

MARGINS OF THE PAGE
ROMA REPRESENTATION AND ERASURE IN HUNGARIAN
TEXTBOOKS

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ABSTRACT

This essay explores the depiction of Romani people in Hungarian educational materials, focusing on the powerful role textbooks and curricula play in shaping societal attitudes and intergroup relations. Given the longstanding marginalization of the Romani population in Hungary, including ongoing segregating practices in schools, this influence is increased due to the lack of direct contact between Roma and non-Roma students. Thus, utilizing Social Contact Theory, especially regarding indirect contact, and the concept of Political Socialization, the paper intends to reveal how the narratives of educational materials could affect biased attitudes long after students exit the education system. The study entails a qualitative content analysis of 18 textbooks and two national curricula from the 1990s and 2020s, two decades marked by contrasting political dynamics influencing the education system. By examining the narrative positioning of Romani-related content in these materials and the political context in which they were written, the research highlights how national-level political realities can impact socializing processes in the education system.

AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, **Panka Ringwald**, candidate for the BA degree in Philosophy, Politics and Economics declare herewith that the present thesis titled “Margins of the Page: Roma Representation and Erasure in Hungarian Textbooks ” is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright.

I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Vienna, 23 May 2025

Panka Ringwald

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CHAPTER 1 – BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

Textbooks and other written materials play a central role in how information and knowledge are transmitted to younger generations. As a result, these can be important tools in shaping societies, particularly in shaping attitudes towards different groups through the molding of young minds. In the Hungarian context, the historical marginalization of Romani people has been heavily driven by prejudiced perceptions held by the non-Roma population. Due to their influence on the formation of these perceptions, it is important to notice that written educational materials' depiction of Romani people can hold great power in whether future generations develop prejudices towards Romani people – and if so, what kinds. As such, the examination of Hungarian materials can provide a broad picture of what narratives dominate the texts in public education that have great attitude shaping potential. Some in-depth research has already been conducted, with education experts like Csaba Dupcsik (2018) and Péter Bogdán (2014) writing extensively regarding several contemporary aspects of Roma representation in the education system in the period between 2000 and 2020. These studies offer an overview of their current situation and its broader context. However, they do not entail extensive qualitative research nor significant data regarding the 1990s, the first decade of democratization in Hungary.

Furthermore, with the recent significant changes in the Hungarian education system (Diószegi-Horváth, 2020) the topic becomes relevant again as education became central in public discourse. Additionally, these changes might affect the depiction of Romani people in the context of the new policy. Therefore, this essay will examine textbooks from the 1990s and 2020s, with an explicit focus on the connection to contemporary political dynamics. Each of these periods had important political shifts influencing both the Roma community and the education system. This comparative perspective will highlight the deep-rooted connection

between national-level processes, such as a regime change or an authoritarian shift, and the transmission of knowledge to students.

Chapter One will discuss the background of the research, such as a review of relevant literature or other knowledge on the topic and the theoretical framework of the analysis. Additionally, it will entail a brief overview of school segregation in Hungary, a reality that cannot be overlooked when discussing Romani people in any segment of the Hungarian education system. In Chapter Two, the textbook analysis comparing the 1990s and 2020s will be presented, detailed discussion of the methodology and findings. Finally, in Chapter Three, the influence of political context will be highlighted, including influential policies and the effect of governmental narratives.

1.2 School Segregation

In order to fully understand the role of textbooks in the socialization of students, it is crucial to see the conditions under which Hungarian children are educated. Therefore, a brief overview of legal and practical segregation in the education system and beyond is essential.

Romani people constitute the largest national minority¹ in Hungary with over 200,000 people identifying themselves as Roma in the 2022 national census (Központi Statisztikai Hivatal., 2023). This shows a significant decrease from the 2011 census, where this number was over 300,000 (Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 2014). However, this notable difference is likely due to increased underreporting, as many individuals might be reluctant to share how they self-identify, especially with official bodies, due to stigmatization and persistent discrimination. This is further reflected in independently collected data, which suggests that censuses significantly underrepresent the true number of Hungarians who either self-identify or identified by their environment as Romani. These estimates place the Romani population in

¹ nemzetiség

Hungary between 500,000 and 1,000,000, varying based on the methodology used (Council of Europe, 2012; Minority Rights Group, 2018; Roma Civil Monitor, 2025). Fears of being officially recognized as a Romani person often stem from everyday experiences of discrimination in housing, the labor market and healthcare. This is especially evident in the education system, where Romani children face segregation from their early childhood. Thus, it is imperative to address these structural inequalities when writing about Romani people in education.

In the Hungarian law, there are two especially relevant legal acts. Firstly, *Act CXXXV of 2003 (Act CXXXV of 2003) on equal treatment and the promotion of equal opportunities* specifically prohibits discrimination against any groups in any form, including segregation in education or other public areas (27–29. §). Additionally, the same act explicitly mentions the government’s special responsibility to uphold equal opportunity for all its citizens and all people residing within its borders (1. §). However, with the Fourth Amendment of the constitution in 2013, the government introduced the concept of 'closing the social gap' in Article XV (Fourth Amendment of the Fundamental Law, 2013). While it might appear benign at first, a Hungarian NGO, Hungarian Civil Liberties Union (TASZ) – concerned with legal protection among other activities – warned in 2018 that this concept might legitimize further segregation of Romani students in the name of positive discrimination (Társaság a Szabadságjogokért, 2011). TASZ also mentioned that the national Roma strategy adopted this notion as well, which further reflects on the systematic nature of the issue.

While the legal system includes mechanisms to prevent systematic discrimination, it is apparent from independently collected data that these do not successfully stop discrimination from happening by far. While official data published by governmental bodies is limited, the available figures report low levels of segregation (Fejes & Szűcs, 2017). This is in direct contrast with the research of independent institutions and non-governmental organizations.

NGOs such as TASZ and Amnesty International have long been concerned with school segregation. According to their data, the situation is much more severe than indicated by the government. According to TASZ, “two-thirds of Roma children attend segregated schools or classes which provide significantly lower quality education than non-Roma children receive.” (Társaság a Szabadságjogokért, 2011) Amnesty International reported a slightly lower proportion, with 45% of Roma students attending segregated education (Amnesty International, 2023). Nevertheless, this still constitutes one of the highest rates in the EU. These discrepancies can be attributed to the lack of official data and differences in the methodology of the research by the two organizations. Regardless, according to the European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC), these tendencies are only growing (European Roma Rights Centre, 2023). In a 2023 article, the ERRC reviewed a research by the Rosa Parks Foundation (Rosa Parks Alapítvány, 2024), that reveals a growing trend of Roma children being diagnosed with mild intellectual disability to justify their separation from their non-Roma peers. This stands in accordance with TASZ’s previously mentioned concerns that the Fourth Amendment of the constitution enables segregation under the guise of positive discrimination. The utilization of special educational needs² designations for segregation has also been noted by Amnesty International (Amnesty International, 2023).

The above-mentioned conclusions drawn by NGOs are largely based on a few landmark rulings. One such case occurred in Gyöngyöspata, where 60 students successfully sued their school, claiming they had been segregated based on their ethnic background (Dunai, 2020). The Curia of Hungary³ decided to uphold the decision in 2020 (Kúria, 2020), according to which the local government, the school, and the school district must pay significant compensation to the victims of segregation. However, this decision appeared to be controversial, especially

² Sajátos nevelési igényű

³ Kúria

among Fidesz politicians. Even Prime Minister Viktor Orbán addressed the ruling in a press conference, where he blamed the Roma victims for the segregation. He argued that they created a hostile environment and as a result, non-Romani parents decided to take their children to other schools (Szurovecz, 2020). While not surprising, the Prime Minister's remarks reflect how normalized these attitudes are, even in the rare cases where it is legally confirmed that discrimination did happen.

A more recent case concerns a school in Piliscsaba. In 2023, the European Court of Human Rights ruled that the school segregated a Romani student (European Roma Rights Centre, 2023). A student decided to file the case after his request to transfer to a non-segregated school was denied. He claimed that the school district not only separated Romani and non-Romani students into different schools but also provided significantly lower-quality education to the Romani students. Even though the courts ordered the school to pay 7000 euros in damages, systemic issues will not change.

1.3 Literature

Most literature on minority representations in textbooks was produced between 2000 and 2020; however, its findings might provide insight into the theoretical background of textbook depictions, reflecting on the dynamics and background of such productions of knowledge. Nevertheless, research from 2000 to 2020 remains extremely limited.

Some earlier papers problematize the lack of representation in textbooks, particularly in terms of proportionality (Balázs et al., 2014; Bogdán, 2016; Bozsik, 2015; Orsós & Cserti Csapó, 2016; Terestyéni, 2004). These projects primarily examine the number of textbooks that mention Roma people, and, at times, the length of the chapters or paragraphs dedicated to them. While these studies highlight the general absence of Romani-related content, they lack contextual analysis of the appearances that are included and the kind of Roma identity they

reflect. These quantitative findings are valuable and reflective of the ignorance of the education system but do not detail the quality of the occasional representations. Consequently, this research project attempts to address this gap in the already scarce literature by closely analyzing the content of these textbooks. Additionally, through interviews, I intend to broaden the scope of the background information available for the analysis by gaining insight from professionals involved in educational material production, past research, or classroom teaching.

1.4 Expert Interviews

Due to the limited existing literature, the project entails two expert interviews. These interviews reflect on the lived experience of teachers and educational professionals during the examined eras. Additionally, they provide insight into the education system and the underlying dynamics that lay behind the production of the examined materials. They also introduce important criteria for the analysis. Both are in-depth interviews that were recorded, transcribed, and coded for analysis. These will not be analyzed with the educational materials but rather serve as an addition to the literature review.

In order to fill these gaps that exist in the Hungarian context of the literature, I conducted two expert interviews: one with Dr. Anna Orsós, the former head of the Department of Roma Studies and Educational Sociology at the University of Pécs (PTE), and another with Borbála Trencsényi, a literature teacher and textbook author. Orsós was the coordinator of a large-scale research team that analyzed the depiction of Roma culture in textbooks in 2015. This project was initiated by the Ministry of Human Resources⁴ and was conducted by the Department of Roma Studies at PTE. In this project, the team not only produced a comprehensive analysis of 262 textbooks across all subjects but also provided policy and content recommendations. While

⁴ Emberi Erőforrások Minisztériuma

the results are not publicly available, I received the documents from Orsós, as well as her personal experiences regarding this process during our interview.

The university conducted this research on textbooks under development in 2015 by the Hungarian Institute for Educational Research and Development⁵. Their research found that, only 26% of the examined materials had any content connected to Romani people. Moreover, a significant number of these gaps exist in textbooks where Roma-related content could have been organically included. Most notably, there are no mentions of Romani people at all in the first- and third-grade materials. While these grades are not examined in this thesis, this deficit in some of the most formative years of political socialization is reflective of the lack of conscientious antidiscrimination principles on all levels of public education. In the detailed content analysis, the researchers found that one-fourth of the content was outright offensive and recommended its removal. They also noted that other materials contained misinformation or narratives that could lead to discriminatory conclusions. As Orsós said: “We also noticed that in these 67 books, there were a lot of situations where this very stereotypical image of Roma appeared, which is very awkward because sometimes it would have been better if nothing had appeared.”⁶ While their research contained several recommendations both on policy and improved content, due to bureaucratic issues, and the dismantlement of the institution that coordinated the project, none of their work had real-life results. According to Orsós, they heard from active teachers that some recommendations might have been implemented, but they did not receive a comprehensive plan of revised content from the institution, nor were there any changes in national-level guidelines reflecting the findings of their research.

⁵ Oktatáskutató és Fejlesztő Intézet

⁶ “azt is megfigyeltük, hogy ebben a 67 könyvben egy csomó olyan helyzet volt, amikor ez a nagyon sztereotipikus kép jelent meg a cigányokról, ami hát rendkívül kínos is, mert hogy időnként jobb lett volna, ha inkább semmi nem jelenik meg” – Anna Orsós

In addition to her valuable insights about the results and its outcome, Orsós, as a higher education professional who works in the training of future teachers, shared key details about the current state of Roma minority education in Hungary. She highlighted that in many schools, Roma minority education is used to segregate Romani children, as well as to start classes with fewer students.

“There are a lot of schools where minority education has been introduced because the regulations allow them to start a class with eight pupils. So, while in a regular first-grade class, you can start it with fifteen pupils, you can start a national minority education with eight pupils. In those schools, where there are no fifteen first graders, but there are eight, and there are usually, always, Roma children among them, it is decided in a matter of seconds that they will then continue with national minority education so that the school does not close.”⁷

This reflects not only the fact that schools in rural areas are greatly struggling under the current system, but it means that in many places where Roma minority education is implemented, it is not done so with proper care, but rather as a necessity. Orsós reinforced this with examples from her research, including cases where, as she put it, “[t]here were schools where the cleaning woman taught Roma ethnology, because she was Roma, and then she could surely teach about it.”⁸

Trencsényi, on the other hand, experienced first-hand what it was like to teach literature, and Roma content in this subject, in the 1990s. She confirmed the notion that even when depiction occurs, it is not representative. She said, in the context of the first examples she saw

⁷ “Csomó olyan iskola van, ahol azért fogtak nemzetiségi oktatásba, mert a szabályozás lehetővé teszi, hogy nyolc fővel indítsanak osztályt. Tehát még egy normál tantervben első osztályt 15 fővel lehet indítani, addig a nemzetiségi oktatást nyolc fővel lehet indítani. Azokban az iskolákban, ahol nem jön össze 15 elsős gyerek, de van nyolc, és általában mindig van közöttük cigány gyerek, ott pillanatok alatt döntenek úgy, hogy akkor nemzetiségi oktatást fognak folytatni, hogy ne szűnjünk meg az iskola.” – Anna Orsós

⁸ “Voltak olyan iskolák, ahol a takarító nő tanított cigány népismeretet, mert cigány volt, és akkor ő biztosan tud erről tanítani.” – Anna Orsós

of Roma depictions “There was very little in textbooks at the time, and when they started appearing in textbooks, what I saw left a lot to be desired”⁹. With these similar statements coming up in contexts of the 1990s or early 2000s and the research project in 2015 it is evident, that there was little progress over these 20 years. Even though Orsós notes that there was a period of improvement beginning in 2003, she also claims that this stopped by the end of the decade, with both the quality of representation and minority education declining from 2011 onward.

She also shared that when she was actively teaching, she often experienced prejudice from students when Roma people were mentioned. In her words, “If I even uttered the word ‘Gypsy’ in class, the class would erupt”¹⁰. This is not surprising, as she refers to Roma activists being concerned with the severe lack of Roma-related content in education during this time. Key figures in Roma rights activism, such as Ágnes Daróczi and Jenő Setét, were mentioned as some of those who fought for more accurate and well-rounded representation in textbooks. However, after the 1989 regime change, Trencsényi started writing textbooks herself. Notably, in 2010 she authored an ethics textbook¹¹ that entailed an entire chapter on social stigmatization and the discrimination against Romani people. Although this was an exceptional textbook regarding mentions of social justice and equality as well as antidiscrimination sentiments, it was unfortunately abandoned in public education after the appearance of centralized textbook publishing.

While both experts expressed concern and dissatisfaction about the depiction of Romani people in textbooks and other educational materials, they did note some improvement during

⁹ “[...] [A] tankönyvekben akkoriban nagyon kevés volt, és amikor kezdődött, hogy megjelentek a tankönyvekben, amit én láttam, abban nem sok köszönet volt.”

¹⁰ “ha csak kiejtettem azt a szót az órán, hogy cigány, már fölbolydult az osztály”

¹¹ Emberismeret, etika (Imre Katalin – Trencsényi Borbála)

and especially shortly after the 1990s. Nonetheless, they both also mentioned that during the 2010s a noticeable decline began that only intensified after the new national curriculum of 2020.

1.5 Theory

The theoretical framework of this research paper will rely on two concepts, firstly the Intergroup Contact Theory and secondly Political Socialization.

Intergroup Contact Theory implies that contact can facilitate the reduction of prejudice between different groups (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2005). Originally, this referred to real-life contact such as shared housing (Bhattacharya, 2021) or mixed education, however, due to the implicitly segregated nature of the Hungarian education system, classrooms rarely serve as meeting points. Some recent research also suggests that indirect social contact can positively influence mutual understanding (White et al., 2021). Contact through common peers or other forms of indirect exposure can also reduce prejudice toward other groups. This is especially important in the Hungarian context where, as I mentioned before, non-Roma children do not frequently interact with Roma children, so indirect contact, through educational material, remains the only exposure to Roma people for many. As such, textbooks play a crucial role in the improvement or deterioration of intergroup relations.

The concept of Political Socialization dates back to the mid-20th century. Herbert Hyman introduced the term in his book, “Political Socialization: A Study in the Psychology of Political Behavior” (Hyman, 1959). In the book, Hyman emphasized the importance of examining how individuals acquire political orientations and how their social contexts might influence this process. He also highlighted the importance of such early socializing factors, such as family and school. While there have been significant contributions to the concept that identify different arenas of socialization, such as the media, Hyman had already identified schools as important venues in political socialization. As such, education can be a key component in the process of

becoming part of a society, greatly influencing the kind of citizens younger generations grow up to be. Consequently, educational materials are not only significant during students' school years, but their content might influence those students' behavior and attitudes as adult citizens.

CHAPTER 2 – TEXTBOOK ANALYSIS

As seen before due to the segregated nature of the education system there is minimal in person contact between Romani and non-Romani students. Consequently, textbooks become the primary platform for intergroup contact, highlighting the influence of textbooks in the political socialization of children in schools. Because of this the examination of these materials is crucial in understanding how students and later adults create perceptions about Romani people in their everyday lives, as the portrayals in these textbooks might be mirrored in later attitudes. Therefore, this essay aims to investigate what type of depictions are present in textbooks and other materials and how these are influenced by broader political contexts.

2.1 Methodology

This essay is based on a comparison between the 1990s and 2020s, which is particularly interesting in their contrasting political contexts. While the 1990s were defined by a significant decentralization of education, the 2020s seem to move towards an unprecedented recentralization. I will further discover the influence of these contexts later; nevertheless, this contrast provides an interesting basis for comparison.

Therefore, this project provides a comparative perspective on the discourse regarding the depiction of Roma people in written study materials concerning the education policies that influence the larger scope of educational material production. It will rely on literature discussed before, produced during the 2000s and 2010s, as it has been the most productive period so far in the research on the topic. Additionally, it will consider some aspects that were suggested by the experts during the interviews. These will act as a core guide in the comparison between the

different decades, serving as a valuable source for criteria according to which the materials are analyzed. Most importantly, the context in which mentions of Romani people appear, this means the title of the chapter, or the other texts directly surround the analyzed paragraphs. Secondly, it is straightforward that the content itself should be analyzed on whether it reinforces stereotypes or rather encourages familiarity. Lastly, it is crucial to analyze how organically the content fits in its place, examining whether it suggests that Romani elements are natural parts of the content or that they are a separate entity. Trencsényi quoted Ágnes Daróczi for labeling the second instance “intellectual segregation”.

Regarding the two decades at the focus of this project, the analysis relies on 50 textbooks in total and the national curricula of 1995 and 2020. In both decades, the analyzed books were mostly those used from seventh grade onward, as most subjects are introduced in this period. However, in one notable case, the analysis extended to sixth grade, as based on the 2020 national curriculum the subject National and Ethnological Studies¹² is taught on this level, which contains some crucial content for the analysis. Additionally, the analysis focuses solely on subjects categorized as humanities, as based on the research project by PTE the most mentions of Romani people are found here. Since this project prioritizes content analysis over quantitative data, the most saturated category was selected. The earlier textbooks were selected from the archives of the National Educational Library, excluding those meant specifically for institutions maintained by religious organizations, in order to select material that could have reached the most students. For the most recent books, all government-issued books were analyzed from relevant subjects and grades, since these only mean one or two textbooks per category. The textbooks were accessed online via the publicly available textbook catalog.

¹² Hon- és népismeret

From this pool of materials, 18 textbooks were in the research focus, that had the most relevance to our question, and the two national curricula. The 18 books were selected for their relatively extensive content regarding Roma people. Since unfortunately, many of the examined books did not have any or only brief mentions, they were excluded from the analysis, which left 18 books in total to be analyzed in depth, eight books from the 1990s and ten from the 2020s. Furthermore, as it contains additional information, such as mandatory readings, the national curriculum of 1995 and 2020 will be examined, as well as other connected materials. National curricula are based on ministerial decrees (Government Decree No. 130/1995. & Government Decree No. 5/2020.) and are meant to establish the principles and framework of public education. While history, social studies, and national and ethnological studies will be examined through mostly textbooks, literature will be included based only on its guidelines in the national curricula. This is because literature textbooks and text collections¹³ require extensive research given their considerably denser and longer text content, which could not be achieved in an individual BA thesis. Additionally, the analysis of mandatory readings provides significant insight into the patterns in literature materials, while they are also the ones studied extensively by all students.

¹³ szöveggyűjtemény

Title	Writer	Year	Publisher
Social Studies for Grade 8 [Társadalmi ismeretek 8. osztály számára]	Fekete Pál	1990	Textbook Publisher [Tankönyvkiadó]
Social Studies, Grade 8 [Társadalmi ismeretek, 8]	Szebenyi Péter, Balla Árpád, Helméczy Mátyás	1990	Textbook Publisher [Tankönyvkiadó]
History for Primary School Grade 8 [Történelem az ált. isk. 8. oszt. Számára]	Fekete Pál	1992	Textbook Publisher [Tankönyvkiadó]
The History of the 20th Century for Young People: Textbook [A 20. század története fiataloknak : Tankönyv]	Bihari Péter	1994	Tomorrow Publisher [Holnap Kiadó]
History for Secondary Schools, Grade IV [Történelem a középisk. IV. oszt. Számára]	Lator László (ifj.)	1995	National Textbook Publisher [Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó]
Me and the Others, Social Studies for 13–14-Year-Olds [Én és a többiek, társadalomismeret 13-14 éveseknek]	Gönczöl Enikő	1996	National Textbook Publisher [Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó]
History for Secondary Schools, Grade IV [Történelem a középiskolák IV. osztálya számára]	Lator László (ifj.)	1998	National Textbook Publisher [Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó]
Social and Civic Studies for Secondary School Students [Társadalmi és állampolgári ismeretek középiskolásoknak]	Mező Ferenc, Nagy Imre, Tóth Péter, Veliky János	1999	National Textbook Publisher [Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó]

Table 1 – Textbooks for in-depth analysis from the 1990s

The project undertakes a strictly qualitative analysis, examining the content and narratives within some books instead of qualitative data regarding the proportion of books with Roma representation. Firstly, this is due to the time constraints of the project, which did not allow for the examination of the number of books that could paint a comprehensive picture of the given decade, especially the 1990s. Secondly, and most importantly, this project is interested in the specific positions and contexts in which Roma people are presented, which require a more in-depth text analysis. The content analysis was conducted offline for the 1990s textbooks in the National Educational Library and online for the 2020 textbooks through the Educational Authority's¹⁴ online textbook catalog. First, the books were selected based on the abovementioned guidelines, then analysis was conducted through the three criteria mentioned before. At first, based on the table of content, the chapters where depiction were most likely were read in detail, followed by a general search for mentions in the rest of the books. If a chapter or section did have Romani related content, the direct mention and its context were analyzed. Here special attention was attributed to the title of the chapter or sub-chapter and the content of the surrounding texts as well as imagery on the relevant pages.

To summarize, the following findings will be the result of a comparative and qualitative analysis of textbooks and national curricula in the 1990s and 2020s. It is important to note that this paper is not exhaustive of all mentions of Roma people but rather provides an overview of recurring themes in their depictions.

2.2 Findings from the 1990s

In the 1990s, there was a significant increase in the textual mention of Roma people in educational materials, which according to Trencsényi was completely missing in the previous decades.

¹⁴ Oktatási Hivatal

In the 1995 national curriculum, there are five explicit mentions of Roma people, both in the course requirements section and regarding the general goals of education. It is important to note that curricula are rather superficial, so no mention will be extremely detailed, however, the titles of the sections can be quite telling. In the curriculum, two subjects contain mentions of Roma people or materials where they are portrayed, social studies and Hungarian literature. In social studies, one mention is rather neutral in the section "Knowledge About the Country: Ethnic Minorities" where the word 'gypsy' is merely present in a list of minorities. The other mention seems slightly more problematic, as it is framed in the subchapter titled 'Societal divisions: Roma people in Hungary', however, when looking at other subchapters of this section so-called societal divisions also include religion, gender, and class differences. Based on the other subchapters of this section, a title like 'Social Categorization' or 'Social Groups' might be more reflective of its actual content. Therefore, it seems like here the context is less problematic than implied by the poor choice of words in the section title.

Additionally, there are a few mandatory readings outlined by the curriculum that have characters with Romani backgrounds. The two most significant ones of these are 'A vén cigány' ('The Old Gypsy') a poem by Mihály Vörösmarty and the novel 'Egri Csillagok' ('Eclipse of the Crescent Moon') by Géza Gárdonyi. Vörösmarty's poem introduces a Roma musician. The readers do not find out more about the fact that he is playing music while the poet is thinking. He does not have a name or distinguishable identity other than his ethnic background. The trope of a musician Roma is a common stereotype that might not seem harmful. Nevertheless, it entails the reduction of Roma people to a single skill, not allowing them space in other fields. This is evident in the poem's complete ignorance of the musician's real identity, while it finds it important to highlight his Roma identity.

By contrast, Gárdonyi's character Sárközy might be the most well-rounded Roma representation found in mandatory course materials. The novel is a narrative description of the

events that led to the successful defense of the Castle of Eger against an Ottoman siege, which is an incredibly important event in Hungarian national narratives. While Sárközy is not an entirely positive character, his individuality does not completely center around his Roma identity. Notably, he is on the side of the Hungarian protagonist, frequently aiding his mission to defeat the ‘bad’ Ottoman invaders. The notion of including the Romani character in the Hungarian nation in the description of such a fundamental historical event could have a great influence on the reader's definition of the nation. This is especially important as all Hungarian students are readers of this book. Moreover, the book presents him as a generally likable character who continuously makes morally good decisions throughout the story. He is also seen as someone who is strong-willed and can stand up for himself and his peers. However, there are certain aspects where harmful stereotypes are still reflected in his characterization. Firstly, he usually makes these morally good decisions in the hope of gaining financial benefits. This could reinforce dangerous stereotypes, both about the perceived absence of actual morality and the increased importance of financial gains. Secondly, he is portrayed as lacking intelligence and intentionality, as he mostly ends up in certain important positions by chance. While his central role is a welcomed detail of the story this lack of intentionality still questions his fitness for such roles. While portrayals of only perfect Romani characters would not necessarily be beneficial and nuance is required for all characters’ authenticity regardless of background, the fact that Sárközy’s negative traits reflect existing stereotypes could send anti-Roma messaging despite the generally likable nature of the character.

Lastly, there is a mention of Roma people in the national curriculum under the minority education section within the special education panel, where minority language education is presented. Here, Romani people are explicitly mentioned in the context of remedial education, where no other minorities appear. The ethnicization of remedial education reflects attitudes where Roma people are seen as a societal issue and inherently in need of catching up.

When it comes to the appearance of Romani people in textbooks specifically, this project looked at 37 books in history and social studies from which five were closely analyzed. Regarding history, the only mentions found were in the context of the Holocaust, where Roma people, if mentioned, were only present as victims on the international level. There was no history textbook found where Hungarian Roma victims of the Holocaust were in any form remembered. This is per the experts' memories of the gap in Roma depictions still in the 1990s despite certain improvements and some criticism from activists.

There was, however, more extensive material in the social studies textbooks. In those I found four distinctive contextualizations, that seemed extremely relevant. Some occurred in several books, while some books entailed more than one of these identified contexts. There were several mentions of the contemporary situation of Romani people. Here only the challenges associated with the Roma community were highlighted like poverty or unemployment. While this does not depict Roma people as a threatening presence explicitly, it again reflects on the attitudes of seeing them as a societal issue. They also lack diversity, portraying Romani people as a homogenous struggling group, which leads to generalizations. Additionally, these mentions are also quite paternalistic in tone, painting the Roma as a group in need of help. Discussions of victimizing Roma people continue when the community is mentioned as victims of a far-right movement. While bringing attention to these issues is important, the sole mention of Romani people in these contexts paints a distorted picture of their day-to-day realities. These victimizations also strip the Romani community of its agency. In both cases, they are seen as silently suffering, not actively resisting oppression. Another example of the othering of the Romani in these social study textbooks is the mention of their arrival in Hungary. It is included in these textbooks even though it happened centuries ago, while social studies materials usually focus on present issues. This feeds into narratives that paint Romani people as outsiders or even as immigrants. The textbooks also ignore the fact that

multiple Romani groups in Hungary arrived separately, reinforcing perceived homogeneity as another tool for generalizations. Moreover, the presence of settlements, or as the book calls them ‘ghettos’ in the textbooks reinforces sentiments of otherness, outsidership, and in connection to earlier topics of social suffering.

2.3 Findings in the 2020s

Unfortunately, the tone of the discussions regarding Roma people in education does not change drastically by the 2020s, however, slight improvements are observed.

In the 2020 national curriculum, Roma people are, either directly or indirectly, mentioned six times in three subjects: history, national and ethnological studies, and literature. The specific contexts that are mentioned in history and national and ethnological studies are directly repeated in the textbooks, so it will be examined the details there. Nevertheless, there is one general guideline discussing the goals of history education which says that students must gain knowledge of the history and contemporary situation of the Roma. While this does not say much about the content, it reflects an increased intentionality in the depiction of Romani people.

When it comes to literature, the above-mentioned two pieces by Vörösmarty and Gárdonyi remain as mandatory readings, while two poems are newly introduced as optional ones. Both of these poems hold negative stereotypes about Roma people while differing in their extremity. Firstly, ‘A Nagyidai Cigányok’ (‘Gypsies of Nagyida’) by János Arany portrays a group of Roma soldiers who are drinking and relaxing instead of fighting for their country. This depiction clearly paints Romani people, especially men, as non-compliant with the norms of society. It also excludes them from Hungarian society as the story does not only paint Romani men as outsiders but as active obstacles in the achievement of national objectives. Consequently, this poem can reinforce exclusionary attitudes in students. Secondly, Mihály Babits’ poem ‘Cigány a siralomházban’ (‘Gypsy in the condemned row’) revisits the

stereotypically poor Roma trope observed before. Repeatedly, depriving Romani people of their agency.

Due to nationwide policy shifts, which I will discuss later, the ten books I examined are the only ones available to the majority of schools. They are all written and published by governmental authorities. Therefore, it is important to consider that this is the one single narrative that is presented to most students, without any variations, giving an even greater significance to the portrayal in these books.

Compared to the 1990s, the contemporary history textbooks improved significantly in their depiction of Romani people. While they still lack representation of positive Roma patriots, like Ilona Szabó, a revolutionary of 1956, they provide a much more detailed insight into the history of Romani people in Hungary. Chronologically, the first mention of Roma people is their migration within Europe during the 18th century. While this is earlier than any past examined decades, it is important to note that Roma people have been living in Hungary long before the 18th century and that this chapter can only be found in the textbook written for students in the academic track of secondary education, not for all participants of secondary education. As I mentioned before, the disproportionate mention of the migration of a group, especially if this is the first information, can have exclusionary messages. This is particularly apparent in the second historical period, Dualism, where Roma people are mentioned with a significant focus on their (often forced) settling while the textbook itself mentions that the majority of Roma people were already settled by this time. This inherently questions the relevance of the detailed description of the process of settlement in Dualism, especially as a stand-alone section, without any other mentions of Romani people between the two periods. Additionally, during the dualist period, when introducing Romani culture they are depicted as musicians, with no description of other roles and traditions, thereby reducing them to this generalizing stereotype again. Furthermore, there is no improvement in the representation of

Hungarian Roma victims of the Holocaust, as again they are only mentioned in an international context. In the chapters concerning World War II, there is no noticeable difference from the 1990s. However, for comparison, in a 2019 textbook, also published by a governmental agency but based on the 2012 national curriculum, there is even an estimated number of Hungarian Romani victims in that edition. Therefore, the textbook, based on the newer 2020 guidelines, signifies an unexplained backslide. The final mention of Roma people is in a section about recent and contemporary history titled 20-21st century. Here one might recognize similar themes to those of the social studies books of the 1990s: poverty, assimilation, unemployment, and social crisis, still without a word about agency or autonomy. Thus, there is no significant shift toward a more nuanced, complex, and well-rounded Roma identity represented in contemporary times. Therefore, the narratives of past social studies content were simply morphed into the last sections of the history books without careful reconsideration of their themes.

Nevertheless, there is one surprisingly positive mention of Romani people in the national and ethnological studies textbook for 6th-grade students. While it is not taught on the grades previously examined, exceptional content makes it worthy of consideration. However, it must be exceptional due to the incredibly poor content of other textbooks not because it is generally satisfactory. Notably, this book mentions that the Romani are the biggest minority group in Hungary, and it even lists the three different subgroups present in Hungary: Beás, Oláh, and Romungro. This gives the only depiction of Roma people where they are not merely seen as a homogenous group but are given some more distinctive identities. Additionally, this is the only time a textbook decides to use the word ‘Roma’ alongside ‘Gypsy’, which also marks a development toward a more perceptive illustration of the community. Nonetheless, this still does not give significant insight into the lives of Romani communities, nor does it contradict social generalizations. This is also one short paragraph in a book with more than 100 pages,

which seems disproportionate especially since the textbook itself states that Roma people are the largest minority in Hungary.

While there is a significant increase in the amount of content as well as an improvement in implementing Roma-related texts in multiple contexts, especially in history, the depictions remain largely unchanged. The problematic themes mostly observed in the 1990s social studies textbooks are reflected in the 2020s history textbooks under 21st century history. Furthermore, there is virtually no difference in terms of mandatory readings. The absence of Romani writers persists, while the mentions of Roma stagnate at an alarmingly low level. The two additional texts where Romani people appear are solely optional reading, and their depictions do not provide a nuanced perspective. Still, the appearance of the character Sárközy in Gárdonyi's novel continues to be a relatively positive and well-rounded representation. Nevertheless, the fact that the mandatory reading list stayed rather similar points to a lack of reflection on earlier materials. However, the introduction of the subject of national and ethnological studies might open opportunities for organically integrated depictions, which is apparent in the 6th grade textbook examined. While there are crucial pieces of information that have not been observed before in educational material, the proportionality is still questionable with only one paragraph being dedicated to Romani people.

CHAPTER 3 – POLITICAL CONTEXT

3.1 Centralization and Decentralization

There are contrasting processes of centralization between the 1990s and the 2020s. The 1990s were characterized by significant decentralization in general, including political, economic, and social arenas. This process was part of a greater trend in Eastern Europe, as after the fall of the USSR, most countries under its former influence started on a path of democratization. However, Hungary was a front-runner in both the pace and success of the building of this new order. For example, the country attributed great power to lower levels of governance such as counties¹⁵ or municipal governments¹⁶ (Dethier, 2000). This success was also apparent in the decentralization of school material following the regime transition from state socialism to democracy (Kelemen, 2003). Institutions gained significant professional independence, with the ability to select course materials that they deem beneficial in their communities. Additionally, textbook production and ownership were also liberalized, giving space to smaller publicists to produce more diverse materials (Fischer-Dárdai & Kaposi, 2022).

On the other hand, the 2020s signify a great recentralization of the textbook industry, in accordance with contemporary political trends. This is true both at the levels of the writing process, publishing, and teaching as the 2020 guidelines only allow teachers to use the two series of books published and written by the Hungarian Educational Authority (NAT, 2020). This means that the content of these books is not only strongly influenced by the government, but that teachers do not have the freedom to choose materials they find more suitable and accurate. As a result, any narratives that do not align with the government's ideas are virtually eliminated from classrooms. Additionally, in 2012 the education system was reconstructed in a way that schools no longer belong under the governance of municipalities (Act CLXXXVIII of

¹⁵ megye

¹⁶ önkormányzat

2012), but under a new institutional framework, managed by the Klebelsberg Institution Maintenance Centre. While this was a response to the existing challenge of the financial limitations of municipalities to properly maintain the schools, it was certainly not the ideal implementation of solutions as it also stripped away professional independence from schools that did exceptionally (van Dommelen, 2021). Essentially, it was a large-scale reorganization that had significant negative consequences for many schools, instead of individualized support for struggling institutions.

Therefore, one must look at the slight improvements and the frequent lack of change through the perspective that this is the only narrative communicated to children nationwide, while even though the textbooks in the 1990s were even more lacking, teachers could choose to introduce additional materials or even decide to write textbooks reflecting more nuanced depictions of Roma people. This can be seen in the interview with Borbála Trencsényi where she mentions her involvement in writing a textbook specifically for the school she was teaching at “It was so nice when centralization in education was really abolished, and schools could find out for themselves what they wanted, what was good for their particular community of children. I was even lucky enough to be able to make my own textbook for the school where I was teaching.”¹⁷

3.2 Policy

As mentioned before, in the context of national-level legal frameworks, the 2003 act on equal treatment and the promotion of equal opportunities was a turning point in antidiscrimination processes both in education and several other spheres such as the labor market. However, it is important to note that there were already legal prohibitions of

¹⁷ “Nagyon jó volt, hogy amikor tényleg az oktatásban megszűnt a központosítás, és az iskolák maguk találhatták ki, hogy mit akarnak, mi a jó az adott gyerekközösségnek. Sőt, olyan szerencsém volt, hogy még saját tankönyvet is csinálhattunk annak az iskolának, ahol tanítottam”

discrimination and segregation before, including a 1993 act that specifically addressed discrimination in public education (Act LXXIX of 1993, 4. §). Nevertheless, the 2003 act brought institutional frameworks and procedural rules that made the process of enforcing these protections significantly more straightforward.

However, even more importantly in the same period, the Integrated Pedagogical System¹⁸ was implemented by the Ministry of Education. This program was established to support schools where there was a significant proportion of children falling out of the system earlier or students who were struggling to keep up with the curriculum. In the beginning, it entailed significant monetary and professional support. According to Anna Orsós, this was the most positive period in terms of inclusion as “on the one hand, there was a kind of ban on segregation, then they had to integrate, they created the IPR, the integration pedagogical program, which started very well with a huge momentum, a lot of schools started on the path of change”¹⁹. However, she further adds that the funding slowed and then eventually stopped during the 2010s, marking a decline in governmental support for antidiscrimination strategies in education. While, as a consequence, this program only covered the period between our two examined decades it might have left some lasting impact on some schools to this day. On the other hand, the suspension of the program reflects the decline in support for antidiscrimination efforts in education, a process frequently emphasized by Orsós.

3.3 National Narratives

It is also important to note how certain historical events are contextualized in these textbooks. While seemingly there is no significant difference in the representation of the victims of the Holocaust between the 1990s and 2020s, there is one important detail that changes the

¹⁸ Integrált Pedagógiai Rendszer

¹⁹ “egyrészt volt egyfajta tilalom a szegregációra, akkor integrálni kellett, létrehozták az IPR-t, az integrációs pedagógiai programot, ami baromi nagy lendülettel nagyon jól indult, nagyon sok iskola elindult a változás útján”

entire framing of this tragedy. The post-2020 books, parallel to the government's narratives (Alaptörvény, 2011), completely ignore the responsibility of the Hungarian state and its citizens. They purposefully present a framework suggesting that Hungary had no other choice, but to align with Nazi Germany and participate in the genocide. With these textbooks being the only ones available to the majority of Hungarian students, they serve as an important tool in reinforcing government-supported narratives in future generations. Even though this is not specifically related to Roma people, it fails to provide students with the necessary understanding of the consequences of hateful rhetoric. This being in the context of the lack of mention of Romani victims of the Holocaust or Porajmos mean that textbooks might fail to battle anti-Roma hatred and consequently social exclusion.

CHAPTER 4 – CONCLUSION

This project provides a comparative analysis of the educational materials from the 1990s and 2020s in their depiction of Romani people. While certain improvements can be found by the 2020s, these materials still illustrate a stereotypical and frequently negative Roma image. Additionally, some overarching themes can be observed in both decades without significant changes, such as victimization, marginality, migration, musician stereotypes, and identification with social challenges. These are all preexisting generalizations, of varying but recognizable harm, that education reinforces rather than nuancing or completely questioning them.

Furthermore, these slight improvements are overshadowed by the recentralization of schools and the production and teaching of educational materials. Due to this process, teachers lack the freedom to introduce more inclusive materials and textbooks are in danger of becoming tools of governmental propaganda, transmitting only those narratives that reinforce their program. This poses a threat when it comes to the depiction of minorities, and more specifically Roma people, as they are already at risk of marginalization due to their minority status among other factors. An actualization of this government-directed narrative is the changed discussions around Hungary's role in the Holocaust, which closely align with the governing parties' agenda.

On the other hand, there might be more resources available against discrimination in education for those facing injustice, such as segregation in school. The Equal Treatment and the Promotion of Equal Opportunities Act provides an improved institutional framework for the protection of minorities in education. While it is evident in cases such as Piliscsaba or Gyöngyöspata that segregation persists in schools, victims might have more access to resources in battling it. Yet, statistics show that intergroup contact remains limited, which shows that textbooks as tools of indirect contact are still exceptionally influential in the political socialization of students. Nevertheless, even though currently there is a decline in

antidiscrimination initiatives by the government, the lasting results of projects such as the Integrated Pedagogical System show some possibilities for improvement, though quite limited.

While humanities are the most saturated category of textbooks to be observed, the examination of other subjects such as geography could be beneficial in order to provide a comprehensive overview of depictions encountered by Hungarian students. As evident from the research of PTE an analysis of natural sciences would greatly complement this thesis. However, due to the different resources of the two projects, this thesis could not include those subjects. Therefore, similar research in the future on natural science subjects would enlighten some important additional details.

APPENDIX

Table 2 – Excerpt segments from the expert interviews

Interviewee	Excerpt Segment
Orsós Anna	és azt is megfigyeltük, hogy ebben a 67 könyvben egy csomó olyan helyzet volt, amikor ez a nagyon sztereotipikus kép jelent meg a cigányokról, ami hát rendkívül kínos is, mert hogy időnként jobb lesz volna, ha inkább semmi nem jelenik meg,
Orsós Anna	És akkor volt egy csomó olyan tankönyv, például egy magyar nyelv tankönyv, ahol hát, hogy úgy mondjam, kvázi sorminta volt ez a téma. Tehát az összetett mondatok esetében például volt egy cigányzenekar kép. Tehát hogy volt a téma, és egy ilyen díszítő elemként épp egy cigányzenekarnak a képe volt, de nem volt magyarázat meg semmi se hozzá. Jól mutatott nyilván a szavaknál ez a kép. Tehát hogy volt egy csomó ilyen tartalom nélküli vizuális elem is, ha úgy tetszik,
Orsós Anna	És hát alapvetően igazán arra koncentráltunk, hogy ahol megjelenik, ott az mennyire illik abba a környezetbe. És ahol meg nem jelenik meg, ott pedig olyan szemüveggel néztük, hogy oda mit lehetne beilleszteni, vagy mi az, ami egyrészt erősítenék a tankönyvnek az ilyen multikulturális jellegét, de nem lógnak ki belőle.
Orsós Anna	Kovácsi Katalinnal népdalokat és meséket gyűjtöttünk, és ezekből készítettünk hát ilyen gyűjteményeket, amiket egyébként tankönyvé nyilvánítottunk valóban, mert hogy ez volt az írásbeliség első formája. Tehát van két olyan könyv, ami dalokat tartalmaz, az a Tavaszi Virágok 1-2, illetve Az Aranyhajú Lány, az egy népmese gyűjtemény. Mind a három tankönyv volt.
Orsós Anna	Később egy Somogyi énektanárnak a gyűjtéseiből szintén csináltunk egy ilyen szűkített, és kicsit didaktikusabb gyűjteményt. Ez a Balatoni Nádas Berek, ez a Tengerdi Győzőnek, szintén tankönyvé nyilvánult, vagy nyilvánított tankönyve. És most, ebben az elmúlt két-három évben, a Gandhi Gimnázium mellett működő nonprofit szervezet, ez a NEROK,

	kért fel bennünket valóban a cigány népismerethez, illetve nyelvhez, tananyagok gyártására.
Orsós Anna	meg elindult egy népismeret könyvsorozat, de én abban csak lektorként vettem részt, viszont csináltunk nyelvjátékokat
Orsós Anna	alapvetően a jövőszabályozókat vettük figyelemre, tehát a nemzetiség irányelveket, illetve a népismeret tanításához, meg a nyelvhez kapcsolódó keretanyagokat. És most elég részletességgel meghatározza, hogy melyek azok a témák, és ahhoz adtunk segítséget, tehát tulajdonképpen arra épít, vagy azokhoz ad tartalmi segítséget. Tehát alapvetően ez volt a szempont. Más kérdés, hogy hol ért vele egyet az ember, hol nem, de miután ez az eredményszabályozó, és ha ehhez akar az ember segítséget adni, akkor azokat a témákat dolgoztuk fel, amik ott abban fordulnak elő. Annyiban különbözik a mostani minden eddigitől, hogy megadja a műveltség területeket.
Orsós Anna	Hát, hogy mindegyiket nagyon erősen át kéne dolgozni. Alapvetően a NAT-tal van a baj. Tehát a nemzeti alaptanterv mint olyan, és a nemzetiségi irányelvek, mint olyan katasztrofális feltételeket adnak és nyújtanak, ráadásul ezeket nem tudom, százezerszer módosították, legutóbb 2021-ben változott például a nemzetiségi népismeret
Orsós Anna	hogy a 2011-es köznevelési törvénnyel változott a nemzetiségi tárgyaknak a helyzete, tehát itt most feladatfinanszírozás van, vagyis ez azt jelenti, hogy be lehet tenni az órarendi keretbe, de nem fejkvótát kapnak az oktatott gyerekek fejében erre a tárgyra, hanem fizetik annak a tanárnak a bérét, aki ezeket a tárgyakat tanítja, tehát elveszik az egész rendszerben ez a feladatfinanszírozás, mint olyan.
Orsós Anna	csomó olyan iskola van, ahol azért fogtak nemzetiségi oktatásba, mert a szabályozás lehetővé teszi, hogy nyolc fővel indítsanak osztályt. Tehát még egy első osztályt, egy normál tanrendben, első osztályt 15 fővel lehet indítani, addig a nemzetiségi oktatást 8 fővel lehet indítani. Azokban az iskolákban, ahol nem jön össze 15 elsős gyerek, de van

	nyolc, és általában mindig van közöttük cigány gyerek, ott pillanatok alatt döntenek úgy, hogy akkor nemzetiségi oktatást fognak folytatni, hogy ne szűnjünk meg az iskola.
Orsós Anna	Tehát mondjuk a földrajz lesz tanár, vagy az a tanár, akinek csak heti egy-két órája van, abból az adott tantárból, és akkor megkapja a népismeretet. De ez csak felmenő rendszerben lehet, első osztálytól indítani. Tehát az a kollega, aki csak ötödikes gyerekeket tanított, egyszer csak kapott egy elsőst, akivel fogalma se volt, hogy mit csináljon, fogalma se volt, hogy mit tanítson neki, módszereket nem ismert
Orsós Anna	és akkor így elrémültek azon, hogy úristen, ez nem csak arról szól, hogy a cigányok tudnak énekelni, táncolni, hanem hogy vannak tananyag tartalmak, amiket minden évfolyamban tanítani lehet, és ez egy óriási sokk volt egy csomó iskolában.
Orsós Anna	és ott pontosan láttuk, hogy voltak olyan iskolák, ahol a takarítónő tanított cigány népismeretet, mert cigány volt, és akkor ő biztosan tud erről tanítani.
Orsós Anna	Egészen egyszerűen nem volt tanerő, plusz egy csomó iskolában csak szegregált képzés zajlott, tehát a fele gyerekeknek tanítottak cigány népismeretet, a többi nehogy valamit megtudjon róla
Orsós Anna	Tehát 2021 óta a népismeret tárgyat kvázi adminisztratív módon lehet integráltan tanítani, vagyis ez azt jelenti, hogy ugyan nincsenek hozzá tankönyvek, hiszen azt megnéztük, hogy sajnos nincs meg ez a tartalom, de már nem kötelező a népismereti oktatást folytató vagy nemzetiségi oktatást folytató intézménynek az a plusz egy óra, hanem adminisztrálhatja, hogy ő ezt beépítette a történelembe, a magyarba, nem tudom hova, úgy, hogy a tanárok ilyen jellegű képzést nem kapnak

Orsós Anna	a beás esetében, nem tudom, már régen volt ilyen vizsgálat, de szerintem tíz alatti mondjuk kettő-három olyan intézményben, ahol nyelvoktatás egyáltalán zajlik. Romani esetében kicsit kiterjedtebb a nyelvhasználói körről beszélünk, tehát szerintem ott se éri el, vagy nem nagyon haladja meg a tízet ezeknek az intézményeknek a száma. Tehát iszonyatos a nyelvelhagyás, szerintem nagyon katasztrofális a helyzet, és bármennyire is itt a Gandhi mellett működő nonprofit szervezet próbálkozik a tankönyvgyártásokkal, de valójában miután az intézményekben az alkalmazás feltételei nem tisztázottak, innentől kezdve...
Orsós Anna	Tehát nekem nagyon lesújtó és lehangoló a véleményem, sajnos arról, ami nemzetiségi oktatás, különösen a cigány/roma nemzetiségi oktatás, terén zajlik.
Orsós Anna	Még egy különbség a többi nemzetiséghez képes például a népismeretnél, hogy míg az összes nemzetiség a népismeretet az adott nép nyelvén tanítja, tehát adott nyelvű, addig a magyarországi cigányok esetében ez magyar nyelven történik
Orsós Anna	Én még részt vettem, amikor cigány kisebbségi oktatás volt, és azért az is sértő volt, mert hogy ott abszolút szegregáltan történt, és ott is használták ezt a, akkor normatíva volt, akkor nem feladatfinanszírozás volt, és azért azt is tudom, hogy volt néhány intézmény, ahol mondjuk klímát szereltek, és nem a gyerekeknek tanítottak népismeretet ebből a normatívából.
Orsós Anna	Aztán a legpozitívabb, az a 2003-as időszakban volt, tehát a Magyar Bálint minisztersége alatt történt, amikor egyrészt megszűnt, hogy hát volt egyfajta tilalom a szegregációra, ugye, akkor integrálni kellett, létrehozták az IPR-t, az integrációs pedagógiai programot, ami baromi nagy lendülettel nagyon jól indult, nagyon sok iskola elindult a változás útján, és a mai napig nagyon jól csinálja azt, amit csinál, és nagyon sokan ott is rosszul csinálták

Orsós Anna	többek között abban is, hogy szegregált intézmények váltak integráltá, tényleg integráltá, lettek olyan iskolák, ahol két tanítós modell van, tehát ott, ahol az SNI-s gyerekek is bekerültek az integrált oktatásba, ott lett egy olyan fejlesztő pedagógus, aki úgy vesz részt a tanórákon, főként az ismereti órákon, hogy észre sem vesszük, hogy ő ott van, de mégis, meg nem vesszük észre, hogy melyik gyerek az, aki segítségre szorul, mert mindenkinek segít, és nincs különbség a gyerekek között, van ilyen
Orsós Anna	Van egy csomó intézmény, ahol végre átálltak már nem csak a frontális oktatásra, hanem az egyéb módszerek oktatására, a projekt vagy a kooperatív oktatásra
Orsós Anna	csomó iskola megújult, ilyen szempontból módszertanilag is, szakmailag is, egy csomó tantestület, hát a tespedtségéből tényleg fölébredt, mert egyszerűen ez az IPR egy olyan tükröt is állított, ahol kiderült, hogy itt a kollégák se tudják, hogy milyen fejlesztések történnek az iskolában, és akkor végre már nem az igazgató volt az, aki a legtöbb információ birtokosa volt. Szerintem ez tök jól indult
Orsós Anna	nem jelent meg a pedagógusok módszertani felkészítése erre a dologra, tehát az integrációnak egy viszonylag hideg integrációs formája valósult meg, mert egészen egyszerűen a kollégák nem tudnak differenciálni, hiszen a normál tanári képzésben ez ad hoc módon, van, ahol igen, van, ahol nem jelenik meg, és van, aki tud, van, aki nem tud. Itt alapvetően a gyógypedagógusok azok, akik tökre jól tudnak differenciálni, de senki más kötelező jelleggel nem.
Orsós Anna	Úgyhogy én azt látom, ennek az egész oktatáspolitikának az volt a legvirágzóbb időszaka, és én onnan már csak a lejtőt látom.
Orsós Anna	Előtte is, előtte én inkább csak kvázi, mint egy pályakezdő, és mint egy inkább az oktatásban résztvevő, vettem részt, utána meg már alakítója is lehettem, és most meg azt látom, hogy elszenvedői vagyunk sokan.
Orsós Anna	Hát nem a 2020-as, a 2011-es köznevelési törvény változása óta van itt számomra a lejtő. Tehát 2011-től volt az első olyan nagy változás, amikor már nem közoktatásról beszélünk, hanem köznevelésről beszélünk, tehát azok a változások indították el azokat a folyamatokat,

	amin szerintem a 20-as az már igazán, már túl sokat nem tudott rontani, mert már így is éppen elég rossz volt ez a rendszer.
Orsós Anna	valójában azért az, hogy a vizsgált tankönyveknek a kétharmad része egyáltalán ilyen tartalommal nem rendelkezik, az kevésbé tudta az egész szakpolitikai ajánlásnak a pozitív jellegét domborítani.
Orsós Anna	Azért pontosan tudjuk, hogy 2011-től, meg még továbbra is voltak, meg vannak a mai napig is olyan intézmények, ahol szegregálnak
Orsós Anna	És azt is pontosan tudjuk, hogy azért ez is megjelent, hogy hát, ha szeretetteljes az a szegregáció, akkor az nem is olyan nagy baj.
Orsós Anna	Gyöngyöspatai intézmény ügyében pár éve volt az a bizonyos döntés, ami szerintem még le se zárult, hogy akkor kárpótolják azokat a fiatalokat, akiket már a tilalom ellenére szegregáltan tartottak, és nem mehettek fel az emeletre, meg az osztályba, meg csak vigyáztak rájuk. És akkor ehhez képest egy miniszterelnök mondta ilyet, hogy ez teljesen jogtalan, hiszen ezek meg se dolgoztak ezért a pénzét.
Orsós Anna	Tehát bármilyen törvény történik, meg lehet szegni, akiknek meg lehet szegni, és nyilván van, akin meg példát statuálunk, tehát ez az abszolút következetlenség az, ami ezen a területen most van.
Orsós Anna	Tehát tulajdonképpen az egész oktatáspolitikát, az egész kormányzat egy olyan fajta koncepciót képvisel, amivel én magam személy szerint nem tudok azonosulni, és azt látom, hogy nyilván ez visszacseng az oktatásban is.
Orsós Anna	Tehát az a fajta előítéletesség, ami most megint van a minden mássággal szemben, szerintem az iszonyatos, miközben meg nyilván megy a porhintés ezzel kapcsolatban. És nyilván a buta embereket lehet jól megvezetni, és meg is vezetnek a csomó emberek.
Orsós Anna	Úgy érzem, hogy egyre erősebb. Nem úgy egyre, hanem ez nem változott most ebben az elmúlt időszakban. Kevésbé vagyunk toleránsak.

Orsós Anna	Tehát nyilván amikor a migránsokról beszéltünk, akkor szintén elhangozhatott egy ilyen mondat, szintén egy minisztertől, hogy megvannak a mi migránsaink és cigányokra gondolt.
Orsós Anna	Tehát én azt gondolom, hogy igen, ugyan mindig máson van a fókusz, de mi állandóan maradtunk. Egyrészt mert látható kisebbségről van szó döntően. Másrészt tényleg egy zsák krumplival megvezethetők. Ennyi.
Orsós Anna	igazán bármennyire is azt mondjuk, hogy az oktatásban nem politizálunk, tehát az, ahogy az egyház beleszól az oktatásba, ahogy helyet kapott a mindenféle hitéleti képzés vagy oktatás, meg egyébként a nagy konkurencia az állami oktatásnak az egyházi oktatás, a szegregáció melegágyai, hiszen pont ezekbe az intézményekbe nem vesznek fel hátrányos helyzetűeket, szóval lenne, mit még helyre tenni.
Orsós Anna	ebből is láthatja, hogy a cigány nemzetiségi oktatás is körülbelül ugyanolyan rossz helyzetben van, mint egyébként a köznevelés tárgyokban ez a fajta, nem tudom, reprezentáció, tehát az se sokkal jobb, csak annyi, hogy a cigányokhoz mindenki ért, tehát ezt mindenki taníthatja, anélkül, hogy bármit tudna erről a dolgról, nagyon-nagyon-nagyon szomorú a kép.
Orsós Anna	a nemzetiségi POK-kal, vagy a POK többször kért fel, engem is, és egy másik kolléganőmet is, hogy tartsunk képzéseket, ilyen felkészítő képzéseket azoknak az iskoláknak, ahol nemzetiségi oktatás zajlik, 10 órás képzéseket. Tehát 10 óra alatt csináltuk azt, amit egy szak 10-12 féléve jelent egy egyetemen. Tehát 10 óra tudással, amiből felét ellógták, mert később jöttek, előbb mentek, készítettünk fel embereket arra, hogy majd a cigány népismeretet tanítsák az iskolában.
Orsós Anna	Kérdés, hogy az oktatás hivatal kikkel fogja ezeket a képzéseket elvégeztetni. Ha egyetemekkel köt szerződéseket, akkor van esély, hogy ott történik valami. Ha az ő embereivel, akkor kérdés, hogy honnan szedi ő össze azt a csapatot, aki mindenhez is ért.
Orsós Anna	Szóval, sok sebből vészik az egész oktatás politika is, a cigányokat érintő nemzetiségi oktatás is. Semmi pozitívát nem látok.

Orsós Anna	tényleg jól fölkészült emberek, de szemléletmódban annyira nincs változás, mert hogy minden a családi házra van terhelve. Mindenért a család a felelős.
Orsós Anna	És amikor mégiscsak előkerül itt nevelésszociológia tárgy kapcsán, hogy akkor nézzük meg, hogy mit tesz az oktatás, hogy ezek az egyenlőtlenségek valamilyen szinten kiegyenlítődjenek. És akkor ez a nagy rácsodálkozás, hogy jó, hát ezt nem is tudtam.
Orsós Anna	a korai iskola elhagyás, meg az iskolai lemorzsolódás stratégiája, meg mindenféle, így kitalált, igazán nem hatékony. Tehát most azzal oldotta meg, hogy levitte 16-ra a tankötelezettségi kort
Trencsényi Borbála	És akkor, amikor elkezdtem tankönyveket írni, akkor erre fokozottan gondoltam, hogy legyen szó.
Trencsényi Borbála	És aztán akkor a 90-es években kezdtünk tankönyveket csinálni pár kollégámmal. És akkor így megjelentek. De nem csak mi csináltuk. Egyrészt cigány aktivisták is szónokoltak arról, hogy ez milyen kiáltó ez a hiány.
Trencsényi Borbála	Daróczi Ági ott is elmondta. Akkor tanultam tőle azt a remek szót, hogy szellemi szegregáció.
Trencsényi Borbála	És ezt azóta is fontosnak tartom, hogy nem úgy kell a tankönyvekben a cigányokat szerepeltetni úgy külön, hanem úgy, mint a magyar történelem szerves részét. Azóta aztán láttam történelemkönyvet is kéziratban 10 évvel ezelőtt, amiben már volt szó a cigányokról.
Trencsényi Borbála	Igen, igen. Igen, szép. Ez most szerepel is a tankönyv listán, tehát ezt, ahol cigány nyelvet tanítanak, használhatják.
Trencsényi Borbála	egy kicsit azt hiszem, hogy ez is motiválta a kiadót, aki egyébként kedves és állandó kiadó, van másik is, de ő általában kapható az ilyen újszerűségekre, vagy kapható volt, még tönkre nem ment a kiadó, mert ugye amikor jött a központosított tankönyv, akkor a kis kiadók mentek tönkre.
Trencsényi Borbála	Szóval, hogy a tankönyvekben akkoriban nagyon kevés volt, és amikor kezdődött, hogy megjelentek a tankönyvekben, amit én láttam, abban nem sok köszönet volt.

Trencsényi Borbála	akkor ott a Setét Jenő mondta, hogy hát milyen borzasztó, hogy a tankönyvekben nincsen szó a cigányokról. De ez évekkal azután volt, hogy már kezdtek megjelenni, de akkor még ez is sztereotípiaként működött.
Trencsényi Borbála	És a történelemtankönyvek, a készülő állami történelemtankönyvekben is volt valami a cigányokról, de tudom, hogy én, aki nem vagyok történelemtanár, de Gyula megmutatta. Mert hát hogy én mégis többet tudok cigány kultúráról, történelemről, erről, arról. És az elég siralmas volt.
Trencsényi Borbála	Az érettségihez, de úgy, hogy a tanár vagy a munkaközösség választott. Volt egy olyan, hogy szabad témakör, és akkor itt van a cigányirodalom, magyar irodalom című fejezet, és ezt használták is kollégák.
Trencsényi Borbála	ez 2010 előtt jelent meg. És akkor tanítottak belőled, csak aztán központi tankönyv lett, amik hát szörnyűségek voltak.
Trencsényi Borbála	És akkor én azt tettem szóvá, hogy annak az etikatankönyvnek a képanyagában csupa világos gyerek szerepel. És egyetlen egy képen szerepel csak egy barna gyerek, aki akár cigány is lehet.
Trencsényi Borbála	Egy olyan jelenetben, amikor ketten püfölik egymást az előtérben, és akkor egy harmadik gyerek meg így messziről nézi. És akkor én mondtam, hogy van rejtett tanterve is egy tankönyvnek, és hogy az üzenet a képeken keresztül, vizuálisan is jön. És hogy ez nem jó üzenet, hogy csupa világos, középosztályi
Trencsényi Borbála	Hát mondtam, hogy Jani, aki talán félig volt cigány, ő fel volt háborodva, hogy ilyen tankönyvbe nem való, megtaláltam az inkriminált szót, itt van, amit aztán a második kiadásból kihagytunk, a szövegnek a közepén. Na most ez is nagyon-nagyon jellemző, mindenki az, aminek mondja magára.
Trencsényi Borbála	De azt mondtam neked, hogy még a tankönyv csinálás előtti időkben, ha csak kiejtettem azt a szót a száján, hogy cigány, már felbolydult az osztály.

Trencsényi Borbála	Én sajnos ebben az osztályban, ahol elsőben boldogok voltak a gyerekek, ez a művészeti tagozatos osztály, ahol ezt a tankönyvet tanítottam, ott aztán elkezdődött a harctéri idegesség, és akkor egyrészt Maja azt mondta, hogy hát miért nem tanuljuk meg a Vergilius életét részletesen, és akkor jött az is, hogy hát az a baj, azért nem tudok fejlődni, mert hát, hogy itt engem visszahúznak, ezek a műveletlen gyerekek, és lehet, hogy a szülőktől jön
Trencsényi Borbála	mint boldogkorra emlékszem a 90-es évekre, abból a szempontból, hogy akkor végre szabadnak érezhettem magam szakmai értelemben is
Trencsényi Borbála	Sőt, kezdettől fogva. És akkor az nagyon jó volt, hogy amikor tényleg az oktatásban megszűnt a központosítás, és az iskolák maguk találhatták ki, hogy mit akarnak, mi a jó az adott gyerekközösségnek. Sőt, olyan szerencsém volt, hogy még saját tankönyvet is csinálhattunk annak az iskolának, ahol tanítottam
Trencsényi Borbála	nem tudnám megmondani, hogy cigánykép tekintetében. Én azt hiszem, hogy azért javulás történt.
Trencsényi Borbála	És mondom, hogy az általam bírált etika tankönyvekben, ott meg hát rettenetesen bosszantottam, ahogy cigányokról írtak, meg a képanyag

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