unemployment”), or culture-related issues (“ethnic pride”, “maintenance of their culture”) where the attention turned to their “being united” (20 respondents), their “culture” (26), their “tradition” (21) and the low number of educated or school-attending people among them. Furthermore, it is important to mention the phrases and adjectives that referred to arts. Although these do not necessarily involve deep knowledge, they signal the visibility of cultural elements like clothing, music, dance and arts in general, at least from the perspective of our students.

As a final note on the particular adjectives and phrases, it is evident that the general understanding of Gypsy/Roma among students also includes anthropological characteristics (“dark hair”, “dark skin”, “moustache”). Even though this content remained a part of the answers in the last questionnaire, the students’ general understanding did shift away from these rather superficial ideas towards a deeper knowledge, which suggests that the information they encountered in this course resulted in an actual change of judgment.

Figure 5.



There were no significant frequency changes in the answers in connection with the areas of knowledge, thus, it is unnecessary to publish any analyses about this area. However, it is fascinating that new descriptive, scientific and critical information appeared in each thematic category at the end of the semester. In the results of this questionnaire there is also an increase of answers that deal with education- and schooling-related problems. The first questionnaire contained answers that commented on low levels of education and schooling and lack of motivation. Negative attitudes were now complemented by ideas such as neglected talent, early school dropout and information highlighting the recent improvements in the area of education. New information concerning family structure (like roles of females and males, patriarchalism, rules of tidiness/cleanliness) has also been added to the students’ knowledge. At the beginning of the course, hardly any students had mentioned a possible Indian origin, which was a factor mentioned often in the end-of-semester questionnaire. Still in connection to history, the number of students who included the lack of historical sources, contingency, wandering, persecution and the Holocaust in their answers also increased.

When it comes to the topic of languages, many students had initially thought that all Gypsy/Roma groups spoke the same language. By the end of the semester, the vast majority of respondents mentioned different languages, the peculiarities of language use, dialects and language loss. It should also be noted here that these improvements may not all be attributed to this particular course, for there are several other courses in the teacher’s training programme at the university that aim to sensitise future educators (e.g., *School and Society* or *Intercultural Pedagogy*).

2.2.5. Insights and knowledge acquired in public education about Gypsy/Roma

An additional objective of our survey was to uncover whether students had learnt anything about the Gypsy/Roma group, and if so, within which subjects. The national core curriculum

requires that students at school be taught about minorities and nationalities, providing teachers and public institutions advice on how to include appropriate content in different grades (ORSÓS, 2016). Nevertheless, several studies (see TERESTYÉNI, 2005; MONITOR, 2014; BINDER – PÁLOS, 2016) including ours (see ORSÓS, 2016; CSERTI CSAPÓ, 2016; ANDL – CSERTI CSAPÓ, 2017) have shown that textbooks used in schools can fulfil neither this requirement nor the general need for such education. Our suggestion is the fact that our students rarely encounter contents about the Gypsy/Roma nationality might be due to the well-known conditions of the Hungarian public education system (i.e., low number of lessons with a large amount of study material, unprepared teachers with insufficient knowledge of such topics, etc.).

We asked the participants of the survey to recall which (if any) subjects they studied had dealt with Gypsy/Roma content. The results show that, counter to our initial presumption, most student had encountered such information, although probably only in the context of one or two subjects. Still, very few students remembered and described more than two subjects addressing this topic.

Figure 6.

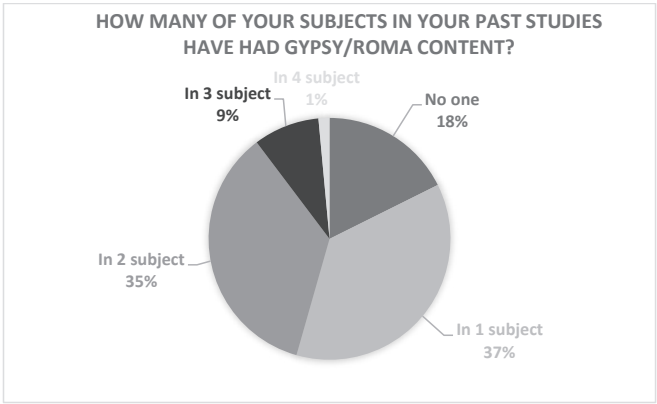
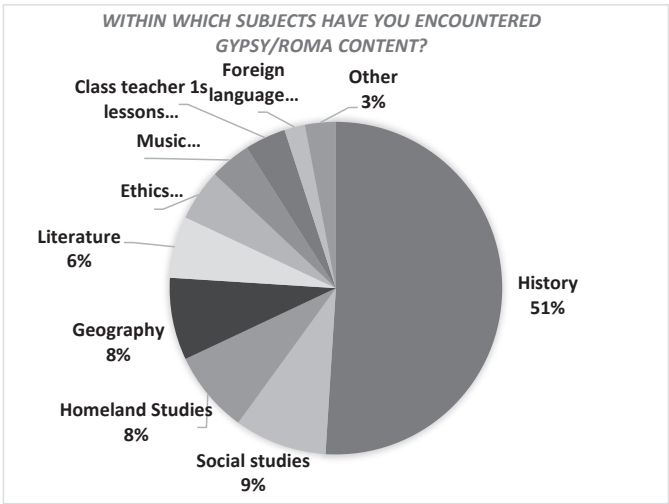


Figure 7.



Unsurprisingly, History was the subject that was most often mentioned by the respondents (51%). Beyond that we may mention that 9% claimed to have encountered such content in Social Studies and 8% in Ethnography and Ethnology. However, one issue could certainly be identified in the results: several subjects into which content concerning the Gypsy/Roma could effortlessly be incorporated do not contain such content, although it could be easily included in subjects like Geography, Literature, Ethics, Music and even Homeroom.

Such results emphasise why one of the main goals of this course is providing future teachers with basic and scientific knowledge to utilize and build on throughout their careers, enabling them to broaden their horizons and meet the expectations of the national core curriculum.

2.2.5 Incorporating Romani Studies content into programme-specific and subject-specific possibilities from the students' perspective

In the course of the end-of-semester questionnaire, students were asked to describe in detail how they would incorporate Gypsy/Roma content into the curriculum as primary and secondary school teachers based on the knowledge acquired in this course.

Out of the 131 participants, only 8 signalled that they would not be able to incorporate such content (e.g., future teachers of Chemistry or Physics) or reported not having thought about the issue. The vast majority of our students (93.8%) thinks it possible to include such topics in their subject or at least in the context of a Homeroom Class. The three subjects that were suggested by students the most were History (39%), Hungarian Language and Literature (21%) and Geography (20%), and these students also suggested the content they would incorporate in more detail. In general, quite a lot of students approached the matter from multiple angles for each subject, and they talked about more complex content than what they had experienced in primary and secondary school according to what they have reported in the first questionnaire. Nevertheless, several examples were mentioned by the students with regard to which topics should be included in the different curricula. In this area of the survey, quite a few participants showed ignorance (*"There is neither need nor place for any Roma content."*) or a selective, politics-based approach (*"It depends on present-day politics."*), both of which highlight the unstable and vulnerable standing of this topic in the current social discourse.

To illustrate the possible ways of integrating Romani Studies contents into the curriculum, detailed student suggestions regarding the subject of Geography (mentioned by 20%) are listed below:

- Students think it is important for a teacher to emphasise that the Gypsy/Roma people do not constitute a homogenic group. This can be regarded as a crucial improvement achieved by this particular course.
- Within the geography of population (which deals with the human population and its societies and economies, etc.), Gypsy/Roma content could be included in discussions about ethnic demographics (and the territorial distribution of different ethnicities), in analyses involving statistical data and demographic processes and changes. They also suggested that a part of the study material could focus on the Gypsy/Roma groups living in the Pannonian Basin.
- In the case of urban geography, topics like settlement structures, urban structures, urbanisation and segregation could easily incorporate information concerning Gypsy/Roma groups.
- Some students mentioned that the analyses of different countries could provide space for the discussion of demographic and ethnic make-up, topics that would often involve Gypsy/Roma populations.

- The steps of the integration of Gypsy/Roma and their current social state were suggested as potential material for regional geography.
- Students would incorporate Gypsy/Roma content in a Hungarian context within the following topics: nationalities, culture, education, state of health and healthcare, territorial distribution as well as the underlying causes.

As mentioned above, participants talked about possibilities with regard to other subjects:

- History: changes in political systems and how differently political systems treated minorities;
- Hungarian Language and Literature: Gypsy/Roma authors, poets and artists (especially contemporaries such as Attila Balogh, Tamás Jónás and József Holdosi);
- English: reading about Gypsy/Roma communities living in English-speaking territories; Gypsy/Roma travellers; the etymology of the word gypsy;
- Biology: the history of biology and race theories; denial and rejection of such erroneous theories;
- Theology and Ethics: sensitisation and empathy (fieldtrips to a museum and “Tanoda” – a study hall or extracurricular tutoring program)
- Media: Roma/Gypsy representation in media contents; studying and analysing works by Gypsy/ Roma artists.

Potential topics for Homeroom Classes included:

- the co-habitancy of Gypsy/Roma and non-Gypsy/Roma communities;
- social acceptance;
- cultural diversity;
- inviting guest speakers, teachers, experts, Gypsy/Roma public figures and participants of a “Tanoda” (study halls or extracurricular tutoring program).

These examples highlight the fact that students in the teacher training programme understand that it is possible to incorporate Gypsy/Roma content into the curriculum. They also claim that alongside broadening student knowledge of this topic, teachers should also be able to shape the attitudes of the attendees of public institutions. We consider it an important result of this course that students can connect their newly acquired knowledge to the national core curriculum and their classes at school despite the limited past experiences they have had with Gypsy/Roma contents in primary and secondary schools.

3. Conclusion

The survey conducted with the purpose of assessing the efficiency and success of this course showed several positive shifts in student opinion and indicated that their image of Gypsy/Roma has become more nuanced. We do not mean to claim that one semester could erase ingrained prejudices; however, it is clear that students have improved, increased and deepened their knowledge. The aim of this course was to provide students with real, trustworthy knowledge, shed light on fact-based information, and criticise as well as contrast stereotypical approaches with research. Such efforts can initiate long-term improvement in students’ attitudes and enable future teachers to discuss this topic and deal with pedagogical situations in a more considerate manner. Again, it is important to emphasise that the changes in attitude could have resulted from other courses, too; these courses can thus reaffirm the topics and theories discussed in one course in another context and thereby prepare our students for their teaching careers.

The teachers’ experiences throughout the course and the survey results have highlighted directions for development, which we have already addressed and will consider further in the future:

- It is necessary to constantly develop class materials for study. We have started this process with the accumulation of our experiences as well as the tasks we use in this course. For the latter, we have created a task-bank to which we can add new ideas for the duration of the course.
- The results of the two questionnaires have shown that the coherence of the courses within the teacher training programme must be one of the main areas we focus on. For this, communication with other educators in the teacher training programme is essential.
- The co-workers at the department regularly attend teacher training workshops as tutors; this creates an opportunity to include the previously developed material in the workshop's theme.
- The staff at the Department of Romology and Education Sociology are discussing the potential inclusion of Romani Studies content in other programmes and even other faculties at the university with materials that thematically overlaps with the programmes' contents.
- Active teachers tend to claim that the list of partners usually visited by students during field practice or field trips should be expanded. The Gandhi Secondary Grammar School could be one of these future partners, as it is the first Roma minority school in Europe. This particular institution has already been examined by students in their presentations in the past semester. A visit to the István Szentandrassy exhibition at the Aladár Rácz Community House would be beneficial for our students from the perspective of Roma/Gypsy arts. Nevertheless, teacher trainees could also broaden their horizons by getting to know the local Gypsy/Roma civil organisations and their everyday operations.
- By the summer semester of 2018, the requirements for passing the course had changed. As an experiment, students were required to take part in a project assignment. It can now be concluded that the vast majority of students were well-prepared and enthusiastic; their work had many different facets and was very creative. As the evaluation of this initiative was still ongoing, it was suggested that the best project assignments and presentations could be published and employed as additional study material on each level of public education as well as in university courses in the future. Furthermore, the project assignment could be featured as an optional document in teacher portfolios.

Furthermore, there are several positive effects which we had not anticipated, and which have confirmed our belief that the course contributes to the shaping of students' attitudes:

- Community pedagogical practice (for teacher trainees) began to operate in the "Tanonka" (a study hall or extracurricular tutoring program) of the Khetanipe Organisation in February 2016. Since then, the organisation has been a partner institute of the University of Pécs, and students in the teacher training programme can acquire their mandatory 50 hours of community pedagogical practice by volunteering here. Several students in this course have registered at the organisation for their pedagogical internship.
- As Gypsy languages spoken in Hungary are also discussed in this course (Boyash and Romani [Lovari]), interest in learning Romani has increased among students. Several of them have already taken the Hungarian final exam in Romani language. At the same time, new enthusiasm can be detected among students that is not necessarily related to taking a language exam. Numerous students have registered for a Romani (Lovari) language course. As these future teachers are preparing for their careers, they welcome contents and information that such a language course can provide. This content may be very useful, for students could encounter Gypsy/Roma classmates in their schools.

- The course discusses Roma student colleges such as the Wislocki Henrik Roma Student College (WHSZ), which is part of the Department of Romology and Sociology of Education. Several students have enrolled at this college in the past.
- Some of our students have researched topics that are related to those discussed in the course. Thus, the course can affect both our students' pedagogical future and their career as researchers.

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JUDIT BALATONYI:
"SMALL PLACES, LARGE (ROMA) ISSUES":¹¹ ROMANI STUDIES AND THE
HUNGARIAN CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

In this paper I will briefly present the main findings and paradigms of cultural anthropological research on Roma communities in Hungary, with a special focus on contemporary conditions. I will describe the topics that are dealt with by cultural anthropologists of Romani studies in Hungary, discuss what they have learned in their research, and explore the current research trends. I will show how anthropologists, in accordance with their professional calling, hold up a (curved) mirror to society, pointing out the cultural characteristics of Roma groups, which sometimes differ distinctly from the stereotypes upheld by mainstream society. I will provide anthropological explanations to several questions such as why they are not dirty, why they have more children, why they speak loudly and why their gender roles are different. I will also discuss how cultural anthropologists may intervene in the process of designing and implementing policies and strategic developments concerning the Roma.

Keywords: Cultural Anthropology; Public Anthropology; Engaged Anthropology; Hungary; Roma issues; Concept of Culture and Ethnicity

In this paper I will briefly present the main findings and paradigms of cultural anthropological research on Roma communities in Hungary, with a special focus on contemporary conditions. I will describe the topics that are dealt with by cultural anthropologists of Romani studies in Hungary, discuss what they have learned in their research, and explore the current research trends. I will show how anthropologists, in accordance with their professional calling, hold up a (curved) mirror to society, pointing out the cultural characteristics of Roma groups, which sometimes differ distinctly from the stereotypes upheld by mainstream society. I will provide anthropological explanations to several questions such as why they are not dirty, why they have more children, why they speak loudly and why their gender roles are different. I will also discuss how anthropologists may intervene in the process of designing and implementing policies and strategic developments concerning the Roma.

I cannot undertake to give an overview of the complex research history of Roma cultural anthropology dating from the 2000s, as it would be beyond the scope of this paper to describe and analyze the scientific and political antecedents, the adapted Anglo-Saxon as well as other research methodologies and approaches. For now, let us simply refer to the acknowledged Hungarian research history overviews that have been written by several authors with different focus points in mind (see EPERJESSY, 1994; VEKERDI, 1982; SZUHAY, 1999; PRÓNAI, 1995; 2001; DUPSÍK, 2005). Csaba Prónai, in a brief lecture in 2001 stated that cultural anthropological research in Hungary is so scarce because only 40 anthropologists have been trained in this field, and out of these anthropologists even fewer have dealt with Roma issues (PRÓNAI, 2001). By now, these proportions have fortunately changed considerably, since hundreds of graduates and professi-

11 The title was intended to be an allusion to Thomas Hylland Eriksen's highly successful work, titled *Small Places – Large Issues*, in which the author shows that anthropology indeed studies large issues though its research seeks to find answers through examining local, socio-political conditions surrounding ethnic groups in small places (Eriksen, 2001). Thus, with this title I argue that cultural anthropologists of Roma studies in Hungary also study large issues of social relevance through the example of a small, local Roma groups.

onally established cultural anthropologists and ethnographers¹² with ‚anthropological identity’ and training research Roma issues.

In the following, I will first take account of the different anthropological approaches of Romani Studies in Hungary: classical cultural anthropology, social anthropology, the anthropology of development, public and engaged anthropology will be discussed. I will then discuss two questions in more detail. Firstly, a summary of what we mean by culture, and in particular, by Roma culture, and how we study it. Secondly, I will outline recent advances on the issue of “who is the Gypsy?”, based on the distinction concerning Gypsy/Roma people vs. Hungarians.

Cultural anthropologists researching the Roma in Hungary conduct their research within the framework of academic, university and European projects, or work as museologists or university lecturers. Many are employed by non-profit companies or public organisations. Many are also involved in various development projects. There are also several examples of anthropologists and ethnographers directly applying their specialised knowledge and other competences to bring about cultural change, e.g., as action anthropologists. Today, both cultural anthropology and contemporary ethnography of the Roma topic are dealing with the study of traditional materials, the social and spiritual culture of Roma communities and groups, both in rural and urban Roma communities in Hungary, as well as in Europe. Some outstanding recent results in the fields of domestic cultural anthropology, anthropology of development and public interest anthropology are mentioned below.

(Recent) cultural anthropological research in Roma communities

Péter Berta spent 31.5 months conducting field research in studying communities that identify as dual minorities of Transylvanian Gábor and Cărbărești Roma between 1998 and 2014. His research and publications deal with issues of material culture in the context of identity, economic anthropology, and gender differences. His most recent monumental monograph, titled “Consumption, Reputation and Politics” (original title in Hungarian: *Fogyasztás, hívnév, politika*) was first published in Hungarian in 2014, and the English edition with the title “Materializing Difference” was published in 2019 (see Berta, 2014; 2019). He examined the prestige economy of the Transylvanian Gábor Roma. Péter Berta has enriched our anthropological knowledge of the Roma with a number of results. For example, by studying the symbolic genealogies of silver prestige objects of the Gabor Roma, he has refuted the academic myth that Roma and Gypsies live only in the present and do not care about the past. He has shown us how their communicative and cultural memories (i.e.: long-term *genealogical memory*) and their knowledge of local history are indeed alive (BERTA, 2014). Another of Péter Berta’s results is that, in addition to the more classical contrast of the Sherry B. Ortnerian *nature* (women) versus *culture* (men) (see RAO, 1996; BAKÓ, 2006), he also introduces socio-economic factors of the local society as causes of gender differences in the Roma communities. He has also taken into account certain aspects of the Gábor Roma social structure, such as keeping careful track of one’s descendants and the gendered nature of the Roma notions of marriage and paternal alliance (BERTA, 2004). Ortner argues that women are relegated to the ‚domain of nature’ in their society, as many of the (mainly biological) characteristics of women are difficult for men to understand. In

12 Although officially only the Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest (ELTE) and the University of Miskolc provide accredited training in cultural anthropology, the Universities of Szeged and Pécs also have departments of Ethnography – Cultural Anthropology, although accredited in ethnography, has a greater emphasis on cultural anthropology than other ethnography departments in the country, focusing on non-European peoples and modern Hungarian society.

particular, during the period of women's life from the onset of puberty to menopause, they are seen as a link between men (i.e.: 'culture') and 'nature', which is perceived dangerous and mostly inaccessible for men (ORTNER and WHITEHEAD, 1981). The nature-culture dichotomy for Gypsies is related to the ritualistic sense of the 'pure-impure' dichotomy (see MILLER, 1968; et c.).

Between 1995 and 2006, Boglárka Bakó conducted cultural anthropological research in a settlement in Southern Transylvania, spending about 25 months on the field research. Since 2007, she has been studying the levels of ethnic cultural attachment and the life paths of Roma children in vocational and secondary schools in Csobánka. In her 2008 dissertation, Boglárka Bakó presented the encounters and conflicts between the traditional Protestant ethic society and a new charismatic religious movement in a southern Transylvanian settlement. Using the example of Adventist Roma and Protestant Hungarians, she addressed the issues of ethnic and religious "secession" and "selection". The emergence of the movement met with a strong disapproval of the Hungarian rural society, while the new group was strongly critical of the Protestant community. After a deeper examination of the 'religious conflict' between Protestants and charismatic neo-Protestants, it became clear that their antagonism did not merely stem from religious dissent; in fact, it was a conflict between complex social and cultural belief systems. People on the margins of traditional society, especially Roma, were drawn into the charismatic movement. Boglárka Bakó analysed in detail what and why the charismatic religious practice did not accept in the Protestant congregation and how the members of the charismatic movement wanted to separate themselves from the Protestant religious practice, and how the local Roma seceded and got selected as participants in the movement (BAKÓ, 2008).

Kata Horváth and Cecília Kovai spent three months as cultural anthropology students in a Romungro community, where they have been returning ever since. In the 14 years since then, they have continued to follow the changes that have taken place there. Their work is groundbreaking because they were essentially the first to conduct anthropological research among Gypsies who speak Hungarian as their mother-tongue. They have published a number of shorter and longer papers on the *hygiene habits* of the Hungarian Gypsy community in Gömbalja (Borsod County) and on the topic of *curse*. One of their most important topics was the discursive function of the Gypsy-Hungarian distinction and differences (HORVÁTH, 2001; 2008; HORVÁTH and PRÓNAI 2002; KOVAI, 2002). Cecília Kovai defended her PhD dissertation in 2015 (then published it as a book in 2017), in which she studied how the Gypsy vs. Hungarian "distinction" functions and how it is represented in the appreciation of kinship ties of Hungarian Gypsies (i.e.: Romungro). He argued that the appreciation of kinship relations both stems from and feeds back into the inequalities of the Gypsy vs. Hungarian distinction (KOVAI, 2015; KOVAI, 2017).

Options for using the anthropological knowledge about Roma: Applied anthropology, public and engaged anthropology

The anthropological knowledge gained through fieldwork, participant observation and interviews (focusing on gender differences in society, different work ethics, causes of lifestyle, mapping economic power structures, etc.) can and will be applied in a variety of fields. Today's socio-cultural transformation processes particularly need and demand the involvement of professionals with directly applicable practical anthropological knowledge. Through its holistic approach and cultural relativism, the anthropological perspective can provide knowledge that can contribute to addressing issues that require social action. *Applied anthropology* is a field-work-based science that provides results that can be used in practice and that can bring about change in a social system or preserve its integrity through its research data, direct intervention

proposals and policy recommendations (Kotics, 2013). I would like to mention a few projects in the field of development anthropology, for example, a multidisciplinary team of researchers (engineers, sociologists, anthropologists, economists and lawyers) from the University of Miskolc have developed a model of energy supply for a settlement based on biomass. The aim was to develop a heat production system based on locally produced renewable energy. Csernely village (Borsod County) was chosen as the location for the pilot project. The complex development plan also included a contemporary and historical analysis of the interconnectedness of the local society. This study proved to be particularly useful and essential for the implementation of the project, as it turned out that the relationship between the local population and the newly settled Roma population was so strained and conflictual that it caused serious obstacles to the implementation of the *Biomass project*. This example shows that a development project that determines the future of a settlement cannot be planned responsibly without an impact assessment based on the analysis of the local socio-cultural relations. Another example is the *North-East Passage Cultural and Academic Association*, an NGO led by Richárd Darázs, which provides a gateway to combat harmful prejudices and stereotypes between different social groups. This includes the fight against discrimination (and the prevention of its development), the protection of the interests of all stakeholders, groups and social layers living in socio-cultural disadvantage, as well as of various social minorities, and the promotion of their cultures.

The next area is *public and engaged anthropology*, which draws on both classical anthropological fieldwork and applied anthropology. Public anthropology can be traced back to Renato Rosaldo, Rob Borofsky: the term “public” as a term for the purpose of anthropological research is not only a term specific to ethnology, ethnography and anthropology, but it also refers to “public history”, “public archaeology”, “public education”, “public philosophy”, etc. In anthropological research for the public good, it is all about engagement and publicity. The definition of the problem is seen as part of the solution for the problem. There is no canon literature published yet in public or public service anthropology, many people use the term, and many people understand the term in different ways. To this date, it is practised in six university departments in the USA and Canada: *University of Oregon; American University; Tufts University; University of Pennsylvania; Duke University, University of Guelph and the University of Waterloo*). Anthropologists working in the field of public anthropology strive to make scientific questions, issues and anthropological insights understandable to both academic and non-academic audiences, trying to produce materials that speak to the wider field of the social sector. Public anthropology involves civic engagement. Publicly engaged anthropology is an intersection of theory and practice, with intellectual and ethical components, local and global issues. Its representatives seek to create bridges between the academy and the public realms. Public interest and engaged anthropological approaches can be applied in a variety of ways in the field of Romani studies. There are many kinds of commitments: commitment to Roma nation-building, commitment to Roma culture, Roma language, Roma education, commitment to Roma arts, Roma music and literature! At the same time, anthropologists are always committed in some way to the group being researched (for example, they do not always wish to make their results public), even if this commitment is not to the entire community of focus. Commitment is not necessarily to the whole local group, but it might be to our key informants, for example our hosts: godparents, bridesmaids, witnesses at a wedding. Public anthropological research on the Roma is a completely new field in Hungary, perhaps one research can be mentioned that can be broadly understood as such. I refer to the results of the project *WE – Wor(l)ds Which Exclude*, implemented in 2013-2014 in the framework of the *European Union’s Fundamental Rights and Citizenship Programme*. Researchers, lecturers at the Department of Romani Studies and Sociology of Education, and the Department of Ethnography - Cultural Anthropology of the University of Pécs participated in the project. In the framework of the project, we collected and analysed documents related to

the housing situation of Gypsies/Roma at local, regional and national level, in association with partner institutions from five European countries (Italy, Portugal, the UK, Spain and Romania). The aim of the study was to find out whether there are hidden or overt discriminatory mechanisms in domestic housing policies. The results of the project have been published in a number of longer and shorter reports in English and Hungarian, mainly for public and administrative sector workers, drawing their attention to the housing problems of the Roma we identified during the research (see PIASERE et al., 2014).

The concept of (Roma) culture(s): What do we mean by culture and how to study it?

Looking at public, competing discourses on Roma culture as a start, we can clearly distinguish between multicultural, anthropological, ethnographic, and sociological interpretations of culture, and all of these can be extended to ethnic, local, popular and elite interpretations of Roma culture by Roma civil right activists and nation-builders, and by cultural themes of local groups. In the light of the political texts, multicultural and integration programmes, Roma culture essentially coincides with the themes of the constantly produced Roma spiritual and material cultural heritage, oral traditions, customs and folklore, and above all, in some respects, it has unified national characteristics. And while sociological approaches do not talk much about Roma cultures, but rather derive the characteristics of Roma communities from the structural conditions of the majority society, typically the disadvantaged situation, the anthropological and ethnographic texts try to point out the heterogeneity of Roma cultures, and although they take into account the majority context, they interpret from the perspective of the Roma cultures of small places.

“Culture” itself is one of the two or three most complex terms we use in science and everyday life, and any definition of it may seem arbitrary, and is in fact arbitrary. Péter Szuhay argued in the chapter *Who is a Gypsy?* in his 1999 book *The Culture of the Hungarian Gypsy Community*, that the culture of the Hungarian Gypsy community is a “folk culture”, an “oral culture”, a local culture that is still in the process of unification (SZUHAY, 1999). In the following, I will attempt to clarify the above categories and augment it with the related, current anthropological knowledge. First, I will look at the interrelations and problems of folk culture, Gypsy folk culture, and the local cultures that are facing the unification. Peter Burke, who has interpreted the popular culture of early modern Europe, defined culture as a system of commonly understood meanings, attitudes, values, and the symbolic forms, performances, and objects that carry and express them, hence it was the culture of groups of the subordinated classes outside the elite (BURKE, 1988 [1978]). Sándor Berek argues that the concept of the folk has always been problematic in terms of its social, ethnic and other groupings, as it is always a function of particular social-historical definitions. Moreover, the discovery of folk culture and Gypsy folk culture itself was the result of an aesthetic, intellectual and political interest in the “cultural primitivism” movement on the cultural periphery of Europe, during which the old, distant and the folk cultures were identified in relation to each other (BURKE, 1991: 25). Gypsy folk culture is, in Peter Burke’s terms, interesting and noteworthy oral traditions of Gypsies and Roma, which were first outlined as a result of ethnographic and anthropological research, which are continuously shaped by the attempts of Roma intellectual elite in attempt to define themselves (during a process of Roma nation-building by working to create a unified Roma national culture and identity using elements from local cultures), and are becoming canonic or are being canonised as various versions of “folk knowledge” (see BEREK, 2010: 27–30).

Closely related to the problem of folk culture is the fact that in international and Hungarian ethnographic and anthropological literature, the cultures represented by Roma ethnic groups were until recently erroneously considered primarily as oral cultures. In relation to the forms of

communication of Roma, it can be suggested that, as a manifestation of a supposed diglossic state (FERGUSON, 1991), there is both an *in-group* spoken language and an *out-group* written language that some groups or individuals use to get along with the non-Roma environment. According to Kata Horváth, this position would be plausible if only the letters written by Gypsies to the authorities, the inscriptions of beggars and the business cards of peddlers – i.e. the formal, written language tools of communication with the majority society – were included in the written corpus. But if we only take the above-mentioned pattern into account, continuing the argument of Kata Horváth, the question arises what to do, for example, with the secret signs of the Roma, the letters Roma write to each other (PRÓNAI and HORVÁTH, 2004), or the written products of the Roma intellectual elite, the works of the “intruders” (‘L’intrus’, see LYONS 2001). Jack Goody and Ian Wait have argued that “*There is no agreement about this question, nor about what the actual boundary lines are between nonliterate and literate cultures are.*” (GOODY – WAIT, 1963: 304).

The concept of language as a dichotomy can also be seen in the self-definition of ethnology that emerged at the end of the 19th century, when the anthropological field of study was defined as the study of so-called primitive, non-civilized, or otherwise non-literate cultures. In the 1880s, the evolutionist Edward B. Tylor considered reading and writing as an oppositional pair (TYLOR, 1997 [1871]), but the distinction between oral and written culture persisted even after the evolutionist view was replaced by cultural relativism. The structuralist Claude Lévi-Strauss took the same theoretical line, interpreting literacy in its developed-underdeveloped relation: “*After eliminating all other criteria which have been put forward to distinguish between barbarism and civilization, it is tempting to retain this one at least: there are peoples with, or without, writing; the former are able to store up their past achievements and to move with ever-increasing rapidity towards the goals they have set themselves, whereas the latter, being incapable of remembering the past beyond the narrow margin of individual memory, seem bound to remain imprisoned in a fluctuating history which will always lack both a beginning and any lasting awareness of an aim*” (LÉVI-STRAUSS 1973 [1955]: 391).

The problem of literacy and orality also became one of the most important research issues in quantitative literacy studies in the 1960s and 1970s. The paradigm shift concerning this issue occurred in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Its essence can be summarized as follows: there are few societies living exclusively in orality, in oral traditions, often orality and literacy are combined, the binary model is abandoned, it examines literacy and orality in registers of society. Upon a French initiative, the school of the history of reading emerges (see CAVALLO and CHARTIER, 1999). It seems impossible to separate written and oral culture according to such an order (i.e. along the lines of communication addressed to the Gypsy and non-Gypsy), and the two categories cannot be sharply separated, since they are mutually complementary and can only be understood together.

So, if we start from the above interpretation of folk culture (previously considered to be an oral one by mistake), we can see that the idea of culture is basically close to the concept of tradition. What do we know about this system of relations? And what do we mean by tradition? According to E. B. Tylor, folklore and, basically, tradition and some of its elements, preserve some earlier social form that is rational at its roots, and this rationality is increasingly transformed into irrationality (TYLOR, 1997 [1871]: 108). For Franz Boas, who opposed the theory and rejected evolutionism, folklore was not rooted in the past, but rather embedded in the depths of culture, and it was also seen as shackles of individual freedom (BOAS, 1965 [1911]: 201). In this respect, culture, tradition and folklore itself can seem irrational – a force that stalls and delays ‘development’. Is tradition, culture, a limiting force? And all tradition? This approach has been found problematic and confusing by Richard Bauman and Charles L. Briggs (BAUMAN

and BRIGGS, 1991), among others, because the concept also implies the existence of social and cultural inequalities, which is the basis of many neo-racial ideology and cultural logic. And the same problem arises with interpretations of Roma culture, namely that Roma communities are unable to integrate through no fault of their own, yet their culture is considered to be the reason why they live in extreme poverty. In the last decades, the concept of culture in anthropology has changed significantly. We are no longer looking for people guided by their culture and traditions, but rather for the “indigenous” and the external cultural actors that create, maintain, rewrite, interpret and use their cultures to achieve their own collective or distinctive goals, needs and well-being. Culture, apart from being perceived as a given, ready-made community product, is the result of a highly complex dynamic process and set of practices. It is a set of conscious or accidental, unplanned practices. The process also includes social knowledge, memories (e.g., invented traditions), their creation, maintenance, representations, cultural performances that enact these representations, and interpretations of various representations. It also includes the socio-cultural-political contexts and life situations that act as catalysts (such as various individual and community social crises and transitions, like assimilation/acculturation anxiety or experiencing social change), which trigger and force the staging and articulation of culture and ignite local memories. This more complex interpretation is not entirely new; fragments of the definition have already appeared in several cultural interpretation paradigms. Thus, for example, Fredrik Barth is credited with the interpretation of culture as knowledge. Barth argued that there cannot be too much difference between the concepts of knowledge and culture because people create their own world and sustain themselves through their knowledge (BARTH, 2002: 10). Péter Niedermüller also argues that “Culture is a system of knowledge that provides concepts, »theories«, ontological explanations of the world (in the physical and social sense), guides and determines human actions and the rules of human actions” (NIEDERMÜLLER, 1994: 105–106). In this sense, “culture [...] is a system of knowledge and know-how similar (or comparable) to linguistic competence” (NIEDERMÜLLER, 1994: 106). However, interpretative anthropologists have also pointed out that culture is more than just a system or set of knowledge in people’s heads and have focused on the construction processes of socio-cultural reality(ies) (GEERTZ, 1973; DOUGLAS 2003). In this respect, the anthropological focus is on shared meanings, culture is seen as conceptual rather than merely cognitive. On this basis, culture can be seen as fictional, imagined and, in most cases, synonymous with cultural and ethnic identities. Cultural groups that sustain cultures can also be seen as imaginary and symbolic constructions (ANDERSON, 1983; BARTH, 1998 [1969]; COHEN, 2000 [1985]).

Who is the Roma? – The Roma/Gypsy vs. Hungarian distinction, new approaches to grouping

Hungarian researchers on Roma tend to treat the Roma as an ethnic group, as a nationality (SZUHAY, 1999; FORRAY R., 2000; DIÓSI, 2002), but in the past the Roma were already a tribal, racial group, a social category and a social problem. The mainstream scientific definition also coincides with the official, legal position, as the Hungarian state, since the 1993 Minority Act, has accepted Roma and Gypsies as ethnic and national minorities (but does not distinguish between the two terms). There is also broad agreement that, just as there is no single Gypsy culture, there is no single ethnic group within the Hungarian Gypsy community, but at least three (Oláh/Vlach, Beás/Boyash and Romungro) and within these, further ethnic and cultural subgroups and lifestyle groups can be distinguished (see Tóth 2004). The triple differentiation of the Hungarian Roma follows the categories set up by Kamill Erdős in 1958, as his work grouped and thematised the Roma in Hungary (ERDŐS, 1958), which has been a guide to this day, and has

become a scientific dogma over the past decades. For a long time, researchers who contributed to categorisation at most explored the question of how Roma communities with previously “rigid” group boundaries managed to change and blend, how individual groups created their ethnic boundaries, how they reinforced their group identities, and how they tried to distinguish themselves from others.

More and more young anthropologists who study the Roma (HORVÁT, 2008; KOVAI 2015) are following newer, constructivist patterns in their recent group definitions of Roma and Gypsies. In doing so, they reject essentialism and try to avoid the earlier traps of “groupthink”. The terms Gypsy, Roma and Hungarian are no longer used to denote distinct groups or ethnicities, but are understood as a regulative norm, a social meaning (BUTLER, 1993; KOVAI, 2015). “Groupism” wrongly assumes that Roma and Gypsy groups are internally coherent entities with strong boundaries. This idea, which is present in many everyday discourses, has been reinforced by the spread of the theory and political practice of multiculturalism, and it is also reinforced by the nation-building Roma “knowledge elite”. The hybridity approach, for example, can be used to critique various essentialist approaches and essentialist concepts of cultural and ethnic boundaries, and it emphasises the mechanisms of changing and mixing (ANG, 2001; BHABHA, 1994). What the various theories of hybridity have in common is that they fundamentally reject the existence of homogeneous cultures, societies, states, or uniform identities (also languages, ethnicities, etc.) (see ANTHIAS, 2001; NEDERVEEN PIETERSE, 1995).

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ZOLTÁN BECK:
POSSIBLE WAYS OF DISCOURSE: NOTES ON THE PROCESS OF NAME-GIVING TO
ROMANI STUDIES¹³
“DIE LUFT DER FREIHEIT WEHT.”¹⁴

Supposing that our naive non-science-nature experience lets us assume (and be dependent of) the undefined feeling of missed freedom in general, the impression of something closing which society consistently strengthens within us. This phenomenon can be more appropriately modelled with the help of a commonly used phrase: “Attention, the doors are closing!” Thus, thinking about a discourse, in other words a discursive space that offers us an opportunity to dialogue, the freedom of thinking is particularly pronounced. Therefore, it can be stated that my construction and my narrative will have emerged from this process, for this reason, and naturally, this applies to this open and possible narrative as well. This can be derived from my personal discursive obligation from an academic perspective: I have to get to know something about the theoretical background and frame of a still situation – a situation of a very much ongoing discourse – named Romology (mostly in Hungary) or Roma Studies (on the international scene). Meanwhile, I am aware that my gesture does not resemble (or represent) the current standings and positions of academia (yet), but I am certain that this risk has to be taken in order to enable us to start articulating such theories in this field. Our first task and thus our intention is to find evidence for the existence of Roma Studies, because as of now, it can only be said to exist as a blurry, insecure and flexible discourse. At this moment of study, we do not name this discourse correctly; only later will I attempt to approach the complex problematics of the name-giving process from a described-historical and critical perspective. This movement – the intention before everything – holds an ideological, non-scientific consideration. A consideration which is present through a sentence before my first sentence. I stand by the statement that the existence of something should be based on personal confidence, and after that I want to prove this existence because it is in my own interest. So, if I can verify the existence of a discourse, I have not done anything yet: I have been verified by my own text, my own existence in the scientific field.

Usually, scholars tolerate the labelling of their own studies, articles, and research projects. In fact, they often do not care for this question, in other words, labelling is not a concern or a real problem for them. An example will clarify this better than a volume of explanations. An anthropologist (as well he is Péter Berta in my example, actually) who writes a study about the Gabor Roma communities in Romania (Materializing Difference, 2019), and it’s published in the Series of Anthropologic Horizons – does not have to consider what this study means for Roma Studies. But, in fact his study influences not only the field of cultural anthropology or cultural studies generally but the space of Roma Studies (or Romology, as you like it) too: his or her narrative leaves its mark on the discourse of Roma Studies; it shapes, filters and recontextualizes the corpus that is Roma Studies.

Finally, it may be the case that Roma Studies do not offer new question-horizons, methods, instruments etc. for meaning-making and getting a hold of the world. This actual discourse – as almost all studies- type discourses – should not avoid the questions of the imagined subject. If Roma Studies talks about Roma communities in the traditional way (although I would like to

13 First variation of this paper was published: Zoltán Beck: Possible ways of discourse: Notes on the process of name-giving to Romani Studies. In: Johanna Laakso, ed. Ways of being in the world: Studies on Minority Literatures. Praesens Verlag. 195 p., pp. 105-112.

14 The German motto of Stanford University, USA; see Casper (1995)

argue against this – as a starting point, it is already enough to mention Said's revolutionary book *Orientalism*, 1979), then this discourse represents its own subject – this being an explicit and well-defined function. From this point on, standing by the existence of the discourse is not only a scientific question, it also involves a certain social responsibility, maybe even as a form of social and narrative activism in the scientific space at the same time, where every single narrative has to take responsibility for both its own relevant results of research and its consequences and effects in the space of society.

To summarize my critical-narrative position, we should not give up on the willingness to think about the existence of this discursive space – as it is one that takes part in the labelling process as both actor and patient.

But what is the minimum existence of a discourse?

First, the discourse needs a name – this process is in the focus in my essay, after this short, rough enumeration of banners. Second, there has to be an institution: schools, courses, departments and studies at universities, scientific committees and organizations, NGOs (such as the Romarchive in Berlin¹⁵), museums, journals, and a legal background for these. Third, historical narratives of the Discourse are needed: a perspective of a temporal nature with different coherent narratives which should contain historical turning points (for example the critical approach of the corpus before and after the narrative turn), discussions and scandalous arguments too.

Fourth – there has to be a methodology. Here, I mean the different methods, instruments in the exploration of the proliferated subjects of Roma Studies. And finally, the fifth element – terminology. Even though the same terms are used in different discourses and disciplines (for example: identity or identification), we have to capture these terms and establish them at their relevant levels of use on a well-articulated narrative horizon.

About naming

As you can see, it is quite challenging that so many different terms are used in the discourse of naming, without placing them on an axis of comparison: Gypsy Lore, Romani Studies, Gypsy Studies, Zigeunerwissenschaft, Tsiganologie, etc. The process of Name-giving – Name-losing is historical and critical at the same time. It is historical because we are able to construct a rated and chronologically ordered timeline of the history of Romani Studies from the beginning (for example, from the first linguistic description in the 18th century) to the present day. Throughout that process, the terms used (in fact it is a process of labelling by selection which reveals continuous semantic intentions, domination and dominators of narratives) enter the sphere of narrative variability, the necessity of our critical, self-reflected movement. This may clash with our idea that discourse should be coherent and have a relevant subject.

The well-known *Journal of Gypsy Lore Society*, for example, attempted to criticize its own historical perspective as shown by the changing of name on the cover:

“Founded in 1888, the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* was published in four series up to 1982. In 2000, the journal became *Romani Studies*. Under the sponsorship of the *Gypsy Lore Society* (formerly *Gypsy Lore Society*, North American Chapter), *Romani Studies* features articles on the cultures of groups traditionally known as Gypsies as well as Travelers and other peripatetic groups. These groups include, among others, those referring to themselves as *Ludar*,

15 <https://www.romarchive.eu>

Rom, Roma, Romanichels, Sinti and Travelers. The journal publishes articles in history, anthropology, sociology, linguistics, art, literature, folklore and music, as well as reviews of books and audiovisual materials.”¹⁶

Here, the name-changing is not relevant. On the one hand this foreword announces the new title (Romani Studies) without striving to explain the complex theoretical and historical backgrounds of this decision. In other words: desire for continuity overrides the possibility of self-reflection. On the other hand, the new title deprives the discourse of the possibility of fulfilment when it comes to the interpretation of the imagined subject and the discourse itself.

The thematic space of the discourse is seemingly lenient and thus permissive (including many different academic and non-academic fields – “history, anthropology, sociology, linguistics, art, literature, folklore and music”). However, this leniency leads to repercussions: the many discursive levels collapse into each other, thereby resulting in instability and confusion. Thus, the aforementioned act does not move away from the descriptive, inventorial intention and cannot move further in the direction of critical re-reading and over-writing. This process (and its criticism too) is independent of the contents of a certain issue or the current/recently published texts.

I have already stated that the naming process of the discourse is in correlation with the subject chosen (and assessed) by this very same discourse. From this perspective, the dispute revolving around the name of the discourse is correlated to the ongoing debate concerning the terms Roma and Gypsy as tropes and as ethnic identifiers. To illustrate this, let me remind you of the events that unfolded and the discussion that arose regarding the Roma Holocaust Monument in Berlin.

For this, I would like to quote two peculiar perspectives on this issue. The first quotation is the definition of Roma as a term used in the policy documents of the European Commission, the second one is by the thinker and artist (one of the central figures of contemporary Roma Art and newer ethnic identity-theory too) Daniel Baker.

“For the purpose of this report, the term ‘Roma’ is used as an umbrella term including groups of people who share more or less similar cultural characteristics and a history of persistent marginalisation in European societies, such as the Roma, Sinti, Travellers, Ashkali, and Kalé etc. The European Commission is aware of the recurrent debate regarding the use of the term Roma, and it has no intention to ‘assimilate’ the members of these other groups to the Roma themselves in cultural terms. Nonetheless, it considers the use of ‘Roma’ as an umbrella term practical and justifiable within the context of a policy document which is dealing above all with issues of social exclusion and discrimination, not with specific issues of cultural identity.”

And according to Daniel Baker:

“I use the word Gypsy to refer to Roma, Romani and Traveller communities collectively. This is not to suggest that we are a homogeneous group worldwide – we are certainly not – but to list all the local groupings contained within the category would be unwieldy and add little. The term Gypsy is in process of reclamation, despite being seen by some as problematic, particularly in the field of Romani Studies. (...) In my view it is time for us to embrace the term (...) The use of the term Gypsy as a cross-group identifier is resilient, enhanced as it is by a pervasive self-definition in contrast to non-Gypsy society, illustrating a creative outlook on

16 Gypsy Lore Society, <http://www.gypsyloresociety.org/gypsy-lore-society-publications/romani-studies>

family, on community construction, on inclusion and exclusion. This creative outlook is key to the development of Gypsy identity (...)” (Baker 2008: 407)

In what follows, I will summarize the fundamental elements of these two tropes.

	ROMA	GYPSY
1	PC-word	Non-PC word
2	Named from in-group	Name comes from Others
3	Without historical preconceptions	Contains and holds historical context
4	Declares the opposition of prejudices	Upholds stereotypes and prejudices
5		Self-reflective term (contains own using in time and space)
6		Reflects on the user (mirror-effect)

At this moment we tend to think that we have to decide between the two different terms and essentially, two different practices of naming that are seemingly in opposition. In fact, from my perspective it is not our task to decide or to justify, rather to unfold the strategies behind the terms Roma and Gypsy. As it seems, the European Commission announces the flexible term Roma through an open gesture, with the focus on usability or practicality in jurisdiction: it is a typical umbrella term. This term should be suited to articulate the social differences and exclusion in daily practice. Although Roma is an ethnonym representing the group’s own name-giving practices, this piece of legislation fixes the speculative differences in a rigid manner and ethnicizes complex social problems.

Baker’s term, or rather his definition of Gypsy derives from a deconstructive act. One of his installations is a mirror that features only one word: Gypsies. When the Reader looks at the mirror, he/she can see his or her own face under the title. His or her face will be the part of the installation while the artwork pushes itself into his/her private space too. This artwork forces a dialogue on its readers, forces questions and answers – the interaction between “here” and “there”, “us” and “the Other” is unavoidable. I think this artwork demonstrates Baker’s perspective – according to him “art has the power to challenge long-held stereotypes and misconceptions” (Baker 2008: 415). I hope that a scientific approach has the power to help and raise questions that aim at his/her own narrative.

Conclusion

The main task of the (ongoing) discourse named Roma Studies is to ask questions regarding its own existence, or even question its existence, if you will. Should it be a discourse that is able to interpret itself in a reflexive manner continuously? Can this constant rereading and rewriting leave marks on the discourse itself? And can it leave trails behind itself in the public spaces of the society? As David Morley (2013) writes: “Bark-binds used for passing on news, often grids of branches or leaf-twists that tell others of their direction.” Thus, I tend to think that Roma Studies exists as a relevant discourse by the very act of taking notice of its own complex responsibility.

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TIBOR CSERTI CSAPÓ:
INTERPRETING FRAMEWORKS AND DIFFICULTIES OF SOCIOLOGY IN RESEARCH ON
GYPSIES/ROMA IN HUNGARY

Different disciplines of social sciences examine the questions and drifts of demography. We emphasize three theories dealing with the topic: the theory of demographic changes affected mostly by social geography, the theory of fertility influenced by the economy, and the theory of sociology. We examine how we can interpret the demographic tendencies and future of the Hungarian Gypsy community regarding the different theories, and whether data related to the gypsies show that this community represents the same changes in demographic behaviour that were also present in the past in European populations and developed countries, including Hungary. The Gypsy community compared to Hungarian society has remarkable lag, but changes in norms, thinking and modernisation have started and will continue into the future based on the three theories this study considers.

Keywords: sociology, roma population, demography, theories

During the Romology training, the topics of sociology comes to the focus in the framework of several subjects and courses: *Territorial-social knowledge; Sociological knowledge in roma research; A sociological approach to Romology; The social situation of the Roma population in Europe and Hungary; A historical approach to Romology.* Each topic raises some basic questions: “*Who is Roma research talking about? Who are the Gypsies? How do statistics work for Roma research?*”. Additionally, a number of issues related to the framework for interpreting the social situation of the Roma and Gypsy population will be examined. These address aspects of social history on the one hand: *How has the situation of the Roma developed in the past depending on changes and trends of economy, politics and minority policy in majority society?* On the other hand, we have to examine the course of these processes in Hungary and how they can be interpreted in relation to the Roma population, starting from the basic theories and knowledge of the field of sociology: *territorial location and its historical embeddedness; the issue of migration and territorial segregation; basic trends in population; the relationship between housing, employment, health status and education.*

In our study, we focus on two of these fields. The unavoidable basic questions are how sociology can deal with the concept of the gypsy term in its research, how it can represent the population to be studied and the numerical issue of it, and how the data from this research can be used to interpret the demographic characteristics of the Roma population.

Problems of the definition

The first question immediately arises: What name do we use to call the group? It is not the purpose of this paper to provide a detailed analysis of this issue. There are many Roma groups and subgroups in European countries who use their own name, while majority societies often give this minority a different name. These terms are often derived from the historical past, variations of the Greek *athinganos* word for Gypsy groups, such as the following examples in different languages: the Czech *cigan*, the Latin *cinganus*, the German *Zigeuner*, the French *tziganel*

tsigane, the Italian *zingaro*, the Portuguese *cigano*, the Romanian *țigan*, the Spanish *zingaro*, *zincallo*, the Swedish *zigenare*, the Serbian, Slovenian and Croatian *cigan*, the vend *ciganj* and the Turkish *çingene*. All of these can be traced back to the Greek word *αττιγανος* (*athinganos*). Otherwise, indications of supposed Egyptian origin during the migration of Gypsies appear in European languages, with the origin of the Latin word *aegyptanus* (“Egyptian”) (e.g. Albanian *evgjit*, *jevg*, English *gypsy*, Greek *ejftos*, *giftoi*, French *gitans*, Spanish *gitano* and *gipcan*, *gupcan*, and *egjupci*, as used in South Slavic languages). Especially in the regions of Western Europe, the term *traveler* is also used to describe Roma groups, while we know that the nomadic lifestyle and the Roma origin do not necessarily overlap (see: CHERATA, 2014).

At the First World Roma Congress held in London, 8-12 April 1971, the delegates of the various Roma ethnic groups agreed by consensus that the common and official name of all people of Roma origin in the world should be the Roma term. However, this does not coincide with the self-defining naming of different groups. In Hungary, the use of the Roma name became mostly an element of political discourse after the change of regime instead of the word “gypsy”, which was considered pejorative, as a striving for a kind of political correctness and neutrality increased. In the context of the same correctness, the double name (Roma/Gypsy) has been used the most in recent decades in Hungary.

It is certain that in sociology, researchers do not usually deal with individual subgroups, as the sociological characteristics that social research deals with are not outlined in this respect, but can be applied to Roma groups in general. Therefore, sociological researchers define their subject matter as Roma or Gypsy.

On the one hand, the fact that although in this study we tried to use the Roma lexeme, the term Gypsy also appears alternately. On the other hand, as the name of the Gypsy group was natural to use in studies before the change of regime, we did not want to overwrite the language use of the contemporary data sources. Thirdly, the vast majority of the Gypsy communities in the Carpathian Basin use this name to identify themselves, and therefore the word “Roma” feels strange to them.

Who are the subjects of sociological Roma studies?

We can collect relevant sociological data on a group of the population (take the Hungarian population, for example) in two ways: In the first case, we need to know each member of the population and record social statistics about them – this is how the census works. Every member of the Hungarian population will be visited by the counting commissioners, and the recorded data will result in a picture with statistical averages that are very close to reality, thoroughly describing the different distributions and conditions of society. With the other method we draw conclusions about the indicators and distributions of the whole population and the processes taking place in society if we take a representative sample from the multitude which is methodologically correct by recording and analyzing the data of the persons in the sample. However, to select the sample, we also need to know approximately the members of the group.

And here we come to the most important methodological dilemma of Gypsy research: Do we know the multitude we call Gypsies and Roma? To do this, all members of the supposed group would have to be lined up in an imaginary field, and data would need to be collected from them, as the Hungarian Central Statistical Office (KSH) does when preparing census forms. Of course, this is not possible because until we know who can be considered a Roma from the point of view of the study, a complete list cannot be compiled. Another issue is that this is not only

technically problematic, but also violates individual sensitivity and civil rights - see Hungarian law CLXXIX. from 2011. Section 11 (1)¹⁷. The case of the representative examination is no less problematic either because in order to select the sample we should know the members of the population in the same way, though minimally we should be able to say what qualities and criteria should be included in the sample.

Throughout their history, sociological studies have typically sought to answer the question *Who are Roma?* with two approaches:

1. The first method leaves it to the judgment of the external environment to answer this question. The developer of the study, the interviewer, or a person or group appointed as an external expert can decide. However, it is questionable with what expertise anyone can answer this question, and on what basis can somebody judge someone to be Roma. This approach has been used in Gypsy censuses since the 18th century, when the data providers were included in the sample on an anthropological basis, on the basis of external features, or on the basis of typical Gypsy names or possibly origin. But here we can list the sociological studies by István Kemény in 1971 and 1993-94 (KEMÉNY -JANKY -LENGYEL, 2004), when members (teachers, councilors, district doctors, nurses) of the local society of the studied area pointed out the Gypsy families living in the area where the questionnaires were filled in. The CSO survey carried out in 1993 analyzed their samples, and “*census commissioners with good local knowledge classified households according to lifestyle*” into categories of “*gypsy lifestyle and non-gypsy lifestyle*”¹⁸ (FORRAY-MOHÁCSI, 2002). In this case, the question immediately arises as to how to define the concept of Gypsy living style and generalize the entire Roma population (CSERTI, 2011.). (See KEMÉNY, 2002; HAVAS, 2002.)

2. The second method is when, based on the legal environment, the respondent is left to decide whether to accept his or her ethnicity, and the study works with the data of those who voluntarily undertake it. This is how the census and all the official statistics work. In this case, however, the basic question is whether the sum of those who assign themselves to a certain nationality corresponds to the data and indicators of the completeness of a group that we cannot define, or whether voluntary identity is accompanied by background variables that distort the pattern. (For example, only one basic assumption is that those who assume a Roma identity typically come from lower-educated members of the group, which is accompanied by a distortion of all statistical characteristics with distributions that typically move with the educational indicator –employment, average number of children and territorial location. However, assuming that the more educated, and therefore more self-conscious, intellectual group is more committed to Roma origin, no matter how narrow this layer of the current Roma community is, it will push the values of the listed indicators in the other direction.) (See SZUHAY, 2002.)

To eliminate the definition dilemmas, researchers sometimes try to approach Roma from a socio-economic point of view, narrowing the issue to a kind of poverty problem. However, the social approach is not sufficient, as in the case of the Hungarian Gypsies it is a significantly more differentiated group, and the issue has more than just economic aspects. On the other hand, those with social difficulties are not necessarily Roma.

17 Act 2011 CLXXIX. on the Rights of Nationalities. Section 11 (1): “*The declaration of belonging to a nationality is the exclusive and inalienable right of the individual.*”

18 A cigányság helyzete, életkörülményei, 1993. Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 1994. http://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/NEDA_1990_ciganysag_1993/?pg=0&layout=s

In their 1997 study, János Ladányi and Iván Szelényi make the provocative statement that who can be considered as Roma is an inexplicable question that requires scientific study. We agree with their statement in many respects. We can state that at a given time who considers themselves to be Roma. We can also measure who in a group of the population - more or less arbitrarily or randomly selected by us - considered to be Roma (LADÁNYI – SZELÉNYI, 1997). However, the sample obtained strongly depends on the person performing the qualification along with their attitudes and goals. Moreover, the application of this method does not include members with Roma origin in the Roma society who have been absorbed in the majority society without a trace, and therefore the public no longer records their origin (LADÁNYI-SZELÉNYI, 2001).

Due to the problems of the scientific definition, a series of debates developed between the researchers István Kemény, János Ladányi and Iván Szelényi, who criticized their approach. This debate reflects that the question of how difficult it is to create our image of a diverse and heterogeneous Roma is often significantly simplified and generalized not only in public thinking, but also in scientific writings (LADÁNYI-SZELÉNYI, 1997; HAVAS – KEMÉNY – KERTESI, 1998; LADÁNYI – SZELÉNYI, 1998A; KERTESI, 1998, LADÁNYI – SZELÉNYI, 1998B).

It is a fact that the Gypsy group judged by the environment will not be the same as the group that defines itself as a Roma, but the external classification, despite its illegality, is a tough social fact. Even if the external environment judges someone to be a Gypsy, there is a danger that the external rating alone may be capable of severely influencing the fate of individuals or masses of people (CSALOG, 1997).

At the same time, scientific research and studies today turn to the Roma group primarily with the need to map their socio-economic disadvantage and seek solutions. Should we examine the individual of Roma origin, who is striving for assimilation and does not assume the identity of a Roma, who has fully embarked on the path of social integration, and whose problems are completely different from those affecting the majority of Roma in Hungary? These are questions that the Kemény school used to argue for and defend their test method.

After all, connected to any other ethnic-national-minority group, we would have similar definitional difficulties, and we have not even mentioned what can be done in the case of mixed marriages. How many generations and to what genetic ratio can offspring be classified as belonging to a given nationality?

Is it a problem only in Hungary?

The question posed in the title can be answered immediately: Of course, the inaccuracies and dilemmas outlined above do not only appear in Hungarian minority statistics. The Roma individuals in many countries live in social marginalization, disadvantage and exclusion, and as a result, inaccuracies in official statistics and contingencies make it equally difficult to manage accurate population data. This is evidenced by the data set in Table 1. Although its indicators are 30 years old, there is unfortunately no recent data or an overview with a comparable database for the same time period available across Europe. However, it is appropriate to observe that for all countries (where we had adequate data) there is a significant difference between the indicators generated in the two ways.

Table 1. The Roma population of Europe (ca. 1991)

Country/ Region	Total Population	Number of Roma (estimated)	Proportion of Roma (estimated, %)	Number of Roma (census)	Proportion of Roma (census, %)
Austria	7795786	20000	0,26		
Belgium	10045000	10000	0,10		
Cyprus	740000	500	0,07		
Denmark	5170000	1500	0,03		
United Kingdom	57848000	90000	0,16		
Finland	5042000	7000	0,14		
France	57042000	280000	0,49		
Greece	10280000	160000	1,55		
The Netherlands	15182000	35000	0,23		
Ireland	3548000	22000	0,62		
Luxembourg	393000	100	0,02		
Germany	80595000	110000	0,14		
Norway	4245000	500	0,01		
Italy	57896000	90000	0,15		
Portugal	9858000	40000	0,41		
Spain	39115000	650000	1,66		
Sweden	8668000	15000	0,17		
Switzerland	6756000	30000	0,44		
„Western Europe”	380218786	561600	0,41		
Albania	3261000	90000	2,76		
Bosnia and Herzegovina	4364574	40000	0,92	7151	0,16
Bulgaria	8487317	635000	7,48	313396	3,69
Czech Republic	10302215	150000	1,46	32903	0,32
Croatia	4784265	30000	0,63	6695	0,14
Kosovo	1956196	200000	10,22	45745	2,34
Poland	38220000	40000	0,10		
Hungary	10374823	450000	4,33	142683	1,37
Macedonia	2033964	220000	10,82	52103	2,56
Montenegro	615035	10000	1,63	3282	0,53
Romania	22810035	2200000	9,65	401087	1,76
Serbia	7759571	300000	3,87	94338	1,22

Slovakia	5274335	262000	4,82	75802	1,44
Slovenia	1965986	8000	0,40	2293	0,11
„Eastern Europe”	122209316	4635000	3,79	1177479	0,96
Belarus	10151806	15000	0,15	10762	0,11
Estonia	1565662	1000	0,06		
Latvia	2666567	8000	0,30	7044	0,26
Lithuania	3674802	3000	0,08	2718	0,07
Moldova	4335360	20000	0,46	11571	0,27
Russian Federation	147021869	220000	0,15	152939	0,10
Ukraine	51452034	80000	0,15	47917	0,09
former „Soviet Europe”	220868100	347000	0,16	232951	0,10
Europe	723296202	6543600	0,90		

The data in the table also show the phenomenon that the presence of the Roma population and its proportion in the total population of each country increases when moving from the western part of the continent to south-eastern Europe. There may be historical reasons for this, as during their migration the Roma groups reached Europe from the Balkans. Although a significant number migrated further from there to the Northwest, in the western part of Europe in the early 16th century their persecution began, so it was easier for them to settle in Central and Eastern Europe.

A short history of research on the social situation of Hungarian gypsies

The research of the Roma communities in Hungary was „traditionally” an ethnographic, folkloristic and linguistic task, which was carried out at an international level by the „romologists” of the time at the end of the 19th century. Sociological studies began only in the 1970s. (BINDER, 2015) Information on the position of the Roma population in society from previous centuries can be obtained mostly from the documents of attempts to census them. To the best of our knowledge, the earliest censuses, apart from those ordered by the Turkish authorities, in which Gypsies are included, are in the 17th century. As the census was nothing more than a form of control and reporting, we can expect the central government to soon emerge in that era and begin to regulate the Gypsies in the mid-1720s. (TÓTH, 2006)

The regular census of the Gypsies did not begin until the late 1740s. These laws were started by the legislature to be able to enforce the head tax imposed on Gypsies, hence they provide little information about the social structure, they were not made for this purpose. The first census, which can be evaluated from a historical statistical and demographic point of view, was ordered by Maria Theresa issued on December 10, 1767. The census included the name, age, occupation, religion, and landlord of the head of the family, the name, age, and religion of his wife, and the name and age of their children. Regular censuses took place between 1773 and 1837. (TÓTH, 2006)

In 1873, the Gypsies of the country were compiled by decree of the Ministry of the Interior. However, the first systematic and comprehensive attempt to assess the situation of Gypsies in Hungary, as well as the best-known and most processed census material, was the „Gypsy Cen-

sus” carried out by the Royal Hungarian Statistical Office in 1893. The data were collected on the basis of genealogy and anthropology. (Kocsis – Kovács, 1991) The data of the statistical survey of 1893 must be treated with caution, because the census was carried out by the administrative apparatus, which in some cases may have been interested in painting a better picture than the real one, in other cases it only formally fulfilled its obligation. Based on the results of the survey, the situation of the Gypsies of contemporary Hungary can be outlined relatively well. (Havas, 1999a) Its results were published by Hermann Antal (1895).

With the disappearance of the liberal era of dualism, the interest in social statistics and sociology of the Gypsies also ceased. (Havas, 1999a). In the first four decades of the 20th century, no such research took place, the research interest towards Gypsies returned only in the 1940s, but the influence and impact of radicalizing far-right policy can be felt throughout the census and data collection on the social situation. After the Second World War, the development of the socialist social system did not have a positive effect on Roma research, the study of the socio-economic problems of the Roma population, or the search for solutions. Until the 1960s, the so-called „principle of automatism” existed, which meant that since socialist society is organized not on the basis of ethnicity but on the basis of class, these problems of ethnicity should not be given priority, because these contradictions will automatically resolve with the new system, the new social order. As a result of this approach, the research of current ethnic problems and the longer-term planning of cultural, educational and other tasks have ceased. (Tilkovszky, 1998)

Sociological interest could only turn to the Roma again from the late 1960s. In addition to the gradual rehabilitation of the discipline, the fact that the country’s non-Roma labor reserves were depleted and the gates of industry were wide open to the Roma also played a role in this. (Havas, 1999a) The resolution of the Hungarian Socialist People’s Party (MSzMP) of September 1968 stated that the efficiency of nationality policy must be increased, the principle of automatism is not correct, the assimilation of nationalities is not a clearly positive process, it acknowledged the existence of ethnic needs and a more active phase of ethnic policy followed.

However, the minority policy towards the Roma in the socialist period remained characterized by treating the situation of the Roma only as a social problem. By the end of the 1960s, it became clear that without nationally represented, comprehensive Roma research, and without exploring the basic information and the most basic sociological contexts characterizing the national situation, it was not possible to proceed in the study of the topic. Following this recognition, a national study of the Institute of Sociology under the leadership of István Kemény took place in 1970-71. (Szűcs, 2003) The purpose of the 1971 study was to provide a comprehensive picture on social status, native language and ethnic distribution of Roma, distribution of them according to settlement types and regions, urban and housing relations, the magnitude, children and live birth rates of Roma families, education, the impact of industrialization in the 1950s and 1960s, employment and income conditions. (Kemény - Janky - Lengyel, 2004) In the representative survey, sampling districts were selected in the whole territory of the country, striving to be the majority of Gypsies among the inhabitants, in addition, where there is a mixed population with the majority population, as well as where there are only a small number of Roma families. Council staff, nurses, district doctors and educators working in the districts were asked - assuming that the representatives of the external environment who came into contact with the local society and families in their daily work the community - to show the Roma families living in the area, where the surveys were completed. Due to its sampling method, the research was later criticized, but it must be acknowledged that this is the most comprehensive database on the position of the Roma population in socialist society, to which several later results have been compared. Therefore, later research could undertake a subtask of deeper investigation of fundamental relationships possession (Szűcs, 2003).

In the autumn of 1993, more than twenty years after the 1971 Roma survey, a representative survey of the situation of the Roma population in Hungary was made again. The aim was to get a comprehensive picture of the changes that took place in the social and economic situation of the Roma after the change of regime. (KERTESI – KÉZDI, 1999) The study was led by István Kemény, Gábor Havas, Gábor Kézdi and Gábor Kertesi. The sampling concept reflected the previous study. Regarding the activities of Kemény's research workshop, it should be mentioned that their previous two research studies were repeated in 2003, but only a 1% sample was included in this survey, so the researchers themselves consider the data to be significantly more inaccurate than the results of previous studies. The 2003 study was led by István Kemény and Béla Janky at the Ethnic-National Minority Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. (SEE DETAILED: KEMÉNY, 1997; KEMÉNY- HAVAS - KERTESI, 1997; KEMÉNY - JANKY - LENGYEL, 2004)

Among the more comprehensive research studies should be mentioned the examination of the Hungarian household panel of the Central Statistical Office in 1992, or the representative survey of the CSO covering 27,000 households in 1993¹⁹. In the 1990s, small-scale surveys were also carried out by public opinion research institutes and other research workshops (Szonda Ipsos - 1996 research, 1993 research led by Iván Szelényi and Donald Treiman).

László Hablicsek made forecasts regarding the demographic development of the Roma population in Hungary. (See: HABLICSEK, 2000, 2007; POLÓNYI, 2002)

The problem of sociological research on the Roma population

Without going detailed into the scientific methodology of sociology²⁰ (See. ANDORKA, 2006, 3.; MESSING, 2014), it is important to draw attention to some of the problems that urge us to treat the various research findings with caution. We need to examine four criteria, and their fulfillment, in relation to Roma research, which provide the basis for the science of sociological research: these are the aspects of regularity, comparability, sample size, and representativeness.

1. The analysis of data and processes and changes concerning the number of a population and its distributions requires that the data to be examined be available to the given population group over a long period of time. In the case of the Hungarian population, this is easily achievable; From 1870 (the first modern census) censuses are usually conducted every 10 years, but the statistical service also collects more detailed and up-to-date data. Data collection on the Roma population is far from regular. Table 2 summarizes the main databases that can serve as a basis in this regard for the number and other indicators of the studied group. It can be seen that although data collection goes back centuries, compared to statistics on the country's whole population, this is a negligible immersion.

2. The available databases can be compared, and the longer-term trends can be analyzed if the individual data recordings are made with the same methodology and measurements. Examining the columns of Table 2, it can be observed that the censuses asked about their mother tongue and ethnicity (these are not comparable indicators, although in both cases the respondents are based on their own declaration and voluntary data provision). However, the outer certificating data collection according to the classification by estimation, formed

19 See: A cigányság helyzete, életkörülményei, 1993. Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 1994. http://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/NEDA_1990_ciganysag_1993/?pg=0&layout=s

20 Research Methods. Introduction to sociology. <https://courses.lumenlearning.com/sociology/chapter/research-methods/>

the assumed size of the group using quite different methods. The censuses of the time were mainly based on anthropological features, the council estimates of the socialist decades summed up the approximate estimates of local councils, and the 1971, 1993-94, and 2003 Kemény's studies formed the data along the already mentioned external environmental classification. The method definitely affects the final result. It should also be mentioned that in the table, the estimates of the 1930s in the radicalizing social atmosphere were primarily intended to support the severity of the "Gypsy problem". These data obtained by different methods therefore are not comparable.

Table 2. Population of the Roma in Hungary based on various data sources

Year	Source	According to mother tongue	By nationality	By estimating (rating)
1782	contemporary census			43 783
1873	contemporary census			50 040
1893	contemporary census			65 000
1900	census	5662		
1910	census	9799		
1920	census	6989		
1929	expert estimate Gesztelyi Nagy László			80-100 000
1930	census	7841		
1930	expert estimate Kemény Gábor			100 000
1938	expert estimate Drózdny Győző			100-150 000
1941	census	18 641	27 033	
1949	census	21 387	37 598	
1960	census	25 633	56 121	
1963	KSH representative data collection			222 000
1970	census	34 957		
1970	County Council Estimates			220-250 000
1971	Sociological Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences representative research			320 000
1977	County Council Estimates			325 000
1980	census	27 915	64 040	
1990	census	48 072	142 683	
1992	Ministry of Education			450 000
1992	KSH Household Panel			3,1%
1993	KSH representative data collection			393 715

1993	Szélényi – Treiman representative data collection			3,9%
1993-94	Sociological Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences representative research			482 000
1996	Szonda Ipsos representative data collection			6,6%
2001	census	48 685	190 046	
2003	Sociological Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences representative research			540 800 6,0%
2011	census	54 339	308 957 3,2%	
2011	KSH Population Research Institute			553 882 5,7%
2011	UNDP/World Bank/EC – FRA			700 000 7,04%
2012	TÁRKI Household Monitor			620 – 680 000 6,5%
2015	KSH MEF		360 000 3,7%	

3. The need for representativeness means that the range of persons and elements included in the study is narrowed down so that its distribution reflects and shows the distribution patterns of the entire population. For understandable reasons, we really need to pay attention to gender proportions, the distribution of settlement size categories, and regional proportionality, as we get completely different answers and values to men and women, people in the capital than in rural small towns or villages, and in the different regions of the country the social pattern of people does not the same in many aspects. Having seen that, in principle, we cannot determine the members of the large population in the case of the Roma population, the criterion of representativeness can only be applied to a limited extent in these research studies.

4. In the case of representative tests, the sample size fundamentally affects the accuracy of the data collection. The smaller the sample, the greater the chance of error. Among the research completed on the social situation of the Hungarian Roma, we find not only one that warns the interpreter of the data to be cautious exactly due to the small number of sample elements.

Demographic approach

Interest in the population of the Roma has always been part of the sociological surveys. In this respect, we do not wish to repeat the multiplicity data of each research, it is presented in Table 1. It is important that the census columns (mother tongue and nationality) do not say much about

the real processes of the Roma population due to their data collection method (voluntary declaration). Rather, they reflect how the social mood, the recognition and prestige of Roma, the supportive or restrictive mechanisms of politics develop in each minority group at the given time, thus serving as a curiosity at most, but by no means a starting point for demographic analyzes.

The interpretation of the figures in the table is made even more difficult, and what serves as a good example of the problem of comparability is that the 1996 research of Sonda Ipsos²¹ did not publish information on population but as a percentage, and not on the whole population but on a certain age group. In doing so, the interviewers proportioned the size of the Roma population to those over 15 years of age: 6.6 percent of the population of the appropriate age group were classified as Roma, 2.2 per cent could not decide whether or not they were Roma, while 91.2 percent of the adult population were not classified as Roma.

According to a 1993 survey led by Iván Szelényi and Donald Treiman, 3.9 percent of respondents (aged 20-70) were classified as Roma, 1.2 per cent could not make a decision and 94.9 per cent of the adult population were non-Roma. (LADÁNYI - SZELÉNYI, 1997)

However, in addition to the raw data, the general observations and laws of the science on the demographic behavior and historical processes of certain ethnic groups can help a lot in understanding the demographic characteristics of the Roma population.

Population theories²²

Different fields of social sciences have long placed the issue of population at the center of their research, as one of the important challenges of the 20th century, and this field of study will probably not be less relevant in our present century either. After all, the declining population of the countries of the developed world, as well as the non-slowng population explosion in the developing countries, the related scarcity and unbalanced distribution of resources, and the resulting migration and ethnic reorientation tendencies pose serious challenges to individual societies.

We examine three of these theories; the demographic theory of fertility often used in the geo-sciences, the model outlined by economics, and the sociological theory of fertility, but we also deal with their variants without claiming completeness. We examine how the tendencies and prospects of the population of the Hungarian Roma can be interpreted in the light of these theories.

Demographic theory of fertility

This studied model has long roots in the history of science. As one of the ancestors of demography, we must mention Thomas Robert Malthus. (See DUNN, 1998) In his famous work²³ (1798), which received considerable criticism from posterity, he formulated a simplified theory of population growth. According to this, in addition to the improving trend of mortality rates, population growth is accelerating because fertility remains high (ANDORKA, 2003: 271). The population, if it is not braked by anything, is fast, according to geometric progress of approx. It can double in size every 25 years. However, according to the author, food production can be increased similarly to arithmetic progress, so sooner or later the population will inevitably collide into obstacles. Population growth is therefore faster than the extent to which production, and food production in particular can grow. This necessarily leads to a mortality catastrophe, which

21 Public opinion research institute

22 See: Demographic Theories. <https://courses.lumenlearning.com/alamo-sociology/chapter/reading-demographic-theories/>

23 Thomas Robert Malthus: An Essay on the Principle of Population. 1798.

is caused by the entry of external limiting factors. Various brakes can occur, which will slow down the growth of the population. It can also take the form of epidemics, famines, or wars. In his later work, Malthus acknowledged that population decline can also be achieved by limiting the number of births through late marriage or abstinence from marriage — these can be seen as internal limiting factors.

However, the demographic changes that began in Malthus's life in developed European countries and followed in the next decades showed that European populations gradually limited the number of births (initially with a general postponement of marriages, but later to a much greater extent with intra-marital birth control). Thus, relative to the rate of population growth, production grew faster, food supply improved, overall living standards rose, and the predicted demographic catastrophe did not occur.

Later demographers gradually recognized that in developed countries there were tendencies contrary to Malthus' theory in the 19th century's population processes. The process of improving mortality remained in place but was later followed by a decline in fertility. The observation was first formulated in the theory of the French demographer Adolphe Landry²⁴. This is the theory of demographic transition was further developed by several researchers in the decades after World War II (e.g., NOTESTEIN, 1945).

The theory of demographic transition (see AMARAL, 2020) is a model describing the population trends of different societies and ethnic groups, and it analyzes the regularities that characterize the demographic behavior of societies throughout history. Population indicators - birth rates, mortality rates, natural reproduction, life expectancy, average number of children, age structure characteristics - do not change randomly over time. Demographic studies have shown that these factors are very closely related to the current socio-economic system and development. Based on the data, the development of the population can be divided into typical stages, and these stages regularly follow each other at certain levels of socio-economic development. Each stage can be described and delimited by the typical development of population indicators. Of course, just as development has not taken place simultaneously in all countries, societies, but in some parts of the world and within Europe, the stages of the demographic transition model can be linked to different periods in different countries, peoples or ethnic groups. The population of each country shows the characteristics of different sections of the model in light of the data.

According to the theory of demographic transition,²⁵ population development has five (or four in the classification of others) consecutive phases (see Figure 1).

I. In the first phase, in the age of the agricultural economy, before the Industrial Revolution, both birth and death rates were very high. The two indicators run side by side over time, so population growth is not significant. The population is growing slowly, possibly stagnating. The high number and rate of deaths at this stage is due to the underdeveloped economy, poor agricultural productivity and, with it, food efficiency, poor living conditions, and an underdeveloped health care system and medicine. This period is defined by short life expectancy at birth, high infant mortality and high mortality rates at later ages too. The value of natural reproduction is low. Under such circumstances, keeping the population at the same level is ensured by the high birth rate, the family model with many children is the norm to be followed. Typically, the countries of Europe were in this phase until the era of the Industrial Revolution, and

24 Adolphe Landry: *La révolution démographique*. Paris, Sirey, 1934.

25 Demographic Transition Theory. [https://socialsci.libretexts.org/Bookshelves/Sociology/Introduction_to_Sociology/Book%3A_Sociology_\(Boundless\)/17%3A_Population_and_Urbanization/17.02%3A_Population_Growth/17.2E%3A_Demographic_Transition_Theory](https://socialsci.libretexts.org/Bookshelves/Sociology/Introduction_to_Sociology/Book%3A_Sociology_(Boundless)/17%3A_Population_and_Urbanization/17.02%3A_Population_Growth/17.2E%3A_Demographic_Transition_Theory)

the change in the population processes was brought about by industrialization, economic development and, at the same time, the transformation of the social order and modernization.

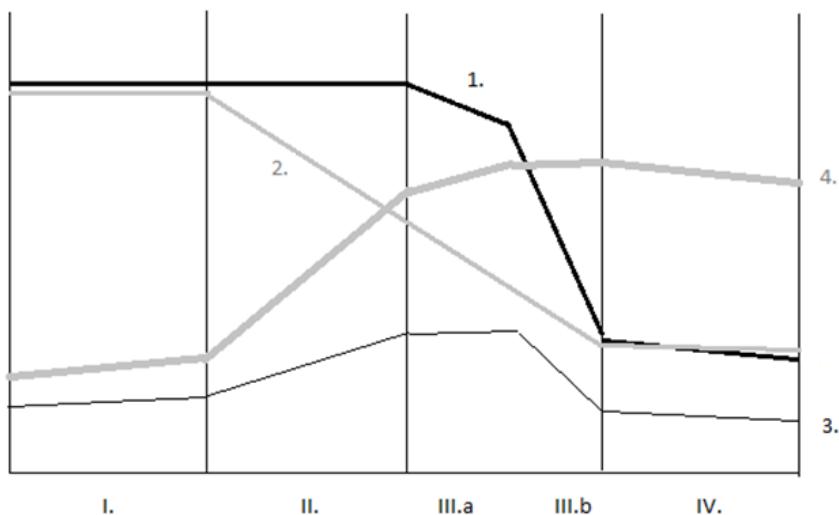
II. In the second phase, mortality rates begin to gradually improve, at which point fertility remains high. The improvement in mortality rates is due to accelerating economic development after the Industrial Revolution. The industrial mass production ensures an improvement in the living standards of the population, the modernization of agricultural production causes food shortages, the cessation of famines; the development of medical technologies, the emergence of vaccines give the basis of the extension of life expectancy and the reduction of mortality rates. However, the number of births remains high, because childbearing habits are determined not so much by hard economic or health indicators, but rather by the system of values and norms of society. The rate of population growth is accelerating due to the demographic scissors opening caused by the distancing of mortality and birth rates and a demographic revolution, the so-called population explosion.

IIIa. The third stage of the model shows a further decrease in the mortality rate, but at this stage, birth rates already start to decrease. Population growth remains rapid, albeit at a slower rate. As reasons behind the decline in fertility researchers list the modern socio-economic development, industrialization, urbanization, the transformation of the traditional way of thinking during a few generations, the rise in living standards, and the improvement of educational indicators.

IIIb. In the next stage, the improvement in the mortality rate only slows down first and then stops. The birth rate continues to decline, narrowing the gap between the two indicators, closing the demographic scissors and slowing down population growth.

IV. The final phase of the model is characterized by a stabilization of the mortality rate and the birth rate at a low level, population growth stops, and in some countries, where mortality rates are above birth rates, even population decline occurs. This is typically a population trend in post-industrial societies.

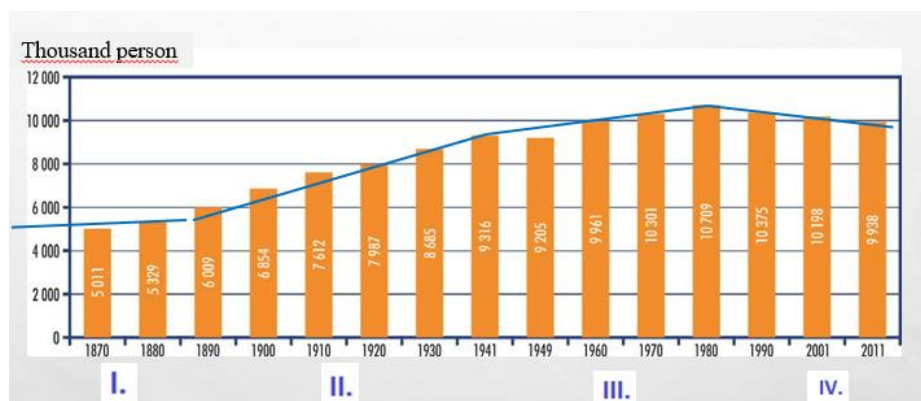
Figure 1. Model of demographic transition (1. rate of birth; 2. mortality rate; 3. natural reproduction; 4. number of population)



Regarding the model of demographic transition, it should be noted that it was followed by trends in different countries with greater or lesser differences. In France, for example, the decline in fertility began as early as the 1780s, in England, which had a similar degree of socio-economic development, only around 1890. At the end of the 1700s, in France, which had a much higher proportion of the population employed in agriculture than England, a lower proportion of the urban population, a lower level of urbanization, a lower literacy rate, that means that on a lower degree of socio-economic development started the transformation. Thus, the above-mentioned reasons behind the decline in fertility cannot be considered omnipotent, their order of importance, the more important or less decisive role of some reasons cannot be stated. Today, the demographic transition has taken place in all developed countries, including Hungary, reaching its 5th stage.

The above detailed model can also be interpreted for Hungarian population processes. The demographic tendencies of Hungary show that the Hungarian population was in the first stage until the middle of the 19th century, and due to the industrialization and social development that unfolded at that time, a faster increase in the population began. From the middle of the 20th century, the accelerating decline in the number of births will become an increasingly significant trend, clearly in the 3a-3b phases. In the end of the 20th century the Hungarian population already bears the characteristics of a declining population and thus in the last phase.

Figure 2. Population changes in Hungary based on censuses

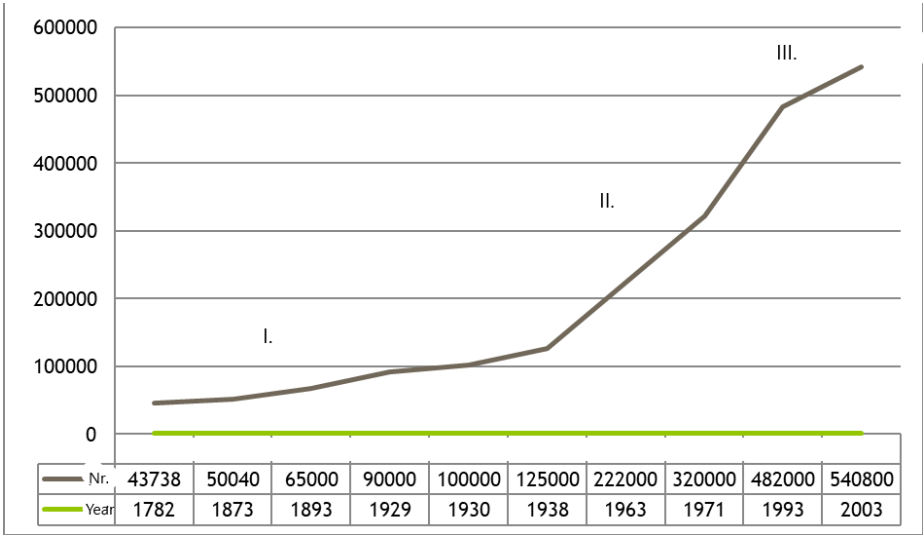


The question is whether the population processes of the Hungarian Roma can be fitted into the correlation system outlined above. Our assumption is that yes, since the demographic behavior of this ethnic group is also influenced by general socio-economic factors. However, it is more difficult to prove the hypothesis, because while the basic criteria of scientific research (regularity, comparable, same methodology, representativeness, sufficient sample size) meet the Hungarian population statistics, we do not have regular and continuous reliable statistics on various social indicators for the Roma population. Surveys of previous centuries in particular are burdened with methodological errors and the possibility of faults in estimates. But the data obtained during the 20th century are not without these either, it is enough to see only from various definitional experiments (the method of self-classification used in censuses, the definition of Gypsy based on the Kemény's school's external environment judgment, or the CSO's 1993 definition of Gypsy lifestyle²⁶). (CSERTI, 2006: 164-165) Due to these methodological differen-

26 A cigányság helyzete, életkörülményei. Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 1994

ces, we obtain rather capriciously jumping data on the population of the studied ethnic group. As a result, we do not now take into account the Roma data releases, which are strongly dependent on the current political, minority policy and public mood of the censuses, only the estimates of different experts and research groups (emphasized not with the same methodology, definition and group). Yet we obtain a diagram that fits perceptibly to the characteristic running directions of the curves in the previously known model. (Figure 3).

Figure 3. The Roma population in Hungary based on population estimates

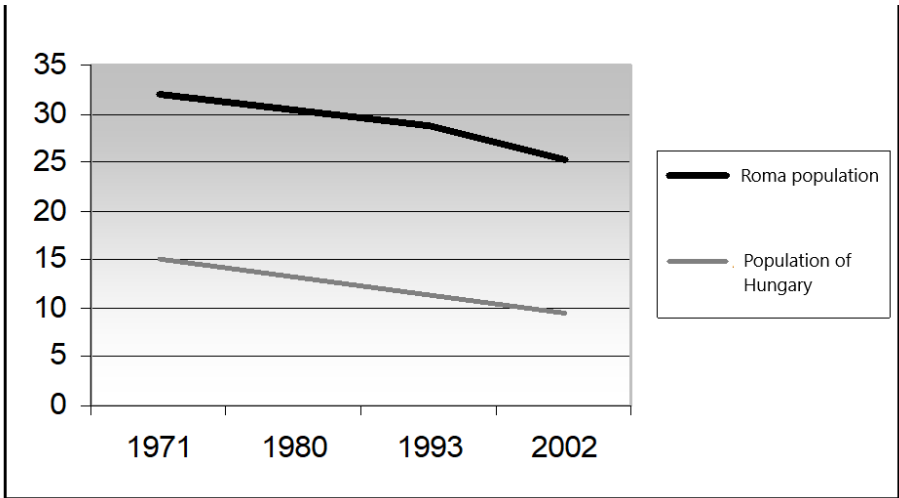


The first phase of the curve, until the end of World War II, evokes the first phase of a model of demographic transition with its slowly growing population. After World War II, following the war bloodshed natural demographic trends suggest that in a party-state era, in parallel with the end of discrimination and the improvement of living conditions (termination of segregated roma settlements, resettlement of Roma in cities, housing policy, closer to the health care system), happended a slowly declining demographic revolution within the Roma. The Roma population (in today's territory of the country) has more than doubled in the last century, which can be clearly explained by the extremely high birth rate and declining infant mortality in the decades following World War II. (Kocsis – Kovács, 1999: 13-20) This is perhaps the era that corresponds to Stage 2 of the demographic transition.

Data from several sociological studies can be set up to confirm the above hypothesis. According to the data of István Kemény in 1971, the birth rate per one thousand inhabitants was 32‰ among the gypsies, and 15‰ in the total population. In 1993, this indicator was 28.7‰ for the Roma population and 11.3‰ for the country as a whole. (KEMÉNY - JANKY - LENGYEL, 2004) The indicator of Gypsies indicates a slightly decreasing trend (3.3‰ in 20 years). However, during this period, the change in the birth data of the total population is slightly larger (-3.7‰). In 2002, the cited research recorded a birth rate of 25.3‰ in the Roma population (so the indicator continued to decline, now in a narrow 10 years the change is -3.4‰). In this period, the data for the country's population decreased by 1.8‰, as the indicator for 2002 was 9.5‰ based on CSO data. Thus, the trend in the population of the country continued to decrease with a permanent, virtually unchanged intensity. However, proportioning the pace of change to the length of the periods indicates that the process has accelerated in the Roma

sample. (Figure 4) This ethnic group also appears to be slipping into Section 3 of the demographic model.

Figure 4. Trend of change in birth rate among Roma population and the whole population in Hungary



The number of live births in Hungary in 1993 was about 116 thousand, of which, according to the Kemény survey, 13 thousand were of Roma origin, 11% of the total number of children in Hungary. The number of Roma children born in 2002 was estimated at around 15,000 by Kemény, which already represents approx a rate of 15% (because the CSO's population movement data on the number of live births in 2002 was 96,804). The data indicate that while the population of the country is declining year by year during this period (since 1980, the Hungarian population has been characterized not only by a steady decline in the number of births, but also in the population of the country), we can observe an increasing number of children in the Roma group, and the Roma community therefore accounts for an increasing proportion of all children born in each year. The share of Roma in the younger age groups is increasing. However, after examining a growing number and youthful Roma population, we refer the above increasing number of children to a growing population, therefore the statement that childbearing characteristics of the Roma population with a decreasing intensity even today does not contradict our above statement. The decreasing intensity is reflected in a somewhat declining trend in the desire to have children. This is confirmed by other research too.

In 1997, Mária Neményi conducted a research entitled "Pregnancy - childbirth - childcare - in the relationship between Roma mothers and health care" among the three most significant Roma ethnic groups in Hungary. Although the sample was quite small - 80 young Roma women were interviewed - some of its data may be of interest to us as well. (Table 3)

The researcher's data also supports the slow change in Roma childbearing habits. Compared to the fertility of the parental generation in today's age group of parents, the respondents' childbearing habits showed a radical change, reducing the average number of children per family by about half. (NEMÉNYI, 1999)

Table 3. Changes in the number of siblings and the number of children among women in the three Hungarian Roma groups (source: NEMÉNYI, 1999)

	Boyash	Vlach/ roma	Romungro
Average sibling number	6,0	6,3	5,8
Average number of children	3,1	3,1	2,4

It is possible that here, towards the end of the 20th century, we can capture the tendencies that indicate the transformation of the demographic behavior of Roma, perhaps suggesting that although there is a significant delay compared to Hungarian society, this ethnic group is also advancing in the demographic transition model and is now in Phase 3. There are processes that are reorganizing and encouraging the change of norms in Gypsy society as well, such as the integration into the labour market in the second part of socialist era, improvement in life circumstances as a result of urbanization and settlement liquidations, and the slow dissolution of traditional values. and an intensifying school progress among them.

Examining the data in Table 4, it is clear how strongly the typical age of births in the total population shifts in the decade before the turn of the millennium. Meanwhile, this trend can also be felt among Roma women. Especially if we look at the youngest age group. Even Roma girls continue their education and only later have children.

Table 4. Number of births per 1,000 women by age group (JANKY, 2006)

	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-49
<u>Total population</u>						
1990-93	36,8	138,2	114,7	48,2	16,5	1,8
1995-98	28,7	89,3	99,4	49,2	17,0	1,8
1999-02	22,6	67,1	92,6	55,9	20,0	1,4
<u>Roma population</u>						
1990-93	137,0	217,8	141,6	98,4	51,9	10,4
1995-98	134,3	219,3	155,8	95,9	50,4	6,3
1999-02	120,8	218,1	133,7	64,1	48,6	6,7

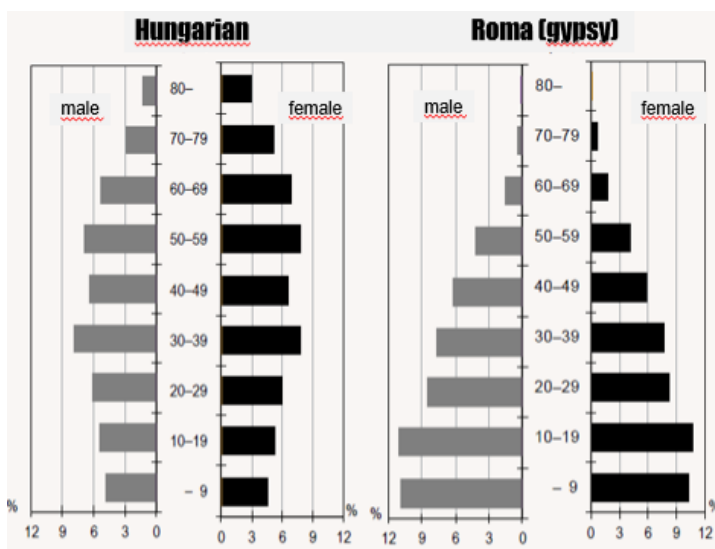
The UN population forecast for Hungary (see Table 5) also confirms our hypothesis. since in the medium term (see 2050) the population of the Roma community will show a further slow increase, but in the long run (see 2100) the actual population decline will be reflected among them as well. While, of course, it causes a further increase in their proportions compared to the dynamically declining population of the country.

Table 5. UN forecast (Hungary)

Year	2050	2100
Total population (persons)	8 318 000	6 500 000
Roma population (persons)	1 175 000	1 100 000
Rate of roma population	14-15%	17%

Recalling the data on the age structure of the last (2011) Hungarian census, we can see that in addition to the classical aging structure of the country's population, the typical pyramid-shaped Roma age tree drawn by previous sociological research no longer appears. In the lower, youngest cohorts, thinning of the corpse began. (See Figure 5)

Figure 5. Age structure of those who classify themselves as Hungarian or Roma (Gypsy) during the 2011 census (KSH 2015)



Theory of intergenerational wealth flow

Based primarily on his research experience in Africa, CALDWELL (1978) sought to redefine the theory of demographic transition by highlighting changes in family and marital relationships. He called this the *wealth flow theory of fertility*. Wealth, on the other hand, did not mean tangible property, but all material and non-material goods and services that parents and children give to each other. In traditional societies, the bulk of the burden of having and raising children is

borne by women, but the decision is in the hands of men. Goods and services flow from children to parents and grandparents. (ANDORKA, 2005) In societies where production takes place within a family, fertility is usually high, as a large number of children also contribute to increasing family income through their work - more than they spend raising. This is because in these societies, the costs of raising children are low (because there is no or only very short schooling). (POLÓNYI, 2011) This changes when family production is gradually replaced by wage labour or production organized through the labour market. Then the income of the younger generations falls into their own hands, because the young person who has become a wage worker wants to use his own wage himself. The vulnerable position of women vis-à-vis men is also reduced if they can earn an income outside the household. Raising the younger generations is becoming more costly as the time of schooling is getting longer. Therefore, the direction of wealth migration between generations is reversed. Whereas in the past the flow of wealth within a family, within a generation, took place from the child to the parents, now it flows from the parents to the children, the parents provide more expenses, emotions, work for their children. When they recognize this, they change from a large number of children to a small number of children. To the extent that people feel the pressure of this change, and to the extent that they want to increase the education of children, they must give up their own needs or limit the number of their children. This theory therefore considers family relationships to be a direct determinant of the number of children.

Based on the theory, the transformation observed (and partly only the forecasted ones) in the demographic behavior of Roma, can also be interpreted. In the traditional Roma community, women bear most of the responsibilities around childbirth and parenting. After adolescence, the children join the family division of labor, the girl learns the role of mother, the boy learns the role of the man in earning income. Schooling is short-lived, roles and patterns are transferred in the community. The change in strategy of the transforming, modernizing communities can be interpreted as the increasing employment of women, the growing need to educate children, and the increase in costs of it. Thus, it fits into the realm of demography with declining numbers of children, and perhaps we can capture this process, or at least the beginning of it in today's trends supported by research findings above.

Further economic theories of fertility

The theory of demographic transition does not provide a basis for explaining fertility after the transition is complete. In the last two decades, the transition is over, with birth and death rates dropping to near-low levels in the developed world. Classical and neoclassical economics in explaining people's consumer behavior start from some basic theorems:

1. The goal of human behavior is to satisfy the highest possible need.
2. Meeting needs is limited by available resources.
3. The Law of Diminishing Marginal Utility (see Lehmann, 1968, 1971; Ormazabal, 1995) generally prevails in the satisfaction of each need.²⁷
4. Different rewards are interchangeable in meeting needs.

²⁷ Marginal benefit shows how a consumer's total benefit from a given remuneration changes when he increases his consumption by one unit. Usually, the consumption of the first unit is the most beneficial, the subsequent units are less useful, so they increase the total benefit to a lesser extent. Consumption of an n-th unit may already reduce the total benefit. This is called the principle of decreasing marginal benefit (or Gossen's Law I), according to which the total benefit increases less and less when consecutive units are consumed. <http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:At-9Dpf2HkYJ:ecopedia.hu/hatarhaszon+hat%C3%A1rhaszon&cd=5&hl=hu&ct=clnk&gl=hu&source=www.google.hu> [2011.06.06]

5. When choosing the composition of the mass of consumer goods that can be obtained with the resources at its disposal, the individual tries to act in such a way that the greatest possible need is met, that he / she benefits and acts rationally.

Taking the above principles into account, the demographic theories underlying economics have redefined the declining fertility and the consumption model of economics as follows: the first set of rewards is the number of children of the individual, the second set of rewards is the set of all other material goods and services. Harvey Leibenstein is the first modern formulator of economic theory. It assumes that when parents decide on the birth of their next child, they consider the benefits expected from the child and the costs in a broad sense. LEIBENSTEIN (1974) distinguishes three types of benefits for children:

1. the consumption benefit, ie the source of the child's pleasures for the parents,
2. the benefit of work or income, the fact that the child will become able to work and contribute to the income of the parent's family through his or her earnings or work on the family farm,
3. The safety benefits that come from giving a child a potential source of safety and help for parents in their old age. (ANDORKA, 2005)

In terms of costs, two types can be distinguished: 1. direct costs of food, housing, clothing, and upbringing, 2. indirect costs that parents miss out on certain income or other opportunities because their efforts are tied to the care and upbringing of the child.

Gary BECKER, (1960: 209-231) a representative of a sociological school in Chicago was the first to formulate the economic theory of fertility on the basis of the above principles. It starts from the premise that when considering their decisions about children, a couple thinks in the same way as when it comes to buying a durable consumer item. They take into account the pleasures and benefits that children gain, the cost of raising a child, and the income situation of the family. In line with economic development, the family's income is increasing so they could afford more children. At the same time, the costs of having a child also increase (longer schooling, higher demands). And since children later become earners, and under modern social security frameworks, parents are no longer in need of support for their children in old age, the benefits to children actually diminish.

Women's earning opportunities in modern societies are becoming more and more numerous, partly due to emancipation, getting a job, and partly due to their increasing income due to their improved education, that's why the loss of earnings due to their absence from the labour market will be higher. (ANDORKA, 2003: 273) The researcher first tried to explain the social fact that there are more children in poorer families with different degrees of knowledge about birth control methods. He hypothesized that poorer families tend to be less informed about birth control methods, so more children are born. His later explanation referred to the „quality” of the children. Higher-income families buy not only more but better-quality durable goods, but they also want more and „better quality” children. The quality of children usually depends on their education and the amount of money spent on them.

Jacob MINCER (1974) refined the role of income loss due to indirect costs and missed opportunities. The higher the wages of women, the smaller the gender pay gap, the smaller the number of children. Where a woman has a higher education, emphasis is placed on the quality of a smaller number of children.

Robert J. WILLIS (1973) says that if parents do not have to rely on their children in old age but can expect society to provide for them in the form of pensions and otherwise, the expected benefits for children are significantly reduced, resulting in fewer families.

Comparing our sociological knowledge on the Hungarian Roma population, we can state the following about the basic theses of the theory: It is certainly true that in the traditional Roma

community, the child is a source of pleasures for parents. Work or income gains are also an important element, as adolescents become involved in family activities very early on, ranging from supervising their younger brotherhood to actually contributing to economic activities. Children quickly become able to work and contribute to the income of the parent family either through their earnings or through work on the family household.

The safety benefits that come from child being a potential source of safety and help for parents in old age, can also be important. After all, in the traditional Roma community, where working men and women do not necessarily carry out activities in the legal economy. They fall out of the scope of social security benefits. In addition, women traditionally do not even work, but do housework. This supplementary pension contribution may therefore be important. But it is no less important in families where the aging generation will not be able to expect an adequate old-age pension due to their former long-term unemployment. A relatively narrow layer of the Hungarian Roma - we know well from their employment indicators - where integration into the labor market, entrepreneurship, legal activity is so successful that we can talk about real economic and welfare uplift. After all, we also know from the school statistics that although a process of school expansion has started in the Roma communities as well, it is not so pervasive nowadays that we could talk about significantly longer schooling times, higher costs of studying in higher schools and higher demands.

In families where such a change of attitude, a change of strategy has taken place, the theses of the theory are certainly true. There, since children later become earners, and under the modern social security framework, parents are no longer in need of support for their children in old age, the benefits from the children actually decrease, and as a result, the number of children also decreases statistically. In the case of women who are really involved in these modernization processes - continue their education and successfully enter the labor market, and therefore their income is an important source of income in the family budget - there is also a growing drop in earnings due to absence from the labor market during childbearing. But even this is only a narrow layer of the studied community. The theory can therefore be interpreted, but again we can only say that Roma are somewhere at the beginning of the process of transformation and modernization, an even smaller part is affected by the changes, but these factors may appear at the beginning of the decline in the number of children.

Sociological theories of fertility

According to the sociological theories of fertility, however, families do not decide on the number of their children based on economic calculations but follow the values and behavioral norms that they adopt in their social environment. If these find many children wanted, most families will have many children, or vice versa. However, sociological theories would only provide a full explanation if they could also show the reasons for the change in values and norms. These reasons are presumably to be found in the changing economic situation. The prosperous economy, the favourable future prospects raise it, the persistently depressed public thinking, the pessimistic economic and social vision reduce the number of children considered ideal outlined at the level of norms. Here again contrasting the traditional system of norms with modern thinking.

Probably, the traditions in the Roma community are even more influential, but the way of thinking of the macro-society is also becoming more and more prevalent. That its role is even smaller at the moment, we can think from the fact that if the unfavorable future prospects, depressed public thinking, pessimistic economic and social vision theoretically reduce the number of children outlined at the level of norms, then the Roma community (on the basis of its current economic and financial situation, opportunities and social perception) should be brought these birth rates closer to the Hungarian reality.

R. A. EASTERLIN (1975) attempted to connect economic and sociological interpretations of the explanation of fertility. He studied the post-World War II baby-boom and drew from the generalizations drawn to his theory. In it he accepted the elements of the economic theory of fertility.

For him, too, disposable income, the benefits and costs of having children (including the loss of income due to missed opportunities, the relative proportions of goods needed to raise children, and the other goods) determines the number of children. In Easterlin's theory, changes in attitude and family income together shape couples' decisions about the number of children. (ANDORKA, 2005)

Couples' ideas, needs and preferences vary regarding the standard of living and the number of children from generation to generation. 40-50 years ago, a couple hardly thought of choosing to buy a durable consumer item — eg. a car — rather than having another child. The idea of young people towards the desired standard of living is outlined in childhood, based on the values experienced during family socialization. In periods when the employment and earnings prospects of young people starting their careers are more favorable than those of previous generations, young married people have more children. However, if these prospects are worse than in their childhood - e.g., the labour market opportunities experienced by their parents' generation - the lower their willingness to have children. (ANDORKA, 2003: 274)

Well, even in this case, we can say that family socialization is probably decisive. What standard of living an individual sees in childhood, what level of need he or she acquires, is likely to determine his or her own ambitions and decisions. Since the majority of Gypsy children are raised in financially disadvantaged families living below the Hungarian average, their motivations and patterns may not encourage them to pursue further education, career development, luxury housing or high-quality consumer goods instead of children, which is likely slow down the demographic change. On the other hand, the theory says that if the prospects of the generation now parenting are worse than those of the parent generation, it will reduce the desire to have children, but these prospects for many Roma families have not improved much but have not deteriorated in recent decades either. This may slightly slow down the realization of the traditional large family model.

Summary

We can see that each of the presented theories describes demographic transformation and strategy change, but it is explained by different reasons. The model of demographic transition focuses on the improvement of living conditions and the development of health care. Economic theories, on the other hand, are based on rational decisions and questions of expenditure and benefit, while sociological models research the field of changing norms and values.

Whichever theory is accepted, it is likely that statistical data and research will converge in the sense that some kind of slow transformation has begun and can be felt in the childbearing decisions of Hungarian Roma as well. In fact, these databases are not always the result of representative large-sample research. Methodologically some of them are questionable, yet they align in their results and allow for this cautious conclusion. In our opinion, the model of the demographic transition provides a real and perhaps the most reflective explanation for the situation of the Roma in Hungary.

Whichever model we take as a basis, it can be said that sooner or later there will be a greater shift in demographic behavior in this community as well, which means that we do not have to

fear predictions often appearing in the media today about the changes of the country's ethnic proportions and a tragic vision of the future.

Sometimes scientific publications also provide predictions about future processes. These usually do not deviate so much from the facts and they are not so disturbing. According to estimates published by Kemény's research group in 1998, the total population was expected to be an estimated 9.7 million around 2020. In contrast, the number of Roma was estimated to be 650,000 – 6.5% of the population (KEMÉNY, 1998). These earlier estimates proved to be correct compared to today's data.

The CSO and the Institute of Population Studies spoke about the demographic characteristics of the Roma population and the expected development of its population by 2050 (HABLIČSEK, 2000: 243-276). The material was based on the estimation methods of different research to determine the size of the Roma population. The surveys of the Sociological Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1971 and 1993, led by István Kemény, and the representative data collection of the CSO in 1993 that was corrected by the 1990 census data, used a multiplier of 3.5 to reach to the size of „basic population of Roma”. Importantly, the calculation assumes that “the Roma population will not be substantially affected by either assimilation or international migration,” so the author counted on a closed population. (It should be noted that we do not agree with this analysis.)

Similarly, the starting points include fertility and mortality rates at that time (i.e., a fertility rate of 3.1 – 100 Roma women give birth to an average of 310 children in their lifetime, which is more than twice the Hungarian average) and the average life expectancy of Roma men and women at birth. It also shows a huge difference of 8-10 years compared to average Hungarian data. It is estimated that although the fertility and mortality of the Roma population declined in the 1990s, it was still characterized by a 2% (internal) increase. The researcher assumes that fertility rates will continue to differ significantly from majority rates. Again, this stems only from the static view that among the population considered to be Roma, the schooling level will not increase significantly in the coming years, nor will the acquisition of vocational qualifications, especially among women. After all, a change in this area was the same for all of Europe's cultures, religions and nationalities during the 20th century, where this simple correlation (higher education - lower fertility rates) led to a radical decline in the number of children everywhere.

Of the three baseline scenarios and two additional variations offered by the study, it proposes the medium for long-term planning, which *„realistically presents future changes in the number of ethnic groups and provides a basis for drawing other conclusions based on demographics, such as education and employment.”* Accordingly, it states that the size of the Roma community could double in the next fifty years, and as the Hungarian population projection is likely to reach 8 million by 2050, the proportion of the Roma population will increase from 5% to 15% by then. The proportion of Roma infants will increase from one sixth to more than a quarter, and the proportion of Roma youth will reach 24% of their age group. Among those of working age (20 - 64 years old), their current 4% will reach 16% by 2050, meaning that one in six potential workers will be Roma in the next century, based on current trends and projections. In total, counting the 100,000 – 120,000 population increase per decade, the number of the Roma minority could realistically reach 1.2 million by the middle of the 21st century (Hablicsek, 2000).

However, to project the development of the Roma population mathematically is a thought experiment rather than a scientific fact. The change of the population depends on the development of many socio-economic indicators, and they should be forecasted separately. Age distribution as well as sociological characteristics (education, territorial location, housing conditions, family structure, number of children, economic activity, etc.) are all factors that individually

influence the demographic behavior of a population now and in the future. Changes in family and economic policies in the long run are also difficult to predict.

Thus, there may be errors in future estimates, and if only one factor deviates from what is expected, the forecast as a whole is no longer correct. In addition, it is necessary to establish a starting base population for subsequent calculations to apply, which is in itself problematic for Roma.

Therefore, we can say that we can accept premise of the theories because they only link transformation to the socio-economic processes and their changes (i.e., increase in living standards, urbanization, emancipation, etc.). These processes, in turn, are likely to follow patterns that have already occurred in either Western societies or in Hungary, but we do not know how quickly and at what pace they will affect the population of the Roma community.

However, specific forecasts analyze actual, numerical indicators of these processes and link demographic trends to them. But these specific numerical indicators and their changes are difficult to predict, so we do not consider these forecasts to be scientific facts. The future development of Roma in Hungary can be interpreted in the context of the theories, the decreasing desire to give birth, the increasing life expectancy and the slowly aging population.

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This chapter examines two educational laws in Hungary pertinent to Roma education and offers an alternative to the existing model of “special needs.” According to the 1993 Minority Act, 13 national and ethnic communities in Hungary have received their legal identities (i.e. the right to self-governance). One of them is the Roma community, which consists of three different sub-communities that have developed separate cultures and use different languages. Besides the cultural differences, different Roma communities have different access to economic and social structures. The political changes in 1989 and 1990 affected the Roma’s living conditions and career chances. A new educational policy has been initiated, promising different strategies for culturally different Roma communities. Those culture-based educational strategies, however, resulted in segregation: different schools for different national communities, among them Gypsy²⁸ minority schools for the Roma. A modification of the existing law, enacted in 2003, shifted the policy from culture-based strategies to strategies based on the living conditions of the Roma. According to this new strategy the Roma population as a whole has been considered “disadvantaged” and “backward”. To avoid segregation, the 2003 policy urged the integration of the Roma students into the existing schools. Politically correct as it was, the policy also proved to be a failure. A new strategy would be necessary today. As a combination of the former two, it needs to be based on: a) cultural differences, traditions and backgrounds of Roma students; and b) socio-economic needs of the students irrespective of their national-ethnic traditions.

Keywords: Challenges of Education, Population with Social Disadvantages, Special Colleges

Introduction

Documentation regarding the presence of the Gypsies/Roma in Hungary has a history that goes back hundreds of years. Reflections on the issues of the Roma in Hungarian both as an independent country and as a part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (the Habsburg Empire) can be traced back as early as 1506 in the archives of Hungary (NAGY, 2000). The first nation-wide known Gypsy woman, Panna Cinka, was a musician in the War of Independence led by Ferenc Rakoczi between 1703 and 1711. During the second part of the 18th century under the reign of Maria Theresa, Empress of Austria and Queen of Hungary, legislation intending to merge the Roma of the Empire – especially those residing in Hungary – into the body of the nation was introduced. (One of the acts, for example, ordered the usage of the term “new-Hungarian” instead of “Gypsy” – a phrase that has been widely used in public ever since). These pieces of legislation were continued by the son of the Empress, Joseph II; however, due to the social shock caused by the French Revolution, his efforts of “amendments” were swept away (NAGY, 2000). In the first half of the 19th century, Gypsies were frequently described as musicians (e. g. Janos Bihari, the great musician of the era). The musical genre they created has come into prominence with international interest, continuing into the present day. After the formation of the Independent Kingdom of Romania in 1856, masses of Gypsies who had been kept as slaves there started

28 The term „Gypsy” and its noun forms (both sg/pl) in this contribution are used with a neutral connotation, as a synonym of „Romani” (Rom/Roma).

to migrate towards Europe (FRASER, 1996). Most of them travelled through the territories of Transylvania (a part of Hungary at the time) into the central parts of the country and other areas of Europe. Presumably, international (including Hungarian) interest focusing on these groups has been partly due to this migration. At this time the Gypsy Lore Society was founded in England. Archduke Joseph (Habsburg) was interested in cooperation with the society as a devoted linguist of Romani. A great undertaking of the late 19th century was the “Gypsy Census” (1895), concluding that most of the Roma spoke either Hungarian or the language of the surrounding nations of the Empire; the percentage and number of those Roma using Romani was rather restricted.

Significant academic or political interest towards the Roma was not a phenomenon in the first few decades of the 20th century; therefore, Nazism in Hungary targeting the Roma cannot be traced back so easily. We can only rely on estimates (that show differences to a great extent) concerning the number of Gypsy families who were taken to concentration camps, especially from the western part of the country bordering Austria.

Although some significant sociographies were published concerning the Roma (ERDŐS, 1989), for almost two decades after World War II their issues were not focused on politically. Under the Revolution of 1956, the first civil Gypsy society was established but the Kadar regime executed its members like they did with leaders of other democratic initiatives. Political leaders started to deal with the challenges of the Roma and other groups with social disadvantages only from the 1960s, though they still did not identify them. This is the era when sociologists began to become interested in Romani communities. Since then, discrepancies in their education have become one of the most focused research areas of sociologists (RÉGER, 1975, 1990).

The economic hardships of the 1980s, confirmation of political opposition and impairment of the communist leadership prompted the regime change of the Eastern Block. From 1989, organisations founded for Roma/Gypsies increased and they played an active role in formulating the Minority Act of 1993.

Some General Characteristics of the Roma Living in Hungary

Roma communities differ from other national minorities living in Hungary at numerous levels. One of their peculiarities is that the Roma live in almost every country in Europe. In our region representing the post state-socialist countries, the absolute number and the ratio of the Romani/Gypsy population is higher than in other European countries. Roma communities differ from other national minorities living in Hungary in several ways. In the case of the national minorities other than the Roma, we cannot talk about general markers regarding the standards of living (i.e.: economic state, life expectancy, health conditions, educational index, etc.). However, in the case of the Roma, we can make a distinction as they show poor indicators in all of the areas mentioned above. Most of the Roma in Hungary live on the margins of our society.

During the last decade the situation of the Roma has worsened in several respects in Europe, though most Europeans are unaware of this fact. This reality is not only exclusive to the region of the post state-socialist countries. In a recent and relevant report of the European Council, it was stated that the Roma suffer a number of forms of discrimination within the member states of the European Union. They are too often the subjects of discrimination, marginalization and segregation in the fields of education, employment, housing and health services. Consequently, in Hungary the minority status of the Roma can be described with a double minority status as compared to other national minorities: on the one hand they can be perceived as (an) ethnic group(s) and on the other hand as socially disadvantaged ones.

At the same time Roma communities can be described as a trans-national or a trans-cultural minority (i. e.: a minority that is more or less adopted the language and culture of those they are surrounded by. In this sense it should be considered that they are the most European nation of Europe. Several researchers take this peculiarity of the Roma as their future chance for more successfully integrating in Europe (FORRAY, KOZMA, 2011, 2012).

Until recently, various, and in most cases small Gypsy/Romani groups have been self-organised and competing with one another, sometimes with extreme malignity. Competition is a natural process and human condition, but its role cannot be overrated. Enforcing elements of nation-consciousness of the Roma make an appearance within the member states of the EU and also in other non-EU countries in Europe.

Determining new developmental goals of a society is usually a task to be undertaken by academics. Roma scholars in academia should be the ones to determine, formulate and enforce the self-consciousness of the Roma and their communities. This formulation and development of consciousness is the cornerstone of the creation of the Romany/Gypsy nation – if the concept of a nation is defined as a group of people who share political and cultural self-determination based on common origin, language or history. Each of these features is valid for the Roma; furthermore, we are aware that the existence of a particular nation is not necessarily determined geographically.

The last century provides disturbing evidence for possible radicalization of an idea shared by a narrow layer of society when it goes hand in hand with discrimination and marginalization. In extreme cases these processes can lead to terrorism. Especially in circles of youth, anti-Roma sentiment and discrimination against the Roma/Gypsies may increase across European countries. Considering this possible phenomenon, governmental policies related to Roma at the level of the European Union are connected to security policies as well.

Challenges of Education – the Roma as a (National) Minority

After the general overview, the educational index of the Roma living in Hungary compared to the data of the total population of the country will now be examined.

Although the data shown in Chart 1 is based on estimations – during the census individual citizens are free to identify themselves as members of a national minority – the main tendencies can be highlighted. The ratio of those who do not complete eight grades of primary schooling within the Romani communities is significantly higher than the ratio of those in the total population. However, the higher educational index is a characteristic of non-Roma individuals. Incomplete education is a threatening marker concerning one's chances in the labour market.

Chart 1: Educational Index of the Population above 15 in Hungary

Educational index	Completed 0-7 grades	Completed 8 grades (primary schooling)	Certificate of secondary vocational education	GCSE/ A-levels	College/ university degree
Roma population					
Total (number)	56,481	72,213	10,963	3,520	1,011
Total (%)	39.2	50.1	7.6	2.4	0.7
Men (%)	32.1	54.4	10.3	2.5	0.7
Women (%)	46.4	45.7	4.9	2.4	0.7
Total population					
Total (number)	950,286	2,874,746	1,581,315	2,162,996	934,036
Total (%)	11.2	33.8	18.6	25.4	11.0
Men (%)	7.7	31.6	26.5	22.5	11.6
Women (%)	14.2	35.7	11.6	28.1	10.4

Source: Hungarian National Census, 2001. Central Statistical Agency, Budapest – calculated data

According to the Public Education Act (1992), primary schools – those functioning for the pupils between the ages of 6 and 14 – can start Romani minority education if a minimum of eight parents submit a written petition to the school board asking for their children’s minority education. At the level of legislation related to this issue, there are distinctions between finances for social handicap compensation and support to preserve Romani/Gypsy culture. The later one involves at least six 45-minute lessons for teaching Gypsy culture and one of the Gypsy languages (Boyashi or Romani) recognized by the Hungarian government. These services are financed by “normative state aid” through the school board. Students can take A level exams in languages spoken by the Gypsy communities living in Hungary under the very same circumstances as other subjects. Today this is not a question of debate or public sensation. Such initiatives are based on a model valuing equal opportunity as it is declared by law that the Gypsy/Roma are equal groups of people protected as other national minorities and the majority in Hungary.

The regulation of Gypsy languages and culture within the educational setting achieved the same level of relevant legislation as other minorities. However, the extent to which educational institutions could and wanted to live with this opportunity is another issue (FORRAY – HEGEDŰS, 2003). There were three fundamental elements to be addressed: the extremely disadvantaged socio-cultural situation of the Roma population causing educational drawbacks of children; and the development and modernization of Gypsy languages that need to be taught in schools; and the organization and guarantee of relevant teacher training.

Concerning the first challenge, the socio-cultural situation of those in question was an issue that extended beyond the limits of relevant legislation. As for teacher training, the University of Pecs simultaneously ensured a major in Romani Studies and the development of Boyashi and Romani languages. The first project was initiated by one of the lecturers at the university, Anna Orsos, and the latter was developed by the poet, Jozsef Choli Daroczi. Foreign language exams in these languages have been offered to students since the mid 1990s.

In schools where a significant ratio of the students is Roma, the initiatives mentioned above are still relevant. The quality of minority education and the effectiveness of relevant programs

are questionable. Educational programmes cannot exclusively counter the effects of social disadvantages. We do not have exact data concerning the number of schools offering Romani/Gypsy minority educational programs as estimations derive from publications in the field of educational sociology (ORSÓS, 2010).

We can conclude that such programs are run in only a few schools and they are more successful in venues where highly qualified university lecturers take part in organising, monitoring and in-service training. The ratio of students who continued their studies can also be traced back to schools offering minority education. On the other hand, minority education has proved to play a role of segregation. The students of those schools that choose this program are members of the Roma ethnic groups. Non-Gypsies and Romani/Gypsy parents who intend to assimilate their children through the channels of education, however, do not like the idea of Gypsy minority education. What we see as a challenge is that a programme, which intends to preserve and cultivate Romani/Gypsy culture, has become a stigmatising process.

Only a few young Romani/Gypsy people attain a secondary education, which enables them to engage in tertiary studies. Among this group the drop-out rate is extremely high. In addition to a system of grants designed to support this group, two significant models have also been established since the mid-1990s (FORRAY, 2002).

One of the models is the minority high school. This type of schooling had existed before the transition years for minorities who had a long historical record in Hungary, such as for German and Croatian ethnic minorities. The first kind of this schooling for the Roma is the Gandhi High School, which also functions as a dormitory. The school recruits talented, socially disadvantaged Gypsy/Romani students from the South Trans-Danubian region of Hungary. A similar practice takes place at the Kalyi Jag Minority Vocational High School, which appeals to students living in the most deprived areas of the capital, Budapest. This model emphasises the fact that the Roma/Gypsies living in Hungary represent a minority with cultural characteristics just like any other minority of the country (DEZSÓ, 2009).

Another alternative is closer to the intercultural paradigm: the high school named after András Hegedűs and located in Szolnok is an example. The program and practice of this school aims at cooperation between the Roma and non-Roma.

The target group of this school is the socially disadvantaged, regardless of their minority identity. This school offers programs in vocational education and runs classes that enable students to continue their studies in tertiary education. Every program includes Romani/Gypsy minority education that teaches Gypsy languages and culture. Teachers organise symbolic programs such as singing both the Gypsy anthem and the Hungarian anthem.

These schools are run by foundations and initiatives from the civil sector that build on local needs. Their state support is guaranteed now because the schools have demonstrated positive results. In addition to the regular state support, these schools compete by applying for supplemental financing and other types of support. Students receive grants and free boarding – services that are far not typical in other state-run educational institutions.

In contrast to similar programs running in primary schools, the high schools administering Romani/Gypsy minority programmes have been very successful. However, it must be emphasised that in these schools it is not appropriate to talk about Romani children in general but young people who are committed to educational success. Although Gypsy/Romani minority education introduced at primary level has not proved to be successful, for over a period of 20 years similar models operating at the secondary (high school) level have ensured that their students continue their studies at the tertiary level (university/post-secondary) after completing secondary school.

Challenges of Education – the Roma as a Population with Social Disadvantages

The educational policies of the 1990s could not help improving the schooling of Gypsy children overall. At the same time, these policies guaranteed legal support for their segregated education by transitioning them into separated classes and groups. According to every known and recognized criterion, a significant proportion of the Roma has social handicaps. From the transition years on their living conditions have been deteriorating and unemployment is destroying the opportunities for younger generations. The relevant legislation from 2003 endeavors to change this situation (FORRAY-P ORSÓS, 2010).

Regulations during the 1990s became a starting point of unintended changes. Within a few years, the number of ghetto-schools based on social and ethnic differences increased by 50 percent with every fifth or sixth Gypsy/Romani child studying in segregated homogeneous classes (Havas-Liskó, 2006). Since 2003, the introduction of the new Act on Public Education has allowed schools to claim a “norm of integration” for teaching students with social disadvantages in integrated ways. In more than half of the schools that agree with this norm, integration has been used as a working practice, and the quarter of those who agree with this norm still teach their students in ethnically segregated ways.

Institutions that claim the support available for minority programs have become homogeneous as a result of the “spontaneous” choices of citizens. Since the introduction of free choice of schooling (more than a decade-long process), non-Gypsy parents take away their children from schools where the number of Romani students per class has reached a ratio that they perceive “too high”. As a result of this process, homogeneous and segregated classes of Gypsy students have formed.

Socialist and liberal parties (especially the latter) that governed between 2002 and 2010 attempted to introduce changes. They introduced the idea that Gypsies have to be considered as one of the minorities and their education must be maintained in a structure emphasizing their own culture. Within the regulation describing capacity building and integration, an institution can only claim the norms of integration if students with social handicaps are educated together with the others according to the description of the local educational program of the school (OM 2002).

The locations of the so-called integration network have been chosen from the least developed regions of Hungary. In the first round, these primary schools were selected during a process of requesting applications. These schools assumed that they would develop the model of integrated education and make it adaptable for others as well. Professional mentors helped the process of model development. The institutions working within certain regions were brought together in regional centers and the headquarters were in Budapest.

The Ministry of Education had great expectations for the grants established to address desegregation: schools could claim significant financial support for building new classrooms or providing in-service training for teachers in order to promote integration at different institutions.

Research was carried out in the first academic year (2003/2004) among the applicants who won the title of “base institutions showing positive tendencies” (IMRE, 2006). Extension of kindergarten attendance, no fail practices in elementary classes, and desegregation of Gypsy children and other students with social disadvantages or mental challenges were the primary goals of the program. The government ensured triple the normative aid for those schools that established and sustained heterogeneous groups of students and applied relevant methodology in order to support the development of pedagogical culture (ARATÓ, VARGA 2007).

According to this regulation, those who participated in the program were educated and evaluated with the application of the Integrative Educational System (IES). The IES consisted of the curriculum, the toolbar system supporting the process of teaching and learning, the accredited in-service teacher who attended training courses and the activities of professional educational services. An office was opened in order to monitor and harmonize the new developments and the program was coordinated by an organization established exclusively in order to run the IES.

The initiative was encouraged by supportive civil rights movements, one of which has even won a case in a civil action.

A legal case of a Roma school in one of Hungary's eastern cities will now be discussed. Judicial process had to be applied in order to stop a school that was run primarily for Gypsy families who were housed in an abandoned army quarter. Children of these families were transported to schools located in distant parts of the city. In a couple of years, the old school in the quarters had to be re-opened because children did not want to attend their new schools and parents did not let them travel a long distance to schools.

Some of the schools that were selected as IES model institutions still operate but they have not fulfilled the expectations of the program. The initiative has faded away without significant professional or media attention.

Multiculturalism – a policy that is understood as regarding the Roma/Gypsies in Hungary and interpreted as either a necessary or unnecessary goal concerning children of immigrant groups – can be recognized as a significant field of action because children of groups with social disadvantages are members of cultures that are different than majority groups in the society. This difference is the reason for their failure in a mainstreamed educational system in many cases. A significant ratio of the Roma has different living conditions, culture, lifestyle, and norms than those preferred by majority groups and are likely to be transferred by most schools. For most Gypsy children, these cultural differences are difficult to overcome. Multiculturalism, however, is not a new philosophy of poverty but an idea based on the mutual recognition of different cultural entities – not that of subcultures. Similar to the suggestion of an earlier piece by Allemand-Ghionda (1995), we should rather interpret these educational policies as a way of treating individual differences within the school system.

Challenges of Education – Special Colleges in Tertiary Education

Projects that have been described so far in this contribution focused on supported processes beginning at elementary education and finishing at the age of compulsory schooling, including programs ensuring GCSE/A-levels (high school leaving exams) in two cases. In general, we can conclude that these programs have not fulfilled the initial expectations. Even the most ambitious children, the members of the targeted groups themselves, the Roma/Gypsies strive to delimit themselves from the programs of primary education. The two high schools can be described as successful ones because their target group consists of ambitious teens who consciously intend to achieve educational success at a higher level. These schools also have secure financial support.

We need to emphasize that the Hungarian government – especially, when representatives took over the rotating Presidency of the Council of the EU from January to June, 2011 – assumed the advocacy for the interests of the Roma/Gypsies on the European level in order to improve their situation, continuing the goals of previous presidencies of Spain and Portugal. This policy facilitated the initiatives supporting studies of Romani teens and youth, not excluding

tertiary education. This notion represents a new feature because the emphasis of the relevant policies of the European Union used to target those in need, such as citizens living with social disadvantages. The challenges of the Roma were the focus only because of their social status when Hungary joined the EU, and the projections of this policy were described in the examples above.

There have been initiatives in tertiary education that support the success of the Roma/Gypsies and strengthen their minority profile at the same time. Special colleges in tertiary education are integrated into Hungarian universities, offering professional, educational, personal and developmental assistance to students. Special colleges regularly operate at many well-known and established universities, influencing the professional identities and careers for generations of students (PEDAGÓGIAI LEXIKON, 1997). The first special colleges were organized in the 1930s. Applicants can join special colleges if they pass a competitive exam, because their goal is to train the most ambitious and talented students in special ways. (Several members of Hungary's current government attended special colleges). Special colleges today are organized with similar intentions in tertiary education. Although Romani special colleges differ from the traditional organization of special colleges in some respect, their most important goals and methods are similar (FORRAY-BOROS, 2009). One of the peculiarities that need to be emphasized is that Romany special colleges – private or public universities – are led by young Roma who already have master or bachelor's degrees.

Our review of the Romani special colleges (i.e.: a network of student societies) starts with an unusual example. Since the mid-1990s an initiative called "Romaversitas" has been operating in Budapest, as the first support system among those that have been established with similar intentions. It was established with the financial support of the foundation of a Hungarian-American billionaire, George Soros, but it has been operating as an independent institution for more than a decade now. Its significance is illustrated by how it supports 50 Gypsy students annually, serving as a model of an intelligent way to sponsor Gypsy students. Students receive grants, participate in organized education (other than their major) every second weekend and get support to participate in language courses abroad during the summer. The main goal of this initiative is to foster an elite and strong Romani/Gypsy identity in students with open minds and broad world-views. The program enables students to speak foreign languages and function professionally at an extremely high level in various social, economic and policy-making positions.

A special college organized by a German foundation named after Konrad Adenauer had a similar goal. Its activities have been supported by the National Romani Self-Government since 2011. Similar to our previous example, this initiative ensures weekend trainings for Romani students, especially those with political interests. According to their plans, and additional four or five Romani special colleges will operate at different locations of the country. During its previous operation about thirty students were trained annually, but today their target is to reach three times as many students. The sustainability of this goal is supported by the government's commitment to the Roma. Financial support of these institutions is guaranteed.

The Henry Wlislöcki Romani Special College, founded in 2001 at the University of Pécs, aims at recruiting students (25-30 annually) interested in the challenges of Gypsies whether or not they are Roma. Its main goal is similar to the examples described above: involving its students in research activities, providing methodology on data analysis and preparing them for academic activities such as organizing and attending conferences. Its members live in student dormitories provided by the university, as the special college does not have funding to provide housing support. Educational programs activities at the Henry Wlislöcki Romani Special College are supported by successful grant applications. Most of its members study Romology at the University of Pécs, but this special college is also open to students studying other majors.

Well before 2010, the party of the current government emphasized the re-evaluation of churches and its intention to rely on their work. Presumably, the fact that churches have established special colleges for Gypsy students (Network of Christian Romani Special Colleges) is related to the relevant governmental policies. This new development is rather remarkable because commitment towards the Roma has not been a typical priority of traditional churches before. An ecumenical church organization was established, which is responsible for harmonizing the activities of its special colleges. In 2011, four special church colleges were established in Budapest and there are church-based universities in four cities (Budapest, Debrecen, Nyíregyháza, Miskolc). At least another two similar colleges are proposed in cities that have universities but were not involved in this action in its first round. Following an exam of rigorous requirements, each church college supports 30-40 students. Similar to the Pécs example, some of them accept non-Roma who are devoted to the challenges of the Gypsy population. Students participate in programs that focus on culture, identity and religion. In order to support their studies, students receive grants.

It is still to be determined whether a few hundred Roma who are strongly supported is only a drop in the bucket or far too many. At the beginning of this contribution, the representative educational index of Roma through different historical eras was referenced. If the number of those who are supported is compared to the data introduced – assuming that ethnic identity is not mandatory to confirm at the census – we may conclude that the number of those supported is not significant. On the other hand, we need to evaluate the impact of new initiatives and the fact that Romani/Gypsy students in tertiary education receive both financial and non-financial support today, whereas in the past they presumably needed to suppress their ethnic identity and rely on their own strength exclusively. Considering the effect of the initiatives described, this change should not be forgotten.

Summary

Our main goal above in this contribution was to follow a sociological process and examine the relevant governmental policies and practices that have been aiming at finding solutions to the phenomena. These policies increased after the transition years and since then they have been implemented and realized in many ways. Each of these solutions has been a legitimate one, built on real societal processes and intended to be consistent, and each sought answers to historic challenges that would be effective both in a sociological and legislative sense. During the 1990s and the early 2000s, none of these intentions proved to be entirely sufficient, although they directed public attention towards the important Roma/Gypsies social group, articulating that the demands, opportunities and publicity of this minority must be considered today and in the future.

The rationale behind the first policy introduced above was the minority factor – treating the Roma/Gypsies as ethnic groups with their own traditions and culture. Therefore, those who belong to this minority have the legal right to claim the existence of their own national minority education. This demand suggests that the culture of the Roma/Gypsies deserves attention and respect as much as other minorities living in Hungary. Consequently, the languages and other cultural values represented by these people need to be conserved and developed. Education has to be improved so that it becomes capable of reflecting these demands.

The second policy examined focuses on social disadvantages. Development has to cover general requirements of schooling: those who cannot study with the majority in traditional educational forms must be given chances. This idea focuses on those with extreme social disadvan-

tages, such as the Roma/Gypsies and children struggling with developmental disabilities. The rationale behind this policy is that struggling minority students should have the same opportunities for educational advancement as the majority, regardless of personal or social factors. Most of the Gypsies in this framework can be labeled as socially disadvantaged. The focus of school development is “catch up” education – finding ways that promote better performance, enabling students to achieve educational degrees and avoid dropping out.

Both policy approaches have a long history, emphasizing significant values. The first one focuses on sustainable development of each and every culture to the same extent. The central value of the latter one is equal opportunity of the different social and cultural groups or layers. Within the framework of the first idea, the Roma have their own cultural values that enable them to ensure equal social position. According to the second framework, the Roma is a group with social disadvantages; therefore, the focus of their support has to assure corresponding social status. There are pros and cons for both concepts. Can the Roma preserve their own cultural peculiarities if the latter policy reaches its goals? How can the Roma living on the edge of the society profit from the first conception? Should both policies be examined and implemented equally? We still need some time and perseverance to answer these questions.

Considering tertiary education, we can identify the success of the first policy. But can this phenomenon be interpreted as improving the situation of a socially underprivileged group in case we train its own educational elite? Although it is a well-established idea that success can only be experienced in the long run, the question is whether those who do not fall into the category of the privileged have the time to wait for this to happen.

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The Department of Romology and Sociology of Education at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Pécs provides a position for one academic who teaches Romani language. I have filled this position since 1998, starting as a lecturer and then becoming an assistant professor. After my Ph.D. in 2015 I became a senior lecturer. My courses include Romani lexicology, Romani grammar, language development, translation technology and practical language skills of Romani. Because of more than 20 years of civil activity, I facilitate some courses in connection with these topics, and some seminars on educational science. In addition to teaching, I actively take part in research related to my specialization. Within the Romology Research Center and as the leader of the Romani Language Workshop, I would like to unite the Hungarian community of linguists, language researchers and educators, and keep up with publishing activities related to teaching and research in the Romani language. The language workshop can continue its work, and it is possible to expand the membership of professional meetings as well as organize and publish methodological and educational materials.

Keywords: Hungarian Gypsy/Roma, Romani language, language workshop

1. The Hungarian Gypsy/Roma language groups

Languages spoken by Gypsies/Roma belong to the Indo-European languages. There are three groups of Gypsies/Roma (Romungro, Vlach and Boyashi). Linguistically, the Romungro group – which is 70% of the Hungarian Gypsy/Roma population – is not considered to be bilingual (Kemény, 1976).

One of the languages spoken by Hungarian Gypsy/Roma is Boyashi. Boyashi people speak the archaic version of Romanian. Based on research, until now they are the smallest community, which means only 8% of the Gypsy/Roma population (PÁLMAINÉ ORSÓS, 2008).

The second biggest group of Hungarian Gypsies/Roma is the Vlach, making up 21%. They speak the Romani language. The number of people speaking Romani is estimated to be five to ten million; however, this language is in such minority status that despite international efforts it does not exist as a standard, individual language, but in the form of numerous regional dialects (KOVALCSIK and RÉGER, 1999).

Several dialects of Romani are spoken in the world. We know of 13 dialects in Hungary. We are planning national research on dialects based on the research of Kamill Erdős in 1959 to measure the status of dialects. Dialect names originate from genera (“vica/váca” or “fáca” in some other dialects) and their traditional profession. The most prevalent of these dialects is Lovari. There are different perspectives regarding the origin of this name. The most established theory is that speakers of Lovari dialect were metal workers (*loha* = metal, *lohári* = metal worker). Another theory is that the name came from the word *love*, which means money in Romani language. The third theory says that they were horse chanters and jockeys speaking Lovari. The reason for the spread of this dialect in Hungary is that the first Romani language book, *Zhanes Romanes* (Choli-Daróczy – Feyér, 1988), was published in Lovari dialect, and later this dialect was accredited in the Accreditation Centre for Foreign Language Examinations. This dialect is taught in Gandhi High School and at the Romology Department at the University of Pécs (LAKATOS, 2010c).

Even though the Lovari dialect is the most common, it is equivalent with the others, and there is no hierarchy between the dialects of Romani language. Speakers of all dialect groups understand each other (LAKATOS, 2008).

2. The legal background of Boyashi and Romani language education in Hungary

Several laws and regulations contribute to implementing Hungarian Boyashi and Romani language teaching. The basis of minority education is the 68.§ (2) paragraph of the Constitution, which ensures education in the mother tongue for national and ethnic minorities. After the acceptance of the minority law, it was the first time the Gypsy/Roma communities could claim the right to organize their minority language education similar to other national minorities (PÁLMAINÉ ORSÓS, 2008).

The greatest step toward the teaching of Romani language was the modified law of 1993 LXXVII., which – besides other rights – determinates the linguistic laws of minority communities. With regard to this law the budget supports minority education with supplementary norms. It was given to the maintainer of the institutions (i.e. local school districts) that embarked with the arduous process of organizing the logistical framework for education (FORRAY R., 2009).

Though they are not binding, the recommendations of “The Hague Recommendations Regarding the Education Rights of National Minorities” facilitate the establishment of effective language teaching. In pursuance of the recommendations, professional teacher training where all subjects are taught in the minority language would be necessary to run successful language learning programs (OSCE HCNM, 1996. 7.).

The earlier introduced IPS²⁹ system resulted in the transformation of the national educational principle: social close-up was by-passed from minority education. With regard to the regulation of the Ministry of Education 58/2002., separate norms could be claimed for language teaching and ethnography. Based on this, since 2003 the teaching of Romani and Boyashi languages has been possible with the 2002/147 modification of 32/1997 regulation. With this modification the weekly lesson hours decreased to two, and blocking these lessons became easier so guest teachers could also be involved in teaching them (Pálmainé Orsós, 2008). This decreased number of lessons make language acquisition and practice more difficult. The regulation of the European Charter of Regional or Minority Languages is important on the international level, which has defend the two Hungarian Gypsy/Roma languages (Boyashi and Romani) since 2008. The result is that in more and more fields of life – education, jurisdiction, mass media, cultural actions, cultural institutions, economic and social life – the presence and use of Gypsy/Roma languages have to be ensured. (There are specific working groups in this topic that our Department actively contributes.) It is an improvement that since the regulation of 100/1997. (IV.13.), it is possible to take final exams in both Boyashi and Romani languages at intermediate and advanced levels. This regulation from 2011 states that there will be a change in the order of final exams. Twelve out of the fourteen national and ethnic minority languages existing in Hungary (Boyashi, Bulgarian, Croatian, Polish, Romani/Lovari, Romanian, Serb, Slovak, Romaic, German, Slovenian and Ukrainian) were emphasized and there is a possibility to take advanced final exams in these languages in 2021. This policy maintains and support the prestige of these languages.

There are several possibilities for Romani language learning outside educational institutions – private language lessons, language schools, language courses organized by nongovernmental

29 Integration Pedagogical System is an educational institutional network which facilitates integrated teaching of disadvantaged students by using pedagogical methods more widely.

organizations, Gypsy/Roma minority governments. Furthermore, there is a chance for university students to participate in Romani language courses organized by several Hungarian universities. Since 1995 there has been an opportunity to take a language exam in the Romani language at Eötvös Lóránd University, and since 2001 the Romani language exam has been accredited based on the decree of 71/1998. (IV.8.). The Romani language is listed in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, and Assessment.

3. Examination of the educational status of Romani language in the school year 2008/2009

The second³⁰ measurement of the status of Romani language in the national public education was made with the support of the Ministry of Culture and Education by the Romology Department at the University of Pécs, Faculty of Humanities in 2008/2009. Those educational institutions were examined where one of the Hungarian Gypsy/Roma languages was taught, as we did in the course of the first research project.

The working group led by me dealt with Romani language. The aim of the data collection was to map schools and kindergartens where Romani language teaching minority programs were present, and we examined the functioning, effectiveness, structure and content of these programs and also the use of norms. Furthermore, we examined the opinion of local governments, local minority governments and supporting nongovernmental organizations about the project, the relationship of these institutions with the schools and kindergartens, and the power of the institutions to have a voice in the functioning of these programs. We were also curious what kind of textbooks, workbooks, and educational tools were used to help students acquire the language.

It was hard to find educational institutions where Romani language teaching exists, as a statistical database was not available. The Educational Information System (EIS) was unable to provide information as it did not have statistics about this topic. It is regrettable that schools and kindergartens did not indicate Romani language teaching in the database of EIS in all cases. The Ministry of Education was able to give us a short list about those institutions where Romani language teaching was present, however it was an incomplete list and incorrect in some cases. Our third method was to find Romology students who taught the language in either institution. Information was collected from them with the snowball method about whether they know any other institutions teaching Romani language.

Finally, we found 27 institutions in 23 settlements where Romani language was taught in the 2008/2009 school year. Not all headmasters wanted to participate in this survey, mostly those who were asked on telephone. There were some institutions that we could not reach. There were 13 institutions which could not participate in the research because in 23% of them language teaching was cancelled, 46% would not start Romani language teaching in the next school year, and 31% never taught Romani language, contrary to what was written in the official list of the Ministry of Education. Furthermore, we got information about five more institutions where Romani language was taught, but we were informed too late to involve these institutions in the survey.

The effective research was made in May and June, 2009. Quantitative and qualitative methods were used to obtain comprehensive information about Romani education from headmasters, institution leaders and language teachers.

30 Research was first conducted in 2007/2008. There were significantly fewer educational institutions where Romani (Lovari) language was taught within the curriculum.

We gave questionnaires to the institutions involved to this research, from which 19% were kindergartens, 69% were elementary schools and 12% were high schools. We sent questionnaires to these schools we did not managed to travel to, but we had discussions with headmasters on telephone. These institutions comprised 22% of the whole sample. Only a few of these institutions returned the questionnaires. In total, 14 questionnaires were sent back from those institutions where personal meetings happened, which is 54% of all institutions. Interviews were made at the institutions we visited. The qualitative sample was made of 18 institutions: 22% were kindergartens and 78% were elementary schools. The total corpus of the audio material is 6 hours 52 minutes, which is also stored in a printed version. Interviews, questionnaires and personal experiences were available for processing the research results.

But these results cannot be considered representative in terms of the whole country, since – as I mentioned before – there were several obstacles during the formation of the sample, mainly based on the lack of information. Not all institutions were involved in this research where Romani language is taught, and numerous institutions did not send back the questionnaires. Accordingly, we had no data about these institutions. Based on the data of questionnaires and interviews, 1,325 children participated in Romani language teaching minority programs: 13% of them were from kindergartens, 70% from elementary schools, and 17% from Romani high schools. 29 teachers teach the Romani language in 19 institutions. In 64% of the schools only one person is responsible for Romani language teaching, in 26% of the institutions there are two teachers responsible, and in 5% of them there are 3-4 teachers. In 74% of the institutions the deed of foundation includes Romani language teaching, but in 26% of the schools this is missing. In most foundations, language is taught with the topic of Gypsy/Roma ethnography and traditions. We found some cases where it is mentioned as a free-time activity.

Here are some examples from those completed questionnaires where the deed of foundation included Romani language teaching:

“National and ethnic minority education is the part of the Hungarian educational system. In this sense, it provides basic cultivation and equal opportunities with the same content and values. Accordingly, the requirements of the National Basic Curriculum are valid for the national and ethnic minority education. The language of teaching is Hungarian, the teaching of the minority mother tongue happens from the first year based on the requirements of the curriculum in case of living foreign languages.”

“Its assignment: Education establishing general nurturing and teaching students with special educational needs and those having difficulties with integration and to ensure and cultivate Gypsy/Roma minority education within national and ethnic minority education.”

“Gypsy/Roma ethnography and language education.”

“Ethnic program.”

Examples to show the reason that some institutional deeds of foundation do not include the teaching of this language:

“There is no Gypsy/Roma language course. The teaching of this topic is not connected to requirements. It takes place among optional subjects.”

“The national and ethnic education based on the issued guidelines within its frame, project nature, and virtue of needs.”

Language teaching was introduced in three institutions at the beginning of the 1990s, in two kindergartens and a school. After the millennium, the introduction of Romani language became a

tendency, and it continues today. Between the 2002/2003 and 2008/2009 school years, 16 institutions started Romani language teaching program that are still in existence.

79% of the institutions get the supplementary norm for language teaching, and the other 21% do not have any norms. The reason is that these institutions do not aware of the opportunities offered by legal guidelines. They do not know whether they are entitled to the support if they have language lessons in the form of workgroups, or the compulsory number of lessons related to this subject. There are some places where Romani language teaching is a part of the integration program, and in these cases there is no extra support for the language.

The qualifications of language teachers mostly meet the requirements. This means that they have teacher degrees and intermediate language exams. Some of them have advanced language exams and speak Romani as a mother tongue. We found teachers with lower language qualifications, but their short-term plan is to get a higher qualification.

Different types of language teaching were represented in the course of the research. In some institutions it is built into the class schedule for all students. It occurs in 47% of the institutions. The number of classes is between 1 to 4 hours per week. Romani is also available optionally, but only in afternoon classes. It works in 32% of the schools. Romani language teaching in kindergartens is specific. It is not part of the curriculum or schedule, but it is orientated to age characteristics. Consequently, 16% teach Romani differently in all groups. In 5% of the schools the Romani language is taught in blocks at the end of the school year, which means an optional intensive course for students.

Access to textbooks, workbooks and teaching materials (audio-visual materials, etc.) poses a problem for teachers. All language teachers complained that they do not have the minimum requirements of books for teaching the Lovari language. Only a few textbooks can be found. All of them are for upper class students, and there is a complete absence of workbooks. Most of the teachers use their own notes from language courses or make a self-edited textbook for their students. Some of these are published with the help of the Ministry of Education. Teachers at lower classes and in kindergartens translate Hungarian rhymes and poems for their students to have some materials. There are a lot of self-made illustrative tools, word cards and colorful wallpaper that facilitate vocabulary building for children. Music CD-s, movies about Roma and materials from the Internet are also welcome in Romani language lessons.

The measure of the effectiveness of language teaching programs was different in some institutions. There is no uniform requirement system to measure knowledge because in most cases the local curriculum determinates this process. In those institutions where Romani is a subject there is some criteria as in case of other subjects, but there are different requirements where Romani language is taught in workgroups. Some teachers give grades, and others take children to events where they can demonstrate their knowledge. It is typical that a low-functioning student also has difficulties in Romani. A serious problem that teachers mention is that parents do not motivate their children to learn this language. It makes language teaching more difficult. Because of the high level of absenteeism, teachers cannot progress through the curriculum, and they often need to repeat the lessons. On the other hand, there are groups where students like learning Romani, parents are supportive, and non-Roma children also visit these lessons.

In the course of the research, we asked headmasters, institution leaders and teachers about the strengths and weaknesses of the language teaching program, and about the obstacles. Here are some points from the interviews:

Strengths:

“Children have the possibility in any case to learn this Romani language, so they have a chance, they have an opportunity.”

“Well, the advantage of education is to improve minority self-awareness, and that we belong somewhere. (...) It can facilitate the learning of other languages; it creates a grammar structure in the language. So besides it is facilitating the intellectual development of children, it helps them speak easily. (...) And besides these, there are different momentous events, when we go and others see us. We can build relations with others.”

“Well, I think, strength is that we connect Romani language to all other activities.”

“Well, strength is the Gypsy/Roma tradition. We get to know a lot of Gypsy/Roma folk tales, we put it on stage, and for example, they really enjoyed this, and they get right inside the part.”

“What is the strength of this program? It is that it exists.”

Weaknesses and risks:

“Obviously, as it is a workgroup, the weakness of it is (...), that there is a core who come back, and there are the others, who do not. A weakness is that there are no materials for it, which teachers need to lean on.”

“...weakness is that we have no tools. I mean books, workbooks, audio materials, so it is a weakness.”

“They do not think it useful. (...) There is 60% among parents who speak, (...) they use it in the family. But they do not find it important that their children have this knowledge. (...) There would be several programs in our mind, (...) but we have no financial support.”

“So the danger is...the closure of this program.”

“Maybe a weakness is that there are no workbooks. (...) I could get on with the lessons quicker if I did not have to dictate everything, or to photocopy. (...) there is a need for textbooks and workbooks (...) but as I see, there are only a few of them.”

As the closure of the questionnaire, we found it necessary to ask teachers about their recommendations. We were waiting for opinions on better, more effective Romani language teaching programs in the future. Unfortunately, we experienced that the same problems exist regarding the difficulty of Romani language learning as in the earlier research. All teachers without exception wish for a wider selection of textbooks, workbooks and other educational materials to be available. However, not only quantitative improvement is expected but also qualitative changes. There is still a need for a book that lower class students would understand, as teachers are obliged to make workbooks for these students. It would also be great if more colorful and playful materials were developed. Furthermore, teachers would like more CD and DVD programs, which improve the effectiveness and interactivity of language teaching.

There is also a need for the establishment of a kind of professional networking forum. In most cases the difficulty of networking is that institutions teaching Romani language do not know about each other. There is no database where they can search for other Romani language teaching schools and kindergartens. The other obstructive factor is that the budget of the institutions cannot cover the costs of this type of initiative. We would like to have more grant opportunities for projects to implement the plans of the institutions about language learning, ethnography and free time activities for developing the skills and competencies of students and the professional development of teachers. Language teachers would participate in trainings to develop their professional skills. (LAKATOS, 2010a)

4. Language teacher training – Development of the professional background of language teaching

The results of this national research showed that a lot of work is needed to develop the professional background of language teaching. In order to reach the aims related to education, jurisdiction, mass media, cultural actions, cultural institutions, economic and social life (in accordance with the defense of Boyashi and Romani languages in 2008, and in the maintenance of measures stated in the European Charter of Regional or Minority Languages, 1992) there needs to be a continuously monitored process. As the member of the Romani Working Group, I also recommend the further development of the status of Romani language, and draw up possibilities for solutions in interim reports.

Adequate training for teachers is also very important so that well qualified teachers can teach Romani language in the future, as the absence of this was highlighted in my research. Language teacher training is the long-term goal for our department. I also support that proposal which emphasizes the cooperation of institutions of higher learning and the Institute of Linguistics at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences to establish professional language teacher training (FORRAY R. – PÁLMAINÉ ORSÓS, 2010). With the help of language exams, it can be support with the knowledge of future Romani language teachers.

One of the most urgent tasks is to edit textbooks, workbooks and other materials in order to meet the expectations of teachers and students. This can be a colorful, illustrated volume for kindergarten and elementary students, in which well-known rhymes, children's poems, songs and other less known Roma festive greetings would appear in Romani language, helping the early language learning (e.g., the Boyashi-Hungarian book).

In my opinion more support is needed to reform the current status. Educational and research work related to Romani language in the department is also important. Therefore, we have to acknowledge that Romani language teaching mostly occurs in the Great Plain and Northern- Hungary, with some teachers having graduated from the University of Pecs. The important work of writing of textbooks and language development is not getting enough attention. If we take Romani languages teaching seriously, there needs to be a central support allocated for additional course book writing, regular professional trainings and forum to share and appreciate achievements and results (LAKATOS, 2010b).

Language teacher training in the Romology Department is regarded as a priority. As a result of this, a Romology teacher course was accredited successfully as a Masters-level course, with a specialization in Boyashi language and culture or Romani language and culture. However, it is not the same training as in case of other nationalities, where it is available for basic courses and the languages of the courses are the minority languages. In the Romology course, students have language lessons, but other classes are in Hungarian. This shows great progress, and I hope that this is only the first step in the field of language teacher training, with more development and growth in the near future.

5. Summary

The status of Romani language in education was demonstrated in my study through national research. This research confirmed that the most urgent work of the Romology Department towards the effectiveness of education is to start Romani (Lovari) and Boyashi language teacher training. The "forerunner" of these is the optional Romani language and culture or the Boyashi language and culture specialization within the Romology MA course. In my opinion it is a remarkably important program. However, we cannot be completely satisfied until we can offer language teacher training equivalent to the language teacher training available for other Hungarian nationalities.

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This paper provides insight into the current situation of the Boyash language in Hungary. The paper introduces language policy regarding Boyash language teaching in the country and summarises some of the most important issues that should be addressed to improve the situation and status of this language.

Until the end of the 1980s, the Boyash language only had an oral version in Hungary. The actual beginning of Boyash literacy dates back to the end of the 1990s, when the Gandhi Secondary Grammar School of Pécs was established. This unique educational institution taught both of the Gypsy languages spoken in Hungary: Romani (Lovari dialect) and Boyash. The written versions of these languages were needed for this purpose. A small group of researchers and linguists started to build up the components of literacy in the Boyash language.

As a result of the past 25 years of work, the Boyash population that used to exclusively nourish an oral culture has just started to have its language described. However, the shift of Boyash to Hungarian language had started long before among the Boyash language users living as minorities. This tendency shows a varied picture among the different communities.

Although their commitment to the Boyash mother tongue is very strong and they feel the necessity of passing on the language to younger generations, they do not consider this task to be theirs but rather delegate it to others outside the family.

The thesis of this paper focuses on the current linguistic status language teaching development opportunities of the Boyash language in public higher education in Hungary.

Keywords: Boyash linguistic situation, language shift, minority language teaching

Introduction

This study introduces the current situation of the Boyash language and population. Despite developing Boyash literacy over the past 25 years, there are fewer people who speak this language as a mother tongue, and among Boyash communities there has been an increasing tendency of switching from Boyash to Hungarian. This contradiction makes the topic of this paper very relevant. The process of switching from Boyash to Hungarian shows some variations in different communities. In some of the communities it is a closed process because only Hungarian is spoken (ORSÓS – VARGA 2001).

There are several publications on Hungarian Boyash, but only a few of these studies are based on scientific research. The lack of scientific resources and motivation in these communities to find their origin could lead to the publication of unempirical research instead of studies with science-based results. Many of these publications are missing the fundamental criteria of science. During research on Hungarian Boyash communities, in most of the cases the majority is unable to distinguish the different languages of Roma, and so they define them as one language – the “Roma” or “Gypsy language”. Research on Hungarian Roma usually mentions the classification (KEMÉNY & colleagues 1976) that defines three main language groups of Roma. These include the mostly Hungarian-speaking largest group, called “romungró”, who also refer to themselves as Hungarian Gypsies or “musician Gypsies”; the Hungarian and Romani speaking Vlach Roma, spelled as “oláh”; and the smallest group called the Boyash Gypsies who

speak Hungarian and an archaic dialect of Romanian (it is spelled “*beás*”). Despite of the above classification, the majority is still homogenizing the Roma and their languages. This is the reason why there is very little information about Boyash Roma and most of the existing resources on Roma are usually unreliable. Hungarian Roma people generally agree that the “Gypsy language” includes two languages – Boyash and Romani. Hungarian Roma communities mostly accept the “Gypsy” group name. However, the two primary groups distinguish themselves from each other. This is why the Oláh Gypsy group call themselves “Roma”, but the Romungro and Boyash refer to themselves as “Gypsy”. Roma is the officially accepted name for Hungarian Roma, but this word has origins in the Romani language and means “Roma man or husband”. (The feminine counterpart is “romnji”, which means “Roma woman or wife”).

Even though there are still different opinions on the usage of these terms, nowadays usage of both Roma and Gypsy is more and more common in Hungary, which could become an acceptable practice for all Roma groups.

The Boyash population in Hungary

The estimated number of Roma in Hungary is 400,000 – 600,000, while the official number is 308,957 (Central Statistical Office, 2011). According to the above-mentioned research of István Kemény, approximately 8% belong to the Boyash group. They mostly live in the south of Transdanubia region. In this region the Boyash population is 30% of the total Roma population and in two counties (Baranya and Somogy) there is a higher Boyash population than the other Roma groups. In other regions there are only a few Boyash speaking Gypsies.

In addition to this data, it is important to note that the Boyash – just like other minority groups in general – took several elements from mainstream culture, customs, and lifestyle. But they also kept several of those features and cultural specificities that distinguish them from the majority of the population. Based on their traditional woodworking profession, the Boyash are also called “trough makers”, who also live in Romania, Bulgaria, Croatia, and Serbia. However, today there is no need for their wooden crafts anymore because of an increase in using plastic tools instead of wooden tools. This paper will not give a complex introduction about the situation of Hungarian Boyash. However, many books and papers (KAHL-NECHITI: 2019; Boros-Gergey: 2019) about Hungarian Roma are available in English.

Circumstances of the Boyash language

According to dialectic research, the Boyash speak a “temporary dialect” that is similar to Romanian dialects spoken in south-eastern Crișana, north-eastern Banat and south-western Transylvania (Saramandu 1997: 7). The origin and changing dialect of the Boyash language are still unknown. Phonological and grammatical system of Boyash in countries other than Hungary are not yet known. In this sense Hungarian Boyash communities are ahead of Boyash communities in neighboring countries. Primarily because of close borders, Hungarian Boyash mostly are in contact with Boyash living in Croatia (Kutina, Virovitica, Čakovec), Serbia (Trešnjevac), and Romania (Timișoara). Based on experiences with Boyash living in the towns listed above, they speak a dialect similar to Hungarian Boyash.

The written form of the language started in the 1990s in Hungary and it is still developing today: *“An important question is why do the Boyash speak Romanian. A possible cause could be that Boyash went through a language shift while living in Transylvania and the region of*

Crișana and Banat. So, they changed their original language to the majority's language. The same language shift is happening in Hungary" (Borbély 2001:80). This "temporary" language – considered an independent language – has three dialects in Hungary: *Árgyelán*, *Muncsán*, and *Ticsán*. Among these three dialects, *Árgyelán* is spoken the most by Boyash. It is a dialect of Romanian spoken in Banat before the neologism of Romanian. *Árgyelán* Boyash speak this language in Baranya, Somogy, Tolna, Vas, Veszprém and Zala counties.

In Alósszentmárton in the region of Southern-Transdanubia, Boyash speak the *Muncsán* dialect. This dialect contains many Slavic words because of the proximity of the Serbian border. In addition – such as the third *Ticsán* dialect – it contains several Romanian words. *Ticsán* is primarily spoken in the eastern part of the country in Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county. Boyash is accepted by *Árgyelán*- and *Ticsán*-speaking Boyash groups as an ethnonym and a name of their languages. However, *Ticsán*-speaking groups consider themselves and their language to be Gypsy, but not Boyash. The Boyash language has probably been in a diglossic situation in Hungary from its origins as Hungarian is the contact language between the majority population and the Boyash minority.

The Boyash language in Hungary

There is no doubt that the Romanian language spoken in Banat is the foundation of the language spoken by Boyash communities. These languages are not in contact anymore, and they are changing independently. Boyash was an oral language until the 1980s, and then in the early 1990s its written form began with the establishment of Gandhi High School. At the beginning of the 1980s, Gyula Papp, a French and Romanian language teacher, tried to write down the language based on data collected in Pécs, Hungary. He conducted a very important study; however, it did not lead to a breakthrough in the history of written Boyash. Boyash-speaking communities did not really accept Papp's version of written Boyash because they did not feel it belonged to them. This is why this written form did not become more widely known and why communities are not using it today.

The beginning of the 1990s was important not just from a linguistic point of view but also for education policy. A group of young intellectuals established the Roma high school mentioned earlier called Gandhi High school. It became clear that there were no books or resources for teaching Boyash language and culture. The written form of the language was required to develop these types of materials.

Along with identifying tasks, ethnographic research started as well. The research focused on the Boyash language corpus by collecting Boyash songs and folk stories. Katalin Kovalcsik and Anna Orsós conducted this research. There was a great need for establishing the standard written form of the language. The first collections of songs and stories were written according to Hungarian grammar along with a detailed description of pronunciation (KOVALCSIK – ORSÓS 1994). These very first volumes from 1994 are the real beginning of written Boyash literacy. After them, the first Boyash language book was published as the first volume that systematized the language (ORSÓS 1994). Today this language book includes Boyash-Hungarian and Hungarian-Boyash dictionaries as well, and other volumes have been published with song and story collections (ORSÓS 1997, ORSÓS 1998, ORSÓS 1999).

The importance of this work is indisputable, even if it was not completed with sound linguistic principles. The past 25 years illustrate the durability and usability of this written form as several linguistic volumes were published based on it. This written form seems suitable and acceptable not just by most of the Boyash intellectuals, but also for others studying the language

based on the written form. Since 2002 the The Roma Language Group of the Research Institute for Linguistics at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences has had the goal of descriptive linguistic, anthropological linguistic and sociolinguistic research on Boyash and Romani languages. This research could serve the pluralistic description of Romani and Boyash languages complementing the previous results of the disciplines mentioned above.

A volume titled *Boyash Grammar* was published in the spring of 2009 by the Hungarian Academy of Science Linguistic Department. This volume functions as a systematic grammar book that describes the grammatical, phonological, morphological, and syntactic changes of Boyash.

Education policy

Despite the fact that the Roma have the same rights as other officially accepted nationalities in Hungary, the personal and material conditions required for teaching their mother tongue are still inadequate. Roma/Gypsy languages are only school subjects and not languages of instruction in education, and there are limited Romani and Boyash language classes. This fact strengthens the subordinate status of these languages and native speakers of Roma/Gypsy languages. These individuals often feel that the value of their languages is decreased.

Among Hungarian Roma/Gypsies, there are only a few Romani or Boyash speaking teachers and there is no real Romani or Boyash language teacher education system. There is also a lack of suitable teaching materials such as language books and dictionaries. According to European expectations, it is the government's responsibility to produce suitable teaching materials and organize language teacher training programs.

The Hague Recommendations Regarding the Education Rights of National Minorities states the following: *"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 Hague Recommendations Regarding the Education Rights of National Minorities 1996: 7).

Hungarian laws on the public and higher education system have changed a lot during the past few years. These changes have also had a great effect on Roma/Gypsy nationality education. However, there is not much information about how and to what extent these changes have shaped the development of Roma/Gypsy languages and ethnographic subjects. In Hungary, language and ethnography are core subjects in nationality education. (In Hungary the official term is not "minority" but "nationality".) The Roma/Gypsy nationality education focuses on mediating the culture and strengthening the identity of these groups. Teaching of Romani and Boyash languages provides an opportunity for students to learn about minority languages. In addition, it provides a chance for Roma/Gypsy students to learn or relearn these languages. Roma/Gypsy communities are using their languages less frequently, which is accelerating the process of language shift. This is why the possibility of learning these languages in schools plays a significant role in maintaining these languages. However, teaching these languages could increase prestige and value if it occurred under suitable conditions needed for language teaching. Ethnography as a school subject must supplement what families can provide to create value and maintain tradition. This generates new goals and tasks for schools. Schools with Roma/Gypsy nationality education teach courses on traditions, lifestyle habits and culture according to the National Core Curriculum. Building on these main elements, the different age groups can learn more about

the history of the Roma/Gypsy nationality and their folklore, language and literature. Learning ethnography in school helps students to become more open to diversity and more tolerant. While they become more aware of their own culture, they also become more tolerant of other cultures.

In 2015, research on Roma/Gypsy nationality education (ORSÓS, 2015) examined schools teaching Roma/Gypsy ethnography and/or languages in the framework of the National Core Curriculum in 2014 and 2015. Among 181 surveyed institutions, 22 schools taught Romani and/or Boyash, 10 schools only taught Boyash, 11 schools only taught Romani and 1 school taught both languages. In 2014-2015, 134 schools out of the 181 surveyed taught Roma/Gypsy ethnography. The results of this research show there are several problems on the level of the education system that causes difficulties for the schools. Unsuitable or insufficient nationality teacher education as well as unequal personal and material conditions are proving that in Hungary students do not have access to high quality Roma/Gypsy nationality education. The conditions are simply not suitable for teaching Roma ethnographic subjects and languages. As a result, the goals of nationality education could only be realized partially. In addition, there is a lack of motivation among the parents as few choose nationality education for their kids. The schools apply for this type of education because it is in their interest and based on their needs rather than the parents' motivations.

Among the schools in the study, there was not an example of one with authentic content related to Roma/Gypsy nationality education. Teachers do not have the required knowledge, materials or conditions to make such educational programs successful. In these cases, disadvantaged students including Roma do not have access to quality education.

Methods for maintaining the language

There are different methods for strengthening minority languages and enhancing the process of *language shift*. First, speakers of Roma languages must have a positive attitude about their language. They have to be aware that their languages have the same value as other languages. The appearance of their language must be promoted with the help of the Press, media appearances and by language courses at all school levels. This is a language revitalizing process at the same time because increasing language usage requires new functions. If there are a sufficient number of native speakers, they must be empowered by the revitalisation process to feel interested in teaching new generations. Different strategies for community building and strengthening could also help save minority languages, such as creating supportive and additive educational environments that teach in the given language and not just teach it as a subject. Well- prepared and trained bilingual teachers are needed to teach students how to build on their first language and encourage bilingualism. Improving the adult population's mother tongue usage on institutional levels could also help enhance the value of the language by using minority languages in different TV, radio and online media outlets. Additional strategies include improving reading and writing literacy. Minority language teaching as first or second language teaching could also help create a wider population that is capable of using the language.

Language shift is a process in which a minority language becomes primary in language usage. However, until this process is stagnating, the education system must provide the required resources and help increase overall respect people have for the minority language. It is well known that if a language is not used regularly in education, then unfortunately the language will be in jeopardy.

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A nemzetiségi nevelés-oktatás kerettantervei – Az alapvető jogok biztosa és a Magyarországon élő nemzetiségek jogainak védelmét ellátó biztoshelyettes Jelentése az AJB-3894/2012. számú ügyben, a nemzetiségi középiskolai oktatás helyzetéről. [Framework Curricula for National Minority Education - Report of the Commissioner for Fundamental Rights and the Deputy Commissioner for the Protection of the Rights of Nationalities Living in Hungary – report with a case number #AJB-3894/2012 on the situation of national minority secondary education

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In this study, trends and snapshots presenting the educational circumstances of the Roma in Hungary over a period of time were explored. Due to the difficulties of accurate data collection, the whole picture could only be examined using fragments. Therefore, general findings should be considered with great care and only in relevant contexts. Overall, the education of Roma has increased at a rapid pace in the last fifty years, but to date this increase has lagged behind that of the non-Roma majority. It follows that there is still a need to facilitate equity programs at all levels of the school system because these initiatives provide equal opportunities and a real chance for disadvantaged Roma students to experience social mobility.

Keywords: Socialisation, education, Kindergarten (preschool) Education, Primary Education. The Roma in secondary and higher education

Socialisation and education

The aim of this study is to introduce key concepts of Educational Sociology that are the most important regarding the education of Hungarian Roma students. Therefore, the first part of this study will focus on defining the notion of socialisation, while the second part will provide data regarding the education of Hungarian Roma students, summarising the latest available results. In the last part of the study, the support programs that promote the success of socially disadvantaged students will be listed briefly.

Socialisation

The human and social sciences have been dealing with the issue of socialisation for decades. Different sciences have studied this process from several perspectives and developed definitions. In the present study, *socialisation* refers to the learning process in which an individual acquires the behaviours, values, skills, competencies, and knowledge required to integrate into a particular community and lead a successful life. This constant process lasts for the entire lifetime of the individual. Socialisation takes place through more than one agent, and it is grouped in a variety of ways by the researchers involved. Tamás Kozma (2001) writes about formal and non-formal agents. The formal agent is the most important in the context of this study, as this is the platform where socialisation takes place through learning and teaching. Anthony Giddens (1995) writes about primary and secondary agents – the primary agent is the family, and the secondary agent begins with formal education. What we definitely know concerning the education of Hungarian Roma is that they are at a disadvantage compared to the non-Roma majority. One of the reasons for this according to researchers in the field of Educational Sociology can be found in differences in primary socialisation – i.e. in the family. This issue logically leads us to theories discussing multi- and interculturality. The question is how can schools effectively and equitably educate children from different cultures and with differences in primary socialisation? In 1975, Adler published his bicultural socialisation theory (FORRAY - HEGEDŰS 2003), which suggested a direct correlation between more effective co-learning and more overlaps between the different agents of socialisation. To adapt this and

put it into pedagogical practice, research on multi- and intercultural pedagogical methods is imperative. This topic is not covered extensively in the study, but more details can be found in Judit Torgyik's study (TORGYIK 2015).

An overview of the education of the Roma in Hungary

The results of any data, statistics, and surveys related to the Roma are determined by the fact that since the change of the regime, the law has prohibited the registration of ethnic and national affiliation in educational institutions; such data can only be provided by parents at school. For this reason, research on the Roma collects data on ethnic and national affiliation in two ways. Some of the research considers someone to be of Roma origin based on the definition of the external environment, while other studies are based on the self-declaration of the target group of the research. This is how Roma origin is determined. In some cases, these methods are mixed, but in our experience surveys on the Roma population are in many cases based on estimates. Therefore, it is difficult to give an accurate picture of the actual number of Roma or data related to their demographic or educational status (See more: LADÁNYI – SZELÉNYI 1997).

In the context of educating the Roma, there is a strikingly obvious difference when compared to educating the non-Roma population. In Hungary, low levels of education are strongly related to social status, family background and geographical location. This has been proven by the results of several recent domestic and international studies. The most important thing for us here is to note that in low-educated social group, the proportion of the Roma is much higher than their total proportion of population in the country. The low level of education of the Roma population is not determined by their ethnic and national affiliation, but by their place and status in society. The second part of this study will try to highlight the possible reasons for this phenomenon.

Kindergarten (preschool) education

In Hungary, the proportion of children attending kindergarten has been steadily increasing in recent decades: in 1970, 51% of the preschool population attended kindergarten and by 1999 the number had risen to 92% (Havas 2004). In addition, it is an important key factor that the three-year preschool period is an essential condition for a successful school career. In 1981, 87.3% of children aged 3-6 attended kindergarten, while only 50% of Roma children of the same age attended kindergarten. The situation was even worse in Borsod and Szabolcs counties, where around a third of Roma children attended kindergarten (Havas-Kemény-Liskó 2001). This is especially true for children of socially disadvantaged families, where even today there is a higher percentage of children not attending kindergarten or starting late around 5-6 years old. According to a study published by Gábor Havas in 2004, in the 2002/2003 school year there were 819 settlements in Hungary where there was no kindergarten at all. Most of these settlements are located in small-village counties with high numbers Roma: Baranya, Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, Zala and Tolna counties. The study selected the 103 settlements where more than 20 preschool children lived according to the 2001 census. This was then compared with the Roma population and the following results were found: in 56% of the settlements without a kindergarten in the northern region, the proportion of the Roma population exceeded 25%, and in 28% it exceeded 50%. The situation was similar in Southern Transdanubia, where the number of Roma exceeded 25% in less than half of the settlements without kindergartens and 50% in every fifth settlement (HAVAS 2004).

Table 1. The ratio of the Roma population without a kindergarten in the examined settlements

Percentage of the Roma	North N=25	Southern Transdanubia N=40	Other N=16	Total N=81
0–10%	20%	30%	75%	35.8%
10.1–25%	24%	22.5%	12.5%	21%
25.1–50%	28%	27.5%	12.5%	24.7%
50.1%–	28%	20.0%		18.5%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: HAVAS 2004, 6.

School segregation is cited as one of the main reasons for the lack of success of Roma children in school. Segregation in most cases – especially in the 1980s and 1990s – means (and still means to this day) classifying students into special needs classes, or classes with curricula deviating from the national norm. The aim of these classes is to help students catch up and be integrated into the normal classes when reaching the upper four years of primary school (years 4–8). We now know that such segregated classes are a dead end street for the students involved, and that the Hungarian government acts with legal instruments against segregation. However, it is worth stopping here and examining the reasons for this separation. We know from the results of research carried out in the field that schools most often refer to the fact that children are not school-ready because they do not have the abilities and skills expected by the school. The reason for this is the different processes of socialisation and the lack of kindergarten education.

Katalin Pik and her colleagues carried out research in seven settlements to find out whether Roma children attended kindergarten, examining duration of attendance, proportion of absences and typical causes of absences. Based on the data gathered during their fieldwork – which also included interviews with local mayors and kindergarten directors, teachers and parents – the team concluded with following findings: kindergarten absences are mostly related to social disadvantages, and many families have difficulty paying per diems and providing adequate clothing and equipment for their children. In addition, a comparison of kindergartens shows that kindergarten teachers can do a lot to reduce absenteeism such as creating an accepting, empathetic and helpful atmosphere to reduce distrust amongst the parents and children of socially disadvantaged Roma families (Pik 2000, Pik 2001).

In his study published in 2004, Gábor Havas reports on the following basic shortcomings: in the 2002/2003 school year, there were 819 settlements in Hungary where there were no kindergarten. Of these, 35–40 settlements were identified where experts thought it would be essential to establish kindergartens. This was justified by the number of children and the fact that the settlements were mostly inhabited by multiple disadvantaged families. In an additional 90–100 settlements included in the study that already had kindergartens, Havas found that there was still a need to increase the maximum capacity of these institutions and provide more effective support for families in need of financial help related to kindergarten expenses. In addition, the author states that there is a need to develop a program that brings the institution of kindergarten and socially disadvantaged families closer together (HAVAS 2004).

Kinga Szabó-Tóth visited 25 kindergartens in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County and asked the headteachers about the steps they took to ensure that Roma children attended kindergarten regularly. Her study published in 2007 illustrates that three principles have a significant impact

on increasing the effectiveness of kindergarten education for Roma children: more intensive contact with parents, more openness of kindergartens towards parents, and more involvement of parents in certain kindergarten programs (SZABÓ-TÓTH 2007).

Primary Education

In the three decades before the change of the regime, school enrolment also became common among Roma children. According to a 1971 national representative Roma survey conducted under the leadership of István Kemény, only 25% of the then 20-24 age group completed primary school, and 39% of those over 14 were illiterate. From 1971 to 1994, the proportion of those in the 20-29 age group who completed primary school increased from 25% to 77% (KEMÉNY-JANKY-LENGYEL 2004).

Table 2. The total number and proportion of Roma students in primary schools in Hungary in 1970 – 1992

Roma students in primary schools in Hungary									
1970		1980		1985		1989		1992	
number	proportion	number	proportion	number	proportion	number	proportion	number	proportion
59 595	5.35	69 429	5.98	75 148	5.77	73 637	6.23	74 241	7.12

Source: KERTESI-KÉZDI 1998, 313–320.

At the same time, the difference between the educational levels of the Roma/non-Roma population remained very significant, as can be seen from the comparison of the 1994 national representative Roma survey by Havas, Kemény and Kertesi along with the corresponding data of KSH (HUNGARIAN CENTRAL STATISTICAL OFFICE).

Table 3. Education of the Hungarian population in 1994

Education of the Hungarian population in 1994		
Level of educational attainment	Non-Roma (%)	Roma (%)
Year 0	0.3	9.1
Year 1-7	11.2	32.6
Year 8	35.9	45.8
Vocation school	19.4	10.7
Matriculation	23.8	1.6
Higher education	9.5	0.2
Total	100	100

Source: HAVAS-KEMÉNY-LISKÓ 2001, 8.

In their 2013 study, Katalin R. Forray and Tamás Híves analysed the conditions in the education system. The 2011 census data on the Roma population was examined and displayed on maps according to counties. The study concluded that 22.3% of the Roma population did not finish their primary school education (i.e. 8 years of schooling). This proportion was only 4.5% among the non-Roma population. The Roma population that has not completed primary school is mainly located in northeast Hungary and in Bács-Kiskun County (FORRAY-HÍVES 2013).

Based on the latest census data, the state of educational attainment of the Hungarian population can be determined, which is presented in the following table:

Table 1. Educational attainment of the population over the age of 15 (%)

Ethnicity	Under 8 years of education	8 years of education	Secondary school, with a vocational certificate but not a high school diploma	High school diploma	Degree attained in higher education
Non-Roma	4.5	27.5	21.0	29.9	17.1
Roma	22.3	58.3	13.1	5.1	1.2
Total	4.8	27.7	20.7	29.6	17.1

Source: Forray–Híves 2013

In the table above, the authors used the 2011 census data in which approximately 315,000 people declared themselves to be of Roma origin, but it is also known from sociological surveys that the actual number of the Roma population in Hungary is two or three times the official estimates. What can be declared based on the data presented in the table above is that the education of the Roma population is still far behind that of the non-Roma population. Researchers examining the differences in more depth have found a number of correlations in this regard.

The differences are due to residential and school selection, segregation, low efficiency of schools (poorly equipped, unsatisfactory provision of educational staff) and the socio-economic crisis in the residential environment.

The facts are as follows:

- 60% of Roma children study in classes where the majority of their classmates score low on reading tests, and their results cannot be considered satisfactory in critical reading;
- The majority of pupils from a disadvantaged and/or multiple disadvantaged background study in schools with a very high proportion of similarly socially disadvantaged students;
- In schools with Roma children, the proportion of Roma children increased between 2004 and 2010;
- The number of Roma-majority schools has increased since 2004;
- In 2009, there were almost 300 public schools where students from multiple disadvantaged backgrounds represented the majority.

It can be concluded from the above facts that a significant proportion of disadvantaged and multiple disadvantaged students, some of whom are Roma children, study under segregated conditions. School segregation is associated with lower standards in schools and a much lower

chance of these children continuing their education in secondary institutions that provide a high school diploma or a vocation valuable in the labor market. Of course, this also means that they will have a much lower chance of finding employment, entering university, and being successful in their adult lives.

For a positive change, it would be necessary to provide socially disadvantaged people with the opportunity to break out of this situation. One condition for this to occur would be to improve the quality and efficiency of public education, though this action by itself would not be sufficient.

The Roma in secondary and higher education

Statistical data show that the participation of Roma children in secondary school education has increased since the mid-1990s. Unlike the period before, they are more likely to complete primary school and significantly more of them enrol in secondary schools (primarily vocational schools).

Table 4. Number of Roma students attending vocational training and high school/vocational secondary school/technical school per school year.

School year	Vocational school	High school/Vocational secondary school/technical school	Total
1981/82	3539	528	4061
1982/83	3855	502	4357
1983/84	3663	517	4180
1984/85	3759	497	4256
1985/86	3781	487	4268
1986/87	3872	510	4382
1987/88	4298	553	4851
1988/89	4458	579	5037
1989/90	4337	536	4873
1990/91	3949	523	4472
1991/92	3418	535	3953
1992/93	3336	581	3917

Source: KERTESI–KÉZDI 1998, 454.

Table 5. Educational attainment by age group in 2003

Age group	Educational attainment	%
15–39	General (maximum of 8 years of primary school)	78
	Vocational training	18.6
	Secondary level with final examination (minimum)	3.4
40–59	General (maximum of 8 years of primary school)	85
	Vocational training	12.3
	Secondary level with final examination (minimum)	2.8
60–99	General (maximum of 8 years of primary school)	93.1
	Vocational training	5.8
	Secondary level with final examination (minimum)	1.1

Source: KEMÉNY–JANKY–LENGYEL 2004, 93.

There are several differences when comparing Roma to the non-Roma population. Although the educational expansion that started after the change of the regime also affected Roma students, it was not nearly as much as it was for non-Roma students. Ilona Liskó's research in 2001 showed that 3.2% of non-Roma students did not continue their studies after 8th grade of primary school, but this proportion among Roma students was 14.9% in 1998. Furthermore, while 56.5% of Roma students continued their studies in vocational schools in 1998, only 36.8% of non-Roma students did the same (Liskó 2001). If we examine more recent data, the following can be determined based on Forray and Híves' studies: almost 30% of the non-Roma population had high school diploma in 2011, compared to only 5% of the Roma population (FORRAY–HÍVES 2013).

Thus, the gap between the majority non-Roma population and minority Roma population is fundamentally reflected in the pathways to education, which can be an obstacle to successful placement in the labor market. With regard to higher education, in 2011 we can say that 17.1% of the population over the age of 15 in Hungary had a degree. Within the same group, 1.2% of the population claiming to be of Roma origin could say the same. Geographically, the more educated Roma population is concentrated in Budapest, where the proportion of graduates is 6%, while in Csongrád county rate is only 2.4% (FORRAY–HÍVES 2013).

From the second half of the 1990s, the number of Roma children getting educated increased, along with the likelihood of completing their primary school studies. Ilona Liskó's 2001 study was conducted among 10th grade high school students who had reached the beginning of their vocational training. She examined 177 vocational schools. These Roma students usually attended a village school and continued their studies at a nearby urban high school. Some of them went to special schools for the first four years of primary school. Roma students finished primary school with a 3.2 GPA average. Roma high school students were the weakest in their foreign language studies.

When choosing a career path, Roma children typically should not expect adult help. Usually adults in their families have not experienced academic success, therefore Roma children often do

not have learning strategies or knowledge to build on in their homes. They do not know what is required in order to get into the school of their choice, and parents do not even know the schools that can be considered. Often, primary school teachers cannot be expected to help with this topic either. As a result, the school choice of Roma high school students is determined by traditional and ambiguous childhood plans, as well as local school choices. They usually choose professions that are less common.

Of the high school students surveyed in 2003, 67% participated in schools offering a high school diploma and 33% in vocational training schools. In the case of Roma students, the proportions were reversed (LISKÓ 2001). Situational decisions influenced by the supply of schools, professions and chance very often lead Roma children to schools and professions that do not correspond to their abilities or enable them to prosper in the labor market. This is the reason why Roma high school students often change professions and schools one after the other. It is also common that they discover after their vocational school years that it is only possible to get a permanent job and earnings with a high school diploma. Due to the above factors, Roma high school students who are determined to continue their studies often have to delay their plans, and getting back to their original career paths takes more time and requires more effort. Enrolment in secondary school is a significant change for all children, but it is especially difficult for Roma students. Most Roma students come to the high school from villages, and it is in the high school environment where they get acquainted with the new conditions, people, rules and methods.

By their own admission, half of those students (53%) studying in vocational training achieve their academic results without studying much. Roma students who have managed to continue their studies in high schools offering a diploma are required to make a serious effort to meet the requirements of their schools, and to keep up with students from more favourable circumstances. In vocational training schools, Roma students have difficulty learning foreign languages. As a result, they consider the time and effort spent with learning language completely unnecessary and a waste of time (LISKÓ 2009). However, the successful integration and mobility of Roma high school students depends not only on their individual abilities, determination, ambition and diligence, or on the support of the government, but also on the inclusive skills and openness of majority members in society. Roma students who want to integrate into mainstream society often find even more resistance in secondary schools. A higher proportion of Roma students attend secondary schools that lack funding, materials and resources such as libraries, gyms and internet access. These institutions also hire more part-time teachers and their level of education and professional training tend to be lower.

In the 2000/2001 school year, 16% of 9th graders failed the school year but were able to pass their promotion exam at the end of summer, while 9% of them were retained and repeated the same grade. Among 10th graders this ratio is 13% promoted after grade level exams and 4% retained. Interestingly, the proportion of failing students was lower while the proportion of Roma students was higher in both grades. The most important failure rate indicators in secondary schools are drop-out rates. The research revealed that 36% of Roma students entering the surveyed schools drop out of school in 9th grade and 29% in 10th grade. Thus, drop-out rates are very high in proportion to the total population, despite the fact that their GPA in these first two years is usually not worse than the school average. It can therefore be concluded that the reasons for dropping out are not only to be found in academic failure, but also based on school environment and family reasons (LISKÓ 2005).

What is the reason that Roma students are generally more vulnerable in educational environments than their non-Roma counterparts? They arrive with an array of disadvantages: problems with first language use, incomplete understanding of material culture, lack of conditions for home study, poor housing conditions, less motivation, insufficient parental expectations, and

difficulty adapting to the rules expected by the educational institution. These reasons are all characteristics arising from poverty, so in the case of secondary education lower levels of educational attainment and higher drop-out rates are related to the socio-economic circumstances and social status of the students.

At present, very little scientific data is available on Roma students attending university or college. One of the common characteristics of full-time Roma university students is their relatively older age than a typical university student, which is related to the fact that many of them start their studies after having started a family. Their environment often does not recognise young, talented Roma people, and they often end up in vocational training schools. Researchers addressing this issue are interested in the specificities of the school life of Roma students in higher education. The results of the studies can be summarised as follows.

In many cases, their family backgrounds are characterised by extreme poverty or difficulties in state care, so students from the traditional Roma community they can only gain access to higher education with great effort. The socio-economic background of Roma families is characterised by low employment, with only one-third of fathers being employed (Forray 2013). In terms of education, three-quarters of the fathers of students in higher education have an educational attainment above the first 8 years of primary school. More than one-third of these students have a sibling with a successful career in higher education, which is an indicator that if the process of schooling begins in a family, younger children are more likely to follow.

Every second Roma studying in higher education today does not enter higher education the usual way: they do not bring the skills and routines of becoming an intellectual with them from home. But it is also worth emphasising that today – after two decades have passed since the change of the regime and the ratification of the relevant laws – every second Roma student enters higher education in a similar way as the majority of students (SZABÓNÉ 2013). Three-quarters of students do not speak the Roma language, but a sense of belonging to the Roma community is very important to them, suggesting an increase in ethnic self-awareness (FORRAY 2013).

Anna Kende's in-depth interview study with a sample of twenty people divided them into three groups based on their life paths and patterns appearing in them: those whose parents consciously considered learning and breaking away from Roma traditions to be an ideal medium for school careers; the first generation of Roma intellectuals who had major turning points in their lives on their way to university; and the second generation with parents assigned the Roma intellectual career to their children (KENDE 2005).

Educational policies and support programs

In this study the history of educational policy changes concerning the Roma nationality begins with the change of the regime. The reason for this is only the size limitation of this study, so it is essential to emphasise that the aforementioned sources provide very important information for understanding the educational circumstances of the Roma. The reader is strongly encouraged to study and use these sources.

The most important measures of the two decades after the change of the regime can be described in two very different directions in relation to the education of the Roma population. In the 1993 law on the rights of national and ethnic minorities, the state ensured the opportunity for all nationalities and ethnic groups to practice their language and culture even in school institutions. It also provided remedial and talent programs for Roma children. Thus, in the present case, the programs established for cultural self-awareness and overcoming disadvantages are

applied simultaneously, in the same target group, thus confusing an ethnic group with a group described by social characteristics (VARGA 2012). As a result of this process, the public opinion has emerged that if a student is socially disadvantaged they must also be of Roma origin. This is of course not true; based on sociological research, approximately one-third of the 700,000 people living in deep poverty belong to the Roma minority.

The educational success of disadvantaged students is supported by several programs in Hungary. Impact studies have been carried out on their effectiveness, but as their operations have only lasted for 10-12 years, it is difficult to evaluate them (see for example: Kézdi-Surányi 2008). Ilona Liskó's study published in 2006 examined the educational interventions that started after 2002, summarising them by arguing that educating socially disadvantaged students is a distinguished responsibility of the state. She divided the results into three groups:

1. Political tools:

- Establishment of a ministerial commissioner and office (2002)
- Government measures against exclusion (eg. the Jászladány case)
- Amendment of the Education Act: prohibition of school segregation (2003)
- An amendment to the law prohibiting primary school admission selection (2005)
- Prohibition of the admission procedure and preference for disadvantaged students from outside the school district (2002);

2. Financing procedures:

- The category “disadvantaged” is introduced in the distribution of benefits (parents only have primary education and child protection benefits)
- Additional funding (“integration quota”) for primary schools
- The National Network of Integrating School (NNIS) established in 2003 to promote inclusive education and to stop segregation by establishing 45 institutions and appointing regional coordinators
- Introduction of scholarship programmes: HEFOP, Bursa Hungarica, Macika, Romaversitas;

3. Pedagogical procedures and programs:

- “Útravaló” scholarship programs: grant schemes (2005)
- Expansion of the János Arany Talents Management Program with a dormitory-based sub-program (AJKP) designed to help even more disadvantaged students (2004).

Since the programs described above, several “expansions” have been implemented. The János Arany Talents Management Program has been extended to vocational training schools, and in the higher education system the Christian Roma Special College Network was established by the government in 2011. The establishment of Roma vocational colleges is not new. In 1988, the “Invisible College” of the Romaversitas Foundation (also known as “Romver”) was established, followed by the Wlislöck Henrik³¹ (Roma) Special College (WHS) organised by the Department of Romology³² and Sociology of Education at the University of Pécs in 2001. With regard to the support programs, it is worth noting the

31 For more information visit: About the WHS | University of Pécs (pte.hu)

32 For more information visit: Department of Romology and Sociology of Education | University of Pécs (pte.hu)

Department of Romology and Sociology of Education, which has been operating independently at the University of Pécs since 2002. This workshop collects scientific data, processes and conducts research regarding the Roma population, and tries to convey the cultural values of the Roma ethnic group (i.e. languages, traditions, customs) to its students.

For Roma vocational colleges, it is important to state that this initiative fills a gap as this type of organisation did not exist specifically for Roma students in higher education before. These vocational colleges support their students through their studies all the way to graduation, and try to compensate for the disadvantages of public education by various means (i.e. competence development, foreign language learning, vocational and community programs). There are currently eleven such Roma vocational colleges in Hungary, all located in different university cities. A number of articles were published about the Pécs vocational college in connection with Roma vocational colleges, which mainly examined the members and membership, the operation of the organisations, and their pedagogical programs (Varga 2013; Forray-Galántai-Trendl 2015; Trendl 2015). In order to examine the efficiency of the vocational college in Pécs, the employees also carried out important action research (VARGA 2015).

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This study first discusses the various aspects of the topic of equal opportunity, including specifying the legal basis, analyzing the different aspects of the contents, and clarifying the concept of equity. The next part focuses on the determining role of the social mechanism of acquisition and perpetuation of different forms of capital, touching on the issue of schemes of social perception and bias and illustrating its relation to the context of social coexistence strategies.

Then variations of interconnected inequality factors (acquisition or lack of capital and social perception) are located between two axes of a graph in which the vertical axis shows the degree of access to goods while the horizontal axis reveals the rate of investment in obtaining goods. The causes and the impacts of these relationships are demonstrated through examples of Roma minority.

Keywords: Educational inequalities, family, school, social capital

Introduction

The members of Roma/Gypsy communities in Hungary continuously confront social prejudices and experience inequalities while being unable to escape the vicious circle of poverty and social stigma. The low educational attainment, exclusion from the labor market, insufficient living environment and health conditions are accompanied by deep-rooted prejudices in society, which affect Roma people without exception, regardless of their social status (Csovcics, 2002, FORRAY-PÁLMAINÉ 2010, CSERTI CSAPÓ-ORSÓS 2013). Despite legitimized international legal decrees going back many years, there has been no remarkable breakthrough in the living standards and social perception of the Roma population. In the next parts, different approaches towards equal opportunities are explored, and the preserving and prevailing mechanisms and historical conditionings of social inequality are identified. In the last section of this study, the way social factors influence the coexistence strategies of different groups in society, especially with Roma and their communities, is discussed.

Equality and equity

The democratic principles and fundamental human rights of the Declaration of Human Rights (UN, 1948) have formed the basis for all issues and interventions related to equality throughout the world for 70 years. The Declaration guarantees and proclaims the equal and inalienable rights in 30 articles³³, bringing attention to the need to offer compensation for inequalities.

All of this rests on historical experiences rooted in Hammurabi's law and ancient democracies, which were later embodied in the ideal of "Freedom, Equality, Brotherhood" of the French Revolution. After dismantling the inherent natural rights (aristocracy) during the European revolutions in the middle of the nineteenth century, granting of "acquired rights" (meritocracy) emerged as a general social expectation. By the middle of the 20th century, equality became a

³³ https://www.ohchr.org/en/udhr/documents/uhdr_translations/hng.pdf
(downloaded: 2021.04.16.)

foundation for the rule of law and democracy. The common intention formulated and enshrined in a legal decree in the UN contributed significantly to this, providing compelling reasons to ensure that the genocide of World War II would not be repeated in the future. The Declaration seeks to ensure equal opportunities for all persons, regardless of their origin or social status.

The significance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as the “common ideal” created by humanity is indisputable. It influences interstate treaties and contracts, provides legal basis for new national constitutions and influences the preparation of laws. The text of the Declaration translated into most languages in the world and ratified by most countries (including the Declaration and subsequent conventions)³⁴, has a universal intent to extend its validity for all people at all times, regardless of whether or not its principles have been adopted by the government. This model has a fundamental impact on the issue of equal opportunities, because the principle of equal opportunities – fundamental rights and human dignity – is legally guaranteed to all people without discrimination.

The two-way concept of equal opportunities includes the provision of equal opportunities as well as equal treatment (RICHARD, 2002; KELLER-MÁRTONFI, 2007). This duality of striving for equal opportunities also appears in terms of actions as we make a distinction between equality and equity (GREENBERG 1987). Equality means first and foremost ensuring equal access, and in other approaches it covers equal treatment and prohibition of discrimination.

The desire for equality for all characterizes the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a whole, and its principles can be applied to prevent individuals from being excluded from access to social opportunities due to their real or perceived individual characteristics or belonging to a special group. The provision of equality is guaranteed by other legal documents such as Article 14 of the European Convention on Human Rights of the European Union (HANDBOOK... 2011) and Hungary’s 2003 CXXV Act on Equal Treatment and the Promotion of Equal Opportunities, which both identify vulnerable groups exposed to exclusion and set out ways of giving special attention and targeted interventions to disadvantaged groups in order to ensure equal access. In summary, due to the implications of the concepts of equality, equal treatment and non-discrimination, all individuals and groups have legally guaranteed opportunity to access information, activities, services, and resources in the same space and in the same way as others (VARGA, 2013).

The term *equity* implies more social responsibility compared with the term *equality*, expressing that prohibiting discrimination is a necessary but insufficient condition to provide real equal opportunities. The provision of supportive conditions beside the prohibition of discrimination refers to compensating measures and actions addressing injustice and huge differences in society. Effective non-discriminatory access to the opportunities for everyone is guaranteed through supportive resources and action. In other words, action must be taken to ensure that those who are in an unequal position also benefit from the goods offered. The more passive concept of *equality* is increasingly abandoned in professional discourse. Instead, the concept of *equity* will cover all the activities – and the approach behind them – that intend to create the inclusive and counterbalancing conditions for all members in all segments of society.

The increasing focus on a fair approach of *equity* reveals the significant differences between the equal legal status and the actual social status of individuals or groups. The greatest inequality lies in the societal and social fields, explicitly in the differences in access to social goods and the pathways to social goods. The points of inequality (access to goods) are more transparent, identifiable and easier to manage. In contrast, the complexity of processes (pathways to goods) requires more diverse and long-term counterbalancing interventions. The two sides of inequality

34 <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/countries/pages/HumanRightsintheWorld.aspx>
(downloaded: 2021.04.16.)

are mutually determined, meaning that inequality of access to goods causes a difference in the opportunities offered on the ways leading to goods, while inequality of the ways leading to goods can limit the degree of access to goods. Identifying and revealing the underlying causes behind the two dimensions of inequality is unavoidable in order to lay down a framework of equal opportunities for individuals and groups. Being aware of the phenomena of inequality mechanisms and initiating consensual counter-effects can only make equitable interventions a social norm.

Distribution of capital, social judgment and evaluation

Sociologists and social philosophers over the past 100 years have been at the forefront of describing the underlying causes of inequalities. The latent selection observed in the school context and the difference in achievements perceived as differences in student's abilities can be mentioned as one of the fundamental appearance of inequalities, due to the differences in the investment of family-owned and school-preferred types of capital (i.e.: money and symbolic: cultural and social capital) (BOURDIEU 1997, 2003). The relationship to school (called 'habitus' by Bourdieu, 1997) as cultural capital of families from different social backgrounds determines the extent of financial and symbolic capital invested in school. A family is more willing to invest continuously in schooling the more strongly long-term education is reflected in the family's value and standards system.

If schooling is not a priority in the history and cultural capital of the family, these investments will be missed, foreseeing the inability to live with a wide range of school election and educational services. In a sense, a "lack of information" is a barrier to access to goods as well as to investment. Ultimately, the way to goods will be short and a failure, so a small investment can be converted into a low return, with the direct consequence of low access to goods.

Bourdieu drew attention to this very fact: the right to equal access to education in democratic societies is acknowledged manifestly, but in a latent way the cultural capital of the family determines whether or not to take advantage of this opportunity. Families starting with a wide variety of capital being invested in school progress are in an advantageous position, while those with a capital shortage have nothing to invest. This mechanism appears as equal opportunity in the common belief articulated in sentences like "schooling is open to everyone" and "it is the fault of families who do not use it". The "blaming the victim" attitude as a psychological reaction can be recognized in this case (RYAN, 1974 id. ARATÓ, 2012).

The inheritance of the social positions is supported by the described covert mechanism of reproduction of the inequality system. At the same time the responsibility is shifted to the disadvantaged group for the failure of their inability to participate in social mobility through education (BOURDIEU 1978: 281). It is now widely agreed that one of the underlying causes of inequalities can be linked to possession of capital, which is also influenced by social capital as an accessible network of relationships (COLEMAN 1997). In this context, the presence or absence of financial capital is the cause and at the same time the consequence of the latent process of transforming cultural, symbolic and social capitals. Manifested in a process of intergenerational transmission without social intervention, the lack of possession of the different forms of capital (the majority are latent) continuously maintains the situations of inequality.

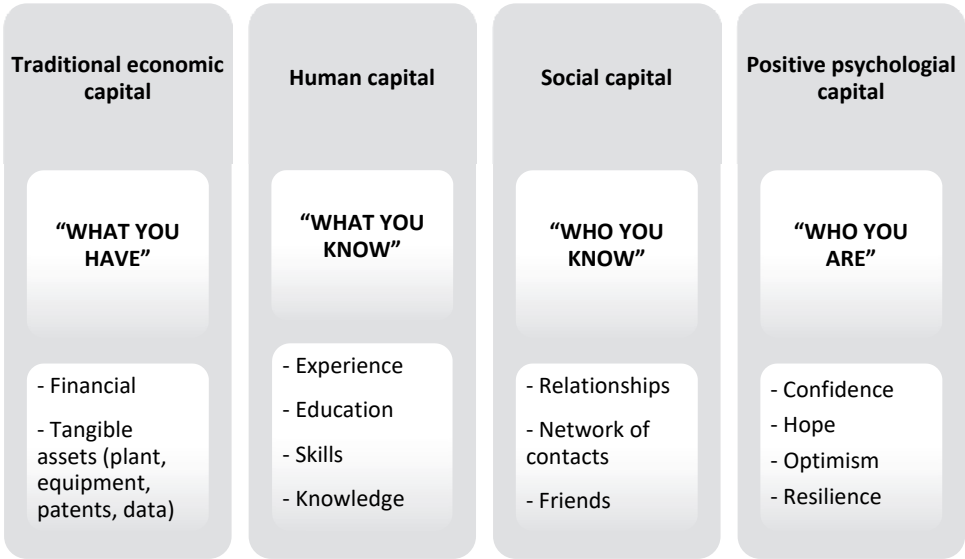
In this approach, deprived individuals or groups without any opportunity to accumulate and convert different forms of capital in the absence of equitable support, find themselves in an unequal position to access goods, which prevents them from accumulating different forms of capital. Coleman expanded Bourdieu's theory of capital by introducing the concept of social capital and its system and drawing attention to the fact that the lack of family capital investment can be compensated through the network of contacts of a fair school environment.

He also stressed the importance of micro-structures and the significance of the impacts of people around the individual – peers, family and teachers, etc. – in their schooling (Coleman 1997). At the same time, a proliferation of psychological studies highlighted the crucial need for external resources to help individuals cope with challenging life situations due to internal and external barriers by reinforcing strong personal traits and resiliency. Additionally, the supportive school environment was recognized as this type of resource by resilience researchers (MASTEN ET AL. 2008, Masten-WRIGHT 2010). From the late 1990s, the development of the theory of psychological capital drew attention to the personal positive factors and indicated that they heavily affect efficiency (SELIGMAN, 1998; LUTHANS ET AL. 2006).

Psychological capital is generated by the development of a person’s positive psychological qualities, consisting of four factors: self-efficacy, optimism, flexibility and hope (LUTHANS ET AL. 2007). In this sense, self-efficacy, as a fundamental factor in positive psychology, refers to the efforts required to accomplish challenging tasks. Optimism based on internal stable qualities allows the person to look positively to the future events and at the same time gives the ability to realistically evaluate the potential achievements in different situations. The concept of flexibility was defined on the results obtained from the resilience studies and was later applied to workplace situations. It indicates a person’s ability to get out of difficult situations successfully, while also managing positive change and increased responsibility (MASTEN, 2001). Hope is commitment providing motivation and strength to achieve a goal. It involves the will and the ability to determine the path to success, which includes recognizing the expected obstacles and designing multiple solutions (LUTHANS ET AL. 2004, 2010).

The deterministic approach towards the capital inheritance system in the society (cultural and symbolic capital) gradually led to the exploration of the conditions of opportunities (operation of social capital) and the recognition of the personal conditions and capabilities (resilience and psychological capital) that are essential in struggling against the system (Figure 1). All of this points to the need for manifold development of the micro-environment to enhance equal opportunities and fairness by active inclusion at both the social and individual level.

Figure 1 – Expanding Capital for Competitive Advantage
(LUTHANS, LUTHANS, & LUTHANS, 2004:46)



The different social perception mostly of gender, national, ethnic or religious groups, as well as people with disabilities, contributes to the disparity of opportunities. The forms of social judgement vary widely from open discriminatory actions and hidden prejudices to traditional instincts and social norms. Inequality arising from social perception is embedded in culture, and it is decisively influenced by the values and norms of the dominant social group, and it is consequently bound by space and time. The reasons for inequality are crucially external and the negative social judgement hinders their subjects from accessing to goods or even from getting to the goods in the same way as others. The social perception of different groups prompts members of society to opt different coexistence strategies (KOZMA, 1993). These strategies can be interpreted as processes of acculturation because they result in changes for both the minority and the majority group (BERRY 2005).

Each social coexistence strategy can be described in the intersection of three aspects: 1. the extent of equality ensured, 2. the participants' decision-making opportunities, and 3. the way they approach diversity. In Figure 2, a systematical review of the social coexistence strategies of different groups reveals a multidimensional approach to the path to mutual social inclusion. We differentiate strategies that create a situation of inequality (segregation³⁵ and selection³⁶), while some meet the criteria of equal treatment (assimilation³⁷, separation³⁸ and integration³⁹) but do not go further.

Real supporting interventions based on applying the principles of equity can only be provided with mutual inclusion⁴⁰. Different opportunities and intentions are observed in decision-making power and accepting diversity in the strategies in the relation of majority and minority groups, reflecting mainly the attitude of the socially dominant group and also having an impact on the equal opportunities of different coexistence strategies.

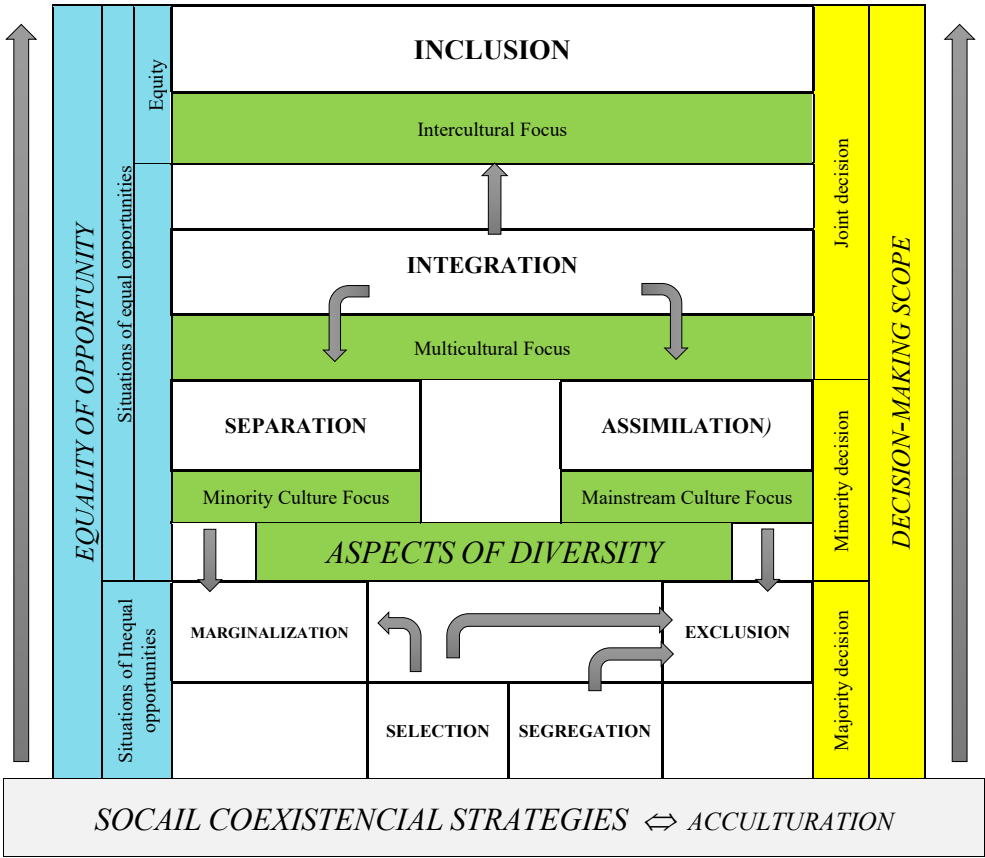
The correlations – marked with arrows in the figure – are certainly indicative of the possible outcomes of the strategies as well as the directions of development. As the chart below shows

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- 35 Segregation is the extreme form of enforced separation of a minority group to a restricted area. It can develop by ghettoization, when better-off inhabitants migrate to other parts of the city or country, or when disadvantaged groups living in neighborhoods are physically separated from surrounding areas or in a segment of society. The segregation of individuals or groups are based on some perceived or real characteristics.
 - 36 Selection is a kind of sorting process resulting durable separation. In its latent way it makes compensating interventions of equal opportunities difficult, as the intention to segregate does not appear explicitly. As a “vestibule” of segregation, it helps labeling.
 - 37 Assimilation (fusion) removes cultural differences by accepting the hegemony of the dominant culture. Opportunities are provided only for those who own and adopt cultural or ideological characteristics and attitudes defined by society.
 - 38 Separation is a voluntary social strategy of minority groups, based on the intention to preserve their own cultures, languages and identities as much as possible.
 - 39 Integration promotes the coexistence of people and groups from different situations. It implies that the minority individual or group should accept and fit into the dominant group's value and norm. The process of integration is considered insufficient, when only a common space for insertion is created because it is not based on reciprocity.
 - 40 Inclusion as a coexistence strategy implies the prohibition of discrimination, equal treatment and fair services providing real access. Inclusion engages each individual and makes people feel valued as being essential to the success of the community. Considering an individual's social status, cultural characteristics, and personal endowments, meaningful participation and personal development is the main aim.

segregation, selection, and even separation, can easily lead to marginalization⁴¹ or exclusion⁴². By contrast, integration involves the risk of assimilation or separation, and mutual inclusion is implemented only by the provision of equitable services. Between the two extreme points of the social coexistence system – i.e. segregation and mutual inclusion – several options for social coexistence appear.

Inclusion based on a joint decision is considered to be the most successful among the strategies. It builds on interdependent diversity as a value and utilizes many tools and practices to provide real equality of opportunity.

Figure 2 – The System and the Dimensions of the Social Coexistence Strategies (VARGA, 2015)



After learning about the processes of inheriting ownership of capital and the mechanisms of strategies based on social judgment, we return to the issue of equal opportunities as a summary.

41 Marginalization means to put or keep (someone) in a powerless or unimportant position within a society or group, making them feel squeezed into the margins of society.

42 Exclusion, the opposite process of inclusion, means lacking the necessary equitable interventions in the common living space of different individuals and groups.

Figure 3 illustrates the system of context in which the vertical axis shows the degree of access to goods while the horizontal axis displays the rate of investment in obtaining the goods.

Figure 3 – The Dimensions of Inequality and their Impacts

<div> <div>The degree of access to goods</div> <div> <div>↑</div> <div>↑</div> <div>↑</div> <div>L</div> </div> </div>						Capital ownership AND Positive social judgment
					Capital ownership AND Neutral social judgment	→
			↑	Capital ownership AND Negative social judgment	→	→
		↑	Lack of capital AND Positive social judgment	↓		
		Lack of capital AND Neutral social judgment		↓		
	Lack of capital AND Negative social judgment			↓		
	<div> <div>Investment in obtaining the goods</div> <div>→</div> <div>→</div> <div>→</div> </div>					

Variations of the two inequality factors (adequacy of capital and social perception⁴³) can be placed between the two axes. Lack of capital is defined as a situation when the individual’s disadvantages arising from his or her social background are not compensated by any fair counterweighing subsidies. The extent and form of capital ownership may stem from socialization in the family, but it may also derive from institutional forms of support. Social judgment is related to the categorization implying disadvantage and indicates only an external attitude towards the category (e.g.: Roma national minority). As a result, the variations are created by considering the different degrees of capital ownership or deficit and the levels of social perception (positive, negative, or neutral). Analyzing the variations, the importance of the capital investment process (in particular in schooling) in the context of judgment embodied in social (and school) strategies should be understandable and inevitable. The six dimensions illustrated in the chart above are explained in more detail below:

- *Lack of capital with negative perceptions*, mainly in the form of selective and segregated strategies, prevent investment and access to goods when combined. No positive movement or result is expected from this situation, at most in individual cases by some internal driving forces. Such a

43 By capital we mean not only monetary capital or material goods, but also the cultural, symbolic, social, and psychological capital presented above.

situation arises in closed Roma communities left without external support, or in segregated schools suffering from the shortcomings and lack of an inclusive environment, such as in Hungary today.

- *Lack of capital with neutral judgment*, which appears in an assimilative or integrative strategy, takes a step towards both investment and access to goods. Although neutrality excludes certain explicit obstacles (e.g., due to prejudice), the lack of fair support leaves little room for progress. Thus, access to goods may improve periodically, but capital investments cannot take place due to the lack of support. Consequently, no breakthrough change is expected from this life situation as experienced in communities and schools that ignore cultural differences and use “brittle integration”. The ‘colorblind’ approach of the African American civil rights movement, and its critique (CARR, 1997) in particular, has pointed out that implying the ‘everyone is equal’ approach reinforces the mechanisms under the surface.

- *Lack of capital and positive perceptions*, usually embodied in a separative or integrative strategy, somewhat facilitate investment and access to goods. Strengthening access to goods at certain points (e.g., through positive discrimination) implicitly contributes to improving capital investment (ARATÓ, 2007). However, the lack of targeted development of capital paralyzes significant progress and raises doubt on long-term sustainability. For example, in types of institutions focusing on ethnic education and ignoring the necessity of compensation for social disadvantages, the separative situation hinders the flow of capital.

- *Capital ownership and negative perceptions*, appearing mostly in an assimilative strategy, achieve investment and access to goods by continuing to sustain negative stereotypes associated with a specific minority group (BIGAZZI, 2013). The negative perception requires constant struggle on the part of the individual with the environment that proves to be supportive under the standards and norms but does not recognize diversity as a value. If an individual is reluctant or unable to fully assimilate in this situation, or if any perceived negative judgement prevents the provision of subsidies, access to goods will become increasingly limited despite even higher capital investment. Such a situation can be observed during the multi-stage mobility of Roma/Gypsy youth, which ultimately triggers the “glass ceiling” effect⁴⁴.

- *Capital ownership and neutral judgment*, sometimes embodied in an assimilative or integrative strategy, maintain both investment and access to goods at a higher level. While the support for capital investment is targeted and outstanding, belonging to a minority group is ignored. Appreciating the principle of cultural colorblindness, the right to preserve the identity of the group is not ensured in a common framework (ARATÓ, 2007). Despite its non-discriminative feature, this situation enables the effect of the internal resources related to minority values to remain scarce or marginalized, not involving them as incentives to acquire goods. The investments actually can be maximized, but access to goods is still limited. The support programs are characterized as such that do not build on the fact that values of people belonging to a cultural minority appear in the world of equity.

- *Capital ownership and a positive attitude* keep both the investments and the access to goods at an outstanding level. Supporting capital investment entails the cultural assets of the minority group creating a countervailing situation that aims at maximizing and sustaining personal development and growth in the long run. Support programs (CSOVCSICS, 2016; VARGA-TRENDL-VITÉZ, 2021) are especially beneficial that target developing the individual’s different capacities and increasing social sensitivity along the approach of inclusion with the help of its resources.

44 The term primarily used in the labor market expresses with the metaphor the invisible, insurmountable obstacles that prevent minorities and women from reaching the higher or the highest levels of the corporate ladder - regardless of their education or achievements. (Federal Glass Ceiling Commission, 1995) The similar pattern can be observed in different segments of society in the context of negative social perceptions.

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The Henrik Wlislocki Student College (WHSz) – operating in the Department of Romology and Sociology of Education at the University of Pécs – launched the project called “TESZ-WHSZ” Active community, Personalized services, Tailored Knowledge at the Wlislocki Student College at the University of Pécs (EFOP-3.4.1- 15-2015-00009) under the EFOP-3.4.1-15 “Support for Roma Student Colleges” project. During its 15 years of existence, this was the second, larger-scale, EU-funded program of the Student College; As a precedent, in August 2015, a project implemented under the TÁMOP 4.1.1.D “Support for Roma Student Colleges” project was completed, which provided support for achieving the development goals of the Student College from 2013 to 2015, for five semesters. In the framework of the EFOP-3.4.1-15 construction, four additional supported semesters were available from 2016 onwards to enable the Student College to continue the development that has begun, and on the basis of prior experience and the individual needs of the college students, to establish support services.

The aim of this study is to present the most important indicators and quantifiable results of the TESZ-WHSZ program, to analyse and evaluate them along the objectives and indicators contained in the input development documents. With a comprehensive outline of performance indicators, both the actors involved in the program and the wider public can get a comprehensive picture of the results achieved by simultaneously learning about the pre-formulated goals and the experience gained from the implementation.

Keywords: Roma student society, active community, individual caring, personal science

History of the Henrik Wlislocki Student College

The Henrik Wlislocki Student College (henceforth referred to as WHSz) was founded in 2002 in the framework of the PHARE pre-accession funding project of the European Union. From the beginning, the aim of the student college was to unite and integrate the students of Roma/ gypsy origin or with interest in the discipline of Romology from all the different faculties at the University of Pécs. The PHARE project provided the students with a mentor system and several training facilities. In addition, it enabled the WHSZ to start its college journal. The student college strove for maintaining the achieved results after 2004, the end of the PHARE support as well. Relying on application for tender sources of varying amounts, but also independently from financial resources, the WHSZ continued to assist the increasing membership with services and developmental programs in accordance with their individual and community demands. The members of the student college carried out plenty of research projects with diverse topics and various lengths in the past decade. They also became involved in the implementation of research projects led by their teachers. They were given the opportunity to present their research results at conferences and in study volumes. Besides scientific activities, considerable emphasis was put on developing the community, primarily in the framework of cultural and community events. The student college also opened its doors for all the other students of the university and intended to show its activities for the public. Thematic movie clubs were organized on a regular basis in the community space of the WHSZ at the Department of Romology and Sociology of

Education. Exhibitions, lectures, university courses also provided publicity for the activities of the student college. The engagement in public life is also significant in the life of the WHSZ. In the beginning, students joined civil initiatives as volunteers, later they began to be involved in activities of civil organizations where the target group mainly consists of underprivileged, or Roma/Gypsy children or communities. Later, the students of the college became leaders or decisive personalities of civil organizations, or pioneers of new civil initiatives. The professional experience, social capital and relationship network gained through the volunteer activities also enabled the member students to strengthen their positions at the labour market.

The goals of the EU-project

The objectives of the programs to be implemented in the framework of the EFOP-3.4.1-15 tender scheme were comprehensively defined in the related call for proposals. The objectives set out in the call are in line with both EU appropriations and relevant national policy strategies: at EU level in the Partnership Agreement between the Government of Hungary and the European Union, in the national commitments made in the EU 2020 Strategy, at the Hungarian National Social Inclusion Strategy, as well as in the provisions of the Framework Agreement concluded between the Government and the National Roma Self-Government in 2011.

Along these lines, the call foresaw the development of complex development programs for disadvantaged, cumulatively disadvantaged, mainly Gypsy / Roma students in higher education, which contribute to the successful completion of higher education for these students, generally to reduce drop-out rates. At the same time, supporting their involvement in research activities, as well as strengthening their social engagement and community activity, has also been an important goal. In addition to the goals concerning the students, the strengthening of the role of the higher education institutions (in order to increase the number of Roma students with higher education) as well as the promotion of further education (among the disadvantaged pupils of secondary schools with the help of college students) can be considered as sub-goals.

In accordance with the above-mentioned target system, *„The Henrik Wlislocki Student College of Pécs, as a supportive medium, aims to promote students' academic success, their involvement in scientific research and the promotion of active citizenship at community level, the achievement of which can contribute to the formation of Gypsy / Roma intellectuals, who take active part in civic engagement and engage in social dialogue”* (WHSZ Mission Statement, 2016).

The target group of the project

As already mentioned in the above chapter, the target group of the project is mainly Gypsy /Roma, disadvantaged and cumulatively disadvantaged students. The target group included: teachers working in the Student College and a narrower range of professionals responsible for the implementation. The indirect target group included: primarily Gypsy / Roma secondary school students from disadvantaged backgrounds, as well as other staff involved in the Student College program.

In addition, the call includes criteria and numerical requirements for the selection of the members of the Student College and the establishment of the college. A member of the Student College may be of Gypsy / Roma origin, or a disadvantaged student under the conditions set

out in section 108 (10) of the National Higher Education Act or a student with multiple student disadvantages under the conditions set out in point 9. In the spirit of integration, the call provided for the possibility of involving additional students (allies) from outside the target student circle, and up to 20% of the total number of memberships in the Student College could be given to students who were interested in field research in Romani studies and were advocates of social justice. In addition, the call provided that at least 60% of the students at the Student College had to be of Gypsy / Roma origin, and at least 60% of the students had to live in dormitories. In terms of the number of members of the college, the call also stated that, in the first year of support, by the second semester, the membership would need to exceed 12 people in new Student Colleges, 27 in the case of existing Student Colleges, and in the second academic year, by the end of the fourth semester, new Student Colleges must have 25 new students, and this number has to reach 30 for existing Student Colleges.

The PTE Wliskołki Henrik Student College – as a functioning college – has defined the direct and indirect target groups of its program in accordance with the parameters set out in the call, taking into account the numerical parameters described above.

The scope of activities implemented for the goals of the project

According to the chapter describing the goal system of the project, there were three main areas of development in the program of the Henrik Wliskołki Student College. Firstly, it had a direct and indirect support of study progress, which had to take into account individual student needs, and supplemented that with personalized talent development; secondly, encouraging the involvement in academic activities; thirdly strengthening community attitudes and, more broadly, the attitudes of social engagement. WHS has developed a project structure, called TESZ-WHSZ, which focused on these three basic goals. The project's comprehensive support services are meant to achieve the three major goals. The three main service packages that are built around the system are called pillars in the project structure, while some specific support, services and developments within the given pillars are called project elements. In TESZ-WHSZ, WHSZ clearly refers to *Henrik Wliskołki College*, but what does TESZ stand for as an acronym?

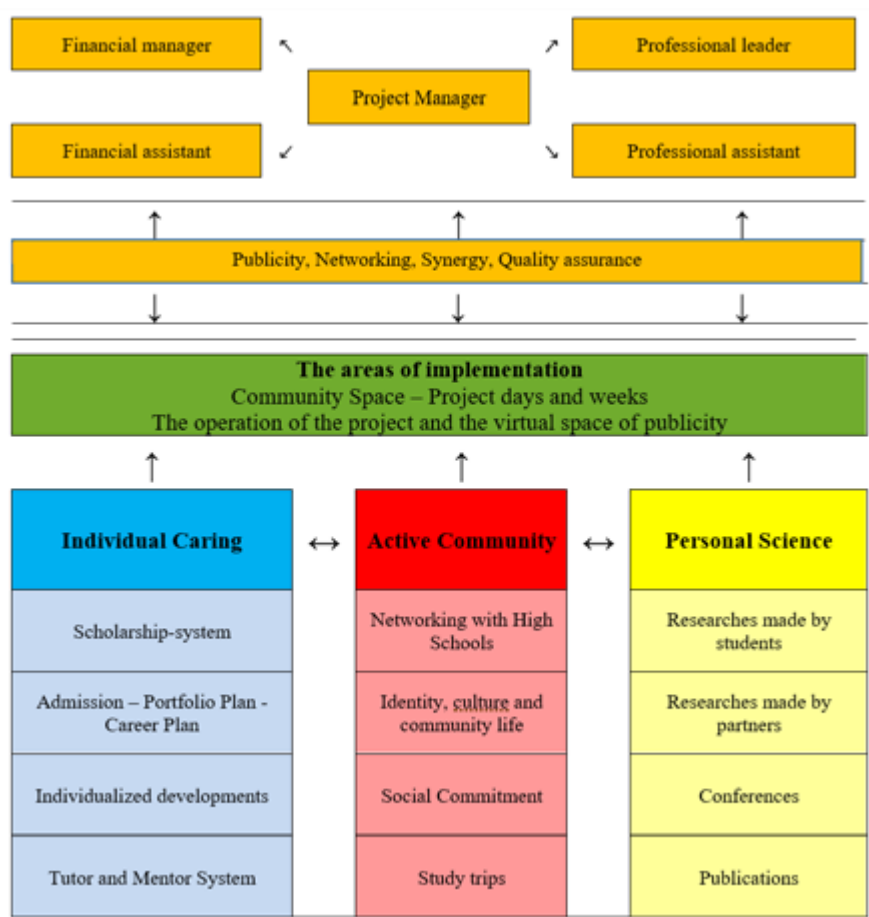
The letter „T” covers the service community called „Active Community”, which serves to encourage community outreach activities of college students. The project elements in this pillar provided students in the college with the opportunity to live in a supportive community and, on the other hand, feel encouraged to play an active role in society by becoming a committed member of an active social dialogue. The „Identity, Culture, and Community Life” project element in the pillar contributed directly to shaping and experiencing a community through the implementation of regular programs generated by the majority of students. In addition to regular community programs, the Community Space had a permanent role in the project. The Community Space was available to students 8 hours a day, and provided opportunities for everyday meetings, as well as the most basic technical and practical services for the students (e.g.: computer use, internet, printing, copying, etc.). The head of Community Space was always available to the students during the above-mentioned office-hours, and he also served as a mediator between the students and the professional and academic staff, since the individual needs of the students became evident in this circle and space, through everyday encounters. The pillar called “Professional Paths” was a project element that provided students with the opportunity to participate in thematic domestic and foreign field trips, leaving their comfort zone for a while, thus widening their horizons and expanding their range of professional competencies. Much of our domestic trips were related to the “High School Relationship” project element implemented as part of this pillar, as college students visited a num-

ber of public educational institutions, secondary schools and colleges throughout the country, to pursue career guidance activities among students from similar backgrounds. As part of this project element, we have sought to encourage motivation for further education among high school students, with the help and involvement of WHSz students who appear as a credible reference people for the secondary school target group. However, the provision of career orientation activities could also be evaluated as a motivational factor for the students of the participating Student College, as – thanks to the self-help aspect of the operating mechanism – students were also supported in their own goal setting by participating in the guidance process. (TESZ-WHSZ, 2016) The “Social Role” project element as a pillar also took into account the benefits of such mechanism, which appears as a kind of “external projection” of community activity. In addition to the internal community activity of the Student College, students were able to use their individual abilities and competences in similarly disadvantaged or cumulatively disadvantaged, mostly Gypsy/Roma communities. Within this project element, college students undertook voluntary work at civil society organizations, schools, day schools and other support institutions providing support to the members of the groups concerned. They primarily promoted educational advancement, especially for high school students. Through this project element, students were able to gain additional skills and expanded their network of relationships by being temporary members of various organizations, which could have a positive impact on their future opportunities in the labour market.

The letter „E” covers the „Personal Care” pillar, which refers to personalized services available for college students. The „Personalized Developments” project element as a pillar contained the most direct tools. Within this project element, students could take advantage of a wide range of services along their individual needs, which served to enhance the smooth progress of their educational advancement. This included a wide range of subject developments, complementary training, specialist teachers, as well as foreign language, learning methodological or research methodological sessions, which were available to individuals as well as small groups. The possibility of using mental health support and counselling appeared as an individualized service in this project element. The “Tutor and Mentor system” project element was interpreted as a more indirect kind of support. Naturally, the fact that the students came from different departments and different faculties was also taken into account when hiring university teachers to assist them in the tutoring system. The teachers were picked by the students themselves, who asked for their cooperation themselves. The members of the tutoring network supported the direct academic, professional and academic progress of the students through regular personal contact and continuous monitoring. To complement this, the mentoring system is designed to support the successful integration of college students into university life, from the transfer of everyday practical-technical knowledge to small-scale study guidance, in a personal and community dimension. In the mentoring system, older students who spent several semesters in a Student College became little helpers for the benefit of the newly arrived College students. The tutoring and mentoring system together served as a grid for students that contributed to reducing drop-out rates, both at the level of the Student College and at university level, as well. The “Admission-Portfolio-Career Plan” project element of the pillar covered the tasks related to the admissions process, and the operating system, although the related career plan and student portfolio system were more important. There were not only professional implementers, but it also enabled the participating college students to keep track of the effectiveness of the ongoing individual and community developments, concerning both for individual students and the functioning of the college community. The “Scholarship Scheme” pillar was a measurement system based on the individual achievements of the individual student portfolios and the educational achievements of the given semester, based on which the assessment of students’ performance can be provided along their individual career plan. Based on a personalized assessment system, regarding student performance can be differentiated accordingly.

The letter „SZ” refers to the „Personal Academic Goals” pillar. Students here had the opportunity to actively engage in academic life. This happened in many ways, which is represented by the four project elements of this pillar. In the “Student Research” project element, students were able to apply for independent research, in line with their interests, twice during the project period, and received adequate professional support and support to carry out their own research and present the results. The „Co-researchers” project element, the second element of this pillar, aimed to create and maintain a scientific community, together with the participating colleagues and other professionals, that shares knowledge and information about Romani people. The next two project elements of the pillar promoted the publication of the results of scientific research. An international scientific conference was held on two occasions during the project implementation period, in which students participated not only as organizers, but also as lecturers and active participants. The “Publications” project element aimed, among other things, at developing students’ academic writing, and also allowed the publication of the results of students and their partners. Some of the publications were summaries of research reports, but the quarterly Romology journal, for example, was also a result of the compilation of such publications.

Figure 1: Project management and project structure
(Source: TESZ-WHSZ, 2016)



The EFOP-3.4.1-15 project, like our previous TÁMOP 4.1.1.D application program – as shown in the Figure 1 – also consists of modules and subject areas, but unlike in the previous project, the planned activities here have been structured according to their common feature and intersection points. As a result, the program essentially rested on three pillars. They were fully operational on their own as well, but in order to achieve the predetermined goals and promote student success, the combined power of all three was essential (WHSZ Professional Concept, 2016). In the figure above - besides the three pillars already described above, and the project elements included in them - we considered it important to elaborate on the four principles of Publicity-Networking-Synergy-Quality Assurance and the implementation process as well.

We have already described the function of the Community Space and its role in the program in relation to implementation, in the previous section, called “Active Community”. However, in addition to the continuous availability of the place, this Community Space also functioned as a venue for the monthly project weekends, which lasted from Friday to Sunday, for a total of two full days. The Community space provided space for active and meaningful social interactions with the participation of the entire student community. During the project weekends, various trainings, professional and scientific courses, community and cultural events could be organized along the needs and interests of the students. Similar team-building events were organized, also on a monthly basis, in the afternoon, called “Afternoon of Empowerment”. These community events therefore provided space for at least two monthly meetings for the entire student population. However, in addition to a physical meeting space, a virtual meeting space was also available within the program. The Online Virtual Space created in connection with the project is an interface that allows the project participants to upload and manage the documentation they need to do for the implementation of the program. The structure of the project distinguishes three subspaces (Leadership, Implementers and Students). In each case, the participants got their own interface where they could discuss the activities and upload their documentations. In addition to creating an Online Virtual Space, a new static website has been created, which primarily provides information to the public about the Student College and the project being implemented. (TESZ-WHSZ, 2016)

Publicity-Networking-Synergy-Quality Assurance are highlighted in the figure illustrating the project structure as horizontal elements across the program. The Publicity module, as may be implied by its name, means that we needed to ensure the ongoing publicity of project developments. We not only ensured the availability and monitoring of mandatory publicity elements to meet the EU project expectations, but also provided continuous information to the public about project achievements, major events, events, etc. Providing publicity was therefore primarily about providing quality information and indirect access to potential collaborating partners and prospective college students.

At the same time, Networking served as direct access to collaborative partners and potential college students. On the one hand, this module supported the maintenance and active co-operation of the existing partner network and, on the other hand, it strived to build further partnerships with organizations and institutions relevant to the functioning of the college, at local, national and international level in the future.

In the framework of the Quality Assurance module, a quality assurance measurement and evaluation system was developed which was able to reveal the effectiveness, usefulness and operability of the activities taking place in the project alongside the periodic surveys among the participating students and professional implementers. In view of the overall assessment, the management of the program was able to respond immediately to the problems and difficulties that arose.

Synergy as a horizontal element has guaranteed the success of the program as a whole, bringing coherence between the many developments and services in the project, in order to achieve a multiplier effect by coordinating the operation of different types of developments, as the three pillars and the efficient and successful operation of the project elements were designed to bring the desired complex results, together.

The project management depicted in the upper part of the project structure diagram was responsible for the smooth running of the program, and it is not considered justified or necessary in the context of this study.

Sources of analysis

The sources of the content analysis included in the study were from the professional concept submitted in the framework of the application, and the documents describing the basic principles and the assigned toolkit as the basis for the project implementation, the complex structure and activity plan of the TESZ-WHSZ project as a comprehensive core document.

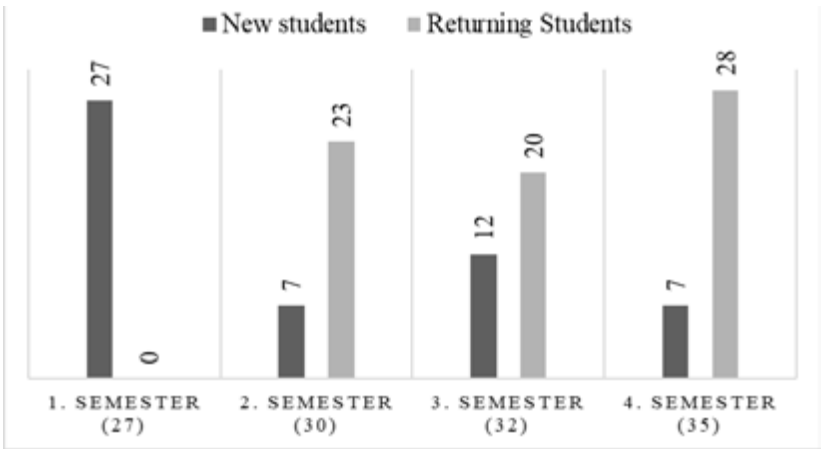
The source of the numerical results was the complex documentation of the project, in which numerical data was available in abundance in each project phase.

Indicators related to target group

As discussed in the chapter describing the target group of the project, the EFOP-3.4.1-15 tender structure carefully defined the group of college students who could be included in the program, both in terms of their status (social) and their (Gypsy/Roma) nationality and their exact proportions and at the same time determining the minimum number of students involved.

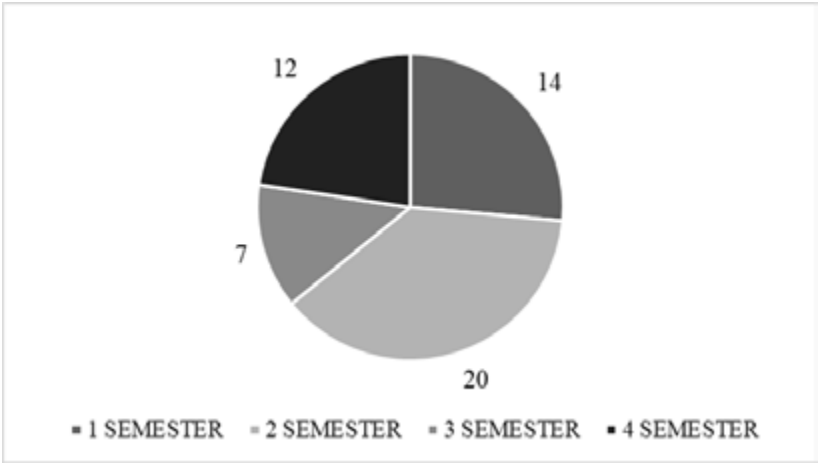
A total of 53 students were involved in the four semesters supported by the project in the TESZ-WHSZ scholarship program. The program was gender-balanced, with 26 women and 27 male students participating in it. The involvement of the students was continuous, following the recruitment procedures conducted each semester – four times in total.

Figure 2: The proportion of ,old' and ,new' students per semester (Member)
(Edited by the author)



The number of students in the four semesters increased steadily, the scholarship program started out with 27 members in the first semester, while in the last semester the membership of the college was extended to 35. On the basis of the chart above (Figure 2), it can be seen that the number of newly enrolled students has varied during the admission procedures, which were carried out each semester. While 7-7 new students were involved in the second and fourth semester, 12 new students entered the third semester. In the latter case, the larger number was mainly due to the fact that at the end of the second semester several students completed their studies and graduated. However, the number of students remaining in the program from one semester to the next, the “returning students” was more than 60% of the total number of students in each semester.

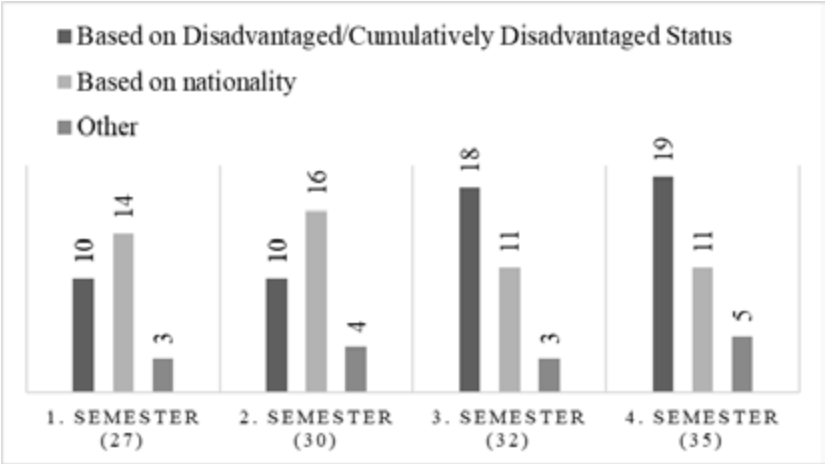
Figure 3: Distribution of students by the number of semester they spent in the project (Member) (N:53)
(Edited by the author)



Of the total of 53 students enrolled in the program, the highest number is the 20, that is how many students spent only two semesters in the program, while the lowest number is 7, these are the students spending three semesters in the program. The number of students spending one and four semesters in the program is more balanced; apparently 12 people were continuously involved in the four-semester scholarship program.

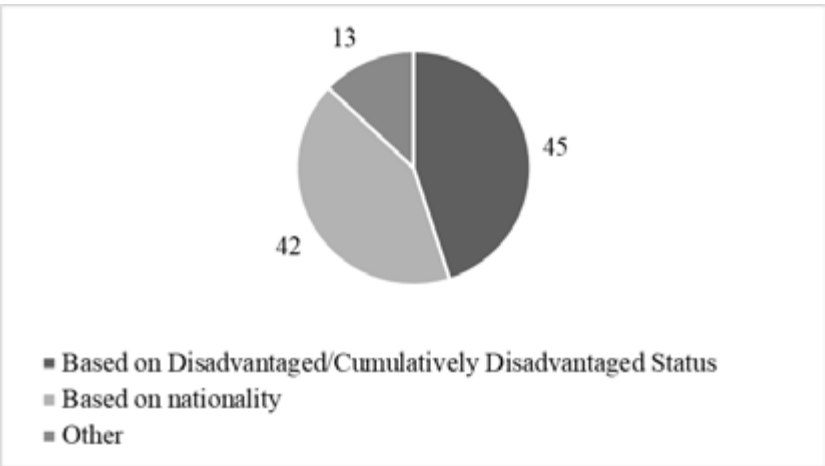
As described in the chapter presenting the target group of the project, the call for proposals also defined the entry conditions of the membership in the college. According to this, the involvement of mainly disadvantaged, cumulatively disadvantaged or Gypsy/Roma students was targeted, and other students who were not certified in the previous “categories” could also be involved, up to 20% of the total number of students in the college.

Figure 4: Distribution of students by input status broken down by semesters (Member)
(Edited by the author)



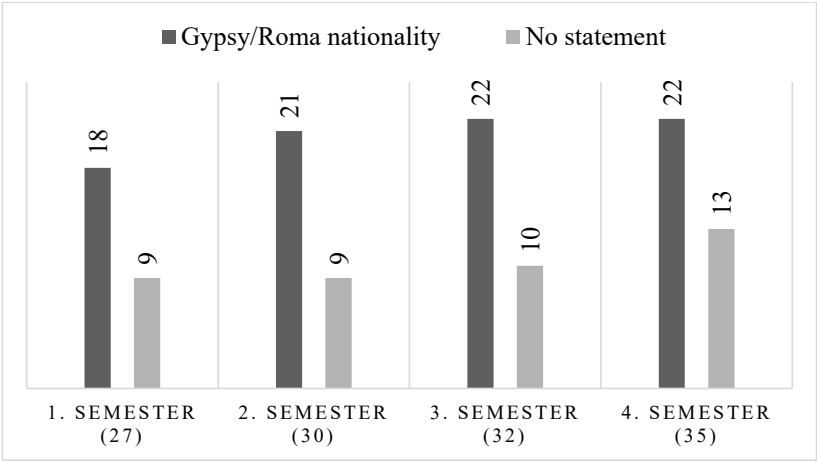
As part of the admissions process, a proof of social status was required as part of the admission documentation. The disadvantaged and cumulatively disadvantaged status was supported by the relevant official documents, while a voluntary declaration served as proof of belonging to the Gypsy / Roma nationality. The above chart (Figure 4) shows the breakdown of students by social status, broken down by semester. It can be seen that during the first two semesters students were mostly enrolled on the basis of their Gypsy/Roma nationality, while in the third and fourth semesters mainly by demonstrating their disadvantaged and cumulatively disadvantaged status. In each semester there were also students who could not be included in one of the priority categories of the call, but they were admitted to the „other” group on the basis of their individual motivations.

Figure 5: Distribution of students by input status in the whole sample (Member) (N:53)
(Edited by the author)



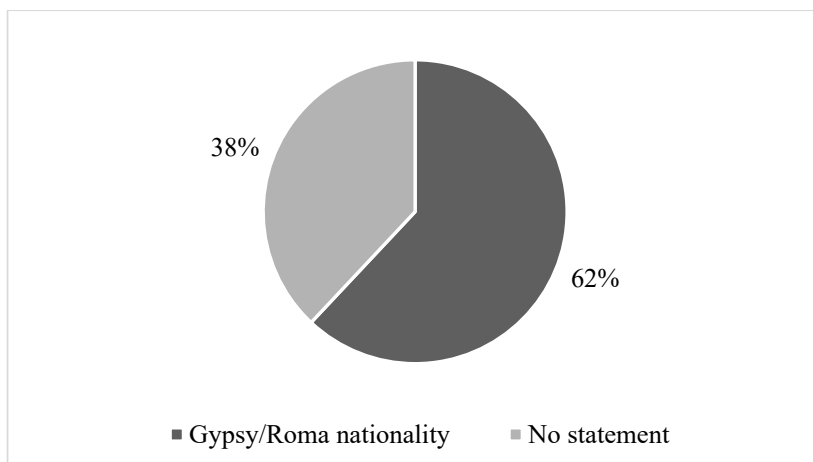
The total number of students involved in the program is 53, and it can be seen that in total 45% of the total student base was primarily based on their disadvantaged or cumulatively disadvantaged status, while 42% were primarily based on their Gypsy/Roma nationality. Overall, 13% of students can not fit into any of the above-mentioned categories, so the number of students taken into the program to promote integration, on the basis of both the number of semesters and the total program period, was under 20% – in accordance with the requirements set out in the call for proposals.

Figure 6: Distribution of Gypsy/Roma students broken down by semesters (Member)
(Edited by the author)



Moreover, it is important to emphasize that the fulfilment of one (disadvantaged, multiply disadvantaged) or the other of the entry status criteria (Gypsy/Roma ethnicity) is not exclusive in a particular approach. During the admission procedure proving one or the other criteria was enough for some students to be admitted solely on the basis of their nationality and their statement, while their disadvantageous or multiply disadvantageous status was not confirmed. Others got into the program based on their disadvantageous or multiply disadvantageous status, nevertheless many of them also made a voluntary statement of their Gypsy/Roma ethnicity besides proving their disadvantageous or multiply disadvantageous status as well. Therefore, there are numerical overlaps among those who fulfilled the two entry criteria seen on the chart above. The diagram (Figure 6) shows the number of students by semester who participate in the program and identify as Gypsy/Roma based on their voluntary statement, compared to the total number of student college members.

Figure 7: Distribution of Gypsy/Roma students in the whole sample (%)
(Edited by the author)



Looking at the breakdown of the number of Gypsy/Roma students per semester (Figure 6), their number was the lowest (63%) in the fourth semester and the highest (70%) in the second one, compared to the total number of student college members. In the other two semesters, their number was between these two rates: 67% in the first while 69% in the second semester. We can see in the chart (Figure 7) above that the total number of students enrolled in the program is 53; 62% of which is Gypsy/Roma students on the basis of their voluntary statement. Therefore, the TESZ-WHSZ program also met the requirements of the tender, as the rate of Gypsy/Roma students in the student college is higher than 60% per semester and based on the aggregate data for the whole period.

The number of people leaving the student college with a degree was also a significant indicative in the tender invitation. The minimum number specified in the tender was 5 people that the student colleges taking part in the program needed to achieve by the end of the fourth semester. By the end of the second semester, 4 students finished the TESZ-WHSZ program and another 5 students followed them by the end of the fourth semester. A total of 9 student college members graduated during the program. Further indicator of the success of the program is the rate of those meeting the requirements listed in the individual development plan included in the tender, which is a minimum of 80%. The individual development plan in the TESZ-WHSZ program appeared in the student portfolio mentioned above and the related career plan system, and was continuously monitored and regularly evaluated. The TESZ-WHSZ program evaluated all students' individual development plan as successful who, based on the complex evaluation of their portfolio, completed at least one semester.⁴⁵ According to this principle the rate of graduated students projected to the total number of student college members and the entire program period is 89%.

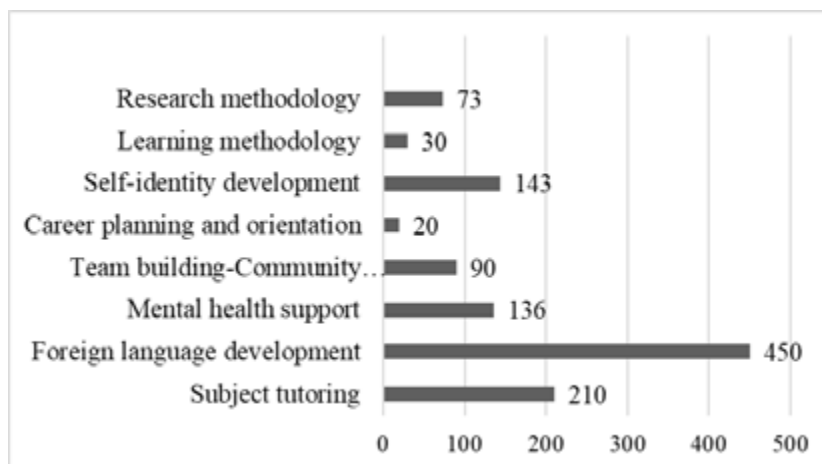
⁴⁵ For more information on the student portfolio system implemented in the program, see PÁLMAI, 2018:246-261.

Personalized development and community services

In order to ensure that 89% of the students involved in the program completed the individual development plan, the broad service environment provided by the program to members of the student college made a major contribution. Most of these services and enhancements were implemented within the project elements of the Personal Care pillar.

The Personalized Developments project element in this pillar brought together a range of support services that implemented directly on the basis of emerging individual student needs, contributing to the learning progress of the members of the college. These services include study development/tutor sessions, foreign language development classes and courses, and mental health support.

Figure 8: Time spent on individual and community development (Hour)
(Edited by the author)



As the lower third of the chart (Figure 8) above shows, the largest number of lessons in these services was foreign language development. During the four funded semesters of the program, a total of 450 hours of language teaching was completed, partly at group level and partly as individual training. The majority of students were involved in learning English, with less demand for German lessons. Thanks to the large number of hours spent on language development, many college students also passed their language exam, which, in addition to the development of foreign language competencies, also helped students to get a degree as soon as possible. Beyond language lessons with a total of 450 contact hours, further linguistic developments were implemented in project work. In the summer of 2017, we had a week-long residential English language camp, focusing on intensive language development. In the summer of 2018 within the framework of an interactive 5-day long English language course a group of student college members worked on the English to Hungarian translation of an awareness-raising guidebook and its adaption to Hungarian context. The translated and adapted awareness-raising activities have been published as a book titled Diversity.

Among the personalized development trainings, the number of tutoring lessons in different subjects are significant. During the entire program students had a total of 210 contact lessons,

mainly tutoring in science subjects. Math tutoring connected to technical training was in the highest demand, while there were less students seeking tutoring in chemistry and biology connected to science studies. Students took mental health counselling for a total of 136 hours over the entire program period. These occasions took place exclusively in the framework of individual meetings, with the involvement of professional psychologists with many years of experience in the target group.

We also define the range of development services that were realized at the project weekends on a monthly basis during the program period in an individual yet community dimension. The types of developments realized in a community level and the number of completed hours are displayed in the middle and top of the chart above.

The 23 thematic project weekends involved program elements promoting the harmonious and democratic functioning of the community, such as team building or community development trainings. Such trainings took place on average of 2 times per semester for 15 hours each. Community development was also indirectly provided by self-knowledge and identity development trainings. These were partly realized during the project weekends and partly outside the weekends' time frame. Besides training in these topics, which took place in a 143-hour time frame, it is also important to highlight other events promoting Gypsy / Roma identity. The Identity, Culture and Community Life project element in the Active Community pillar particularly served as a module for the indirect development of the Gypsy / Roma identity. In addition to the direct identity development training mentioned above, students were also given the opportunity to embrace and actively practice their Gypsy / Roma identity on a daily basis. The 23 project weekends included in this project element took place on a monthly basis. Students participated in different thematic events, such as organizing visits to theatres, book release events and student movements, and awareness-raising flash mobs.⁴⁶ Additionally, the services mentioned above, focusing primarily on personality and community development, the other aspect of community development was academic advancement and conscious career planning support. The former was a 30-hour learning methodology training and a total of 73 hours of research methodology training during the program period, while the latter was used for career planning and career orientation training in a 20-hour time frame.

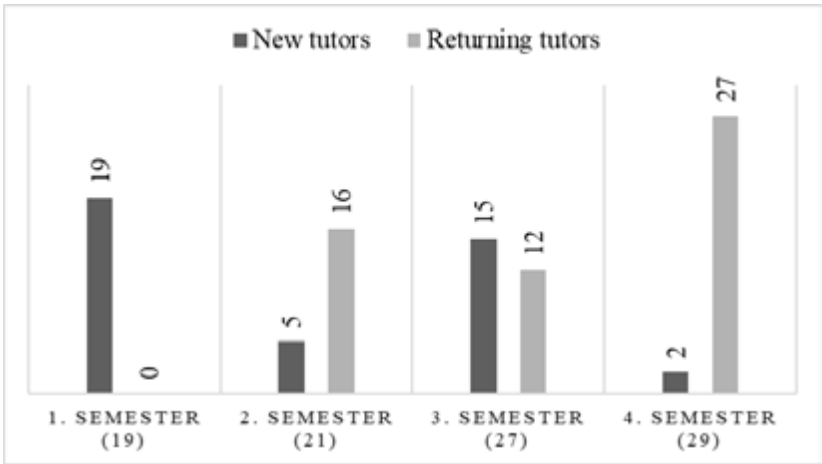
The Personal Care pillar provided the most personal support service for the Tutor and Mentoring System project element. As described above in the summary description of the Individual Care pillar, the mentor system in this project element worked within the community of the student college, following the principle of peer support, while the tutor network was made up of the university teaching staff.

The motivation behind the operation of the mentoring system was to help new students in the university and the student college to navigate on the campus, to integrate into the student college, to support them with the challenges of university life, to prevent a sense of failure caused by the students' lack of knowledge of the university system and to reduce dropout rates. Altogether 11 mentors were involved in the program who were the alumni of the student college. The mentors engaged in peer support and actively participated in generating, organizing and realizing community programs. While the mentoring system based on the principle of peer support sought to support students in navigating their ways through the campus and their integration into the university environment in general, the tutor system in the program mainly focused on the more intensive support of academic-professional-scientific progress. The integration of the students into the university environment was realized with the cooperation of the teachers at the Univers-

46 For more information on community identity development activities implemented in the program, see PÁPAI, 2018:191-211.

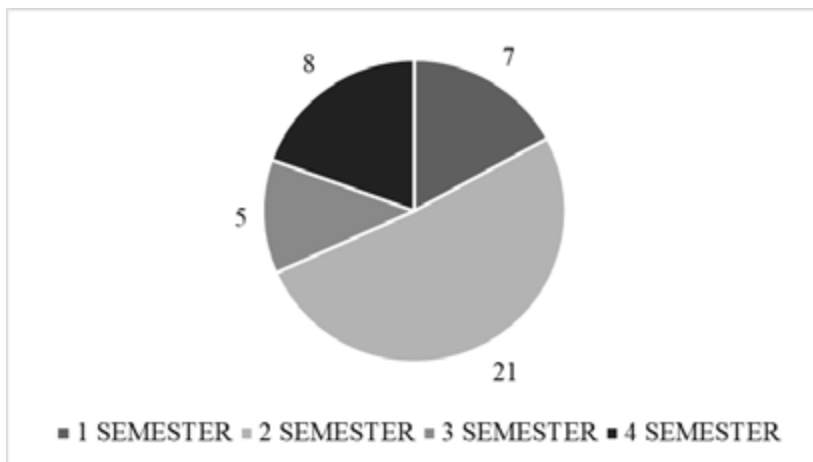
ity of Pécs. The students chose a tutor from their study program upon enrolling. Together they prepared the students' individual career plan for each semester to the extent of their studies and other scientific or professional activities. The students also kept a portfolio monitored by their tutor. Based on the individual progress plan tutors helped the students at orientation meetings. As a result of tutor support, students are able to navigate safely in the university system, are aware of the available academic-professional-scientific services and opportunities. Furthermore, they are able to make decisions about their academic and scientific work, to fulfil their university responsibilities, thus avoiding dropping out.

Figure 9: The number of “old” and “new” tutors per semester (Member)
(Edited by the author)



There were 41 university professors altogether who joined the student college, for one or more supported semesters, 22 of them were women and 19 of them male. The chart (Figure 9) above shows the number of tutors entering new semesters and returning in each semester. The increase in the number of tutors is consistent with the number of students participating in the scholarship program in the given semester, considering that a student is usually assigned to a tutor. As the chart above illustrates, most tutors joined the program in the third semester, while less tutors joined in the second and fourth semesters (tutors entering the first semester are counted as new entrants). The rate of the number of new tutors per semester clearly correlates with the number of new students per semester (see Figure 2).

Figure 10: Number of tutors based on their semesters spent in the project (N:41)
(Edited by the author)

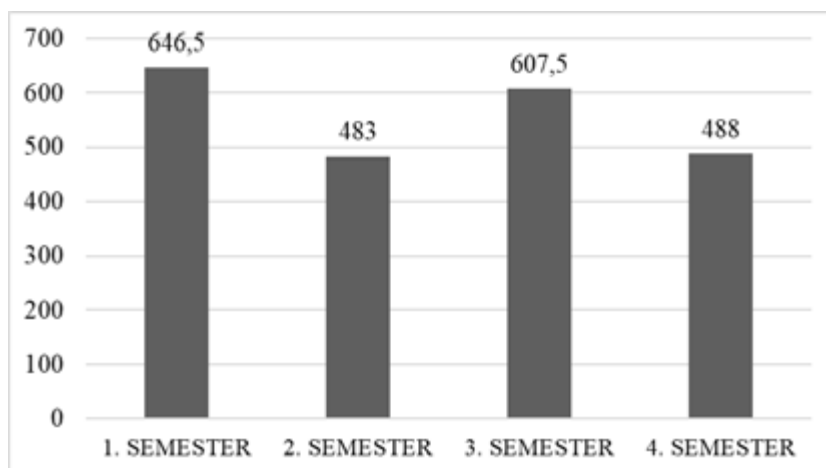


Out of the 41 tutors who were involved, 8 people spent four semesters in the program. A further 7 people took part in the personal support of the students for one semester, and 5 for three semesters. The highest proportion of tutors (21 people) stayed in the program for two semesters, which also correlates with the number of students in the project, presented above (see Figure 3). An additional interesting data is that 14 of the 41 members of the TESZ-WHSZ program tutor team taking part in the EFOP-3.4.1-15 project were members of the tutor team working in the student college program during the previous tender (TÁMOP 4.1.1.D). All this suggests that the continuous development of the student college, from the point of view of operating the tutoring network, can be assured regardless of the tender constructions. Therefore, we can say that the student college fulfilled the requirements of the tender by raising social awareness among university teachers involved in the program, who appeared as an indirect target group in the tender. They have embedded the attitude of being committed to student college affairs.⁴⁷

Students doing support work in a particular community also had responsibilities outside the student college. As we explained at the beginning of the study, the program was designed to encourage the sense of social responsibility in students. Achieving this goal was supported by the Social Involvement project element in the Active Community pillar. Voluntary work of at least 20 hours per semester was conducted primarily by organizations and institutions aiming at the diverse support of the most disadvantaged, mostly Gypsy/Roma people and communities.

⁴⁷ For more information on the tutor system implemented in the program, see orsós, 2018:173-191.

Figure 11: Number of hours of voluntary work by semester, performed by students (N:2225)
(Source: LAKATOS, 2018)



In the TESZ-WHSZ program, 9 cooperating partners joined the initiative as host organizations, including mostly special schools and schools operated by civil organizations but also a child protection institution and a Roma Cultural Foundation opened their doors to voluntary activity. For the entire duration of the program, students completed a total of 2225 hours of voluntary work. The chart (Figure 11) above shows the breakdown of time spent on social work per semester.⁴⁸

Through their voluntary work students contributed indirectly to inspire the motivation to pursue further education of children and young adults in special schools and schools, setting an example, serving as a reference person among the disadvantaged children and young adults concerned. Nonetheless, the program also contributed directly to strengthening the motivation for further education in high school-age students. The High School Relationship project element in the Active Community pillar served this purpose throughout the project period. During the four semesters, student college members visited a total of 47 public schools throughout the country, where they ran career orientation courses that promoted further education for hundreds of students, primarily targeting the 11th grade.

Of the 47 institutions, 38 were in close contact with one of the four Partner Research within the framework of the project, aimed at a comprehensive assessment of the János Arany Talent Support Program. On the one hand, the students were actively involved in the fieldwork that supported the research, and on the other hand, at the same site, they also carried out career orientation activities among the students involved in the János Arany Talent Support Program.

Scientific results and publicity

The Personal Science pillar of the program includes project elements helping the publication of realized research projects in the student college. We have mentioned the Partner project element several times. This module aims to build and maintain a scientific community of participating student college members and professionals based on a partnership that explores and

⁴⁸ For more information on social responsibility in the program, see LAKATOS, 2018:211-227.

shares knowledge in terms of science related to the Roma. This project element is operated by members of the student colleges, teachers from the Department of Romology and experts from the Romology Research Center, as well as other external experts on the field. They enter into a partnership with domestic researchers, professionals and institutions in a similar field.” (Professional conception, 2016). Thus, the Partner Research was realized in a wide range of scientific cooperation, in which the students were able to engage actively with the necessary research methodology knowledge. Involvement in partner research benefited students in two ways: their research competence could develop in a complex way through their involvement in diverse research activities, and through their close collaboration with the extensive network of researchers involved, they could expand their partnership system.

The following 4 partner research projects were implemented within the program:

- Akácliget in focus – The story of a forgotten Gypsy settlement
- The children of the regime change in Hungary – Life stories of Roma/Gypsy young adults in light of a 20 year-long research
- Resilience and inclusion in the János Arany Talent Support Program
- Life stories and answers in the Roma Student College in Pécs

In addition to engaging in partner research, students were given the opportunity to carry out independent research projects. In the project period, a scholarship application for student research was published in two stages. Students could submit their research plans individually or in a group of 2-3 people, which could be realized after a positive evaluation of the application for a research scholarship. One semester was available to implement the research. The work of the researcher was followed by the monitoring of the coordinator of the student research for at least one semester. Beyond the physical implementation of the research, the scholarship depended on the completion of a research report or presentation and a narrower or wider public presentation.

Table 1: Student research within the program (Edited by the author)

Student research in the 1st stage
How are you?! – A study on Hungarians working in London
Multiple disadvantaged and disadvantaged students in Pécs
Knowledge of high school students about Roma people; Romology knowledge in school and out-of-school programs
Examining the prejudice of undivided teacher training students
Eurovision Song Contest: International conflicts on the geopolitical stage
Use of the health care system, health awareness among disadvantaged teenagers in the light of sociological factors
The disadvantages caused by the segregation of Szentlőrinc in studies and employment
Student research in the 2nd stage
How are you?! – A study on Hungarians working in London II
Analysing the situation of the marginalized Other in books by Krisztina Tóth titled Vonalkód, Pixel and Párducpompa [Barcode, Pixel and Panther-pomp].
History movies in the countries of the socialist block
The revival of the Russian imperial idea in the light of Moscow's foreign policy moves
The impact of the Pécs-Somogy segregation on the further education opportunities of 7th-8th grade students

Student research in various topics realized during the course of the program are listed in the table above. In total, 20 research were carried out in two stages with the participation of 20 student college members.

The publication of the research results as well as disseminating them was a top priority in the program in case of both student research and partner research. The student college conferences provided an excellent platform for presenting and discussing the results of student research. On these occasions, young researchers held a rehearsal of their presentations in front of the student college community and the teachers of the college, which also gave them the opportunity to discuss their research results and adjust their presentations. The home conferences were followed by other conferences affecting a wider professional audience. Within the framework of the project, two international conferences were organized and held in the spring of 2017 and 2018, as part of the Horizons and Dialogues Conference, where students could give account of their research results in separate sections. Furthermore, our students had the opportunity to showcase their research in numerous national conferences and young researchers were able to participate and introduce themselves at the National Conference on Educational Science and the HuCER⁴⁹ Conference.⁵⁰

Another important tool for disseminating research results is to publish and disseminate research and professional results produced during the program.

⁴⁹ Hungarian Conference on Educational Research

⁵⁰ For more information on the scientific activities and results achieved in the program, see DOBÓ-KŐSZEGI-VARGA, 2018:123-145.

Table 2: Publications released under the program (Edited by the author)

Romology series
Issue 11 Gypsy, Roma communities in Europe I
Issue 12 Gypsy, Roma communities in Europe II
Issue 13 Elimination and reappearance of Gypsy settlements I
Issue 14 Elimination and reappearance of Gypsy settlements II
Issue 15 Roma student colleges
Issue 16-17 The health status of Gypsies
Other publications
Akácliget in focus – The story of a forgotten Gypsy settlement
The children of the regime change in Hungary – Life stories of Roma / Gypsy young adults in light of a 20 year-long research
Resilience and inclusion in the János Arany Talent Support Program
Life stories and answers in the Roma Student College in Pécs
Körkép II – Writings of the Henrik Wlislöcki Student College members
Successes and Challenges - Summary of the Roma Student College Program in Pécs
Diversity Activities – Resource Guide

The Table 2 above lists the publications supported by the project. Within the framework of the project, it was also made possible to publish another 7 thematic issues of the Romology journal, in which besides the well-known and well-known researchers in the field of Romology, members of the student colleges also had the opportunity to be published. Most of the independent student research is in a separate volume, Körkép II. It also appeared in a publication of the same title. The „fruit” of student activity is also the one mentioned in the previous chapter of the study, Diversity, which contains the results of the English interactive summer course and the awareness-raising practices there. The first 4 volumes listed in the table above, in the category of other publications, are, in fact, a scientific summary of the collaborative research already mentioned when discussing the Partner Partnerships project element. In these publications, in addition to the writings of the leading and participating researchers, students were also given the opportunity to be published. Following the closing of the project’s professional activities, a final publication on the results and experiences of the program was published, titled Successes and Challenges, which the reader is holding in his hands. For international dissemination, this

publication was published in English as well. Thus, in the framework of the program, besides the 7 issues of Romology magazine, 8 thematic volumes were published.

Summary

For the TESZ-WHSZ program, the above indicators and results show only a narrow slice of the complex developments and achievements in the student college. The number of positive effects of the program on students and college students are even less visible. An important or perhaps the most important indicator of the success of the program is the fact how student college members “hidden” behind the numbers evaluate the impact of the WHSZ community on their own lives. Here are some of them who expressed their thoughts about the true values of a Roma student society in a higher education setting, and hopefully their acknowledgments will allow the readers to see the successes of WHSZ in a new dimension.

„A few years back, before I started university, one of my family members told me to hold onto my memories from high school, because I will not have anything similar ever again. They said, I will not have this sense of community in university. Despite all, I secretly could not wait to go to university, and I was sure I would find the community where I could belong. Then days passed, weeks, months, and I was standing on the university corridor alone. I didn’t know anybody in a hundred-seat auditorium, and I had no sense of community.

But then something happened.

I became a WHSZ member and I got what I was looking for, a sense of community and with this, opportunities, friends, relationships and adventures.”

„For me, PTE only exists with WHSZ.

It would have been difficult without the student college. I became a part of a community; they have formed me and vice versa. A lot of my friendships were born here.

The memories will stay with me forever.

I have become more tolerant and open towards others and myself.”

“I had many, many friends over the years, both closer and distant. I feel like I have friends to turn to any time in the years to come. Also, I think I have grown up in the last few years. I have become mature enough to find a job in my field. And last but not least, I have become cool, but I mean really cool.”

(WHSZ members about the student college, 2018)

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