

EDUCATION AND ETHNIC INTERGROUP RELATIONS:
HUNGARY 1918-1996

by

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FORWARD

The concept of "multiculturalism" has always played an important role in my life. My interest in finding common elements throughout "difference" originated in my college years, when I decided to study comparative literature. My motivation for choosing this field of study was that I simply could not *only* focus on English literature or French literature. Why should I? I was interested in the whole range of literatures; of its diversity as a whole. Later as I grew both personally and academically, I became more interested in the social sciences such as anthropology and sociology, and the analysis of education undertaken within these disciplines. With these disciplines, I could explore my love of languages and cultures in an applied setting. I felt the social sciences and education dealt more with the actual state of humankind, rather than what I perceived to be an imaginary and abstract world of literature. I was interested in studying what was concrete here and now, and contributing to the field.

After I graduated from college, I had the opportunity to live and teach in Hungary for two years, from 1991-1993. This experience was a milestone in my life and increased my interest in multiculturalism, as the region as a whole was an intricate web of different peoples with often conflicting interests. My post-college experiences helped me realize that there was a space and a need for a contribution in the field of multicultural education in Eastern Europe.

Though present day Hungary is far more homogeneous than other countries in the region, it nevertheless has a diverse population both culturally and linguistically. Hungary's history of being a huge melting pot of different cultures when it was the Hungarian Kingdom and later the Austro-Hungarian Empire has a direct influence on the treatment of "difference" in the country; one of the biggest cultural groups posing social problems, as perceived albeit by the majority Hungarians, are the Gypsies. I chose Hungary, however, as the focus of my research for several other reasons: my familiarity with the country and its people, and its relative advanced political and economic status within Eastern Europe as a society emerging from forty years of communism.

Historically, Eastern European countries and, more specifically Hungary, do not have a history of modern liberal democracy. There is much evidence to show that at certain times in history they did not practice human

rights or embrace pluralism. Therefore, the unique opportunity of this study is that it offered a chance to explore and witness a society's recent educational transformation as it was happening. It is an exciting opportunity to look firsthand as a nation changes from the legacy of "communism" to a "democracy" which is market driven, and the consequent effects on its societal institutions, particularly the educational system, and how these institutions deal with diversity.

Much has been written about educational reform in Hungary during this social transition. However, most of the literature has focused on structural changes, rather than on how education may be changing to incorporate the emerging ideas of pluralism, human rights, and democracy, aspects of education in multicultural settings. Therefore, I was determined to venture further into this field in Hungary. Because the changes are so recent, however, little has been contributed to the study of education in multicultural settings and, sadly, has been looked down upon up to now in Hungarian education. One has only to look at the past course catalogue for teacher training colleges or review the curriculum in secondary schools. Little, if anything, about multiculturalism is evidenced. More recently, however, there are researchers and policy makers who are working with determination to break the silence and neglect, and open the way for education in multicultural settings to emerge in Hungary.

Since education in multicultural settings is an emerging field in Hungary, I truly hope that the present work may, in a modest way, contribute to the celebration of diversity and recognition of the need for creative approaches to education in multicultural settings. I see education in multicultural settings as one means to help overcome domestic ethnic conflicts and international conflicts. As part of Hungary's approach to education, education in multicultural settings may act as an important internal instrument to help promote human rights, cooperation, and mutual understanding within its borders; rights which are highlighted and guaranteed in Unesco's 1974 *Recommendation Concerning Education for International Understanding, Cooperation and Peace, and Education for Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms*. Moreover, education in multicultural settings, as a means to overcoming ethnic intolerance and prejudice, may help to improve relations between Hungary, neighboring nations, and in the international context in general. Both domestically and internationally, then,

I hope my research will inform those who believe that it is worth continuing the effort to build a more just and equal society based on mutual respect and the right to differ, and how education plays an important role in building such a society.

Through this study, I can hopefully provide practitioners, especially those who are interested in helping all human beings reach their full potential, with an analysis which will make them more effective educators. Just as importantly, however, I hope that this study may shed light on the importance of education in multicultural societies in general, especially in the region, and that it may provide knowledge for better and more effective educational policy ensuring human rights. What I discuss here could be examined and applied in the former Yugoslavia, Romania, Slovakia, etc., but perhaps also in countries with a larger tradition of attempting to develop programs for education in multicultural settings.

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I. INTRODUCTION

"Anti-semitism is the socialism of fools." (Bebel)
"Anti-Gypsy prejudice is the folly of socialism." (Kenedi)

A. Background

Since 1989, much has been written about the momentous revolutions and events which occurred and which would transform Eastern Europe. Many argue that the rebirth of East Europe was inevitable but unpredictable, and with that unpredictability was the overwhelming speed with which events occurred, speed which "created an excitement, an expectancy, a sense of inevitability that affected everyone" (Brown, 1991: 2).

In 1989, the year when all other Eastern European states overthrew the Soviet-allied parties' control, Hungary held its first multi-party elections ever. The changes involved a shift from a highly centralized single party political system, state run economy, and an imposed value system, to one with a multiparty political system, a mixed market economy, more decentralized power, where theoretically all values would be given space. The transition from forty years of authoritarian communist rule to a "democratic" political and social economy raises a number of questions and its ramifications reverberate throughout all layers of a society: political, economic, social, and educational. Seven years later, the transition is still occurring.

Hungary became a nation state in 1918 with the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the end of the First World War. The new European political arrangement envisioned by the Great Powers was embodied in the Paris Peace Treaties¹ signed by both the victors and the vanquished. For the

¹The Treaty of Trianon, a part of the Paris Peace Treaties, was signed in August of 1920 and concerned specifically Hungary. In the signing of the Treaties, the vanquished powers accepted their defeat and recognized the conditions of the Allies. Hungary lost two-thirds of its territory, which before W.W.I was dominated by minorities. With the loss of territory, Hungary lost much of its population including many ethnic minorities to the neighboring states. Furthermore, one third of ethnic Hungarians (approximately three million) became minorities in other countries. The provisions of Trianon were reaffirmed after WWII at the Paris Peace Treaty of 1947.

first time since the Middle Ages in the region of Eastern Europe, democratic nations-states would replace semi-aristocratic authority in establishing policy.

As a result of the treaties, some of the previously existing small states increased their land by incorporating territories belonging to the former Austro-Hungarian, German, and Russian Empires, while for others their new territorial status and independence were sanctioned for the first time in their history. Although the reorganization of Europe was made in the name of the nationality principle, which assumed that ethnicity equals nationality, none of the new states was ethnically pure, all of them inheriting large numbers of ethnic minorities.

In Eastern Europe, including Hungary, nationalism has throughout the years consistently overridden principles of international solidarity and political universalism (Pfaff, 1992). The problem of this lies in that nationalism, which in Eastern Europe is based on ethnicity, repeatedly causes people to "disregard other's claims to justice, or reason, or a common morality" (Pfaff: 61). As a result of this, we are now witnessing a disturbing resurgence of xenophobia, ethnic bias, and racism which has often resulted in violence. Ethnic conflicts and racism are partially a result of the division along ethnic group lines of societies to form the new nation-states in post World War I Eastern Europe. However, there are several other factors as well: the enduring and profound economic problems resulting in intensifying competition for scarce commodities, the ideological vacuum left by the decline of Marxism-Leninism, the rescinding of restrictions of free speech and association, the end of Soviet political and military domination, and the tendency to scapegoat in difficult periods (Barany, 1994: 321).²

Hungary can be singled out in Europe as one of the most "intolerant" countries in terms of human relations and the attitude of individuals toward others. I define intolerance against the definition of tolerance; what tolerance is, intolerance is not. To be tolerant means to have the capacity to bear something, although at times it may be unpleasant. To tolerate differences means to endure them, although not necessarily embrace them (Nieto, 1996: 354). The seriousness of the Hungarian population's intolerance of others can easily be illustrated using the results of a 1981-1982 survey conducted by Peter Heltai and Arpad Szokolczai (1982: 118) who conclude that,

² For a detailed exposition along these lines, see Barany (1994) and Heltai and Szokolczai (1982).

"the strata with the lowest tolerance levels are not simply the uneducated, the poor, or the village dwellers, but the young, highly educated party members and the young Budapest workers".

One form of intolerance is discrimination and prejudice in the form of Anti-semitism which has well-established traditions and instruments of mobilization in Hungary. In Admiral Horthy's³ time politics were characterized by right-radicalism, but were not expressly fascist. Racism was especially directed towards the Jews. Anti-semitism even resulted in the anti-Jewish Laws (Zsidotorvény) of 1938 and 1939 which introduced numerous clauses and various other restrictions on the professional, economic and other social roles that could be played by Jews. According to Kenedi (1986: 11), in the Horthy system, there was a mutual relationship between Hungarian national consciousness and anti-Jewishness. He states: "The anger directed against Jews became emblematic of a hoped-for social transformation in the minds of the middle classes and even more in the lower classes. Ideology, politics and future perspectives went hand-in-hand with Anti-semitism." Prejudice did not stop at the Jews, however. As Hungarian supremacy and cultural superiority compensated for the loss of territory in the Treaty of Trianon⁴ Hungarian national consciousness defined itself against other nations such as the "stinking Romanians and the clod-hopping Slovaks" (Kenedi: 11).

Discrimination and prejudice against the Gypsies⁵ also has a long tradition in Hungary. The Gypsies are probably the most despised and marginalized ethnic minority in Hungary and Eastern Europe, a sentiment which is confirmed by a number of public opinion polls (Barany: 329). According to one Roma activist, "There are no longer many Jews in Romania. Therefore we have been allocated the role of scapegoat" (Barany: 329). A society which becomes ill-tempered because of poor conditions and no sight of improvement "find outlets for its anger," by directing it to the Gypsies. After the political changes in 1989, anti-Roma attitudes have continued, and

³Admiral Horthy was Regent of Hungary during the Nationalist Period, which is otherwise called the Interwar Years.

⁴See footnote 1.

⁵Gypsies, notwithstanding its pejorative connotations, is still widely used even in academia. The endonym, the name accepted by the people themselves, is *Rom*, plural *Roma*, adjective *Romani*. I will use both terms Gypsies and Roma interchangeably in this paper.

perhaps are even increasing. Accounts of brutality and outward discrimination against the Gypsies are common, with little hope of their dissipating.

In any instance of prejudice, whether it is against the Gypsy, the Jew or someone "else", this prejudice is the result of the consciousness of Hungarian cohesiveness. As this grows, identification with other ethnic groups declines (Kenedi: 11). By criminalizing the minority, the majority is cutting itself off from democracy. Yet what Hungary needs more than anything is to become accustomed to the ideals of democracy. In its move to enter a "world order,"⁶ Hungary has expressed commitments to upholding "democratic" international standards which include recognizing, tolerating, and granting equal status in all social realms to all citizens, regardless of race, creed, ethnicity, sex, social class, or handicap.⁷

B. Ethnic groups in Hungary: Jews, Gypsies and National Minorities

Hungary might appear to be an ethnically and culturally homogeneous country. This is not the case, however. For instance, the Austro-Hungarian Empire (1867-1918) incorporated a rich multitude of ethnicities: Austrians, Croats, Germans, Greeks, Gypsies, Hungarians, Romanians, Slovaks, Slovenes, Ukrainians, etc. The Hungarian Act on Minorities' Rights (1993) recognized thirteen different ethnic groups within Hungary's borders. This does not even include Jews (estimated at 85,000), who are considered as a religious minority, or groups which do not qualify as minorities because they are not recognized officially by the state, such as the Chinese, Nigerians, Arabs, and Russians (Rado, 1996: 5).

When discussing Hungary's minority populations, it is not possible to analyze their relationship with society as one group. Each minority group interacts in a different way with the dominant (and other minority) groups and policies will have different effects on them, and vice versa. To put matters more simply, the implications of the states' educational policies may not be the

⁶A. Horvath (1990: 214), in a recent report to Unesco, argues that Hungarians must "tie ourselves to the rest of the world with all the strings possible.

⁷Unesco was given the task of bringing international human rights' ideas and ideals to life in the educational systems of the world in 1974 with the *Recommendation Concerning Education for International Understanding, Cooperation and Peace, and Education for Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms* (Huxley, 1979).

same for each minority group. Therefore, it is necessary to differentiate between them.

Historically, Hungary had three major minority classifications: **ethnic minorities**, who have immigrated to Hungary, usually for economic reasons, and have assimilated into the host societies; **National Minorities** who have not moved anywhere but have been created by peace treaties that have changed official boundaries (Kozma, 1990 in Kaufmann, 1992: 255); and **Gypsies**⁸ Furthermore, there are the **Jews** who actually fall into none of the categories, for they consider themselves to be a "religious minority"⁹ (Rado: 2).

The 1993 Act on the Rights of National and Ethnic Minorities (1993. Évi LXXVII. Törvény a Nemzeti és Etnikai Kisebbségek Jogairól) redefines the concept of the national and ethnic minority. According to the legislation, all those ethnic groups having been living on the territory of Hungary for at least one century, are to be regarded as national and ethnic minorities. National and ethnic minorities are those who constitute a numerical minority within the population of the country, whose members hold Hungarian citizenship and who differ from the rest of the population in terms of their own mother tongue, cultures and traditions, and who prove to be aware of the cohesion, national or ethnic, which is to aim at preserving the latter and at articulating and safeguarding the interest of their respective historically developed communities. In the terms of this act, qualifying as national or ethnic groups living in Hungary are: Armenians, Bulgarians, Croats, Germans, Greeks, Gypsies, Poles, Romanians, Ruthenians, Serbs, Slovaks, Slovenes and Ukrainians (see Figure 1).

⁸Under communism, the Gypsies were considered neither an ethnic group nor a nation (Stewart: 188). Though there were different groups of Gypsies in Hungarian society at this point in history, I will be referring to them as a single group due to the limitations of the length of this work. There were three groups of Gypsies: the assimilated Gypsies (*beilleszkedett*) had reached the average economic and cultural level of the population, given up the Gypsy lifestyle and for the most part live dispersed. Thirty per cent of Gypsies fit into this category; Gypsies "in the process of assimilation" also make up 30 per cent of the total, and live "in hovels on separate settlements at the edge of towns and villages, working for the most part only occasionally; their cultural level is really low (Mezey, 1986: 240)"; and (*vándor*) Gypsies who were non-assimilated "have absolutely no work, avoid respectable jobs, live day by day, or sponge off society. They frequently change houses and live at the lowest cultural level; most of them are illiterate. Forty per cent of Gypsies belong in this group" (Mezey: 240).

⁹For a good discussion on how others (the state, ethnic Hungarians, other ethnic minorities) perceive the Jews see Medding (1996) and Webber (1994).

The phrasing "national and ethnic" minorities has been retained in the Constitution of 1989, and even in the Minorities Act, principally because of the need to make the law include groups previously identified with those names. The Minorities Act notes, however, that there is no legal distinction between the two types of minorities. Though the Gypsies are considered ethnic minorities in Hungary now, which is the largest and at the same time mainly socially the most disadvantageous minority group, they hold the same privileges and rights as any other ethnic group.

In this thesis, I will use the term **National Minorities** to refer to the following groups: Armenians, Bulgarians, Croats, Germans, Greeks, Poles, Romanians, Ruthenians, Serbs, Slovaks, Slovenes and Ukrainians. I will simply refer to **Jews** and **Gypsies** in this work by their ethnic group names.

Why do the Jews and the Gypsies stand apart from other minorities in Hungary? In many ways, they are much alike. For example, both possess an extra-European language and history. They also possess a distinctive traditional mythology, laws, and an "ethnical" code which differs from the larger European population. Before 1948, the year Israel was recreated a nation, neither could claim a homeland, and both suffered severe losses to their people when they were both subjected to Hitler's policies of euthanasia. Lastly, in the nineteenth century, both lost their ancient identity, the Jews through assimilation and the Gypsies through illiterate forgetting. As a result of this, the Jews in Eastern Europe are a "possessionary" social element, whereas the Gypsies have remained poor "outsiders" (McCagg, 1991: 314).

To this day, Gypsies are considered the only serious minority problem within the country. The other twelve minority groups are not viewed as posing any threat to the state or to the integrity of Hungarian society; as the other minorities are much more assimilated, granting them cultural autonomy is not viewed as problematic. Roma identity, however, is seen as an implicit threat due to their strong centrifugal tendencies, an issue to be discussed in more detail in the next chapter which involves "a group's attempts to retain and preserve unique cultural attributes as well as to seek greater autonomy politically and economically" (LaBelle and White, 1980: 155). If reference to the Gypsies, one Budapest politician, Agnes Daroczi, said that "as regards minority rights there is seemingly democracy - a nice, quiet system built on democratic principles such as free and fair election. But I'd like you to know

that there is a single time bomb waiting to go off in this country: it's called the 'Gypsy question'" (Helsinki, 1996: 112).

II. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The purpose of this study is to investigate governmental and non-governmental efforts in Hungary to incorporate what I term "education in multicultural settings" into classrooms in secondary schooling as well as teacher training programs in universities and colleges. The questions which this study addresses are:

1. How do the plans for and implementation of programs for education in multicultural settings during the post-1989 period compare with plans and programs implemented in the previous periods?
2. What are the rationales given for introducing/strengthening education in multicultural settings in schools in Hungary?
3. What are the activities and which organizations are planning and implementing education in multicultural settings in Hungary?
4. What constrains or facilitates plans for and implementation of education in multicultural settings in Hungary?

III. CHAPTER ONE

CONCEPTUAL ISSUES

A. Introduction

In this chapter, I will define some important concepts, multiculturalism and what I term "education in multicultural settings," drawing on Sleeter and Grant's (1987) typology of different approaches to what has commonly been known as *multicultural education*. Furthermore, I will discuss LaBelle and White's (1985) typology analyzing education, the state, and intergroup relations, and Wirt's (1979) typology of dominant-minority ethnic relations. Both of these typologies are based on the work of Schermerhorn (1970) and serve as the basic framework of my analysis, presented in Chapters 2-6, of the different historical periods in Hungary, including the current situation.

B. Multiculturalism

The issue of multiculturalism takes unprecedented importance in the forefront of current sociological studies as liberal democratic societies emergence around the world. Multiculturalism not only means a society that is made of different ethnic groups, but more broadly, a society that is made up of differences: gender, race, ethnicity, class, sexual preference, physical ability, and religion. In this thesis, I will focus mainly on ethnicity as multiculturalism. Furthermore, however, I will use the concept of multiculturalism in this thesis as not just diversity within societies, yet more broadly as the embodiment of liberal democracy's ideals and its relationship to and treatment of diversity.

Historically, the countries of Eastern Europe have failed to formulate realistic approaches to national integration: they have been unable to provide individuals and collectivities with choices other than the alternatives of total assimilation or total rejection and marginality (Barany: 322). Barany defines assimilation, which I am using here as the concept of *forced assimilation*, as the outright absorption into a dominant group with subsequent loss of ethnic distinctions. In contrast to this is integration, which denotes peaceful cohabitation and the retention of separate ethnic identities. I make the distinction between forced assimilation and assimilation, because some ethnic groups may willingly assimilate (such as the Jews), while others do not (such

as the Gypsies). Contrary to the notion of assimilation is the political concept of cultural pluralism or multiculturalism which fosters cultural differences and coexistence of groups of various backgrounds within the same national borders. Therefore, integration and multiculturalism may coexist.

As there are only a few years left in the 20th century, Hungary is striving to become part of the "new world order," as stated by A. Horvath (see Introduction). This "world order" which Hungary would like to join is not only the larger global community, but closer to home, the European Union. In order to become a member of the European Union, the Hungarian leaders are aware that this entails not only economic and socio-political transformation, but also transformation in Hungary's cultural life, learning and education to include the ideologies of democracy and the concept of cultural pluralism.

The aims of education in such a framework would be best served by what Kochman (1972 in Csapo, 1982: 205-206) calls the culturally relative approach to schooling. The native language, dialect values, culture of the minority group become accepted and gain legitimate status in the curriculum. Students from both the dominant and the minority groups through exposure to each other's cultures are expected to gain sufficient understanding to prevent or combat prejudice. Culture free tests, knowledge of the minority groups way of life, thinking, language, values and behaviors considered "intelligent" become the focus of education. This type of approach to education in multicultural settings, among others, is discussed below

C. Education in Multicultural Settings

In this thesis, I will use "education in multicultural settings" as a broad term. Though education in any society (because most societies are multicultural) can be called education in multicultural settings, I specifically define it here as a type of education which is pro-active and which has a self-conscious focus on alleviating the inequalities, social conflicts and differences caused by dominant and superordinate group relationships which are inherent in society. Just as there are types of education which are pro-active, there are also types of education which are not, and which fail to address many of the -issues which arise in heterogeneous societies. I chose to use this phrase to encompass a pro-active education due to much confusion which has heretofore existed around the more commonly used term *multicultural education*. Multicultural education means different things to different people

(Dolce, 1973; Hiraoka, 1977; Tesconi, 1984 in Sleeter and Grant: 422). Because this broad term has diverse definitions, I use a typology presented by Christine Sleeter and Carl Grant (1987) which distinguishes between multiple versions of the concept. Individual approaches may address only limited aspects of education in multicultural settings, yet the typology provides a way to view education in multicultural settings as a whole. My pro-active definition of education in multicultural settings encompasses each of the five approaches that they discuss: *Teaching the Culturally Different*, *Single Group Studies*, *Human Relations*, *Multicultural Education*, and *Education That Is Multicultural and Social Reconstructionist*.

Teaching the Culturally Different conceptualizes education in multicultural settings as something one does mainly with students who are (in the numerical and/or political/economic senses) minorities and focuses on various aspects of language and culture. The goals of this approach are to help "minority students...develop competence in the public culture of the dominant group" and to help minority students "develop a positive self-image" (Lewis, 1976 in Sleeter and Grant: 423).

In this method, bilingual education is used to teach students the official or dominant language as well as to enable them to learn and acquire the knowledge, skills, and attitudes needed to participate in mainstream society. However, students are also encouraged to develop competence in and knowledge of their own cultural background. Its main purposes are to challenge the cultural deficiency orientation, to establish the importance of maintaining one's own cultural identity, and to describe aspects of culture a teacher can build on. This approach advocates emphasizing building bridges between cultures to facilitate individual achievement and social mobility, rather than combating unequal distribution of goods and power among ethnic or racial groups. There is an emphasis on instructional practices to be compatible with a minority students' learning and communication styles. This approach to education in multicultural settings is also discussed by Arenas (1980), Carlson (1976), Ramirez & Castaneda (1974), Sims & de Martinez (1981), Wagner (1981), and Zintz (1963).

The limitations of this approach in terms of ethnic group relations is that it has tended to group distinct cultural groups together, not taking into account their unique needs in relation to education. There is little information about how to teach children of minority ethnic groups who may

have different cognitive styles than the dominant group. In this approach, curricula is not well developed, and the entire spectrum of planned school experiences are not considered.¹⁰ Lastly, this approach is too limited in that it puts the burden of eliminating racism or ethnic oppression on the subordinate groups and their teachers rather than on the general population and especially on the superordinate group. It does not imply that the dominant group students should be taught anything more than they are now learning about other cultural groups, racism or prejudice.

The *Human Relations* approach conceptualizes education in multicultural settings as a way to help students of different backgrounds communicate, get along better with each other, and feel good about themselves (See also Bernstein, 1984; Cole, 1984; Mortenson, 1975; Skinner, 1977; and Tiedt & Tiedt, 1986). Instructional materials offer teachers practical ideas in clear language for improving their students' understanding of culturally different peers. However, this approach has neglected a conceptual linkage with research on cross-cultural differences addressing issues such as whether cultural differences effect communication. Moreover, it lacks attention to long-term goals in assuming that people should get along and communicate in the existing stratified social system. Issues such as poverty, institutional discrimination, and powerlessness are addressed in a limited way if at all. Bilingual education is not mentioned in this approach.

The *Single Group Studies* approach to education in multicultural settings focuses on the experiences and cultures of a specific group, such as an ethnic group. This ethnic studies approach usually neglects other differences such as gender and class. Several goals of this approach are mentioned: to "develop an acceptance, appreciation and empathy for the rich cultural and linguistic diversity", and to "help students develop the ability to make reflective decisions so that they can resolve personal problems, and through social action, influence public policy and develop a sense of political efficacy" (King, 1980 and Banks, 1973 in Sleeter and Grant: 428). However, there is a lack of attention to social stratification which means that many teachers may not view social change as a goal of Single Group Studies. This approach emphasizes teaching about the contribution and experiences of a group without necessarily raising awareness of oppression, or mobilizing for social

¹⁰See also Nieto (1996), and Singer (1994) who support education in multicultural settings to be all of one's education.

action, an important aspect of minority studies (Blassingame, 1976; Bowles & Klein, 1983 in Sleeter and Grant: 429). Lastly, this approach tends to ignore multiple forms of human diversity. Again, bilingual education is not discussed as a part of this approach.

The *Multicultural Education* approach to education in multicultural settings focuses on common goals including the promotion of "strength and value of cultural diversity...human rights and respect for cultural diversity...alternative life choices for people...social justice and equal opportunity for all people...and equity distribution of power among members of all ethnic groups (Gollnick, 1980 in Grant & Sleeter: 429; see also Nieto, 1996). There is a large emphasis on language and culture without much attention on social structure. Emphasizing culture at the expense of social stratification may suggest to those members of the dominant group who prefer not to confront racism or ethnic oppression, that maintaining and valuing cultural differences is the main goal of the multicultural education approach (Sleeter and Grant: 433).¹¹ Bilingual education within the multicultural education approach focuses on how or what to teach linguistic minority children, thus adopting the Teaching-the-Culturally-Different approach.

The *Education That Is Multicultural and Social Reconstructionist* approach prepares young people to take social action against social and structural inequality. Essentially, the goals are similar to those of the multicultural education approach, except this method suggests more emphasis on helping students "gain a better understanding of the causes of oppression and inequality and ways in which these social problems might be eliminated." This can be accomplished by teachers making their classrooms "more democratic" (Suzuki 1984 in Sleeter and Grant: 435). In this way, students learn to use power for collective betterment, rather than learning mainly obedience. The focus in this approach is mainly on social stratification, and less on culture. This is the least developed of all the approaches but is also discussed by Appleton (1983); Myers, Banfield, & Colon (1983); and Suzuki (1984).

¹¹ Another problem is the extent to which the topics of social class, gender, and handicaps are included and/or discussed in this method.

D. Education, the State, and Intergroup Relations

Though Sleeter and Grant's framework is useful in differentiating the ways in which education in multicultural settings can be conceived, it does not call attention to the political, social or economic contexts in which to use these different approaches. By looking at LaBelle and White's (1985) typology of intergroup relations and Wirt's (1979) typology of dominant-minority ethnic relations, I will attempt to explain in which type of societies one might find, or not find, some of the above approaches to education in multicultural settings.

Public education and schooling is part of the State apparatus (Carnoy & Levin, 1985) - the state being a ruling governing body and political agenda - no matter what country or what political regime exists in that country. Moreover, as part of the state apparatus, education becomes a reflection of the politics of the government which rules a nation and has a significant role in any society.¹² Most societies are not homogeneous - that is - it is virtually impossible to identify a nation which does not contain within its borders some degree of diversity based on ethnicity.¹³ Therefore, educational policies in heterogeneous societies, and as extensions of the state, can be seen as aspects of governmental approaches to intergroup relations and societal integration (LaBelle and White, 1985: 3; Wirt, 1979: 120).

Both LaBelle and White and Wirt draw on many of Schermerhorn's (1970) ideas for determining the nature of the relationship between ethnic groups and the process of integration into the envioning society. They emphasize, along with Schermerhorn, the dynamic nature of integration; it is not a state of being, but rather "a process whereby units or elements of a society are brought into an active and coordinated compliance with the ongoing activities and objectives of the dominant group in that society" (Schermerhorn: 14)

Labelle and White (1985: 3) recognize that Schermerhorn rightfully accords a great importance to the active role of a society's subordinate groups.

¹²This does not apply to policy initiatives that are only in the private sector. Private initiatives being explained by the same framework is an open question.

¹³Societies and nations are also differentiated by structural segmentation, social class, and by gender as well. For the purposes of this paper which focuses mainly on ethnic interrelations, however, I will limit my discussions to ethnicity only.

However, because their focus is "policy expression, rather than policy outcomes, it is in fact the superordinate or dominant group that deserves primary attention." Both LaBelle and White (1985: 3) and Wirt (p. 120) stress the importance of looking at the superordinate agenda for integration in the context of formal education because it is this group which determines the long-range goals for subordinate groups as well as for themselves. LaBelle and White state that, "Policy statements and policy implementation, even in a multi-group settings, are virtually the monopoly of the superordinate group alone" (1985: 3).

In order to aid us in analyzing educational policy and practice in multiethnic settings, LaBelle and White introduce an intergroup relations typology. Again based on Schermerhorn (1970), they discuss how societies are characterized by forms of vertical and horizontal segmentation which are based on cultural and structural attributes. Cultural segments are often referred to as ethnic groups in that they represent an attributed or self-proclaimed identity that involves certain religious, linguistic, or other collective symbols or representations (Schermerhorn, 1970 in LaBelle and White, 1985: 2). Structural segments, they argue, are often referred to as social classes or castes, as they are based on the group's relative access to or possession of political and economic power or resources.

The segmentation which occurs is furthermore characterized by a dominant group which assumes a superordinate position, and a minority group which assumes the subordinate position. The dominant group may be numerically the majority, but not necessarily, and has the central characteristic of being "prime allocators of rewards in the society" (Schermerhorn, 1970 in Wirt: 120 and LaBelle and White, 1985: 2). Furthermore, the minority group, as Wirt (p. 120) observes, may or may not be numerically smaller than the dominant group, but possesses "limited access to roles and activities central to the economic and political institutions of the society."

As stated earlier in my discussion of multiculturalism, when speaking of societal "integration," it is important to distinguish between assimilation which Schermerhorn states is cultural, and integration (or what Schermerhorn calls incorporation), which is socio-structural. Assimilationist policies by both the majority or minority groups seek to merge the minority members into the wider society by abandoning their own cultural

distinctiveness and adopting their superordinates' values and life styles (Wirth, 1945 in Schermerhorn: 78) Integration, differently from this, would allow cultural "pluralism" and would solicit tolerance from the dominant group that would allow the subordinates to retain much of their cultural distinctiveness (Wirth, 1945 in Schermerhorn: 78).

The integration process consists of two interrelated aspects. The first aspect deals with "centripetal" and "centrifugal" tendencies. The centripetal tendency refers to cultural and structural trends, respectively, toward common, society-wide lifestyles and institutional participation. Centrifugal tendencies manifest in the preservation or extension of different cultural attributes as well as greater separation or autonomy politically and economically (LaBelle and White, 1985: 3; Schermerhorn: 81). Schermerhorn (p. 82) adds that every ethnic group, as part of a total society, will modally adopt either a centripetal or centrifugal direction. However, he points out not to identify integration with centripetal tendencies, or conflict with centrifugal. On the contrary, he says, "integration involves satisfaction of the ethnic group's modal tendency, whether it be centripetal or centrifugal.

If preferred tendencies clash between superordinate and subordinate groups, the integrative processes - and the dynamics surrounding educational policy development and implementation - are likely to be conflictual in nature. It is the preferred tendency of both groups that must be taken into account. Furthermore, a states' structural and cultural policies may be centripetal and centrifugal concurrently.

What LaBelle and White (1985: 4) term "integrative mechanisms" is the second aspect of integration. These are the general approaches employed by superordinate groups to implement their definition of societal integration and include: coercion, interdependence, and consensus. According to Wirt (p. 121), this is either "isolating or enfolding a minority's access to and control of the major social structures allocating resources."

Coercion is when the superordinate group relies on military or police force or nonconsensual economic, social, or political pressures for their implementation. A second integrative mechanism is the establishment of **consensus** among the various groups into which the society is divided. Lastly, **interdependence**, is a structural relationship in which groups or segments of those groups function within a common network of economic and social relations without necessarily sharing any cultural or political values. It

is important to stress, however, that education in and of itself is not an integrative mechanism, but an institution through which integrative mechanisms may take concrete form. School policies are the expression of the tendencies and mechanisms that shape societal integration in multigroup settings rather than an integrative mechanism in and of itself (LaBelle and White, 1985: 5).

E. Typology of Intergroup Relations and Educational Policy/Practice

In order to account for the extensive between-country variation in educational policies as they relate to majority/minority relations, LaBelle and White present a typology which can be useful for the analysis of formal educational policies for intergroup relations. In their four different relations which are labeled A, B, C and D, one axis of the typology is power as reflected in political and economic prestige, and the other axis is the culturally defined status and prestige that shape ethnic hierarchies as well as ethnic group boundaries (LaBelle and White, 1980: 157) (see Figure 2) LaBelle and White also discuss six policy areas which are of interest because of their recurring importance to societal integration. I will discuss five of these: centralization, curriculum, language policies, access and tracking, and teacher training.¹⁴ Through closely looking at such policy areas, it is possible to analyze the integrative goals and consequent social agenda for a state.

Type A societal intergroup relations are characterized by two or more groups whose ethnic differences are highlighted and reinforced by the near monopoly of cultural prestige, political power, and economic power exercised by one group over the other group(s), such as apartheid in South Africa (before 1994 when there was a dichotomy of black/white). In type A intergroup relations, the superordinate group seeks to keep the subordinate group(s) as distinct as possible, and integration is likely to be interpreted slowly given the relation's strict verticality. Control of all schools is centralized and access coincides with ethnic group boundaries. Policies in both the cultural and structural realm tend toward centrifugality.

¹⁴Policy areas which I only partially include in my study are articulation & tracking, and training, selection, and placement of teachers and administrators. I narrowed down my focus for reasons of space, time, and lack of access to information regarding these areas.

School curricula and language of instruction evidence both centripetal and centrifugal tendencies. An example of a centripetal policy is the requirement that the superordinate language be the medium of instruction for all students. For example, in Haiti where 90 percent of the population speaks no French, the language of instruction in schools, the poor are at an immediate disadvantage (Mitchell, 1968 in LaBelle and White, 1980: 160). A centripetal curriculum may select students according to their ability to grasp superordinate styles, thus eliminating the vast majority of subordinate-group members into positions reserved for "failures" and the "non-educated."

Even when language instruction policies are centrifugal, they may act to maintain the unequal status quo. Prior to 1994, South Africa's Bantu Education Act required that the vernacular be the medium of instruction throughout schooling. However, by learning a special curriculum through the mother tongue, the African child was exposed to little of the outside world and only enough English and Afrikaans to follow instructions as a worker (Whately, 1955 in LaBelle and White, 1980: 160).

Based on my understanding of Sleeter and Grant's typology and the nature of type A societies, I can conclude that education in multicultural settings most likely would not be employed there. Though bilingual education is mentioned in this situation, its nature is centripetal and continues the unequal status quo.

Type B relationships involve two or more distinct ethnic groups, one of which is clearly dominant politically and/or economically and whose traits tend to be used as the criteria against which all societal behaviors are judged. Although LaBelle and White state that intergroup relations in most countries of the world can be broadly characterized as type B, particular illustrations include the Maoris in New Zealand or the West Indians in Britain. Type B differs from Type A in that occupation or role is not one of the salient distinguishing features of ethnic group membership, and the nature of socioeconomic participation is not completely congruent with ethnic group boundaries. Type B situations are more permeable than Type A. Ultimately type B relations imply the ultimate absorption of the subordinate population into the structural and cultural system of the superordinate group.

The policies adopted by superordinate groups to bring about integration in this context are essentially centripetal in their intent. Cultural policies emphasize the superordinate group's culture as a society-wide model; for

example, the superordinate language is used as the medium of instruction and there is a concomitant silence on the subordinate group's experience or culture. If the subordinate group's culture is recognized, it may be only in a historical or folkloric manner, or as a "bridge" to the approved culture (LaBelle and White, 1985: 11-15). Although curricula in schools are principally centripetal in orientation, recognizing only the dominant culture, there are some cases where both centripetal and centrifugal tendencies can be identified such as the inclusion of Maori dance, music, and history into the national curriculum.

In type B societies the educational systems are highly centralized and access is initially broad for all groups. Schooling is free and compulsory, and there are often special government scholarships set aside for aiding minorities at the secondary and post-secondary levels. But success appears to require accommodation to the cultural criteria of the dominant group. School language policies in type B situations are also centripetal in orientation, for example when the use of mother tongue language instruction exists at the elementary age, it is designed to facilitate the learning of the dominant-group language and culture, or the mother tongue may be offered as a course at the secondary level.

Ultimately, type B societies' policies must be seen as potentially serving some egalitarian and exclusionary ends simultaneously. Sleeter and Grant's example of the *Teaching the Culturally Different* approach discusses bilingual language education in this way. The goals are to help minority students "develop competence in the public culture of the dominant group" and at the same time help them develop "a positive group identity" which builds on their home cultures (Lewis, 1976 in Sleeter and Grant: 423). One of the means by which to achieve this goal is through mother tongue instruction at an early age with a gradual increase to learning in the dominant language. Though mother tongue instruction is centrifugal, it is ultimately leading to the acquisition of the dominant language which is centripetal.

Another approach which may exist in type B societies is the *Human Relations* approach and/or the *Single Group Studies* approach to education in multicultural settings. Both of these approaches ignore social stratification and do not recognize that social changes are necessary for subordinate groups to co-exist equally in society with dominant groups. Though they appear to be

centrifugal, their lack of attention to social stratification is centripetal and maintains unequal social status.

Furthermore, the *Single Group Studies* approach focuses on individual ethnic groups divorced from a larger context. This separation may lead to viewing subordinate groups in a historical or folkloric manner, or as a "bridge" to the approved culture. Potentially, *Single Group Studies* could serve centripetal purposes in intergroup relations.

Type C intergroup relations is when two or more groups can be distinguished on the basis of differences in ethnic and cultural attributes, but no one group enjoys a monopoly of political and economic power as well as cultural and social prestige. There are enough balances in this relationship to characterize it as horizontal, even where one group may be ascendant in several aspects of societal activity. There is a sharp distinction along caste and class lines within each group, so there is a tendency toward an elite-mass bifurcation in the society as a whole, which places the upper socioeconomic strata of each ethnic group together for purposes of political and economic control. But both the upper and lower strata retain their cultural and linguistic identities of their respective ethnic groups.

In the area of cultural policies, there is an agreement, whether tacit or explicit, to allow the various ethnic groups' relative autonomy in perpetuating themselves and their unique identities. However, there is an unstated class-based centripetality in action, and educational policies will assume that assimilation to elite perspectives is the ultimate goal (LaBelle and White, 1985: 15-17). Malaysia, India, and Kenya are examples of type C societies.

Educational policies are quite complex in type C societies. It is common to find schools which are in accord with ethnic group differences as well as schools which are included to serve only the upper or lower classes. Initial access is relatively broad for all groups, but may later favor one ethnic group or class/caste. To overcome cultural centrifugality of minority ethnic groups, Type C educational policies often seek greater uniformity in some areas of school curricula, such as language of instruction. In Malaysia, mastery of the Malay language is required before individuals whose first language is Chinese or Tamil are permitted to enter secondary schools (LaBelle and White, 1980: 167).¹⁵ Often, elementary education is given in the mother tongue, but must

¹⁵The article from which this information was taken was published in 1980.

give way to the introduction of regional languages used at the secondary level such as in India. These are centripetal language instruction policies implemented by the dominant group.

Due to the complexity of type C societies, it is difficult to determine which approaches to education in multicultural settings may be used. There is evidence to show that bilingual education would reflect the practices in the *Teaching the Culturally Different* or the *Multicultural Education* approach which is centripetal in nature. However, since there is an agreement to allow the various ethnic groups' relative autonomy in perpetuating themselves and their unique identities, curricular content may reflect the ideals in the *Multicultural Education* approach. One can conclude, though, that since type C societies are often class divided, that the last approach to education in multicultural societies, the *Education That Is Multicultural and Social Reconstructionist* approach, which prepares young people to take social action against social and structural inequality, would be unlikely to be used in programs sponsored by the state or by dominant groups' non-governmental organizations.

Type D societal relations are characterized by two or more groups that are roughly equal in prestige, political power, and economic power and that participate in a single structural system of roles and positions. The important consideration is that no one group is ascendant in all areas. This characteristic is what distinguishes type C from type D. Political interdependence is evident in varying degrees of government decentralization, with factors of size or location allowing the smaller group(s) in the country to protest or disrupt a larger group's possible unacceptable aspirations (LaBelle and White, 1985: 19-20). Moreover, the mutual dependence is such that members of all groups are drawn into nearly all the society's various activities. A complexity of centrifugal forces is evident in countries such as Belgium and Switzerland.¹⁶

¹⁶Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia were also used as examples of type D situations. When they were still countries, ethnic groups' centrifugal tendencies were moderated by strong ideologically based commitments to national unity (a structural unity rather than a cultural assimilation or amalgamation). However, those countries have since split, yielding the independence of the Czech Republic and Slovakia in 1993, and Slovenia, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Croatia, Serbia, and Macedonia from 1991 to the present.

Decentralization in decision making is characteristic of type D societies, and follows ethnic group boundaries regionally with the central government intervening to provide a common ideology and national goals. This design is to promote interdependence rather than to promote assimilation. In type D societies there is much attention given to issues of educational access for all populations, probably due to the great political strength that the ethnic groups have in decision making.

In the areas of curricula and the school's language of instruction, a dialectic between centripetal and centrifugal policies emerges. For example, group-specific practices are implemented at the elementary school stage, while secondary-and higher-education institutions tend to reflect more common national and international content and practices. Very careful attention to language differences is characteristic of type D societies. National governments, reacting to powerful local interests, provide for mother-tongue language instruction at least through secondary school and often through university training. In type D societies, lessened socioeconomic competition among groups are more likely to support educational policies for equality rather than inequality.

Based on my reading of Sleeter and Grant, none of the bilingual education approaches seems to fit into this category. There is no evidence that mother tongue instruction has centripetal purposes of facilitating the learning of the dominant-group language and culture. Bilingual education appears to be centrifugal through university level. Furthermore, based on the lessened socioeconomic competition between groups, curricular content which is characteristic of the *Multicultural Education* and *Education That Is Multicultural and Social Reconstructionist* approaches, which have the goals of establishing equality among citizens rather than inequality, is likely to be implemented.

Hungary has undergone changes in its type of intergroup relations depending on the political regime in power. This is furthermore complicated by which minority groups are in question: The Gypsies, Jews or the National Minorities - Germans, Slovaks etc.? For example, during the Nationalist Period, as will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, intergroup relations were of type B for the National Minorities and Jews, but of Type A for the Gypsies. During the communist era, this shifted to Type B for all minority groups. In multicultural societies with more than two ethnic groups, we need

to separately examine intergroup relations and the educational policies and practices that affect the members of these groups with respect to subordinate group in relation to the dominant group.

LaBelle and White focus on how state-sector formal education functions in the process of integration in societies with different patterns of segmentation along cultural and structural lines. Similarly, Wirt (p. 120) analyzes the interrelatedness between policy on intergroup relations, and intergroup relations on state-sector educational policy and practice: "National decisions about integration are both responses to and influences upon the differing degrees of integration that exist among these groups." For purposes of my thesis research I plan to expand the focus to include attention to private-sector or non-governmental initiatives in education.

F. Research Methods

I conducted my field work in Hungary during the summer months of June 10 - August 26, 1996, focusing on Budapest, Szeged, and Pecs, which are the three largest cities with the most diverse populations. Szeged and Pecs include not only large Gypsy populations, but also refugees and National Minorities from Croatia, Serbia, Slovenia and other parts of the former Yugoslavia. Budapest, which is the largest city in Hungary (2.5 million), has the most diverse population of all cities in Hungary.

My field work was "ethnographic" in nature and the methods and concepts of Spradley and McCurdy (1972) largely informed my work. Spradley and McCurdy state that ethnographic fieldwork represents an attempt to leave behind one's own reality and enter new, undiscovered cultural areas. It is an experiential act which has goals to describe, classify, compare, and explain culture or cultural differences. Fieldwork enables the ethnographer to communicate with, learn about and attempt to accept people from different life styles and cultural traditions.

The goal of ethnography is the attempt to represent what others have done or said as "truthfully" as possible. That is, ethnographers must attempt to write as unbiased a description of the culture they are studying as possible. Inevitably, however, our own biases as observers come through, especially during the analysis and interpretation of data. Perspectives are embodied with us as people. One truthful statement about ethnography is that there is no "immaculate perception."

In order to deal with these problems, ethnographic observers must recognize and minimize the problems of selective observation and interpretation based on their own personal biases. By being self aware, the researcher and author "undermines the myth of the traditional, neutral, absent author seeing everywhere from nowhere as well as that of the politically and ideologically committed author of the emancipatory victory narrative" (Lenzo, 1995: 19).

The strategies that I employed in this ethnography included a number of "data creation" methods. The first of which was a series of scheduled and formal interviews. My goal during the summer of 1996 was to identify and speak to those persons involved in developing education in multicultural settings, whether in course development, textbook creation, program development, policy design, or teaching. My interviewees, fifteen Hungarian educators, represented a variety of people: university professors, university pedagogical department heads, secondary school teachers, Ministry of Culture and Education (Magyar Mivelodési és Kozoktatási Miniszterium) officials, institutional researchers and those working in foundations and non-profit organizations specifically focused on issues related to education in multicultural settings. I identified and selected my sample by a series of networks. Beginning with a researcher in the European Roma Rights Center in Budapest, other professionals were identified as having a significant role in the development of education in multicultural settings in Hungary.

The interview questions are listed below, organized under a series of data needs labeled A-F. The ordering and structure of the interviews were very flexible. I asked each respondent questions which were perceived to be relevant to their specific interests and projects, and thus interviews covered an overlapping set of topics.

A. To get a response about the general "openness" of the Hungarian people to initiatives for developing education that is multicultural, and how they feel in general about multiculturalism:

Do you foresee many other groups interested in developing education that is multicultural moving forward and implementing programs?

This is the first year of your initiative, how do you feel in general about it?

How can you describe the general environment in Hungary today in regards to education in multicultural settings?

B. To understand how the "state" (the Hungarian government) feels about developing education in multicultural settings:

Is multiculturalism in education a priority for the government, and/or is it on the government's agenda for national reform?

How is the national government involved in your initiative in developing education in multicultural societies (when asking someone working outside of the ministries)?

Will, assuming that it isn't now, developing education that is multicultural become a priority of the Hungarian government?

Does the government have an official view or educational policy in regards to minorities?

C. To understand the intentions and goals of individuals who are interested in developing education in multicultural settings independently, in their academic environment, or within the structure of the government:

How did you become interested in multiculturalism personally and professionally?

Did you establish and /or found your program?

What is the content of your multicultural initiative? What are you stressing in your program and how? Are you using different types of media or different teaching techniques?

What is the goal of your initiative?

What kinds of minorities are highlighted in your initiative?

Do you think this "new" education, education that is multicultural, will have an impact and what kind?

What hopes do teachers talk about and what do they hope to change or effect with their teaching of multiculturalism?

D. To find out how initiatives are carried out and how they reach people:

Which schools and populations are you reaching?

How do you reach them?

Do people seek you out, and if so, what are they looking for, what do they ask for?

Where does your funding come from?

Do you have support from the government in executing your program?

E. To elicit if there is a cohesiveness and unity nationally in the initiative of developing education in multicultural settings:

Can you tell me what other non-profit organizations are working to develop education in multicultural settings?

Is there any national cohesiveness at all to developing similar programs which promote education in multicultural settings?

Are there any universities (if not talking to a university person) interested in adopting this kind of program?

F. To elicit why multiculturalism is developing now and if it existed before:

Hungary was always a multicultural society. Was it or wasn't it possible to develop such a curriculum during the communist period?

Is the concept of minority education and/or multicultural education new? Education that is multicultural?

When did this focus on multiculturalism begin in your university/initiative/effort? Has anything like this ever existed before?

In addition to formal interviews, much of my data collection during the summer of 1996 was based on informal discussions. In other words, my "participating" in Hungarian life and living as a local was one of the best information gathering techniques I employed. As a participant and observer, I gathered informally some vital information when people were less "prepared" about what they said. The information gathered in this fashion is in no way to be used against anyone; however, often this is the best way the "truth" comes out. I gathered data by attending weekly discussion groups at the Europa Institute, a research institute which funds young scholars doing research on Hungary, by going to concerts, pubs, restaurants, parties the bath houses, movies, meetings of youth groups, etc. During the course of this informal data collection, I interacted mostly with people between the ages of

20 - 35. I also was able to observe and make notes about the content of posters, graffiti, newspapers, magazines, and television programs.

I used a mini-tape recorder to gather data in the formal situations, and took notes after leaving the informal situations. Though the presence of a recorder may have altered people's behavior and caused them to speak less freely, I also found that the later transcribed interviews were valuable because I could then analyze the speakers' actual words. By using direct quotes, I hope to "stay close to the data" in order to give as unbiased a picture of this scene as possible.

IV. CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT: THE NATIONALIST PERIOD (1918-1945)

A. Introduction

In order to understand the contemporary dynamics of one Eastern European society - Hungary, we must examine its political, economic and educational history, which can be divided into three major periods: the Nationalist Period (1918-1945), the Soviet or communist period (1948-1985), and the new "transition" period (1989-present).

Yet all of these eras were affected by what existed in Hungary prior to the First World War. The Hungarian Kingdom had existed and dominated in the Carpathian basin since the reign of Stephen the first (997-1038), and even prior to that. The Austrian Hapsburgs, however, dominated the region politically for much of the 18th century, and finally in the 19th century, the Austro-Hungarian Empire shared power between the Hungarians and the Austrians in a dual-monarchy which lasted from 1867 until the end of the First World War, 1918.

After the dual monarchy was established in the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1867, Hungarian political philosophy became stronger than ever insisting that its institutions be Magyar in spirit, and as far as possible, linguistically unified. The use of minority languages was banished almost entirely from administration and justice, most denominations changed their secondary school language of instruction to Magyar, and even primary schools and all schools founded after 1870 were forced to teach in Magyar. However, due to the scarcity of Hungarian speaking teachers, the effect was that an increasing percentage of children, Slovaks, Croatians or Romanians, received no education at all. Mother tongue Magyar speakers were the minority at this time, constituting only 35 percent of the entire population. Nevertheless, forced Magyarization,¹ largely a result of schooling in Hungarian, eventually caused a substantial shift in language. The proportion of the population with Magyar as its mother tongue rose from 46.6 percent in the late 1800's to 51.4 percent in 1900.

¹*Magyarization* is the term which refers to the state's attempt to forcibly assimilate ethnic minorities into the dominant culture.

Ethnic conditions during this time in the Austro-Hungarian Empire became politically relevant: "One important result of 'Magyarization' was to cut off the principal prerequisites for social mobility ... where social mobility is blocked by the existence of one preferred language among several, language differences seem to be politically divisive" (Inglehart and Woodward, 1967 in Giglioli: 366-369). Serbs, Slovaks, and Romanians were bitterly anti-Magyar and anti-Hungarian and began expressing themselves in nationalistic terms. They saw the substitution of Magyar for Latin as a threat to their national existence. But the leaders of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in turn saw these groups as a threat to her political unity and Magyar superstructure. The forced Magyarization was a means by which the Hungarians secured their political power, for it "cut off the prerequisites for social mobility" of anyone who was not Magyar. "Language restrictions had the effect of stifling the ambitions and slowing the economic development of the subject races" (Inglehart and Woodward in Giglioli: 369). This is a policy which the Hungarians carried out until the end of World War I when Hungary became a nation-state for the first time in history.

B. Discussion of Cultural Tendencies and Integration

LaBelle and White emphasize that the integration process is dependent on whether both the superordinate and the subordinate groups culturally and structurally demonstrate centripetality or centrifugality. It is the preferred tendency of both groups that must be taken into account. In the following sections, I will describe the cultural tendencies of the dominant Hungarians, described immediately below, and the three different ethnic groups' (National Minorities, Roma and Jews) cultural tendencies that have been constructed by their relations with the dominant Hungarian group. Each group represents a different cultural segmentation of society, and each group's centripetal or centrifugal tendencies also affects integration into the larger society. These descriptions can then be compared and an initial analysis of societal integration can be made. The structural integration of these groups will be discussed later in this chapter.

1. *Hungarians in The Nationalist period*¹⁸ (1918-1945)

Hungary became a nation state in 1918 with the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the end of the First World War. In 1920 the Treaty of Trianon was signed and implemented¹⁹ and what used to be "Historic Hungary" lost two-thirds of its area and population. When the new borders were drawn, one third of the ethnic Hungarians became minorities under the successor states of what were then Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Romania. New Hungary became ethnically much more homogenous than it was earlier, though it still had a non-Hungarian population of 8 percent in 1930 (Glatz, 1993: 44)

The harshness of the Treaty of Trianon dashed Hungary's minorities' hopes for truly innovative minority policies, since an "irate Hungarian public pinpointed concessions to the nationalities as the major cause for the Trianon Treaty and the country's dismemberment" (Crowe, 1994: 86). According to Glatz (p. 44), "Public opinion, traumatized by the heavy territorial and population losses, was indifferent, or definitely hostile, to the minorities left in the country." This resulted in a hypocritical situation: The fact that the Hungarians stuck in the detached territories did not have the chance to preserve themselves as Hungarians seemed shocking to the people of the mother country, but Hungarians within Hungary forgot about the need to treat the domestic minorities the same way as they would have the Hungarians treated in the neighboring countries. Glatz (p. 45) says that "this contradiction is still at work in Hungarian public thinking when the minority question is addressed."

Politics in general during the Nationalist period tended toward the right of the political spectrum. Magyarization was still a powerful force, left over from the pre-war regime, and still insisted that to achieve "completely equal membership in Hungarian [societal] supremacy," one had "to accept the Hungarian way of life" (Crowe, 1994: 87). Implied in this statement is the dominant group's intolerance of diversity, and a self proclaimed superiority.

¹⁸This period in Hungary's history is also referred to as the Interwar Period.

¹⁹After the signing of the Treaty of Trianon (see footnote 1), Hungary's population dropped from 20.9 million in 1910 to 7.6 million in 1920. After the signing, Hungary became almost purely a Magyar state, with only 833,475 people claiming a native tongue other than Hungarian (Crowe, 1994: 86). The nationality distribution of the population was determined by the ratio of the Magyars which was between 45 and 51 percent in the 19th century.

The Nationalist period in Hungary saw several different heads of state in the role of Prime Minister: Bela Kun 1918-1919 (communist), Count Istvan Bethlen 1921-1931, Count Gyula Karolyi 1931-1932, Gyula Gombos, 1932-1936, Kalman Daranyi 1936-1938, Bela Imredy 1938-1939, Pal Teleki 1941, and Laszlo Bardossy 1941-1942, and Miklos Kallay 1942-1945.²⁰ According to Crowe (1994: 86), the Bethlen government "purportedly 'provided for the full equality of all Hungarian citizens, irrespective of language, religion, or decent,' but was compromised by a subtle ongoing campaign of Magyarization." Furthermore, though Gombos in 1932 stated that his government would "refrain from propagating racist ideas," he nevertheless set immediately to create a "fascist state system," one which lasted up until World War II (Crowe, 1994: 87).

Severe legislation began to be developed regarding the minorities in the late 1930's, and restrictions against *all* minorities, both national and ethnic, continued into the forties. When Hungary had re-acquired territory in Yugoslavia under Bardossy, the government quickly "implemented new measures of coercion and Magyarization against the National Minorities, whose proportion of the total population had now grown to more than a quarter" (Crowe, 1994: 89).

For the Gypsies and Jews, the situation also worsened. In 1938, Parliament member Gyozo Drody noted Hungary's Roma population was between 130,000 to 150,000, probably an exaggerated estimate to make the Gypsy threat look greater (Crowe, 1994: 87; Brahm, 1988: 106-107). In reality, the 1930 census only showed 14,473 Gypsies. In 1939 under the leadership of Bela Imredy, "economic, professional, and racial restrictions" on the Jews were tightened. Teleki, in 1941, "made plans to intern in work-camps all gypsies who had no profession."²¹ Furthermore, with Bardossy's newly acquired territory, Gypsies who had not been resident in Hungary before October 31, 1918, had to leave taking only "personal belongings and enough money for the journey" (Crowe, 1994: 89).

As time drew nearer to the outbreak of the Second World War, and as the fascists in Hungary sought to mirror the Germans, the discriminatory and racist acts against the Gypsies and the Jews increased in frequency. Social

²⁰The nationalist leadership ended when Soviet troops occupied Hungary. On February 13, 1945 Russian forces took Budapest and drove the German army out of Hungary completely by April 4, 1945 (Crowe, 1996: 91).

²¹Profession in this instance does not include the traditional work of the Roma such as horse trading, copper smithing, etc.

policies against these minorities groups in particular, especially when Hungary fell under the Third Reich when it occupied Russia in 1941, were for "the eradication of Europe's Gypsies and the Final Solution against the Jews" (Crowe, 1994: 90). It is important to remember, as many seem to forget, that there was a Jewish *and* a Gypsy Holocaust.²²

2. National Minorities

The National Minorities reacted differently than did the Jews and the Gypsies to forced Magyarization of the late 19th century. According to the census of 1910, only one-fifth of Hungary's 8.3 million non-Hungarians knew Magyar (Crowe, 1994: 85). However, after the redrawing of Hungary's borders in 1918, many national minority populations were geographically separated, a factor which increased assimilation and was considered by Kovacs and Crowe (1985: 163) as "another disadvantageous factor for the survival of the Slovak element in Hungary." At this time in history, the Slovak nationality was just emerging as a minority. As yet there was no Slovakia as a territorial or national formation, nor was there a standard, unified Slovak language. In 1920, 399,176 people said in Hungary that they spoke Slovak, but out of that number, 243,955 considered Hungarian their first language, and 150,000 considered Hungarian their mother tongue.

After the Treaty of Trianon, the German population in Hungary severely shifted, reducing from about 2 million (1910) to 550,000 (1920) (Kovacs and Crowe: 164). For a short period in history, the German minority's chances for "special" treatment looked promising. Between August 1, 1919 and June 4, 1920, a new nationality policy was formulated with Jacob Bleyer, a representative of the Germans in Hungary acting as Minister for Nationalities. As a result of his efforts, many young Germans from Hungary were able to receive training as leaders of the German nationality movement in Hungary (Kovacs and Crowe: 165). Nevertheless, the German populations were rather interspersed throughout Hungary which worked against ethnic group centrifugality, and those who lived in Budapest were even more exposed to Magyarization: "The Germans and the Jews, proved the most susceptible to the

²²According to the Hungarian War Victims Association, 28,000 Rom were shipped out of Hungary, and only 3,000 returned after World War II. Donald Kenrick and Gratton Puxon (1972) estimate that 31,000 Hungarian Gypsies were deported by the Nazis. Other specialists estimate that 32,000 Hungarian Roma died during the *Porajmos*, the Roma word for Holocaust (Crowe, 1990: 91).

Magyarizing influence of the huge Magyar influx into cities and towns which resulted from the liberation of the serfs in Hungary at the middle of the century (19th) and the subsequent collapse of the socioeconomic status of the small and middle nobility" (Kovacs and Crowe: 164).

Whatever had emboldened the National Minorities to be centrifugally oriented at the beginning of the Nationalist Period, however, changed as the Depression (from 1930) swept into Hungary. Though it is difficult to diagnose, the cultural tendencies of the National Minorities was somewhere between the Gypsies and the Jews. They hadn't linguistically assimilated as easily and willingly as the Jews, but were not quite as centrifugally oriented as the Gypsies either. I would conclude that as a whole, they were more centripetal, having simultaneously fallen prey to and strategically choosing to undergo the strong forces of Magyarization.

3. *Roma*

Roma constitute the largest ethnic minority in Eastern Europe, and perhaps the most misunderstood and most persecuted²³. For centuries, the Roma have lived marginally in the periphery of Hungarian society. Tolerated at the best of times, persecuted at others, they were normally despised as pariahs, and stereotyped as loafers and thieves. For most of their 700 year history in the region of Eastern Europe,²⁴ they have been marginalized by the dominant populations of the regions, including in Hungary. On the other hand, Roma themselves have cultivated their marginal status, or at least their cultural difference, by preserving their distinctive identity and resisting recurrent attempts at assimilation and integration (cultural) by dominant groups (Barany: 333). Though political systems and policies have changed toward the Roma, such changes have had little apparent effect on the Roma's cultural marginalization.

The Roma's resistance to cultural assimilation is probably their strongest characteristic. While absorbing what they have found useful from other cultures, they have remained uncompromisingly themselves. As one observer said: "The Gypsies, for all the abuses of them, and for all their

²³ See Hancock (1986) and Fraser (1994).

²⁴ Scholars debate about how long the Roma have actually been in Eastern Europe. See Fraser (1994).

poverty, are still free" (McCagg, 1991: 330). Yet, the Roma were not completely immune to the power of Magyarization.

The cultural characteristics of the Roma during the Nationalist period must be seen as a result of the political and social policies of Hungary in the latter part of the 19th century. Politically and socially, the 1890's in Hungary was a period of intensified nationalist spirit which tried to force Magyarization, through education and other means, on the country's scattered minorities. The Magyarization mentality continued throughout the Nationalist Period in Hungary. Since the Roma had no historically identifiable ethnic traditions of their own, according to the majority ethnic group (the Hungarians), the Hungarian government expected the Gypsies to become good Hungarians (Crowe, 1994: 85). As I will show, many of the Jews accepted the Magyar identity willingly, or at least publicly assimilated culturally. The Roma succumbed to it as well, though not as willingly.

In 1910, Hungary's next to last census before World War I showed 147,599 Roma in Hungary. In 1930, the census officially numbered the Gypsies at only 14,473, though Hungarian minority specialist Gabor Kemeny estimated that there were probably around 100,000 Roma out of a total population of 8,688,319 (Crowe, 1994: 87). An explanation for the low official numbers is due to the ongoing forced Magyarization on minorities in Hungary at this time. About half of the Gypsy population, the Romungros, had linguistically assimilated and spoke Magyar (Reger, 1988: 111-112).²⁵

Through coercive measures, the dominant Hungarian group culturally integrated, at least partially, some of the Gypsy population. I make this statement tentatively, for though statistics show that a large percentage of Gypsies integrated linguistically, there is still much evidence to show that they did not integrate in other cultural ways. The extreme cultural centrifugal tendencies of this group coupled with a Hungarian structural

²⁵Roma are an extremely diverse ethnic group, and differ socially, economically, linguistically, and culturally. Today in Hungary, it is estimated that one-third of Gypsies (more than one hundred thousand) speak Romani as a mother tongue. The Romani language itself can be split into different dialect groups. The majority of Romani speakers belong to the Vlach dialect group, and the rest belong to three unevenly represented dialects, Gurvari, Romungro and Sinto. As to the other linguistic groups within the Gypsy population in Hungary, 8% (thirty thousand people), or the Boyash Gypsies, speak certain dialects of the Romanian language as a mother tongue. About half of the Gypsy population, the Romungros, is linguistically assimilated and speak Magyar (Reger: 111-112).

policy of almost total exclusion of the Roma population (see below), would be strong enough to safeguard them from almost total assimilation.

4. *Jews*

According to 1910 statistics, Hungary's Jews numbered 911,227 or 5 percent of the population. The majority of Jews, however, had always resided in Budapest, and their numbers were fairly numerous during the Nationalist time period. In 1920, the population was 215,560, 23.2 percent of the city's overall population. These numbers declined, however, and by 1939, they were only 184,452 (McCagg, 1990: 52).²⁶

The Jews existed in Hungary long before it became a state or even before the creation of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. As a cultural group, they quickly adjusted themselves to the sociocultural conditions of Hungary. While other nationalities made efforts to retain their national identities, the Jews went out of their way not to be a nationality but to be accepted as Magyars (Kovacs and Crowe: 168-169). The Jews of Central and Eastern Europe have a religiously based, cultural identity of which language or ethnicity is not necessarily a component; the majority of Hungarian Jews assimilated linguistically to Hungarian (Szepe, 1994: 56).

Thus, a self-Magyarization society arose, one which glowed with "pro-Magyar patriotism." This hyperpatriotism of the Jews partly derived from their fear of Anti-semitism, which would effect their economic roles and status in society.²⁷ In this manner, they became natural allies, or even part, of the Hungarian leadership, and attempted to spread its language, literature, and historical traditions (Kovacs and Crowe: 167).²⁸ Their acceptance of the dominant society's ways aided in their participation of Hungary's economic, political, and cultural life. Culturally, the Jews demonstrate centripetal tendencies which, coupled with the dominant Hungarians' socio-cultural policies of assimilation, brought about a successful degree of assimilation of the Jews into Hungarian society.

²⁶Behind this decline was a considerable number of converts from Judaism to Christianity, nearly 40,000 in 1938. The total number of "racial Jews" in Budapest in 1938 was in the range of 222,384 (McCagg, 1990: 52).

²⁷The Jews held a very prominent economic role in Hungarian society which is discussed later in this chapter. In order to preserve their economic status, they easily, at least publicly, assimilated into the Hungarian culture.

²⁸For a good reference on the Jew's role in Magyarization see Braham (1981).

5. Analytical Summary

Culturally, the Hungarians held the dominant position in society, and their expectations were for everyone to culturally behave as Hungarians did. Magyarization was a centripetal cultural tendency whose aim was assimilation rather than integration (and even elimination as in the late 1930's); a very strong force to which all minority groups were subjected.

Earlier in the Nationalist Period, the National Minorities demonstrated centrifugal cultural tendencies, which nevertheless, weakened as the era and economic hardship progressed. Though I would not classify this group as outwardly centripetal, their strength in maintaining cultural separateness was not as strong as the force of Magyarization. Therefore, cultural integration which had as its goal assimilation, was non-conflictual between this minority group and the dominant Hungarian group.

Though the Gypsies were and are still today an ethnic group with strong centrifugal tendencies, this was still not enough to defend against the centripetal cultural forces of Magyarization. The Gypsies' resulting cultural assimilation is most seen in linguistic statistics which show that many Roma were already classified as Hungarian speaking by the 1930's. Still, the Gypsies remained relatively unassimilated. Due to the oppositional tendencies between the dominant and subordinate groups, cultural integration was not swift and complete as it had been with the Jews.

According to LaBelle and White's definition of centripetal/centrifugal tendencies, the Hungarian Jews, generally speaking, showed cultural centripetal tendencies with the dominant society and had assimilated willfully, if only strategically. The centripetal cultural tendencies of the dominant group and the cultural centripetal tendency of the Jews also made assimilation non-conflictual and smooth for this ethnic group.

C. Discussion of Structural Tendencies and Integration: Minorities' Political and Economic Participation in Society

Drawing on LaBelle and White's and Wirt's frameworks, it is necessary to describe the minorities' participation in the political and economic realms of society. This description will clarify the character - whether centripetal or centrifugal - of structural segmentation for each minority group, and shed light on whether each group was structurally *enfolded* - the removal of

barriers to the minority's access to power in the social and political institutions of society (though not necessarily for the top positions) - or *isolated* - blocking access (Wirt: 121). This sheds light on the degree of their supposed integration into the dominant Hungarian society, and can have an impact on educational policies.

1. *National Minorities*

There is evidence that the National Minorities participated in the mainstream economic life of Hungary without discrimination in access to jobs or promotion within jobs. And, according to Crowe (1994: 85), a large number of Germans and Slovaks - as well as Jews and Gypsies - had assimilated because of "economic transformation, urbanization, and 'embourgeoisement'" during the Nationalist Period. Of the National Minorities in Hungary, the Germans and Southern Slavs were the most visible in the economic life of interwar Hungary. About a fifth of the economic elite were German and four percent were Southern Slavs (Lengyel, 1990: 282).²⁹

2. *Roma*

The Roma did not participate to as large a degree economically or politically in the dominant society as did the Jews. Economically, there was great discrimination against the Roma during this time, though there is evidence that at least some Gypsies had assimilated into the dominant society due to urbanization and economic transformation (Crowe, 1994: 85).

As far back as the middle ages, Gypsies have been denied access to desirable jobs and were excluded from society and the economy in general (Their cultural centrifugality, however, more than likely overflowed into the structural realm and helped to maintain structural separateness). Before industrialization a majority of the Gypsies worked for Hungarian peasants performing dirty jobs around the yard, worked the land, and provided labor at the bottlenecks of the year's cycle. Though Gypsies had been sustained by the feudal division of labor, they lost their social importance as capitalist industrialization rendered their skills redundant.³⁰ As a result of their

²⁹Structural integration does not necessarily mean success or elite status within society.

³⁰The mode of production in Hungary switched from primarily agricultural to industrialized at the end of the nineteenth century and continued in the early socialist period.

"uselessness", Gypsies became characterized less by a culture than their "way of life" which was marked by traditional behavioral traits such as scavenging, begging, hustling, dealing, and laziness, and which according to Stewart (1993: 189), "were the products of their exclusion from the society and the economy of the past." In the political arena, there is no evidence that Roma were active at this time, whether in local representation or nationally.

3. *Jews*

In the latter part of the eighteenth century, the Jews of Hungary, especially the more culturally assimilated among them, formed part of the urban capitalist class which Marx among others called "the bourgeoisie," and continued to flourish economically into the Nationalist period. The Jews achieved a high representation among the owners and tenants of large landed estates and were also highly visible in trade, commerce, finance, and industry. They occupied all positions from owners, to managers to simple employees. In 1910, 55-60 percent of the country's merchants were Jews, and the Jews were also highly represented in the professional class where they represented 45 percent of its Lawyers and 49 percent of its physicians (Kovacs and Crowe: 167).

During this time period in Hungary, statistics show that the economic elite were culturally different from the population as a whole. Of the minorities who were obviously visible, meaning occupying elite positions, in the economic life were the Jews, Germans and Southern Slavs. About half of the elite were of Hungarian nationality, a quarter Jewish, a fifth German and the remaining 4 percent Southern Slavs (Lengyel: 282). Though 25 percent of the economic elite were Jews, it is important to note that they were significantly over-represented compared to their proportion in the economically active population.³¹

Politically, Jews were also involved, though it appears to a lesser degree than their involvement in the economy. There were several laws which guaranteed their participation in politics, such as the 1926 Law XXII which made provisions for Hungarian Jewry to be represented in the Upper House of

³¹ The Jewish group in question is the top economic elite in Hungary, and included all those who through special exemptions were not affected by the Anti-Jewish legislation, which was valid until the day of the German occupation on March 19, 1944 (Lengyel: 234).

parliament; and in 1929, a law gave them the right to call general assemblies (Moskovitz, 1964: 214). These findings suggest that they were perhaps more active in supporting candidates and lobby, rather than running for office themselves.

Despite the Jews' economic and political participation, an officially Anti-semitic regime was installed after the fall of Bela Kun's Communist government in 1919, but its political impact was moderated under Istvan Bethlen, who lifted some of the legal restrictions against the Jews. The first Anti-Jewish Law, enacted in 1938, attempted to reduce by 20 percent the number of Jews in various professions and who were running businesses that had more than ten employees. This law affected some 50,000 Jews. The second Anti-Jewish Law, 1939, placed much more severe economic, professional, and racial restrictions on the Jews (Kovacs and Crowe: 168).

The Hungarian Jewish community leadership, however, succeeded largely in quieting any protest against these laws by insisting that due to Anti-semitism, "Jewish interests required Magyar patriotism more ardent than before the war" (McCagg, 1990: 74). Even until the late 1930's, there was a positive relationship between the Jews and the Magyars because of their "complementary" qualities. As such, leading assimilee Jews "played cards and raced horses with the leading Magyars, just like before the war" (McCagg, 1990: 74).

Things, however, worsened for the Jews in the context of the strengthening and expansion of fascism in Europe. The Third Jewish Law, which came in 1941, was in part "the expression of Hungary's indebtedness to the Reich for the reoccupation of Northern Transylvania and the Delvidek," and outlawed marriage between Jews and Christians and excluded Jewish employment in state government or involvement in Hungarian economic life (Crowe, 1994: 89). This was an ultimate attempt by segments of the Hungarian dominant group to block structural advancement for the Jews.

4. *Analytical Summary*

The structural integration experienced by the different minority groups in question differs tremendously, demonstrating how group membership affects socioeconomic roles. The National Minorities experienced little structural discrimination during the Nationalist Period and had access to jobs and resources, though they were not represented disproportionately in

elite positions. The dominant group's centripetal tendencies in the structural realm enfolded the national minority groups, who also demonstrated centripetal structural tendencies, making integration into society non-conflictual.

The cultural assimilation of the Jews worked to their advantage in terms of structural assimilation. For most of the Nationalist period, until the very end, they were structurally enfolded into the larger society, not through coercion as much as through interdependence. As noted earlier, even until the late 1930's, there was a positive relationship between the Jews and the Magyars because of their "complementary" qualities. The dominant group accepted the Jews as an asset to the strength of Hungary's economic and, to some degree, political life and thus allowed them access to and, to a certain degree of control over, the major social structures and resources.

The Gypsies, on the other hand, were structurally blocked from access to lines of work and forms of political participation at this time, and, as such, were still largely unassimilated into society. As we have seen from the above discussion, This is in part due to their extreme cultural centrifugality and in part to the dominant group's role in structurally isolating this particular ethnic group. At the same time, the Hungarians succeeded in their structural aims: to isolate and block the Gypsy population from the major social structures allocating resources, and in the political institutions of the society.

D. Education

During this discussion of education during the Nationalist Period, it is important to keep in mind that according to LaBelle and White (1985: 5) school policies are the expression of the tendencies and mechanisms that shape societal integration in multigroup settings rather than an integrative mechanism in and of itself.

1. General Description

Socially and educationally, the Nationalist period has been portrayed as one of "great progress." At this time, Hungary expanded its educational system; there was an extension of mass education through the construction of actual schools. Though there was a large increase in the number of elementary students completing school, the attendance numbers sharply

decreased for students entering later grades. Education was still limited in most cases to four or six grades of elementary school (Berend: 170).

In addition to an increase in general schooling, more teacher training schools and technical secondary schools were established. Enrollments in these institutions at this time also evidenced improvement. Critics argue, however, that the growth in education was merely quantitative, and that the character of education, its curricular quality, remained unchanged to the pre-World War I system. The educational legacy which Hungary inherited from the pre-war era was of mixed value. It included some outstanding institutions, but these were highly selective. Though the secondary schools remained high-quality, they were very limited and for the education of the elite. Those with a secondary school education still made up only about 3 percent of the wage earners (Berend, 1980: 170). Furthermore, selection for schooling and organization of schooling, which was effected by political power, was based on humanistic, national Christian values (cf. the cultural policies of ministers Klebelsberg and Homan) (Guide: 19).

In the following discussion which differentiates between National Minorities, Roma, and Jews, attention will be paid to the educational policies of access, language policy, curriculum, and teacher training, though not necessarily separately.

2. *National Minorities*

Under the Peace Treaty of Trianon which concluded on June 14, 1920, and under the leadership of Count Istvan Bethlen 1921-1931, Hungary pledged to honor minority rights. "The Bethlen government provided for the full equality of all Hungarian citizens, irrespective of language, religion, or descent" (Kovacs and Crowe: 165). These rights were ensured by Prime Ministerial decrees of 1919 and 1923 which ensured freedom in the use of language for ethnic communities in education, government and legal matters. However, this was true only where the minority population exceeded 20 percent (Glatz: 44; Crowe, 1994: 86). Though not explicitly stated, this policy only covered the National Minorities of Hungary. The Jews had linguistically assimilated long ago, and the Gypsies were disregarded altogether. This "20 percent policy" referred to the scatteredness of minorities in Hungary at that

time and served as a good excuse for not encouraging minority schools and obstructing political self-administration (Glatz: 44).³²

In 1923, three types of schools were established: the first with the language of instruction of the nationalities, with Hungarian as a compulsory subject; the second with nationality and Hungarian languages of instruction; and the third in which Magyar was the language employed, along with the compulsory teaching of a nationality language (Beller, 1981: 136-61). By 1928 there were 607 together of these three types of schools, 467 of them for the large German population. Later this "ABC" system of schools was replaced during the Gombos government (1932-1936). At this time a unitary school with nationality-Magyar (mixed) languages of instruction.

The language policies that existed at this time have been criticized as a means by which to diffuse minority issues, thus ensuring Hungarian nationalism. "One nationalistic thrust was to encourage National Minorities to have their own associations, press, and broadcasting, and to establish their own minority areas of educational focus (Kaufman: 255). In fact, this policy only *purportedly* provided for full equality in education for all Hungarian citizens, but in fact "was compromised by a subtle ongoing campaign of Magyarization (Crowe, 1994: 86). Hans-Georg Heinrich (1986: 138) argues that nationalism, which manifested in these specific language policies, was an ideological vehicle by which Hungarian aristocratic-bourgeois elites could embark on modernization while remaining free of former Austrian interference.

With the exception of the brief Soviet Republic in 1919 which proclaimed a state monopoly on school instruction, trying to break the century-old dominance of clerical schools (Hemrich: 165)³³, secondary education during the Nationalist period was largely vested in the hands of the Christian churches and especially the Roman Catholic Church, as had been the tradition for hundreds of years (Braham: 9) This control lasted until 1948 when the Hungarian schools were nationalized and became the state's affair. For the most part, the gimnazium³⁴ curriculum was traditional: heavy

³²A somewhat different policy was pursued when, between 1939 and 1941 in the period of the return of certain areas detached by the Trianon Treaty, the Government favored a new, mutually tolerant nationality policy in the Carpathian Basin (Glatz: 44).

³³This attempt lasted only a year, and was defeated in 1920.

³⁴Gimnazium is the Hungarian word for the German "gymnasium" or American

emphasis on Hungarian language and literature, Latin and Greek, mathematics and geometry, modern European languages (two), and religion and morals. Though reforms in the content of education allowed for a literary language to be introduced that was different from Hungarian, curricula were based upon traditional values laced with Hungarian nationalism. At the core of educational content were the following ideals: truth, beauty, goodness, and sanctity, and experience was conceived as the result of accepting values rather than values being conceived based on experience (Horvath, 1990: 208). Horvath (p. 209) states that the ministerial policy emphasized the necessity of "bringing up religious, law-abiding and nation-loving subjects." With the emphasis on Hungarian nationalism, schools were used as assimilation agencies of Magyarization to promote the great Hungarian Nation (Kaufmann: 255).

a. *Analytical Summary*

In this time when Hungarian nationalism was reflected strongly in the schools through language policy and curricular content, the principles of education in multicultural societies was practically non-existent. Access to secondary schools for National Minorities, as for the dominant Hungarians, had some restrictions as secondary schools were very limited and for the education of the elite. Furthermore, through the 20 percent policy, access to education in their mother tongues was limited. According to LaBelle and White, this demonstrates a highly centripetal orientation by the dominant group. It designed a system which would necessarily track a large percentage of National Minorities to be schooled in the dominant language. The 20 percent policy, though appearing to be a centrifugal educational policy in allowing minorities education in their mother tongue, actually supported assimilation by forcing many National Minorities to be schooled in Hungarian, therefore affecting a shift in language. According to Glatz (p. 44) this policy which supported assimilation is historically embedded in Hungary's past.

Unlike in type A societies where the dominant group attempts to keep subordinate groups as separate as possible with little or no access to top positions and power in society, which is controlled through access to schooling, the above characteristics reflect more of a type B society for the National Minorities. In type B societies, societal integration is based on the

"high-school." I will use *gimnazium* when referring to the secondary schooling in Hungary.

dominant group's supposition that the minorities will adopt at least some of the ethnic related as well as class related values and orientations. This is achieved through requiring the minorities to accommodate to the cultural criteria of the dominant group in school.

The curricular content of education reflected the Christian nationalist goals of the Hungarian elite, and seemed to disregard any mention of or representation of minorities in its context. This can be interpreted two ways: a) it had centripetal tendencies in its emphasis on the superordinate group as a society-wide model, or b) it is centrifugal as it reflects only one experience in a heterogeneous society, and may continue intergroup separation, a characteristic of type A societies.

Nevertheless, in general, the educational policies reflect those of a type B society which serve simultaneously some egalitarian and exclusionary ends. It allowed some ethnic accommodation for the subordinate group members through limited mother tongue instruction, but tracked them to adopt the superordinate group's prevailing cultural and structural system, an act which led to a degree of assimilation into society.

3. *Roma*

Prior to the second world war, Roma did not attend school in any significant numbers, and had no tradition of having their own schools. At the beginning of the 20th century, only one in four hundred nomadic Gypsies were literate, while only three or four of one hundred semi-nomadic Gypsies could read or write. Of the Roma who were settled, 93.5 percent "were illiterate" (Sikl6s, 1970: 157).³⁵

Nor had anyone outside of the Roma community ever taken the education of Gypsies seriously. A small step forward occurred in the late 1920's as a result of the Minister of Education's Kuno Kubelsberg's, changes that did away with "racial and national considerations." And some prewar educational work with Gypsies had resulted in the opening of a Rom school in

³⁵Statistics for the numbers of Roma who fall into the categories of nomadic, semi-nomadic and settled was taken in an 1893 census. Over 89 percent lived in established settlements, 7.5 percent were semi-nomadic, and 3.3 percent were completely nomadic. New numbers for the numbers of Roma in the newly formed Hungary are unknown. The census in 1893 showed 91,603 Roma in Hungary and Transylvania who declared Romani as their primary language. Of this number, only 5.4 percent of those over the age of six could read or write, compared to a national average of 53% (Hooz in Crowe: 84).

1935. However, these efforts were not enough to overcome the powerful force of Magyarization which prevailed at this time.

a. *Analytical Summary*

A lack of attention to Roma education could be interpreted as characteristic of type A societies where the dominant group, in order to maintain their superior position in society, limits possibilities in education for the subordinate groups. Access, language policy, and curriculum did not exist for Roma. Those who did enter schooling at this time, entered a system that was designed for the dominant group by the dominant group, and which would most likely track the Roma minority into failing out of school, and consequently into the lower echelons of society. The Roma were certainly given no special privileges through education to have access to and function within the dominant society. Their marginalized position in society was perpetuated through lack of educational initiatives.

4. *Jews*

Hungarian Jews had been fighting for equal rights since before World War I. With the turn of the century, they were seemingly enjoying success. However, this was interrupted immediately after World War I with the introduction of the *Numerous Clauses* Law XXV of 1920, which limited the number of Jewish students who had access to higher education, and thus made "Anti-semitism constitutional for the first time in modern Hungary" (Crowe, 1994: 87). Although the *Numerous Clauses* did not directly affect secondary schooling, there was nonetheless a decrease in the percentage of Jewish enrollment to secondary school which took place between 1921-1935 (Moskovitz: 216). Due to Anti-semitic sentiment and because of the restrictive measures placed against Jewish students wanting to enter secondary school, a boys' and girls' Jewish Congregational Gimnazium were opened by the Jewish community in Budapest in 1919. With the creation of these schools, scholastic achievement as well as Jewish education was attained. The Jewish Gimnazium occupied a distinguished position among the high schools of the country (Moskovitz: 227).

A Jewish Gimnazium was also opened in Debrecen, in the 1921-1922 academic year, and when Jewish students were denied access to secondary schools in other parts of the country where the Jewish population was not as

dense as in Budapest, they either stayed at home, or if lucky enough, attended the Jewish secondary schools which were established in Szatmarnemeti and Marosvarsarhely. Statistics show that Jews receiving a Jewish education declined by 50 percent between 1919 and 1939. In 1919, the number of students was almost 30,000 and in 1939, it was only 14,692 (Moskovitz: 284).

With the introduction of the Anti-Jewish laws of the 1930's, local subsidies to Jewish denominational schools were terminated. Neither the congregation nor the sacrificial spirit of the teacher could remedy the situation. The Jewish school was plunged into a desperate financial plight, and the Jewish community themselves were totally responsible for funding their schools (Moskovitz: 260-262).

The Jewish high school had to meet the prescribed time allotment for all the subjects required by the state, while it also gave special emphasis to developing the Jewish identity of its pupils. The three-fold objective of the Jewish Gimnazium were: 1.) to achieve adequate cultural development similar to that of governmental schools. 2.) to make Jewish pupils familiar with religious teachings and participate in religious services, and 3.) to seek to develop the pupils' physical stamina to withstand the struggles facing them.

Five hours a week were devoted to Jewish religion and Hebrew language and literature. Because of time constraints, however, the Bible was read in translation, from Hebrew to Hungarian.³⁶ For other subjects in the social sciences, such as History and Geography, special attention was given to Jews, those people who came in direct contact with the Jews, and their relationship to Judaism. Dr. Jozsef M. Grozinger, teacher of religion, sought to make the graduates "acquire at least as much knowledge of Jewish history as they had of the history of their country and of the world. They were to know the Hebrew language...and they were to know of religion such matters as are usually required of every Jew" (Moskovitz: 220).

Only two teacher training colleges for Jews existed in Hungary at this time. One in Budapest, and with the opening of the 1929-1930 school year, the Jewish Women Teachers Institute of Miskolc was opened without the aid of the city or relying on government subsidies. Thirty-eight students in the first grade were admitted.³⁷ As time passed, and the economic situation worsened

³⁶For the girls' gimnázium which was separate from the boys, the Bible was given preference over the prayer book.

³⁷The 1938 Educational Law XIII placed teaching on a new foundation, and

due to low enrollment, students of other religions entered the school to help support with financing. In 1939-40, however, there were only Jewish students enrolled in the school. There were religious and cultural activities in the school and an emphasis on Jewish studies in the curriculum.

On March 19, 1944, the hour arose when the German occupation of Hungary choked all educational endeavors. Moskovitz description (p. 289) of what followed is all that needs to be said:

The Jewish "Gimnazium" of Pest distributed the class certificates to the students much before the appointed time so that the students should not have to come to school with their yellow stars. The Jewish "Gimnazium" of Pest, on October, 1944, according to the Minister's order, began its 1944-1945 registration regardless of political conditions. The Minister also decreed that henceforth neither the Hungarian language, nor literature, nor history could be taught by Jewish teachers. Registration ceased on October 15, 1944, when the Hitler regime came to power and the extermination of the majority of Hungarian Jews began.

a. *Analytical Summary*

Despite the government's limiting policies against the Jews in Nationalist Hungary, they managed to succeed in establishing a good educational system.³⁸ The government's intentions were to limit Jews' access to education through the *Numerous Clauses* and funding cuts, therefore limiting the Jews' social mobility.

The Hungarian government, however, did allow for the establishment of the Jewish secondary schools and recognized them academically. This special situation seems uncharacteristic of any type of society discussed previously, and therefore stands alone. The Jewish education which was established was certainly centrifugal in character with its emphasis on Jewish culture, religion, and even language, and is the only example in this time period of an attempt at education in multicultural settings as the Jewish curriculum paid special attention to Jews, those people who came in direct contact with the Jews, and their relationship to Judaism. However, it is important to point out that it was not dictated by the state, but by the minority

brought about great changes in the institute. It was eventually transformed into an academy, or a four-grade high school study (Moskovitz: 236).

³⁸ I do not have information on how Jews succeeded within the governmental schools at this time.

community itself. As World War II progressed, limitations on Jewish activity in the educational sector prevailed, and all activity ceased with the Jews' deportation and the Holocaust.

V. CHAPTER THREE

COMMUNIST PERIOD (1948-1985)

A. Introduction

At the end of World War II, following a brief period between 1945-1948,¹ Hungary became part of the communist bloc with the consolidation of communist control under Matyas Rakosi in 1947-1948 (Ludanyi, 1982: 4). Officially, social policies, including educational policies, reflected the ideology of "Leninist" nationality principles which requires the acceptance of diversity and rejects the "de-nationalization" or coerced assimilation of any national or ethnic community (Ludanyi: 5). Communism, which is based on the ideology of Marxism and Leninism, promised an "equal" society, "like in quality, nature, or status, regarding or affecting all objects in the same way." In the ideal communist society all citizens, regardless of ethnicity, religion or culture, had equal rights, privileges, and opportunities.

However, in the first twenty years of communism from 1948-1968, these ideals were not practiced. Official thinking was colored by automatism, the expectation of the automatic elimination of the problem of nationalities through the erection of socialism. Work on practical problems, research on the clarification of principles, and the preparation of plans for action

¹The trend in education during this intern period emphasized democracy and humanism and the objective was to provide uniform basic erudition to all and promotion to the development of each single child as its corner-stones (Guide: 19). This transition period was also marred by the expulsion of some Hungarians from the neighboring states, witnessed the deportation of many Swabian Germans from Hungary, and saw a limited population exchange with the former Czechoslovakia. Anti-semitism, which has well-established traditions and instruments of mobilization in Hungary, was strong. The interwar regime of Admiral Horthy was right-wing and racist especially directed towards Jews: "The anger directed against Jews became emblematic of a hoped-for social transformation in the minds of the middle classes and even more in the lower classes"(Kenedi: 11). Anti-semitism even resulted in the anti-Jewish Laws (Zsidotorvény), of 1938 and 1939 which introduced a numerous clauses and various other restrictions on the professional, economic and other social roles that could be played by Jews. Prejudice in the Horthy regime, the land of a million beggars, arose as "we" the poor Hungarians was measured against "them" the rich Jews. However, a workable Jewish community life was revived after W.W.II and Zionism began to play an important role in reestablishing a network of Jewish schools from elementary to Gimnazium level that attracted 4,642 students by 1947 (Kovacs and Crowe: 168).

concerning education and promotion of cultural advancement in the midst of nationalities were halted (Kovacs and Crowe: 171; Ludanyi: 6).

Because all citizens were equal within the communist system, what they had to give up was their individuality and/or their minority group differences. Stalin, the Soviet leader from 1923-1953, designated four criteria for citizens to be part of a communist nation: common language, territory, economy and culture (Sus, 1961 in Csapo: 206). In light of this, any person or group which was not homogenous with respect to language or culture was not considered as having nationality status. The aim of the system was to socialize difference to be the same. Therefore, in the early years of communism in Hungary, the government's goal was the assimilation of minorities. According to Stalinist social theory, "modernization" is achieved by creating the greatest possible social cohesion which is directed to achieve centrally defined goals.

B. Overview of Communist Education

1. Aims and Goals of Education

During the post-World War II period, the Hungarian educational authorities revised the national curricula several times, aiming to reflect in the content of schooling the particular social and political requirements of the regime under the circumstances of the moment. The secondary school curricula in effect during the late 1960's was adopted by Parliament in 1961 from the Fundamental Education Act. The major goals of the Hungarian People's Republic education system, which were summarized in the Fundamental Law of 1961, are the following:

1. Assure close ties between the school and production, and prepare all students for participation in productive life.
2. Raise the general and professional cultural level by taking into consideration the age characteristic of the students.
3. On the basis of a socialist outlook and morality, raise true patriots, upright and law-abiding citizens devoted to their fatherland and the people, dedicated to the service of socialism, peace, and brotherhood among nations and to the building and protection of the people's state.

Furthermore, the basic principles and goals of Hungary's educational system are reflected in Article 48 of the Constitution of August 20, 1949, which stipulates that:

5. The Hungarian People's Republic shall insure the right to education to every worker.
6. The Hungarian People's Republic shall implement this right by extending, to **all**, educational facilities through (1) a free and compulsory "general" [elementary] school system, (2) secondary and higher schools, (3) educational facilities for adult workers, and (4) financial aid to those receiving any kind of education (Braham: 28-29).

I chose to highlight these particular goals because each touches upon very important aspects of education. Number five and six legally assure education for every "worker" in Hungary which therefore guarantees equal access to education for any Hungarian citizen at this time (unless he/she was a consciences objector to the Hungarian Communist Party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party). Numbers one, two, and three state clearly that education's major goal is to provide enough workers for a planned economy, and to educate people properly in a Marxist-Leninist concept of life and socialist morality so that they may be faithful servants to the state. These goals would be clearly manifested in the social sciences curricula.

2. Centralization

In the period of social transformation after 1945, those with political power in Hungary attempted to make the system and the administration of education uniform, and the sphere of authority was concentrated mostly in the hands of a political center. The important question at this time, then, was the establishment of comprehensive (public) schools and the nationalization of schools. Until the mid 1980's, the only possible form of educational renewal in communist Hungary was a central modification of the centrally prescribed curricula. The Education Act of 1985, however, allowed for an application of "individual solutions," which meant that more autonomy was given to the schools so that they may work on the basis of their own local people. In order for this to be implemented, however, the entire core curriculum needed redesigning and reconceptualizing. When Hungary decided to change the National Core Curriculum (Nemzeti Alap Tanterv, or NAT) in 1989, the downfall of the communist regime was already in progress. Political power then changed hands and educational planning fell into the responsibility of the new regime.

3. *Policy towards Minorities*

The Hungarian application of the communist formula in its education of minorities underwent different phases in the communist period, each phase corresponding to different political leadership of the Party and government. The first twenty years of communism share common characteristics, but can also be broken down into three sub-groups: 1948-1953, 1953-56, 1956-1968. The years between 1968-1985 are not further subdivided (Ludanyi: 4).

The first period which lasted from 1948 to the death of Stalin in March 1953 was led by Matyas Rakosi, a powerful autocratic leader whose idol was Stalin and who "succeeded in turning the [state] apparatus into his personal instrument" (Heinrich: 44). This time witnessed great intolerance toward the German minority and discrimination against the Southern Slavs, especially after Cominformist split between Yugoslavia and the USSR (King, 1973: 67-70). At Stalin's instigation, Hungarian officials were pressured to do everything possible to destroy the diverse ethnic fabric of the country through forced expulsion of its German and Slovakian minorities (Crowe, 1991: 299). Between 1946-1947, Hungary expelled 228,604 ethnic Germans who were repatriated to Germany, while another 31,396 fled the country. Between 1946 and 1948, Hungary forced 73,373 Slovaks to leave in an exchange agreement with Czechoslovakia (Spira, 1987: 197).

The years 1953-1956 witnessed dualized power which nevertheless remained asymmetric; Imre Nagy, who emerged as the spokesman of liberal policies, became Premier and a member of the Politburo, but Rakosi still dominated the Politburo. After the fall of Rakosi, however, in 1956,⁴⁰ the communist regime was lead by Janos Kadar between 1956-1968, and is often referred to as the "destalinization period." This regime differed from that of Rakosi's in that the top level party organ was recomposed to create the image of a truly Hungarian people's government. However, unlike during Rakosi's

⁴⁰The Hungarian Revolution of 1956 was the first case in Eastern Europe where violence was used by the masses in self-defense against the repression waged by foreign troops, the Russians. At the time, Imre Nagy was the leader of the Communist Party and was moving Hungary towards a multiparty system. The Kremlin which was threatened by Hungary's fast moves, and noticing the inglorious collapse of the Hungarian Communist Party, intervened directly in order to restore bureaucratic-authoritarian order. On November 4, 1956, Soviet troops attached garrisons and military units loyal to the Nagy government. Imre Nagy and several of his allies were executed in June, 1958.

regime, there were almost no Jews involved in government positions (Heinrich: 46).

After the death of Stalin on March 5, 1953, there was a gradual evolution of a more tolerant minorities policy. In 1956, the year of the Hungarian Revolution, upheaval led to the reassessment of the condition of the nationality groups which was also linked to the plight of Hungarian minorities in other East European countries. On October 7, 1958, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party directed that workers of nationality background, including university graduates, should be employed in areas inhabited by the same native speakers (Kovacs and Crowe: 171). The more tolerant atmosphere which pervaded Hungary at this time also benefited the Gypsies by helping to create official concern over their conditions.

The period between 1968⁴¹ and 1985 is referred to as the Reform Period, and was still led by Kadar. What characterizes this period most was Hungary's daring economic reform, NEM (New Economic Mechanism or *Új Gazdasági Mechanizmus*), which went into operation on January 1, 1968, and which revamped the centralist economic system and gave citizens considerable scope to pursue their ambitions as consumers (though not allowing them as much freedom to pursue their ambitions as individual entrepreneurs).

The year 1968 was also pivotal for social policy. This is the year of a Party resolution on the nationality question. The issue of the treatment of nationalities within Hungary's borders was raised due to the dubious treatment of ethnic Hungarians who were living abroad. At this point in history, the "free development of bilingual and bicultural citizenry on either side of the border" was stressed as a means towards "the international solution of the nationality problem" (Kovag6, 1981: 126-144). The nationality question was presented as a condition "to the deepening friendship and cooperation" among the people of the area (Kovag6: 126-144). In Hungary, this second look forced policy-makers to abandon automatism and to take an active role in formulating and developing educational and cultural institutions for the nationalities

⁴¹ Attempts at reform of communism had also begun in Czechoslovakia under the leadership of Dubcek. What is widely known as "Prague Spring" were a series of public debates that soon snowballed into "a paroxysm of national revulsion against the two preceding 'black decades' caused by Soviet communism" (Rothschild, 1993: 170). In August 1968, Soviet troops crushed the attempts.

which would assure them of their existence and future developmental opportunities.

C. Cultural and Structural Participation: Minorities' Role in Society

1. *National Minorities*

As stated earlier, there was little tolerance among ethnic Hungarians towards ethnic minorities in Hungary directly after the second world war. At that time many Germans were expelled from Hungary numbering around 250,000, leaving a 1948 German population of 220,000 in Hungary. The Germans were mostly regarded as "second-rate citizens" (Kovacs and Crowe: 166).

Until the late 1960's, nationality associations had little freedom and the only activities they were allowed to do were dancing and singing. From the late sixties, though, more local organizations developed: clubs for the cultivation of nationality languages (growing from 43 in 1975 to 68 by 1977), nationality libraries, ethnographic museums, and publishers producing books in the nationality languages (See Kovacs, 1981 and Biro and Gonyei, 1976).

Politically, National Minorities had representation under the creation of the mass organization PPF (The Patriotic People's Front), which according to the 1972 Hungarian Constitution has the task to "galvanize the social forces in the interest of the complete construction of socialism, the solution of political, economic and cultural problems and to participate in the election and the work of elected organs of popular representations" (S 4 sec 2 Constitution in Heinrich: 78). Prior to the PPF, its historic forerunners, the March Front, the Historical Memorial Committee and the Hungarian Front came into being as pre-governmental organizations that were based on the consensus of anti-fascist groups struggling for a new and different Hungary after the war. The eighth congress of the PPF in March 1981 gave priority to topics including the integration of gypsies, minority rights, and education. The PPF operated through around 130,000 grass-roots committees that are elected by the local citizens (*lakossági gyűlések*). In the mid to late 1980s when political climate was changing drastically, the Nationality Associations (the Democratic Unions of Hungarian Southern Slavs, Hungarian-Germans, Hungarian-Romanians, and Hungarian-Slovaks) showed considerable activity and political presence (Heinrich: 79-80). Though the integration of the Gypsies was part of the Hungarian government's political agenda in the eighties, there is no

indication that the Gypsies, as a separate group, had representation in the local PPP Committees (Heinrich: Table 2.10, 79). Jews are not mentioned either.

There is no indication in the literature that the National Minorities were discriminated against in the workplace, and appear to have more or less the same access and privileges as the dominant Hungarians. It appears that the limitations placed on these minorities was placed largely in cultural realms.

2. *Roma*

In the immediate post-war period, the exact number of Gypsies living in Hungary is unknown. Even four years later, in 1949, officials claimed there were only 37,000 Gypsies in Hungary.⁴² Hungary was devastated physically, economically and socially after the war, and the Gypsies continued to live excluded from and on the fringes of society in conditions far worse than the average ethnic Hungarian or national minority citizen. Later during communism the exact numbers for the Roma population in Hungary continued to be difficult to come by. Some experts estimate that Hungary's Gypsy population in the early 1970's was 320,000, or about 3.2% of the population. Sik16s (p. 151) and Hajdu (p. 30) give more leeway in the numbers estimating that there were between 300,000 and 400,000.

The early "Stalinist" years were characterized by an absence of government attention to the Gypsies in Hungary. Towards the late fifties, however, the communists allowed autonomous cultural institutions to emerge, and in the political realm, the Hungarian government even created a Ciganyszovetseg (Gypsy Council), in 1958. It was dissolved, however, by 1960. Although it is difficult to determine exactly why the government chose to dissolve the council, it is probably because of the difficulty in creating a viable organizational structure for the Gypsies, a group who unlike the other nationalities had no settled traditions or official organizational history.⁴³

⁴²The authorities in Central Europe were only counting *Roma* and *Vlasski* speakers as Gypsies. In the census of that year, only 21,387 people claimed to be Roma. However, since many Gypsies had already assimilated linguistically, they were not labeled and counted as Gypsies in the census. If the census had dealt with the Gypsies under their ethnic self-identity, such as the Kalderasi, Lovari, or Kotlari, the numbers would have been higher. Then, between 31,000 and 37,000 individuals would have claimed Gypsy ancestry (Siklos: 151; McCagg, 1991: 316).

⁴³Officially, the change was justified because the Roma lacked one or more of Stalin's criteria for nationality status, which included common language, territory, economy, and culture. In 1964, there was some disagreement among

The Hungarian communist government was committed to modernization under conditions of social equality, and the existence of the Gypsies as a separate "nation" or even an "ethnic group" was denied. The economic, social, and cultural distinctiveness of the Gypsies was ideologically embarrassing, for it appeared greater than any other group in Hungarian society. According to the Hungarian government: "By 1961 the time had come to put an end to the Gypsies' waywardness" (Stewart: 188).

Beginning in 1961 and ending only in 1985, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party led a vigorous campaign to assimilate the Gypsy population into the Magyar working class (Stewart: 188). The aim of the Party was to eliminate totally all traces of traditional Gypsy lifestyle and behavior. This was to be done by removing the conditions which it was thought reproduced Gypsy identity and culture, and in particular, which produced unemployed and under-employed Gypsy adults. Because Gypsies were considered to be "culturally deprived," it was thought that assimilation would raise their cultural level, and that their "level of civilization", would rise once they went to work (Stewart: 190).

In the early years of communism, structural discrimination against the Gypsies continued. Prior to World War II, Gypsies represented one-quarter of all agricultural wage-workers and could have been eligible for land in any land reform. However, after the liberation in 1944-1945, Gypsies were left out of the redistribution of land (Donath, 1979; Kozak, 1983 in Stewart: 199). The fact that local organizations were responsible for selecting the recipients of the land taken over from the previous estate owners indicates that local prejudice contributed to the Gypsies' exclusion from the new welfare system (McCagg, 1991: 316-317). This is due in large part to the prejudice of the Hungarian peasants against the Gypsies.⁴⁴

Though the Hungarian government wished to assimilate the Gypsies, discrimination against Gypsies in the labor market continued in the 1950's when the socialist governments collectivized all agricultural land. Though

Gadjo (non-Roma) specialists over this. One suggested, as with other minorities, the official recognition of Romani, the Roma language, and the creation of special schools for Roma (Puxon, 1973 in Crowe, 1991: 309).

⁴⁴McCagg (1991: 316) says that the Hungarian government honored the victims of Hitler and systematically distributed benefits such as land, housing and social care. However, there was no one to ensure that the benefits went directly to the Gypsy sector of the poor. There was an "official ignorance" of the real situation.

Gypsies legally had the right to work on the collectivized land, the low-paid agricultural wage-work went primarily to Hungarian peasants rather than to Gypsies.⁴⁵ Consequently, their main traditional source of income was denied. At the same time, the state pursued an active campaign against all forms of marketing, so trading became impractical as there were no markets in agricultural produce or livestock. Lastly, and to the dismay of the Gypsies, factories were still swamped by peasant labor recently "liberated" from the land. In 1960 at most 30% of all adult Gypsies had regular waged work (Kozak in Stewart: 200), with fairly predictable consequences for the economic well-being in a society with no unemployment benefits (Stewart: 200).

According to government statistics, Gypsies under socialism were "working" and therefore assimilation was successful.⁴⁶ The Hungarian communist government during the forty years of Soviet influence espoused the ideology of equality of opportunity in employment (which supported their assimilation policy which I have discussed above). However, true "equality" was actually not the case. As far as the Gypsies were concerned, they were being offered the same alternative as in the past: "elevation through laboring for others" (Stewart: 192). In their eyes, they were still being dominated and controlled by someone else. Moreover, the nature of the work they were performing was not much better than during their situation during the times of serfdom in the Hungarian Kingdom when they were actually slaves to the landholders. They continued to provide cheap labor to perform the dirty jobs. Gypsies were often employed on jobs where they were not strictly needed, where their labor was in effect superfluous, and which supported an internal factory hierarchy. The core workers higher on the hierarchy were better rewarded by factory managers. "Only through personal contacts, not through ability or diligence as a worker, could one hope to achieve a position of influence in the socialist production line" (Stewart: 192). Cruelly, Gypsies themselves were rarely well placed to achieve regular, let alone high salaries in their waged work.

⁴⁵ Though 18-20% of Roma worked in the "agricultural sector" on state farms, few were employed in the country's "agricultural producer co-operatives because 'the co-operatives often refuse to engage them [because] prejudice has deeper roots in the countryside and it is more difficult for them to integrate with the population'" (Crowe, 1994: 98).

⁴⁶ In 1964 less than 14 percent of Gypsy men were working in the town where Micheal Stewart did his field research. By 1976, 75% were working, and in 1983, 92% of able bodied Gypsy men were in abled employment (Stewart: 192).

During the 1960's and 1970's, there are some signs of political incorporation of the Gypsies. In the Baranja mining area in southwest Hungary, which had a Rom population of 13,000 in the early 1960's, officials opened positions for Gypsy male workers, and encouraged them to become active in local government bodies. In the city of Nogradmeyer, where one third of the population was Gypsy, three Roma held seats on the town council. These achievements, however, were more the exception than the rule (Crowe, 1991: 302). In 1968, when ethnic awareness was generally high (due to increased awareness of Hungarian minorities abroad and which was discussed previously in the section, *policy towards minorities*), the Hungarian government created a special Gypsy Interministerial Commission under the Council of Ministers to work with various agencies that dealt with Gypsies, and was the first attempt since the dissolution of the Ciganyszovetseg to give Gypsies a national representative body, or at least a government agency which focused on their situation, as was the case for the other minorities of Hungary. However, the Gypsies themselves had few seats on this body and had very little impact on its decisions (Siklos: 160; Puxon, 1987: 10).

Notwithstanding the above governmental attempts to incorporate politically the Gypsies, any Gypsy nationalist programs which were organized outside the government were seen as reactionary to the communist regime, as they were seen to "preserve the separateness of Gypsies and slow down the process of assimilation" (Mezey, 1986: 241). All forms of Gypsy self-organization and expression were discouraged as likely to encourage a nostalgic and unnecessary attachment to ways of the past.⁴⁷

In the seventies, the political participation of the Gypsies remained about the same; some, but not enough. In 1974, 200 delegates from the World Romani Congress, who had been invited by the PPF (Patriotic Peoples' Front), demanded that the Hungarian Government create a "National Romani Organization" for Gypsies. Two days later, the Ciganyszovetseg (which held the same name as the organization created in 1958) was created with author Menhert Lakatos as its head. Though it never had any significant influence

⁴⁷This should be seen in contrast to the rights enjoyed by the officially recognized national minorities. Unlike other Eastern European countries, the rights of these minorities were genuinely exercised in Hungary (possibly because of having few members, they posed little threat to the state) (Stewart: 200).

on Gypsy matters, it did, at least for Lakatos, move the issue to a higher plateau of recognition (Crowe, 1991: 304).

In 1979, the Government decided that the Gypsies should have an organization to help them develop along the lines of other minority groups. Jozsef Daroczi, a member of the Presidium of the International Romani Union, was appointed head of the new Orszagos Ciganytanacs (Country Gypsy Council). The results of this were mainly seen in an improvement in the cultural life of Gypsies (singing and dancing groups), rather than in any other social (educational, economic and political) realms. The results of a cultural improvement can be seen in May 1986 when the Rom Cultural Association (Ungro-Themeske Romane Kulturake Ekipe) was created. The Rom Cultural Association had "800 million forints in initial funding," and there were 200 official Gypsy cultural groups and 40 dance troops nationwide (Poxon, 1987: 10).

3. *Jews*

Postwar Hungary greeted survivors of the Holocaust, though not always with happiness, at least with enforced political sympathy, awe and respect. Despite the atrocities and the great loss of Jews, among other people, during World War II,⁴⁸ a workable Jewish community life was revived quickly between 1945 and 1948. Hungary still had one of Europe's largest Jewish communities of 255,500 people. Even a network of Jewish schools from elementary through the gimnazium level was established attracting 4,642 students by 1947.

However, under the leadership of Matyas Rakosi, which began in 1947-1948, there was great intolerance towards minorities and Anti-semitism continued. The radical socialization⁴⁹ of Hungary in 1948 drastically affected the economic, cultural, and religious life of Hungarian Jews. Hungary's Zionist organization was disbanded, and its leaders were tried and imprisoned (Kovacs and Crowe: 168). Though by the late 1950's Hungary's Jews were able to revive some of their community activities (Kovacs and Crowe: 168). "Leninist" nationality policy was applied selectively in this time-period.

⁴⁸ 564,507 Hungarian Jews out of 825,000 were killed during World War II (Crowe, 1994: 86).

⁴⁹ Under Rakosi, communism collectivized all private property and enterprise.

The anti-Jewish climate lessened a bit after the death of Stalin in 1953, and many deportees returned to their homes in Hungary. Nevertheless, the 1956 uprising prompted over 20,000 Jews to emigrate to the West.⁵⁰ Hungary's Jewish community had shrunk considerably since the war, to between 80,000 and 90,000 according to 1967 statistics. There still remained in operation, however, several synagogues, a gymnazium, and a rabbinical seminary (Kovacs and Crowe: 168).

There is also evidence that Jews were still active politically during this time.⁵¹ Politically, the surviving Jews, reacting against nationalism (the ideology behind Hitler and the cause of the Jews' slaughter during the war), joined the Socialist and Communist parties.

Beginning in 1968, the economic policy (NEM) gave citizens considerable freedom in material progress; nevertheless, it was accompanied by a severe diminution of the free, autonomous associations found in abundance before 1948. Hann (1992: 155) states that "religious denominations (were) strictly excluded from any secular role and no other autonomous organizations of significance active in the public space" existed. Again, the limitations on the Jews appear to be mostly cultural, limiting their religious practice which is strongly interrelated with Jewish identity. Structurally, too, however, there was discrimination against the Jews but by any means not to the degree experienced by the Gypsies.

4. *Analytical Summary*

The cultural and structural integration of minorities changed throughout the communist era. Culturally, earlier on, the Hungarians attempted to assimilate the National Minorities by blocking their political and cultural organizations which could have led to centrifugal tendencies of the subordinate groups. Implicit in this policy is the supposed superiority of the Hungarian ethnic identity, whose traits were used as the criteria against which all societal behaviors are judged. Unlike in a type A society where the

⁵⁰During the 1956 Revolution, thousands of Hungarians, including minorities, fled the country. People perceived this as a last chance to "get out" before the Communists tightened their control even more. Hungarians who fled during this time are referred to as 56'ers.

⁵¹From 1956-1968, after the fall of Rakosi, the communist regime was lead by Janos Kadar. The top level party organ was recomposed to create the image of a truly Hungarian people's government: "Unlike during the times of Rakosi's regime, there were almost no Jews represented" (Heinrich: 46).

superordinate group tries to keep the subordinate group as distinct as possible, it appears that the policy's intentions were that the subordinate National Minorities would adopt some of the ethnic related as well as class-related values and orientations of the dominant Hungarians, policies which are characteristic of a Type B society. Later, however, starting in the early 1960's, the National Minorities were granted a certain degree cultural organizational freedom. These policies allowed cultural centrifugal tendencies for the National Minority groups which increased throughout time up into the 1980's.

The structural integration of the National Minorities also changed during different periods of the communist regime. But because there is no clear evidence that the National Minorities were blocked economically indicates characteristics of a type B society where "the nature of socioeconomic participation is not completely congruent with ethnic group boundaries (LaBelle and White, 1980: 161). Though in the 1960's the National Minorities were granted some political autonomy, there was no minority political representation on the national level, thus ensuring the political dominance of the Hungarians. Though the National Minorities did experience some freedoms, the society continued as type B whereby the Hungarians remained clearly the dominant group politically, economically and culturally.

For the Jews, too, centripetal policies were intended to culturally and structurally assimilate them into Hungarian society. These centripetal tendencies imposed by the Hungarians can be seen mostly in the limited cultural autonomy and political mobilization of this group. Any attempts of local mobilization were thwarted by the state. However, political participation in the Party was accepted and quite common. After the Holocaust, the Jews, perhaps more than ever, would demonstrate centripetal tendencies for fear of being persecuted.

The cultural and structural policies towards the Gypsies also shifted from the beginning of communism to the end. During the beginning years of communism when treatment of minorities was especially harsh, there was no policy to culturally integrate the Gypsies at all. The small attempt to allow autonomous cultural institutions to emerge in the late 1950's was soon forgotten when the cultural distinctiveness of the Gypsies became ideologically embarrassing in the 1960's. Culturally, policy seems to have moved from type A society where the superordinate group seeks to keep the subordinate groups as distinct as possible by isolating them, to a type B society

where the superordinate group attempts to incorporate the subordinate group into the prevailing system in order to eliminate any vestiges of autonomous subordinate group activities.

Politically and economically, the policies which are characteristic of the later communist years exhibit paradoxical qualities. Beginning in the sixties, structural policy switched to one of structural assimilation through coercion, when Gypsies were forced to work. Herein lies the paradox of communism: though the Gypsies were forcibly assimilated into the workplace, and theoretically "equal" with the dominant group workers, they were still blocked from true access to economic means. Though structurally integrated, they occupied positions at the bottom of the hierarchy as is typical of type B societies.

Though some Gypsies may have had political participation, it was in cooperation with the Communist Party. As mentioned earlier, Gypsies as a separate "nation" or even an "ethnic group" were denied. Any Gypsy nationalist programs were seen as reactionary to the communist regime, as they "preserve the separateness of Gypsies and slow down the process of assimilation" (Mezey: 241). The Gypsies' political participation was actually culturally centripetal, enmeshing the Gypsy identity with the Communist Party and the dominant Hungarian ethnicity. If only to maintain the status quo, the superordinate group attempted to incorporate the Gypsies into the existing institutional system, and in so doing, attempted to eliminate any vestiges of autonomous subordinate group activities, a policy which is characterized by type B societies.

Ironically, the result of the assimilationist campaign was more or less the opposite of that intended. Gypsies were as prominent in Hungarian society in 1985 as they had been in 1960. Even worse, as an unintended consequence of its economic policies it seems as if the communist regime had inaugurated a veritable "time of the Gypsies": "The state had managed to create conditions in which, in popular imagination at least, being a Gypsy seemed the most viable way to survive the privations and humiliations of a planned economy" (Stewart: 188).

D. Education

In the following section of this chapter, I will look at the educational policies specifically for the different ethnic groups in question: National

Minorities, Roma, and Jews and will pay attention to the educational policies of access and tracking, language policy, curriculum, and teacher training. As stated in chapter two, it is important to keep in mind that according to LaBelle and White (1985: 5) school policies are the expression of the tendencies and mechanisms that shape societal integration in multigroup settings rather than an integrative mechanism in and of itself. A look individually at each group will allow a comparison of the similarities and differences in the policies across groups.

1. *National Minorities*

One of the first measures adopted by the National Provisional Government in 1945 was to abrogate the discriminatory laws concerning minority nationalities, especially the Jews, and under a 1946 decree, some measures were made to establish special secondary schools for National Minorities. Under the leadership of Matyas Rakosi which began in 1947-1948, however, there was great intolerance towards minorities and limited opportunities in the educational system to consider, let alone meet, the needs of those minorities (Ludanyi: 6).

These negative attitudes and lack of action are contrary to the Hungarian Constitution of 1949. This Constitution guarantees the nationalities equality and protection against any form of discrimination based on their nationality. It also protects the unhindered use of a nationality's mother tongue, the guarantee for institutional support of a nationality's cultural preservation and development, and the right to instruction in the mother tongue. From a legal standpoint, therefore, the educational rights of the nationalities were guaranteed in Article 49 and its 1972 major revision (Kovag6: 67, 88-89; Crowe, 1991: 299). However, in reality, pluralism was only given lip-service and not really practiced.

From 1953 to the end of the communist regime in the mid-to-late 1980's, the Hungarian government promoted national minority educational programs on the grounds of "national communist" ideology, de-Stalinization, and growing international pressure which began in the sixties with the human rights movement and an increasing awareness of ethnic studies. Of particular concern to the Hungarian government was the often harsh treatment of ethnic Hungarians living in Romania and the former Czechoslovakia. This made Hungarian policy makers think again about

automatism and its concurrent educational policies, and to take a more active role in formulating and developing educational institutions for the National Minorities which would assure them of their existence and future developmental opportunities (Ludanyi: 7).

One important Party pronouncement regarding education came as early as May 21, 1956, before the Soviet invasion, and exercised self-criticism relative to the fate of the German and Southern Slav minorities during the first years of communism. Furthermore, on October 7, 1958, the Political Committee of the Hungarian Communist Party issued a resolution that committed it to a policy of active, legal support for the development of minority culture and education, and emphasized the importance of each minority's national organization in these efforts (Kosa, 1975 in Crowe, 1991: 299). This resolution on the nationality question committed the Party to undoing the mistakes of the past.

The Party Central Committee resolution of September 17, 1968 reaffirmed the correctness of the 1958 resolutions and outlined concrete steps to implement the intent of these resolutions (Kovag6, 1976: 30). The Ministry of Culture revitalized the role and supervisory function of its Minority Nationality Division and the government established a Nationality Department within the National Pedagogical Institute to oversee long-term planning in the nationality area and to provide adequate teacher-training programs for the nationality schools. Moreover, in 1968, an inquiry into the efficiency of nationality education was established under the Nationalities Department of the Minister of Culture.

From the late 1960's, there was a much greater support and commitment for national minority educational programs and cultural institutions. Of particular importance in May 1972, was a policy statement on national minority education by the Ministry of Culture, at the core of which was the aim to sponsor educational and cultural institutions which have an "integrationist" rather than an "assimilationist" bias (Kovag6, 141-142, 188). In fact, a dramatic improvement in minority education followed the changes mentioned above and is supported by statistics showing the number of students enrolled in bilingual schools. In absolute numbers, the Germans and Slovaks were the major beneficiaries, but proportionally, all the nationalities made similar gains (Kovag6: 182-183; Braham: 13).

a. Access and Tracking

Communist education reflected the reform goals of providing enough workers to meet industrial goals ("manpower planning") and of abolishing the historic elitist educational privileges in Hungarian education (Volgyes, 1982: 152; Kaufmann: 256, Heinrich: 165). The policy's goals were to make active participants of National Minorities in the political, social, economic and cultural life of Hungary:

The Hungarian Communist regime considers education an important, if not determining, factor in the development of the new social order and in the drive for rapid modernization of the country. Education is expected to train the growing number of ideologically class conscious and politically reliable technicians and professionals required by the social institutions and the various branches of the national economy (Braham: 27).

The National Minorities in Hungary could not be left out of consideration in order for Hungary to achieve "modernization." They had to be involved in the same socialization in the schools as the rest of the population, and therefore access to education was open to all National Minorities.

b. Language Policy

Hungarian schools for National Minorities changed drastically in 1945 with regard to language of instruction. There were two different types of schools: a) schools with nationality language of instruction and b) Hungarian language schools which offered minority languages as compulsory subjects (Kovacs and Crowe: 168). At this time, the schools with nationality language of instruction were obliged to provide classes in Hungarian language and literature, while the rest of the subjects were taught in nationality tongues. The choice of the type of school attended was left to the students and their parents. Until 1952, standard Croatian-Serbian, Slovene, Slovakian, and Romanian constituted the subjects or the languages of instruction in both of these schools.⁵² In contrast to these schools was the Hungarian Gimnazium

⁵²For the German minority, primary schools were not established until 1952, and teachers' colleges not until 1956. This was due to the negative view of Germans after Hitler's Germany.

where the language of instruction was Hungarian and where no language, besides Russian, was compulsory.

In 1959 there were five gymnázia in which instruction was given in their native language- one each for German, Romanian, and Serbo-Croatian nationalities, and two for the Slovak. Three Hungarian language gymnázia had separate German sections. By 1968, Hungary had seven nationality gymnázia enrolling 733 students. Of these, 158 attended the German gymnázia of Baja, Budapest, and Pécs, 96 the Serbo-Croatian gymnázia of Budapest, and 79 the Romanian gymnázium of Gyula. The two Slovakian gymnázia are located in Békéscsaba and Budapest (Hencz, 1962: 98).

The year 1961 witnessed a peak in the number of national minority students: 2,200 in kindergarten, 2,500 attending schools with nationality-language as the language of instruction, and about 26,500 attending schools with the mother tongue taught as a subject. The number of students in schools with the minority mother tongues taught as a subject were about 18,200 in 1968, and almost 31,000 eleven years later (Kovacs and Crowe: 169).

In the 1960's Janos Setenyi stated that the schools carrying on their instructions in the mother tongues of the minorities were "gradually and rather spontaneously decreasing while language teaching schools [schools where the language of instruction was the majority language but courses were provided in the minority language] were increasing". From 1961 (Public Education Law 1961/III) bilingual schools taught the sciences in Hungarian, and the humanities in the National Minorities' mother tongue. Specific terminology needed in any subject was taught in both languages (Kovacs, 1981: 135).

The Hungarian state saw bilingual educational policies as one of the means through which to attain the goal of making active participants of National Minorities in the political, social, economic and cultural life of Hungary. Through schooling, the National Minorities could be transformed into "reliable technicians and professionals" and ideologically support the regime. And for the communist policy makers, the best way to achieve this end was to provide minorities with education that helps them preserve their language and culture: "It must, in a word, integrate them into the society, economy and political order of Hungary without assimilating them" (Ludanyi: 5). By the 1980's bilingual schools were very few, and largely replaced with the teaching of the native tongue as a course, offering only five hours a week.

Though data on nationality education shows that there was some stagnation in the number of schools, pupils, teachers and programs until the late sixties, there is a distinct revival of nationality educational involvement after 1968. Hours of instruction in the minority languages was increased at all levels, and in areas inhabited by the minority nationalities the schools serving Hungarian students would henceforth offer the language of the minorities to the Hungarian students. In fact, majority students could satisfy part of their language requirements by studying a minority language rather than one of the "world languages" such as French, English, German (Kovag6 1981 : 138-140).

With increasing awareness of ethnicity and human rights in the sixties, the objectives by the ministry of culture in 1972 in regards to nationality education were the following: background instruction in their native tongues; up-to-date basic education in their native languages and literatures so as to enable them to carry on unaided; inclination towards and facility for the efficient application of both the mother tongue and Hungarian; and appreciation of the native language and culture (Kovacs and Crowe: 169). Already by 1974-1975, it appeared that the abandonment of automatism led to increased growth in secondary school enrollments especially of the general language-teaching schools (Kovag6, 1981: Appendix, tables II & III, 182-83).

c. Curricular Content

In the highly centralized educational system of Hungary, the curricula and syllabi for all grades, from *altolános iskola* (elementary and middle schools) through secondary school,⁵³ were prepared and published under the Ministry of Culture. An important characteristic of policies directed to National Minorities, however, was that changes originated with the organs of the ruling party (HSWP, the Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party) or the appropriate department or division of the Ministry for Culture. It was a sign of the rejection of automatism that the working-out of systematic national minority syllabi fell to the National Institute for Pedagogy, which prepared

⁵³Secondary Schools include three kinds: Gimnazium, vocational secondary schools, and secondary *technikums*. The Gimnazium is more of an "academic" institution whereas the vocational and *technikums* focus on practical skills training.

and published them in national minority languages between 1969 and 1972 (Kovacs and Crowe: 169).

During my interview with Peter Szebenyi, director of the Budapest Institute of Education (Fovarosí Oktatás Intézet), "the Hungarian educational system (at this time) not only shared a common national curriculum, but common textbooks as well." This ensured that each student would receive the exact same education. Szebenyi also said that "this highly uniform dissemination of information was the Communist Party's way to control the content of what was being taught in the classrooms." Until 1953, the year Stalin died, the great Soviet influence of communist education was clearly expressed in including the mandatory study of the Russian language and Marxist theory and the propagation of Russian culture (Horvath: 209-210). Although schools may have taken steps toward bilingual education, content became standardized according to the political and economic objectives of the regime, and was uniform in every school. The Hungarian government undertook "a systematic effort to provide 'the Socialist content' in the nationalities' own 'national form'" (Ludanyi: 4), by which he meant through their mother tongues.

The emergence of the socialist educational system which would eventually congeal in the 1960's (see **Overview of Communist Education**) began in 1954, two years before the 1956 revolution. The 1954 changes were motivated by the death of Stalin, at which point a so-called "liberalization" program commenced. In education, these changes were based on the January 1954 resolution of the Party's Central Committee. Russian language and Marxist theory were still mandatory, however, there was the gradual opening vis-a-vis Western cultural influences, and an increased emphasis placed on Hungarian traditions. At this point, the Hungarian government called for the "greater appreciation of the treasures of Hungarian national culture" in all schools (Kozponti: 96-103). This directive led to the rediscovery of the "progressive," "revolutionary" national heroes of Hungarian art, literature, and poetry, such as Ady, Arany, Balassi, Csokonai, Jókai, Mikszath, Moricz, Petöfi, and Vörösmarty (Braham: 26).

After the 1956 Revolution, in an attempt to protect the "people's democratic system" against what it called "counter-revolutionary" elements, the Party adopted a series of measure to "further the building of socialism in

the field of education." One of the ways to assure this was to expand the teaching of Marxism and Leninism in the curricula (A Magyar: 22-27).

i Social Sciences

In secondary schools, elements of the social sciences were taught within the framework of several other subjects, including literature and general science. As in the middle schools, history was taught in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and it aimed to inculcate basic historical and political knowledge concerning societal evolution, with emphasis on the historical development of Hungary; and to develop a dialectical and historical-materialist outlook (Tanterv: 311, 339). The history course stressed ancient history in the first year, feudalism in the second, capitalism in the third, and imperialism and what was at that time the "contemporary era", post-capitalism, in the fourth. The ideological-political training of students was furthered by a special course, "Foundations of Our World Outlook," which emphasized the systematic study of Marxism-Leninism and the political-economic aspects of the socialist system (Braham: 58-59).

ii. Languages and Literature

Hungarian language and literature was taught throughout the curriculum. In the upper secondary grades literature courses also included material on world literary masterpieces and the history of literature. Russian was taught throughout secondary school for at least three hours per week, however, foreign languages other than Russian were also taught in secondary school. Students whose subject specialization was in foreign languages could choose from English, French, German, Italian, Latin, or Spanish. Students whose major was a language other than Russian had to, however, choose Russian as their minor (Braham: 62).

Nationality textbooks which were developed in cooperation with neighboring countries were also used in history and geography classes for the National Minorities. In 1982, 79 such textbooks were used in primary and secondary schools (Kovag6: 185). However, the majority students were not taught at all about minorities. Most of the pupils of the majority finished their schools without knowing what sort of minority groups live actually in the country. According to Peter Rado (p. 6), "an average citizen having been educated in the past few decades, in the 1970's and 1980's would be fairly

ignorant about the history, the culture or the traditions of Germans, Romanians, Roma, etc. who were living in Hungary."

d. Teacher Training

For the long-range survival of any nationality culture, the teacher-training programs are critical. To assure teachers for the minority schools, universities and teacher training institutes in several different cities established special sections and/or departments where most of the National Minorities: Serbo-Croatian, Romanian, Slovak, and German, could receive training to teach. The total number of national minority students at higher teacher-training institutions was 136 in 1968 and rose to 446 in 1979 (Kovacs and Crowe: 170). Moreover, the Hungarian government sponsored national minority students the opportunity to study at universities in neighboring states where their culture and language were the dominant ones.

e. *Analytical Summary*

Control of all schools was vested in the central government at this time. This included access to all levels of schooling as well as all educational policies for language, curriculum etc. The National Minorities had equal access to education just as the dominant Hungarians had. In this way, the equal access acted as a centripetal force in allowing these minorities to enter the work force, and having access to economic rewards in society.

In the early part of communism, language policy towards National Minorities where mother tongue is the language of instruction at least throughout secondary school had centrifugal tendencies for the minorities and was characteristic of a type C or D society. The centrifugality of this policy, however, was often offset somewhat by the early introduction of at least one other language in the schools. For example, secondary schools provided classes in Hungarian language and literature, while the rest of the subjects were taught in nationality tongues. This was in order to have some centripetality in the language policy.

However, in 1961 and later when the policy turned towards bilingual schools or schools where the language of instruction was the majority language but courses were provided in the minority language, policy switched more to that characteristic of type B societies where "the use of the mother language is designed to facilitate the learning of the dominant-group

language and culture" (LaBelle and White, 1980: 163), and had clear centripetal tendencies towards assimilating minorities into the dominant culture.

Bilingual schools were seen by the government as a means to integrate minorities into society rather than assimilate them, and Ludanyi (p. 6) argues these bilingual schools "could assure the maintenance and development of bilingualism." However, many other social factors would have to be taken into consideration in order to prove this statement. Many argue that bilingual schools offered only the very *formal* legal protection of minorities, but not were enough to halt spontaneous assimilation. In other words, other factors besides offering education with some mother tongue courses could effect whether a minority group linguistically shifts over to the dominant language (see Christina Bratt Paulston, 1994).

Centripetal school policy tendencies can be identified in several areas, and are characteristic of type B societies. The educational system was highly centralized and access was initially broad for all groups, and was free and compulsory. Language policies ended up tracking minority students to use the majority tongue by limiting their number of lesson in the mother tongue, and curricula, by not allowing for differences in the content, and having a uniform content in all subjects for all pupils, attempted to socialize students to think and be alike, common citizens in the Hungarian state.

According to Sleeter and Grant's typology of different forms of multicultural education, the above policies appear to be close to the *Teaching the Culturally Different Approach*, where students are taught in their native tongue and the dominant language, and are taught the skills, knowledge, and attitudes needed to participate in mainstream society. However, the unequal relationships in society between dominant and superordinate groups were most likely not addressed, thus maintaining the unequal status quo in society. Furthermore, though there were attempts to educating the minorities, there were no attempts made to educating the majority about the minorities.

2. Roma

In the 1960's, the prevailing ethnocentric explanation of why minority and poor children performed poorly in school was because they were "culturally deprived," alluding to the fact that they had "impoverished language development," and whose "cognitive deficits" increased cumulatively

throughout their school career (Caplan, 1964 in Csapo: 205; Ogbu, 1992: 83).⁵⁴ This notion of "culturally deprived" applies to how the Gypsies were seen and accepted in Hungary under communism.

Due to the communist regime's assimilationist policy, education was one of the hopeful means by which to put an end to Gypsy "waywardness" through standard curriculum, language, values, and social and economic aspirations taught in schools (Csapo: 205). Unlike other minorities, who in some cases were given their own network of institutions and classes, authorities decided to integrate Gypsy children directly into regular Hungarian schools, despite the fact that in 1970, 89% of Hungarian Gypsy children were Vlach, and often knew only thirty to forty Hungarian words. This put the Gypsy students two to three years behind their Hungarian counterparts, and some teachers often treated them as retarded.⁵⁵

When the Gypsies failed to assimilate and perform as well as the dominant group in school, educators tested the children from the minority group on scales based on the performance of the dominant group. The outcome: deficiencies which explained the lack of progress of Gypsies. In the government's opinion, it was not the educational system's fault; Gypsies were simply "stupid".⁵⁶ Gypsies, discouraged by the system, and very misunderstood, began to drop out in high numbers, between 50%-60% at this time.⁵⁷

⁵⁴In the United States this argument was used against the African American population. In Eastern Europe, it was used against the Gypsies.

⁵⁵Among the most frequently mentioned variable for Roma failure in school is difficulty with Hungarian as a second language. Students would fall behind the Hungarian students due to this linguistic incompatibility. In an attempt to improve the educational progress of Romany students, the Ministry of Education in 1975 issued directives, including: disadvantaged students with language problems and developmental retardation are to receive instruction in segregated groups temporarily hoping that this segregation would not interfere with their successful integration into the school community (Csapo: 211). This "scholastic" segregation coupled with residential segregation made the number of Roma children in special schools for the retarded very high.

⁵⁶To disprove this notion, ethnographic studies have since shown that minority and poor children are not culturally deprived or in intelligence genetically inferior, but that they come from cultures that *are different* and as viable as white middle class cultures. Anthropologists now suggest an alternative hypothesis for minority academic difficulties: "namely that the difficulties were probably due to 'cultural discontinuities' or 'culture conflicts'" (Ogbu: 84). One could extrapolate then, through research on certain minority groups, that Gypsies are not less intelligent, but simply their culture is incompatible with the educational mechanisms of the dominant white societies, therefore causing less than successful school performance.

⁵⁷An important question raised by this issue is whether different work

Despite the difficult conditions under which Roma attended school, there still was an increase in literacy among them during the communist regime. In 1970, studies showed that 70% of the country's elderly Roma had never gone to school, and half of those between 35-39 had no formal education. On the other hand, of the younger Gypsies, as a result of the government programs of the sixties, only 14% of those born between 1953-1957 had never attended school. This figure drops to 10% for those born between 1957-1962 (Hajdu, 1980: 30). In the mid-seventies, however, problems continued to exist such as a high school dropout rate, and the Gypsies' marginalized role in society persisted, despite the fact that 71 % more Gypsy children were reaching the 8th grade than in 1970-1971.

a. Access and Tracking

Though theoretically Roma were to participate in the communist government's "education for all" policy, access to quality education was denied to them due to residential segregation. The Roma were forcibly settled in areas by the communist state in attempts to end nomadism (Gheorghe, 1991: 836). Since the 1970's, Gypsies had been moved into housing estates built by the state originally for workers of Hungarian ethnic background, but as those belonging to the dominant society (white Hungarians) had more money to move into larger better apartments, the Gypsies were then relocated to these areas. These housing areas were usually 'slum' inner areas of Pest. But in the 1970's, around 70% of all Hungarian Gypsies lived in rural slums (McCagg, 1991: 320).

In 1983, researcher Janos Ladanyi determined that special schools which provide the lowest level of elementary education and which were established for mentally retarded children also separate out socially disadvantaged children. In other words, regardless of a child's intelligence level, he/she would be placed in a "special school" based on his social and economic level. The parents of these children are usually unskilled workers and Gypsy children are significantly over-represented among them. Furthermore, if Gypsy children happen to live in a higher socio-economic status area, they are even more likely to go to special schools than if they live in the lower status districts (Ladanyi, 1993: 32). In 1975, special education

opportunities were available to those Roma who finished school and those who did not.

statistics indicated that 24.1 % of the mentally retarded pupils were Romany students (Farag6, 1975 in Csapo: 209). By 1984-85, 36% of all Gypsy children were in the special schools (whose number had very greatly increased)(Mezey: 279). This confirmed Ladanyi's finding in a later study, that educational segregation was even higher than residential segregation during the time of his research in 1987.

In the rural areas, Gypsies may be forced to attend local schools in villages which are of inferior quality to schools in larger neighboring towns. The dominant groups usually will send their children away to these "better" schools and away from the Gypsies. The Gypsies cannot afford to send their children.

Not only were Roma tracked to "special schools" but to "special classes" as well. As a result of the government's attempts to "assist" these "underprivileged" children, segregated classes were developed. These classes were often crowded and inferior in quality to the classrooms of the dominant social group, the Hungarians (Helsinki: 64). Csongor (1991: 15), director of the Autonomia Foundation, after an extensive research on all-Gypsy classes came to a conclusion that an all-Gypsy class on its own is only a form, some kind of a frame. If this frame means worse conditions, segregation - then it is bad. However, if it means equal or better conditions, targeted, effective, good work - then it is good. If parents are for it, if kids are for it- it may be good. If teachers themselves want it, and they perform a great job, and children love it plus they have a space to move, they progress, develop, and study - it may be good. Otherwise, it is out of the question.

b. Language Policy

Roma were excluded from the parallel system of schools designed to teach national minority children their own language and culture. During this time the Roma were considered an ethnic minority and not a national minority based on the argument that Roma are stratified, complex group without a single non-Hungarian mother tongue. Therefore, they were not covered under the national minority language policy. Moreover, any attempt to "turn the Gypsies into a nation" by encouraging separate language teaching and the

like was viewed by the Party and government officials as misguided (Ban and Pogany, 1957 in Stewart: 189).⁵⁸

c. Curricular Content

The few Gypsy children who did go on to secondary school were subject to the same curriculum as the dominant group. However, unlike the National Minorities who were sometimes allowed history and cultural lessons about their own ethnic group, Roma were provided with no such parallel curriculum. Furthermore, the dominant groups were offered no lessons in which the content included studies of Roma.

d. *Analytical Summary*

For the Roma subordinate group in Hungary, the geographic distribution of school sites worked against them. They had less opportunity to enter schools and less chance of competing successfully in them. These initial structural barriers were compounded within the subordinate schools by lack of materials, crowded classrooms, poorly trained personnel and a hidden tracking toward low-wage skills. This policy, where access to all levels of schooling coincide with ethnic group boundaries, is characteristic of type A societies, and acts to exclude most subordinate group members and to channel them back into the low-status occupational sphere (LaBelle and White, 1980: 159).

The lack of a language policy for Gypsies at this time is also characteristic of a type A society. Many Roma did not speak Hungarian as a mother tongue, the only language of instruction for Roma, and are consequently put at a disadvantage and acts towards maintaining the unequal status quo. This language policy coupled with a curriculum which reflects the values of the dominant group render the continued intergroup separation between Roma and the majority Hungarians; reflective as the curriculum is of only one experience in a heterogeneous society, the "centripetal" school content selects students according to their ability to grasp superordinate styles, thus eliminating the vast majority of the subordinate group members

⁵⁸The cultural rights for minorities in socialist countries -such as schooling, radio broadcasts, and newspapers in the minority language-were often dependent on the official legal status of the minority. In Hungary, the Roma were considered "disadvantaged social stratum" rather than a nationality, and were blocked from the aforementioned rights (Silverman: 45).

into positions reserved for "failures" and the "noneducated" (LaBelle and White, 1980: 160).

At this time for the Gypsies, there is no evidence that any form of education in multicultural settings existed.

3. *Jews*

The Jewish community which before the war had a well developed network of schools, was reduced to only one co-educational secondary school in Budapest with an enrollment in 1967-1968 of about 80 students. The language of instruction was Hungarian, with the curriculum also including Hebrew and Jewish subjects (Braham: 86). Under communism in the Hungarian public secondary schools, there was no provision for language or Judaic cultural studies. In short, the Jews were simply ignored.

VI. CHAPTER FOUR

POST-1989

THE CENTRALIZATION QUESTION: FROM SOVEREIGNTY TO MULTIPLICITY

"The time of absolute and exclusive sovereignty, however, has passed."
(Secretary General of the United Nations Boutros-Ghali)

A. Introduction

The organization of the following three chapters differs slightly from the previous ones, and for a specific reason. The most defining event in this time period of history is the vast political and economic transition from a totalitarian government to one which is striving to become a liberal democracy with an open market. I say striving in the present tense, because though the political changes occurred in 1989, the reverberations and transitions in society will be happening for many years to come. Batt (1991: 75 in Birzea: 13) says that during times of transition, economic and social reforms require several years, while moral and educational reforms take decades. This chapter will focus solely on the political transition. Chapter Five will discuss new policies which have been made in the post-1989 environment and their relationship to education in multicultural settings, and Chapter Six will discuss the implementation of these policies in the governmental and non-governmental sectors.

B. Civil Society

The post-communist transition involves the transformation of a system of government which operated for nearly half a century in Hungary, and the dramatic passage from a one party state to a multi-party democracy is becoming far more difficult than it appeared in the euphoria of the astonishingly easy and rapid political changes of 1989. Though Hungary is returning to Europe, she is also, as are the other Eastern European countries "weighed down by totalitarian experiences and structures whose residual effects will be felt for a long time to come" (Birzea, 1994: 10).

This historic change in political regime affected all areas in Hungary: political, economic, social, and educational. The implications for education are enormous. For the first time in Hungary's history there is the occasion to

formulate the long-term objectives of education free from the ties of doctrinaire ideologies (Guide: 18). A society that once emphasized "sameness" for the sake of "togetherness" of the party and political stability, now has multiple identities seen through the various groups of Hungary's population: Gypsies, Romanians, Jews, Croats, Protestants, Germans, Homosexuals, Arabs, Slovaks, etc. etc. Notwithstanding, what was taught and emphasized in those past power structures is diametrically opposed to the idea of multiplicity in society and may take many years to overcome.

Though democratic changes had been occurring in Hungary since the mid-1980's, 1989 was a pivotal year and can historically represent the transition from a single authoritarian party government to a liberal democracy, and the necessary transformation to political pluralism and the market economy in Hungary. There are two specific reasons this is a pivotal year: Imre Nagy, Hungary's hero of the 1956 Revolution, was reburied, and Hungary held its first multi-party democratic elections ever. Each event symbolized in its own way a shift to a civil society.

During the forty-five years following World War II, The communist regimes in Eastern Europe, including Hungary, practiced authoritarianism and absolute sovereignty with specific results in the larger society. The emerging nations after 1989 were fighting for multiple representation, that is taking the power to control out of the situated hands of the state, and distributing it to different groups of people who would share the power in decision making processes. The ideology of civil society is not a program to seize power, but to eliminate it by realizing a program of free communication between autonomous and disparate units of society over and against the existing power structure (Bozoki and Stikosd, 1993: 227). Civil society as defined by Tismanu (1992: 170-171) is: "the ensemble of grassroots, spontaneous, non-governmental (although not necessarily anti-government) initiatives from below that emerge in the post-totalitarian order as a result of a loosening of state controls and the decline of the ideological constraints imposed by the ruling parties. The main implication of this shift in power and control is that a "healthy" society is "spun upon the multiple webs of spontaneous formal associations, whereas the imposition of a single monolithic web under socialism made a decent society impossible" (Hann: 152).

The strategy which prioritized civil society, characterized by the slogan "the society against the state," according to Bozoki and Stikosd (1993), was to

induce social-political organization in wide circles which did not seek open confrontation with the Communist Party, which in Hungary was the Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party. Bozoki and Stikosd stressed the importance of free organization, and the articulation and representation of interests. Another crucial element for the development of civil society was the establishment of a free critical public, devoid of censorship, and the establishment of independent networks of publishing and distribution. The goal was a slow clearing of the power structure, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, as represented in the state, and the building of a parallel society.⁵⁹

On July 16, 1989, a solemn ceremony took place in Budapest, the reburial of Imre Nagy, Hungary's martyr from the 1956 revolution. A statement by Victor Orban, one of the leaders of Hungary's FIDESZ⁶⁰ party, shows how at this time Hungary's youth unambiguously refused to embrace the form of communism which had existed for so many years in Hungary, a sentiment which was no doubt felt throughout the population:

We young people fail to understand many things that are obvious to the older generations. We are puzzled that those who were so eager to slander the Revolution and Imre Nagy have suddenly become the greatest supporters of the former prime minister's policies. Nor do we understand why the party leaders who saw to it that we were taught from books that falsified the Revolution are now rushing to touch their coffins as if they were good luck charms. We need not be grateful for their permission to bury our martyrs after thirty-one years; nor do we have to thank them for allowing our political organizations to function. (Tismaneanu: 68)

⁵⁹ The roots of civil society in Hungary can be traced back to Imre Nagy's reforms before the Hungarian Revolution of 1956.

⁶⁰ The Federation of Young Democrats, or FIDESZ, founded in the spring of 1988 was a new political party in 1989 and embodied anti-communist convictions. FIDESZ is described as a "uniquely Hungarian political party with a flavor of anarchism in its rejection of the status quo and proud rebellion against the accommodationist values of the adult generation" (Tismaneanu: 204). During its First Congress, FIDESZ fixed an age limit for membership that made possible entry into the party only for those between twenty-six and thirty-five. Among its beliefs and goals are the rapid reintegration into the European Community, the development of grassroots structures, the rejection of sectarian and/or conspiratorial activity, and the rejection of any form of violence or Jacobin dictatorial methods (Tismaneanu: 205). Today FIDESZ is one of the largest and most active political parties in Hungary.

This battle cry symbolizes a resolute break with the communist system and the establishment of a pluralist order based on a free market and accountable (to the citizens of Hungary) government. No longer was the Communist Party which had "ruled the country against the people's will," to be credited with anything, and "no one had to be grateful for its sudden discovery of the principles of tolerance" (Tismaneanu: 68).

As stated by Tismaneanu (p. 170), civil society emerges during a certain stage of decomposition of the bureaucratic authoritarian system in all the countries of the Soviet Block. It is important to emphasize that the rise of civil society cannot be separated from the decline of the authoritarian-ideological state. When Victor Orban made this powerful speech, that stage had already come and gone in Hungary. In order to realize one of the prime objectives of political transition, namely the passage from Party-State to a state governed by a rule of law, countries such as Hungary begin with constitutional reforms. Even before the free elections took place in 1989, the Hungarian government had revised the Constitution. Some even argue that the adoption of the first post-monolithic state Constitution marks the real beginning of the transition (Birzea: 12). The objectives within the document, characteristic of countries experiencing political transformation, are: the safeguarding of fundamental rights and freedoms, the separation of powers; the establishment of new public authorities; and the guaranteeing of political pluralism and private ownership (Birzea: 13).

Political reforms go hand in hand with the constitutional reforms. They are introduced fairly quickly and concern a) the constitution of the first nuclei of civil society (non-governmental organizations, free trade unions, professional association, consultative groups, alternative sources of information, etc.); b) the re-establishment of traditional political institutions (political parties, government, opposition, parliament); and c) the organization of the first free elections since Yalta (Birzea: 13).

C. Post-1989 Political Change in Hungary

In 1990 the Hungarian opposition organized a roundtable to engage in talks with the then four member presidium (Reszo Nyers, Imre Pozsgay, Karoly Grosz and Janos Berecz) which had replaced Kadar's government in 1988. Though they were communist "reformers", they were nevertheless still communist. Notwithstanding, at that meeting the transition to pluralistic

order was accepted by both sides. In the Spring of 1990 Hungarians elected a new parliament, and the former Communist Party suffered a crushing defeat. With several parties represented in the parliament and the government itself having a "cohabitation" government with The Hungarian Democratic Forum winning 42.9% of the votes and The Alliance of Free Democrats receiving 23.83 percent of the vote, one could conclude that "Hungary became the only true multi-party democracy in Eastern Europe" (Tismaneanu: 261).

According to Agh and Kurtan (1995), though the 1989 Constitution had already regulated the micro-sphere of local governments, and initiated civil society for the first time in Hungary, it did not emphasize strongly enough the self-governing character of local governments which led to problems. This, however, was rectified in the new amendment of the Constitution which was passed by the first parliament in the Summer of 1990. Section 42 of the amendment declares:

The community of electors in villages and town, capital city and its districts, as well as in the counties shall have the right to local self-government. Local self-government shall mean the autonomous and democratic management of local affairs by the communities concerned and the exercise of local public authority in the interest of the population (Agh and Kurtan: 256).

With the local government in place, it was time to put educational decisions in their hands. By the beginning of the 1990's school education became multifarious: a so-called "bipolar" model linked central and local curricular regulation gradually emerged. This combined the "national", "basic", "core" or "frame" curriculum with the local ones resulting from school decision, so as to preserve the advantages of both. From the beginning experiments in the 1980's with decentralization up to the 1990's, the era of local curricula modernizing followed with individual school experiments and curricular development.

The Education Act of 1993 (1993 Evi LXXIX Torvény A Kozoktatásról) legislates for local initiatives to determine the courses and direction of their local community's schools (Guide: 13). Alternative views gained grounds and had an impact that was further enhanced by political restructuring and appeared also in the first versions of the National Core Curriculum, conceptualized from the beginning of the 1990's. All this gave birth to changes in two major fields. On the one hand, it broke centralized, one-sided

development and curricular regulation. On the other, it stressed local school curricula and considered laying the theoretical foundation for them as its main duty (Guide: 19-20).

With the new Constitution and Education Act of 1993, much power in decision making was given back to local communities, a necessary step in the development of civil society. Furthermore, a new Act on the Rights of National and Ethnic Minorities, which was passed on July 7, 1993, gave unprecedented political power to minorities, and made concrete steps towards integration of minorities into the operations and existence of the state. For some minorities, such as the Gypsies, this was an unprecedented step. The purpose of the Act on Minorities is to "identify and create conditions under which the assimilation process of national and ethnic minorities can be halted and made reversible" (Egyed: IV). Under this law, minorities have well defined rights to protect and to some extent control the functioning of Hungarian democracy through minority self-government on the national and local levels. Furthermore, this is an unprecedented document for Europe. Hungary hopes to set an example which may be emulated in other multicultural countries, especially in the neighboring countries, to create similarly liberal minded legal frameworks for their own ethnic Hungarian minorities. This desire is based on "the fact that no suitable pattern of a comprehensive regulation of minority rights that might be followed has been available in any of the European countries (Egyed: II).⁶¹

The organization of the minority self-governments differs slightly from normal local government. Minorities can elect a minority local government separate from just the local government, but can simultaneously sit on the local government. The minority governments have certain power such as veto rights to school legislation. This structure exists on the national level as well. The Act fully realizes the common legal principal of the related international recommendations that minorities should have a strong say in public affairs, especially in decisions to be made on issues that concern them directly. The Act also makes it possible for every minority to organize its own national self-government by way of electors.

⁶¹ It has been widely recognized by a number of commentators that Hungary's motivation for the creation of a sweeping law on minority rights was based more on an interest for the large Hungarian minorities in neighboring countries than on a particular interest in the country's own minorities. This is reminiscent of the minority policies of the 1960's during communism.

D. The Post-1989 Government

Many educational policy reforms in the new government began only in 1994, a year which Janos Setenyi, one of the leaders and sociological researcher for E)PONZIO, a consulting firm which works in educational development and the introduction of civics education into the Hungarian system, among others termed "pivotal."⁶² The preparatory work for new legislation was started in the period of the first democratic government, 1990-1994 which was led by Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, leader of the coalition of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (Magyar Demokrata Forum, MDF) which consists of The Christian Democratic Peoples Party (Kereszteny-Demokrata Neppart, KDNP) and the Agrarian Independent Small Holders Party. The government was pro-market, democratic, conservative force which used sometimes nationalist, populist, jingoist or Christian fundamentalist argumentation. The prime ministers of the national-conservative coalition government, Antall and Boross, expressed many times their admiration for the interwar super-centralized and authoritarian state administration. They regarded this as a model for the modern day Hungary and this governmental attitude overshadowed the whole period of the First Parliament in public sector reform (Agh and Kurtan: 260).

Since 1994, Gyula Horn has been Prime Minister of Hungary and his government is based on the coalition of the Hungarian Socialist Party (Magyar Szocialista Part, MSZP)⁶³ (with more than 50%) and the Alliance of Free Democrats (Szabad Demokratak Szovetsege, SZDSZ). The Horn government is a democratic, pro-market, social-liberal force which sometimes uses old type socialist rhetoric (hate of the rich, etc.) or intolerance of urban liberal argumentation. The President of the Republic is Arpad Gonyi (1991-1998). He is a member of the Alliance of Free Democrats; and according to Setenyi "as a hero of 1956 and as a man of integrity he is quite popular."⁶⁴

⁶²This is due to a change in the Parliaments. The first Parliament from 1990-1994 was led by the national-conservatives yet most of the local governments were headed by the opposition parties. Thus was established a "dual power" in this first parliamentary cycle which was characterized by the fight in the intergovernmental relations. This caused a stalemate and inhibited action (Agh and Kurtan: 258-259).

⁶³This party is not to be confused with the communist Party, the Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party.

⁶⁴The role of the president is rather formal in a parliamentary democracy like

E. Regarding Minorities

A significant degree of sensitivity has evolved in the Hungarian intellectual realm towards minority issues. Both socialist and liberal intellectuals acknowledge the equality of different identities and values attached to those identities. During my interview with Janos Setenyi, he voiced his opinion that Hungary, unlike in past decades, is experiencing a "good positive period to work with Roma," and that there has been a general trend towards "consciousness raising" in the Hungarian psyche where "people realize the importance of working with Roma." This is an opinion he shares with Peter Rado, sociologist and expert on minorities (both minorities inside of Hungary and minority Hungarians living abroad), who formally worked with the Minister of Culture and Education, and whose Multicultural Education Development Scheme will be discussed later. Rado said that "one may agree that one of the most crucial questions - what is also the heritage from the previous communist regime - is the communication ghetto of the minorities," by which he meant an utter void of knowledge of the other group by either the majority or the minorities within Hungary. But, according to him, "since a couple of years there have been many efforts to overcome the communicational barriers between majority and minorities."

Other intellectuals who are more conservative also approach the problems of minorities, however, focusing on those ethnic Hungarians living abroad. In fact, it was the more conservative government which passed the Minorities Act. Nevertheless, the education of national and ethnic minorities in Hungary now constitutes an integral part of the Hungarian education system.

Since Gyula Horn's government was put into place in 1994, the Ministry of Culture and Education which mandates educational policy was headed by the political party, Szabad Demokraták Szövetsége (Free Democrats). The first minister of this was Gabor Fodor,⁶⁵ who according to Peter Rado is "a man very attached to the problems of minorities." Rado said that when Fodor started to be minister in the summer of 1994, he "looked for someone who could deal with the problems of minorities, and that's the reason why he invited me." Within

Hungary.

⁶⁵A second Minister of Culture and Education headed the Ministry in 1996, Balint Magyar, but continued Fodor's mandates and policies towards minorities.

the Ministry of Culture and Education, Rado worked first as head of the department for minorities, then from November 1995, as director.⁶⁶ A detailed discussion of his work follows in Chapter Five.

F. Minorities' Role in Society: Economic and Political Participation

As stated earlier, the new Constitution coupled with the Act on Minorities has given minorities strong cultural rights and unprecedented political representation and power in Hungary. The act is extensive, and guarantees the freedoms and rights to each and every minority in Hungary just as they exist for the majority group, ethnic Hungarians. In the public educational field, the law empowers the national minority self-governments to encourage and conduct public educational activities especially by establishing minority libraries, publishing houses, exhibition facilities, museums, cultural, art and scientific institutes. For such purposes, budgetary support from the federal government may also be requested.

Where language rights in the political realm are concerned, the Act on Minorities in the related provisions of procedural Act (Section 51) guarantees the free use of the mother tongue in the course of civil, penal as well as administrative proceedings. Representatives belonging to a minority may also use their respective mother tongue in the National Assembly as well as in the body of representatives of local governments. Furthermore, in settlements where persons belonging to a minority are also living, in the course of filling the posts in local public service offices and in the appointment of local public officials, it is to be ensured that a person, who has in addition to the necessary professional qualifications - a proficiency in the given minority language, be employed (section 54).

1. Analytical Summary

Though the democracy and local representation is a new concept and needs to be ironed out, the rights of minorities which were guaranteed in the amended Constitution of 1989 and the Act on the Rights of National and Ethnic Minorities show a clear tendency and commitment to enfold and integrate

⁶⁶Rado had already resigned from his post when I interviewed him in June, 1996. Starting from July 1, 1996, he would be working for the National Public Education Institute inside of their program for minorities and would begin to do research again on minority education.

minorities into Hungary's political and economic life. Though the minority groups still may react centrifugally in relation to the larger society, the dominant society's attempts are to allow minorities access and control of the major social structures allocating resources. In allowing minorities equal institutional participation in the political realm, Hungary is demonstrating centripetal policy making for minority integration into the Hungarian state.

Hungary is demonstrating efforts towards political interdependence of ethnic minority groups, rather than political hegemony of one group over the others which was characteristic of past regimes. The decentralization of the government and Act on Minorities demonstrates that the smaller groups in Hungary may protest or even disrupt the unacceptably centralizing tendencies of the dominant group. The strength of the minority group's voice in decision making demonstrates Hungary's moving away from a type B society where the superordinate group's attempt to incorporate others into the prevailing economic and institutional system exists only to eliminate any vestiges of autonomous subordinate group activities. Due to its youth and lack of practice there are still problems with the decentralized system.⁶⁷ However, in due time, if Hungary keeps its commitment to equal representation in the political process, she may evolve into a type D society which is characterized by a balance and equality of different minority groups and where politically, each group has enough leverage in at least one dimension (political or economic) to be able to substantially modify or veto the initiatives of the other group(s) (LaBelle and White, 1980: 166).

a. *Roma*

The developments in Hungary have brought many positive changes for its Roma population. Since the demise of the Hungarian communist regime, the Gypsies, for the first time in Hungary, are experiencing rights never

⁶⁷Because local representation is a new concept, there are still some problems to be worked out in order for a true representative democratic government to operate smoothly. Agh and Kurtan (p. 272) conclude that all in all, the problems have not been solved in the field of public sector reform and that the "central government is still too strong and overwhelming, and the intergovernmental relations are still unbalanced in favor of state administration versus public administration, and the financial dependence is still too big to allow for meaningful local autonomy." They recommend that there is also a need to produce a new Constitution in the parliamentary cycle, that is by 1998, which they say could solve, among other things, the problems of the Small Power Triangle.

before imagined possible. The Helsinki Watch's report on Hungarian Roma opens its preface with the following paragraph:

Since the demise of the Communist regime in Hungary, the country's Roma population has benefited from the suspension of decades of assimilationist, and times overtly racist, government policy and from an increased tolerance for expression of Roma identity. The amended Hungarian Constitution recognizes Gypsies' equality under the law and acknowledges the need for affirmative action measures to counteract the effects of their history and repression; and A Law on the Rights of National and Ethnic Minorities was passed on July 7, 1993, after nearly two years of parliamentary debate (Helsinki, 1993: vii).

However, Gypsies continue to endure serious discrimination, and often violence. Just recently, in a Hungarian news radio broadcast (transcript is available from the Foreign Broadcast information Service), Hungarian Justice Minister Pal Vastagh and Hungarian State Secretary, Csaba Tabajdi, issued a report on ethnic conflicts in Hungary. They warned that the victims of serious ethnic conflicts in Hungary in the future are likely to be Roma. Discrimination, which often escalates into hate crimes, takes place not only in the streets, but in the schools.

The changes in Hungary have encouraged Roma to participate in the political process. Many of them have joined the new political parties which look with electoral interest to the large Roma communities. Romanies themselves have organized their own parties and independent associations and have promoted their own representatives in the elected parliament. After 1989, the number of Roma cultural and political organizations increased rapidly to more than 200 (Helsinki: 110).

There are also publications, radio and TV broadcasts in the Romany language; folk shows and cultural festivals (Gheorghe: 830). All these developments have helped Roma in Hungary become more visible in public life and more articulate in asking for respect in human rights and for the promotion of their political and cultural rights as a distinct minority. Gheorghe (p. 831) describes this new participation as a process of "ethnogenesis" whereby the Gypsy minority group is moving from the situation of despised marginal communities and persons, as *tsigani*, to the situation of an acknowledged ethnic minority, as *Romanies*.

In Hungary, the political framework is in place to ensure the participation and structural integration of the Roma. However, the education of the Roma, and perhaps for the other minority groups, at the local level on how to use democratic representation to their benefit is still necessary. In my interview with Angela Kocze, a Romungro Roma living in Budapest, we discussed what kinds of demands the local Roma governments are making concerning school reform. Angela expressed her concern and dismay:

So far nothing has been voiced by the Roma governments. The prejudice between the non-Roma (Gadje in Romany), and the Roma is still strong and the Hungarians do not want to listen to the Roma on school reform issues. The truth is that the local people would be able to use these pressures of the school system, they should be able to influence the politics and so on and so on, but it's not true. If the people are not able to use their own rights, they won't do anything ever. And many places, I think the people are ignorant about their own rights.

In another interview with Janos Setenyi, he mentioned that there is also much internal strife in the Roma communities. He said that "many 'leaders' (within the Rom community) are fighting with one another which blocks forward advances in positive policy making for the Roma."⁶⁸ In other words, often no decisions are made due to stalemates. Hopefully these internal quarrels may be resolved in order for real steps to be taken.

Nidhi Trehan, researcher and Roma activist who works for the European Roma Rights Center in Budapest, explained to me that "there is one thing, the law, written on paper, and then there is another thing of practice" and that "the Romany power on the local level and their control over implementing reforms is still very weak." In order to help overcome the ignorance and initiate political activity on the local level by members of the Roma communities, the Roma Rights Center hopes to design an extensive human rights education outreach program.

Nidhi and Angela said that there has been sporadic education of local governments by a group of lawyers who tried to explain the law in simple

⁶⁸Although many Hungarians tend to view Roma as a single community, there are a distinct number of Roma groups, each possessing unique historical, cultural and linguistic traditions. Many of the earlier clan-based and trade-based distinctions have disappeared, and today language is the most apparent division among Hungary's Roma. Today, the different groups are united mainly by their common status as "outsiders" (Helsinki: 7).

language, but "there is no national program for education at the local level." Though this statement may appear contradictory, Nidhi and Angela felt that it is in part the national government's responsibility to educate Hungary's people on the workings of democracy. Despite this, Nidhi and Angela both agree that "something can happen in the future. If they (the local governments) can become politically experienced, the more political experience they have, the more chances that they will actually implement something at the local level." Though the Roma have several national organizations, the Roma Parliament, Lungodrom, and the National Romany Council, Nidhi and Angela say that for real problems to be tackled and solved, it "must take place on the local level."

Economically, Roma continue to suffer acute discrimination in the work force within the new "liberal" democracy and free market economy, and are more and more structurally isolated. Although Roma were employed at rates almost as high as those for ethnic Hungarians up until 1989, most of them today are unemployed. At least 60 percent of working-age Roma are unemployed, and in many regions of the country Roma unemployment approaches 100 percent" (Helsinki: 76). Though laws have been passed which ban discrimination in hiring and the workplace, they are almost universally unenforced and ignored. When heavy industry began to slow in the late 1980's, Roma men who worked in manual labor, in low-skill factory jobs, and in the booming construction industry, were the first to be fired, thus making unemployment for the Roma a result of a process that is "as much discriminatory as economic (Helsinki: 76).

Although unemployment has increased for all groups in Hungary since the changes since 1989, a 1995 statistical survey notes that the employment rate for non-Roma men today is more than twice that of Roma men, and according to The Helsinki Watch (p. 78-79), the Roma have been almost entirely removed from the labor market in the past five years as a result of ethnic discrimination against this minority group: "Despite formal legal guarantees, Roma - regardless of educational background or previous work experience - face widespread hostility and discrimination when they seek employment."

The Roma have always been the most politically and economically disenfranchised minority in Hungary. Due to their past victimization of formal discrimination and neglect, their political equity will take more time

and efforts to equalize power. However, without commensurate economic resources, how politically influential can this group be?

Though the majority group, the Hungarians, are less and less politically dominant numerically, though not necessarily in terms of occupying key posts, critics have argued that the freedoms to mobilize politically are actually the superordinate group's way of neutralizing the minority in a typical consensus building action, which LaBelle and White (1985) argue is characteristic of type B societies. In line with this, the Helsinki Watch (p. 115) has a detailed description on the failures of implementing the minorities law showing that there are irregularities in funding and interference in elections that "suggest a pattern of willful intervention by the Hungarian government, which is attempting to marginalize the recently-granted cultural autonomy of its minorities, and most especially the Roma."

b. *Analytical Summary*

The political structural integration of minorities in Hungary seems to be operating despite the immediate challenges to local representation. With time, however, these hopefully will be worked out. With the amended Constitution of 1989 and the Act on Minorities, the dominant Hungarians have opened a space for subordinate group members' voices to be not only heard, but listened to. By removing barriers to access to political power and decision making, the ethnic minorities are being integrated on equal footing, at least rhetorically, into Hungarian society.

Economically, all Hungarian citizens, despite their ethnic group, have suffered difficulties in the economic and political transition period. Yet one ethnic group in particular, the Roma, have been experiencing even more economic isolation than the others. Herein lies a paradox: as Roma become more structurally integrated politically, they nevertheless are becoming more and more structurally isolated economically. Though official laws ban employment discrimination, this is nevertheless one of the strongest reasons for which such a large percentage of Roma are unemployed today. Though not legally or officially, the dominant group is nevertheless still very much in control of the economic life in Hungary (an economy which seems to have become less democratic), and consciously isolating the Roma by blocking their access to financial resources. Though on paper Hungary evidences type D society aspirations, in practice, type B and arguably type A is actually

happening, especially in terms of economics. The Hungarian society's centrifugal actions are actually structurally isolating and distancing the Roma from others which demonstrates that the Hungarians, indeed, still have almost total economic power over many, especially the Roma.

VII. CHAPTER FIVE

POST-1989: NEW LAWS AND POLICIES

Nagyon fontosnak tartom, hogy mine! tobb kulturalis esemeny, civil kezdemenyezés, es iskola tanitson minket a szolidaritásra, a toleranciára, es hogy a másik massaga minket is gazdagít (Gabor Fodor)

(I think it is very important, that there are more cultural events, civil initiatives, and that school teaches us solidarity, tolerance, and that difference enriches us)

A. Introduction

This chapter discusses new governmental laws and policies which affect education in multicultural settings in Hungary. Many of the new laws and policies were only passed and implemented long past 1989. This is due to a change in the governments between 1989-1994, and the new government which was elected in 1994 and continues to 1998 (see Chapter Four, The Post-1989 Government). For organizational purposes, I chose to first discuss governmental law and policies, for they are the cornerstones and framework upon which much implementation is dependent. Chapter Six will follow with a discussion of how these laws and policies have been implemented, as well as a discussion of other educational initiatives that may not have been specified or anticipated by the government's laws and policies.

B. Description of Education in Hungary Post-1989

The year 1989 symbolized in Hungary not only the official disengagement from the communist bloc but, equally as important, an expansion of participation in the rest of the world. In this move to enter a "world order,"¹ Hungary has expressed commitments to upholding certain international standards:

As the turn of the millennium is drawing nigh, just at the millennial of Hungarian educational tradition, all the educational systems of the world must meet new, world-wide challenges. Both the content and methods applied in school education are greatly

¹In addition to entering a "global community," Hungary has aspirations of entering the European Union. Its new educational system therefore pays attention to "humanistic European values that strengthen (its) place in Europe" (Guide: 25).

affected by processes like...the multiplication of the trends of globalization and regionalization, the metamorphoses of national and local identities. (Guide: 18)

International standards including recognizing, tolerating, and granting equal status in all social realms to all citizens, regardless of race, creed, ethnicity, sex, social class, or handicap are embodied in the 1974 Unesco document *The Recommendation Concerning Education for International Understanding, Cooperation and Peace, and Education for Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms*, which has the task of bringing international human rights' ideas and ideals to life in the educational systems of the world.⁷⁰

C. Education Laws

In order to uphold international standards and to make responsible educational policy decisions regarding her minorities, Hungary had to put in place laws which would allow for vast changes in the existent educational system. One of the most outstanding reforms that affects education is The Act on the Rights of National and Ethnic Minorities which I described in Chapter Four. In relationship to education, the right to decision-making of national minority self-governments is extended to cover decisions on the core-studies

⁷⁰Human rights in the educational sector is an extension of the United Nation's commitment to Universal Human Rights which were adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 10, 1948:

Article 1 - all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2 - Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Futhermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 10 - Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 19 - Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20 - Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association. No one may be compelled to belong to an association (Puxon, 1973: 2).

within minorities' education (except higher education) (Section VIII). Minorities now play a decisive role in the decision-making process concerning the method, the content and the financing of their own education. To realize and implement all this, the Act provides for proper financial means to the extent of the related appropriations of the current Act on Finances.

Another important act, The Education Act of 1993 has major importance for several reasons: it abolished the earlier centrally-determined curriculum and provided for the preparation of a National Core Curriculum and its introduction at a later date (a full description of the NAT is below); it brought about major changes by adjusting regulation to the independence of schools and introducing "two-level curricular regulation" (as discussed above); and it has important provisions which affect content of curriculum (which will be discussed in a subsequent section of this chapter).

The two governmental laws, The Act on Minorities and The Education Act of 1993 take large strides for Hungary's making responsible policy decisions for its diverse population. Decentralizing decision making away from the central government will hopefully allow for local citizens to implement curriculum, and other policies such as language of instruction, to suit their individual and group needs.⁷¹ These attempts by the national government are the building blocks upon which a more integrated, not assimilated, society may begin to grow.

D. Roma

At this point I would like to give a general description of the Gypsies present status in Hungary and in the Hungarian educational system. There are several efforts, both governmental and non-governmental, in Hungary to deal with the issue of Roma education. If one could categorize the overall atmosphere towards concern for Roma issues in intellectual circles, it is very positive, though in the general public prejudice and hatred towards the Roma is still rampant (as discussed in Chapter Four).

According to Janos Setenyi, it is now "politically correct" to work on Roma issues, an attitude which reflects an almost complete turnaround from past times in Hungary. However, education figures continue to point to a

⁷¹ This also raises the question whether decentralization will lead minority groups away from maintaining a commitment to the Hungarian nation and to live and work with other groups.

severe problem; a large percentage of Gypsy children dropping out of school and finishing only the lower elementary grades (for a detailed analysis, see Kertesi, 1995). In the academic year of 1992/1993, there were 74,241 pupils enrolled in Hungarian schools. Of that number, only 7.2% were Roma.⁷² The reality is that Hungary's half million Gypsies have little hope to continue their education beyond elementary school within the existing educational system. Less than 1% graduate from high school, while not even one in a thousand receives a university degree (Solyom, 1995: 32).

In light of the research evidence of Roma educational conditions in the 1980's and before, the physical environment, curricula, methods and teachers themselves are all indispensable in creating a positive and effective educational atmosphere for Roma. Furthermore, the Roma's "world of problems" - unemployment rate three to four times higher than the majority group, social, health and accommodation deficiencies coupled with deep-rooted prejudice of the majority - makes for a broad educational gap between the majority and the Roma.

E. The National Core Curriculum, NAT

As stated in Chapter 4, the education of national and ethnic minorities in Hungary, with an emphasis on cultural pluralism which did not exist in past regimes, now constitutes an integral part of the Hungarian education system. The overall scheme for reconceptualizing education in Hungary at this time, and which is directly related to the above mentioned laws, is the National Core Curriculum.⁷³ Though the Hungarian Government decided upon changing the core in 1989, the political changes soon followed. Actual revisioning, then, only happened in the new regime. Since 1989 up until the summer of 1996, the NAT had undergone many variations. The accepted version which was agreed upon early in 1996 was the fifth one. The NAT is not a curriculum in the

⁷²In the academic year of 1992-1993, the last year when data could be collected about Roma pupils, there were 1061 schools in which representation of the Roma pupils exceeded 10%. This is about 20% of the total number of schools in Hungary, again showing how segregation is very high.

⁷³The National Core Curriculum (NAT) is the basic document of the Republic of Hungary on school education as determined by the Education Act LXXIX of 1993 and its 1995 amendment. The NAT will be simultaneously introduced to all levels of school education from September 1, 1998 at grades 1 through 7. Based upon the national guidelines of kindergarten education, NAT established common educational objectives compulsory for grades 1-10 in every school in Hungary, where compulsory education consists of 12 or 13 grades.

traditional sense of the word, but a nationally determined framework upon which local curricula and educational programs may be built. Parents, students and school teachers may now express their interests and values (Guide: 20). It covers primary and secondary schooling. The ten broad fields which the government calls "cultural domains" covered in the NAT are:

1. **Mother Tongue and Literature:** Hungarian Language and Literature; Minority Language and Literature
2. **Modern Foreign Language**
3. **Mathematics**
4. **Man⁷⁴ and Society:** Social Studies, Civics, Economics; Human Studies; History
5. **Man and Nature:** Natural Studies; Physics; Chemistry; Biology and Health Studies
6. **Our Earth and Environment**
7. **Arts:** Singing and Music; Dance and Drama; Visual Arts, Motion Picture and Media Studies
8. **Informatics:** Computing Sciences; Library Use
9. **Life-Management and Practical Studies:** Technology; Home Economics; Career Orientation
10. **Physical Education and Sports** (Guide: 27)

Implementation of the new curriculum will be carried out between 1996 and 1998, and its objectives are to honor basic human rights, children's rights, the freedom of conscience and religion and the values of school education as well as minority rights laid down in the Constitution, and in the preamble to the Education Act and international agreements. The NAT objectives are inspired by democratic values for two reasons: The NAT aims to encourage young people to behave in accordance with the rules of democracy that give equal weight to the interests of the individual and the community; the NAT describes the fundamental cultural domains everyone needs and is entitled to

⁷⁴Grammatically in Hungarian, the cultural domains "Man and Society" and "Man and Nature" do not have sexist implications. Though there are words for man (ferfi) and woman (nő) in Hungarian, the word for "man" in the above titles translates as "human being" (ember).

know. These basic objectives must be adopted by every school in Hungary between grades 1-10.

The NAT's importance to the "new world order" is that it pays attention to the concept of multiculturalism, both within Hungary's borders and without. The NAT, which is a national document, gives considerable weight to "national traditions and to the development of national identity including that of national and ethnic minorities living in Hungary" (Guide: 25). In stating this, the NAT is honoring the provisions for minorities declared in the Act on National and Ethnic Minorities: "Minorities living in the Republic of Hungary share alike in the power of the people, that is, they are state-forming constituent elements" (Section 68, Subsection 1 of the Constitution). Their cultures form part of culture of Hungary (Egyed: 3). Accordingly, the NAT must provide an expandable basic culture of the same content and value for ALL students in Hungary, despite ethnicity. The unique goal of minority education is to preserve and strengthen minority identity. To accomplish this goal, the NAT strives to:

1. promote the acquisition of the given minority language on an erudite standard level through developing the ability to understand and use the language in writing and speech;
2. acquaint pupils with folk poetry, music, fine art, customs and traditions and to encourage them to cultivate these;
3. teach students the historic traditions, culture and institutions of their nation;
4. make children accept and appreciate other cultures by underlining their values;
5. teach students the culture, history and everyday life of their motherland;
6. promote the upward mobility and social integration of gypsies. (Guide: 32)

The above which lists the knowledge of history, geography, literature, arts and sociology subjects dealing with minorities, is a set of requirements, which according to Rado, is intended for "obtaining maturity even by members of the majority." According to Peter Szebenyi, organizer, researcher and head author of the NAT who works for the Foovarosi Pedagogius Intezet (Capital City Pedagogical Institute), the NAT seeks to "include at first in which way they [local governments] will develop the knowledge and attitudes of the national and ethnic minorities, and by what means will they provide the knowledge about the minorities for the majority of the students in the local curriculum."

This focus, which was qualified as "intercultural education" by both Rado and Szebenyi and as defined by the Guide to the NAT as when "pupils from the minority groups and the majority groups learn each other's language and culture together," is included in the cultural domain of "Man and Society." In paying attention to "mankind's global problems," this cultural realm seeks to "promote understanding of and openness towards other cultures," and "encourages students to get acquainted with other peoples' traditions, cultures and life-styles" (Guide: 25).

The cultural domain of "Man and Society" includes the subject areas of social studies, civics and economics, human studies and history. According to the Guide (p. 50), the most important competence areas to be obtained in studying these areas include the respect of personality, national and civil identity, social responsibility, open-mindedness about social problems related to the age group, environmental responsibility, multicultural tolerance, behavior respecting the human heritage, knowledge, attitude and skills in the use of democratic institutions.

Secondary school teaches civics until the end of grade 10 (age 16). Among other things, but which is directly related to education in multicultural settings, is the study and discussion of the difference between citizenship and ethnic nationality, and study of human rights and their international protection. For history, it is stated that "it is also the lesson of history that nations are mutually dependent on each other and this mutual dependence requires a global perspective, the discovery of and respect for the diversity and particular heritage of different cultures (Guide: 51).

1. Analytical Summary

The NAT, in cooperation with the Act on Minorities and the Education Act, achieves several goals related to education in multicultural settings. It enables schools to foster teaching in the mother tongue, bilingual instruction or language teaching programs, it promotes special Roma education development schemes whose aims are upward [social] mobility and social integration, and recognizes "intercultural education" as one of the minority education programs. Intercultural education, according to Rado, will change "the Hungarian education dramatically, until it has a real multicultural face."

The NAT indicates an emphasis on social issues and perhaps social stratification in its statement that the important competencies to be obtained

in studying subjects in "Man and Society" are "open-mindedness about social problems related to...multicultural tolerance, behavior respecting the human heritage." Again, in history, the emphasis seems to be on "the discovery of and respect for the diversity and particular heritage of different cultures." It is not clear if the main areas discussed are institutional racism in society and schools, unequal power relationships among racial groups, and economic stratification and social class which are characteristics of Sleeter and Grant's *Multicultural Education* approach. It appears that the emphasis is on tolerance and acceptance of diversity perhaps without looking at the relevant social issues in society, an approach which is closer to Sleeter and Grant's *Ethnic Studies* approach.

Nevertheless, the governmental attempt at reforming curricular content through the NAT to increase awareness at least of "difference" is not particularly centripetal. That is, the emphasis is no longer on studying all that is "Hungarian", the dominant culture, as the best and greatest to the ignorance of otherness. However, it is not clear either whether the content is enough to be considered centrifugal either for the minority groups.

According to Rado, the real significance of the NAT's acknowledgment and incorporation of minorities is that state financed schools may be eligible for additional financial support for the education of minorities (this amount equals to 17 million USD and 3.4 million will be added for 1997). However, without a scheme to monitor the use of these funds, there is no guarantee that schools will use the funds "appropriately". It is well documented (see Helsinki Watch) that previously schools which received funds for Gypsies did not use them to promote and develop true equal education for the minority group.

F. How Laws Affect Educational Policies for Minorities

I. Language Policy

One governmental policy which immediately affects language education in secondary schools is the Act on the Rights of National and Ethnic Minorities. This Act declares that anyone, anywhere and at any time may freely use one's mother tongue and lists the languages currently used by minorities in Hungary: Armenian, Bulgarian, Croatian, German, Gypsy (Romany and "Beashi" Romanian speaking), Greek, Polish, Romanian, Ruthenian, Serb, Slovak, Slovene, and Ukrainian. In minority education, any

of these 13 minority languages may be taught as a foreign language or used as a language of instruction.

This minority education may take place in minority kindergarten, schools, classes or study groups according to the local possibilities and demands. It is mandatory to organize and maintain a minority class or study group if requested by the parents or legal representatives of at least eight school children belonging to a particular minority group (Chapter VI, Section 43). Section 44 ensures that additional costs incurred by the vernacular instruction will be covered by the federal government or the local government.

Among the detailed provisions of the Act is that children belonging to a minority may be fully or partly instructed in the vernacular through various forms of school education. However, the teaching of the Hungarian language - in a number of hours and at a level necessary to master it - also has to be ensured in a minority educational institution (Section 48). Education of the National Minorities in Hungary, according to different educational levels and types, must ensure sufficient time for the children of a minority to improve their command of their own mother tongue to the point where bilingual or first language education can be introduced (Guide: 32). The first cultural domain of the NAT, mother tongue and literature, says that in the education of minorities, their language and literature must be taught in the original languages through a special program approved by the Minister of Culture and Education; Hungarian language and literature must be taught as a second language in accordance with the content of NAT.

The minority group self-governments now may reestablish bilingual education or education strictly in the mother tongue, the types of programs which flourished under the nationalist and early years of the communist regimes. This language policy aids in counteracting assimilation, especially where the mother tongue instruction is worked into schooling through secondary school, and in facilitating general learning and development of children who do not come to school speaking Hungarian. It reaches towards the goal of the Act on Minorities, to turn around the processes of assimilation which were implemented by the former regimes.

The Act which affects language policy is characteristic of a type D society where very careful attention is paid to language differences. It is centrifugal in allowing mother tongue instruction through secondary school,

yet centripetal in its mandatory study of the Hungarian language. Nevertheless, the question remains, is it too late to reverse assimilation for the national minority groups? In many cases, the nationality groups are often interspersed in different parts of the country. Due to this, for instance, the only county where there is a separate Greek school for minorities is located in Beroiannis. The language and education for the children living in smaller groups has thus far been given in Sunday school type programs. With the law requiring eight individuals, regardless of age or grade, to form a national minority class, though, perhaps the situation will change.

2. Roma

The Act on Minorities makes no distinction as the previous regime between Roma, who were considered ethnic minorities, and the others, who were identified as National Minorities. Under the provisions of the act, then, Roma have the same rights to language education in the mother tongue as any other minority group. The Act pays special attention to the necessity of lessening the educational handicaps of the Gypsy ethnic group, and prescribes obligations to create special educational conditions for upgrading the education of Gypsy children.

Despite these goals, however, there has been no establishment of a secondary gymnasium for Roma with Romany or Beash as the mother tongue, nor classes taught in or for these languages outside of the Ghandi Gymnasium which is a private initiative.⁷⁵ Language instruction in the mother tongue is totally dependent on teacher training programs. The dearth of these (See section in MEDS on Teacher Education) has thus far stalled language instruction for Roma.

According to one Hungarian teacher, though guaranteed in law, there is still a lack of demand, by both Roma and non-Roma, and action for implementing mother tongue instruction for Roma. She explained that this relative lack of demand is itself a product of (at least) the former government's policies towards educating Roma, though it does not justify its continuation today. She said, "Gypsy languages were prohibited and discouraged for so long that..it would be naive to think that there could be a lot of demand right now..when the language has been denigrated for so many years. This doesn't

⁷⁵This, however, appears to be a goal for the Roma activists in Hungary.

mean that there couldn't be a demand within a few years, if things changed" (Helsinki: 73).

VIII. CHAPTER SIX

DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN MULTICULTURAL SETTINGS:

GOVERNMENTAL AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL IMPLEMENTATION

"Educate them? We ought to shoot them." (Hungarian man from Nagykanizsa, giving his opinion on plans to open a private high school for Roma students)

A. Introduction

A major change which began in Hungary after 1989 is the inclusion of private sector, or non-governmental organization (NGO), participation in educational development. Previously, Hungary was highly centralized and the national government controlled all educational activities. Now, however, NGO's, both local and international, are participating in educational renewal.

In the post-1989 educational development in Hungary, however, it is difficult to differentiate between the programmatic efforts of governmental (public) and non-governmental (private) sectors, because their activities are often enmeshed. Often, policies are conceptualized by the national government, but funding for implementation of the initiatives comes from private sources. To help conceptualize this often confusing interplay of governmental and non-governmental initiatives, I have attempted to map the complicated relationships between the two sectors (see Figure 3).

The discussion in this chapter will be organized by program initiatives which are loosely grouped around the most prominent policy areas for each one (i.e. language, curriculum, teacher training, etc.). For clarification, I begin each section with a chart which shows the organization's name, whether the program was conceptualized by the governmental or non-governmental sector, whether the funding is public, private, or both, and who implemented the project.

The non-governmental sector in Hungary is substantial. Due to many limitations, I was only able to scratch the surface on what programs are being developed and implemented in the field of education in multicultural settings. However, a more comprehensive, but not complete list of both governmental and non-governmental players is listed in the Appendix. I hope that this may shed some light on the direction that education in multicultural settings initiatives are taking.

B. The Multicultural Education Development Scheme: MEDS/REDS

I begin my discussion of policy implementation with a governmental initiative which conceptualizes for implementation all the ideals encapsulated in the laws and policies discussed in Chapter Five, and attempts to hold true to Hungary's promise of providing education for her minorities. MEDS is a broad initiative whose goals include:

1. Financing
2. Textbooks development (including content development)
3. Teacher training, extension training; reorganization and operation of pedagogical network institutions
4. Independent Roma Education Development Scheme (REDS)

MEDS was conceptualized by Peter Rado, who was invited to join the ministry by Gabor Fodor in 1994 expressly to develop the national government's educational policies regarding minorities. The first version of the scheme was completed in the spring of 1995. It was then, Rado said, "distributed among and negotiated over with minority self-governments, experts, other departments of the ministry, other ministries, politicians, and with different commissions of the parliament." The renewed version was completed in the summer of 1995.

MEDS is attempting a holistic renewal of Hungarian education in its embrace of reform in curricular content and textbooks, the development, testing and introduction of new projects, the program of teacher training and further education, and includes the improvement of education's environment in general.

MEDS is two-fold: 1) a general scheme for all the minorities living within Hungary and 2) a special Roma Development Scheme, called REDS. The program officially started January 1, 1996 and is designed to be a three year program, ending in 1998, though with the hope that it would continue in a self-sustainable way by the local governments themselves. In my interview with Rado concerning the continuation of this program in the future he said:

If we are talking about Roma and the problems to attain real changes and the chances of Roma pupils inside of the Hungarian educational system for success, it needs ten years. We just started; it's the very beginning. I hope the [future] governments will

carry on this program or a program like this. This is just a starting point.

The first part of MEDS, the scheme for "all the minorities living within Hungary," was designed with the participation of the minority self-governments. The Education Act enables minorities to set up an education scheme which meets their needs and demands. MEDS, in cooperation with the Education Act, acts as a concrete, tangible program to help carry out the implementation of this law. The minorities' rights shall be guaranteed in the following areas: acceptance of textbooks, setting the requirements for the textbooks on minority customs, setting the minimum requirements for language teaching schools, bilingual schools and schools of minority language education, and including various intercultural programs onto the recommendation list of the Ministry (MEDS document, 1996: 6).

The Roma Education Scheme (REDS) is the second segment of the government's Multicultural Education Development Scheme project and was designed independently according to Rado "due to the radically different and even more severe situation of Romas [in Hungarian society]." Its main objectives are to enhance the structural integration of Roma pupils in schools. Among its goals for secondary schools are:

1. to promote the actual number of students who may attend secondary schools by establishing a nationwide talent care-taking and boarding school network,
2. to support the development of "catching up courses" (remedial compensatory education),
3. to provide a decentralized Roma grant scheme for public education,
4. to support research for a content-based reform in teaching Roma language, customs, and history,
5. to develop curriculum, textbooks and other instructional materials,
6. to support multicultural instruction institutes, and
7. to develop a Roma teacher and proficient training scheme, and restructuring of pedagogical and proficient services.

(MEDS document: II).

C. Melange

Though MEDS/REDS is a national governmental planned project, it relies heavily on non-governmental agencies and local organizations for implementing many of the programs. In short, it is a melange of both private and public sector activities. In order to deal with the cooperative efforts between the public and private sectors, a new department was created by Peter Rado within the Ministry of Culture and Education. The two conditions needed to carry out MEDS was a) organizations and b) money. Both of these were found mostly in the private sector.

Funding for implementation of MEDS comes partially from the federal government. According to Rado, the amount received to support the education for national and ethnic minorities was 310 million forint in 1996.⁷⁶ This money earmarked for MEDS was designed to ensure the content-based development of curricula, to offer grants to schools taking part in intercultural education projects, and to sponsor textbook development. The initial investments earmarked for MEDS went into financial support to establish new ethnic teaching schools under the umbrella of the Hungarian Public Education Scheme for ethnically underrepresented groups, financial resources for school restructuring as prescribed by the Act on Minorities, and financial support for language laboratories. MEDS, however, also collected money from different sources to help implement its programs. Totally, in 1996, it gathered some 600 million extra forint from different private and public foundations⁷⁷ to start MEDS.

The financing to support REDS is separate from MEDS. The special Roma Development Scheme received 243 million forint for 1996 from the Gandhi Foundation,⁷⁸ a non-governmental organization. Because in the past any

⁷⁶Though the exchange rate between the US dollar and the Hungarian forint (HUF) fluctuates, it presently averages around 155 Forint per US dollar. Thus, 310 million HUF is approximately 2 million US dollars.

⁷⁷Hungary has so-called "koz-alapftvany" or public foundations established by the national government which fund projects.

⁷⁸The Gandhi Foundation was founded on April 11, 1992 on the initiative of Roma intellectuals. The aim of the foundation was to establish a high-school to benefit pupils of mainly Roma origin whom the public education system fails to reach in significant numbers. They wanted to reach students who came from disadvantaged social backgrounds but would like to continue their studies toward the high-school diploma and ultimately university degree. In brief, the aim of the foundation is to stimulate the development of a Gypsy intelligentsia (Solyom: 32).

efforts to improve Roma education were curtailed due to bad organization and faulty dissemination and follow-through, the present attempts through REDS to improve Roma education requires a uniform grant and service scheme (UGSS) to "guarantee that the aids coming from different sources be channeled and offered as a 'package' directly to schools" (MEDS document: 15). The coordination of UGSS shall be administered by the Nation wide Roma Public Education Scheme, or NRPES.

D. INITIATIVES

1. Curricular Content Development

Organization	Program/Project Conceptualization	Funding	Implementation
MEDS/REDS	GOV	Public/Private	Public/Private
"Catching up Programs"	GOV	Public	Public/Private
Soros Foundation	cooperative NGO/GOV	Private	Private
Facing History and Ourselves Foundation	NGO	Public/Private	Public/Private
Maskeo Alapftvanv	NGO	Public/Private	Public/Private
EXPONZIO	NGO	Private	Public/Private
Ghandi Gimnazium	NGO	Public/Private	Private

Figure 4. Curricular Content

a. MEDS/REDS

The content of the curriculum and its reform is one of the objectives of MEDS. Those who developed MEDS recognize that curriculum ought to provide equal opportunity to minority pupils. Therefore, "the principles of multiculturalism shall be enforced and the culture and history of ethnic groups living in Hungary will appear in the schools" (MEDS document: 2). This entails the development and implementation of intercultural education which is defined above. The content of course textbooks is a priority for change, and is written into the Act of Minorities (Section 50). The Act states that "it is the responsibility of the state to provide for the publication of textbooks and for the production of educational appliances" regarding

minorities (Egyed: 24). MEDS supports the Act by earmarking funds for curriculum and content based development. MEDS also states that the feasibility of setting up a Multicultural Book House ought to be studied, and that this establishment ought to furnish the distribution of native language books and multicultural textbooks.

In order to carry out these objectives, the Ministry of Culture and Education, under the direction of Peter Rado, had to reorganize its supporting institutions that would do research on and manage the programs. Rado said: "We absolutely reorganized the institutional circle of the Ministry of Culture and Education to change their organization and functioning to be the manager of this (MEDS) program." For example, inside of the Hungarian Education Research Institute, (Országos Kozoktatási Szolgálat Intézet, or OKSzn a national and ethnic minority department was created, which is in charge of organizing and financing teacher training. In another research institute, the National Public Education Institute (Országos Kozoktatási Intézet, or OKI), an Office of Multicultural Curriculum and Program development was created. This center is in charge of managing the content development program, the development of curricula, and the development of textbooks.

In the past, the Hungarian government has failed to provide the material support for Roma cultural education for Roma, or to develop a curriculum for majority students that includes or even recognizes the existence of Roma. Hungarian textbooks make no mention of Roma history, culture, folk-tales, or music; they make no mention of Roma at all (Helsinki: 72). When Roma are depicted, they are often portrayed in a stereotypical way: as beggars, thieves, or "bad" people. Not surprisingly, and compounded by the lack of unbiased information on Roma in schools, the word "Gypsy" has overwhelmingly negative associations.

One governmental policy which may effect curricular content for Roma is the Curriculum and Program Development part of REDS. According to the Multicultural Education Scheme, sufficient financing shall be provided for the Office of Multicultural Curriculum and Program Development set up by OKI so that it should be able to enhance the curriculum supply and the necessary developments relevant to REDS. Among other things, the content-based development was supposed to focus on the improvement of Roma language teaching books and reference books and improvement of curriculum, textbooks, and methodological reference books for intercultural education

projects. This last recommendation suggests that materials would be used with majority students as well as the minority students.

b. "Catching Up Programs"

Since 1991 any local government-funded schools have been entitled to additional nominal support from the national budget for their "Roma Catching up Programs." REDS proposes extending this program. These courses theoretically apply integrating mechanisms, i.e. the Roma pupils are not segregated from others in the class, and the courses focus on improvements of speaking, reading and writing skills.

Due to the lack of appropriate legislative definition as to the content of such programs, however, and also to the lack of patents for textbooks or curriculum, these programs apply a wide range of solutions. Possible methods for these classes are: afternoon classes for small groups, performance oriented groups in various subject matters, intensive Hungarian language courses, combined classes for the first 4 school years, improving classes, combined classes for over-aged pupils starting in every 4th year, and preparatory courses. It should be noted, however, that these programs do not teach Roma customs, Roma culture or Roma traditions for the Roma minority students, or for majority students.

In 1996, Janos Setenyi of E(PQNZIO was contracted by the Ministry of Culture and Education to do an evaluation of these special programs. Minority grants are given to schools with minorities, or act as incentives to invite minorities to the schools. These schools receive 15% more money (from the national government but via the local governments) for minority special education such as that listed above. According to Setenyi, "most schools didn't separate this extra support from their budget, there were few extra lessons or special programs for Gypsy children and finally, the professional level of the programs was rather low." He reported that schools only provided some extra lessons in mathematics, biology, or chemistry after lunch or after school. Setenyi said that "it is an after hours program repeating the same things which happened during the day. This methodology is ignoring the real needs of these pupils such as different learning approaches or language concerns."

The Helsinki Watch confirmed these findings. Unlike the other minorities who get an allowance from the government to promote language and culture, it is worded for the Gypsies that "the normative money is

specifically for remedial classes." According to Helsinki Watch, the problem is not the simple allocation of funds; rather, the law itself treats Roma differently from other minorities.

c. Soros Foundation

Probably the largest, and most extensive in terms of variety of programs, of the non-governmental organizations working in educational development in Hungary is the Soros Foundation.⁷⁹ According to the Soros Foundation Hungary, the Public Education Development Program is dedicated to the transformation of a relatively closed system, a process which can only be begun with the help of "observation points" outside the system.

The Soros Foundation has expressed its commitment to education in multicultural settings in the following statement:

What characterized the Hungary Public Education Development Program of the Soros Foundation Hungary above all is its emphasis on the children themselves. This requires the participants in the Public Education Development Program to perform special tasks. For example, whereas the goal within adult society is to increase tolerance, to encourage the acceptance of "otherness," in short to overcome already existing prejudices, in the case of children the goal is entirely different: to reach the point where "different" is not considered to be "other." This requires a fundamental rethinking of democratic education and the concept of tolerance.

The subprograms within the Public Education Development Scheme which I felt have an emphasis on education in multicultural societies and which include secondary education and teacher education are: Support for Educational Programs to Assist Disadvantaged Groups, Minority Education Programs, Textbook, Curriculum and School Equipment Development, Social Studies in Public Education, and Democracy in Education.

⁷⁹The Soros Foundation is a U.S. non-profit organization founded by George Soros, a Hungarian by birth who in the 1950's became a naturalized American citizen. George Soros made his fortune speculating in world currency markets, and through his foundation, pursues his personal ideal of an "open society." His Open Society Fund backed the dissidents of Czechoslovakia's Charter 77 and Poland's Solidarity, helping to topple totalitarian regimes in those countries. The Soros Foundation has spent hundreds of millions of dollars more trying to nourish democratic practices and the rule of law throughout the former Soviet bloc.

The Soros Foundation extends into local communities by advertising in pedagogical newspapers and through the county-level educational offices. Teachers are encouraged to be the promoters of "dynamic centers for innovation and change" by being given "the opportunity to develop their independent initiatives." Interested educators write applications and proposals directly to the Soros Foundation for funding which fall under the different subgroups within the scheme. In this way, the Soros Foundation meets its own aim which is "to support new, original ideas and successfully functioning local initiatives." The Soros Foundation, however, also works directly with the national government. Many of Soros' goals reflect and/or complement the goals of AIBDS and Soros has supported the implementation of common goals with its private funding.

Because the Soros Foundation elicits local educators to create and develop their own ideas and programs regarding curriculum development for funding, an analysis assessing which form of education in multicultural settings separate initiatives will take is impossible. That will completely depend on the individual grantees. I will say, however, that bringing the design and implementation to the local level is one way to allow for creative ideas in curriculum to evolve, and gives control of their own education one step closer to the Hungarian people.

d. Facing History and Ourselves Foundation

One initiative which was funded by the Soros Foundation and which has an emphasis on the changing of curricular content in history and the social sciences is a program called the *Facing History and Ourselves Foundation*. This initiative, which is run by Monika Kovacs, a professor of psychology at ELTE University, provides teachers with history book representing those populations which have not had a fair representation in terms of amount of material written on them, and/or the perspective of their culture and situation within society. In Hungary, these groups include the Jews, Gypsies, but do not exclude the National Minorities either. In Monika's words, "we wanted to make it as close as possible to our students." The program is designed to expose Hungarian secondary students to a history about which up until now they have not learned much e.g., the treatment of the Jews and Gypsies during W.W.II, prominent historical figures in Hungary who were not ethnic Hungarian, discussing the Roma "problems" and struggles of other minorities

in Hungary, the struggles of the poor against oppression, etc. But, Monika said, "It's a kind of book which isn't always speaking about the minorities so I think it's more about, it's creating a better surrounding for the minorities. So in the second effect there should be more tolerance."

e. Maskepp Alapítvány

In 1995, Peter Rado within the Ministry of Culture and Education in addition to MEDS designed a program called the *Dialogue Program* which promotes and supports those education and media projects initiated by NGO's with the aim of representing minority culture to the majority. Again, though the idea was conceived of by the government, the actual implementation is on the local level. One of the projects supported by the Dialogue Program is a private, non-profit organization called the *Mdskepp Alapítvány* (the Otherwise Foundation), which was founded in 1993 by Adele R6zsavolgyi and Peter Ballasa. The Maskepp Alapítvány, whose goal is to "reflect difference in the spirit of dialogue and solidarity," runs a "multicultural education" program which emphasizes content in teaching secondary students about diversity, human rights, racism, national and ethnic minorities in Hungary, Roma, poverty, unemployment, homelessness, "alternative" people, drugs, and AIDS. Maskepp receives funding from the private sector to support her programs.

In my interview with her, Adele stressed that the important sub-goals of her program are: the provision of concrete knowledge about the Hungarian national and ethnic minorities in relation to majorities; stress on the situation of the Gypsies, the reasons and irrationalities of anti-Semitism, racism, and other "isms"; the widening the way of thinking through the development of the empathetic, social and communicational abilities of young people; and to stress knowledge of personality, communicational culture, civics, and the methodology of democratic processes.

To achieve these goals, the Maskepp Foundation has created a textbook, both for students and teachers, to be used in the classroom at the secondary level. This book has been approved by the Ministry of Culture and Education. The content is designed to be taught in "man and society" cultural realm of the NAT, but could be incorporated into literature, or the so called "ostalyfonok 6ra.⁸⁰ Other educational materials which the Foundation develops and

⁸⁰Hungarian secondary schools have a lesson called the *ostalyfonok 6ra* which translates as the "Head Teacher's Lesson." The Hungarian secondary school is

distributes are a video collection (which contains documentaries and feature films on related topics) and another textbook on drama education which develops learning through situational games. As of 1996, the program had been taught in fifty schools in Budapest and other cities in Hungary, and reached approximately one thousand students. Adele hopes her program will only grow larger, reaching more and more students and spreading what she feels is a very important message.

f. EXPONZIO

Expanzio Consulting is a non-governmental organization which combines contract work in educational development with non-profit voluntary work under the name of CIVITAS.⁸¹ The Founding members of Expanzio belong to the Hungarian Association for Teaching Civic Knowledge and Skills, who with a grant from PEW Charitable Trusts, won financial support to conduct a three-year program on civic education in Hungary. The Association sees civic education as having an important role in creating a democratic society. However, they also recognize that:

Civic education should not be of an exclusive nature. It should include new areas of knowledge like basic economics, environmental studies, health studies, home economics and communications. Additionally, the Association wants to stress the extraordinary importance of civic skills along with theoretical knowledge (Association document).

One of the foundations of the work performed by EXPONZIO is a book called *A Jo Polgar (The Good Citizen)*, which was published in 1994. This is a book written by several distinguished Hungarian scholars and outlines the basics of modern civic knowledge. The contents of this book will be implemented in secondary schools by teachers who participate in the teacher

designed in *classes* which make up *years*. In one year there can exist some ten classes, and each class has a head teacher who is in charge of them throughout their four secondary school years. The *ostalyfonok 6ra* is a lesson of one hour once a week where the head teacher can choose any subject matter at all to teach the students. "Alternative" content such as that of the Maskepp Alapitvány could be easily incorporated into these classes.

⁸¹ CIVITAS is an international initiative to introduce civic education into the former Eastern European countries and is funded by the PEW Charitable Trusts, a U.S. non-profit organization.

education courses offered by this Program (this is discussed below in the *Teacher Education* section of this chapter.)

In addition to civics education development, Mr. Setenyi has designed a "module" to aid in Roma education, he says "due to the lack of concern over the needs of the Roma." It is designed to be an improvement of the already existing "catching up programs" of the national government which were described above. According to Setenyi, the problems which Roma experience in the Hungarian schools has little to do with their intellectual capacity or cognitive abilities, it is a question of basic competencies, such as reading and writing and the ability to sit still for two hour lessons, a characteristic which he terms "middle class." The module consists of a section which will deal with linguistic competencies, one with the competency of abstract thinking, and one with ethno-knowledge about the Roma and may be used in lessons for Hungarians and/or Roma. Setenyi's module is not necessarily exclusively for Roma, but for economically "underprivileged" children. However, in Hungary, most of the financially underprivileged children are Roma. He is presenting the module to the Ministry of Culture and Education for dissemination on the national level, from elementary through secondary school.

g. Ghandi Gimnazium

Another unique public-private cooperative endeavor, which is indirectly related to the national government through some state funding, is the *Ghandi Gimnazium* in Pees which was founded in 1992 by the Gandhi Foundation but which opened in 1994. The school is not exclusively for Roma - one fifth of its students are non-Roma Hungarian. Though it is not formally an ethnic Roma school, one the school's main goals is to develop a Gypsy intelligentsia. The school gives its students the opportunity to learn about the Gypsy past and present, about Gypsy culture, language (Romany and Beash) and ultimately - through these means and intended for the Roma students - about themselves.

The teachers of the school have devised a six-year pedagogical program of high academic standards. The school begins with a "O" semester to allow those students who have already "fallen behind" to catch up by taking remedial classes in reading, writing, and study skills. All students who come from outside of Pees live in a dormitory where a home environment is created.

The creators of the Gandhi Gimnazium wish to provide an atmosphere of mutual understanding. Among the benefits investigated in Somolyi's thesis, Sociolinguistics and Education, which is an in-depth investigation of the Gandhi Gimnazium, is a positive teacher-student relationship where teachers do not "look down" on the students just because they are Roma, a problem which students described as common in their previous institutions. Janos Bogdan, a Beash Gypsy and principal of the school, said:

one of the school's greatest successes has been its effect outside of the school. By its very existence, it has stimulated local schools in the region to change, because more attention has been focused on them by our search for talented Gypsy students. Moreover, it has created a competitive atmosphere in which Gypsy students have some possibility held out to them - a focus for their ambitions (Helsinki: 74).

The Gandhi Gimnazium also makes an effort to include Gypsy language into secondary education. Most of the students who come there are bilingual and like most Gypsies have a number of "problems" (mostly academic) related to their language background and related skills. The classes, however, are taught in Hungarian, and Romany and other Gypsy languages (Beash) are offered as courses.

To help overcome the difficulties in learning Hungarian, the students have more language lessons during the first term and they work in small groups so that more attention is provided to children on an individual basis. The most important factor, though, is that teachers are aware of and understand the children's linguistic background and realize why difficulties are occurring. They therefore make a conscious effort in helping the students to learn, rather than judging them because they cannot learn as quickly as the average Hungarian student.

f Analytical Summary

Each of the initiatives described above is linked in some way, whether directly or indirectly to the national government. Initiatives in curriculum development, then, are neither public nor private endeavors, but mixed. The goals and approaches to education in multicultural settings of the different programs also varies widely. This is testimony to the fact that not one type of approach is being implemented in the schools, but a variety of approaches in a variety of situations. The lack of national control over the curricular content,

and consequent lack of uniformity, complicates an analysis of whether new curriculum being developed and implemented will have centripetal and/or centrifugal affects on cultural and structural integration.

From the MEDS statement that "pupils from the minority groups and the majority groups learn each other's language and culture together," it appears that its conception of education in multicultural settings is conceived of as a *Human Relations* approach where there is an emphasis on "improving communication between people of different cultural backgrounds (Sleeter and Grant: 427). The REDS efforts at curriculum in developing materials about the minority for the majority perhaps resembles the *Single Group Studies* approach whereby the majority students may have lessons or units that focus on the experiences and cultures of a specific group. Neither, however, appears to go a step further in exploring social stratification in addition to culture and may suggest to the dominant group students not to confront racism or the reasons behind social stratification.

A brief description of each of Soros' programs reveals that the Soros Foundations' vision is closely related to the *Multicultural and Social Reconstructionist* approach to education in multicultural societies. For example, the goals of the Minority Education Program states:

This subprogram deals with the acute social problems of prejudice and discrimination, of ethnic and racial hatred. We aim to promote critical thinking and a sense of civic responsibility among students, parents and teachers, to increase awareness of the phenomena which threaten democracy.

Their idea of education in multicultural settings, then, goes beyond studies of ethnic minority groups on a cultural level, and reaches into the social realm of stratification based on prejudice. They envision reducing racism and building a more just society.

The Facing History and Ourselves initiative, in addressing such issues as institutional racism in society and schools, unequal power relationships among racial groups and economic stratification and social class appears to be an attempt to incorporate a *Multicultural Education and Social Reconstructionist* approach to education in multicultural settings in the Hungarian secondary schools. It is exposing secondary students of all ethnicities in Hungary to a history which heretofore they have not been exposed.

The Maskepp Alapftvany's approach to education in multicultural settings seems to be a combination of types. It closely resembles the *Human Relations* approach which emphasizes "improving communication between people of different cultural backgrounds." However, the program also appears to go beyond a *Singles Group Studies* approach, where students focus on the culture of a specific group, by emphasizing the minorities' relationship to the dominant society. Maskepp attempts to raise awareness of racial oppression, social stratification and mobilization for social action which have goals such as reducing racism, other "isms," and building a more just society. These goals are more characteristic of the *Multicultural Education* approach. The Maskepp Alapftvany's approach to education in multicultural settings is, thus an amalgamation of styles.

The two initiatives undertaken by Exponzio differ greatly in terms of Sleeter and Grant's types of education in multicultural settings. The Civies education Program through its textbook will give students "a comprehensive understanding of how a democracy is supposed to work. An understanding of principles on the one hand, with abilities and skills on the other hand." These goals appear to be congruent with some of the goals of the *Multicultural Education and Social Reconstructionist* approach which emphasizes reducing racism and building a more just society.

Setenyi's second initiative, however, is more along the lines of a *Teaching the Culturally Different* approach to education in multicultural settings. His program stresses the importance of incorporating the minority's self-knowledge, therefore boosting self-esteem, but the remedial lessons to improve educational skills are still so that the minority students exposed to this program may function within the already existing Hungarian school system. Rather than the system changing for them, they are changing for the system. Culture and language differences are addressed whereas social relationships within Hungarian society seem to be ignored.

The atmosphere at the Ghandi school appears to be closely related to Sleeter and Grant's definition of *Multicultural Education*. Classrooms are integrated and the emphasis in the school focuses on the strength and value of cultural diversity, human rights, and social justice and equal opportunity for all people. There is also an emphasis on the equity of distribution of power among members of all ethnic groups, with a focus more on intergroup rather than intra-group relations. Furthermore, the Ghandi Gimnazium is a special

case where Romology, including language, is specified in the curriculum of the school, for both majority and minority students. Besides this school, however, there are no state-run high schools for Roma in Hungary, although the other minorities continue to maintain networks of schools with government funding.

Many Roma leaders see the creation of more schools like the Ghandi as a step that needs to be taken to equalize the situation between Roma and other Hungarian minorities. Hungarian politicians say that in the economic hardship that Hungary is experiencing, the state has no funds to support a Roma Gimnazium. However, following 1990, the government embarked on a massive program to retrain Russian teachers as English teachers, the costs of which were paid fully by the state. Furthermore, although the system for minority schools was already built and paid for, the state recently allocated funds for the creation of a brand new high school following the split of the formerly unified Serb-Croat minority high school (Helsinki: 74). Though there are plans in the REDS, the sums are not proportional to their share of the population, nor do they reflect a concerted desire to counterbalance previous government policies of repression and neglect.

A vast array and mixture of approaches described above most likely would have both centripetal and centrifugal affects. For example, the Ghandi Gimnazium's approach is centrifugal in its group specific activities in support of Roma identity and language, yet the centrifugality of curricular content is offset by Hungarian still being the language of instruction, which is a centripetal policy. The strength of the language and its dominance in the school points to the fact that ethnic Hungarians are still the dominant group. Janos Setenyi's "module" program also appears to be centripetal. Students, though learning skills, are nevertheless accommodating to the cultural criteria of the dominant group.

There is still a big lack in the curricular content for the majority about the minority in schools, although by law it is mandated this should and must be part of the curriculum. Local governments, officially and theoretically, now have control over the content of history and social sciences in their schools. The inclusion of Roma studies, or other minority studies, therefore, will not be uniform across the country, but randomly distributed into those schools, and perhaps more specifically, those classrooms whose teachers have decided to make Roma studies part of their curriculum.

Nidhi Trehan of the Roma Rights Center and Angela Kocze, Roma activist, criticized the lack of attention paid to representation of Roma in coursework, and spoke against this lack of national enforcement of curriculum. They said the NAT's provisions were "not enough;" they believe that "there should be a national mandate that learning about Romany culture and history should be obligatory." They stated that, "It's only in knowledge about the other that prejudices may be overcome." They make the point that in the textbooks so far there are large sections devoted to the Hungarian ethnic minority abroad, but nothing devoted to the Roma (or National Minorities or Jews either!) living in Hungary's borders, her largest minority group! They ask "why not have an equivalent sense of importance for them too. There's no mention of Roma in the curriculum from what I saw, meanwhile there seems to be a lot of talk going on, proclamations, good will, etc."

Though the national government is not overtly discriminating against Roma, by not incorporating some mandatory study of Roma in secondary schools, they are nonetheless implicitly limiting the education of the majority, while also making life of the Roma students more alienating. In a sense, this "ignorance" by the general population will continue to distance the group, keeping them apart and at a distance through continued prejudice and racism.

2. Teacher Education Development

Organization	Program/Project Conceptualization	Funding	Implementation
MEDS/REDS	GOV	Public/Private	Public/Private
Facing History and Ourselves Foundation	NGO	Public/Private	Public/Private
Maskeoo Alaoftvany	NGO	Public/Private	Public/Private
EXPONZIO	NGO	Private	Public/Private
Juhasz Gyula Tanarkeozo	cooperative GOV/NGO	Public/Private	Public/Private

Figure 5. Teacher Education

a. MEDS/REDS

MEDS accounts for teacher training initiatives, and again seems to carry out the Act on Minorities which guarantees "training vernacular

teachers for the fully or partly vernacular education of minorities is a responsibility of the state (Section 46 no. 2). As stated previously, with the second parliament which began in 1994, and under the direction of Peter Rado, organizational changes in the Ministry of Culture and Education were initiated to include a specific focus on minority education. Inside of OKSZI a National and Ethnic Minority Department was created which is in charge of organizing and financing teacher training. According to the MEDS document (p. 3):

Due to the incapacity of the Hungarian higher education system to train all the teachers wanted for the MEDS, proper conditions ought to be provided for employing more guest teachers or language proof readers and special grant system needs to be set up for allowing studies at native (language) universities. The extension education of the practicing teachers shall be assisted by the Ministry together with the aid of the Hungarian universities and colleges in cooperation with the nationwide councils of minority self-governments.

The Act on Minorities (Section 46, No. 2) states that the national government is responsible for providing financing, education and training for teachers to teach in Roma languages, both Romany and Bea. The prevailing system of teacher training is inadequate to cope with the preparation of teachers for Roma children in schools. The only teacher training college known for providing instruction to teachers in Romany language is the Catholic Teachers College in a small town north of Budapest called Zsambek. This is just one institution, however. Other than this pedagogical institute, there is no state or county-level program for Romany language teacher education, nor for the development of a corps of teachers capable of teaching Romany languages.

Due to the dearth of teacher education for Roma teachers and/or teachers who will work with Roma students, in accordance with REDS, the Ministry of Culture and Education shall launch and support special Romological and pedagogical trainings for university professors and social workers dealing with Roma. Also, there will be Romology extension training for practicing teachers, administrative workers at local governments and job centers as well as for health care workers. These courses may consist of permanent courses, in-service trainings, and remote training courses. Other facilities shall well be promoted along with a wide scale of various efforts in the extensive training curriculum scheme (MEDS document: 14). The extensive

training scheme is designed to work in compliance with the content-based development of Roma education. MEDS also states that in establishing new departments of teacher training for Roma, it will be necessary to bear in mind the inclusion of a new model for Roma teacher training. Researches in Romology ought to be supported for the foundation of a teacher training development scheme.

The above words are documentation of aspirations which have thus far not been documented in practice. In addition to linguistic competencies, the above also suggests providing teachers with new methodologies to assist teaching Roma pupils whose cognitive styles may differ from the majority group. This suggests a move to accommodate to the Roma, rather than Roma having to accommodate to the dominant Hungarians. However, there is no mention in the above on providing teachers with skills for teaching ethnically mixed classrooms.

b. Facing History and Ourselves Foundation

Not only does the Facing History and Ourselves Foundation provide curriculum development (see above discussion), but it combines content with teaching methodology in emphasizing an active learning pedagogy in the classroom. Ms. Kovacs describes this pedagogy as "a very personal experience," which is "new" and "important" for Hungary. Professor Kovacs has held two trainings, one in the Spring of 1996 (fifteen people) and one in the summer of 1996 (thirty people), and hopes to organize more while funding from the Soros Foundation lasts. The Facing History and Ourselves Foundation plans on having two training sessions every fall, and perhaps three. The future of these initiatives, however, depends heavily on further funding from the non-governmental sector. If that diminishes, there is no guarantee by the national government that future trainings in this realm will exist.

However, Ms. Kovacs, who is a professor of psychology at ELIB university, a publicly funded institution, has also begun teaching this course for students who are training to be secondary teachers. It has become a part of their curriculum as an optional psychology course which is required to be a certified teacher. Ms. Kovacs insists that her classes be "quite informal... I work with a group face to face. It won't be a lecture or anything." In a sense, the curriculum and methodology which Ms. Kovacs is providing from the Facing History and Ourselves Foundation have been "institutionalized" and are

incorporated into the government sponsored realm of education. Though it is not explicitly a goal of her faculty to incorporate education in multicultural settings, it nevertheless is entering into mainstream education, one could say almost "through the back door."

c. Maskepp Alapitvany

Adele R6zsavolgyi and her *Maskepp Alapitvany*, like Monika Kovacs, combines curriculum development with teacher education. The Maskepp holds teacher trainings for secondary teachers in order to teach her textbook in secondary and often university classrooms. The trainings are conducted by pedagogic experts, sociologists, psychologists, and social workers who work as consultants to the foundation. As of August 1996, the foundation had held approximately eleven training sessions.

Her methodologies through interactive learning and experiential learning also emphasize a pedagogical shift from "passive" to "active" learning. Those trends demonstrate characteristics of the *Education that is Multicultural and Social Reconstructionist* approach to education in multicultural settings. Both Monika Kovacs and Adele R6zsavolgyi, by emphasizing a shift in teaching practices in the Hungarian classroom in a way that "will make their classrooms more democratic" may in turn help Hungarian students "gain a better understanding of the causes of oppression and inequality and way in which these social problems might be eliminated" (Sleeter and Grant: 435). Though her lessons are designed for the majority, these can be used in any classroom, and would benefit any student.

d. EXPONZIO

In order to carry out the curriculum discussed above, Exponzio and the Program on Civics education has established teacher training workshops aimed at the university level first, then to reach secondary schools. The first phase of the Program consisted of two conferences (May and June 1995) where different aspects of curricula and methodology were discussed. In the fall of 1995, educators of civics attended courses, the contents of which were designed by the Academic Advisory Council, a board of members who manage the academic work of the Association for Teaching Civic Knowledge and Skills. Whether these courses discussed new methodology and "democratic" approaches to teaching in the classroom is unknown. For his "module" aimed

at underprivileged children a methodological section for teachers will be used in in service teacher training sessions given by EXPONZIO in cooperation with the Ministry of Culture and Education. Again, which methodologies will be emphasized is unknown.

e. The Juhasz Gyula Tanarkepzo Foiskola (Teacher Training College)

One pedagogical institute in Szeged, Hungary is taking steps in incorporating education in multicultural settings ideas into its curriculum. The Juhasz Gyula Tanarkepzo Foiskola's initiative is headed by Dr. Janos Gombos, professor in the department of Social Theory and Political Science. The program was initiated as a result of a Soros Foundation grant to teach religious diversity in Hungary, and then blossomed into a broader program. According to Gombos, "step by step, the interest in the college grew to multiculturalism and intercultural studies," which he says can "stress tolerance towards 'otherness' in general whether that be other nationalities, minority groups, or other cultures such as homosexuals, women, etc." The program has existed since 1994.

The college teaches multicultural studies under the umbrella of "democracy studies" which is supported by Civitas (see footnote six). In the Spring of 1996, the University rector signed an agreement that Civitas can be "officially" taught in the university. Adele Roszavolgyi from the Maskepp Alapftvany has worked as a consultant to this teacher training college in the development of a multicultural focus in its pre-service education curriculum. According to Gombos, "step by step (the college's) interests turned toward the multicultural or intercultural studies." Gombos also emphasized that "we are teaching is because we think that the world, the countries, the societies, they are pluralistic. This pluralism is a value, and you cannot demolish it."

According the Gombos, Hungarian teacher training colleges were not preparing teachers to deal with a multicultural society, a large problem when according to him "many conflicts are rooted in this multicultural nature of society." "In the classroom," he said, "teachers can't resolve conflicts and they cannot develop in their students those skills which enable pupils to tolerate otherness, and to resolve conflicts of that type." Gombos hopes that through this new subject matter, teachers will be better equipped to deal with conflict resolution in the classroom.

In my interview with him, Gombos described how the colleges pre-service curriculum was set up. Beginning in September 1996 with the financial support of the Soros Foundation, the first half of the academic year was devoted to readings of theory of multiculturalism in political science, sociology and pedagogy and also to the study of areas in society such as women's issues, ethnic and National Minorities, and Jews. The second half of the year focuses on training teachers to implement these ideas in the classroom. Outside specialists will be brought in to deliver lectures.

Gombos and his colleagues would like to establish what he termed a "multicultural coordinative center." One goal of the center would be to legitimize multicultural studies and have it accredited by the national government. A second goal of this center is to make contact with the smaller or bigger civil organizations which are dealing with multicultural studies so there would not be such a lack of communication between organizations with similar goals. Funding for this depends on Soros Foundation's support. Other private possibilities for funding are from a Dutch non-profit organization named the International Center of Multicultural Education and also from another Dutch organization called the Anne Frank house which supports initiatives aimed at developing education in multicultural settings.

Gombos was frustrated with the lack of participation of the Hungarian state in the development of education that is multicultural at the teacher education level. This, he says, is "very characteristic...that there is no official support." He added that "multicultural studies is not (accredited), so if it is not accredited, it does not exist, and one cannot teach it and cannot lead trainings." In regards to the lack of state funding and the dependence of private sector funding sources such as the Soros Foundation, he said, "Again this is very typical. Why do we need American money to teach democracy studies? I don't understand. We need that money. I think the state should pay it and not the American taxpayer." His last comment was "It will be a long process. Tolerance and intolerance, it changes very slowly. It will take centuries."

f Analytical Summary

Teacher education programs which have been conceived of by the national government in MEDS and REDS are primarily focused on language training for teachers of minority students. To guarantee all of this, concrete responsibilities are identified: training of vernacular teachers, employment of

visiting instructors, providing for the education and training of persons belonging to minorities in educational institutions abroad where the language of instruction is their mother tongue. This conception of education in multicultural settings which merely focuses on linguistic aspects of teaching is limited. It does not address culture, social stratification or any other related subjects. These initiatives, if they could be classified, appear to be similar to Sleeter and Grant's *Teaching the Culturally Different*, which by addressing language issues, focuses on maintaining the minority students' own cultural identities.

Initiatives, however, for teacher training to incorporate the theories and concepts of education in multicultural settings on a pedagogical level appear to be pursued more by the non-governmental sector. Any programs which do enter into state financed institutions are done without official recognition, or "through the back door."⁸² Though the NAT, and therefore the Hungarian state, implies that teachers should be incorporating ideas of multiculturalism into their lessons, according to Monika Kovacs, "the state provides no extension education to prepare teachers for this job." However, Monika says, "there is a big need (for retraining) because they (teachers) are expected to teach these kinds of civil rights, civics education, values, morals, etc."

3. Access

OrganizatiOn	<u>Program[Project Concen tu aliza ti on</u>	<u>Funding</u>	<u>Imnplementation</u>
MEDS/REDS	GOV	Public/Private	Public/Private
Soros Foundation's Roma Education Program	cooperative GOV/NGO	Public/Private	Public/Private

Figure 6. Access

Access to education for National Minority students and Jews has not been a grave issue in the current post-1989 political economy. For the Roma of Hungary, however, it still remains a grave problem and continues to be one of

⁸²During my fieldwork I encountered no state encouraged or mandated programs operating in state institutions.

the greatest barriers separating Roma from the larger Hungarian society. Still, in this time of the late 1990's, almost no Roma complete high school or university; more than half effectively drop out of the school system before completing eighth grade. Where Roma do attend school, they do not receive the same educational classes; in the larger cities, schools are increasingly divided into "Gypsified" and "Gypsy-free schools", and the system of "remedial" schools is still used as a means of warehousing Roma students (Helsinki: 61).

Segregated schools continue to be a reality in Hungary for the Roma. Nationally, 70% of Roma pupils go to schools where their proportion in the classroom exceeds 10%. There were 1,061 such schools in Hungary in 1992. Of the 70% population, 42% learned in schools where their numbers exceed 22%. In contrast, almost the half of non-Roma children go to schools where the representation of Roma pupils is less than 2%. These figures demonstrate well how strong the Roma segregation continues to be in schools (MEDS document: 8; see also Helsinki: 63).

There are also increasing economic barriers preventing Roma children from completing school. The removal and reduction of state subsidies for books, transportation, and dormitory space has made education for many Roma even more difficult and distant than before. The situation is exacerbated because fewer Roma have "good" jobs, if jobs at all. One Roma parent from Baranya country lamented: "Either he'll have books or shoes. I can't afford both" (Helsinki: 68).

a. REDS

The national government's REDS program has many provisions to help the Roma overcome the access barrier. In order to promote the actual number of students who may attend secondary schools, REDS includes plans to a) establish a nationwide talent care-taking and boarding school network; and b) provide a decentralized Roma grant scheme for public education,

To help Roma overcome the segregated schools and to motivate them intellectually, REDS has established a *nationwide boarding school network* for "gifted and outstanding" Roma students. However, who selects them and by what criteria were not stated. Though this is a national government policy, the network shall be funded by the Gandhi Foundation, a private organization. These boarding schools, five total with 100 students each, will be centered in five big towns of the country for six year terms. These boarding schools would

provide accommodation and continuous training for Roma pupils. As with the students at the Gandhi Gimnazium, these remedial trainings will help students to "catch up" by offering additional time for reading, writing, and study skills. These boarding schools would serve as regional methodological centers of the *nationwide talent care-taking network*. However, their actual education would be in different Hungarian school, and well integrated into the education scheme of the majority. The first boarding schools were scheduled to be opened for the 1997-1998 academic year.

When discussing these special boarding schools, which are an extensions of the Gandhi school in Pees, the issue of access becomes apparent. In the 1960's and 1970's there were many arguments against having separate classes and institutions for Roma. In this respect, the question remains, are children at a disadvantage who attend these schools? A Roma teacher at Gandhi responded that "the formation of Gypsy classes was not requested by the parents but were formed without asking the parents' opinion, and it was their children who suffered." She describes that "it was something like a ghetto within the school." In theory these students were supposed to "catch up" with their Hungarian counterparts through these special classes, but in her opinion "the scheme did not want to resolve the problem but had a goal to diminish the pressure of Gypsy students for the teachers. So they put all the Gypsy pupils together and shut them away from other classes they claimed they could as last work with (Solyom: 42).

The point here is that although Roma children may be separated, they are not disadvantaged by their being there. This particular teacher says:

on the contrary, the child would be disadvantaged if (s)he would not attend such an institution...Integration in a society means adopting a culture, which is based on education, therefore enabling the individual to make contact with other classes of society. Those people will remain outside the merges of society who have no education. It is these people who will become segregated. Our precise goal is - and I do believe we are doing a very good job - that children learn this culture better than it is possible at other high schools (Solyom: 42).

For financial support, there exists within REDS a decentralized *Roma Grant Scheme for Public Education*,⁸³ another governmental initiative which

⁸³At the time of writing, the grant scheme's decision making was not yet very decentralized. The author of the document, Peter Rado, suggests that the

is funded by private money. The Foundation for the National and Ethnic Minorities renders grants for 797 Roma students, of which 706 learn in secondary schools. County Roma grant committees are set up by the country pedagogical centers and their funds are to be increased, if not doubled in 1996.

b. Soros Foundation's Roma Education Program

Within the Soros Foundation's Public Education Development Program is the Roma Education Program which only started in 1996 and is a cooperative effort with the Minority Department of the Ministry of Culture and Education and the county-level pedagogical institutes of education. The idea is to build a strong connection between the county pedagogical institutes and the local minority governments. The Soros Foundation believes that a living and cooperative network could be able to cope with the main problems of Roma children who drop out of school. According to Arato Ferenc, Program Manager for the Soros Foundation's Roma Education Project, "this (network) is very important because the lack of and mis-information is the biggest problem facing Roma," or rather the development of Roma education. Arato also mentions that the network will be indispensable in strengthening local initiatives:

I think it will be a very good instrument to encourage these people (Roma) to fight for their rights, and to inform each other about their programs and their problems. I think in five or ten years, with this network they could be a very strong political power in Hungary, and they could make real steps.

Because of its cooperative role with the Ministry of Culture and Education, many of the goals of the governmental policy REDS are to be carried out by the Soros Foundation. According to Arato, their intention is to "cover the gaps (of the government's plans) with our aims and support." The total funding for the 1996 year was \$650,000. However, Arato also said that the Soros Foundation would like to work in cooperation with other private foundations in Hungary.

As with REDS, a priority for the program is to increase the number of Roma students who attend and graduate from a secondary school. To achieve

scheme should be expanded whereby county Roma grant committees are to be set up by the country pedagogical centers (MEDS document: 13).

that end, the Foundation has established three new institutional services: a) a vocational guidance service which enters Roma communities and encourages students and parents enroll in education, and will also undertake support of children after they have been admitted to secondary schools; b) dropout schools which will be established to compensate for Roma's disadvantages and c) a talent fostering network which will be established to foster a Gypsy intelligentsia. Beyond the networks, though, Soros also has plans to help Roma financially with secondary education.

The Soros Foundation's Roma Education Project may help Roma with access to education with their design of a special *vocational guidance service* which would contact grade schools and Roma families and encourage them and explain to them their rights and how to facilitate their children's going on to secondary school. Such an outreach program may be helpful in bringing news to communities who would otherwise be ignorant of their educational possibilities, or which have lost hope that their children could gain access and succeed in the Hungarian system.

The Soros Foundation also has planned so-called "*Dropout Schools*," which would compensate the Roma for their disadvantages. Dropout schools will help children who have dropped out of normal schools in the first place.

And a *Talent Fostering Network* will be established to aid Roma students with access to education. This parallels the talent fostering network outlined in REDS whereby the network will support "talented" Roma children who according to a Soros Foundation document "might be admitted to grammar school under the existing conditions but will not leave those schools successfully due to their social and ethnic disadvantages."

The Soros Foundation's Roma Education project may also help Roma *financially* with access to education by providing grants to outstanding Roma students. A problem with this effort, however, is that even grantees tend to drop out of school. A suggestion to alleviate this problem is to allow Roma grantees to join automatically the talent care-taking network. The talent care-taking network, though does not immediately involve access to education, is a policy which is designed to help Roma stay in school. Nevertheless, the individual grants to Roma students are a means to overcome that structural economic barrier, and have centripetal tendencies in allowing the Roma access to education. As far as I know, there are no such grants to students of the majority group.

Lastly, Soros' regional centers which would help Roma in their newly formed self-governments stand for their rights which are conferred in the constitution and Act on Minorities. This could act as a support service for Roma to create their own curricula and mother tongue instruction etc. .

c. *Analytical Summary*

As with the other initiatives, it is not possible to distinguish between governmental and non-governmental initiatives when discussing *access* to education, for they are intertwined. When speaking about the Soros Foundation's program, we are simultaneously speaking of the government's program. The above strategies to achieve the goal of increasing the number of Roma students who complete secondary schools have many ambiguities, ambiguities for which I had no access to answers and clarification. In what capacity will the Foundation support secondary students after they have been admitted? In the dropout schools, how will students be compensated? And it is not clear what criteria "talent" is based on.

It appears that the Soros Foundation's program is designing strategies which focus on how to adjust Roma children to function within an already existing school system which benefits the dominant culture, rather than focusing on how to reconceptualize Hungarian secondary education to benefit Roma. In other words, there seems to be a lack of attention to the education of the majority about the minority, or to the education of both groups about the need to change the existing system. It should be as crucial for Roma education as for the education of majority and other minority students' education to include curricula about Roma. Its introduction could well contribute to the amelioration of self-identification of Roma pupils, to their emancipation within the schools and - eventually - by giving more legitimacy to the Roma culture in the dominant schools might "ease" their access to positions in Hungarian society.

However, the strategies described above appear to mirror Sleeter and Grant's *Teaching the Culturally Different* which focuses on teaching attitudes and skills needed to participate in mainstream society, while simultaneously being encouraged to develop competence in and knowledge of their own cultural background. Couched in these policies is the centripetal trend of tracking the Roma to function in the already existing social structure. Lack of attention to social stratification and the Roma's existing role in society may

integrate the minority structurally, but only to perpetuate the status quo, characteristic of type B societies.

The "dropout schools" are established to assist very disadvantaged Roma who could not or did not function within the Hungarian education system to have access to education despite that. An entire network of these schools are being designed to "compensate them for their disadvantages." However, what to "compensate them" means has not been elaborated upon. If the methodologies and content of these "dropout" schools resembles the "special education programs" of the past government, then this policy appears to be perpetuating the centrifugal force of alienating and continuing a "lesser" form of education for these Roma students. Furthermore, the talents fostering network is geared to only gifted children. This equality and validity of this policy completely depends on the content of these programs, and a complete analysis cannot be done until that information is known.

Though the boarding school program may be worthwhile in offering a "chance" to get ahead in the Hungarian education system, it still is only targeting a very small population of Roma students, those who are considered to be the best and to a certain degree who have already integrated into the system. As Solyom (p. 46) says, "it should also be stressed that it is a selected group of students that attend this high-school." Though I am not condemning the program, still, efforts to reach a larger, more unfortunate number of students is still missing. This same argument also goes for the individual grants to talented Roma students. Could this policy possibly create a rift in the Roma community, creating castes of "gifted" Roma and further marginalizing the disadvantaged ones? Though these policies may be centripetal for "talented" Roma, integrating them by allowing access to educational institutions which could lead to economic success, they are simultaneously centrifugal for the "average" ones.

IX. CONCLUSION

Governmental school policies and practices, which are the expression of the tendencies and mechanisms that shape societal integration in multigroup settings, have differed across the Nationalist, Communist and present Post-1989 periods in Hungary. This attests to the fact that different political regimes have individual ideas and goals about cultural and structural integration of minorities. Beyond this, and which has also affected integration, are the different nature of dominant and subordinate group struggles which have occurred across time in Hungary.

Overall the Nationalist period aimed towards cultural assimilation of its minorities. Cultural assimilation tended not to be conflictual, as minority groups, the National Minorities and the Jews, often willingly assimilated due to the opportunity and incentive to economic rewards in society. Roma, on the other hand, are often an anomaly for societal analysis. Though they too underwent a degree of cultural assimilation into Hungarian society, they were structurally isolated from the economic sector. Their assimilation, therefore, more likely was a result of coercion rather than being willful.

The Communist period's policies purportedly aimed towards structural integration and equality for all while maintaining minority groups' rights to cultural individuality. However, policies actually worked towards continued cultural assimilation of minorities. Structurally, though most citizens were employed with health care and social benefits, minorities, especially the Roma, were often tracked to the lower echelons of the economic sector.

This neat conclusion, however, is very broad and sweeping. Actually, analysis using LaBelle and White's framework (based on Schermerhorn, 1970) for societal integration is complicated by several factors:

- 1) When discussing Hungary's minority populations, there are several groups with somewhat different relationships with the majority group; thus, the implications of intergroup relations for the states' educational policies may not be the same for each minority group.

- 2) When speaking of minority groups, there is not only inter-group variability but intra-group variability. Generalizing that all of one minority group will behave the same is very assuming.

3) When discussing the integrative goals of different political regimes, it is not possible to assume that their goals will be the same throughout the time in which a regime is in power.

4) The framework only accounts for policies which are guided by the dominant group in society, and does not include any room for private initiatives which may incorporate the subordinate group(s).

It is difficult to make sweeping conclusions about the outcome of societal integration in post-1989 Hungary. The biggest changes and factors affecting educational policy in contemporary Hungary, and its consequent affect on societal integration, are the inclusion of the private sector and the decentralization of the state power to local governments and minority self-governments. Also, what is underlying many of Hungary's initiatives at creating a more "democratic" society is the European Union's influence on state policies and initiatives, because Hungary, as many of the other former Soviet bloc countries, wishes to join the European Union.

Many of the developments in the field of education in multicultural settings are unprecedented, and only just beginning. As I have attempted to show in my analysis, programs consist of a variety of approaches, including Sleeter and Grant's definition of the *Single Group Studies* approach, the *Multicultural Education and Social Reconstructionist* approach etc. Sleeter and Grant's typology of varieties of multicultural education was useful for identifying and understanding the different programs and initiatives being carried out in Hungary today. Without distinguishing between types of education in multicultural settings and understanding their different goals, the vast variety of initiatives in Hungary would have been confusing to comprehend. However, though Sleeter and Grant's typology is useful at distinguishing between different approaches, I often found their definitions to be narrow, and the initiatives I was exploring did not fit into their mold. Therefore, when using their typology to assist in the analysis of education, it may be important to remember that other types of education in multicultural settings still exist, variations which may be an amalgamation of several of their types, or consist of only part of one of their types, or may deviate altogether from their types.

Since the introduction of the private sector, many NGO's have surfaced in Hungary, and many work in cooperation with the National Government in

developing and implementing educational policies. Many of the private sector initiatives, as well as public sector initiatives, are extensions of the development of civil society in Hungary and the global moves by multilateral organizations such as the IMF to reduce the size of the state in social and educational programs. The government, in cooperation with non-governmental organizations, instead of imposing policies, have attempted to create loose guidelines by which citizens create their own agendas and educational policies. Therefore, now in Hungary, private initiatives should not be seen as isolated from the public sector activity.

This has implications for analysis of societal integration. LaBelle and White's statement that "policy statements and policy implementation, even in a multi-group settings, are virtually the monopoly of the superordinate group alone," may no longer be true with the interconnectedness of private and public educational policy conceptualization and implementation. The minority self-governments, the Act on Minority Rights and the NAT have all attempted to contribute to the incorporation of civil society and subordinate groups' voices in policy making and implementation and may now help determine the course of societal integration. Though there may still exist within the minority groups elites who may be making policy decisions, nevertheless, with decentralization and minority self-governments, decision making is no longer the monopoly of the dominant ethnic group. Consequently, with public and private cooperation, we can no longer assume that the state policies do not reflect the people's interests.

The new relationship between public and private sectors also presents challenges to educational policy implementation. I would not say that the relationship is one of nested comfort whereby both sectors work basically in sync with each other. On the other hand, I observed that there are often conflicts, misunderstandings, and disappointments usually in the private sector realm towards the public sector. Often, educators are not aware of the national government's attempts, written policies, to introduce types of education into the classroom. To complicate matters, there was a shift in directors for the Ministry's MEDS program. When Peter Rado resigned, many who had worked in collaboration with him were concerned that their programs would not move forward. For private organizations such as the Soros Foundation who were working very closely with the Ministry, and whose projects often mirrored the Ministry's, the question of whether they would be

brought into fruition was raised. What seems to be missing in order for a better working relationship between public and private sectors is consistency within the Ministry and its MEDS policy and good communication with the collaborating private sector partners.

Despite the attempts at "democratizing" Hungary and allowing for many groups to participate in educational development, there remain many constraints and limitations. Due to the decentralization of power, there is a "lack of cohesiveness" which is seen in the often confusing fusion of governmental and non-governmental initiatives which I attempted to show in Figure 3. Janos Setenyi appropriately described the attempts at developing education in multicultural settings as "like a puzzle," where "there are some basic policies and schemes but everything is based on the NGO level." Though NGO and local initiatives are considered "good" as they are closer to representing the wishes of the people they are serving, the downside to this is that they are only useful to the public as Setenyi says "when you are able to organize the dissemination (of initiatives) to every school." This is a fact in Hungary today. The implementation for the lofty multicultural initiatives are not guaranteed in the national framework, and their resonance throughout Hungarian society is random at best.

One idea to overcome this confusion and lack of cohesiveness is to establish links and networks whereby local actors may share information and attempt to disseminate common goals on a national level. One of my interviewees, Ferenc Arato says "it is true, so that's why I had the idea of this network to connect them together and to exchange information, programs, ideas, names, phone numbers, anything."

Because proactive and explicit approaches to education in multicultural settings are relatively new in Hungary, and still considered by the public according to Janos Setenyi as reflective of "an avant-guard-type educational issue," which "doesn't belong to the core issues of educational policy-making," developing the local governments', organizations' and peoples' awareness of their possibility of contributing to educational is crucial. Janos Setenyi said, "In municipalities where a large portion of the school population belongs to the underprivileged or to the non-Hungarians, local governments and their schools are more ready to introduce untraditional educational programs into the school's curricula." The Soros Foundation's Arato Ferenc also recognizes this importance. He says that the Foundation's programs, including the Roma

Education Program "could be a lasting program, beyond associations and foundations, if we could make the micro-society of a village or a little town understand how important it is to be a success in education, in order to get the promise of their own future." However, the limitation which confronts contemporary Hungary in developing education in multicultural settings is the local level's heretofore lack of participation in the process. Though NGOs are just starting to reach the local populations, much time still will be needed for mass participation.

The fact that developments in this type of education are so recent also has implications for further research. Because initiatives are just beginning to be implemented in schools, it was difficult to assess the affects on intergroup relations in Hungary. Therefore, a study applying the concepts of Schermerhorn, LaBelle and White, and Wirt would be useful in a number of years, after initiatives have taken root and are more widespread. Perhaps then the affects of types of education in multicultural settings in Hungary on ethnic intergroup relations will be more apparent.

This study attempted to look at the broad view of initiatives in Hungary without looking closely at any of the programs as they were being implemented. Therefore, another important research study which could follow this one would be to look at different initiatives as they are carried out in the schools; whether that be in the classroom for students training to be teachers, or in the classroom of the secondary schools which are implementing the different types of multicultural education.

Another future research study, and which is an area that I did not touch upon at all in this thesis for it did not present itself during my field work, is the role of the church in educational development. One reason why ethnic groups are so strong is their close relationship with the church. The church is often a surrogate nation sanctified by the religious body. This raises some questions which could be studied: what is the nature of education being supported by the different religions in Hungary? How does it relate to different types of multicultural education?

Undertaking this study of education's affects on ethnic intergroup relations in Hungary, and by using Sleeter and Grant's typology of different types of multicultural education which may have centripetal or centrifugal affects on minority groups has taught me many things. It has helped me to see that though initiatives may have good intentions, without understanding their

true affect on students and their consequent integration into larger society, some types of education may do more harm than good. Instead of furthering efforts to structurally give more equality to minority groups within society, and allowing for cultural "pluralism" without attempting to assimilate minorities into society, some programs actually may work against these goals. I believe that every person I spoke to honestly cares about creating an educational system that will benefit all students, despite their ethnicity. Therefore, this study may be useful to educators who contributed to my work. It will hopefully allow them to see and understand how their programs may affect intergroup relations and minorities' integration into society. Also, it may help them to reconceptualize and plan for new initiatives which can help to overcome cultural and structural inequalities in Hungarian society.

If nothing else, this study may introduce to some educators in Hungary the ideas of different types of education in multicultural settings, and inform them as to the possibilities of such schooling for helping to create a better world. For educators in Hungary who may see types of education in multicultural settings as distant from their own lives, or only for the privileged young, cosmopolitan people with "philanthropic attitudes," I hope that this study will bring the ideas closer to them, and that they may appropriate them into their own programs, lessons, schools, etc. I hope this study extends the idea that education in multicultural settings is actually a serious area to be developed for everyone, and which can help maintain Hungary's plural and global society.

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APPENDIX

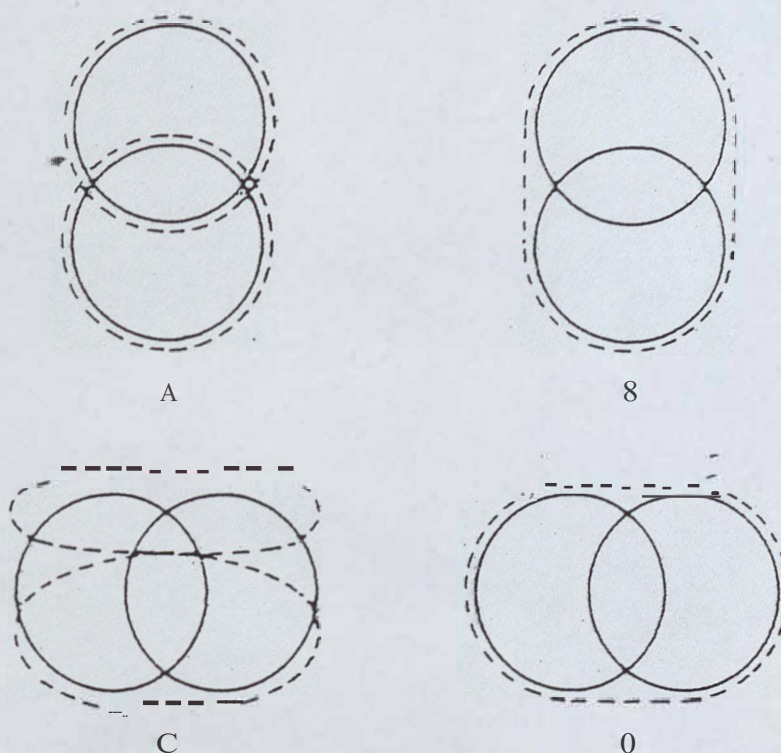
ETHNIC STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION OF HUNGARY

Nation- ality-	1920	1930	1941		1949	1960	1970	1980	
	Number thous.	Number thous.	Number thous.	National- ity-	Number thous.	Number thous.	Number thous.	National- ity-	Number thous.
Hungarians	7 155 971 89.6%	8 000 3351 92.1%	11 367 341 77.5%	11 881 4551 80.9%	9 076 0411 98.6%	9 786 038 98.2%	10 166 2371 98.5%	10 618 9741 99.3%	10 579 898 98.8%
Czechs	550 062 6.1%	477 1531 5.5%	119 7621 4.4%	533 0451 3.6%	22 51 0.2%	50 765 0.5%	35 594 0.4%	11 3101 0.1%	31 231 0.3%
Slovaks	141 871 1.3%	104 7891 1.2%	268 9131 1.8%	175 5501 1.2%	25 9881 0.3%	30 6301 0.3%	21 1761 0.2%	9 1011 0.1%	16 054 0.1%
Romani & J.I.	23 695 0.3%	16 441 0.2%	1 100 3521 7.5%	1 051 0261 7.2%	14 713 0.2%	15 7871 0.2%	12 6241 0.1%	8 8741 0.1%	141 0.0%
Ruthenians	.	.	564 0921 1.8%	547 7701 3.7%	.	.	.	.	.
Croats	58 9311 0.7%	47 1371 0.5%	127 4411 0.9%	12 34 0.1%	20 423 0.2%	33 041 0.3%	11 855 0.2%	13 3951 0.1%	20 484 0.2%
Serbs	17 132 0.2%	1031 0.1%	241 9071 1.5%	213 5851 1.5%	5 0.1%	4 583 0.1%	7 9891 0.1%	2 8051 0.0%	1 426 0.0%
Weeds and Slovenes	6 0871 0.1%	5 4041 0.1%	69 111 0.5%	20 3361 0.1%	4 4731 0.1%	.	4 205 0.0%	1 7311 0.0%	1 142 0.0%
Others	6 9891 0.1%	7 041 0.1%	57 3721 0.4%	76 2091 0.5%	21 3371 0.2%	25 633 0.3%	34 957 0.3%	6404 0.1%	27 915 0.3%
Other	26 123 0.3%	18 9461 0.2%	10 8351 0.2%	29 2101 0.2%	14 161 0.1%	14 5341 0.1%	17 462 0.2%	16 369 0.2%	17 172 0.2%
Yiddish Hebrew	.	.	131 9711 0.9%	139 0411 0.9%	.	.	.	.	.
Total	7 986 8751	8 685 1091	14 679 573		9 204 799	9 961 044	10 322 0991		10 709 463

* Weeds and Slovenes included

Figure 1. Ethnic Structure of the Population of Hungary (Glatz: 45)

Types of Intergroup Relations



Type A: Cultural and structural segmentation in a vertical relationship. Type B: Cultural segmentation and structural commonality in a vertical relationship. Type C: Cultural and structural segmentation in a horizontal relationship. Type D: Cultural commonality and structural commonality in a horizontal relationship. -- indicates cultural boundaries; - - indicates structural boundaries.

Figure 2. Types of Intergroup Relations (Larson and White, 1980: 157)

Governmental

LAWS & POLICIES

The Act on the Rights of National and Ethnic Minorities, 1993

The Education Act of 1993 (1993. évi LXXIX. törvény a közoktatásról)

National Core Curriculum {Nemzeti Alap Tanterv, NAT}

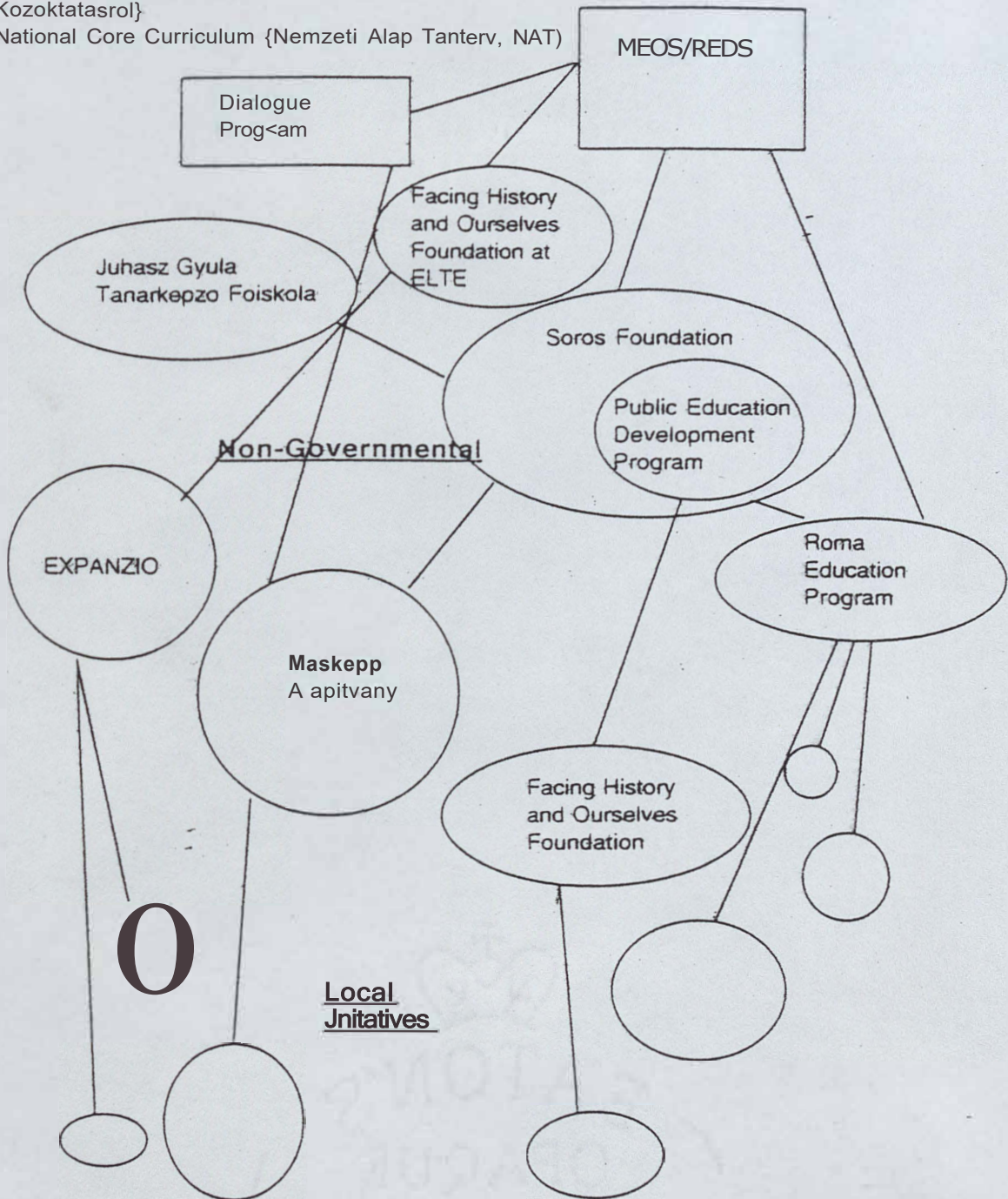


Figure 3. Conceptual Map of Public and Private Sector Interrelatedness

List of "Players"
in the development of
education in multicultural settings in Hungary

GOVERNMENTAL

1. Multicultural Office of the Center for Curriculum and Program Development of OKI: curriculum, course books, exercise books, intercultural education programs, methodological reference books, manuals, books for ethnology, chrestomathies and language books, etc.
2. Center for Evaluation of OKI: standardized procedure for the evaluation of Roma education programs.
3. Center for Research of OKI, Roma Research Institute: publications on researches of Roma education for amelioration, promotion of information data base aiding the execution of NRPES.
4. OKSZI, higher education institutes: extensive training of teachers, social workers and other specialists taking part in NRPES.
5. County Pedagogical Centers: providing proper conditions for the operation of NRPES.

NGO's

6. Foundation for Modernization of Public Education: Promotion of Roma education development programs in local schools. Promotion of Roma teacher training development programs.
7. Foundation for National and Ethnic Minorities:
Providing grants for Roma in public and higher education. Promotion of Roma cultural feasts and activities related to kindergartens or schools.
8. Roma Foundation:
Promotion of specialized training and re-training courses in public schools.
9. Employment Fund, Ministry of Labour Affairs:
Promotion of proficient training and re-training courses in public schools.
10. Gandhi Foundation: Operation of talent care-taking network; Guarantee of boarding school facilities.
11. Public Education Development Project of Soros Foundaton:
Support to schools sustained by Romas; Provide proper conditions for the fulfilment of the the Project; Establish talent care-taking and boarding school network; Promotion of Roma specialists' training programs; Promotion of teacher training courses
12. PHARE Program:
Promotion of Roma specialists' training courses and schools offereing models for the future.

13. Nationwide, county and territorial Roma ethnic local governments:
Assistance in the management of NRPES; Promotion of cultural projects and activities, Participation in controlling the operation of NRPES.

14. Maskepp Alapftvany:
Development of multicultural education programs for majority and minority students. Provides teacher education.

15. Facing History and Ourselves Foundation:
Development of multicultural education programs for majority and minority students. Provides teacher education.

16. EXPONZIO consulting & Civitas:
Minority and multicultural education development and teacher training.

Colleges and Universities:

17. Juhasz Gyula Tanarkepzo Foiskola, Szeged:
Multicultural emphasis in its teacher training program

18. Jozsef Attila Egyetem, Pedagogy Department, Szeged:
Provides courses which demonstrate qualities of education in multicultural settings to teachers in training.

19. ELTE, Eotvos Lorand Tudomanyos Egyetem, Budapest:
Provides courses which demonstrate qualities of education in multicultural settings, content and pedagogy, to teachers in training.

20. Janus Pannonius Egyetem, Pedagogy Department, Pecs:
Provides courses which demonstrate qualities of education in multicultural settings to teachers in training.

21. Zsambek Catholic Teachers College, Zsambek:
The first and only teachers college in Hungary with Romany studies program

22. Kaposvar Tanarkepzo Foiskola:
Emphasizes pedagogy for Roma.

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