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**GYPSIES IN HUNGARY
EDUCATION²**

Ιωάννινα 2004

¹ Για τις επιστημονικές θέσεις και απόψεις που διατυπώνονται στο κείμενο αυτό υπεύθυνος είναι ο συγγραφέας. Οι θέσεις και οι απόψεις του συγγραφέα δεν δεσμεύουν τον επιστημονικό υπεύθυνο του Προγράμματος «Ένταξη Τσιγγανοπαίδων στο Σχολείο» ή το Υπουργείο Εθνικής Παιδείας και Θρησκευμάτων.

² Το παρόν κείμενο αποτελεί επιμορφωτικό υλικό στα πλαίσια του προγράμματος του ΥΠ.Ε.Π.Θ. «Ένταξη Τσιγγανοπαίδων στο Σχολείο», το οποίο υλοποιείται από το Πανεπιστήμιο Ιωαννίνων. Η παρουσία του κειμένου στο διαδίκτυο εξυπηρετεί επιμορφωτικές ανάγκες και ανάγκες ευαισθητοποίησης των εκπαιδευτικών της προσχολικής, πρωτοβάθμιας και δευτεροβάθμιας υποχρεωτικής εκπαίδευσης, αλλά απευθύνεται και στο ευρύ κοινό. Κάθε αθέμιτη χρήση του κειμένου υπόκειται στις διατάξεις του νόμου περί πνευματικής ιδιοκτησίας.
Επιστημονική επιμέλεια και εποπτεία: Αθανάσιος Ε. Γκότοβος.

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HISTORY OF GYPSIES

Origin and wandering to East-Europe

For a long time the origin and the reason of their wandering was unknown (Hasdeu called them the mysterious people) leaving room for various interpretations. Initially their origins were attributed to Egypt and, consequently, they were and are called even today as gypsies, „gitanes”. Systematic linguistic, anthropological and historical studies established the Indian origin of Romany ethnic group. This fact is substantiated by their language, being a relative of the New-Hindi language and having its roots in the vernacular version of the Sanskrit language.

Romanies came a long way on different routes through Central Asia and North Africa. They arrived in Europe via the Crimea Peninsula. They settled for a longer periods in certain places adopting (for example the Iranian „bath”) words, at other places industries and customs from the locals. Documents from the 12th century Byzantine Empire mention the presence of Romanies in South - Eastern Europe. The Hungarian word „cigány” has its origins from the Greek-speaking inhabitants of the Byzantine Empire and means „untouchables”, those who can not be touched.

The historical and legal origin of slavery are also debated. Beyond the historical the institution of slavery decisively determined the historical and ethnic situation of the Gypsy people.

Romany Slavery survived up to the middle of the 19th century and was a typical of the Romanian Archduties. In Transsylvania slavery, was restricted to a narrow facet of the society. In border regions Romanies (like Hungary) lived under various dependency circumstances and were marginalised but nowhere in the status of collective and inhereditaly slavery. In case of numerous Gypsy a Gypsy communities slavery led to settling due to „ties” to villages, landlords, monasteries and rulers. This was followed by a slow process of cultural losses, like adapting industries of the local economies, religious beliefs and customs of the everyday life and, in case the certain communities, loosing the Romany language. These processes became even more general admits the broad social development and modernisation. This is especially characteristic of the Gypsies who settled in village as well in cities all over the country. Due to peculiarities of the regional history differentiation among this

communities took place: in the field of occupation, in adapting the language of the majority (Hungarian, Romanian, Turkish or German) to which they also became culturally adapted, with respect to religious beliefs.

On the other hand, a relative wile Romany society preserved throughout the history, its nomadic way of life which contributed in preserving several well defined ethnic characteristic occupations (ironsmiths, silversmiths) the garnets of woman, rules determining marriage customs and relationships between relatives, religious elements and elements of native law, ect...Nomadic Romanies settled in the last decades are characterised by strong internal cohesion and, up to today, distance themselves both from the majority and the „settled” Romanies as well

The history of the Hungarian Gypsy policy and social statement

Today, Hungarian Romanies are more separated from other layers of society than they were before 1945. In the twenties-thirties, up to 1945 there were semi-illiterate masses of Hungarian peasants, servants, landless agropoletarians. The distance between a semi-illiterate agricultural worker and an illiterate Romany working in a classical Romany industry was much less, than it is now between the semi-literate Romany masses and the skilled or secondary school graduate non-Romanies. For this reason, Romanies are as a community, as a mass, are pushed to the periphery. Within a short time, Romanies will be entirely squeezed out of society and will become outcast. What does this mean under present circumstances? Beyond doubt it means that Romanies will turn deviant, en masse. The legal system will not effect them, constitutionally maybe, but not in everyday life. How did social circumstances, conditions of life of Hungarian Romanies change from 1945 to 1988?

In 1945 all Hungarian Romanies were systematically, wilfully, and consistently left out from the land reform. This could have been the first step toward sociality integrating the Romanies. They did live and exist as landless agrarian proletarian. In the fifties traditional Romany industries were also abolished. This followed from the ideology which said, that here, irrespective of religion, race and gender, all humans are citizen enjoying, equal rights in socialist sociality. Nevertheless, just to make a distinction, in the Rákosi era

they were given black ID cards. Horse breeding was banned from the Romanies, in spite of the fact that they horse trade nomadic commerce and special industries, like washing basin carving wandering from village to village, produce the requested wooden goods then wandering further on. This could only be done by using some kind of vehicle, thus this industry vanished. The same happened to wandering knife sharpeners, nailsmiths, basket weavers and the list of the traditional Romany industries could be continued. This was the first step, followed by the withdrawal of small industries.

In the fifties the big industrial developments started, where big construction works were undertaken. To these tens of thousand of Romanies wandered since they could not join village co-operatives as members (those could joined to the co-operation who owned land or animals). This were the greatest tragedy begins: Romany families disintegrated. The politics committed another major mistake: They announced the abolishment's of Romany slums, more precisely settlements not up to social requirements. They said that the Romany community itself is a force drawing people backwards. According to a party resolution in 1961: „Concerning the Romany problem, there are still a number of improper concepts. Many see it as a minority problem and propose the promotion of the Romany language, establishing Romany schools, college, Romany co-operatives, ect. These concept are not only misconceived, but are damaging, because these approaches perpetuate the apostasy of the Romas and slow down their integration into the society.” So in the fifties-sixties traditional Romany industries were abolished and Romany families were demoralised. The consequence is that now, the overwhelming majority of Romanies will be fired, become unemployment. In the same year the Romany Cultural Alliance which was established in 1957 had also been abolished.

By the middle of eighties the crisis of the policy aiming at the assimilation of the Romas became obvious. Assimilation did not happen and the policy resulted in new, more serious crisis symptoms. The gap between non-Romany and Romany people became even wider than before.

Policy makers were forced into changing their strategy. Realising the first signs of unemployment in 1985 regulation concerning „public risk unemployed” were stiffened, stick corrective penitentiary measures were

introduced. These were first of all affecting Romanies people. On the other hand, by drawing conclusions from negative experiences the idea of achieving quick results in assimilation by expensive state subsidy had been given up and the concept of establishing a general agreement with the Romas was promoted.

Changes started after a party decision in 1984. In drafting and in executing this policy the (HNF, Patriotic People's Front) HNF played the cardinal role. Principles of this policy were laid down in a work titled „The role Patriotic People's Front in supporting Romany inhabitants. „The program aimed at raising the civilisation and social cultural level of Romas is a controversial one. A part of this controversy is stemming is the historical development of the Romany lifestyle. This cannot be changed within the lifespan of one or two generation. Consequently, cultural differences will still exist for long periods. (...) Then development of Romas is restricted by the limits of their difficult economic situation... therefore Romas are to be considered as an ethnic entity playing an important role in establishing a new social consensus.”

Without delay HNF started putting into practice the policy aimed at establishing the new social consensus based on the involvement of Romas. This task called for establishing a sensitive balance between developing a forum credibly representing Romany interest while preventing the emergence of an autonomous movement.

On 16 July, 1986 the first meeting of the Federation of the Hungarian Romany Cultural Societies was held.

In 1988 the „radical” Romany intellectuals made their appearance in public and political life, and in the beginning of November the Hungarian Democratic Romany alliance was formation. Two weeks later the Politburo of the MSzMP resolves that „The minority law must provide a possibility , if so it is initiated by their organisation to Hungarian Romas declaring themselves a nationality.

Preceded by month of preparatory work, the Phraplipe Independent Romany Organisation was established at the Department of Aesthetics of the Eötvös Lóránd University in April, 1989. The memorandum issued on the occasion of 13 establishing Phrapline sharply condemns the Romany policy and the Romany organisations established by the political regime: „does not want to

be a partner to the manipulative politics which prevented the true representation of Romany interests. Distances itself from political aspirations responsible for and aimed at conserving the prevailing situation in which the currently existing 'Romany organisations' are not just suffering subjects but partners and active executors as well.

Culture of Gypsy people and its state in Hungary

From a cultural point of view, inhabitants called Romanies appear as a relatively heterogeneous mosaic of communities. Integration and assimilation processes undergoing in the society increase this diverse even further. However, there are cultural and social factors „at work” facilitating and preservation of the cohesion and horizontal communication of local communities. Romany language remained an effective communication medium for very many communities, in spite of local or regional differences even among Romanies living in countries of different culture.

Subjective and symbolic components (racial characterises, more exactly cultural meanings attributed to somatic characterises), the often low living standards, the whole style of livings, the special practice of interpreting certain cultural areas, for example music, manners, ect., to a different extent, all contribute in preserving the perception of peculiarity. Together with all of these, the „Gypsy” name applied to them by the environment is one of the most important component of identity and cohesive power of this population. In the ethnic stereotypes romantic elements (dance...music...love... „á lá tzigane”) are mixed with criticisms hinting at their poverty, deviant behaviour and aggressively. In the majority of cases these are mostly romantic fictions cannot balance the excesses related to the lurking „dangers” the overemphasising of those potential dangers attributed to the presence of Gypsy individuals or communities. Unbiased observer of the inter ethnic relationships may recall the racist thinking and behaviour against the Gypsies, which at times is well camouflaged and harmless but in other cases appears in sick and aggressive forms.

The „emigrant” adjectives and definitions applied to Romany communities were always dominant with respect to the symbols applied by Romany people themselves. Social meaning wiped out meaning based on ethnic-cultural traditions. From the Romas arriving from India slowly a new ethnic group was formed. An

ethnic creation characteristic of the European society together with its various regional characteristics.

Romanies or gypsies? People speaking Romany language consider themselves Romany. With some variations in the cases of one or the other groups, they perceive „rom san” as a set of characteristic cultural and behavioural reflexes. In contrast with this, with respect to their relationship to individuals and institutions of their environment they are gypsies.

Those not speaking the Romany language are the „true” gypsies. For them the Romany term can be as alien as the terms Hungarian. They identify themselves as gypsies and do not resent if its term is applied to them in a „neutral” sense. Although achieving this neutrality is as difficult as it is axiological neutrality for sociologist. When this term is used in a pejorative sense they suffer or become aggressive as it frequently happens.

Many suffering from this inferiority complex would like to be recognised as Hungarians. This is frequently denied or granted as a special flavour which can be withdrawn anytime. When the coveted identity meets rejection they defend themselves by the behaviours prescribed by the label. This is forced externally but they interiorise it as well: a little vulgarity, cheerful trickstery, if it possible, maybe a minor theft.... In the everyday life people acts the roles cast on them during long history of social development. They accept the gypsy label, denying the socio-cultural inferiority complex which stigmatises them for their identity. Or refuse the stigma and turn towards the symbolic identity expressed by the Romany ethnic term.

The culture of The Gypsies of Hungary is essentially popular culture passed on primarily by word or mouth. It is a largely unrecognised, marginal, suppressed minority culture. In the case of a considerable part of the Gypsy population, it is a culture of deprivation and poverty; in the case of a significant minority, it is a subculture and/or a tribal culture and in case of another large group, it is local culture of the kind which, typically, predates the larger homogeneous cultural formations. A few decades ago, it was a matter of debate among sociologist and anthropologist whether Gypsy culture was to be interpreted as ethnic culture, or simply as the culture of a particular class or social stratum, in particular case, an improve social stratum.

The picture is more complicated because we should consider in detail the various groups comprising Hungary’s nearly half a million strong gypsy community.

Over 70 percent speak Hungarian as their first language, (they are the Hungarian Gypsies), a little over 20 percent speak Gypsy (the Vlach Gypsies), and nearly 10 percent speak Romanian (the Beashi Gypsies).

But, we should see that the matter of authenticity usefulness to society adds another dimension of complexity to the relationship between the groups. The former is likely to dominate the Vlach Gypsies scale of values; the latter the Hungarian Gypsies'. The insistence on authenticity on the part of the Gypsies-speaking community - the group anthropologists define as „Gypsy and nothing else” .is, in fact, an exclusive claim to ethnicity. As they see it, a Gypsy (Rom) is someone who speaks Gypsy; they use term Romugro to describe Gypsies who have turned Hungarian, or non-gypsy. The Romugros' emphasis on social usefulness, on the other hand is the affirmation of the high reputation enjoyed world-wide by Hungarian Gypsy musicians, and of the contribution they have made to the country's positive image abroad.

The differences between groups are well reflected in their practice of strict endogamy. Inter-marriage between members of the different group is more unusual than marriage between a non-gypsy and a Gypsy whatever a group. Even the layout of the houses in Gypsy settlements mirrors this segregation within the community. The Hungarian-speaking Gypsies think in terms of hierarchy, with their own group at the pinnacle, above the other two groups, and they regularly and demonstratively dissociate themselves from the Gypsies as a matter of prestige. For while in many ways they respect the latter and perhaps even envy them, they are very well aware that strategy of integration and perhaps even assimilation that they themselves have chosen calls for a perceptible segregation from the Gypsies. Having followed the norms of the Hungarian gentry and/or peasantry for generations, Hungarian Gypsies have come to identify with them, as many of their symbolic gestures testify. Where the Hungarian and Vlach Gypsies do agree is in their utter lack of respect for the Beashi Gypsies, to whom both groups assign the lowest rung on the social ladder. This evaluation has changed very little in recent years. It will be evident that the Gypsy intellectual dedicated to the cultural integration of the various Gypsy groups and to the notion of national culture has set himself a thought task.

The symbols and interpretation of the Gypsy culture

What history writes throughout Europe consider to be archaic and deviant from behaviour is posited as a value in the Gypsy interpretation. Historians tend to recount the attempts various governments have made to settle nomad Gypsies at a various this times in terms of bringing them under the jurisdiction of the civil authorities and conferring on them the gift of culture. In the Gypsy histories currently being written, on the other hand, this move is seen as the end of personal and communal freedom and independence, and the apogee of assimilation. In Gypsy histories, wandering tribes' persistence in their way of life is equivalent of an independence movement.

"Because historically speaking, we Gypsies have never really been in a position to amass wealth, we have developed what I could call a knack for living from day to day. Cherishing human relations instead of cherishing objects has given rise to an internal sense of time, compared to which objective time is secondary." (Ágnes Daróczy, anthropologist)

Religion as the means of ethnic integration

The Gypsies relationship to the churches and organised religion idiosyncratic. In the matter of church attendance at the major turning points of life, they follow practice quite unlike those of their immediate environment, and the same is true of their church attendance of the principal religious holidays. Rom tend to affiliate themselves with the dominant denomination of their place of residence With few exceptions there are no Gypsy or Beashi-speaking parishes, or any Gypsy ministers. For all that, experience shows that independently of which church the Rom actually attend, there is uncanny similarity in their religious practises. This is evident in their devotion to the Virgin Mother, and in their pilgrimage to Csatka and Máriapócs. Although all these places of pilgrimage celebrate about a dozen feasts of the Virgin Mother every year, they attend only the festivities held in September , but then in great numbers. The pilgrimage is also a mass clan reunion. Today, it is primarily the various Vlach groups that gather to meet there, presenting a united front for the duration of their stay. A well-defined code of conduct regulates behaviour at the feast; it is the diametrical opposite of the code followed by peasantry. The Gypsies'

religious practised are independent of the priests' service, and can be seen as a form of lay ministry. The rites include a ritual, health-inducting watching in Mary Springs ; visits to the Madonna statue and other statues of the Virgin Mary; prayers and petitions; the lighting of votive candles, and the making of vows. Of equal importance are the ritual celebrations, treating one another lavishly, feasting and drinking, dancing, and giving generous gifts. All these practices are part of system of deliberate Gypsy behaviour, with strict sanctions for non-compliance. Funerals too, have an integrate function.

In recent years, Vlach Gypsy practices which ethnographers had regarded as archaic even at time when they first observed had acquired the status of universals, and have been posited as primeval characteristics, those most expressive of the uniqueness and perfection of Gypsy society. These include the Romano Chris, the Gypsy cut of law, and vows, curses and salutation. (Composed of a council of elderly men of experience traditionally the Romano Chris met to decide disputes within the clan, passing judgements in matters involving property rights and in cases of marital conflict.) Lately, the Romano Chris has been interpreted as the constitutional basis of a once-autonomous Gypsy society, an institution far superior to the European courts of law, and one that lost its significance only because of overwhelming pressure from outside forces. Its function today is to emphasizes the Gypsy' s ethnic autonomy, while the practice of vows, curses and salutation is recommended on the assumption than to keep in touch with one's ethnic identity, one must return to the ancient traditions. The question, of course, is whether these archaic elements help one to live life more fully, or whether they force the individual into roles which are not anachronistic, but also limit his freedom of action by restricting his social opportunities to those open to "Gypsies ".

Music and dance: the strongest forces of integration

The last few decades of researches by ethnographers and anthropologist in Hungary has focused more and more on Gypsy - especially Vlach Gypsy - folklore. True, the motivation of some researches was their interest in the roots of Hungarian folklore; it is this that they hoped to find concealed in the store-house of Gypsy tradition. What matters from our point of view is that growing

numbers of recording and publication on Gypsy music and dance began to appear. Soon movies and television followed to suit, and together they gave substance to the generally accepted notion that Gypsies, whenever they are not fighting each other, spend their time singing, dancing and playing music. All this public attention, the growing folklore movement of the 70's - added to the fact that the most the Gypsies could hope to achieve at the time by the way of social status was that of a cultural/ethnic group - was incentive to rural Gypsy communities to form their own amateur cultural groups. In 1981 the First National Meeting of Tradition Preserving Folklore Groups was organised. Some of the groups quickly rose to national fame. Their music, properly arranged and recorded under excellent studio conditions, had its roots in Gypsy - primary Vlach Gypsy - folklore, but soon developed into an independent genre.

For a while, it seemed that the music of the „classical” Gypsy bands playing Hungarian folk songs might be banished from the common Gypsy cultural heritage. It was particularly the advocates of the pure, „orthodox” folklore style who denounced instrumental „Gypsy music”. In 1989, engaging a Gypsy band to entertain visitors to the opening of Museum of Ethnology's „On the Fringes of Society” exhibit would have created a serious problem. By the end of the nineties, all this had changed.

The exceptional music talent of Gypsies has come to be generally recognised, and Gypsy music - considered an embarrassment not so long ago - has become widely accepted as a form of entertainment in Hungary, along with jazz and rock music.

The visual arts, more particularly painting, have played a significant role in the movement which led to the Gypsies being recognised as an ethnic. The First National Exhibition of Self-Taught Gypsy Artists was organised in 1979. On display was the work of 12 naive artists, the core of a group of 15 to 20 artists whose pictures are reproduced in Gypsy magazines and periodicals to this day, whose paintings are regularly exhibited, and whose works are bought by the various cultural and political organisations. Their paintings have created a kind of mythology by translating folk tales into visual form. Their colour schemes have generated a language which speaks of the past and the present way which Gypsies can identify with, and portrays them and their world in a

manner which allows them to hold their heads up high and enjoy the world they live in. Their art is Gypsy art not only because the artist themselves are Gypsy, but also, and primarily, because it depicts their world.

The institutions of the Gypsy culture

In conclusion, let us look at the existing - and planned - institution whose goal it's to advance the cause of Gypsy cultural integration.

The first significant Gypsy newspaper: weekly Romano Nyevepe published, in the late '80s and early 90's, under the auspices of the MCKSZ (means: Cultural Association of Gypsies in Hungary). Phrapline, the journal sponsored by the organisation of the same name, started up in 1990. A year later, the Roma Parliament launched its own Amaro Drom, which started out as a foninghtly, and today a monthly publication. The Kethano Drom is also worthy of mention, long with the Roma Magazine, which has published only few sporadic issue. The Cigányfűró, a highly professional journal dedicated to minority issues, was launched in 1994, followed most recently by the cultural magazine, Rom Son.

Hungarian Radio's „Gypsy Half Hour” and Hungarian Television's „Patrin - Gypsy Magazine” play an important integrator role, along with Romano Kher, the Gypsy Social Centre for Education and Methodology, which work alongside the Municipal Authorities of Budapest.

The Gypsy film festival organised every fall carries out just the task to say true things about the life of the Gypsies', and there various galleries exhibiting Gypsy art.

A number of people - working both independently and as a group - are currently engaged in trying to put together a Gypsy Museum which would exhibit both ethnographic artefacts and the treasures of Hungary's Gypsies. The Gypsy community has recently called on the Hungarian government to fund a research institute run by Gypsies.

GYPSEY PEOPLE IN HUNGARY AT THE END OF NINETIES

Gypsies and deviance - crime

Criminal statistics keep the records of Gypsies since 1974. Various regional examinations indicated the Gypsies has different and higher criminality than the other groups. For example a ten - twenty percent of all crimes was violent of average, and the half of the crimes committed by Gypsies were violent to this rate. On the other hand it is significant that Gypsies often commit serious, tempered, violent crimes that causes extremely high mortification. One years record shows that in a particular year 60%-70% of these crimes were committed by Gypsies. The part of the young criminals is significantly big in this, but nobody could give a scientific explanation for this for a long time. To judge the frequency of taking part in crime commitment by any population it is essential to know the size of the population.

There are different opinions about the number of Gypsies living in Hungary. According to the author's own information the author ventures to estimate the number in 400 - 410 thousand. According to these data in 1970 - 1980 there were about 6000 - 6700 Gypsy criminals. This number of them may be about 8000, but the rate of all criminals and all crimes should be considered and this rate raised much in the past three years. Inside this the crime rate of Gypsies estimately grew 2 or 2,5 times greater than among non-Gypsies.

It came out from the researches about delinquency of Gypsies that two major groups are firmly concerned. First the group of integrating persons and second the smaller groups with some criminal subculture. According to the first group came the assumption of group and intercourse conflict. The assumption is about a case when a group lead by the traditional scale of values becomes disorganised or becomes more open toward society. This time the members of the groups have to face a serial of conflict situations. That is in part, because of this relatively closed community is lead by a efficiently working scale of values and standards (which is still controlled by other social connection and macroeffects). When this closed community opens these standards and values

lose their inner controlling abilities and the members of the group become unstable. In the case of the significant difference between the standards, values, and the social average, there is much more bigger chance for conflicts. This chance of danger is relevant only until the opened groups's member integrate or melt into the society.

A smaller opening of the groups will not unconditionally lead to conflicts.

Talking about Gypsies this means that the significant changes in the ways of their lives starting to work, getting a job in an industry rarely causes conflict situation in the group, works the same integrated way as usual. Collision will not occur when the group members can integrate in a short period of time or can fulfil requirements. Only this mechanism can explain the strong negative correlation between the Gypsy population crime rate of given the area.

The higher number of the presents Gypsies will objectively offer probable close an integrated group connection especially when an other relation of the area. This is essentially a biased work, the life of the small community more slowly, almost unseemingly changes. In addition to this the Gypsy families react describing them as deviants in totally different way. The more society guarantees the objective possibly of integration the sooner can problem of intercourse conflict be passed.

Gypsies organisations in political life

The Gypsy political scene in the last ten or so years has been quite complex. Organisation which started after 1989 have questioned the legitimacy of the old political and cultural bodies that used to operate under the auspices of the any state's Patriotic People's Front. In the early 1990s, the conflict was between the organisations that co-operated with the government, and those that favoured the opposition. What divides the various groups today is the stand they have taken on the matter of minority self government. The Roma Parliament was formed in 1990, and while some of its members separated and formed Phrapline, a parallel national organisation, in 1992, it is still the strongest and most effective Gypsy political body.

In today's political climate, the Roma Parliament has the best chance of acting as the catalyst of political integration. Its program is systematic, logical and consistent. Its role and future effectiveness lie in the fact that it has taken the lead not only as a cultural but also a civil right movement. Romany Parliament for the first time unified the widest spectrum of Romany organisations. There was a great political pressure on Romany organisations requesting, almost blackmailing them to form an unified organisation and produce a consistent negotiating partner. Few later fifteen organisation joined Romany Parliament.

The Interest Alliance of Romany organisations, the first opponent counter organisation of the Romany parliament was established in the beginning of 1991. The second, the Romany forum at the end of 1991 and the third, the Compatriotism

Romany Alliance was established in the autumn of 1992.

But after the 1994 election, not a single representative of any Romany organisation became elected. Only two MP's, by then not members of any Romany organisation were able to retain their mandates.

Linguistic integration

The most intricate part of the process of integration is dealing with the differences in language. The mediating language between the three groups speaking three different mother tongues has become that of Romungros, i. e. Hungarian. Yet there are those who maintain that the Gypsy literary language should be based on the Lovar dialect of Vlach Gypsy, the language putatively spoken by all Gypsies in days gone by. At any rate, the uniform literary language would need to be culled from the linguistic usage of the various Gypsy communities, a task made all the more difficult by the fact that there are practically no native-speaking teachers. Some university do offer courses in the Gypsy language, but the task of linguistic integration is left largely to the Vlach Gypsy authors and editors certain Gypsy periodicals. But even if all the various Vlach Gypsy communities were to agree on a common literary, and everyday language, it is still questionable whether the other two Gypsy ethnic groups

would accept it, and would be willing to learn the tongue of their ancestors, a tongue fallen into disuse among them some two centuries ago. It appears that even some of the public figures within the Romugro community are reluctant to do this, saying that the Hungarian literary and everyday language is good enough, and that integration of the different groups can be achieved just as well in cultural spheres other than language.

The Beashi Gypsies are also making some attempts to establish their own literary language, but have no wish to have their version accepted and used by the other Gypsy groups.

Language problems in education - language drawback

Two third of the Hungarian Gypsies has Hungarian as mother tongue, the rest speak one of the Romany dialects or a Gypsy dialect (Wallachian). Thus the number of Gypsies not having Hungarian as their mother tongue is much less, and it is constantly decreasing because of the adaptation, they are still Hungary's biggest language minority. The education has ignored this fact until now. The aim of catching up of the Gypsy students is still to make them "educable" in terms of language. The problem occurs first of all in the case of Gypsy children, who didn't go to kindergarten and therefor have a big disadvantage at school. This can be best shown with the data of the research of Gypsies in 1993: in the age-group of 25-29 years 77 percent of the Hungarian speakers, 58 percent of the Romany speakers, and 52 percent of Wallachian speakers have finished the elementary school. Bilingualism can be an advantage in terms of language pedagogy, but the Gypsies only have the possible disadvantages.

At the elementary school there are two periods, when the lingual drawbacks of the Gypsy students not having Hungarian as mother-tongue can be crucial. The first one is in the first two years of elementary school, when the dominance of languages has to be changed, and the second is the change between the primary school and the lower school, when the teaching of special subjects begins, and there are special terminology used, which would need the solid ground of the mother-tongue.

Language and culture in the education

The reason for the establishment of classes with a differently progressing tempo are mainly the language drawbacks of the Gypsy students not having Hungarian as their mother-tongues. Thus the researches of Zita Réger prove, that the integrate education of these students is much more successful in the catching up with the language drawbacks, than the Gypsy classes. A solution would be the establishment of a balanced bilingualism, but in Hungary there are no teachers, who could teach the Gypsy language, or in the Gypsy language, and besides the diglossy, which is typical of the Gypsy use of language, and the mixing of Gypsy and Hungarian languages makes it impossible. We cannot count on the possibility, that the emancipation of the Gypsies develops in the near future, and it gives it's language a higher prestige, for using it on public occasions. (One of the biggest hindrance of this is, that the different kinds of Gypsies became a minority in common, in which the mediator language is Hungarian.) The language of the possible success will most probably remain Hungarian, and this will maintain the force for giving up their mother-tongues.

The assimilation caused by the change of language will not be complete. While people belonging to ethnic minorities having had undergone the change of language dominance, as socialising agents can settle the assimilation process in the next generation, the Gypsy parents won't be able to do that, because their child still differs and gets distinguished. According to some experts, the reason for the drawbacks in the are not the problems of the change of language, but the differences between the two different worlds, the well known home environment, and the new and strange world of the school. This difference is called in the school the „valuable and invaluable differences of language achievements."

In a research it has been shown, that there is a special educational programme for ethnic minorities in 9.5 percent of kindergartens and in 11 percent of elementary schools. In seven elementary schools the Gypsy folk-knowledge is educated as an independent subject, and in the other schools it is taught integrally. Only 28 percent of the school directors have found it important to educate the Gypsy folk-knowledge.

The pedagogues are not neutral in the sense of culture. Their socio-cultural background influences their expectations towards the students. The cultural

misunderstanding between a Gypsy student and a non Gypsy teacher can be real hindrance of the successful work done in the school. Although there is hardly any teacher, who never had to deal with the special problems occurring by educating a Gypsy student, in the preparation of teachers the information about how to deal with such situations is almost always missing. The noticeable successes, that some teachers with a Gypsy origin have achieved show, that the destroying of communicational hindrances can make the education much more successful.

In the education of Gypsy children it is very important to organise some cultural programmes for minorities, not in the educational syllabus, but connected to it. These programmes could strengthen the minority nature of the institutions, could contribute to the development of a mother-tongue environment, and made the communication easier between the school and the parents.

GYPSIES IN HUNGARIAN EDUCATION SYSTEM

The Gypsies are Europe's only real European minority. It is a folk counting about 9 million members, and they can be found in every single country of the continent, since more than 500 years. The Gypsies do not have a fatherland, and the European institutions didn't undertake this function yet. Sooner or later though it will be inevitable, because the expansion of the Union will lead to the multiplication of the number of gypsies living in the politically united Europe, and this will force the common legal system, politics and European institutions to adjust themselves to the new situation. Maybe all this will have a repercussion on the Gypsies living outside the European Union.

The situation of the Gypsies in Hungary doesn't become less dramatic through the fact, that it is not worse, than in the other Eastern European countries dealing with the same problems. For example in Bulgaria there is a much stronger segregation in the educational system, in Yugoslavia the percentage of gypsy children not taking part in the education is much higher, in Romania they simply do not deal with the ethnic problems occurring in the education, and in the Czech Republic, the gypsy students are more in danger, and they are very often sent to special schools for educationally subnormal children.

The problems occurring in this report are -more or less- the same in all the countries of this region. Generally there is a disadvantaged racial discrimination, an insufficiency of skills for dealing with gypsy students in the educational institutions, a paternal attitude mixing up integration with assimilation, and the catastrophic social situation influencing the educational chances.

The main difference between Hungary and the other countries of the region is, that in Hungary at least there is a governmental education policy. (The only institution of the region trying to help in the educational problems of Gypsies is the network of the Soros- foundation.)

Gypsies and Gypsy students

The best summary by now about the present situation of Gypsies in Hungary was the one made by the experts of the Hungarian Romany Parliament in 1992, and it

was called "The problem of Gypsies". The study draws the attention on the combination of the three main problems concerning the "Gypsy question": (1) the problematic situation of a minority and its culture; (2) the problems of the relationship between the groups belonging to the minority and majority, in other words a social group conflict; (3) a set of social problems. The specificity of the Gypsy question lies first of all in the connection of the three main problems, and the three different levels of approach, and secondly that to every piece of all these complicated problems joins an aggravating circumstance connected to the Gypsy-being.

For this reasons the main point is in the connections. The most different drawbacks, with which the situation of the Gypsies can be described (unemployment, catastrophic social and living situation, low level of education, bad health conditions, discrimination, assimilation, weak ability for the assertion of interests, etc.) derive from each other, and strengthen each other. Therefore the situation of the education of Gypsies both cause and causality of the problems occurring. The problems of Gypsy students cannot be understood or treated without understanding, and taking in consideration the complexity and coherence of the situation.

The educational level of Gypsies

In 1971, 87 percent of the Gypsy population hasn't finished the elementary school. A bit more than one tenth of the population finished the elementary school, and almost none of them had a high school graduation, or a university diploma. By 1993 the percentage of Gypsies who didn't go to school at all sank from 36 to 9, and the number of people finishing the elementary school increased to 46 percent. On the other hand the number of people having finished the high school hardly increased (from 0.5 percent to 1.5 percent), and the number of Gypsies having a diploma didn't change. Although it was a great achievement in winding up illiteracy among the Gypsies, still compared to the other groups of society the educational gap, the lagging behind increased.

The number of Gypsy students

In the education of ethnic minorities we consider those students belonging to an ethnic group, who take part in some special educational program for minorities (language education, bilingual or mother-tongue), but we cannot narrow down the questions about the education of Gypsies to this circle. In order to make the problems as obscured as possible, the "the free choice of identity" is used, because through this only those have to be considered to be Gypsies, who take part in the education program for the Gypsy minority, and therefore "declare" themselves to be Gypsies. (This approach is the most popular among the executives responsible for the education.) Nevertheless, most Gypsy students don't take part in any ethnic program, and above all, they are noticeably belonging to an ethnic group afflicted with very negative prejudices. As we will see further on, the problems of failures in the school afflicts every Gypsy student taking part in the common education, and the ethnic ("closing up") educational programs are not done well enough.

In the 1992- 1993 school year 7.12 percent of the elementary school students were Gypsies. The territorial distribution of Gypsy students is not equal, the proportion of Gypsy students compared to the national average is in the towns lower, and in the villages higher. In the schools with a small number of students the proportion of Gypsy students is much high than the national average.

Gypsy students in the education system

76.5 percent of the non Gypsy students got a higher qualification than finishing elementary school, but only 5.9 percent of the Gypsy students in the same year. For Gypsy students the chance inequality for finishing the secondary school is about 50 times higher than for non Gypsies. Taking in consideration, that after having finished the secondary school, there is no chance inequality between the Gypsy and non Gypsy students for continuing their studies, the chance, that a Gypsy student gets a diploma is 50 times smaller, than for a non Gypsy. This inequality basically derives from the chance inequality by entering the secondary school.

Dropout

In the elementary school the dropout of Gypsy students has been reduced considerably, but still in the beginning of the nineties, more Gypsy students have dropped out, than have finished the it. In the research of 1995 the information show, that in the special schools for Gypsies, which were meant to keep the Gypsy students for a longer time in the education, the ratio of dropouts was not smaller, but much higher. For those students who dropped out from the regular education, there were still some chances to continue in an evening school for workers. This system though was beginning to fail, and by now there isn't in Hungary a special system -as in many Western European countries- which can fulfil this duty. This problem isn't only for those who dropped out, because in Hungary only 9 percent of the Gypsy students continue their studies after having finished the elementary school (whereas 62 percent of the non Gypsy students continue, and get a final exam). Because of the unsatisfactory situation of the evening schools, the Gypsies, who dropped out, do not get an other chance. The special schools, technical schools and other institutions giving a profession give only a few places to Gypsy students, and therefore cut their ways for continuing.

Gypsy students on the different levels of education

Kindergarten education

Maybe the connection is nowhere as obvious between the kindergarten education and the success in the school, as in the case of the Gypsy children. 11 percent of the Gypsy children do not go to a kindergarten or to school- preparatory sessions at all. Mostly the reason for this behaviour is, that the parents are worried about their children, and they don't want them to leave the protecting family. In small villages the parents are easier to convince, because of the fact, that they personally know the institutions, and therefore they trust them. But in the bigger places, in towns this should be organised on institutional bases. Two thirds of the kindergarten for ethnic minorities are purely for children belonging to an ethnic group. The situation of Gypsy children is different, the ratio is much lower, because there are no special language programs for the Romany language, so there is no reason for

the separation from non Gypsy children, and because the ratio of Gypsy children going to the kindergarten is much lower.

Elementary school education

The education of Gypsy children usually is in integration, but there are quite many schools, which have a class only for Gypsy students. The existence of this classes is usually not based on the wishes of the parents, and through the lack of bilingual teaching, the negative prejudices against the Gypsies, and because most of the schools do not make an effort to reintegrate the Gypsy children- as we will see further on- this can be considered to be segregation.

In estimation only less than half of the Gypsy children at elementary school age take part in any kind of Gypsy ethnic program. The elementary schools for Gypsies usually aren't well equipped, and the teachers do not have the best qualifications. In those elementary schools, where the ratio of Gypsy students is much higher than the average, they usually merge the classes together, temporary classrooms are used and teachers without any qualification teach, whereas the ratio of teachers of a particular subject is very low. These are the schools in the Hungarian education, which are supposed to do one of the most delicate, exacting, and pedagogically best prepared educational work. As we have seen, usually this problems occur in the schools of small villages, which will not be in a better position for creating better conditions, even though theoretically they get a better supply of means.

The data research in 1995 collected the data about 309 elementary schools with a special programme. In these institutions -for educationally subnormal children- 41 percent of the students were Gypsies. In estimation this ratio is true for all the elementary schools having this special programme. Taking in consideration, that the ratio of Gypsy students in all elementary schools of Hungary is below 8 percent, we can say, that these special schools take up large numbers of Gypsies without any handicap, and therefore work as institutions for the segregation of Gypsy students.

Vocational training and secondary education

There are specific problems occurring in the vocational training of Gypsy students. Many times there are ethno-specific vocational programs organised for them, which are based on traditional, real Gypsy handicrafts, but there is no demand for them. These programs are rather organised on the base of stereotypes about the Gypsies, than on the prognoses about the labour demand. The other part of the Gypsy vocational training sets on target those kind of professions, which have no perspectives. A problem connected to the social situation of Gypsy students is, that in many cases they cannot buy the practising places for learning the chosen craft.

Higher education

As we have seen before, the Gypsy students have the same chance after having graduated in the secondary school (or other schools giving a final examination) to go to institutions of higher education as the non Gypsy students. But since the chance to get a place in schools giving a final examination is very low, Gypsy students are very underrepresented at the universities and colleges. The number of students taking part in the higher education is neither in proportion with the number of Gypsies in the population, nor with the expectations of intellectual education.

In the academic year of 1996-1997 the Foundation for National and Ethnic Minorities, and the Soros-foundation gave to 321 Gypsy students a scholarship. (Because of the connection between the two foundations, it is impossible to get a scholarship from both foundations.) Since it is very improbable, that non Gypsy students take advantage of this assistance, and the Gypsy students get this support almost automatically, we presume, that the number of students getting these scholarships is equal to the number of Gypsies studying at the universities and colleges. On the basis of this numbers, the proportion of Gypsy students to all students is 0.22 percent. The Ministry of Education gives a support for 110 Gypsy students. There are three institutions trying to give help -with offering a preparation year- to Gypsy students for getting accepted at institutions of higher education.

The reasons for the lack of success of Gypsy students

The data introduced by now show, that we cannot simply talk about the large numbers of failure of Gypsy students in schools, but about the failure of Hungarian Gypsies as such. The Hungarian educational system and the Gypsies simply aren't compatible. The aim of the education is to help the children to develop their personalities, and invest them with the most important knowledge and skills, which are needed to happiness. This should be ensured for all Hungarians, and if the education is not able -and in the case of Gypsy children, despite a few and personal exception- it is not able to do that, than it is a failure. The reason for lack of success of Gypsy students cannot be reduced to only one problem, it is rather the connection and support of different problems. Among these are for example the bad social situation, the drawbacks of the language, the prejudices towards the Gypsies, the segregation in the school, and the inaptitude of the programs and of the pedagogic methods.

The family socialisation of Gypsy students

The Gypsy children entering the kindergarten and the elementary school are very different from the non Gypsies. We have to deal with this differences very carefully and with restraint, because of the lack of well documented researches which are representing the different groups of Gypsies, we will never be able to decide, whether we are dealing with real differences, or only our prejudices, stereotypes and clichés are coming to words. The culture and subculture of ethnic minorities have a great influence on the early family socialisation of children growing up in this culture, and this should induce the education to a pedagogic adjustment. According to a common prejudice, the Gypsy mothers neglect and educate wrongly their children. This cliché is the reason for many conflicts between teachers and parents, and it is often used to project the failure of the school on the parents. This prejudice is the reason for the local authority to come to the conclusion very easily, that the child has to be taken away from the Gypsy parents, because the child has to be protected from his (her) parents.

Social situation

One needs money to go to school, and many times the families cannot afford the loss of income of the bigger children. Because of the bad housing conditions there is no opportunity for studying at home, the unhealthy way of living and the bad health condition decreases the time spent at school. The social problems are tightly connected to the other problems: the motivation for studying, the prejudices against the Gypsy students, the language drawbacks, the low prestige of Gypsy culture, etc. Without the bigger social allowances and support, the efforts of the school would fail.

Studying motivation

The opinions about the low studying motivation of Gypsy children are divided. There are some people who say that the low motivation develops already in the family, because the value of knowledge, which can be acquired in the school, is in the survival of Gypsy families very low, and because of the unemployment, which became common in the past few years, it got even more undervalued. Above all, the parents can "bequeath" their earlier failures in the school, and the negative attitudes caused by them to their children. Some other people say, that many of the Gypsy children get unmotivated in the school. The big differences between the two worlds -the family and the school (especially when the children didn't go to the kindergarten, and drop into school suddenly)- and the expectations which seem strange to the children, are destructive for their personalities. The school is not able to ensure the success, that is the most important condition for the positive attitude towards studying.

Detrimental distinction

The detrimental distinction of Gypsy students -as we will see in the section coming later- has several sources: the prejudices against the Gypsies, and even the well intentioned, but for the school chances of Gypsy students harmful educational programs. These two elements of the problem are inseparable, because in Hungary, and especially in the Hungarian education system the level of preparation and awareness about the problems of minorities is very low.

The connection between parents and school

In the international literature the stress is laid more and more on the realisation, that the co-operation between the school and the parents is one of the most important condition for the success of the school. Between the Hungarian Gypsy families and the schools the communication is almost completely missing. This hindrance is caused by the lack of information of Gypsy parents about the possibilities and methods of the school, and in several cases by the prejudices of teachers about the Gypsies. The Hungarian pedagogic practice builds very much upon the work which is done with the help of parents or is even forced by them at home. But usually the Gypsy parents aren't able to do that.

Pedagogic practice

As we have seen before, in the Hungarian pedagogic practice there were successes achieved with the children belonging to the majority, but with these pedagogic methods it is really difficult to led the Gypsy children to success. As our knowledge grows about the reasons of the lack of success of Gypsy children, it becomes more and more obvious, that there are no experiments of pedagogic methodology made in schools, where the number of Gypsies educated is higher than the average. The adaptation of the so called alternative or personality focused schools (Waldorf, Comprehensive School, Rogers, Freinet, Co-operative Learning, etc.) has started in quite many Hungarian schools, but in almost all of this experiments children with a middle class background are educated. One of the very few exceptions is a school educating Gypsy children with success is the Elementary School of Nyírtelek, in which the whole staff took part in a training for Co-operative Learning, and this method has been fit in the everyday pedagogic practice of the school.

The Hungarian pedagogic practice mainly focusing on the frontal flow of knowledge questions many times the "educatability" of Gypsy children. One of the bad solutions for the problem of educating Gypsy children is, that the syllabus of the requirement should be reduced. In fact in many cases this is the reason for having classes only for Gypsies, or sending them to schools for educationally subnormal children. In the background of this solutions is not the intention of successful education, but make the Gypsy children finish the elementary school.

In opposite to this the modern pedagogy sets out from the point, that everyone can get a high level of knowledge, when he gets the right conditions for this in the school, and when they accept his studying rhythm. In Hungary the new co-ordination of the syllabus allows, that the syllabus set for the end of the fourth year can be carried out in a flexible cadence. Since the local syllabi couldn't have been worked up by now, we don't know, how many schools educating Gypsy students took an advantage of this. Certainly this flexibility of syllabus in the first year would ease the pressure of the segregation, which is very strong in the schools up till now, because in spite of this fact, there would be no reasons for having only Gypsy classes.

For the success in the school the cognitive abilities of students are not enough, but they need to be active during the lessons. The language, that the teacher is using influences the behaviour of the students: some are more motivated to be active during the lessons, and some others are induced to be passive, or even frightened. The strict rules and disciplines, in which the activity during lessons can be carried out, induces the Gypsy children -who are not used to this- to passivity. We have no reasons to assume, that the prejudice, and the racist remarks about the Gypsies do not trickle into the relatively closed world of the classrooms. Because of that, the teacher educating Gypsy students has to have the ability to deal with the conflicts rising in the classrooms among the children belonging to the ethnic minority and the children of majority.

Segregation and detrimental distinction

The idea of detrimental distinction can have three interpretations: (1) in the restricting sense only those incidences belong to this circle, which are the results of negative distinction (discrimination) of students belonging to an ethnic minority, (2) in a wider interpretation every educational practice which causes problems for the children belonging to an ethnic minority **because** they **do** belong to that minority, and (3) which doesn't help to put aright the disadvantages arising from the fact, that they do belong to a minority.

Since the detrimental distinction is very much a contextual incidence, we need to mark the system of correlation, in which some educational practices can be

a disadvantage for the students belonging to an ethnic minority. In this regard we have to consider three circumstances:

- avoiding every kind of discrimination,
- the translation of the rights of minorities to educational practices (e.g.: the acquiring of language and culture, the free choice of identity, etc.),
- the equality of chances in the educational system.

In spite of all these we can consider a detrimental distinction the following:

- the restricting features of the educational system for the equality of chances,
- the segregation,
- inadequate and disadvantageous educational solutions,
- inadequate and disadvantageous pedagogic practices.

The segregation inside the school system

According to the data of the school statistics of 1992-1993 in the Hungarian education there were 7.12 percent of the students Gypsies. In certain educational institutions -because of the geographical settlement distribution and the segregation concerning some settlements- the ratio of Gypsy students differs very much from the average: in the year mentioned, more than 70 percent of the Gypsy students went to schools, where the ratio of Gypsy students was above 10 percent, and 42 percent out of these students went to schools where the ratio of Gypsy students was above 22 percent. (This segregation in the school system has certainly grown since then.)

The segregation in the school system has basically three reasons: (1) Because of the prejudices of the majority, the growing number of Gypsy students in a school causes the moving of non Gypsy students to other schools. Because the threshold ratio, which induces the migration, is different depending on the social-cultural environment of every school, this proceeding causes a kind of segregation. (2) The non Gypsy population having a higher level qualification, has a better chance for internal migration, and this leads to the increasing number and ratio of Gypsies in some certain regions -having a high ratio of unemployment- of the country. (3) The internal migration is tended towards the ghettos of the towns, and this causes the increase of the ratio of Gypsies in these area. Because of this the number of educational institutions maintained by the self-governing, in which the

ratio of Gypsy students is higher than the average, will increase rapidly. The measure of segregation in the school, cannot be stopped with only provisions and regulations against the discrimination, but only with a complex governmental programme concerning all the problems of Gypsies.

The increasing segregation of Gypsy students in the educational system, and the growing number of Gypsies in some schools does not mean the development of an autonomous educational system. On the other hand, if the educational institutions, in which the ratio of Gypsy students is very high, came up with an appropriate pedagogic programme -as it has started in some schools maintained by self-governing- and ensured the possibility for studying about the Gypsy culture, and even to study Romany or Gypsy language, prepared their teachers for fulfilling these special tasks, and if they got an adequate support, they would not fall short of the expectations of the government.

One of the most important dimensions of the disadvantages in the school system are the regional differences. The ratio of Gypsy students is in the most undeveloped, mostly distressed regions the highest (like Borsod, Nógrád, and Szabolcs-Szatmár). This means that the schools, in which the ratio of Gypsy students is increasing, are maintained by such self-governing, which are not in possession of an adequate income for supporting better educational circumstances for the Gypsy students.

The segregation in the school

The detrimental distinction in the schools have different levels. These distinctions can be seen in the reduced level of education, through the different levels of segregation, to the getting rid of the Gypsy students (letting them fail, exemption, or redirecting to special schools for educationally subnormal children). In every fifth school, the Gypsy students do not take part in any kind of extra lessons (like swimming, teaching of foreign languages or computer science, etc.) and even if they have the opportunity to do these, the parents usually cannot give the financial support. The milder segregation means, that the Gypsy students were "seated apart" from the non Gypsy students in the classroom, or make purely Gypsy classes. In 1995 among 840 schools there were 132, which had purely Gypsy classes.

The organisation of Gypsy classes was originally supposed to help the Gypsy students to adapt and integrate themselves more successfully. But because they have failed almost everywhere, they were not able to do anything for the closing up, they became the institutions of segregation and low level education. The pedagogic performance was destroyed because of the unanimous behaviour of the students, and because the teachers "trying" to educate these students were not prepared properly, and were insufficient for this job. It has been proved, that the Gypsy students, who have been separated for a long time, cannot simply go back to the original situation.

The schools for educationally subnormal children

It is not an unknown method of segregation for the other Eastern-European countries, to put the Gypsy children into a school or class for educationally subnormal children. In estimation half of the children studying in such schools have a Gypsy origin, so the ratio of Gypsy children in these schools is six- seven times higher than the average in the common education. The aggravation of the rules concerning the redirection of Gypsy students to these special schools couldn't help either, these schools became a "depot" for Gypsy students. The large number of Gypsy students in these kind of institutions, which give no opportunity for further education or chances for a job, is not a sign for the mental insufficiency of Gypsy students, but for the discrimination and for the pedagogic failure of the common educational institutions.

It is a contribution to the large number of Gypsy students in these special schools, that the devices used for the examination, which has to be made before the redirection of the students to these schools, are unsatisfactory. The tests for measuring the IQ or other abilities of Gypsy children have not been adapted to the Gypsy culture, and the experts usually do not take in consideration, that the problems occurring might be the causes of not having Hungarian as their mother-tongue.

The "need for special education" means a pressure of segregation for the Gypsy students. This pressure is in the first few years of the elementary school -not surprisingly- the strongest. In the kindergarten there are no requirements and no

compulsions to evaluate, therefore the possible failure of both, the institution and the child does not come out. Nevertheless, the education in the kindergarten is par excellence personality-focused, therefore possibly more successful. In the lower school the answer given for the always hardening evaluation and for the disturbance of suitability is: forcing the Gypsy students to the repetition of the year, which causes many of the dropouts. At the end, those Gypsy students, who were able to "survive" the elementary school, and if they get into a secondary school, they aren't condemned to fail.

In the case of Gypsy children the disturbance of suitability has got partly a language-cultural, and partly a socio-cultural origin. It should be evident, to establish schools, which work on the bases of a Gypsy pedagogic programme, through which the disturbance of suitability caused by the cultural differences could be reduced. Although, it could be dangerous because of the pressure of segregation. The aim is the success of Gypsy students in the school, and not finding another way to get rid of them.

The multicultural content of the majority education

During the past 50 years the Hungarian Gypsies -similarly to the other minorities- have been living in a kind of communicational ghetto. Neither the majority media, nor the majority education has given the feeling to the people living in Hungary, that they live in a multi-lingual, multicultural country. It has particularly concerned the Gypsies, which were -reading the textbooks- as if they didn't exist. This stood in the complete opposite to the situation, that the people kept the Gypsies living in their surroundings in evidence. Until the picture made about the Gypsies will remain the product of the pathologically underinformed common consciousness, the integration of the ethnic minority will remain a pipe dream. In this sense the multicultural nature of the majority education is as important as the minority education of Gypsy children.

In the past three years there were many researches made about the level of multicultural knowledge of children belonging to the majority, and about the multicultural contents of the textbooks. These reports were done to try to influence the publisher of textbooks through the publicity. Most of the textbooks published in the past few years were written in a strongly multicultural sense. Since the NAT

(National Basic Syllabus) contains many requirements about the culture of minorities, the textbooks published in the future will most probably put a bigger emphasis on these contents.

There are quite many experimental multicultural educational programmes going on in the country. These are supported by two foundations, and are carried out within the scope of two bigger multicultural educational programme. One of them is the "Facing the History" and the other is the "Multiculture" educational programme. In the system of training and further educational training of teachers the education of multicultural knowledge has not worked it's way in yet.

Health problems

Most families reported a wide range of health complaints, and difficulty in obtaining medicine because a lack of many. Gypsies usually appeared much older than they were. National health statistic confirm the verity of this observation, indicating that Gypsies have a life expectancy which is 15 year shorter than the national average in Hungary., as well as a much higher rate of infant mortality. Serious health problems, were endemic to the community which also affected the ability of residents to find work and significantly lowered their average age of retirement. The doctors of few Gypsy community lives in villages reported that nearly 100% of the community's children are affectedly head lice, scabies, and intestinal worms. No sooner do they cure them of it, they pick it up again. Birth control is not used, nor is the distribution of it or even information about it welcomed; apparently is thought to be a wrongful practice which conflict traditional Gypsy values, such as large families. Families tend to be quite large, and a significant number of Gypsy children are housed either temporarily or permanently in state institutions. According to Hungarian figures, the ratio of Gypsy pupils in need of care institutions for handicapped children is 28.5%, and that of mentally defective Gypsy children is 31%. About half the children in welfare centre are also Gypsy, while 10% of them are physically and mentally retarded. The doctors suggested that the extremely poor health conditions and the high rate of intermarriage were contributing causes to the above situation.

Many of the health problems and concerns observed and recorded are characteristic of poverty stricken communities, and did not seem surprise in light of surrounding.

Among the main reasons for health problem there is insufficient nourishment in several levels which means the quantity and the quality of composition of nutriment. First of all to mention the lack of proteins of vital importance. These are the reason for the term of calorie and protein short malnutrition. Usually the nourishment is not full in other ways either, such as a proper composition of some aliments and in the quality of vitamins and mineral salts. These types of nutritional problems and insufficiencies are mainly the reason for the characteristics damage of health occur mostly in the time of development and growing in the childhood.

The other main reason besides malnutrition are the various infection. These cause diseases, often serious sickness that are lingering and last for the time of life. Especially certain intestinal infections and respiratory catarrh are well known besides the infections caused by the several kinds of parasites which can make the state of health of the underfeed people even worse already in childhood and in adult age still, causing a lots of death. The reasons of these group of diseases in a short indication are: big family, too many children, insufficient income, extremely bad circumstances of housing, crowdedness, communal and hygienic circumstances, low level of education, parasite infections and harmful habits like high rate of smoking and alcoholism. These phenomena and their medical consequence 30 - 40 years ago were for some reasons not as a remarkable as today.

Amongst other the number of the Gypsy population was not as a big as this time, and a huge part of these people lived a life of vagaboundage. The Gypsies were more spread out that time, they lived in the forest, on deserted farms and outskirts of villages. 42% of the colonies are in or on the skirts of forest, 24% are on village skirts. No road connection (or only a walkway) leads to the village 47 percent of these. In 80% of the houses there is no electric power, 40% lack of water (no well even). These all mean difficult problems for example to the doctor or to the district nurse to approach the place and problems of hygiene, education and cultural life. Or there is only the fact that they have to use a polluted waters of

springs and brooks for drinking even. Because of these infections and epidemics commonly occur like typhus and intestinal catarrh.

The buildings are made of adobe at a rate of 32%, 45% made of wood with clay like hoovers.

Forest and brookbench hovels are often on tide areas that is why they are wet and dumps in the longest part of the year. This assist the inhabitants respiratory catarrh, chronic bronchitis or asthma, from which significant part of the Gypsies grown up in suffering chronically, and this is one of the things that make them unable to work.

Thinking of the unhealthy heating (iron stove or adobe built fireplace) with the poor piping of smoke in addition to the fumes of cooking and washing, and to the tobacco smoke it is obvious to find the assisting agents of diseases.

Here is has to be mentioned that often one or more animals lives in a house with the family, for example dogs, cats.

With the improving of financial conditions, smoking is becoming more and more common almost every time involving the children. This is an extremely significant modifier of the health conditions too. The smoking of the mothers and surrounds play important part in the fact that the member of little weighting, premature born babies is three times more among the Gypsy new born than the non-Gypsy one.

The symptoms caused by malnutrition are really variable, generally they can describe as they affect all the organs of the people, and they are main reason for complaints of Gypsies living in colonies. Essentially they are due the following:

- The extremely common premature births
- Developmental drawbacks in the premature phase
- Sometimes failures of developments
- Low weight at birth
- The often disease in infant and child age
- Anaemia
- Muscle weakness and low blood pressure
- Often disease of liver
- Backwardness of the body (and sometimes of the mind) development

- Some of bone deformities
- Lowered bearing of work, early becoming broken-down
- Chronicle respiratory disease
- 10-15 years shorter life term in comparison with non-Gypsy population

Reasons for the high rate of premature births. Characteristics problems of pregnancy at Gypsies

Unfavourable agents can be collected as:

Unhealthy housing, bad natural conditions. Unhealthy air circumstances. Low level of health culture such as pregnancy at too young (before the age of 16-17) or at a too old (after the age of 35) age. Too often pregnancies after each other, "umpteenth" pregnancy. Disorder in family circumstances. High number and often repeated abortion. High rate of smoking and alcoholism. Weakness of the mother, low weight, protein low nutrition, anaemia, infection of intestinal worms and other diseases. Lack of pregnant mother care.

There are other problems related to premature birth too. In this case injuries mean while and after birth occur more often. These can lead back to insufficient oxygen supply or sometimes icterns or hipoglikemia, what all harm nerve system, and this affects on the mental development badly. These babies will be hard-to-handle pupils in schools or asocial children. Those babies who are seriously left behind in prenatal development will make the same problems. In their case the injuries affect the nerve system and sophisticated developments of the brain, so they simply will not be able to reach higher mental activity like finishing elementary school even. The fact, that almost half of the Gypsy children are unable to fulfil the requirements in the upper classes of the elementary schools can be understood as a reflection of those harms mentioned above.

EDUCATION POLICY FOR GYPSIES

For the development of an education policy, which can lead to a middle or long term success, one or the combination of some of the following conditions is needed: (1) a Gypsy civil rights movement with the power to bring pressure to bear, (2) a strong political interest in the majority political system, (3) such a minority system of law, which can compel the government to accept these, and finally, (4) international pressure. In Hungary the first two conditions do not exist yet. The Gypsy self-governing have been developed before a strong Gypsy movement could have been evolved, therefore the ability for the enforcement of the interests of Gypsies couldn't get much better.

There are a lot of illusions living in Hungary about the possibilities of education. Many people see the education as the most important device for the "rise" of Gypsies. It should be seen though, that the education only can assure the short way for becoming an intellectual, when in general the possibilities for the mobility of integration are opened. Today, the situation is not like that in Hungary. The policy tended towards the education of Gypsies should be examined from two different points of view: one of them are the possible approaches, and the other is the problem of the transformation of the educational system.

Integration and assimilation

The different approaches concerning the education of Gypsy students are not independent from the approaches concerning the "Gypsy question" in general. Their short taking in consideration is important, because in the common way of thinking from the different ways of thinking result different education policies.

The main question of the debate between the different approaches is, to find out a standpoint about the problems of integration and assimilation. There are some people, who say that the only chance for the Gypsies to get integrated through the education is, to adjust themselves totally to the expectations and requirements of the Hungarian education. According to some other people, the schools have to ensure the successful coming further, and the success for the free choice of identity, without any expectations for assimilation. (According to the

author of this report, first of all the school has to adjust itself to the Gypsy children having in many ways different cultural and lingual abilities. The problems are usually not caused by the parents, who do not bring up, or bring up their children wrongly, but by the fact that the Gypsy parents bring up their children differently, and compared to this, the schools do not educate the children in compliance with it.)

Because of the similarity of the two words, the integration of Gypsies and the integrational education, they usually get mixed up, although these two things very often require contradictory solutions. The primary condition for the integration of Gypsies is to organise themselves into groups, the internal integration of Gypsies. This is usually better served by the autonomous minority educational institutions, than the integrated education of Gypsy students in the institutions of public Hungarian education. On the other hand, in Hungary there is no real autonomous Gypsy minority institution system. The reality is, that -it seems for quite a long time- the common educational institutions have to ensure the possibility for Gypsy students of successful coming further, and of getting to know the culture of their minority and mother-tongue (in the case of Wallachian and Gypsy speakers.)

The effects of changes in the educational system

In the Hungarian educational system there is a deep (concerning all the elements of the system) and long termed change going on. The new system of education brought about by the process of changes, is integrated, decentralised and liberated. The system of educational guidance doesn't have a deconcentrated, organised system, the duties connected to it are done by the organisations of self-governing. These organisations are mainly supported by the local self-governing and by the regional self-governing, which are in a co-ordinated relationship with the government authorities, therefore the most important decisions about the educational institutions are made on the level of the local-regional governing. As a result of that, the governmental guidance of the education and the system of devices used in the policy of education have been changed radically. The space of motion of the directional like guidance has become tighter, and the devices of

indirect influencing have been revealed. The greatest undertaking of the change of the educational system is the NAT (National Basic Syllabus). The logic which the programme is based on is, that the educational institutions should prepare themselves -while completing their pedagogical programme and local syllabus- for taking a full advantage of the opportunities of their so far hidden professional independence, and try to renew their pedagogic work. In consequence of the efforts, the pedagogic content, the school as an institution, and the external system of connections of the school will change.

In the years since the change of regime the efforts of education policy were directed on the change of the public education system. There was not enough attention, and not enough support put on the development and realisation of an education policy, which could have been a solution for the educational problems of groups in special situations. Such are for example the education of groups in a disadvantageous position, the education of Gypsies and the winding up of the "ghettos" of educationally subnormal children. (These three questions are very tightly connected.)

In many aspects and without any doubt the new system creates better conditions for the education of minorities. A centralised system is not able to adjust itself to the great variety of language and culture, and it is not able to assure the balance between the quality requirements of the education and the duties of the ethnic socialisation in the education of minorities. The new, decentralised system and liberalised regulation of the syllabus makes it possible for certain schools, to adjust themselves to the different lingual and cultural claims and characteristics of different minorities living in different settlements. Nevertheless, the decentralisation conceals dangers, especially in the case of the education of Gypsy students.

In order to give the Gypsy students at least the minimal equality of chances, and that the minority rights become enforceable in the education, it needs the extensive system of reinforcing measures. It belongs to this circle for example the additional system of rationally aimed financing of minority education, the assuring of minority participation in making decisions concerning the education, and a good working educational system for the education of students belonging to a minority. Similarly to these the assuring of multicultural education needs a nation-wide

regulation and the formation of development programmes. In those schools, where there are no students belonging to any minority, or where the prejudices against the Gypsies are alive, we cannot expect this question to have priority in the local education policy.

The processes going on in the system of public education raise some particular problems concerning the education of Gypsy students. One of these problems is, that because of the joint effect of liberalised regulation of contents and the financing of education, which gives a support in ratio with the number of students belonging to a school, the educational institutions will start a battle for the students, and many of them will develop some special educational programmes. This kind of competition of supply will obviously do no good for the Gypsy students. In their viewpoint it is an essential question, to have as many schools on a high standard, assuring a good basic level of education, as possible. This problem usually doesn't come up in villages having only one school, although more than half of the Hungarian Gypsies live in these villages. In the towns, in which the supply of schools is much bigger, usually it depends on the education policy of the local self-governing, which ways are opened, and which ways are locked for the Gypsy students.

The question about the further education of Gypsy students -connected to their social problems- is still considered to be only a problem of vocational training. In the past few years the conditions of this became worse, and most probably they will become even worse. The condition for entering the vocational training is -with a few exceptions- is to have finished the elementary school. Now it means to finish the 8 classes of elementary school, but after the new regulation of contents will have come into force, it will mean to have passed the basic exam at the end of the tenth grade. If, as we can expect, the education of more and more professions will be organised as a post-secondary programme, the chances of Gypsy students for getting a profession, which can be converted in the manpower market will be decreasing constantly. The problems of general education and vocational training cannot be separated from each other, especially not in the case of Gypsy students. They would need a special educational programme, which is based on the combination of general education and vocational training.

The Gypsy education policy of the government

The Gypsy education policy of the nineties

A conception of a Gypsy education policy has to suit two, sometimes contradictory requirements at once: it has to contribute to the social integration of Gypsies through the help of the successful education of Gypsy students, at the same time it has to assure the conditions for the free choice of identity, and it has to help the Gypsy students to get a positive self-image through getting to know their culture and language.

In what follows I will set forth briefly the most important elements of the documents made about the Gypsy education policy of the nineties. These are: the governmental suggestions of the Ministry of Education in 1992, the Gypsy Education-development Programme of the Ministry in 1995, and the resolution accepted by the government in 1997, "the middle term provisions for the improvement of the living conditions of Gypsies" (Gov. 1997.)

The most important elements of the programme of Ministry of Culture and Education in 1992 were:

- The establishment of regional nets of institutions, having a collegiate background for catching up and for supporting talented students.
- The building up of a system for the vocational training and further education of young Gypsies.
- The building in of the fundamentals of Romanology in the education of pedagogues.
- The establishment of a Romanology Department at every level of the higher education.
- The assuring of the differentiation of supplementary normative support, and it's appropriate application.
- The assuring of the conditions for the publication of Gypsy textbooks.

Until the change of government in 1994 form the targets set in this programme were the following realised: the establishment of a Romanology Department in the Catholic Teacher Training College of Zsámbék, and the development of a Centre for National and Ethnic Minorities in the circle of the National Institution of General Education.

In 1995 the Programme for the Development of the Education of Gypsies wanted to put a pressure on three points of the general education system: (1) the help for the integration of Gypsy students through the development and help of the "catching up" programmes, and the improvement of efficiency and flexibility of schools; (2) the increasing of the ratio of Gypsy students finishing the elementary school in the time of compulsory education, with the help of the development of some "catching up" programmes and the establishment of a net of institutions for talented young Gypsies; (3) the increasing of the number of Gypsy students having taken part in a vocational training or in a secondary school education, which gives the final exam, with the help of a collegiate and scholarship system.

The most important elements of the programme were the following:

- The support of pedagogic, linguistic, historical and ethnographic researches for the improvement of the content of Gypsy education.
- The improving of syllabi, textbooks and other teaching aids used in the different institutions and Gypsy educational programmes.
- The support and improvement of school-preparation programmes in the kindergarten.
- The development and support of "catching up" programmes.
- The establishment of a net of institutions for supporting the talented Gypsy students and to give them a collegiate background.
- The widening of the scholarship system of general and secondary educational institutions.
- The support for higher education programmes and the teacher training.
- The support and organisation of further education of social workers, teachers, and educational advisors.
- The support of institutions for the education of Gypsies.
- The support of inter-cultural educational programmes.
- The development of pedagogic-professional services.

In 1997 the fulfilling of the programme came to a sudden stop. Certain elements of the programme were taken over by the Gypsy Education-development programme of the Soros Foundation. It has been proved through the debates since the beginning of the programme, that some of the questions didn't get enough stress.

These are for example the problems of language and segregation. The Ministry of Labour, which is in charge for the system of vocational training, didn't make a development programme for the vocational training of Gypsies by now. Similarly to the vocational training, there was no governmental programme prepared for the higher education, although it is true, that some elements concerning the higher education can be found in different documents.

In the governmental action programme of 1997 there has been a change of stress in the education policy of the Ministry. In the programme accepted by the government there have been some short termed orders concerning the development of the system of scholarships and other supports, the programme for the development of contents has been reduced to the development of pattern-plans and the programme for the development of institutions became limited to the development of the already existing institutions.

The most important areas of the Gypsy education policy

The legal regulation

Since in Hungary there is a united minority legal system, which means that the Gypsies are emancipated compared to other minorities, the regulation concerning the education of Gypsy students is not separated from the common legal system of minorities. At the same time this regulation usually takes in consideration the requirements occurring because of the unique situation of Gypsies. Therefore, for example the law concerning the rights of minorities says, that there can be special conditions created for the education of Gypsy students.

The law about the general education, the constitution and the law about the rights of minorities are assuring in line, that students belonging to a minority have the right to be educated in their mother-tongue, at the same time they forbid any kind of discrimination or detrimental distinction of these people. The law entrusts the choice on those concerned, in what kind of kindergarten or school they would like to educate their children. The organisation of the education of minorities is the duty of the self-governing. If there is a request by the parents of children belonging to a minority, the self-governing has to organise a minority kindergarten group or a class at the school.

The only difficulty in the regulation of the education of Gypsy students is the successful prohibition of the detrimental distinction and discrimination of these students. The law of general education generally forbids the detrimental distinction of students belonging to a national and ethnic minority, but it doesn't explain the concept, it doesn't impose sanctions against breaking this prohibition, and it doesn't assign an authority for controlling the keeping of this prohibition. Because of all these there is no efficient legal restrict against the discrimination of Gypsy students in the school.

The regulation of contents

The NAT (National Basic Syllabus) sets in an independent part the peculiar principles of minority education. Among many other things, the NAT considers the intercultural education a minority education programme, it makes possible the education of Gypsy language as a foreign language, a bilingual and a mother-tongue education programme, and it makes the education of folk-knowledge compulsory.

The Ministry of Education is regulating the contents of requirements of the education of minorities in an individual document, connected to the NAT, called the Guidelines. The document will set the contents of the kindergarten education of children belonging to a minority, within this the Gypsy children, the aims, the compulsory and alternative elements of the "catching up" programmes for Gypsy students in the school, the requirements of general syllabus and improving programmes, and the orders of the organisation of these programmes.

The development of contents and pedagogic services

Within the establishment of Regional Educational Institutions, there was a net of pedagogic organisation and advice centres for minorities developed as well. In this system there are a lot of duties undone concerning the education of Gypsy students. These are:

- the development of contents (there is only a limited development of the syllabus going on),
- the publication of textbooks,
- the valuation of the programmes, the measurement of the level of knowledge,
- guidance, informational services,

- the monitoring and qualification of development programmes,
- further education for pedagogues (the programmes organised by now were not accredited, they didn't have a contextual and qualitative standard set, and there was no support of contents)
- preparatory sessions for the entrance exams,
- other educational programmes,
- information services for the majority,
- the synchronised work of a support system.

All in all we can say, that there is no level of the education of Gypsy children, where there are complex programme package, which could help the educational institutions, would contain the syllabus, the textbooks, the work-books, the hand-books for the teachers, and the further educational programmes for the pedagogues. Because of the lack of this "package" the money appropriated for the education of Gypsy students cannot show a perceptible effect.

The development of institutions

The Education-Development Programme for Gypsies made by the Ministry of Education in 1995 has scheduled the establishment of a net of regional colleges for talented young Gypsies. It seems from the debates of the past few years, that (1) the pedagogic effectiveness of these colleges is doubtful, (2) the conception didn't take in consideration the sometimes radically different educational problems and needs of Gypsies living in different regions and different communities, and (3) it didn't build upon the local initiatives. Accordingly, the Gandhi Foundation responsible for the institution development programme has developed an independent conception with the initiation of experts. It's bases are partly the strategy of institution development, and partly that the pedagogic programmes, the local communities and the allowances, which should be found through advertisement, and which, if they fit into the developed strategies, can join to development programme of the Foundation. The institution development programme -because of the great pressure of segregation in the elementary schools- would have had only supported the establishment of kindergarten and secondary schools. According to the Minister of Education, there will be no sources until the end of 1998 to start with these programmes.

Financing

The financing of the education of minorities is a system, which is multi-channelled and difficult to survey. In this system the financing and support of the education of Gypsy students doesn't get separated from the financing and support of other minorities. In 1997, in the structure of the sources devoted to the education of Gypsy students, there was an increasing ratio of announced scholarships, but the ratio of central support of the development has decreased. To the money, which could be got through announce didn't belong an ensuring of quality, professional-pedagogic guidance, the further education and evaluation of pedagogues, therefore these sources supported the already existing, pedagogically not sufficient, and in many cases harmful educational practices. On the other hand, there is not enough money for the central developments and services, and this questions the sense of the whole programme. There are no sources at all for the institution development programme.

The financing of the programmes has got a very important role in the development and operating of the education of Gypsies. A smaller part of the financing of the education development of minorities was provided by the Ministry of Education and the bigger part was given by some foundations in a system of announced support. In 1995 there has been a system of co-operation developed between the Ministry of Education and the different foundations, which were all concerned about the new financing construction, and a better support for the education of Gypsy students. Thus, the technical conditions for the synchronised support system couldn't have been created.

The harmonisation of interests

One of the most important elements of the new legal regulation concerning the education of minorities is, that the rights set in the new system assure the possibility for the self-governing to practice the rights concerning the minorities. The minority self-governing can ask for information, can initiate arrangements, can make suggestions, can raise an objection against the insulting of minority rights. The minority self-governing can practice the rights for agreement concerning the decisions made about the education of minorities, therefore there cannot be a legal decision made by the self-governing or government without the agreement of minority self-governing. This right for agreement is very important in the acceptance of that part of

the budget of the self-governing, which effects the minorities, in the nomination of the director of an institution and in the acceptance of a pedagogic programme. Above all, the minority self-governing can delegate a representative in the school chair, and through this they can influence the functioning of the educational institutions. The minority self-governing can contribute to the professional supervision.

Despite all these particularly strong rights, the minority self-governing didn't influence the minority education very much. The cause of this relative lack of success is -not counting the time since the establishment of the new system- that the minority self-governing financially very much depends on the local self-governing, and that the elected leaders of the minority self-governing are not prepared for handling the problems concerning the general education.

Minority education for Gypsies

Minority programmes for Gypsies

There have been two researches done in the past few years about the "catching up" programmes for Gypsies. The most important conclusions of both papers was, that the level of these programmes is very low, and because of the lack of regulation, they use the most different solutions in the most different contextual and syllable structures. The aimed groups of the programmes aren't clear either. There are places, where these programmes are organised only for Gypsy students, than where it is organised for Gypsy students depending on their performance, and where it is organised for all students with difficulties and a bad performance.

More than half of these programmes only deal with the catching up in one subject (correpetition), the others expand this with the development of skills and folk-knowledge, and some only help in the development of skills.

It would increase the level and the efficiency of these catching up programmes radically if they would take more in consideration the requirements raising because of the particularity of the socialisation of Gypsy students, if they had a better worked out language programme, and they would prefer the integrated solution of organisation. Because most probably there are no two villages, where the same programme is needed, for the development the abilities and lingual background of the students have to be gauged.

Education models for Gypsies

The drawbacks of Gypsy students are so big, that the therapy directed to the schools maintained by the self-governing will not be able to decrease the huge gap of knowledge between the majority and the Gypsy students. For this special educational a model is needed, which For this, the development of a special model of educational institutions is needed, which is based on a special educational programme starting from the special situation of Gypsies. There should be a nation-wide web of so called minority educational institutions for Gypsies, which shouldn't be developed on the bases of the spreading of a nation-wide model, but it should be able to adjust itself to the local peculiarities, and should work with the local initiatives. In which follows, we will introduce the models used in some already working institutions.

Kalyi Jag Gypsy Ethnic Technical School, Budapest

The supporter of the school is the Kalyi Jag Association of Gypsy Art, which has established the school in 1993. In this school those young Gypsies can be accepted, who have finished their elementary school studies. The aim of the school is the training of 14-25 years old Gypsies, who didn't take part in the secondary school education, and do not have a profession. The training lasts for two years. The school finds it important, that the Gypsies get to know their culture, their language, and keep their identity. The school retrains unemployed young Gypsies as well. They are keen to give the students a lower state qualification for a foreign language, or a computer operator certificate. There are only Gypsy students studying at this school, in the academic year of 1996-1997 the number of students was 37. There are two teachers with a Gypsy origin teaching at this school.

The school of Józsefváros, Budapest

The supporter of the school is the School-Foundation of Józsefváros, and it is working since September, 1997. The number of students at the school is 48, 95% (45 students) out of them are Gypsies. This school has been organised to help Gypsy children to be more successful at the school, and maybe prepare them for further education. The aim of the school is to organise such workshops and clubs, which could wake the interest in Gypsy children for the richness of wisdom, and for many beautiful things in the

world. These workshops are organised in many different areas of culture. The children should get to know their culture and language as well. The school helps the students to get a lower state qualification for a foreign language, and to inquire some knowledge about the computers. There is a "catching up" programme going on in this school, but it isn't the most important aim of the school.

Professional School of the Opportunity Alternative Foundation, Szolnok

The Professional School of Gypsy Opportunity is the Foundation Lungo Drom National Association of Gypsies has been organised in 1990. The aim of the school is to give a profession to the Gypsy and non Gypsy students, who have a big social drawback, and dropped out from the secondary school. In the school there is the teaching of a subject going on about the culture of Gypsy minority. There are 48 students at the school, most of them are Gypsies.

Foundation Work-school, Edelény

This project has been worked out in 1990-1991 by a group of remedial teachers. The task of the school is to assure practical work-forms since the first class of elementary school, which are in harmony with the different levels and kinds of handicaps of the students. There is a big stress put on the prevention work of speech therapy, and on the education together with the parents. The aim of the school is to prepare the children for useful works. In this point of view, they prepare them for the following professions: vegetable grower, keeper of animals, needleworker, knitter, crochetworker, and repairing things around the house. It belongs to the profile of the school, to give an education of hygiene. Those children, who do not continue their studies, and cannot get a work, receive a goat, to be able to start an independent animal keeping. In 1995-1996 there were 71 elementary school students, most of them Gypsies, with a small, or middle handicap studying in this school. There is no education about the Gypsy culture going on.

Gandhi Grammar School and Dormitory, Pécs

The school was established in 1994 with the support of the Gandhi Foundation, and it is working as a six-year grammar school. There are 140 students studying here at the time, 95% of the students are Gypsies, but by the finishing of all works, there will be

360 students. The task of the Gandhi Grammar School is to become a school, which educates a great variety of cultural knowledge. Its aim is to educate Gypsy intellectuals, who are committing themselves to the issue of Gypsies. There is an education of Gypsy and Wallachian language and culture going on. Among the pedagogues there are 5 teachers with a Gypsy origin.

Elementary School, Nyírtelek

The school is supported by the local self-governing, but they draw on application money as well. There are both Gypsy and non Gypsy students at this school, the ratio of non Gypsies is higher. There is no education of Gypsy language or culture. There are two teachers with a Gypsy origin. The school educates the children to be tolerant, and to be able to live together with people, who are different. The aim is to assure as many children as possible the continuing of their studies. There is a dormitory belonging to the school, called the Kind House. Those students live here, who have great social drawbacks, or have an excellent school achievement. It is important to keep this excellent achievement. The school has a special programme for Gypsies, which means, that in the first two years there is a class only for the Gypsy students, which helps the catching up, and in the third year they continue with the non Gypsy students.

Summary

The reason for the lack of success of Gypsy students at the school is, that the schools are not able to even up the different drawbacks of Gypsy students. The reasons for the failure at the school are: the lingual and social drawbacks, the inadequate pedagogic practice, the problems of learning motivation, detrimental distinction, the usually bad relationship between the school and the parents, the inadequate contents of Gypsy educational programmes, and the different combination of all these problems, in different regions of the country.

There are many forms of the detrimental distinction of Gypsy students: segregated Gypsy classes, the redirecting of students with no handicap to a school for educationally subnormal children, and the different techniques of detrimental distinction in the classes.

There were some special minority educational models for Gypsies developed in Hungary, but we cannot make a picture of their pedagogic and ethnic socialisation success.

In Hungary -not considering some fatal deficiencies- there has been a development of a system of financing, a minority legal and contextual regulation and a reconciliation of interests. Parallel with this, there has been a pedagogic development programme going on, with no measurable success by now. Although, there were some programmes for the Gypsy minority institution development formulated, in this respect nothing has happened.