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Marlous Visser has been responsible for the publication of this Mercator Regional dossier.
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## Glossary

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<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>IVET</td>
<td>Initial Vocational Education and Training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISCED</td>
<td>International Standard Classification of Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KLIK</td>
<td>Klebelsberg Institution Maintenance Centre</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Foreword

background

Regional and minority languages are languages that differ from the official state language. The Mercator Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language Learning uses the definition for these languages defined by the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML):

“Regional and minority languages are languages traditionally used within a given territory of a state by nationals of that state who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the state’s population; they are different from the official language(s) of that state, and they include neither dialects of the official language(s) of the state nor the languages of migrants”. The Mercator Research Centre aims at the acquisition, application and circulation of knowledge about these regional and minority languages in education. An important means to achieve this goal is the Regional dossiers series: documents that provide the most essential features of the education system of regions with a lesser used regional or minority language.

aim

The aim of the Regional dossiers series is to provide a concise description of minority languages in education mainly in Europe but also in other parts of the world. Aspects that are addressed include features of the education system, recent educational policies, main actors, legal arrangements and support structures, as well as quantitative aspects such as the number of schools, teachers, pupils, and financial investments. Because of this fixed structure the dossiers in the series are easy to compare.

target group

The dossiers serve several purposes and are relevant for policymakers, researchers, teachers, students and journalists who wish to explore developments in minority language schooling in Europe. They can also serve as a first orientation towards further research, or function as a source of ideas for improving educational provisions in their own region.
The format of the Regional dossiers follows the format of Eurydice – the information network on education in Europe – in order to link the regional descriptions with those of national education systems. Eurydice provides information on the administration and structure of national education systems in the member states of the European Union.

Every Regional dossier begins with an introduction about the region concerned, followed by six sections that each deals with a specific level of the education system (e.g. primary education). Sections eight and nine cover the main lines of research into education of the concerned minority language, the prospects for the minority language in general and for education in particular. The tenth section (optional) gives a summary of statistics. Lists of regulations, publications and useful addresses concerning the minority language, are given at the end of the dossier.
1 Introduction

Since the 1971 first World Roma Congress held in London, the politically correct name for all the Gypsy/Roma people in the world is Roma or Romani. However, in Hungary several hundred Roma minority self-governments and many NGOs use the term Cigány (Gypsy) to denote themselves. The act on minorities (Act LXXVII of 1993 on the Rights of National and Ethnic Minorities) uses both Cigány (Gypsy) and Roma (Ligeti, 2002, p.7). For that reason, the term Roma/Gypsy is used in this dossier to refer to this population group. Hungarian Gypsies distinguish themselves based on language, culture, identity and traditional occupations and sometimes those categories are overlapping.

Figure 1. National minorities in Hungary based on the 2011 census. From Wikimedia Commons, unknown user, called Szabi237, 2015.
According to Kemény (2000), Roma/Gypsy in Hungary could be divided into three main linguistic and cultural groups:

- the Beash (Boyash) Gypsies that are bilingual, speaking both Romanian and Hungarian languages
- the Oláh (Vlach) Gypsies that are bilingual, speaking both Romani and Hungarian
- the Romungros that lost their Romani language and speak Hungarian (Kemény, 2000)

Similarly according to Szalai (2015) the Roma linguistic groups could be divided into monolinguals (Hungarian speakers) and bilinguals (see figure 3). Among bilinguals, there are two sub-groups, Romani-Hungarian and Beash-Hungarian. Furthermore, the Romani-Hungarians are composed out of three sub-groups, the Vlah Romani (Oláh in Kemény categories), the
Central Romani and the North Romani (Szintó). The Beash-Hungarian group is also made of three major subgroups, Árgyelán, Tincsán and Muncsán.

Beás or Beash (Boyash) speaking Gypsies

Also named in literature Boyash or Bayash, (in Romanian: Băieşi, in Slovak: Bojáš, in South Slavic: Bojaši) is a subgroup of Roma living in Hungary that uses the Romanian language besides the Hungarian. Members of the group speaking Beash (an archaic Romanian dialect) do not consider themselves Roma. They insist on the group name Cigány (Gypsy), because for them Roma are the “Oláh” (Vlach/Wallahian/Romanian) Gypsies, a group they call Lákátar (from the word locksmith) or Kolompár with Romani as their mother tongue. Beash speakers consider it important to determine which of them are “Muncsán” (from the mountains), “Ticsán” (from the region of Tisza river) and which “Árgyelán” (from Transylvania, Ardeal being the Romanian name of Transylvania). The largest group of Beash speakers consists of Árgyelán people. Most of them live in the southern counties of Transdanubia: Baranya, Tolna, Somogy and Zala. Some families live in Veszprém. Muncsán people live in the village of Alsószentmárton in the Southern part of
Baranya. Ticsán groups are located in Tiszafüred area called “Ticsán” (at the River Tisza) (Ligeti, 2002, p.7).

**Romani speaking Oláh/Vlach Gypsies/Roma**
The Oláh gypsies are consists of many different groups such as the Lóvári, Cerhári, Kherári, Curár(i) and Gurvár(i), traditionally having different occupations where they were named after. The Lóvári were horse-dealers, the Linguár - spoon makers, the Kelderás - tub makers, Posotári – “pick lockers”, Kherári - casual workers, Colári - carpet dealers, Kelderári - craftsmen, Cuddlers, Cerhári – „tent keepers”, Másári – „fish men”, Bugári – „carriers”, Curári - „cutlers”, Drizár - „robbers”, Gurvár - bowl makers, repairmen (Erdős, 1997). There are two important Romani-speaking Roma communities living in Hungary: the Lóvári (Lovari) and Kelderás. The dialects of these two groups are the most widespread and the most highly developed in Europe. In Hungary, the Lóvári dialect is generally accepted: most Romani publications use this dialect (Ligeti, 2002, 7).

**Hungarian speaking Romungros**
Hungarian speaking Roma/Gypsy traditionally are called Pai-bános. One small part of them still sporadically speaking the Kárpáti (Charpatian) dialect, the biggest part speaking just Hungarian, which is called Romungro (Hungarian Roma) or Romani. Traditionally the people belonging to this group were musicians, nailers, pise-makers (clay makers) or merchants (dealing with antiquities, jewellery and household articles).
There are also a small number of Sinti Roma (Szintó) in Hungary that are both linguistically and culturally very close to Kárpáti (Charpatian) Roma. The difference is the Sinti dialect, part of Kárpáti (Charpatian), that is using many German words and grammatical elements. Previously Sinti were travellers living in Italy and Germany just crossing through Hungary with their circus. However, a small Sinti group remained in Hungary travelling across offering carousel, target-shooting services, and stunts (Erdős, 1997).
Summing up, the Roma in Hungary are mainly speaking three languages: Hungarian, spoken by the majority of the
Romungros, Beash, a dialect of Romanian spoken by the Beash Gypsies/Roma and Romani used by the Oláh/Vlah Gypsies/Roma.

In 1999 the mother tongue of 75% of the Roma/Gypsy was Hungarian (Romungro people), of 20% Romani (Oláh people), while a small percentage (a maximum 5%) spoke Beash (Hegedűs, 1999, p.27). As you could observe in the table 1, in 2003 the mother tongue of 86.9% of the Roma/Gypsy was Hungarian, 7.7% spoke Romani and 4.6% Beash (Kemény, Jánky, & Lengyel, 2004, p.39), which means that the percentage of Roma language (Romani and Beash) speakers diminished from 1999 to 2003.

Table 1. Distribution of Roma/Gypsy according to their native language in 1893, 1971, 1993 and 2003 (percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1893</th>
<th>1971</th>
<th>1993</th>
<th>2003</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td>79.5</td>
<td>71.0</td>
<td>89.5</td>
<td>86.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beash</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romani</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Data adapted from Kemény-Jánky-Lengyel, 2004, p.39.

Figure 4. Users of Roma languages based on the censuses in between 1990 and 2011 (%). From Census data from KSH 2011.
As we could see from figure 4, although the number of Roma as mother language users increased, their percentage amongst the Roma population decreased. Despite this fact, compared to the results of the 2001 and 2011 census, the absolute number of the Roma/Gypsy native language speakers increased from 48,658 in 2001 to 54,339 in 2011 (see table 2). Both trends can be true as the number of people who consider themselves Roma increased in between the two censuses too.

Table 2. Number of Roma/Gypsy in Hungary based on the population census in Hungary of 1990, 2001 and 2011.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Roma …</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2011</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>who declare to use the native language</td>
<td>48,072</td>
<td>48,685</td>
<td>54,339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>who declare their nationality status</td>
<td>142,683</td>
<td>190,046</td>
<td>308,957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>who are associated with ethnic cultural values and traditions by others</td>
<td>129,259</td>
<td>315,583</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>who declare to use their own languages in the family and friends</td>
<td>53,323</td>
<td>61,143</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Own compilation of data from the censuses 1990, 2001, 2011.

Table 3. Number of Roma in Hungary based on the last two census data 2001 and 2011.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic group</th>
<th>Census 2001</th>
<th>Census 2011</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungarians</td>
<td>9,416,045</td>
<td>92.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roma</td>
<td>189,984</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Own compilation of data from the census.

The exact number of Roma/Gypsy in Hungary is not known: estimates (based mostly on the minority government’s data) differ from 142,000 to 800,000 or even more. Minority organisations reckon 700,000 - 800,000, and some even say the figure is close to one million. According to the latest 2011 census (see in table 4), there were 315,583 people that considered themselves to be Roma/Gypsy which was 3.2% of the total population and
153.4% more than the number of Roma/Gypsy in the census of 2001, and in 2011 there were 712,723 people that were considered as Roma by others (Polónyi, 2016, p.78). Today every fifth or sixth new-born Hungarian child belongs to the Roma minority. Estimates based on current demographic trends claim that in 2050 15-20 percent of the population (1.2 million people) will be Roma (Rixer, 2011, p.2).

Table 4. **Number of Roma/Gypsy based on self-consideration and the assessment of others.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Who consider themselves of Roma nationality</th>
<th>Who is considered to be of Roma nationality by others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>27,033</td>
<td>186,639</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>37,598</td>
<td>215,295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>56,121</td>
<td>262,016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td></td>
<td>270,000-370,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>6404</td>
<td>374,471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>142,684</td>
<td>447,659</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td></td>
<td>420,000 – 520,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>205,720</td>
<td>544,805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td></td>
<td>520,000 – 650,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>315,583</td>
<td>712,723</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2018</td>
<td></td>
<td>876,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2020</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2030</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2040</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2050</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Estimations for the future**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2020</td>
<td>834,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2030</td>
<td>961,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2040</td>
<td>1,072,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2050</td>
<td>1,174,700</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Data adapted from Polónyi, 2016, p.78 and Pénzes, Tátrai & Pásztor, 2018, p.21.

**Language status** Hungary has accepted clear political commitments to protect the languages of the 13 officially recognised minorities (including the Roma/Gypsy minority), both by constitutional measures and by signing and ratifying the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (1995) and the European
Charter for Regional and Minority Languages (1992, 1995). The ECRML included in 2008 both Roma languages in the list of the protected minority languages. In 2003 a new law, the Act CXXV of 2003 on Equal Treatment and the Promotion of Equal Opportunities, was accepted by the Parliament to protect the minority rights and ensure equal opportunities for them in all aspects of life long education. From 2007 until 2012 an Ombudsman, a Parliamentary Commissioner for the Rights of National and Ethnic Minorities, was dealing with national and ethnic minority problems and abuses, giving high priority to the Roma education problems. The National Social Integration Strategy – Extreme Poverty, Child Poverty, the Roma – (2011–2020) attempts to combat impoverishment (a process that threatens non-Roma persons as well) and, at the same time, monitors the changes of the situation of the Roma minority – if required, with special anti-discrimination programmes.

Both Roma/Gypsy languages are officially registered. In public service, these languages are equivalent to other foreign languages (Forray, 2003). In spite of this – for social and historical reasons – the use of the Romani and Beash languages is generally limited to inter-group communication. That is why those languages are characterised by a high degree of orality (Szalay, 1999, p.271).

The Government Order 100/1997. (IV. 13.) makes it possible to take the baccalaureate exam in both Roma languages (Romani and Beash) in both medium and advanced maturity levels. This gives a new aspect and importance to Roma language usage. In 1993 the ELTE University’s Foreign Language Training Centre made it possible, for the first time, to achieve a state-approved language exam in the Romani language and since 1996 in the Beás language. Since 2001, based on Decree no. 71/1998 (IV.8) on the accreditation of language examination, it is possible to acquire a state-approved language exam. Since then it became more developed and ICT based (Lakatos, 2012, p. 9; Arató, 2014).

Efforts have been made to standardise these languages, espe-
cially in writing. The Roma/Gypsy languages have generally been perceived as languages “linguistically under construction.” Nowadays, initiatives are being developed to codify the Roma/Gypsy languages, thus providing a basis for teaching them and possibly using them as a medium of instruction (Forray, 2003, p.18). However, until nowadays, the recommended and mandatory Romani and Beash materials of the universities, public education institutions and language schools are based on naïve science full of mistakes and they contain very little language knowledge (Arató, 2014).

In Hungary, education is compulsory for all children between the ages of 3 and 16.

Crèche (bőlcsöde) is a welfare institution catering to children aged 20 weeks to 3 years and providing professional day-care. Kindergarten (óvoda) education and care are offered for children aged 3-6 and is compulsory from age 3. Primary and lower secondary education (ISCED 1, 2) is organised as a single-structure system in 8-grade basic schools (általános iskola) (for pupils aged 6-14, covering grades 1-8). Upper secondary education (ISCED 3, typically for pupils aged 14-18, usually covering grades 9-12) is provided by general secondary schools (gimnázium), vocational secondary schools (szakgimnázium) or vocational schools (szakközépiskola) or vocational schools for special education (szakiskola). However, general secondary schools are also allowed to offer longer programmes starting earlier (from Grade 5 or 7).

General secondary schools provide general education and prepare for the secondary school leaving examination, which is the prerequisite for admission to higher education. Secondary vocational schools provide general and pre-vocational education and prepares students for the secondary school leaving examination and offer vocational post-secondary non-tertiary programmes (ISCED 4 C). Vocational schools provide general, pre-vocational and vocational education and may also provide remedial lower secondary general education for those who have not accomplished primary school. Students can continue their
studies to get an upper secondary general school examination certificate after finishing their vocational programme. Higher education programmes (ISCED 5A, 5B, 6) are offered by public or private universities (egyetem) and colleges (főiskola) (non-university higher education institutions). In accordance with the three-cycle Bologna degree structure, there are bachelor’s degree programmes of 6-8 semesters (ISCED 5A, 180-240 ECTS credits). After that, students can continue with a master’s degree programme (ISCED 5A, 60-120 ECTS credits) for another 2-4 semesters. The third cycle provides doctoral studies (ISCED 6). Nevertheless, there are also undivided programmes, where the two levels of BA and MA studies are still together (10-12 semesters, 300-360 ECTS credits, ISCED 5A) in some disciplines, e.g. medicine, science-technology studies or law.

Adult education and training includes part-time general education programmes at all ISCED levels, vocational education, as well as a wide range of non-formal courses provided by the public and private sector (EURYDICE, 2019).

In Hungary, schools and kindergartens are established and maintained by the state, local governments, minority local governments, legal entities (foundations, churches, etc.) as well as natural persons. The state provides maintainers with a subsidy for their tasks. About 90 per cent of children attend public sector institutions (EURYDICE, 2019).

Public compulsory education is free of charge for all students at all stages.

The 1993 Act on the Rights of National and Ethnic Minorities gave all recognised national and ethnic minorities the right to establish minority self-governments on a local and national level. The main tasks and responsibilities of these self-governments were in guaranteeing educational and cultural autonomy. Thus, the elected local governments had the right to establish and run cultural and educational institutions. The main task of minority representatives on a national level lies with the professional monitoring of the minority culture and education.

There are two groups of educational institutions that are not maintained by local governments: denominational schools
and private or foundational schools. The denominational and private (foundational) schools have the same legal status, but they differ in their establishment, their educational aims, operation, social roots, and background as well as with respect to the support they receive from the state. Private schools are autonomous in their day-to-day operations and have the legal status of an independent institution. The maintainers of private schools are free to decide on the organisational status of the school and the method of institutional control. The central budget and the school maintainer finance private schools. The local government or state can decide to provide additional support if the school – based on public educational agreements – takes over responsibilities from the local government or state (Lannert & Halász, 2003, p. 69-70).

However, the non-state-owned educational institutions must comply with the relevant legal requirements regarding the rules of organising formal education. They have to adhere to the requirements regarding the content of education as described in relevant national documents: The Basic Programme for Kindergartens, the National Core Curriculum or the Syllabus of the National School Leaving Examination, and relevant vocational and higher education qualification programmes. They also have to comply with regulations concerning the professional qualifications of the teaching staff and comply with the standard requirements of an educational environment (EURYDICE, 2019a).

Bilingual education forms

There were 1300 educational institutions providing some form of minority education in Hungary in 2015. Romani and Beash is among these languages.

There are five different types of minority education in schools in Hungary:

- minority language education-instruction
- bilingual minority education-instruction
- language teaching minority education – instruction
- Hungarian language Roma/Gypsy minority culture education – instruction
• complementary education-instruction. (17/2013. (III. 1.) Ministerial decree (Ministry of Human Resources) on the principles of minority kindergarten and school education 8. § (1)

The most widespread form of education for Roma children is the Roma minority or Roma minority culture education programme. School programmes for preserving and cultivating Roma/Gypsy culture require at least six classes a week, including Roma/Gypsy ethnography, culture and/or one of the Roma/Gypsy languages officially recognised in Hungary (Lovari or Beash) (Forray, 2002, p. 24).

The most recent modifications of the Public Education Act (2011) have made it clear that the language of education is either Hungarian or the language of the national or ethnic minority in question. The language of examination can also be the one of the national or ethnic minority. The final certificates must be delivered in both languages: in Hungarian and in the national or ethnic minority language.

There is the following type of schools:

• Schools where the language of instruction is the language of the minority (Romani/Beash): there is (to date 2019) a single Zrínyi Miklós Középiskola Kétújfalui Konrád Ignác General School in Szigetvár, where the medium of instruction is the Romani/Beash language. This school is maintained by the state-owned Klebelsberg Institution Maintenance Centre (KLIK).

• Bilingual schools where some subjects are taught in the minority language and other subjects in Hungarian – we could not find any Roma/Gypsy bilingual school that could fall into this category.

• Beash language teaching institutions: Gandhi High School and College in Pécs (maintained by a non-profit limited liability company), Kis Tigris High School, Vocational School and Secondary Vocational School in Komló and Pécs (maintained by a Buddhist denominational legal entity), Szegedi Mórávárosi Industrial Vocational and General School (KLIK)
Romani language teaching institutions are: Gandhi High School and College, Pécs maintained by a non-profit limited liability company, Tiszabői General School (KLIK), Kakuttai Teréz Anya General School in Hajdúdorog (KLIK), Geszti Arany János General School (KLIK), Mezőgyáni General School (KLIK), Dr. Ámbédkar High School, Vocational School, Special Vocational School and General School in Felsőzsolca (maintained by an association), Füzes Street General School in Tatabánya (KLIK), Fekete Borbála General School in Hencida (KLIK), Biharkeresztesi Bocskai István General School, Petőfi Sándor Member School in Bojt (KLIK)

There are schools where the language of instruction is Hungarian, and the minority language and/or Roma culture is taught as a subject in 2019 (see them below according to the culture-orientation):

a. The Beash culture-oriented institutions are: the Maróthy János General School in Rozsály (maintained by KLIK), Kaposvári Kodály Zoltán Central General School Pécsi Street Member School (maintained by KLIK), Szekszárdi Kolping Catholic Vocational School and Elementary School of Art (maintained by a denominational legal entity), Jásszladányi Móra Ferenc General School (maintained by KLIK), Iregszemcsei Deák Ferenc General School Magyarkeszi Member School (maintained by KLIK)

b. The Romani culture-oriented institutions: Geszti Arany János General School (maintained by KLIK) and Kalyi Jag Roma Minority Vocational School, Vocational Secondary School Elementary School of Art and Adult Education Institution operating in two different locations (maintained by an Association)

Furthermore, in 2015 there were 540 other educational institutions that had elements of Roma language and culture in their pedagogical programme, their number decreased to 477 until 2018 (KIR STAT, 2015, 2018).
bilingual education model, teaching the two dominant forms (dialects) of Roma languages (Lovari and Beash). Here, the children belonging to different ethnic and linguistic groups (95 per cent of them being Roma/Gypsy) become acquainted with the language of the other groups. The Beash children learn their language for three years and then go on to learn a Romani language (Lovari), and vice versa. The courses are also open to non-Roma/Gypsy students (Forray, 2003, p.18).

In 2012 the state-owned Klebelsberg Institution Maintenance Centre (KLIK) took over the management of local government schools (Hermann-Varga, 2016, p.1). However, there remained some minority government-operated schools in the country, belonging mainly to the German, Romanian, Slovak, Rusyn, Croatian and other minority governments, foundations, denominational organisations or non-profit associations (Roma Education Fund (REF), 2016).

Because of KLIK overtaking the local government schools, and with the closure of many private schools, the areas with higher Roma populations experienced the most growth in church-run schools, implying an ongoing segregation process. The churched-owned schools are allowed to organise entrance-examinations, that many children coming from disadvantaged families (Roma as well) cannot fulfil (Ercse, 2019). Church-run schools doubled in number since 2010. In 2007, there were 201, in 2010 were 233, and in 2013 451 primary schools run by church groups (REF, The Government Order 100/1997. (IV. 13.)), that made it possible to take baccalaureate exam in both Roma languages (Romani and Beash) in both medium and advanced maturity levels.

Overall responsibility lies with the Ministry of Human Capacities, which is in charge of education, culture, social affairs, health care, youth and sport. However, school-based VET (Vocational Education and Training) and adult training is within the competence of the Ministry for National Economy.

The public expenditure on education as a percentage of the GDP (Gross Domestic Product) has continuously been decreasing since 2005 from 5.3% to 3.9% in 2013. The nominal value of the
expenditure per students has significantly increased (5-20% per ISCED levels) but has not even nearly reached the 45% inflation observed in the same period (2005-2013) meaning that in public education (ISCED 1-3) after a varying trend, the expenditure has been constantly decreasing since 2010. The expenditures of the kindergartens at nominal value have significantly increased (11%), and the ISCED 1-2 level primarily school expenditures have slightly increased (2.8%). However, in secondary school education (ISCED 3) a very significant (20%) and in higher education a slight (1.6%) decrease was experienced (EURY-DICE, 2019b).

Legislative changes introduced since 2011 in education have increased teaching hours and restricted schools’ freedom in several areas: teaching content, textbook choice and the management of financial and human resources. Teachers are appointed and paid by the state maintenance centre (KLIK), which also manages school procurement. A lack of financial autonomy and excessive administrative requirements for everyday expenses have led to tension between schools and the state maintenance centre in recent years. The teachers’ compulsory self-appraisal and the assessment by the newly established inspectorate directly affect teachers’ promotion and salaries, so teachers view these instruments negatively. The government’s implementing decree of June 2016 reorganised the management structure of schools in such a way that the operation of all schools was taken over from the municipalities by the state.

The central state maintenance is complemented by 58 district-level centres. Schools will be allowed to manage a certain part of their financing allowing them some autonomy regarding their everyday expenses. The amendment will also authorise school heads to distribute the salary supplement increments of 2016 and 2017 with a performance-based differentiation between teachers (Monitor, 2016).

The Ministry of Human Capacities (Emberi Erőforrások Minisztériuma, EMMI) is responsible for schools and higher education. For schools, EMMI defines the national curriculum, development and selection of textbooks, teachers’ salaries,
teacher career systems and the public budget for primary and secondary schools. For higher education, it defines policy, determines the number of state-funded places for each institution and discipline, and operates the education information and career tracking systems, and in the case of public institutions, also prepares the budget. The Ministry for National Economy (Nemzetgazdasági Minisztérium, NGM) oversees vocational education and training (including VET centres) and adult training. The two ministries jointly govern school-based VET. The Deputy State Secretariat for Social Inclusion in the Ministry of Human Capacities defines policies and measures related to social inclusion for disadvantaged groups. (OECD, 2015).

The Educational Authority (Oktatási Hivatal, OH) delivers international and national student assessments and examinations, carries out legal and professional control, educational evaluation, measurement, and audits and analyses stipulated by the Act on National Public Education. It also develops evaluation criteria and procedural protocols for teachers’ appraisals and qualification exams. OH manages admission procedures and higher education graduate career tracking systems, as well as databases for schools. OH also includes the Hungarian Equivalence and Information Centre (OECD, 2015).

The National Public Education Council (Országos Köznevelési Tanács), the professional advisory body of the Ministry of Human Capacities, makes proposals for decision-making, mainly with respect to curriculum evaluation and content of school books. Other advisory bodies include the Hungarian Institute for Research and Development (Oktatáskutató és Fejlesztő Intézet) and the Council of National Minorities (Országos Nemzetiségi Tanács) (OECD, 2015).

The National Vocation and Adult Training Council (Nemzeti Szakképzési és Felnööttképzési Tanács) is an advisory body of the Ministry for National Economy. The National Office of Vocational Education and Training and Adult Learning (Nemzeti Szakképzési és Felnööttképzési Hivatal, NSZFH) supports the NGM (e.g. with maintaining VET centres and fulfilling coordination, research and information functions) (OECD, 2015). The Klebelsberg Institution Maintenance Centre (Klebelsberg...
Intézményfenntartó Központ, KLIK, 2012) is responsible for maintenance of public schools (primary and general secondary) in Hungary. This includes evaluating the effectiveness of pedagogical work of schools, employing teachers, supplying teaching materials and coordinating professional training. Since 2015, upper secondary vocational institutions have been transformed into member schools of local or regional VET centres and are maintained by NSZFH. Non-state education institutions are not part of the maintenance, but are under legal control of the county government offices (OECD, 2015). Teachers are free to choose their teaching methods. Every five years external experts contracted by a central inspectorate evaluate their work.

According to the study by Forray (2002, p.23), 90% of the educational institutions are being maintained by the state KLIK, the rest of them by churches, or national Roma minority self-governments, association and businesses. Ethnic minority education is subsidised from the state budget through a special supplementary norm. The operators of institutions receive these subsidies to perform special ethnic minority educational tasks.

Table 5. Financing: the change of minority supplementary normative 2007-2011.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Minority language teaching school supplementary normative HUF/pers./year</th>
<th>Minority language or bilingual school supplementary normative HUF/pers./year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>45 000</td>
<td>71 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>45 000</td>
<td>71 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>43 000</td>
<td>68 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>40 000</td>
<td>64 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>40 000</td>
<td>64 000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Data adapted from Kállai, 2011, p.58.

Not only the minority supplementary normative decreased in this period as shown in the table 5 but the total education expenditure in Hungary from 5.1% in 2007 to 4.6% of GDP in 2011 (World Databank, 2012). However, the decrease in
the minority and bilingual supplementary normative is striking, because it decreased more than 5% in both cases (with 12 and 11%). The language teaching materials are usually developed and published with the use of different research and publication grants (Orsós, 2015a).

In addition, the support structure is targeting more at the inclusion of the Roma pupils than the maintenance of the minority language or minority education. There are targeted support programmes for disadvantaged and multiply disadvantaged children/pupils, many Roma being part of them, such as the Sure Start Children Centres, the Integrational Pedagogical System, the Complex Instructions Programme (KIP), the Arany János Programme, the Programme aiming at the prevention of Roma girls’ early school leaving, the ‘Útravaló-MACIKA’ (For the Road) Scholarship Programme, and the ‘Tanoda’ programme (extracurricular learning centres) (EURYDICE, 2019).
2 Pre-school education

**target group**

Pre-school education caters for children from the age of 3 until they are physically, mentally and emotionally prepared for schooling (at the age of 6 or 7). Due to the 2011 Education Act, implemented in 2015, kindergarten is now compulsory for children aged 3 to 6 (ISCED 0).

**structure**

Municipalities are responsible for delivering early childhood education (OECD, 2015).

Pre-school education involves a school-based programme, which includes basic skills development, pre-reading, drawing, singing and school preparation. From the age of five, children are obliged to take part in the school preparation programme for four hours a day.

The Crèche (nursery) is a welfare institution catering for children aged 20 weeks to 3 years and providing professional day-care. The Sure Start programme, which started in 2013, is preparing the pupils and their families for pre-school education and it is organised in localities, where there are no crèches or kindergartens available to replace their functions.

Kindergarten consists of three phases: the youngest group (3-4 years), the middle group (5-6 years) and the advanced group (6-7 years), where progress is age-dependent. The last year of kindergarten, also called the school-preparatory year is where children get acquainted with the basic knowledge needed for school (counting, presenting oneself, self-discipline).

There are three types of minority language kindergartens in Hungary: kindergartens where the language of instruction is the language of the minority; bilingual kindergartens where both the minority language and Hungarian is used; and kindergartens where the language of instruction is Hungarian and the minority Roma culture is taught as a subject (17/2013. (III. 1.)) Ministerial decree (Ministry of Human Resources) on the principles of minority kindergarten and school education, 4. § (3)). Kindergartens continue to be mainly maintained by municipalities.
Roma cultural education could be delivered without teaching any Roma language. The legislation states that Roma games, tales, poems, music should be taught besides dance and other specific forms of Roma culture (Kállai, 2010, p.42). The 17/2013. (III. 1.) Ministerial decree on the principles of minority kindergarten and school education (1. § (1), Ministry of Human Resources) stipulates that if a request is made by the parents or legal representatives of no less than eight children belonging to the same minority, it is mandatory to launch and operate a separate minority class or study group. This stipulation applies not only to school because the law guarantees that education of minorities in the mother tongue or learning the mother tongue may take place in minority nursery schools, schools, school classes or study groups as determined by local facilities and requests. Government decree 363/2012. (XII. 17.) on the Core Programme for Kindergartens (effective from 1 September 2013) regulates the content of kindergarten education. The curriculum is based on social learning processes and the socio-physical development of a child’s early years. The Core Curriculum sets up the framework of the Curriculum, but the pedagogical programme is set up independently by every single kindergarten. The responsibility for teaching lies with the kindergarten maintainer, whoever it may be: the self-government, the minority government, the church or a foundation (in the case of private nurseries). The number of kindergarten places increased through an infrastructure development programme (Government, 2014a). To enforce compulsory participation in kindergarten, pre-school support was abolished, and the family allowance was made conditional on pre-school attendance from September 2015 (Monitor, 2016, p.6). The 32/2012. (X. 8.) Ministerial decree on the principles of the kindergarten and school education of children with special education needs specifies the rules for special need education in kindergartens (Ministry of Human Resources, Effective from 1 August 2013). From 1 January 2013, the Sure Start Programme has become part of the Hungarian Child Protection Law as a basic component.
of the basic child welfare services. The Act CXC of 2011 on Public Education also applies to kindergarten education, because kindergartens became part of compulsory public education.

**Language use** Although the aim would be to build on stable minority language knowledge on which the elementary school could base its further developments, this is rarely happening because of several reasons. One of them is that there is no strict requirement of how much the institutions should use the minority language, thus kindergartens that have one or two activities weekly in the minority language enter to the same group with those that perform almost every activity in the minority language (Kállai, 2010, p.35).

In many cases, not only children with a minority background attend minority kindergartens. The decision on the attendance of majority language children is sometimes based on the accessibility of the institution (the closest) or on other institutional provisions (the more equipped, spaced, with garden) (Kállai, 2010, p.39).

There is no written standardised Roma language, neither in case of the Romani or the Beash language. Therefore the local Roma language and dialect may differ significantly. There is a lack of Roma language teachers and although the kindergarten teacher has proof of a Roma language exam, the conditions regarding the teacher’s language proficiency could be met only with considerable compromises (Kállai, 2010, p.42).

Many times, even the parents who use the Roma language do not require their children to be taught the Roma language. Sometimes there is a lack to continue the Roma language learning in primary school, after finishing the kindergarten and that is why parents are not opting for it. Sometimes they are trying to teach Roma language and culture to Romungro children, whose mother language is Hungarian. In those cases, the ombudsman supposes institutional and sustainability aims being that there is an extra financial normative allocated to minority language teaching (Kállai, 2010, p.43).

In the case of kindergartens where the language of instruction
is Hungarian and the minority Roma culture is taught as a subject, in most of the cases the kindergarten does not provide activities in the Roma language. One of the reasons is the low number of Roma language kindergarten teachers. Although a Roma kindergarten teacher section opened in Baja in 2009/2010 with 3-4 students and one in Vác, with around 8 students, after graduating only some of them transferred to the majority kindergartens. So the provision of Roma minority kindergarten teachers stays low (Kállai, 2010, p.44). Most of the teachers do not have a specialisation in the Roma language and culture and have not taken part in any type of Romology training. They are not familiar with Roma games, tales, music, poems, or literature. When they are providing Roma activities, the sources used are not authentic (Kállai, 2010, p.45).

According to a report of the ombudsman, in many cases the teacher could not indicate the last Roma content provided, could not answer the question why there is no record of any Roma tales, songs, and poems in the activity diary and why the Gypsy tale collection compiled by the kindergarten should be brought out of the director’s office. He also noticed that the environment of the kindergarten did not reflect the minority culture, lifestyle, customs, traditions and material memories. Parents signed some statements, but they do not know whether their children are involved in Roma education or not (Kállai, 2010, p.45).

There is a lack of teaching materials in Roma languages. Many times the teachers are translating Hungarian materials into the Roma language by themselves to use it in class. In kindergartens that use the Romani/Beash language exercises (songs, tales, poems and counting) are developed in those languages too. Sometimes the materials used contain negative self-stereotypes, like stealing. Among the Roma folk songs there are no songs dedicated to children (Kállai, 2010, p.46). Based on the minority ombudsman experience many times and most of the teachers are not trained or familiar with the Roma language and culture.
Since 1970 the number of Roma children attending the kindergarten quadrupled. In 2011 the 2/3rd of the Roma population (68%) of 3-6 years attended kindergarten. However, in some regions in 2004, where the majority of Roma lives in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County, there were no kindergartens in 1/3rd of the locations and as a result, the children started the kindergarten at age of 5. According to Katalin Pikk, 10% of the school-aged Roma children were not ready for school when they started the first class (Kispál, 2015).

Lowering the age of compulsory participation in kindergarten from age 5 to 3 as of 2015/2016 is a positive step, likely to improve children’s later performance at school. 95.3% of children between the ages of 4 and 6 participate in Early Childhood Education and Care (ECEC). Roma participation is 91%, close to the national average and the highest in the region (FRA, 2016). The provision of free kindergarten, school meals and textbooks to disadvantaged pupils has been extended substantially since 2015/2016 (Monitor, 2017, p.6).

According to the Ombudsman report issued in 2011, out of the 927 minority language kindergartens, there were 554 Roma minority kindergartens and 6 others, where Roma and another minority language (Croatian or German) was taught (Kállai, 2010, p.26).

According to the Ombudsman report 2011, out of the 21,279 most of the Roma kids (98%) were taught the Roma culture in Hungarian and there were only 175 children taught in Beash language and 340 the Romani language (Kállai, 2010, p.41), so totally about 500 children took part in some sort of Roma language immersion programme.

Table 6. Number of Roma children in Minority Kindergartens.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School year</th>
<th>Total of children in kindergartens</th>
<th>No. of children in Roma minority kindergartens</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2001/2002</td>
<td>342,285</td>
<td>7000</td>
<td>2.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005/2006</td>
<td>326,605</td>
<td>16780</td>
<td>5.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009/2010</td>
<td>328,545</td>
<td>21279</td>
<td>6.47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Data adapted from Kállai, 2010, p.28.
In October 2018 there were 230 kindergartens with 9401 children where there was a Hungarian language Roma/Gipsy culture education-instruction provided and only one single denominational kindergarten in Budapest, the Napraforgó Kindergarten, where the instruction was given on minority Roma/Gypsy language (Romani) with 52 children (KIR stat, 2018). It means that the number of pupils receiving a Roma/Gipsy education decreased to one-third of the number of students in 2009/2010. Out of 231 kindergartens providing Roma language or cultural education, 5 were foundation maintained, 10 denominational, 208 local government owned, 1 owned by a limited liability company, 7 owned by a multi-purpose micro-regional company (kistérségi társulás) (KIR stat, 2018).
### 3 Primary education

**target group**
Children reach school maturity at the age of 6, or at the age of 8 at the latest. Primary school education generally lasts from the age of 6/7 to 10/11, in some specific cases to 14.

**structure**
In Hungary general schools are composed of elementary (grade 1-4) and lower secondary (grade 5-8) levels (ISCED 1). The *National Core Curriculum is the educational framework which regulates the content of the Hungarian public education, the last version was introduced in 2012 and emphasises teaching of basic skills in primary and secondary schools* (*OECD, 2015*).

**legislation**
The frame for primary education is provided by the Act CXC of 2011 on Public Education and the Act CCXXXII of 2013 on Textbook provision for school education.
The 32/2012. (X. 8.) Ministerial decree on the principles of the kindergarten and school education of children with special education needs (Ministry of Human Resources, Effective from 1 August 2013) is important because still many Roma children fall under the special need consideration.
The Government decree 110/2012. (VI. 4.) on the issuing, introduction and implementation of the National Core Curriculum (effective from 1 September 2013) regulates the content of the education, whereas the 4/2013. (I. 11.) Ministerial decree issues the principles of bilingual school education (Ministry of Human Resources, Effective from 1 September 2013) Furthermore the 17/2013. (III. 1.) Ministerial decree sets up the principles of minority kindergarten and school education (Ministry of Human Resources).

**language use**
At this level there are two different types of minority education in schools in Hungary: the language (Romani or Beash) teaching minority education and Hungarian language Roma/Gipsy minority culture education – instruction (*Kállai, 2011*).

In the case of language teaching minority education there are two sub-cases: traditional language teaching minority education and extended language teaching minority education that is
Education and lesser used languages

preparing to continue studies in a bilingual or in a minority language institution (Kállai, 2011).

In extended language teaching minority education the minority language and literature learning and the learning through the minority language is happening simultaneously. At least three subjects should be taught through the minority language. The minority language and literature and the subjects taught in minority language should make up 35% of the total classes. The extended language teaching could be started in first class and it ends up at the end of 8th grade.

Based on the 17/2013. (III. 1.) Ministerial decree on the principles of minority kindergarten and school education (10. § 2, (Ministry of Human Resources)) in Roma minority language and bilingual schools, the minority language and literature should be taught in 740 hours in the first four school years. In language teaching schools at least 3 hours should be addressed to the teaching of Romani or Beash languages weekly (10. § (3)).

In Roma minority education it is obligatory to teach gypsy ethnography and to develop the minority consciousness and the organisation of cultural activities. Here teaching of the minority language, literature and ethnography is organised in compulsory classroom framework. The language teaching provisions applies to the content and duration of it.

In schools where there is no teaching of the Roma language (Romani or Beash), besides of the weakly gypsy ethnography class, there are at least two classes per week that are providing minority cultural activities (like singing and dancing, drama, visual culture and so on).

Teachers can only gain (for example Pécs University) Romology knowledge in a few places, or through self-education. Little and old materials are available. Many textbooks are translations of Hungarian textbooks, if these are available. There is a lack of Roma language textbooks, so local textbooks chosen or developed by the teachers themselves are mostly used (Kállai, 2011).

Since the 2016 amendment of the Education Act the school heads got back some of their former powers of decision,
and primary schools were given freedom to deviate from the framework curriculum by up to 20-35% of content (Monitor, 2017, p.8).

**Statistics**

Between 2008/2009 and 2012/2013 the number of pupils participating in Roma minority education increased in both general and secondary education according to governmental sources (see table 7).

Table 7. **Number of children participating in Roma minority general and secondary education 2008-2013.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>General (1-8 classes)</th>
<th>Secondary (9-12 classes)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2008/2009</td>
<td>50024</td>
<td>2253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009/2010</td>
<td>49230</td>
<td>2360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010/2011</td>
<td>53054</td>
<td>3308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011/2012</td>
<td>54232</td>
<td>4497</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012/2013</td>
<td>53006</td>
<td>2875</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: Data adapted from Köznevelés-statisztikai adatgyűjtés (Educational statistics collection), 2008-2013.*

However, according to the former ombudsman report in general schools in the school year of 2010/11 only 828 pupils learned the Beash language and 750 the Romani, additionally 51,490 took part in Hungarian language Roma cultural education. In case of Roma pupils, 92% does not get Roma any language teaching (Kállai, 2011, p.40-44).

Based on most recent data (KIR stat, 2018) in general schools:
- in minority as mother language schools:
  - in 3 schools 179 pupils learned in Beash language schools in Tatabánya Füzes Utcai General School, in Nagyatádi Bándos Lajos Sport General School and Basic Art School and in Maróthy János General School in Rozsály
  - in 3 schools 250 pupils learned in Romani language schools in Kalkuttai Teréz Mother General School Hajdúdorog, in Biharkeresztesz Bocsai István General School and in Kerecsendi Magyary Károly General School
• in minority language teaching schools:
  - in 3 schools 163 pupils learned the Beash language in Kaposvári Kodály Zoltán Central General School, in Egyházasharaszti Area General School, Irinyi Károly General School and Basic Art School in Esztár and A Tan Door Buddhis Gymnasium and General School.
  - in 8 schools 632 pupils learned the Romani language in Irinyi Károly General School and Basic Art School, Kisari Kölcsey Ferenc General School, Dr. Udvari István General School, Győrteleki Fekete István General School, Nyírparasznyai General School, Jánoshalmi Hunyadi János General School and Basic Art Schools, Tornyospálcai General School and Basic Art School.

• and in 201 Hungarian language schools 19358 pupils learned the Roma/Gypsy culture.
  - 8 schools were maintained by foundation, 2 by association, 1 by a limited liability corporation, 12 by a denomination, 2 by Roma Government, 189 by school district (KIR stat, 2018).
4 Secondary education

target group The target group mainly consists of pupils aged between 10/11 and 14/15-year-old. Admission to secondary education is possible at the ages of 10, 12, and 14.

structure General secondary schools provide general education and prepare for the secondary school leaving examination, which is the prerequisite for admission to higher education. Secondary education consists of 4 years of lower secondary (ISCED 2) education, usually as part of general education and 4 years of upper-secondary (ISCED 3) education called gymnasium or high school as well. A secondary school can be a general secondary school (4 grades), a 6 or 8 grade secondary school, a vocational school and a vocational secondary school. Some secondary schools are organised according to the model of national minority grammar schools (for example the Gandhi Grammar School and Kalyi Jag), emphasising that the Roma/Gypsy population is an ethnic group with an independent cultural image (language). Although they receive complementary support from the state budget, educational model institutions are operated as foundations, which indicates that they were established as civil initiatives based on local demand.

legislation The Act CXC of 2011 on Public Education and Act CCXXXII of 2013 on Textbook provision for school education are the two basic ones regulating the secondary education. The 4/2013. (I. 11.) Ministerial decree stipulates the principles of bilingual education (Ministry of Human Resources, Effective from 1 September 2013) whereas the 17/2013. (III. 1.) Ministerial decree stipulates the principles of minority kindergarten and school education.

The 2011 Act on Education lowered the compulsory school age from 18 to 16, making it easier for students who were struggling in school to opt out of education, which lead to the fact that more than 30% did not continue the studies after completing the compulsory 16 years (Tóth, 2016). From 2016 onwards, students who wish to do the school
leaving exam, have to certify a total of 50 hours of voluntary
work in grades 9 up to 11. This is done to enhance students’
social responsibility and to help students to make a career
choice (Ministry of Human Capacities, 2012).
In May 2015 the age limit for enrolling in formal education was
raised from 21 to 25 years. This may increase the chances of
disadvantaged learners obtaining a qualification (Monitor,
2016, p.6).

language use

According to Ministerial decree 17/2013 (III. 1.) on the principles
of minority kindergarten and school education 10. § (2) in
the Roma minority language and bilingual schools in upper
secondary level, there should be same amount of weekly hours
spent on the minority language and literature as on Hungarian
language and literature. The required level of minority language
achievements are summarised below in the table 8, obviously
the mother language and bilingual requirements exceeding that
of language teaching schools.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Minority language</th>
<th>Grade 6</th>
<th>Grade 8</th>
<th>Grade 12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traditional and extended language teaching</td>
<td>A1</td>
<td>A2</td>
<td>B2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother tongue and bilingual</td>
<td>A2</td>
<td>B1</td>
<td>C1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Level of achievements according to CEFR. Data from 17/2013. (III. 1.) Ministerial
decree (Ministry of Human Resources) on the principles of minority kindergarten and
school education.

teaching materials

There are two types of teaching materials: teaching materials
provided in Roma languages and teaching materials on Roma in
general. There is a huge lack of the first type of teaching mate-
rials. Regarding the teaching materials on Roma, the National
Core Curriculum requires that knowledge on the nationalities
should be provided in textbooks, proportionately, at all stages
of schooling in order to nurture national consciousness.
An examination done in 2002 of 83 relevant secondary school
textbooks showed that only 25.3% contained Roma-related
content, out of which there was only one sentence in seven
textbooks (Terestyényi, 2005). Another more extensive research
in 2014 analysed elementary school textbooks and revealed an improving trend as 56.6% of the books contained some knowledge about the Roma (Monitor, 2014). However, a more thorough analysis would reveal that this not really helps to effectively learn about Roma communities, their history and culture because the knowledge shared is often obsolete and/or is not embedded in the education system and processes like communication between teacher and student.

The number of Roma pupils in secondary education is not known, as they are coming together with primary education named general education as detailed in the section above. Estimations regarding it are shown below in figure 5.


The number of schools were providing Roma minority language teaching or Roma minority contents without language teaching in general schools in 2011 are shown in the table 9.
Table 9. *Number of general schools and pupils participating in a Roma language programme.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nr.of schools teaching Beash language</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nr.of students learning Beash language</td>
<td>828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nr.of schools teaching in Romani language</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nr.of students learning Romani language</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nr.of Roma minority schools without language teaching</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nr.of students participating in Roma minority schools without language teaching</td>
<td>51490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of students</td>
<td>53068</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note:* Data adapted from Kállai, 2011, p.41.

In 2018 there were 5 gymnasiums (high schools) providing different types of Roma language education. The Gandhi High School, College and Primary School of Art in Pécs, maintained by a limited liability company, were offering Romani language teaching minority education for 174 pupils. The Pista Dankó Kindergarten, Elementary School, Secondary School, College and Elementary School of Art, operated by public benefit limited liability company, with 4 member institutions in different localities, provided Hungarian language education on the Roma culture for 292 pupils. The Gate of Tan Buddhist High School and Primary School, maintained by a religious entity with 4 member institutions in different localities, was providing Beash language teaching minority education for a total of 305 pupils. The Dr. Ámbédkar Grammar School, Secondary School, Vocational School, Elementary School and Martin Luther King High School College, operated by an association provided Hungarian language education on the Roma culture for 85 pupils. The Kálmán Brázay Elementary School, Secondary School, Vocational Secondary School and Vocational School, maintained by an association was providing Hungarian language education on the Roma culture for 55 pupils (KIR stat, 2018).
5 Vocational education

**target group**

Students entering vocational school may start their secondary studies at the age of 14. In practice, however, since the majority of children do not start primary school at the age of 6 but at the age of 7 and because quite a number of the students (above 20%) entering vocational schools repeated a grade or two in primary school, only about a quarter or a fifth of 9th graders are actually 14 years old. The majority are 15 and some of them are 16 years old.

Typically, students graduate from vocational secondary schools at the age of 19, in vocational training schools at 18 and in special vocational schools at 19-20. Since the modification of the Act (Act No. CLXXXVII of 2011 on VET) in 2015, children and young adults are entitled to attend full-time secondary schools until the age of 25. After the age of 25, they can continue their education in the framework of adult education (which they can already start at the age of 16, the end of compulsory schooling) (EURIDICE, 2019).

**structure**

The names of all three types of IVET programmes were upgraded in 2016/2017: secondary vocational schools (szakközépiskola) (ISCED 344-454) became vocational grammar schools (szakgimnázium), vocational schools (szakiskola) (ISCED 353) became vocational secondary schools (szakközépiskola), while special vocational schools (speciális szakiskola) that train students with special needs are now called vocational schools (szakiskola). The new vocational secondary school has a structure of 3+2 years. Vocation-specific content has increased, while the teaching hours of general education content were drastically reduced. This restricts the possibility of transition between various IVET programmes and may ultimately increase the risk of early school leaving (Mártonfi, 2015). In the optional additional two years, learners can automatically continue their studies in the same school as part of a general education programme leading to the secondary school leaving exam (Matura), the entry requirement for higher education. However, with the strong reduction in the basic skills content of the three-year curriculum,
students are unlikely to acquire the level of key competences needed to master subjects for the Matura. This means that the number of pupils following university studies with a vocational background would possibly decrease significantly.

As regards the 4+1 year vocational grammar schools, students now receive a certificate that entitles them to take up certain jobs on passing the secondary school leaving exam in a vocational subject at the end of the fourth year. In the summer of 2016, a new core curriculum was adopted for this type of school, under which the teaching hours for vocation-specific subjects were increased at the expense of science subjects. It needs to be monitored whether these changes do not limit transition options between study programmes (Monitor, 2016, p.10).

Integrated vocational training centres had been established in every region because of a reform process and co-operation of the former vocational training institutions. Among other tasks they are responsible for the training of disadvantaged groups, and in connection with this, they have a very close, day-to-day cooperation with the Regional Employment Centres. The target group of the training centres is not only the school age pupils but the adults too (Szőllősi, 2010).

**legislation**

Act CLXXXVII of 2011 on Vocational Education (modified by Act LXVI of 2015) is the main regulator.

Hungary was undertaking reform to tackle the lack of attractiveness of VET and promote VET pathways. A lifelong learning strategy had been adopted in 2014. In 2015, a concept paper was issued (2), following which the VET law of 2011 was amended. Steps to bring VET closer to the labour market were taken, in particular by placing VET schools under the supervision of the Ministry for National Economy and updating the content of VET programmes. The number of places in VET institutions was increased, and measures were being taken to support VET students in finding an in-company training place (EUROSTAT, 2018).

The Vocational Training Act (adopted in 2011) introduced the 3-year vocational training system with reinforced dual elements,
which provides practical training (in addition to theoretical classes) already from the first grade of vocational school. First, it was applicable for students who entered vocational school (grade 9) in September 2013 (EURYDICE, 2019).

In January 2016, the VET Contribution Act was amended to introduce additional financial incentives for organisations offering apprenticeship training. This included a decreased gross levy and reductions in the labour costs of small and medium-sized enterprises' (SMEs) employees involved in training. Legislative changes introduced the possibility of apprenticeship agreements from grade 9 onwards, along with remuneration for work-based learners from grades 9 to 12. New secondary technical schools were also introduced. In September 2016, specific scholarships were introduced for apprenticeship programmes which provide qualifications in high demand on the labour market. Twenty qualifications are covered (CEDEFOP, 2017).

**language use**

According to the 17/2013. (III. 1.) Ministerial decree (Ministry of Human Resources) on the principles of minority kindergarten and school education 10. § (4) in vocational schools at least two hours per week should be dedicated to the minority language. The language of instruction in vocational education is Hungarian. There is a possibility to learn the Gypsy language and culture in some model educational institutions.

**teaching materials**

Currently, there is no information available on teaching materials for Roma language education in vocational education.

**statistics**

The ratio of Romani students in high-prestige education is still low, especially in grammar schools. According to a study done in 2006, from 1,000 8th grade Romani students 503 advanced to vocational school, 332 went to technical college and 87 to grammar schools (while the rest left education) (Kertesi & Kézdi, 2010).

In a study by Hajdú, Kertesi and Kézdi (2014, p.36), the authors declared a 20% lag in the Roma pupil participation in vocational education in 2010 compared to the total population. The number of trade schools with a Roma majority student
bodies more than doubled. Seventy-five percent of Roma repeat a grade in vocational school compared with no more than 45 percent of their non-Roma peers (REF, 2016).

According to a study by Fehérvári (2013, p.13) within secondary education, vocational schools receive Romani students at the highest rate and this is the place where leaving education is the biggest problem, affecting principally children of low-educated and Romani families. Educational performance of Romani VET students is below that of non-Romani students. In addition, vocational school students’ grades are worse when compared with others secondary education results. VET students have had to face several types of failure in elementary school, especially Romani students. This situation does not change in secondary school either, despite Romani students making more of an effort to gain better grades compared to others (Fehérvári, 2013, p.13).

In 2018 there were 4 vocational schools providing education related to the Roma language and culture. The Don Bosco Elementary School, Vocational High School & College operated by a denomination offered Hungarian language Roma cultural education for 41 pupils. The Dankó Pista Kindergarten, Elementary School, High School, College and Primary School of Art, vocational high school maintained by a public benefit limited liability company, provided Hungarian language education on Roma culture for 198 pupils. The Teleki József Primary and Vocational Secondary School operated by the Roma minority government, offered Hungarian language education on Roma culture for 35. The Erdős Kamill Vocational Secondary School, maintained by a church was offering Hungarian language education on Roma culture for 17 pupils (KIR stat, 2018).
Table 11. *Model institutions for Roma education*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of School</th>
<th>School type and level</th>
<th>Founded in/by</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Nr.of Roma students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Don Bosco</td>
<td>Primary School, Vocational School, Secondary Vocational School and College</td>
<td>1988, Roman Catholic Church</td>
<td>Kazincbarcika</td>
<td>450 students 150 adults</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gandhi</td>
<td>Gymnasium and College</td>
<td>1992, civil and Roma organisations</td>
<td>Pécs</td>
<td>357 students 273 adults received a baccalaureate until 2010/11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalyi Jag</td>
<td>Vocational School, Secondary Vocational School, and Primary Art Education Institution</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td>Budapest, Kalocsa, Miskolc</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collegium Martineum</td>
<td>College</td>
<td>1996, church personalities – close in 2008</td>
<td>Mánfa</td>
<td>30-40 per year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. András Hegedűs</td>
<td>Foundational School of Vocational Education, Secondary School, Evening Primary School and College</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Szolnok</td>
<td>280 students 200 adults</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Tiger Gymnasium and Vocational School</td>
<td>Gymnasium and Vocational School</td>
<td>2004, Buddhist Church</td>
<td>Komló</td>
<td>300 students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Āmbédkar Gymnasium</td>
<td>Gymnasium</td>
<td>2007, Buddhist Church</td>
<td>Sajókazán, Miskolc, Mátraverebély</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: Data from Dezső, 2011.*
6 Higher education

structure

There are colleges (non-university higher education institutions) and universities. Universities and higher education institutions are authorised to provide Master programmes in at least two fields of study and to offer doctoral programmes and award doctoral degrees in at least two fields of study. Colleges are authorised to provide Bachelor programmes, Master programmes, single-cycle long programmes, in accordance with the provisions of the government decree, as well as training that does not result in a higher education degree (higher education vocational training, post-graduate specialist training). No differentiation is made by law, however colleges are usually more active in practical education. Their portfolio mainly offers first cycle programmes and shorter programmes and applied research. By contrast, universities usually offer more theoretically oriented degree courses; they have more Master programmes than colleges and are especially active in basic research. State universities are large organisations with several faculties, while colleges are rather smaller institutions, with a few exceptions. Non-state institutions are usually smaller than state institutions (in terms of the number of faculties and students) and a majority of them are colleges (Hungarian Higher Education System, 2019).

Hungary introduced the Bologna three-cycle degree structure in pilot projects in 2005 and in all Bachelor programmes in 2006. A typical Bachelor programme lasts 3 years and is of 180 ECTS credits but in some fields of study there are programmes lasting for 3 and half years (180+30 ECTS) or for 4 years (240 ECTS). A typical Master programme lasts 2 years and is of 120 ECTS credits but in some fields of study there are programmes lasting for 3 terms (one and half years) with 90 ECTS or for 2 terms (1 year) with 60 ECTS. These require obtaining fewer credits because they are built on Bachelor programmes with a higher amount of credits.

Dual programmes are specific practice-oriented courses delivered by a higher education institution in cooperation with corporate partners or other organisations. They consist of academic studies at the participating university and work-based learning
at a partner company that is qualified to deliver this training. Students spend approximately the same time with each training partner and are paid by the company on a contractual basis.

Doctoral programmes are mainly offered at universities, since only higher education institutions able to provide doctoral programmes and award a doctoral degree in at least one branch of study may have the name “university”. Doctoral programmes are provided in doctoral schools operating within higher education institutions in branches of study defined by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (In the field of arts, there are programmes ending in a “Doctor of Liberal Arts” degree). The operation of doctoral schools and the awarding of doctoral degrees are supervised by the doctoral councils of institutions. Doctoral schools can operate and doctoral programmes can be offered only if accredited in an accreditation procedure. Since 2015 doctoral studies include two phases: a two-year programme with a complex examination at the end, and a two-year research phase culminating in a PhD thesis (Education and Training Monitor 2016, p.8).

Institutes engaged in Roma teacher training include the ELTE BTK Division of Training Science in Budapest (Gypsy Division Group), the ELTE BTK Division of Cultural Anthropology in Budapest (programme), the Pécs University of Arts and Sciences BTK Division of Romology in Pécs, the Nyíregyháza College in Nyíregyháza (special college), the Kaposvár University of Kaposvár (postgraduate training in Romology), the Apor Vílmos Catholic Colleges in Zsámbék (Roma Division), the ELTE Teacher Training College Faculty in Budapest (special college), the Miskolc University Comenius Teacher Training College Faculty in Sárospatak (special college), the Miskolc University BTK Division of Cultural Anthropology in Miskolc (special college), the Kölcsey Ferenc Teacher Training Calvinist College in Debrecen (postgraduate training in Romology), the Tessedik Sámuel College, the College Faculty of Pedagogy in Szarvas (special college), the Eötvös József College in Baja (special college) and the Debrecen University Wargha István College Faculty of Pedagogy in Hajdúböszörmény (special college) (Euromosaic, 2005). In Eszterházy Karoly College Faculty of Teacher Education and
Knowledge Technology in Eger romology was one of the high priority topics and also appeared in the curriculum as Romology, Cultural anthropology (Csérti, 2013, p.104)

At the College of Nyíregyháza (today University), the Faculty of Teacher Education Professorship of Folk Studies and Romology was organised. In the gradual qualification Roma studies, Folk studies – Social studies were integrated into the curriculum of school teachers. A 120-hours postgraduate programme was launched not only for pedagogues, but also for public servants who gets in touch with gypsies during their work (Csérti, 2013, p. 104).

One of the main researches at the Eötvös Lóránd University Faculty of Social Sciences was the programme of Sociology of Minorities, a study series about the aspects of Gypsy identity. The goal of this study series was to look inside the categorisation mechanism of ethnic identity and to unfold and interpret the social and psychological background of successful Roma lifepaths (Csérti, 2013, p.104).

In Budapest at the John Wesley Theological College Pedagogy BA the course called „Social work with Roma” is one of the optional courses. At the moment this course represents the gypsy related knowledge for the students (Csérti, 2013, p.104).

At University of West Hungary Apáczai Csere János Faculty, in Győr social pedagogy training contains Romology I. and Romology II. courses (Csérti, 2013, p.104).

The Teacher Training of Educational Methodology and Romology at Szent István University Faculty of Economics and Social Science in Gödöllő also proposed to integrate the courses of Romology into students’ educational programme (Csérti, 2013, p.104).

The most famous higher education institute involved not only in teaching but also in research on the Hungarian Roma/Gypsy communities is the Romology Department of Pécs University. The Romology Department’s subject structure offers basic social sciences, Roma communities from a social sciences point of view, knowledge of Romology (linguistics, ethnography, arts), Romani and Beash languages (with compulsory language examinations), vocational practice in a Roma community. It has
a close association with the “Education and Society” Doctoral School of Education at the University of Pécs, which also has a specialisation in Romani Studies, giving an opportunity for Romology graduate students to obtain a Ph.D. education.

Since 2004 the Central European University launched the Roma Access Programme (RAP) where students were studying in three areas, human rights, social gender and sociology, as well as politics and international relations. In 2006 out of 10 Roma students 8 get access to the CEU’s MA programmes, in 2007 all seven were applying to follow their MA studies at CEU (Eduline, 2008). The CEU’s Roma Access Programmes (RAP) was transformed into the Romani Studies Programme (RSP) as of August 1, 2017. RSP is a new academic unit at CEU, encompassing the Roma Graduate Preparation Programme (RGPP) and Roma in European Societies (RES) initiative (CEU, 2017). However, because of legal-political reasons, the situation of CEU has lately changed and seems that it is moving out from Budapest to Viena, Austria.

In 2016 the Debrecen Reformed Religious University opened a Romology Department offering Romology training for three semesters. In the first two semesters the history, culture, traditions and current situation of Roma people are presented to the students. In the third semester subject specific training is given to the students. In this framework students in religious training programmes learn Roma mission and minister training while those in non-religious trainings are introduced to the reasons for the current educational conditions and the tasks to be met, the solution practices that really work, and the methodology of integrative and inclusive pedagogy. They also offer Romology social knowledge postgraduate specialist correspondence course as part of adult education (Debrecen University, 2019).

There are colleges that aim to foster the presence and motivation of Roma students in Higher Education, offering scholarships, mentorships, assistance, development programmes and summer schools. The “Invisible College” of the Romaversitas Foundation (students call it the Romver) is regarded as an elite training institution. The “Romver” draws Roma students in
colleges and universities from all over the country and offers scholarships and even foreign language learning opportunities. Students can take part in university lectures and in weekend training courses with scholarships. The location in Budapest, the high standard of presentations and courses – coupled with the older members’ strong professional and social position – help to develop the self-confidence of participants (Forray, 2014).

The Roma College (Gödöllő) was also an “invisible college” and had similar goals. It was sponsored by another foreign organization, operating in Hungary: the German Friedrich Ebert Foundation. This special college ceased operations because of the lack of funding (Forray, 2014).

The Wlislocki Henrik (Roma) Special College (WHS), organised under the Department of Romology at the University of Pécs, was modelled on the pattern of Romaversitas. However, it only works within the University of Pécs, whereby the university students are full or part-time members of it. It primarily defines itself as a professional workshop for Roma and non-Roma youth who are interested in Romology (Forray, 2014).

Christian Roma Special College Network aims to “educate identity – preserving Christian Roma intellectuals, who are trained in many ways and who seek a high level of professional work and are committed to representing their church community” (Forray, 2012). The programme has a central management, which coordinates the activities (Forray, 2014).

There are denominational special colleges as well such as the Jesuit College (Budapest), the Greek Catholic Student Roma College (Miskolc), the Roma Lutheran College (Nyíregyháza), the Presbyterian College Roma (Debrecen), and the Roman Catholic College (Szeged). (Forray, 2014)

**legislation**

Higher education institutions (HEIs) are regulated by the central government. The Hungarian higher education network is highly diverse, comprising public HEIs and non-public HEIs (church, private and foundation institutions). The Hungarian Rectors’ Conference has a consultative role in decision making, in particular for programme structure, credit systems, and learning outcomes; on other matters it provides an opinion. To receive
state recognition and to issue degrees, all HEIs (including private institutions), must undergo an evaluation and be accredited by the Hungarian Higher Education Accreditation Committee (OECD, 2015).

The Act CCIV of 2011 on National Higher Education regulates the system of Hungarian higher education. Since the Government Decree of 2015, the government appointed the members of the newly established boards (konzisztórium) in all state-owned higher education institutions. Each board consists of three government-appointed members, the chancellor and the rector. The ‘chancellor’ is nominated by the Minister for Human Capacities and takes decisions on strategic, financial and economic matters and represents the maintainer of the higher education institution. Fifteen percent of study programmes were axed in 2016/2017 by government decision.

In April 2017 the act on higher education was amended with the declared purpose of tightening the conditions under which foreign higher education institutions can operate.

The amendment stipulates, among other things, that any foreign institution outside the European Economic Area that grants degrees in Hungary must operate in its country of origin and be governed by a bilateral agreement between the two states. The stated rationale of the amendment was to strengthen quality assurance (Monitor, 2017, p.10).

Government decree 389/2016 (XII. 2.) on the funding of higher education institutions uses graduate employment data as a performance criterion, which can affect 10% of an institution’s total funding (Monitor, 2017, p.10).

Hungary claims to have some of the most Roma-friendly policies in the region regarding education. Besides, the country adopted a National Strategy for Roma Integration in 2011. The state provides partly with direct duty delivery and partly by concluding international conventions the teacher training and retraining for minority and mother tongue education.

language use

According to the CCIV of 2011 National Higher Education Act, the language of instruction in Higher Education is Hungarian;
however, students belonging to a national or ethnic minority could follow their studies in the minority language, in the minority language and Hungarian, or in Hungarian. A higher-level upper secondary school leaving exam (emelt szintű érettségi) has become mandatory for entering several programmes and a foreign language certificate of proficiency level B2 will be needed for all short-cycle tertiary programmes from 2020 onwards. The foreign language requirement is likely to further reduce the already shrinking pool of applicants, as not all pupils obtain a B2 level certificate by the end of secondary education. The Ombudsman found that the language requirement would need to be accompanied by a greater allocation of human and other resources to language teaching to avoid infringing constitutional rights (Ombudsman, 2017). To support participation in language exams, the Government made the fees of the first successful B2 level exam reimbursable.

43 of the 70 higher education institutions in Hungary offer initial teacher education. As for state-owned higher education institutions, 24 of the 30 institutions offer initial teacher training. Initial teacher training is provided both by institutions (colleges and universities) offering Bachelor programmes and by institutions offering both Bachelor and Master programmes (EURYDICE, 2017). The number of teacher training applicants is still insufficient to replace retiring teachers, particularly in science subjects. This despite dedicated scholarships for trainee teachers (Monitor, 2016, p.6).

The number of applicants for initial teacher training rose in 2017 but teacher shortages are still acute. Teacher salaries have been raised in the recent years but are still 30% lower than those of other tertiary graduates (OECD, 2016c). Students in teacher training programmes are entitled to a scholarship on the condition that they work for some time at a public school after their graduation. Following teacher protests in early 2016, the government revised some administrative burdens linked to the new inspection system and teachers’ compulsory self-evaluation. The number of teachers eligible to be promoted to a higher category in the career model was increased for
2017 and 2018. Teachers less than 7 years from retirement are allowed to move automatically to the next category from 2017. The increased number of applications in 2017 suggests that this combination of measures has helped attract new candidates to the profession (Monitor, 2017, p.10)

pre-school training
The objective of the training is to train pedagogical experts who apply needs-tailored development and educational methods to care for infants and small children who need caring help in their lifecycle from new-born to 3 years of age. The training time is 3 years, 180 credit points. Graduates may primarily continue their studies in pedagogy MA degree courses.
Kindergarten teacher training institutions prepare future kindergarten teachers for pre-school/pre-primary education, to be able to prepare children for primary school attendance and to involve children aged 3-7 in a structured process of development and education. The content of the training is based on pedagogy and psychology, both meant to serve the differentiated development and socialisation of the child’s personality through a host of – mainly playful – activities. Theoretical, methodological, and practical training of teachers is done concurrently. Complex personality development takes place through nursing and physical education, upgrading the command of the mother tongue and communication in general, art education, mathematical education, and learning about nature. The proportion of general subjects, pedagogy and psychology is 32-35%, and studies preparing for kindergarten education have a share of 45-48%. Practice constitutes 30% of total training time. Within the multi-cycle structure, the training of kindergarten teachers is provided as a bachelor course and it is possible to specialise in national minority teaching. Graduates may primarily continue their studies in pedagogy MA degree courses (EURYDICE, 2019).

primary training
Primary school teacher training courses train teachers to teach grades 1-6 by teaching all general teaching material of grades 1-4 (i.e. ability and skills in teaching the mother tongue, soci-
ology, natural sciences, mathematics, musical, visual and physical education), plus teaching the material for grades 5-6 in a field of learning/education compulsorily chosen. Training time is 4 years, 240 credit points. The proportion of general knowledge of pedagogy, psychology, sociology, foreign language, IT, and subjects required to prepare for teaching in grades 1-4 (Hungarian language and literature, mathematics, knowing nature, music/singing, visual education, IT, technology, family, household, and economic knowledge, physical education, and related subject pedagogy) is 83-85% (in favour of the latter). The proportion of the area of learning chosen prepares for tasks in grades 5-6 equals 15-17%. 15-20% of total teaching time is practical training. The uninterrupted period of school practice is 8-10 weeks. It is possible to specialise in minority education.

The Act on Higher Education of 2011 defines training, based on the “concurrent” type, in an undivided form in the general phase of school education: the training period lasts 12 semesters (with two teacher’s qualifications), still, the length of training in 11 departments in general subjects is differentiated between primary school and secondary school teacher training.

In the frames of primary school teacher training, training in the special field means 100 credits for each of the two disciplines, and the teacher’s preparatory training also covers 100 credits (EURYDICE, 2019).

Secondary training

The initial education of lower secondary school teachers is provided as undivided long-cycle programmes (10 semesters), which is supplemented by a 2-semester traineeship. The initial education of upper secondary school teachers is also offered as undivided long programmes, lasting 12 semesters, with a compulsory traineeship of two semesters. Teacher training in the specialised training phase of school education can be arranged both in undivided and divided forms. In divided training, teacher training is based on disciplinary BA training and lasts 4 semesters. A master’s degree can be obtained during the training. Teachers entering higher education also must sit for an aptitude test. Teacher training, in its undivided
form, commenced in the 2013/14 academic year and will be held, based on an outgoing scheme, parallel with the Bologna “consecutive” training until September 2017. Starting from the 2017/18 academic year it will only be available in the form of undivided training.

The aim of undivided teacher training is to train teachers in two majors. Regarding the two majors, undivided teacher training basically comprises of training in the special field and training for working as a teacher.

The secondary school teachers training in the special field means 130 credits each and the teacher’s preparatory training covers 100 credits. The credits given for the teacher’s preparatory training imply the theoretical and practical credits in pedagogy and psychology, the credits for special methodology, the credits for contiguous teaching practices held both concurrently with and after the training period and the credits for having made a compulsory portfolio during the training. The component with the highest credits in teachers’ preparatory training is the continuous individual school practice, worth 50 credits (EURYDICE, 2019).

Teachers’ education, especially at the initial level, does not prepare teachers for working in heterogeneous multicultural classes. The teachers’ education system is predominantly knowledge-oriented and not method-oriented (REF, 2007).

There are two new forms of teacher training, the conductor teacher (teachers helping students with physical disorders) and a bachelor degree in special educational pedagogy. The objective of training conductor teachers is to train pedagogical experts who can be competent in developing physically handicapped people of any age and with special needs. Conductor teacher training can be completed within Bachelor courses. Within this type of training, students may specialise in kindergarten or primary level teaching. The training period is 4 years, 240 credits. Graduates may primarily continue their studies in pedagogy MA degree courses (EURYDICE, 2019).

The aim of ‘Bachelor’s degree in special educational pedagogy’ training is to train special educational pedagogues capable of offering help to (depending on their disability) handicapped and/or disabled children, young people and adults, to develop
their skills, compensate for their functional disorders, manage their difficulties in life conduct and help their social integration. Specialisations: pedagogy for the mentally impaired, pedagogy for the hearing impaired, pedagogy for the visual impaired, logopaedia, psychopedagogy, somatopedagogy, pedagogy for those retarded in learning, pedagogy of the autism spectrum. The training period is 4 years, 240 credits. Studies can be directly continued in the MA training in special educational pedagogy and MA training in educational science (EURYDICE, 2019).

in-service training
Teachers are subject to 120 hours’ (45-minute lessons) of obligatory in-service training every 7 years. The in-service training obligation could be fulfilled by completing the 30-60-120-lesson-long accredited in-service training programme for teachers; teachers’ special examination; completing tertiary educational training (undergraduate level or graduate level training, specialised extension training, training in a partial field) which authorises the graduate to occupy in a teacher’s job; participating in complex development projects in cooperation with the teaching staff, potentially measured in the student’s efficiency; trainings for ICT development and foreign language training (EURYDICE, 2019). Although there is a wide range of in-service training available, teachers are free to choose which of these courses they will take. The most popular of these courses are English and information and communication technology. Fewer teachers take those courses that would enable them to work in multicultural environments (REF, 2007).

statistics
The tertiary educational attainment rate for 30-to 34-year-olds stood at 33% in 2016, below the EU average of 39.1%. There has been a decline in application and enrolment numbers for tertiary programmes since 2010 which can only be partially explained by demographic changes. Dropout rates have been declining but remain high, especially in undivided and bachelor programmes (36-38%). Reflecting skills shortages, adults who have tertiary education enjoy one of the highest wage premia in the OECD.
The employment rate of recent tertiary graduates is 90.5%, significantly higher than the EU average of 82.8%, reflecting strong demand for high skilled workers. The gap between female and male rates (13.2 percentage points) is significantly higher than the EU average (9.5 pps.). Between 2009 and 2016, the number of pupils successfully passing the upper secondary school leaving exam (érettségi) dropped by 24% (Central Statistical Office, 2016), a much bigger fall than the decrease in the school population. The higher education strategy adopted in 2014 set the objective of increasing entry and outcome requirements. Accordingly, the minimum number of points needed for entry was gradually increased to 260 in 2014 and 280 in 2015.

According to a study (Radó, 2017), the number of university degree holders in Hungary in fact is shrinking even more than in the projections based on the evolution of the data till 2011. The aim of the country is to reach 30.2% until 2020.
According to the 2014 TARKI study only 4-5% of the Roma with a baccalaureate enrols in university, meaning, that while every second student of the total population is attending the higher education only every 5th Roma is doing the same (Hajdú, Kertesi, Kézdi, 2014, p.11).

Based on the declaration of Minister of the Human Capacities made in 2016 the percentage of Roma students in Hungarian Higher Education increased to 1,7 in last couple of years (MTI, 2016)
7 Adult education

The key providers of adult education are the National Institute of Vocational and Adult Education, the MELLearn network of 12 Higher Education Institutions, The Association of Life Long Learning (ALLL) and The Hungarian Folk High School Society (HFHSS) (Kovacs, 2013). There are some model institutions like Gandhi, Don Bosco, Dr. András Hegedüs that are aiming to provide adult education for Roma people.

A new Adult Education Act was issued in 2013 (Act LXXVII of 2013 on Adult Education). The new act aims to assure the quality by implementing a stricter accreditation and evaluation system of adult education programmes and institutes. It declares that an adult is a “legal person” over 18; there is no reference to an upper age limit for participation in “adult education and adult support training activities” (Kovács, 2013). The new act was received with heavy critiques by the adult educator profession, stating that it makes it more expensive and difficult for civil and non-governmental organisations to provide adult education programmes and thus the access became more unequal (Farkas, 2013).

Adult education includes part-time general education programmes at all ISCED levels, vocational education, as well as a wide range of non-formal courses provided by the public and private sector (EURYDICE, 2019).

The 2015-2018 Training for low-skilled and public workers national project provides literacy and other competences that are relevant in the labour market. It is being carried out by a consortium consisting of the national office of VET and adult learning, the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry for National Economy and 18 county government offices.

Hungarian is the main language used in adult education, however, there are Roma language courses provided by adult education institutes that prepare for the state language exams.

Data for 2016 on the share of adults participating in lifelong learning reveal a relatively low score (6.3% compared with
10.8% in the EU). Older people (3.9%) and those with relatively low-level education (2.7%) are also much less likely to be in receipt of lifelong learning in Hungary than in the EU. At 6.3%, the share of adults in lifelong learning is well below the EU target of 15% (CEDEFOP, 2017.)

At 49%, the share of employers providing training is smaller than the EU average of 66%, and only 19% of employees benefit from employer-sponsored CVT courses (only 11% for employees of small firms), compared to 38% in the EU (25% for small firms) (CVTS 2010 data) (CEDEFOP, 2017).

The EDIOP programme (July 2017 to October 2020) has funding of EUR 78 million. It aims to digitally upskill disadvantaged adults in the employment age (16-65), through training and motivating them to use IT tools and IT facilities. By August 2017, some 76.923 adults have already benefited from the training and facilities. The objective is to reach 260.000 people altogether. The IT courses are referenced to the digital levels of Europass (Monitor, 2017, p. 12).

The number of people that acquired a Roma language certificate varied over the years. More people are taking a Lóvári language exam, being considered easier than Beash. The number of Beash language certificates decreased to 10% in between 2009-2018, that of Lóvári also decreased to almost half of the number of certificates in 2009. However, we can observe a return after 2015, which gives hope that it will further increase in the future as language certificates are required in order to finish higher education (see table 12).

Table 12. People that acquired a Roma language certificate in between 2009-2018.

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beash</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lóvári</td>
<td>2382</td>
<td>2176</td>
<td>1779</td>
<td>1284</td>
<td>945</td>
<td>964</td>
<td>974</td>
<td>1378</td>
<td>1690</td>
<td>1641</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: Adapted from Educational Office, 2018.*
8 Educational research

Several research institutions and different organisations (civil organisations, foundations) developed surveys and research related to Roma/Gypsy minorities’ education. The Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the Hungarian Institute of Educational Research (today the Institute of Research in Higher Education), the National Institute of Public Education, the CEU, the World Bank, the Romology Department of Pécs University, and other universities and research groups mentioned earlier do research on minority education of Roma/Gypsy minorities. Most of the sociological research projects on Roma/Gypsy communities have an educational component. There is also a Romology newspaper managed by the Romology Department of Pécs University issuing 4 numbers yearly. In 2010-2011 Ernő Kállai, the Ombudsman in Charge of Minority Affairs commissioned studies analysed the situation of Roma children in kindergartens, schools and universities.
9 Prospects

Roma families in poor rural communities or settlements live far from good schools. They cannot pay for public transportation to get to the best schools, books, or other education expenses, and scholarships are usually insufficient to cover all costs. The quality of education provided for Roma children is inadequate and insufficient to ensure their successful completion of higher levels of education. Therefore, Roma children’s educational achievement is low, and their class repetition and drop-out rates are high, especially at secondary level. Many of them enrol in low-quality schools or vocational schools that do not give students the skills they need to have good prospects for employment (REF, 2007).

There are new initiatives and programmes that are trying to creatively and innovatively solve the educational challenges of Roma pupils. Nowadays, for example, there is a continuous reform of VET and that of Higher Education programmes to offer more dual programmes, jointly with work market agents to ensure more market relevance and employability of the acquired knowledge.

However, Romani students’ plans for the future are insecure. The rate of students wishing to gain a high-school graduation is lower, though the rate of students wanting to learn another profession is equal to others. In Romani students’ opinions, they have less chance on labour market than non-Romani students. Both groups have a great willingness to make themselves geographically mobile and majority of both Romani and non-Romani students would move away from home to get a job, even if this means going to a foreign country (Fehérvári, 2013, p.13).

Programmes that targeted disadvantaged students in the early 2000s (Integrációs Pedagógiai Rendszer, Útravaló-Macika, Arany János Tehetséggondozó Programme, Tanoda, HÍD, KIP) subsequently became increasingly marginal and underfunded (REF, 2016). Their success and result are also questionable, as according to Benkei-Kovács (2019) the dropout rates in those programmes are very high, in HÍD programme in different institutions could reach even 20-60%.
In Hungarian education policy, the keywords are integration and intercultural/multicultural education, which means that the emphasis is not on the preservation of identical cultures, but on social integration. Schools are given financial incentives to teach children from different cultural and social backgrounds in one and the same group. In addition to the argument of costs, this is one of the reasons why there is little hope of establishing new, separate schools (such as Gandhi). Another reason is that there is no stakeholder group (lobby group) to support such new initiatives. It is difficult to keep up the existing ones as well, many of them are financed by civil initiatives, foundation and even commercial organisations (Gandhi Gymnasium for example), which is not a guarantee that they will exist in the future as we could see in the case of Collegium Martineum that closed its doors in 2008 and the Roma College in Gödöllő. Lately the government released that it will take over the Dr. Ámbédkar Gymnásium in September 2019, where the majority of students is of Roma origin. Till now the gymnasium was maintained by the Hungarian Buddhist community without any state funds, because the parliament did not approve its ecclesiastical status (Tóth, 2019).

The future will probably be like in other European countries when it comes to politics and practice. For the moment, the heaviest problem of the Roma population concerns poverty, their slowly developing economic situation, the inadequacy of skills needed in the labour market, the level of discrimination and finally the persistence of social prejudices and mentality.

References and further reading

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Act CCXXXII of 2013 on Textbook provision for school education.

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Act CLXXXVIII of 2012 on the takeover of municipality-maintained schools by the state.


Government decree 110/2012. (VI. 4.) on the issuing, introduction and implementation of the National Core Curriculum (effective from 1 September 2013).

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The Romani and Beash languages in education in Hungary


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Figures

Figure 1.

Figure 2.

Figure 3.
Szalai (2015). Roma linguistic groups in Hungary. Adapted from Szalai, 2015, p.121

Figure 4.
KSH (2011). Users of Roma languages based on the censuses in between 1990 and 2011 (%).

Figure 5.

Figure 6.
Felci database (2016). Change in the number of tertiary students 2010-2016.

Figure 7.
Radó Péter (2018). Percentage of university degree holders in Hungary (reality, projections) and the EU28 average.

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Table 3.  
Own compilation (2019). *Number of Roma in Hungary based on the last two census data 2001 and 2011.*

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Table 6.  
Kállai (2010). *Number of Roma kids in Minority Kindergartens.* Data adapted from Kállai, 2010, p.28

Table 7.  

Table 8.  
Ministry of Human Resources (2013). *Requirements of language level achievements at different grades.* Level of achievements according to CEFR. Data from 17/2013. (III. 1.) Ministerial decree (Ministry of Human Resources) on the principles of minority kindergarten and school education.

Table 9.  
Kállai (2011). *Number of schools and pupils participating in a Roma language programme.* Data adapted from Kállai, 2011, p.44.

Table 10.  

Table 11.  

Table 12.  
Other websites on minority languages

Mercator Research Centre: www.mercator-research.eu
Homepage of the Mercator European Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language Learning. The website contains the series of Regional dossiers, a database with organisations, a bibliography, information on current activities, and many links to relevant websites.

Mercator Network: www.mercator-network.eu
General site of the Mercator European Network of Language Diversity Centres. It gives information about the network and leads you to the homepages of the network partners.

European Commission: http://ec.europa.eu/languages
The website of the European Commission gives information about the EU’s support for language diversity.

Council of Europe: http://conventions.coe.int

Eurydice is the information network on education in Europe. The site provides information on all European education systems and education policies.

In this database you will find research papers produced by the European Parliament’s research service. A study for the CULT Committee, conducted by Mercator, is published in 2017: Minority Languages and Education: Best Practices and Pitfalls.
The Romani and Beash languages in education in Hungary

NPLD  http://www.npld.eu/
The Network to Promote Linguistic Diversity (NPLD) is a European wide network working in the field of language policy & planning for Constitutional, Regional and Small-State Languages (CRSS) across Europe.

FUEN  https://www.fuen.org/
The Federal Union of European Nationalities is the umbrella organisation of the autochthonous, national minorities/ethnic groups in Europe and represents the interests of European minorities on regional, national and European level.

ELEN  https://elen.ngo/
The European Language Equality Network (ELEN) is a non-governmental organisation that has as its goal to promote and protect European lesser-used languages, (RMLs), to work towards linguistic equality for these languages, and multilingualism, under the broader framework of human rights, and to be a voice for the speakers of these languages at all levels.
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