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**THE SITUATION OF THE ROMANIES (THE GYPSIES)  
IN SUB-CARPATHIA (DEMOGRAPHY, EDUCATION, ECONOMIC  
ACTIVITY, CIRCUMSTANCES OF LIFE)**

*In the article an author probes position of romanies in the region of Carpathians. Position of gypsies which live south of Carpathians, economic position far better from romanies. Exactly depending on the circumstances of life and economic position, demography, the educational level of romanies depends. Except for the state, a lot of national ethnic organizations is engaged in gypsies. On Zakarpat'e of zaregistrovano seventeen gipsy social, cultural organizations. By the main task of these organizations - there is an improvement of terms of life of romanies population and liquidation of their demography.*

**Keywords:** Carpathians, romanies, demography, educational level of romanies, ethnic groups, national organizations, association of romanies of Sub-Carpathians.

*(стаття подана мовою оригіналу)*

**Description of the region**

Due to its geopolitical situation Subcarpathia is considered to be a rather specific formation on the map of Europe. Its present area was created from parts of six counties (Ung, Bereg, Maramarosh, Ugocha, Satmar, Sabolch) of the Historical Hungary. According to the decision of the Treaty of Trianon it became part of the Czechoslovak Republic as Podkarpatska Rus, having a separate administrative system, and pre-defined administrative-organizational rights<sup>1</sup> (Molnár-Molnár, 2005. p. 8; Fodor, 2010. p. 27). Its boundaries have been modified several times later on, i.e. between 1938/1939–1944 – it formed part of Hungary again, 1944–1945 – became part of Czechoslovakia, Soviet occupation, 1945–1991 – part of the Soviet Union, and since 1991 one of the administrative regions of Ukraine (Tóth, 2011; Hajdú-Moharos 1995. p. 89; Molnár-Molnár, 2005. p. 8; Fodor, 2010. 27.).

Subcarpathia is the most Western-situated (peripheral) and the second smallest region of Ukraine (it forms only 2.1% of the total territory of the country). In Ukrainian it is called Zakarpatska oblast' (See Map 1). Its territory is 12.752 km<sup>2</sup> (Molnár-Molnár, 2005. p. 8; Zastevacka, et al., 1996).

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<sup>1</sup> Subcarpathia was separated by a temporary borderline (demarcation line) from Czechoslovakia which was finalized in 1927 (Molnár-Molnár, 2005. p.8; Fodor, 2010. 27.)



*Map 1: The location of Subcarpathia*

Source: [http://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/F%C3%A1jl:Map\\_of\\_Ukraine\\_political\\_simple\\_Oblast\\_Transkarpatien.png](http://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/F%C3%A1jl:Map_of_Ukraine_political_simple_Oblast_Transkarpatien.png)

Regarding its present-day location it is considered to be especially favourable that the region borders four countries. Namely, to the north it is bordered by Poland, to the west and to the southwest it is bordered by Hungary, and to the south Romania borders the region (See Map 2). The length of the Hungarian-Ukrainian borderline adds up to 136.7 km. In parallel to the natural borderline, the Carpathian mountains embraces the eastern part of the region, whereas the River Tisza follows (at least partly) the state borderline in the south. Four-fifths of its area is covered by forests and mountains and only one-fifths belongs to the Lowlands. It is the western gate of Ukraine, and its importance has recently been revalued due to EU accession of neighbouring countries, but it still remained to be a peripheral area within Ukraine, for instance, it is 800 km far from Kyiv. Furthermore, Subcarpathia borders two other regions of Ukraine, i.e. the region of Lviv (on the northeast) and the Ivano-Frankivsk region (southeast). Its regional centre is Ungvár [in Ukrainian: Uzhhorod] which is the smallest one among the centres in the country.



Map 2: The borderline of Subcarpathia

Source: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Subcarpathia\\_Ukraine\\_districts\\_en.svg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Subcarpathia_Ukraine_districts_en.svg)

From an administrative point of view Subcarpathia is divided into thirteen districts (See Map 3). Out of its 609 settlements it has (1) – 5 towns with regional subordination (Uzhhorod, Mukachevo, Chust, Berehovo, Chop), (2) – 6 towns of district significance, (3) – nineteen urban-type settlements<sup>1</sup>, (4) – 579 villages. Uzhhorod, Mukachevo, Berehovo, and Vynohradiv form the main line of towns that are along the edge of the region's lowland area (Tóth, 2011).

The region hugely differs from other regions of Ukraine. It can be rather due to the fact that up to the beginning of World War II, Subcarpathia developed independently from Ukraine: for almost 1000 years the area formed part of Hungary, then from 1920 it was part of Czechoslovakia, and finally between 1945 and 1991 it was a region in the Ukrainian republic of the Soviet Union (Tóth, 2011; Hajdú–Moharos 1995. p. 89.).

#### *The demographic situation of the Romanis/Gipsies of Subcarpathia*

The first census in Ukraine took place in December 2001<sup>2</sup>. Its final results

<sup>1</sup> A transitional form of settlements placed between towns and villages.

<sup>2</sup> The last so-called all-union draft was held prior to 1989, during the period of the Soviet Union. The government announced the first official Ukrainian census in 1999, but due to various reasons (especially due to the lack of financial resources) it was cancelled (Molnár – Molnár, 2005).

came to light 18th January 2003. According to its data the population of Ukraine is 48 million 240 thousand people (Braun-Cserniczkó-Molnár, 2010. p. 45.). Besides, 130 nationalities and ethnical groups live on the territory of the country (Dupka-Zubánics, without publication date). Altogether 0.1% (47587 people) of the total population claimed to be Romani (Braun-Cserniczkó-Molnár, 2010. p. 45) (Table I.)<sup>1</sup>.

Since the soviet census of 1989 the number of Romani inhabitants has slightly decreased (330 people)<sup>2</sup>, but the percent of Romanis still increased owing to a substantial fall in the total population (Braun-Cserniczkó-Molnár, 2010. p. 45.) (Figure 1).

Table I

*The national composition of the population of Ukraine, in 2001 (people, %)*

<i>National minorities</i>	<i>People</i>	<i>%</i>
Ukrainian	37541693	77,82
Russian	8334141	17,28
Byelorussian	275763	0,57
Moldavian	258619	0,54
Crimean Tatar	248193	0,51
Bulgarian	204574	0,42
Hungarian	156566	0,32
Romanian	150989	0,31
Polish	144130	0,30
Jewish	103591	0,21
Armenian	99894	0,21
Greek	91548	0,19
Tatar	73304	0,15
Romani/Gypsy	47587	0,10
Azerbaijan	45176	0,09
Georgian	34199	0,07
German	33302	0,07
Gagauz	31923	0,07
Korean	12711	0,03
Uzbek	12353	0,03
Chuvach	10593	0,02
Slovak	6397	0,01
Other	323656	0,67
Altogether	48240902	100

Source: From Braun-Cserniczkó-Molnár, 2010. p. 46-47.

<sup>1</sup> According to various estimates the number of inhabitants in fact might be more, approximately 200 000 people (Braun-Cserniczkó-Molnár, 2010, p. 45.)

<sup>2</sup> Their number increased between the years of 1959 and 1989.

Diagram 1

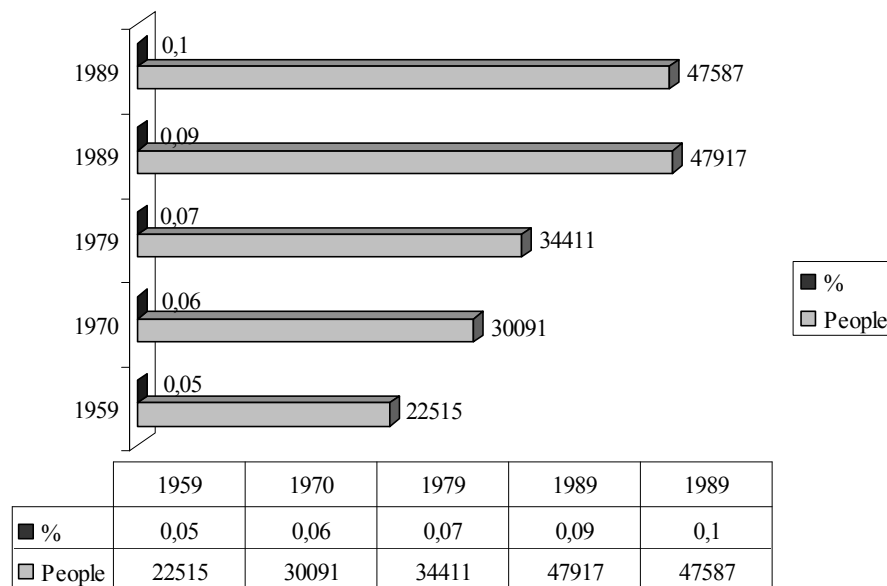


Figure 1. Romani minorities' number and percentage in Ukraine, from 1959 to 2001 (People, %)

Source: From Braun-Csernicskó-Molnár, 2010. p. 46-47.

Romani or one of its variants is the mother tongue of 44.69% of Romanis (21266 people) in spite of their language not being protected by the European Charter of Regional or Minority Languages<sup>1</sup>. Romanis living in Ukraine claim to have Ukrainian (21.1%), Russian (13.4%) or other language (20.8%) to be their mother tongue (Braun-Csernicskó-Molnár 2010. pp. 47-48; 2010a. p. 17.) (Table II).

Table II

**The ethnic Romanies/Gypsies are divided by native language, in 2001.**

National minority	Altogether	Identical minority and native language		Not identical minority and native language					
				Ukrainian		Russian		Other	
				People	%	People	%	People	%
Romani	47587	21666	44,69	10039	21,10	6378	13,40	9904	20,81

Course: From Braun-Csernicskó-Molnár 2010. p. 47-48; 2010a. p. 17.

<sup>1</sup> The Ukrainian law on ratification of the Charter (No. 802-IV, 15<sup>th</sup> May, 2003), acknowledges and places under the restrictions of the international document the following thirteen minority languages: Byelorussian, Bulgarian, Gagausian, Greek, Jewish, Crimean tatar, Moldavian, Hungarian, German, Polish, Russian, Slovakian, Romanian (Braun-Csernicskó-Molnár, 2010, 45. p; 2010a, p-14; Beregszászi-Csernicskó, 2007).

It is only in two regions of Ukraine that Romani people achieve a proportion of 0.1% in the population of the given administrative unit (Braun-Csernicskó-Molnár, 2010. p. 50; 2010a. p. 17.). Thus, in Subcarpathia they form 1.1% of the population, whereas in the Odessa region 0.1% of the population is Romani.

Table III. demonstrates that the first Ukrainian census in 2001 registered 14004 residents of Romani nationality in Subcarpathia (in 1989 it was 12131 residents) (Molnár-Molnár, 2005. p.20; Statistical Bureaux of the Subcarpathian Region, 2003). It means that more than a quarter (29.4%) of the Romanis of Ukraine live in Subcarpathia, i.e. out of a thousand of Ukrainian Romanis 294 are Subcarpathian residents (Braun-Csernicskó-Molnár, 2010. p. 50; 2010a. p. 17.) (See Table III and Map 3).

Table III

*The ethnic composition of the population of Subcarpathia,  
based on the census in 2001 (people, %)*

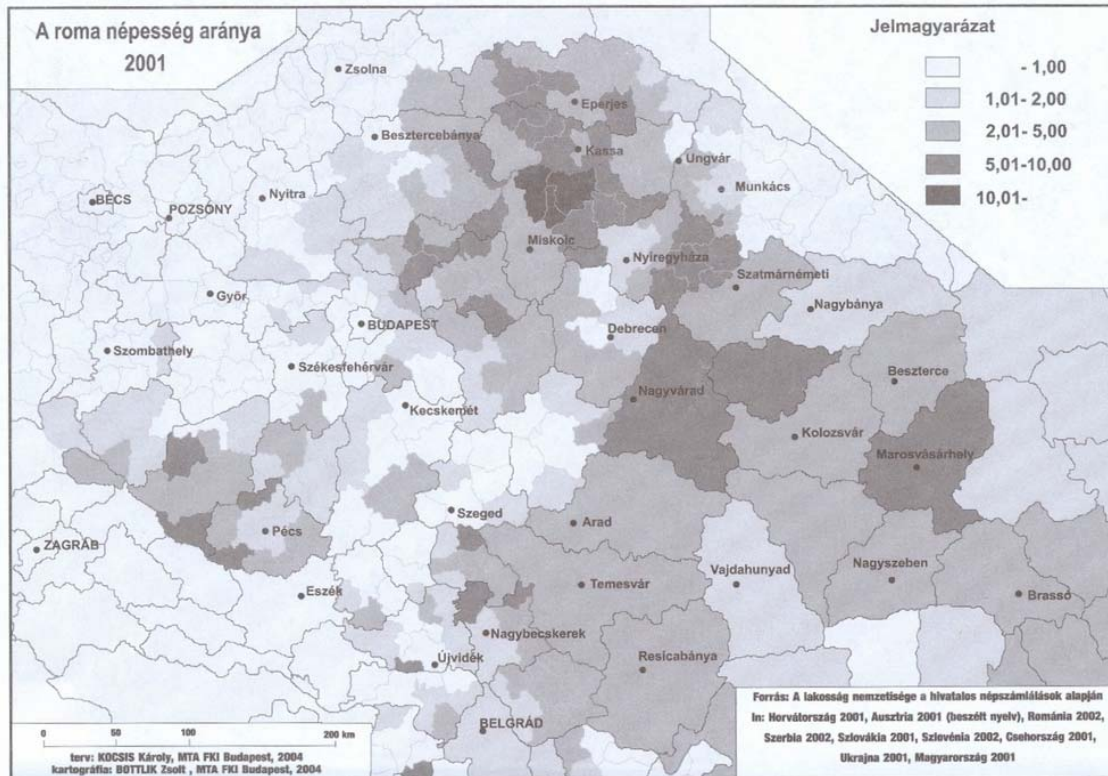
<i>National minorities</i>	<i>People</i>	<i>%</i>
Ukrainian	1 010 127	80,5
Hungarian	151 516	12,1
Romanian	32 152	2,6
Russian	30 993	2,5
Romani/Gypsy	14 004	1,1
Slovak	5 695	0,5
German	3 582	0,3
Byelorussian	1 540	0,1
Other	5 005	0,4
Altogether	1 254 614	100

Source: From Molnár-Molnár, 2005. p. 20; Braun-Csernicskó-Molnár, 2010. p. 50; Statistical Bureaux of the Subcarpathian Region, 2003.

One of the basic characteristics of the population of Subcarpathia is multilingualism. According to the data of the census of 2001, 100 ethnicities were encountered in the region, but only eight of them exceed the 0.1% proportion level in the total population (See Table III)<sup>1</sup>. Romani residents with their 1.1% proportion level form the fifth largest Subcarpathian community (See Table III and Map 3)<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The ratio of the Romani population prior to World War II, on the basis of Hungarian and Czechoslovakian censuses was as follows: in 1910 0.5%, in 1920 0.5%, in 1930 0.2%, in 1941 0.4%.

<sup>2</sup> They are ranked after the Ukrainians, Hungarians, Russians and Romanians.



A roma (cigány) népesség a Kárpát-medencében

Map 3: The proportion of Romani population, in 2001

Source: Kocsis Károly: The Roma (Gypsy) population of the Carpathian Basin (1:4.000.000), In: Cseresnyési László (2004): Languages and strategies: The Anthropology of the Language. p. 160. (<http://nevarchivum.klte.hu/hoffmann/nyelvpolitika/index.html>)

Among the towns Beregszász hosts the largest group in terms of their proportion which means 6,4% (1695 people) (Statistical Bureaux of the Subcarpathian Region, 2003; Molnár-Molnár, 2005. p. 20; Braun-Csernicskó-Molnár, 2010. p. 50; 2010a. p. 18.) (See Table IV.).

The number of Romanis in Subcarpathia as compared to the census data of 1989<sup>1</sup>, increased with 1873 members. Besides, their 15% reproduction rate in relation to a thirteen year term reflects their natural reproduction cycle. On the basis of the census data a continuous growth can be observed in their number (only the year of 1979 forms an exception)<sup>2</sup>. (Braun-Csernicskó-Molnár, 2010a. p. 20.) (Please refer to Figure 2).

<sup>1</sup> On the basis of the census data of 1989, 12131 Romani lived in Subcarpathia which formed 1% of the total population at that time.

<sup>2</sup> Statistical figures of the Hungarian and Czechoslovakian censuses that were conducted before 1959: 1880 – no available data, 1910 – 0.5%, 1920 – 0.5%, 1930 – 0.2%, 1941 – 0.4%, 1946 – 0.1% (Fodor, 2010. p. 40; Szabó, 1993).

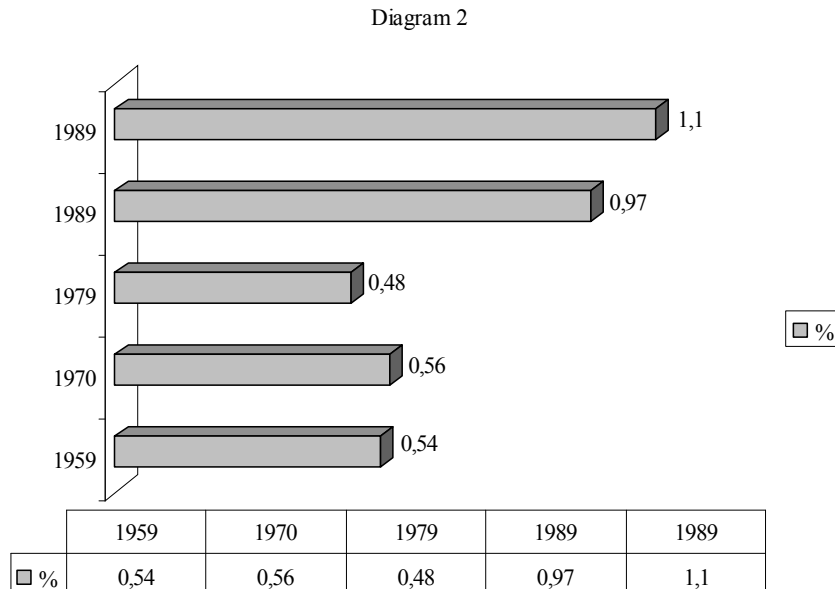


Figure 2. Romani minorities' percentage in Subcarpathia, from 1959 to 2001

Source: Braun-Csernicskó-Molnár, 2010a. p. 20.

Their number of inhabitants allows to assume a similar uncertainty that can be found in the statistical conclusions with reference to Romanis of Hungary. Thus, in case of surveys based on self-reports (involving censuses as well) a group of Romani people reported a nationality other than their own. József Molnár, for instance, states that however, Romanis chose Hungarian as their nationality at earlier census occasions. Therefore, an increase of 2000 people in their number between 1989 and 2001 can directly be considered as an effect of the so-called 'preference law'. In sum, birth of the 'preference law' (made it 'worth' to be a Hungarian) meant that more members of the Romani group having an identity of dual or uncertain nature claimed to be Hungarian (Molnár–Molnár, 2005. p. 21-22.)<sup>1</sup>.

The minority group of Romanis did not manage to reach a 10% level in any of the administrative units<sup>2</sup> of the region<sup>3</sup>. The proportion of those who claim to be Romanis exceeds the one percent level only Svaliava in five districts. Namely, in the districts of Beregovo (4,1%), Uzhorod (4,1%), Svaliava (1,5%) and in the district of Mukachevo (1.3%) (Cf. Table 2 and 3). They exceeded the regional level of 1.1% in the following towns with regional subordination in terms of their proportion in the total population: Beregovo (6,4%), Uzhorod (1,5%) and

<sup>1</sup> Following the census of 1989, the survey carried out by the Statistical Bureaux registered 20 000 Romani residents in Subcarpathia, however, the named census noted only 12 100 of them (Molnár – Molnár, 2005, p. 22; Jamec – Dyachenko, 1993). On the basis of that Molnár and Molnár estimates a number of 23 000 Romani residents. Braun-Csernicskó-Molnár (2010a. p.42.) claims that the real number of Romanis is twice more than those being registered, i.e. 31927 people.

<sup>2</sup> Districts, towns with regional subordination.

<sup>3</sup> Thus, they live in diaspora.



in Mukachevo (1,4%) (Molnár–Molnár, 2005. p. 26-27; Braun-Csernicskó-Molnár, 2010a. p. 23; 42.) (Table IV; Map 4 and 5).

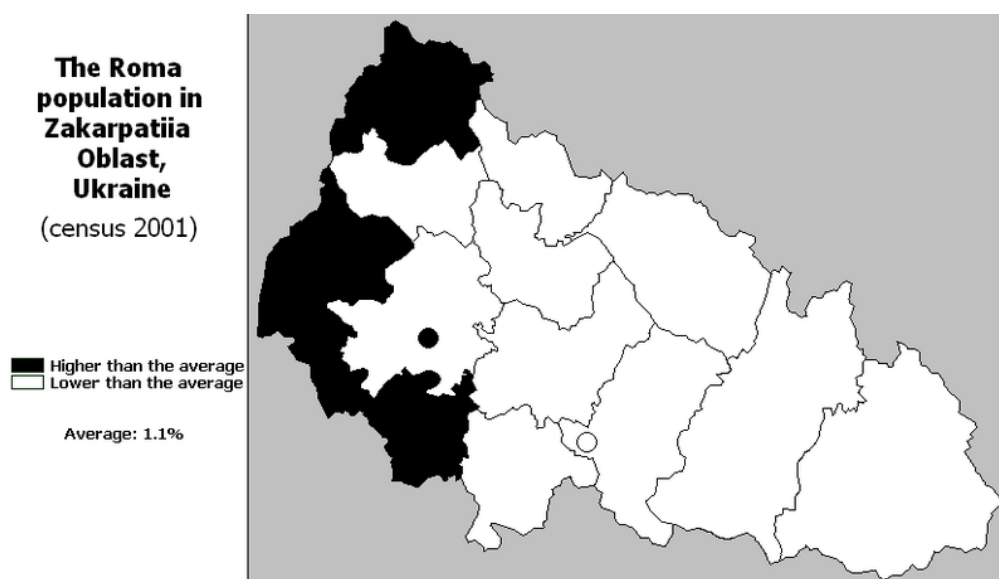
Table IV

*Romani population's number and percentage in the administrative units of Subcarpathia, in 2001*

<i>Administrative Unit</i>	<i>The number of the population</i>	<i>The number of Romani people</i>	<i>The percentage of Romani population</i>
Berehovo town	26 554	1 695	6,4
Chust town	31 864	122	0,4
Mukachevo town	81 637	1 130	1,4
Uzhorod town	115 568	1 705	1,5
Beregovo district	54 062	2 211	4,1
Chust district*	96 960	1	0,0
Irshava district	100 905	167	0,2
Mukachevo district	101 443	1 314	1,3
Velykyy Bereznyi district	28 211	452	1,6
Vynohradiv district	117 957	920	0,8
Mizhhiria district	49890	118	0,2
Perechyn district	32 026	138	0,4
Rakhiv district	90 945	163	0,2
Svaliava district	54 869	800	1,5
Tiavhi district**	171 850	45	0,0
Uzhorod district	74 399	3 022	4,1
Volovets district***	25 474	1	0,0
Altogether	1 254 614	14 004	1,1

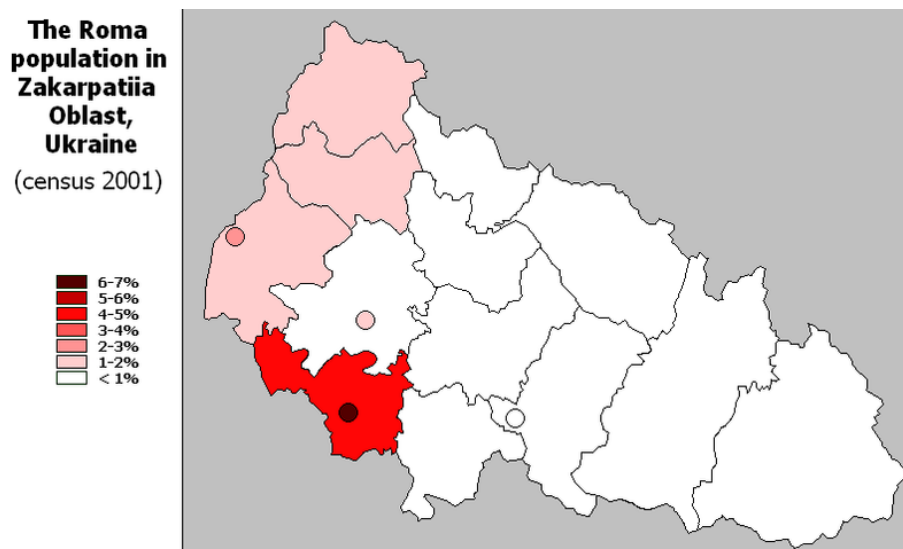
Source: From Molnár–Molnár, 2005. p. 49; Braun-Csernicskó-Molnár, 2010a. p. 22; 42.

Comment: \* - 0,001 %; \*\* - 0,02 %; \*\*\* - 0,003 %



Map 4: The Romani population in Subcarpathia, in 2001

Course: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Transcarpathia\\_roma\\_2001\\_average.PNG](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Transcarpathia_roma_2001_average.PNG)



Map 5: The Romani population in Subcarpathia, in 2001

Course: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Transcarpathia\\_roma\\_2001.PNG](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Transcarpathia_roma_2001.PNG)

Based on the census data of 2001 and on the investigations of Braun-Csernicskó-Molnár the number of Romanis adds up to ten in 110 settlements of Subcarpathia. The largest Romani group can be found in Uzhorod (1705 people, 1.9%)<sup>1</sup>, in Berehovo (1695 people, 6.4%) and in Mukachevo (1130 people, 1.4%)<sup>2</sup>. More than a thousand Romanis live in Korolevo in Pidvynohradiv (District of Vynohradiv) and in Poroshkovo (District of Perechyn). Despite the Romanis living in diaspora format, according to the estimates of Braun-Csernicskó-Molnár their number exceeds the 50% level in the settlements of Sobatyn, (71%, District of Irshava) and Domboky, (53%, District of Mukachevo) [16]<sup>3</sup>. In another twelve settlements, the ratio of Romani people adds up to 20% (Braun-Csernicskó-Molnár, 2010a. p. 23; 43.).

The Romani community of 30 Hungarian-populated settlements<sup>4</sup> makes up more than five percent of the total population of Subcarpathia. The settlements and the ratio of Romanis in them are as follows: Badalovo (18 %), Deyda (5%), Berehuyfalu (10%), Batragy (5%), Haty (11%), Mala Byyhany (15%), Kosyno (8%), Velyki Berehy (8%), Variyevo (18%) – District of Beregovo; Barkasove (21%), Rakoshyno (6%), Chomonyn (5%), Zhnyatyno (5%), Serne (13%) – District of Mukachevo; Korolevo (6%), Bobove (5%), Pyterfolvo (10%), Vyluk (20 %) – District of Vynohradiv; Boffalva (10%), Chop (8%), Esen (15%), Cholmok (8 %), Mala Dobrony (6%), Kontsovo (16%), Velyka Dobrony (6%), Velyki Heyyvtsi (19%), Komarivtsi (12%), Rativtsi (15%), Solovka (6%), Syurte

<sup>1</sup> According to the estimates of Braun-Csernicskó-Molnár (2010a. p.42.) – 2150 people.

<sup>2</sup> According to the estimates of Braun-Csernicskó-Molnár (2010a. p.42.) – 3150 people.

<sup>3</sup> Both have a population below a village (village).

<sup>4</sup> Apart from the towns of Beregovo, Mukachevo, Uzhorod, Svaliava, Chust.

(11%), TTisaatelek (20%) – District of Uzhorod (based on: Molnár-Molnár, 2005. pp. 82-85). The majority of the named settlements is dominated by Hungarians<sup>1</sup>.

Despite the majority of the population of Subcarpathia lives in villages (63.3%), among the Romanis the ratio of town-dwellers has a higher value. A little more than a half of their community live in towns (urban Romani population: 7149 people, 1.6%, country Romani population: 6855 people, 0.9%) (Molnár-Molnár, 2005. pp. 23-24).

Examining the mother tongue of the Romani people shows a rather varied picture. Only a fifth of them has Romani language as their mother tongue (2871 people, 20.5%); nearly the same number of Romanis use Ukrainian (2335 people, 16.7%) whereas 62.4% of them use Hungarian most of the times (Molnár-Molnár, 2005. p. 40). The overwhelming majority of village Romanis (82.8%) lives mainly in Hungarian villages and speak Hungarian (Molnár-Molnár, 2005, p. 44) (Table V).

Table V

*The Romani population's percentage and the composition of their native language in the administrative units of Subcarpathia, based on the census in 2001*

Administrative Unit	The percentage of Romani population (%)	Given native speakers' percentage among Romani people (%)			
		Ukrainian	Hungarian	Russian	Other
Berehovo town	6,4	0,2	99,2	0,1	0,5
Beregovo district	4,1	0,7	98,1	0,5	0,6
Mukachevo town	1,4	9,2	87,3		3,6
Mukachevo district	1,3	2,2	92,6	0,1	5,1
Uzhorod town	1,5	8,6	5,2	0,6	86,6
Uzhorod district	4,1	1,6	80,2	0,1	18,1
Chust town	0,4	9,0			91,0
Chust district	0,0	100			
Velykyy Berezhnyi district	1,6	99,6			0,4
Vynohradiv district	0,8	51,4	15,0		33,6
Svaliava district	1,4	95,9	4,1		
Rakhiv district	0,2	1,8			99,2
Perechyn district	0,4	65,9			34,1
Mizhhiria district	0,2				100
Irshava district	0,2	92,8			7,2
Volovets district	0,0	100			
Tiavhi district	0,0	77,8			22,2
Altogether	1,1	16,7	62,3	0,2	20,5

Course: Molnár-Molnár, 2005. p. 49.

<sup>1</sup> Korolevo, Chop, Kontsovo are Ukrainian-dominated settlements.

*Economic activity and educational status of Subcarpathian Romanis/Gipsies*

Only 6.7% of the Romani population belonged to the employed in 2001 which was five times less than the value (of 33.2%) of the total population. Out of the administrative units their rate of employment achieved the highest proportion in Ungvár (14.5%). Regarding the districts the Districts of Irshava, Beregovo, Uzhorod and Velykyy Bereznyi about 5% percent of Romanis were employed in low-prestige works, while employment value was close to zero in the remaining districts<sup>1</sup> (Braun-Cserniczkó-Molnár, 2010a. p. 38; Statistical Bureaux of the Subcarpathian Region, 2003).

The employment categories of employed Romanis show a similarly unfavourable picture. The majority of them (60.2%) have simple (low-prestige) jobs<sup>2</sup>. A remarkable group is formed by those working in the spheres of service and trade (15.6%) and by skilled workmen (14.9%). In the rest of employment groups the Romanis are under-represented, especially among those who work in leadership positions. In this case the statistical figures of Romanis show 25 time arrears compared to the proportion of the total population employed (Romanis – 0.28%, total population – 6.9%) (Braun-Cserniczkó-Molnár, 2010a. p. 38; Pancsuk, M., et al.).

The economic inactivity of Romani women is substantially higher than that of Romani men. It can be partially explained by the traditional Romani culture on the one hand, and by the above average willingness to have children on the other hand. Socio-political allowances – in case of several kids – considerably exceed the possible amount of payment of an uneducated man, which means that Romani mothers do not even have motivation to get employed.

Considering their economic activity urban Romanis are in a better position, as the ratio of public utility workers who have permanent employment is higher. Romanis living in the country (in villages) are in a somewhat worse situation, the ratio of unemployment among them is substantially higher, and have less opportunities to work in the public utility sector. At the same time it can be said that there are more available odd jobs in villages<sup>3</sup>.

Those occupations (musician, maker of adobes, knife-grinder, horse-dealer, basket weaver, etc.) that evolved centuries ago and remained to be dominantly jobs performed by Romanis are on the verge of extinction due to the social integration of Romani people that happens nowadays.

Habits of and opportunities for further education of Romani people also have their specific characteristics<sup>4</sup>. In recent years state has paid special attention to the problems of Romani education. At present several projects deal

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<sup>1</sup> Subcarpathia is administratively divided into thirteen districts and five towns with regional subordination.

<sup>2</sup> The respective index of the population of employees is 38.8% (Braun-Cserniczkó-Molnár (2010a. p.38.)

<sup>3</sup> It can be mainly due to the opportunities offered by agriculture.

<sup>4</sup> See Gabóda Béla (2010): Examining the lifestyle of Subcarpathian Romani children. *Reality*. 2010/11<sup>th</sup> issue, pp. 91-109.

with Romanis both at the state and at the regional level<sup>1</sup>.

Mother tongue education of Romanis is a problem not yet solved in Ukraine. Romani kids in Subcarpathia learn at schools where Hungarian and Ukrainian are the medium of instruction.

According to the data of the educational cadastre in the academic year of 2001–2002 only eight percent (1972 learners) – out of the total 27351 learners attending Hungarian schools in Subcarpathia – were of Romani nationality<sup>2</sup>. Altogether 39.4% of pupils (778 learners) with Romani origin attended Junior School No. 7 of Beregovo (318 learners) (See Picture 6 and 7) and the Junior School No. 14 of Mukachevo (460 learners)<sup>3</sup> (Gabóda, 2010. pp. 91-109; Educational Cadastre, 2003).

In the academic year of 2006–2007 171771 pupils studied at the schools of the region, out of which 5822 learners were of Romani nationality.

In the school year of 2008–2009 there were 693 schools in Subcarpathia with 159965 learners, out of which 6497 Romani children at 146 schools. Thus, according to this data more than four percent of the learners were Romanis, who studied in 21% of the schools (Braun-Cserniczkó-Molnár, 2010, p. 67) (Table VI).

Districts situated in the flatland area significantly emerge from other districts regarding school-age Romani children<sup>4</sup>. Altogether 904 pupils of Romani nationality enrolled in the schools of the District of Uzhorod in the academic year of 2008 and 2009, whereas 737 and 706 Romani pupils studied at the schools of the Districts of Beregovo and Vynohradiv, respectively. Mukachevo has the majority of the Romani children among the towns, by having 656 school age pupils (Braun-Cserniczkó-Molnár, 2010, p. 68.) (Table VI).

Table VI demonstrates that there were 1476 pupils in the neighbourhood of Uzhorod, while in the outskirts of Mukachevo and Beregovo 1267 and 1104 pupils were registered, respectively.

<sup>1</sup> Recently, programme implementation at the regional level has been intensified. Programme coordination belongs to the Department of Education of the Region and to the Institute of Further Education of Teachers in Subcarpathia.

<sup>2</sup> The database of Hungarian Educational and Scientific Institutions of the Carpathian basin (College for Advanced Studies named after Áron Márton – Ministry of Education – Institute of Minority Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences - The Centre of Central Europe Studies of the Foundation of László Teleki - “Jeltárs” Workshop of Social Research of the Contemporary Period. Lead researcher: Tamás Horváth, Ukrainian coordinator: Béla Gabóda. The database includes information about the academic year of 2001-2002. The database is being updated at the moment. Data were entered already and they are being processed (in Ukraine the survey was conducted with the help of the Transcarpathian Hungarian Association of Teachers, and was coordinated by Ildikó Orosz, PhD).

<sup>3</sup> The Junior High School No. 7 of Beregovo and the one of Mukachevo No. 14 in everyday language are commonly referred to as Romani schools. In fact the two institutes are schools with Hungarian as the medium of instruction that are due to certain reasons have only Romani children (e.g.: The Romani school of Beregovo is situated near the Romani camp.). The medium of instruction is available only in Hungarian. Romani children cannot learn Romani even as an optional subject. Besides the two schools mentioned there are nine church and foundation-related schools. In these schools associate-programmes help Romani learners improve their achievement and become able to continue their studies in state institutes. In addition to schools there are several Romani kindergartens in Subcarpathia.

<sup>4</sup> The flatland area includes the Districts of Uzhorod, Beregovo and Vynohradiv.

Table VI

*The number of Romani students in the schools  
of the administrative units of Subcarpathia, during term of 2008-2009*

<i>Administrative Units</i>	<i>The total number of the students</i>	<i>The number of the Romani students</i>
Berehovo town	3 612	367
Beregovo district	6 259	737
Berehovo town and Beregovo district	9 871	1 104
Mukachevo town	9 301	659
Mukachevo district	11 966	608
Mukachevo town and Mukachevo district	21 267	1 267
Uzhorod town	13 719	454
Chop town	1 002	118
Uzhorod district	6 316	904
Uzhorod town and Chop town and Uzhorod district	21 037	1 476
Chust town	3 946	133
Chust district	12 833	105
Chust town and Chust district	16 779	238
Velykyy Bereznyi district	3 260	206
Vynohradiv district	16 077	706
Volovets district	3 013	31
Irshava district	13 965	400
Mizhhiria district	6 581	42
Perechyn district	4 108	548
Rakhiv district	14 037	245
Svaliava district	6 190	198
Tiavhi district	23 780	36
Altogether	159 965	6 497

Course: From Braun-Cserniczkó-Molnár, 2010, p.68.

In the 2010–2011 school year 7076 Romani school children studied at the schools of Subcarpathia. Namely, 715 pupils in the District of Mukachevo, 718 pupils in the District of Beregovo, and 844 and 984 pupils in the Districts of Vynohradiv and Uzhorod. In the towns with county's rights the number of pupils of Romani nationality are as follows: Mukachevo, 725 pupils, Uzhorod 523 pupils, Beregovo 421 pupils, Chust 157 pupils, Chop 129 pupils (Data of the Regional Department of Education of the 2010–2011 academic year) (See Table VII). The statistical figures with reference to the District of Beregovo and the town of Beregovo can be found in the Tables VIII and IX.

Compared to the academic year of 2006–2007 and 2008-2009 the number of Romani pupils in the school year of 2010–2011 increased by 1254 and 579 pupils, respectively, whereas the total number of pupils continuously showed a decreasing tendency<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The total number of learners in the school year of 2010-2011 compared to the year of 2006-2007 decreased by 16 142 learners, whereas compared to the year of 2008-2009 decreased by 7717 learners.

Table VII

*The number of the Romani students in the schools of the administrative units of Subcarpathia, during term of 2010-2011*

№	Administrative Units	The number of the ethnic romani students on the staff of a class												Altogether
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
1.	Uzhorod town	77	74	64	74	56	63	32	36	47	-	-	-	523
2.	Mukachevo town	81	87	84	69	79	106	90	71	57	-	1	-	725
3.	Berehovo town	52	46	34	39	35	42	36	34	38	40	17	8*	421
4.	Chust town	11	23	25	13	21	24	11	12	15	2	-	-	157
5.	Chop town	10	13	10	6	13	30	12	11	10	11	3	-	129
6.	Beregovo district	94	86	89	94	66	63	75	54	45	30	22	-	718
7.	Velykyy Berezhnyi district	8	10	26	8	14	23	18	10	6	-	-	-	123
8.	Vynohradiv district	147	94	86	132	98	88	80	58	44	9	8	-	844
9.	Volovets district	6	7	1	2	8	2	7	1	-	-	-	-	34
10.	Irshava district	75	53	62	52	41	31	42	35	35	15	6	-	447
11.	Mizhhiria district	6	3	7	-	-	10	5	17	2	2	-	-	52
12.	Mukachevo district	96	92	75	102	58	76	61	78	73	1	3	-	715
13.	Perechyn district	86	71	63	78	53	59	54	56	50	2	2	-	574
14.	Rakhiv district	32	24	25	33	42	39	14	25	12	10	3	-	259
15.	Svaliava district	31	40	21	23	27	28	16	22	26	-	1	-	235
16.	Tiavhi district	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
17.	Uzhorod district	131	125	124	114	95	111	98	65	63	31	27	-	984
18.	Chust district	25	22	21	18	5	15	10	13	7	-	-	-	136
Altogether		968	870	817	857	711	810	661	598	530	153	93	8	7076

Source: Data of the Regional Department of Education of the 2010-2011 academic years

\* Remark: The eight students were studying at an evening school in Beregszász.

Table VIII

*The number of the Romani students in the schools of Berehovo district, during term of 2010-2011*

№	School	The number of the ethnic romani students on the staff of a class											Altogether
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
1.	Primary school [Remete]*	2	2	3	5	2	3	2	2	4	-	-	23
2.	Primary school [Deyda]	5	4	1	2	4	1	3	2	1	-	-	23
3.	Primary school [Berehuyfalu]	9	5	10	8	7	4	3	7	3	-	-	56
4.	Secondary school [Kosyno]	6	11	9	4	2	3	11	5	6	5	-	62
5.	Secondary school [Velyki Berehy]	4	7	5	3	5	3	4	1	2	3	-	41
6.	Secondary school (Yanoshy)	9	5	7	6	12	9	10	5	3	5	2	76
7.	Primary school [Haty]	11	8	13	11	9	9	12	9	3	2	3	90
8.	Primary school [Badalovo]	8	15	9	5	3	3	5	7	6	-	-	61
9.	Secondary school [Variyevo]	19	14	15	23	12	20	13	7	17	15	15	176
10.	Secondary school [Bathevo]	2	8	2	3	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	19
11.	Primary school [Batragy]	10	4	7	4	6	6	6	3	-	-	-	46
12.	Primary school [Mala Byyhany]	9	3	8	20	4	2	6	4	-	-	-	56
Altogether		94	86	89	94	66	63	75	54	45	30	22	718

Source: Data of the Regional Department of Education of the 2010-2011 academic years

Table IX

*The number of the Romani students in the schools of Berehovo, during term of 2010-2011*

№	Iskola	The number of the ethnic romani students on the staff of a class												Altogether
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
1	Primary school (№ 7)	46	42	30	37	31	36	36	33	34	-	-	-	325
2	Secondary school (№ 3)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	2
3	Secondary school (№ 4)	2	2	1	-	2	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	11
4	Primary school (№ 6)	2	-	3	-	1	3	-	1	2	-	-	-	12
5	Secondary school (№ 8)	2	2	-	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
6	Evening school *	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	39	16	8	63
Altogether		52	46	34	39	35	42	36	34	38	40	17	8	421

Source: Data of the Regional Department of Education of the 2010-2011 academic years

\* Remark: Ukrainian language of instruction



The figures of Table VII well demonstrate that Romani learners are overrepresented in the primary classes<sup>1</sup> (3512 pupils, 49,6%), and are rather underrepresented in the upper classes of secondary schools<sup>2</sup> (246 pupils, 3,5%). In the upper classes of the junior high school<sup>3</sup> 3310 pupils (46,8%) studied in the examined academic year (See Figure 3).

Diagram 3

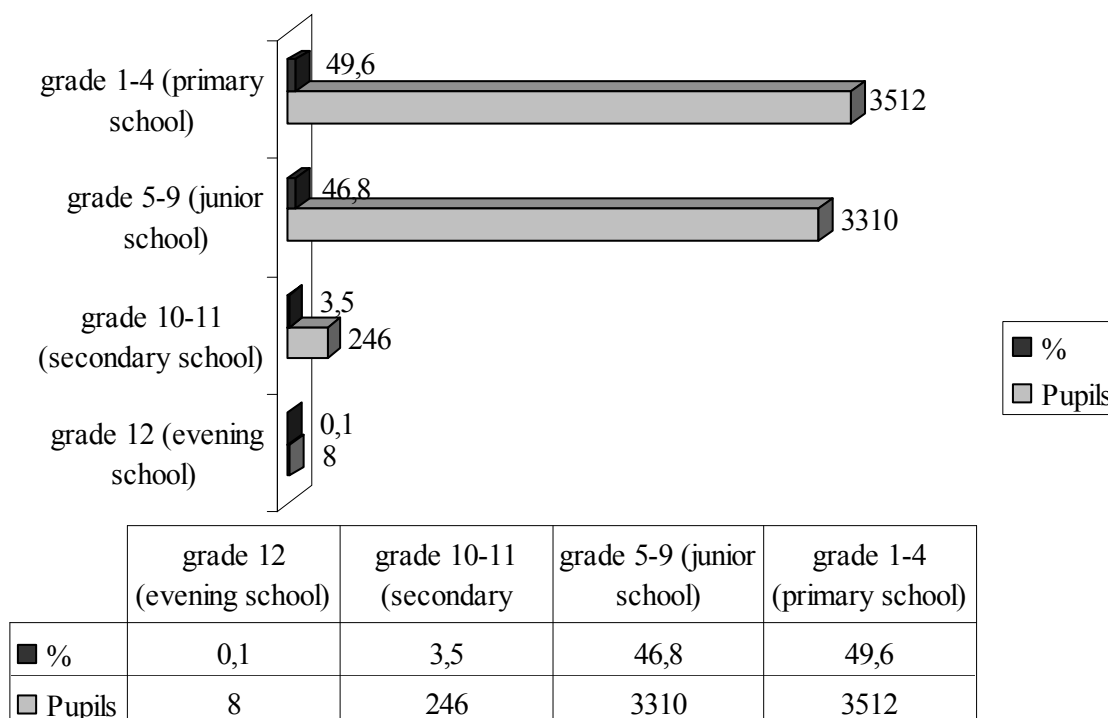


Figure 3. The number and proportion of ethnic Romani students in the breakdown of the school types, during term of 2010–2011

Source: Data of the Regional Department of Education of the 2010–2011 academic years

The overwhelming majority of Romani learners, therefore, after finishing the ninth form do not continue their studies and only a few of them manage to enter the upper classes of secondary schools (10th and 11th forms). No Romani children can be found at grammar schools<sup>4</sup>, for instance. Only 54 learners were involved in schools offering technical trainings<sup>5</sup> in the 2011–2012 academic year (See Table X).

According to the data of the Regional Department of Education, 312 children of Romani nationality were registered in the nurseries of

<sup>1</sup> In the forms from 1 to 4.

<sup>2</sup> In the forms 10 and 11.

<sup>3</sup> Beginning in the forms of 5 to 9.

<sup>4</sup> The level of education is usually perceived to be higher in them.

<sup>5</sup> In vocational schools and lycées.

Subcarpathia, out of which 127 were at the age of five<sup>1</sup> (See Table XI).

Table X

*The number of ethnic Romani students in specialized secondary schools, during term of 2010–2011*

<i>№</i>	<i>School</i>	<i>Person</i>	<i>The number of ethnic Romani students in the specialist training</i>
1.	Specialized secondary schools №3 [Mukachevo ]	1	Radio mechanic – 1
2.	Specialized secondary schools [Uzhorod]	13	Dressmarker – 8 Tailor – 2 Wood-turner – 3
3.	Specialized lyceum [Mukachevo ]	16	House-painter – 2 Joiner – 10 Cook-confectioner – 2 Accountsclerk – 2
4.	Specialized secondary schools [Svaliava]	4	Joiner – 4
5.	Specialized secondary schools [Mizhhiria]	1	Wood-turner – 1
6.	Specialized secondary schools [Perechyn]	4	Joiner – 2 Carpenter – 2
7.	Specialized secondary schools №2 [Mukachevo ]	4	Shopkeeper – 1 Dressmarker – 3
8.	Specialized secondary schools №33 [Velykyy Bereznyi]	11	Dressmarker – 3 Accounts clerk – 2 Car mechanic – 6
	Altogether	54	

Source: Data of the Regional Department of Education of the 2010–2011 academic years

Table XI

*The number of ethnic Romani kindergarteners in the kindergartens of the administrative units of Subcarpathia, during term of 2010–2011*

<i>Administrative Units</i>	<i>The number of ethnic Romani pupils of kindergarten age</i>	<i>5 year – old child</i>
Berehovo town	19	11
Chust town	-	-
Mukachevo town	37	21
Uzhorod town	82	31
Chop town	12	-
Beregovo district	34	15
Chust district	6	1
Irshava district	-	-
Mukachevo district	25	9
Velykyy Bereznyi district	-	-
Vynohradiv district	-	-
Mizhhiria district	7	4

<sup>1</sup> They entered the first class in the school year of 2011 and 2012.

<i>Administrative Units</i>	<i>The number of ethnic Romani pupils of kindergarten age</i>	<i>5 year – old child</i>
Perechyn district	-	-
Rakhiv district	2	-
Svaliava district	10	3
Tiavhi district	-	-
Uzhorod district	78	32
Volovets district	-	-
Altogether	312	127

Source: Data of the Regional Department of Education of the 2010-2011 academic years

In the 2013–2014 school year 8796 pupils of Romani nationality participated in education in the schools with Hungarian and Ukrainian language as the medium of instruction in Subcarpathia. The majority of the pupils, i.e. 1141 learners studied in the District of Vynohradiv, 1103 learners in the District of Uzhorod, and 900 and 823 learners studied in the Districts of Mukachevo and Beregovo.

*Table XII*

*The number of ethnic Romani students in the schools of the administrative units of Subcarpathia, during term of 2013–2014*

<i>№</i>	<i>Administrative Units</i>	<i>The number of the students (people)</i>	<i>The number of the Romani students (people)</i>	<i>The percentage of the Romani students (%)</i>
1.	Uzhorod town	14078	818	5,80
2.	Mukachevo town	9814	947	9,68
3.	Berehovo town	4119	458	11,10
4.	Chust town	3466	218	6,30
5.	Chop town	970	133	13,70
6.	Beregovo district	5636	823	14,60
7.	Velykyy Bereznyi district	2839	253	8,90
8.	Vynohradiv district	15106	1141	7,60
9.	Volovets district	2820	46	1,60
10.	Irshava district]	12468	558	4,50
11.	Mizhhiria district	6031	66	1,10
12.	Mukachevo district	11114	900	8,10
13.	Perechyn district	3918	710	18,10
14.	Rakhiv district	12636	276	2,20
15.	Svaliava district	5954	31	5,30
16.	Tiavhi district	21850	581	0,40
17.	Uzhorod district	6409	1103	17,20
18.	Chust district	11577	152	1,30
	Altogether	150834	8796	5,80

Source: Data of the Regional Department of Education of the 2013-2014 academic years

In the towns of county's rights the number of active school learners are as follows: Mukachevo – 947 learners, Uzhorod – 818 learners, Beregovo – 458 learners, Chust – 218 learners, Chop – 133 learners of Romani nationality (Statistical Figures of the Regional Department of Education regarding the academic year of 2013–2014) (See Tables XII and XIII). Data of the 2013–2014 school year as compared to the year of 2010–2011 show a relative growth of 1720 learners.

Table XIII

*The percentage of ethnic Romani students, compared to the percentage of ethnic Romani population in the administrative units of Subcarpathia, during term of 2013–2014*

<i>№</i>	<i>Administrative Units</i>	<i>The Romani minorities' percentage, based on the census in 2001</i>	<i>The ethnic Romani students' percentage</i>
1.	Uzhorod town	1,50	5,80
2.	Mukachevo town	1,40	9,68
3.	Berehovo town	6,40	11,10
4.	Chust town	0,40	6,30
5.	Chop town	8,00	13,70
6.	Beregovo district	4,10	14,60
7.	Velykyy Bereznyi district	1,60	8,90
8.	Vynohradiv district	0,80	7,60
9.	Volovets district	0,00	1,60
10.	Irshava district	0,20	4,50
11.	Mizhhiria district	0,20	1,10
12.	Mukachevo district	1,30	8,10
13.	Perechyn district	0,40	18,10
14.	Rakhiv district	0,20	2,20
15.	Svaliava district	1,40	5,30
16.	Tiavhi district	0,00	0,40
17.	Uzhorod district	4,10	17,20
18.	Chust district	0,00	1,30
	Altogether	1,10	5,80

*The living circumstances of Romanis/Gipsies  
(Family structure, household compositions, infrastructure)*

The living standards of Romani families are greatly influenced by the number of persons living in one household, thus the size of the household. According to the research findings of Béla Gabóda and Imre Lipcsei<sup>1</sup> it can be

<sup>1</sup> As part of the project they carried out a questionnaire study in Subcarpathia (Ukraine) and in the County of Békés (Hungary) based on the questionnaire designed by the joint group of researchers (from the Transcarpathian Hungarian Institute of Ferenc Rákóczi, II. and the Faculty of Pedagogy of the Saint István University) Data were collected in March 2009. During the study altogether 800 Romani and non-Romani young people were questioned in a balanced proportion of 400 Romani and 400 non-Romani youngsters aged between 11 and 14. Via the research the lifestyle, social relations of certain layers (youngsters aged between 11 and 14) of the Romanis were mapped, future-related visions and dominant elements of value system of the communities referred to were uncovered.

said that on average the size of a Romani household is 7.8 persons, which is in fact substantially higher than the size of non-Romani households in the region (Gabóda, 2011. p. 72.).

The average number of children living in a Romani family adds up to 3.7 persons. A possible explanation for the significantly higher number of children in Romani families can be found in traditional religious practices, or rather in the lack of knowledge, as in Romani families birth-control is not accepted. In addition, in the economic situation of nowadays often happens that social allowances received after the kids mean the only regular income for Romani families (Gabóda, 2011. p. 73).

The settlement areas of Romanis are mostly distinct territories that can be found at pre-defined parts of towns and villages. A dominant majority of Romanis lives in the so-called "Gipsy camps". These Romani areas are situated at the edge of settlements (villages, towns), far from the centre and from the institutional network (kindergarten, school, shops, consulting rooms, etc.). Another characteristic of theirs is that the infrastructure available in those settlements does not even reach the camp (Braun-Csernicsekó-Molnár, 2010a. p. 51).

The results of the Gabóda-Lipcsei survey show that a relevant part of Romanis live in family houses (62%), the infrastructural setup of households shows that only 17% of the households includes bathrooms, and 2.5% of them has central heating (Gabóda, 2011. p. 75)

#### *Romani organizations in Subcarpathia*

Apart from the country-wide ethnic organizations, in 2006 24 Romani organizations worked (Braun-Csernicsekó-Molnár, 2010a. p. 92; also See Bucsko, 2006. p. 260.), the Department of Ethnicities of the State Administration of the Region registered seventeen Romani social, cultural organizations and lobby groups. For instance, the Association of Hungarian Romani Civic Organizations of Subcarpathia was among them (Braun-Csernicsekó-Molnár, 2010a. p. 92)<sup>1</sup>. One of the primary aims of these organizations is to improve the low-level life conditions, situation of the Romani population and eliminate their social segregation, however, practically they do not deal with their educational and language problems (Braun-Csernicsekó-Molnár, 2010a. p. 92).

Besides the state and civic organizations dealing with Romanis, the Catholic and the Reformed Church of Subcarpathia also contribute a lot to improve the situation of the Hungarian Romanis of the region. The Reformed Church of Subcarpathia operates Romani Mission with the help of Dutch material supports. Schools, kindergarten groups with school-preparation focus<sup>2</sup>, and the

<sup>1</sup> Ethnic cultural organizations in Subcarpathia (Handbook). [Національно-культурні товариства Закарпаття (Довідник)]. Ужгород: Відділ у справах національностей облдержадміністрації, Центр культур національних меншин Закарпаття [Uzhhorod: Department of Ethnicities of the Regional Administration, Subcarpathian Cultural Centre of Ethnicities], 2009.

<sup>2</sup> These are non-official subsidiaries of schools, and kindergartens working in the given settlements.

Educational Centre of Protestant Romanis are organized and maintained by the church in Nagydobrony, Szernye, Gát, Szürte form an integral part of the work (Braun-Csernicskó-Molnár, 2010a. p. 92; Szántó-Taracközi, 2008).

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**БЕЛА ГАБОДА. Ситуація ромів (цигани) у Карпатському регіоні (демографія, освіта, господарська діяльність, обставини життя).**

У статті автор досліджує положення ромів у Карпатському регіоні. Положення циган, які проживають на південь від Карпат, економічний стан набагато кращий від ромів-кочівників. Саме залежно від обставин життя та економічного стану, демографії, залежить освітній рівень ромів. Крім держави, циганами займається багато загальнонаціональних етнічних організацій. На Закарпатті зареєстровано сімнадцять циганської соціальних, культурних організацій. Головним завданням цих організацій – є поліпшення умов життя ромського населення та ліквідації їх демографії.

**Ключові слова:** Карпати, роми, демографія, освітній рівень ромів-кочівників, етнічні групи, загальнонаціональні організації, асоціація Подкарпатський ромів.

**БЕЛА ГАБОДА. Ситуация ромов (цыгане) в Карпатском регионе (демография, образование, хозяйственная деятельность, обстоятельства жизни).**

В статье автор исследует положение ромов в Карпатском регионе. Положение цыган, которые проживают к югу от Карпат, экономическое положение намного лучше от ромов-кочевников. Именно в зависимости от обстоятельств жизни и экономического положения, демографии, зависит образовательный уровень ромов. Кроме государства, цыганами занимаются много общенациональных этнических организаций. На Закарпатье зарегистрировано семнадцать цыганской социальных, культурных организаций. Главным заданием этих организаций – есть улучшение условий жизни ромского населения и ликвидации их демографии.

**Ключевые слова:** Карпаты, роми, демография, образовательный уровень ромов-кочевников, этнические группы, общенациональные организации, ассоциация Подкарпатских ромов.

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## **ROLA PRAKTYK PEDAGOGICZNYCH W PRZYGOTOWANIU ZAWODOWYM PRZYSZŁYCH NAUCZYCIELI W POLSCE**

Praktyki pedagogiczne są bardzo ważnym składnikiem edukacji nauczycielskiej. Dzieje się tak dlatego, gdyż stwarzają okazję do wykorzystywania wiedzy teoretycznej w działaniu praktycznym. Pozwalają też poznać specyfikę zawodu nauczycielskiego, rozwijają kompetencje zawodowe i umożliwiają szersze spojrzenie na edukację. Dlatego można powiedzieć, że dobra praktyka pedagogiczna jest najlepszym nauczycielem.

**Słowa kluczowe:** edukacja pedagogiczna, wiedza, kompetencje, praktyka pedagogiczna, nauczyciele

(стаття подана мовою оригіналу)

**Wprowadzenie w problematykę.** Przemiany dokonujące się w życiu społecznym determinują poszukiwanie nowego modelu kształcenia nauczycieli.