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HUNGARIAN

The Hungarian language in education in Romania

| Regional dossiers series |

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Glossary

ANOFM	Agencia Națională Pentru Ocuparea Fortei de Muncă – RO (National Agency for Labour Force Employment)
ARACIP	Agencia Română de Asigurare a Calității în Învățământul Preuniversitar – RO (Romanian Agency for Quality Assurance in Pre-University Education)
ARACIS	Agencia Română de Asigurare a Calității în Învățământul Superior - RO (Romanian Agency for Quality Assurance in Higher Education)
BBTE	Babeş-Bolyai Tudományegyetem – HU, Universitatea Babeş- Bolyai – RO (University of Babes Bolyai)
CNEE	Consiliul Național de Evaluare și de Examinare – RO (National Center for Evaluation and Examination)
RMPSZ	Româniai Magyar Pedagógus Szövetség – HU, Uninunea Cadrelor Didactice Maghiare din România - RO (Hungarian Teacher's Association of Romania)
RMDSZ	Româniai Magyar Demokrata Szövetség – HU, Uniunea Democrată Maghiară din România – RO (Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania)
MEN	Ministerul Educației Naționale (Ministry of Education)
LEN	Legea Educației Naționale - RO (National Education Law)
ANC	Autoritatea Națională pentru Calificări – RO (National Authority for Qualifications)
Sapientia EMTE	Sapientia Erdélyi Magyar Tudományegyetem – HU, Universitatea Sapientia – RO (Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania)
INS	Institutul Național de Statistică – RO (National Institute of Statistics)

Foreword

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

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

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

target group The dossiers serve several purposes and are relevant for policy-makers, researchers, teachers, students and journalists who wish to explore developments in minority language schooling in Europe. They can also serve as a first orientation towards further research, or function as a source of ideas for improving educational provisions in their own region.

link with Eurydice The format of the Regional dossiers follows the format of Eurydice – the information network on education in Europe – in order

to link the regional descriptions with those of national education systems. Eurydice provides information on the administration and structure of national education systems in the member states of the European Union.

contents

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

1 Introduction

language

According to the dominant theories in linguistics, the Hungarian language is a member of the Uralic language family. The Hungarian language belongs to the Finno-Ugric branch and is considered the largest Finno-Ugric language. It should be noted, though, that there are some alternative theories questioning this fact which argue that, based on the similarities in their basic structures, the Hungarian language is related to other language families (e.g. the Turkic family).

The Hungarian language is spoken most widely in Hungary and primarily spoken in the neighbouring countries. According to the most recent official data available (census data from 2011), there are 1,2 million Hungarian speakers in Romania (Transylvania), 450,000 in Slovakia and 250,000 in Serbia. There are no recent data available from Ukraine, but there are an estimated 150,000 of Hungarian speakers. There are also 9,000 native speakers of Hungarian in Croatia and 4,000 in Slovenia. To a lesser or greater extent, the Hungarian language is used in other parts of the world as well, especially in the diasporas formed after emigration during the last couple of decades. Migration processes continue to exist in the present and, as a result, in Western Europe (especially in Great Britain and in Germany) there are several hundred-thousand Hungarian-speaking guest workers; some of them coming from minority language territories.

The new geopolitical context arising from the Treaty of Trianon ending World War I is of key importance in terms of the history of the Hungarian language. For a long time, the New Hungarian phase has been dated from 1772 (the starting point of the Age of Enlightenment) in the history of the Hungarian language. Nowadays it is also debated, with more and more experts arguing, that after 1918 and 1920 we have arrived to the “newest Hungarian phase” in terms of the history of the language.

This newest phase of the Hungarian language has at least two very important characteristics. Firstly, after 1920 the linguistic changes in the Hungarian language are parallel in

the countries of the Carpathian Basin, and therefore nowadays we can experience significant differences among Hungarian languages used in different countries. Secondly, in this phase the Hungarian language is considered an official language only in Hungary. Despite the legal rights of using the language in education and in other social spaces, neither in Romania, nor in other neighbouring countries the Hungarian language is considered as a fully official language. The differences in the changes of the Hungarian language are not pejorative, and do not mean disintegration; quite on the contrary, they signify processes of linguistic viability. In spite of the regional linguistic specificities the linguistic identity is very strong among Hungarians. One result of the different language evolution is the existence of differences between the Hungarian language spoken in Hungary and the regional varieties. The regional (minority) Hungarian language varieties are spoken by bilingual people, by people living in a bilingual official environment. In their language practices the use of analytical structures (instead of synthetic ones) is common, just like the loan of words and phrases and loan translations. It is also true for minority Hungarians (e.g. Hungarians of Szeklerland) who live in a region populated mainly by Hungarians and do not speak (well) the official Romanian language of the state.

Thanks to the linguistic school of Kolozsvár(H)/Cluj(R) the Hungarian dialects of Transylvania are well-documented. These studies distinguish six dialects, such as that of the Transylvanian Plain, Szeklerland, Moldavia (Csango), Kalotaszeg (Țara Călatei), Szilágyság (Sălaj) and Bihar (Bihar), and they also mention the language islands of Bánát (Banat). These dialects do not differ significantly from the standard language of Hungary, not even in the level of isoglosses and they are connected to the other language territories along their basic linguistic characteristics (Péntek, 2008, p. 136-137).

The dialect of the Transylvanian Plain is spoken in the middle of Transylvania where also the folk-culture and traditional belief system are strong. The Szekler dialect is spoken in the Eastern

regions of Transylvania, but, in accordance with the formerly existing 'seats' (historical territorial administrative units), the dialect itself is highly divided. The Moldavian Csango forms the most archaic language island, the speakers are Roman Catholics of Hungarian origin but, because of the language shift, nowadays they are mostly of Romanian identity with Romanian vernaculars (Péntek, 2008).

population

In 2011 there was the last census in Romania according to which the number of Hungarian native speakers was 1,259 914, while the number of people with Hungarian ethnic origin was 1,227 623 (Institutul Național de Statistică, 2011). According to these census data Hungarian vernacular speakers make up 6,3 per cent of the total population of Romania (and 19 per cent of the population of Transylvania). In Transylvania the Hungarian native speakers – live in four (partly) separate regions: the Szeklerland region (Hargita/Harghita, Kovászna/Covasna and part of Maros/Mureș county) in which they make up the majority; the so called Partium where the proportion of Romanians and Hungarians is more or less balanced (part of Bihar/Bihar, Szatmár/Satu Mare and Szilágy/Sălaj counties) and finally the interethnic zones in which the Hungarian population is in minority. In terms of these we can differentiate between the Central Transylvanian region where Hungarians form a relative minority and diasporas (in South Transylvania, North Transylvania and counties of the Bánság/Banat region) where the proportion of Hungarians does not reach 10 per cent. It should be noted that Hungarian native speakers live outside of the Transylvanian counties as well: more than 5,000 in Bákó/Bacău county and 3308 people have declared Hungarian as his/her mother tongue in Bucharest, Romania's capital.

language status

The official language of Romania is the Romanian language (Romanian Constitution, Article 13). In 1995 Romania signed the Framework Convention for the Protection of National minorities by the Council of Europe (Act 1995/31) that pronounces the right to use minority languages, amongst which is Hungarian, freely. Act 2001/215 on Local Public Administration declares that

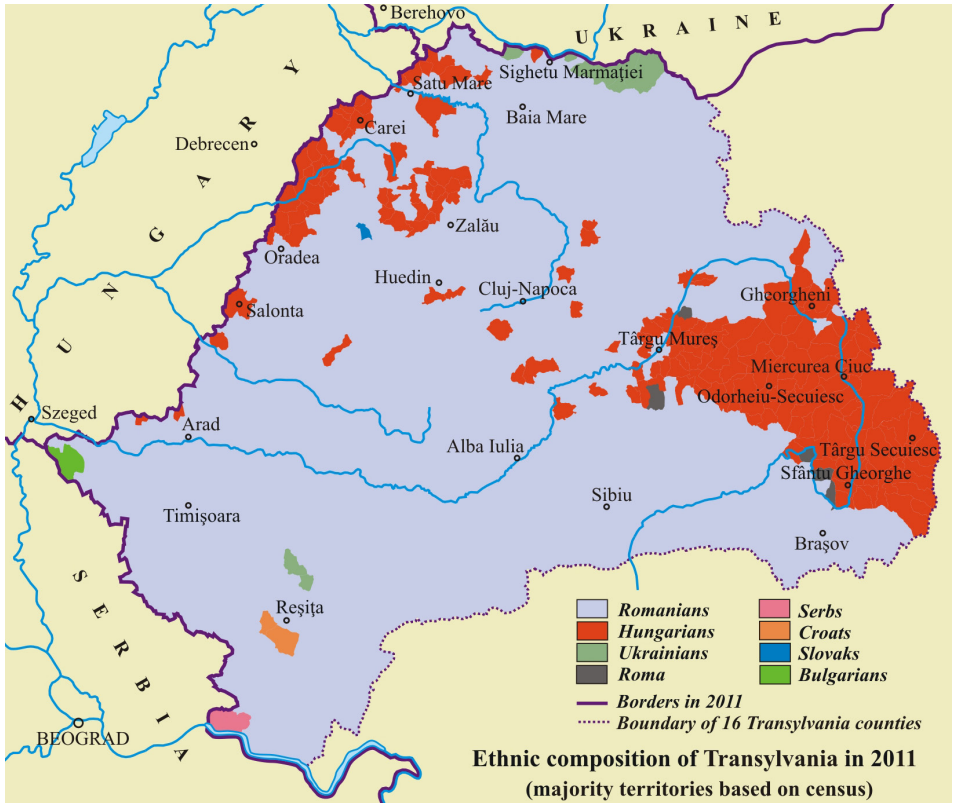


Figure 1. Ethnic composition of Transylvania in 2011. From László Sebők, based on census 2011.

in settlements where the number of people of a given minority group reaches 20 per cent the local authorities shall ensure the right to use the minority language in bureaucratic procedures (Article 19). At these settlements minority languages may be used orally and in writing at the public administration and the offices shall employ people with the knowledge of the minority language in positions requiring direct contact with the local population (Act 2001/215 Article 76, Governmental Decree nr. 2001/1206 Article 15; Act 1999/188 on the Legal Status of Civil Servants Article 108). The prevailing legislation declares that the number and proportion of national minorities shall be determined on the basis of the most recent census data.

**status of
language
education**

The Romanian educational system is regulated by Act 2011/1 Legea Educației Naționale (National Education Law; hereafter: LEN). Article 12 of the part on public education regulates the education in minority languages. In short, in terms of education in minority languages, we shall conclude that both the local autonomy and the principle of positive discrimination prevail (Veres 2012, p.110).

Article 10 of the Act pronounces that it is obligatory for all citizens to learn the official language of the country (Romanian). Therefore, the curriculum has to include an adequate number of Romanian classes, and the authorities will ensure that the human and financial resources for doing so are available.

Pursuant to this Act though, education can also be provided in minority or in foreign languages. For national minorities, training can be provided in native languages at all levels and forms of the public education. Should local authorities fail to ensure education in the mother tongue of the national minorities at a certain location, it has to be provided at the nearest settlement. In such a case, students shall be given travel reimbursement or, in the case of boarding schools, accommodation and meals have to be provided free of charge.

The basis for financing public education is a norm, based on the number of students (per capita financing). Article 45 of the Act pronounces that if education is provided in the language of national minorities this norm shall be multiplied by a so called 'correction factor'. This correction factor is based on the linguistic and geographical/territorial isolation of the national minority community, and the reduced student number.

The principle of positive discrimination is applied to the organisation of education as well: schools may acquire independent legal personality if the number of students reaches 300 (Article 19), with the exclusion of settlements in which there is only one institution that provides education in minority language (Article 45; Paragraph 4).

School boards have to include representatives of the national minorities proportionate to their number in the population. The same is true for school inspection bodies responsible for quality assurance and for public bodies with similar functions (Article 45; Paragraph 8). In mixed schools, i.e. schools providing education in both the official language and in minority language, one of the school masters has to be a member of the minority. Teachers of minority language schools have to certify that they have the required knowledge of the language and they have the right to participate in national or international further education in the given language. Interestingly, teachers teaching Romanian grammar and literature are excluded from this regulation (Article 15, Paragraphs 10-11.).

Textbooks and course material necessary for education in minority languages are provided by the Ministry of Education (Ministerul Educației Naționale; hereafter: MEN). Books used in the minority education may be originally written in the minority language or may be books translated from Romanian. Textbooks published abroad may also be used, but these have to be approved by the MEN a priori.

Article 46 of the Act covers questions regarding the content of education in minority languages. With the exclusion of Romanian grammar and literature, all subjects, including geography and history are taught in the minority language. However, the names of settlements and geographic formations have to be learnt in the official language of the state as well. This is especially important in Romania since some of these subjects (e.g. the History of Romania and the Geography of Romania) were taught only in the official language of the state for decades.

At the same time, subjects covering the history and culture of minorities have been introduced in the curriculum of public education. Another novelty of the LEN is that, in all levels of public education, Romanian grammar and literature (as a school subject) is taught in a way that is customized to the linguistic specificities of the given minority language both in terms of the curricula and textbooks. If a national minority does

not claim to receive this (Romanian grammar and literature) based on a distinct curriculum, textbooks used in mainstream (Romanian language schools) are applied.

It should also be noted that, pursuant to the Act, positive discrimination practices (finance, education management), applied in terms of national minorities, could be also applied in the case of schools teaching in Romanian as well if they operate in settlements with only one educational institution (e.g. when – mainly Romanian – students learning in Romanian are in relative local minority position - like in the case of some settlements in Szeklerland). Interestingly, these regulations are only listed in regulations concerning national minorities (LEN Article 47).

**education
system**

The formal education system is divided into two parts: pre-university and university education. In the pre-university education there are nursery schools (age 0-3), pre-schools (organised in three levels for age 3-6), elementary schools (grade 1-4), junior schools (grade 5-9), and secondary schools (grade 9-12/13). One of the novelties of the LEN (2011) was that it introduced the so called zero grade (or preparatory grade) and also that it classified grade 9 as part of junior education. Pursuant of a decree of December 2013 (Urgent Decree nr. 2013/117 on modification of Act 2011/1 on National Education) grade 9 has been classified again as part of secondary education.

According to the prevailing legislation the mandatory education is 11 years including the preparatory (zero) grade and elementary, junior and the first two years of secondary schooling (grade 9 and 10). The commitment for 11 years of schooling ceases to exist after reaching the age of 18.

The LEN also regulates Romanian higher education. In general, the law regulates management issues, by taking the autonomy of universities into account, and gives decisional authority primarily to institutes at the expense of faculties. It does not mean though that the influence of the state decreases.

Romania has joined the Bologna process; therefore, higher education is divided into bachelor (BA), master (MA) and post-graduate (PhD) levels. Institutions of higher education are classified into three groups (a. education; b. education and research; c. advanced education and research universities). Quality assurance and accreditation is primarily provided by a body called ARACIS (Agenția Română de Asigurare a Calității în Învățământul Superior – Romanian Agency for Quality Assurance in Higher Education).

Thanks to the LEN the issue of minority higher education is more wide spread nowadays. The Act declares that higher education programmes may also be organised in the language of national minorities and such programmes may be realised at multilingual, multicultural universities within faculties in which they teach minority languages or, shall the need arise, at any higher educational institutions (LEN Article 135).

The attempts at reform in the Romanian education system after 1989 may be divided into several phases: at the very beginning of the 1990s the proclamation for reforms has been characterised by some sort of legal chasm or chaos. After 1992 there was a growing demand at the society for the initiation of real reforms. One could say that this has partially been successful, for the first act on education following the regime change has been accepted in 1995. In the years after this Act has been modified several times.

An important year from a Hungarian minority point of view is 1996, since it was the year in which the Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania (Romániai Magyar Demokrata Szövetség; hereafter: RMDSZ) became a member of the Romanian Government. Understandably, as a member of the government, the RMDSZ aimed to reach one of its main goals, namely to make sure that the legal requirements for education in the minority language were met (for more details see Papp, 1998).

While the Act on education in 1995 showed signs of centralisa-

tion efforts, the government policy of the following years, just like the apparatus of the education system, took a decentralist approach. Commissioned by the MEN a strategy has been elaborated as early as 2005 in which the experts argued for the necessity of decentralizing public education (Ministerul Educației Naționale, 2005). The document points out that decentralist education policy is important in the fields of curricula, evaluation systems, decisions concerning schooling, school management and administration, human resources and finances as well. All these strategic goals are included in the Act of 2011.

**private and
public**

The current legislation on education permits private and religious groups to provide public and higher education (LEN Article 15; 114 and 122). Private schools may be established by meeting the same requirements as state-run schools, although state authorities do not have a say in the code of conduct within these institutions. The state finances these private schools offering public education, but they have to apply for approval at the Agenția Română pentru Asigurarea Calității în Învățământul Preuniversitar (Romanian Agency for Quality Assurance in Pre-University Education, hereafter: ARACIP) which approves the operational permit, accreditation and also carries out periodic professional inspections (LEN Article 60). Private higher educational institutions may also be established by foundations and recognised churches and the state approves those pursuant to the Act 2006/87 on Accreditation.

From the Hungarian minority's point of view religious schools run by the church have been some sort of alternative to the centralised system of the 1990s. Teaching started in buildings reclaimed by churches, with one class and part-time teachers to start with. Later on, these schools expanded. The Act of 1995 on Education defined religious education as the training of religious personnel and such education has only been possible at the secondary level. However, in the framework of Hungarian minority education, religious education meant the running of several programmes in human and natural

sciences by the historic churches. Subsequent regulations relieved the restrictions and, as it appears in the Act of 2011, the churches may now establish institutions at all levels of education. Because of a population decline, the institutions run by the church sometimes cause conflicts with other schools that use Hungarian language. This is true for both lower levels (for example in 2003 the capacity number of church-run schools has not been approved in Kolozsvár/Cluj because of the decreasing number of children) (Fóris- Ferenczi, 2007), and for higher education (in the connections of the BBTE (Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai) and the Sapientia EMTE (Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania) which receives its funding from Hungary but is classified as a church-run private university in Romania) (Papp, 2006).

**bilingual
education forms**

The current law on education enables bilingual education in compulsory education but it is not focussed on Hungarian minority education but rather on Romanian and other foreign languages (e.g. English, French, Spanish). At the same time, although it qualifies as education aimed at a certain national minority, education in Hungarian language is bilingual education in the pedagogical practice. The curriculum frameworks of minority education fully follow the Romanian curricula with the exception that, of course, in schools teaching in Hungarian language all subjects are taught in Hungarian, and Hungarian grammar and literature and the history of the minority group are added to the curriculum. It is interesting to note that the practice itself started in the 1990s and was strengthened by the new act (LEN Article 60). As a result, the number of classes for students taught in Hungarian is higher than that of the number of classes taught in Romanian which, according to experts, violates the principle of equal opportunities, because minority students have more classes per week (Fóris-Ferenczi, 2007).

Bi- or multilingual education is possible in higher education as well. Higher educational institutions have the right to offer programmes in foreign languages and in terms of the Hungarian minority the current law allows students to enter so called

multicultural and multilingual universities. The act names three institutions that are classified as multicultural: the BBTE in Kolozsvár/Cluj at which programmes are offered in Romanian, Hungarian and German; the UMF (University of Medicine and Pharmacy of Târgu Mureş) and the University of Arts which is also located in Marosvásárhely/Târgu Mureş and offers programmes in Romanian and Hungarian. In programmes offered in minority languages at multicultural universities certain subjects are taught also in Romanian.

administration The main governing body of the education system is the MEN that, as the central authority, is responsible for the practical application of education policy, and it is - among others - in charge of managing, coordinating, supervising and evaluating the entire educational system. The work of the Ministry is supported by county school-inspection authorities that are also responsible for the regional organisation of compulsory education (LEN Article 93). Beside their supervising, controlling and evaluating function the county school-inspection authorities prepare annual reports for the Ministry, and participates in conflict management between schools and municipalities (LEN Articles 94 and 95). In counties in which minority language education is offered, school-inspectors responsible for this part of the education are appointed by the county's school-inspection authorities. When these persons have been appointed, the parliamentary representatives of the given national minority are invited for consultation (LEN Article 95, Paragraph 4). Therefore, it can be concluded that county school-inspectors responsible for the education in Hungarian language shall win the trust of Hungarian minority politicians (of RMDSZ). In some counties (e.g. in Kovászna/Covasna) the inspector has been in charge for more than one Parliamentary term of office.

Based on the number of students the basic finances, i.e. wages, are provided by the Ministry, but the maintenance and development of the infrastructure is covered by municipalities' budgets.

inspection

Pursuant to the Ministerial Decree of 2012, external inspection is carried out by the above mentioned ARACIP, established in 2005 (Ministerial Decree 2012/6517). The accreditation and quality assurance of higher educational institutions is provided by the ARACIS. For pre-university education the county school-inspection is responsible.

Each county school-inspection authority employs several inspectors and one or two vice county school-inspectors. In counties where there exists education in Hungarian language one of the vice county school-inspectors is always a member of the Hungarian community. However, a Hungarian vice county school-inspector is not necessarily responsible for the whole Hungarian education in a county. In Mures county for example the Romanian vice county school-inspector is responsible for the Hungarian pre-school and elementary education, the Hungarian vice county school-inspector is responsible only for the Hungarian language and literature in classes 5 and higher. Another important aspect is that in all counties there is no specific inspector for the whole Hungarian education. In each relevant Transylvanian county, there are inspectors for pre-school and elementary education in the Hungarian language, however, inspections at higher school levels are mainly organised by discipline. Therefore, there are inspectors for certain disciplines (biology, mathematics, etc.), and among these an inspector for Hungarian language and literature. It can be concluded from this structure, that at county level – formally speaking – responsibility for education in the Hungarian language (beside Hungarian language and literature as a discipline) belongs to inspectors who are not necessary Hungarians. Moreover, due to the organisation structure of the inspection, Hungarian minority education seems to be treated differently, which means that at county level Hungarian language study lines are not integrated in a common system of responsibility.

Due to the Ministerial Decree 2011/5547 there are three types of inspections: general school inspection, thematic inspection and special inspection. General school inspection aims to evaluate the whole school as an educational provider. Thematic

inspections are referring to evaluate or control one or more specific school aspects (e.g. how the legal prescriptions are applied in the school, evaluation for extra-curricular activity). Special inspections targets the evaluation of school activity of a teacher. These type of teacher's evaluations are necessary for carrier advancement: for obtaining the eligibility for contract of indefinite duration („definitory status”), and later the 2nd and 1st grade statuses. Inspections are carried out by a team of two to eight inspectors. In the case of Hungarian language schools, the team of inspectors should be accompanied by the inspector for Hungarian language and literature, or by some methodological external expert who knows the Hungarian language. To sum up the whole inspection procedures one can say that the inspection of Hungarian language education is formally integrated in the whole system, however there are no specific and independent local or regional authority for education in Hungarian language.

**support
structure**

There are several bodies responsible for education in the Hungarian language and for teaching Hungarian. Within the state structure these are the ministerial institutions and departments at school-inspection authorities. Within the ministry there is the state secretariat of minority education (cabinet secretar de stat - învățământ minorități) under which there is also the general directorate of minority education (direcția generală învățământ în limbile minorităților). Although the aims of the two institutions do not differ significantly, we might say that while the state secretariat is mainly responsible for strategic issues (improving the quality of education in minority languages), the general directorate carries out more practical tasks and is responsible for organising the education in minority languages, including Hungarian.

It should be noted that, although they are responsible for education in all minority languages, both institutions are led by persons of Hungarian origin who gained pedagogical practice by teaching in schools with Hungarian curricula.

Beside the General Directorate there is a so-called Minority Department within which there are units responsible for education in each minority language, Hungarian included. The Hungarian language unit has a leader and three employees. In practice they, and experts they call upon pursuant to the law, decide on the content of education in Hungarian by giving an opinion on textbooks and participating in the elaboration of topics of the final exam for Hungarian language schools. The employees of the Hungarian language unit are as well working as Hungarian language teachers, which is important because the Hungarian language is the only subject of which the exam topics are not translated from Romanian to Hungarian. A three-persons-personnel is an improvement because before there was only one person responsible for the Hungarian textbooks for each and every class. At the same time, it is still questionable how three literature teachers can carry out responsible professional control etc. in regard of the textbooks of all subjects.

Next to that, there are civil organisations and the minority political party (RMDSZ) who are engaged in sustaining education in Hungarian. The RMDSZ holds schooling campaigns for the promotion of education in Hungarian. The most well-known activity of the Hungarian Teachers' Association of Romania (Romániai Magyar Pedagógusok Szövetsége; hereafter: RMPSZ) established in 1991, is the Bolyai Summer Academy offering extension courses for teachers. Four regional educational centres and the Textbook Council of Transylvania fall under the RMPSZ. The impact of the RMPSZ cannot be measured directly, but it is important to note that Hungarian teachers in Romania have access to two Hungarian language Transylvanian professional magazines edited by RMDSZ and RMPSZ (*Magyar Közoktatás, Magiszter*), and a publishing company specialised in Hungarian textbooks.

The kin-state (Hungary) supports Hungarian minority education in Romania (and in other countries of the Carpathian Basin) through different projects (*Year of the Elementary School Students, Year of the Secondary School Students*). While the

maintenance of Hungarian minority education is a duty of the Romanian state, financial support from the kin-state cannot subside the role of the Romanian state. Therefore, in the case of compulsory education, these external directed kin-state's support would generate some innovation in the subsystems of minority education. The support can only be used for pedagogical innovation or for some local school development projects and cannot manage the whole Hungarian language education in Romania. At the same time, we should note that the support from Hungary come through civil or church-run organisations based in Romania.

According to experts the main problem of minority education in Hungarian is that it does not have an expressive responsible body. Having multiple actors in the educational system is not a problem in itself, but in the case of Hungarian education in Romania, no unified coordination by institutions or authorities is problematic. In theory, every institution is under the authority of the MEN, the funding is made from state and local budgets, professional supervision is provided both by the above-mentioned ministerial units and the school-inspection authorities. To conclude, existing state and civil organisations are very important from an everyday operational point of view, but nobody is expressively responsible for forming a systematic strategy for schools offering education in minority languages and for developments.

The provision of textbooks is far from being smooth, minority schools do not join nationwide development projects, they do not participate proportionally in national surveys and in international (PISA or TIMSS) measurements, a lot of basic indicators concerning minority education are non-existent or are not available for the general public. Although several state and civil proposals had been made in the last couple of years, we do not have a general picture of the inner world of Hungarian education in Romania: for example both RMPSZ and RMDSZ on its webpages have a section concerning Hungarian language education and institutions in Romania, however the

data are not up to date, and one can find very few data about schools. Reliable time series data on students or teachers involved in Hungarian language education can be found only on the webpage of the National Institute of Statistics (INS), however other type of educational indicators are not structured by language of education. Moreover, one can observe that the results of the sparse research on Hungarian minority education are not applied and disseminated in the everyday school practice and improvement. The LEN mentioned above allows the integration of experts into the Institute of Educational Sciences in Bucharest (Institutul de Științe ale Educației) but it has not happened up to this day.

2 Pre-school education

target group The target group of pre-school education is children from 0 to the age of 6, in which we differentiate between nursery schools (for 0-3 year old children) and kindergartens (for 3-6 year old children).

structure Kindergarten training is organised on three levels, for 3 year old, 4 year old and five to six year old children. It can operate based on normal, elongated or weekly programmes.

The pre-school curriculum focuses on physical and cognitive progress and on screening for disorders. There is no data available specifically related to minorities in the curriculum concerning nursery school training (Ministerul Educației, Cercetării și Tineretului, 2008), but there is data in relation to kindergarten training. In this document it is stated that out of the 24-28 classes, 1-2 classes are weekly devoted to the Hungarian language and to the Romanian language. (Ministerul Educației și Cercetării, 2006) The aim of training in the mother tongue is to make children able to communicate orally, and to help them develop basic aesthetic and literature taste.

legislation Pre-school education is as well part of the education system and therefore regulated by the LEN (LEN, Articles 23, 27 and 28). The Ministry of Education is responsible for the kindergartens. This Ministry determines also the general content and the quality standards of pre-school-education. Kindergarten teachers are hired by local administrative authorities, jointly with the county level school inspectorates. According to the law there is the possibility to found a private kindergarten, however this type of institutions should be accredited by the central educational authorities.

language use According to the National Institute of Statistics (Institutul Național de Statistică, hereafter: INS) the number of children involved in a Hungarian language kindergarten has decreased over the last 26 years: in 1990 this was a number of 47600 children, which it has

diminished to 32911 in 2016 Overall, after 1990, the Hungarian kindergarten population has been reduced approximately with 30 percent.

Unfortunately, there is no exact data regarding the number of kindergartens and/or groups where the Hungarian language is used as language of instruction. Based on the data provided on the website of the RMPSZ, there are 1072 institutions with Hungarian language groups. According to the webpage of the Ministry of Education (“School Map”/”Harta Şcolii”) there are 580 kindergartens where the language of instruction is Hungarian. The differences between the two numbers (1072 and 580) is probably stemming from the fact that in Harta Şcolii data only one language of instruction can be mentioned. Therefore, institutions which two languages of instruction (Romanian and Hungarian) were signed as Romanian language units

In public and private kindergartens some (auxiliary) teaching materials are used. These materials are elaborated and officially accredited by the ME in relation with the current national curriculum for pre-schools. The Ministry of Education each year publishes a list of accepted teaching materials on its website. Between 2013 and 2016 approved printed teaching materials for Hungarian language kindergartens were mainly published by Kreativ Kiadó from Marosvásárhely/ Târgu Mureş, Corvin Kiadó from Déva/Deva, Kedvenc Kiadó from Székelyudvarhely/Odorhei Secuiesc and Novum Impex from Boldogasszonyfalva/Felicien. These teaching materials aim to develop communication in the mother-tongue, in Romanian, in musical skills, basic mathematic and writing competencies of preschool children. According to some experts, the teaching materials in kindergartens were mainly accepted in terms of formal requirements, therefore their quality was often questionable. At the same time, in everyday teaching practice it was also possible to use materials from Hungary.

statistics

Table 1: Changing number of children in Hungarian language preschools compared to 1990

Year	nr.	% (1990=100%)
1990	47600	100,0
1991	47530	99,9
1992	49255	103,5
1993	48192	101,2
1994	47754	100,3
1995	45839	96,3
1996	42816	89,9
1997	40978	86,1
1998	40397	84,9
1999	40207	84,5
2000	40086	84,2
2001	40266	84,6
2002	41457	87,1
2003	40811	85,7
2004	41207	86,6
2005	41104	86,4
2006	41280	86,7
2007	41054	86,2
2008	41184	86,5
2009	41857	87,9
2010	42747	89,8
2011	43412	91,2
2012	36284	76,2
2013	35348	74,3
2014	34705	72,9
2015	33965	71,4
2016	32911	69,1

Note: 1990=100%. Data from: <http://statistici.insse.ro/shop/> INS

3 Primary education

target group Primary education includes the preparatory year, years 1-4 (*învăţământul primar* in Romanian) and the so-called grammar (junior) school years 5-8 (*învăţământul gimnazial* in Romanian). This level of education is compulsory and it targets children of 6-14 years.

structure All children reaching the age of 6 must be enrolled in preparatory class, except those who have special training needs. The Ministry of Education runs programmes of “Second Chance” for those who are not able to finish this level of education by the time of reaching the age of 14 (LEN, Article 29). The same is possible in terms of grammar school years, if the age of the student to be enrolled does not exceed the general age of the students at the given level by more than four years. For those who finished grade 8 and do not wish to continue their education immediately there is a right to enrol in trainings registered in the National Qualification Framework (Cadrul naţional al calificărilor) until the age of 18. The National Qualification Framework has 8 levels. Students enrolled in trainings after the 8th grade have the possibility to gain the third level if the qualification framework. This level certifies that he or she is able to pursue practical professional activities, and – like in the European qualification framework - can take responsibility for completion of tasks in work or study and can adapt his or her own behaviour to circumstances where problem solving is needed.

The average number of students in elementary classes is 20 and cannot be less than 12 or more than 25. In grammar school classes the average number of students is 25, and cannot be less than 12 or more than 30. As already pointed out, schools offering education in minority languages may diverge from these numbers. According to the Article 63 of the LEN minority schools could have a smaller number of students than ordinary schools. The lesser number of students in minority schools - after a consultation with the school - should be approved by the Ministry of Education.

The national curriculum framework consists of obligatory and optional subjects. The ministry decides which subjects are obligatory, while in the case of the optional subjects the school may choose from a list of modules provided by the state or offer its own classes. The number of obligatory classes in elementary and grammar school classes is maximised to 20 classes increased by classes on language, history and culture is the case of minority education. Obligatory classes make up 80 per cent and optional classes 20 per cent of the total number of classes per week. 75 per cent of the time shall be spent on teaching and grading the students. Teachers have the right to decide what to do with the remaining 25 per cent of the time (e.g. coaching along particular curriculum, advanced classes for talented children, etc.).

legislation

The Ministry of Education (the above-mentioned State Secretariat, Main Department and Department) prepares and approves the minority curricula, pedagogical programmes, textbooks and methodological guides and invites the so called National Committee of Hungarian Language (Comisia națională pentru limba maghiară), convened by the Ministry, in the process (LEN, Article 94, Paragraph 3). The Appendix of the Ministerial Decree nr. 2012/5671 on Education of and in native languages gives a detailed description of the goals and methods for minority education.

language use

Education in the Hungarian language is available at these levels. Based on the request of parents, schools teaching in Romanian can offer courses in the Hungarian language, culture and history (LEN, Article 46. Paragraph 7), as it is the case in some Moldavian Csango villages and other Hungarian diasporas in Transylvania.

In order to strengthen Hungarian minority education several nationwide Hungarian language competitions and quizzes are organised by schools and by the Transylvanian Association for Mother-tongue Preservation, with financial support coming from the state or from civil organisations (Kányádi Sándor recitation competition, Kőrösi Csoma Sándor competition on

mother-tongue, Kriza János story telling competition, Ószirózsa folksong festival, etc.). According to the organisers this type of competition strengthens the prestige of the Hungarian language, enables the students to use their mother tongue, and endorse the knowledge of students on Hungarian literature and cultural traditions.

**teaching
materials**

Each year the Ministry of Education publishes a list of accepted teaching materials on its website. Some of these materials are available in electronic format as well. Elaboration of manuals in pre-university school levels are regulated by Ministerial Decree 2013/5559 and in the case of 5th grade by a relatively new decree: 2017/3411. Elaboration, acceptation and digital publications of the manuals are managed by a special unit of the Ministry of Education: National Center for Evaluation and Examination (Centrul National de Evaluare și de Examinare, in Hungarian: Országos *Értékelési és Vizsgáztatási* Központ, hereafter CNEE).

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Teaching material should meet formal and special requirements and needs to be send to CNEE for acceptance. A team of 5 experts evaluate the manuals. In case the manual is intended to be used in national minorities' education, the evaluation committee should contain persons who know the minority language. In Hungarian language education there are two types of manuals: manuals which are translated from the Romanian manuals and manuals who are elaborated by the institutions themselves. There are legal possibilities to create own materials in the case of Hungarian language and literature, the history and tradition of the Hungarian national minority and musical education. These materials need to have a translation in Romanian in order to evaluate the content. These translations are only used in the evaluation process, and are not published.

statistics

The number of children involved in Hungarian language primary education has decreased over the last 24 years: from 142,459 children in 1990, to 91,469 in 2016 (detailed data see in Statistical Annexes). From 1990 onwards the Hungarian

primary school population has decreased to approximately 36 percent. According to the aforementioned Harta Școlii data, there are at least 513 schools where Hungarian is the main language of instruction.

Table 2: Changing number of pupils in Hungarian language primary schools compared to 1990

Year	nr.	% (1990=100%)
1990	142459	100,0
1991	134486	94,4
1992	128879	90,5
1993	125480	88,1
1994	124167	87,2
1995	121215	85,1
1996	120597	84,7
1997	121244	85,1
1998	122385	85,9
1999	119157	83,6
2000	114420	80,3
2001	109498	76,9
2002	106515	74,8
2003	104068	73,1
2004	99428	69,8
2005	96266	67,6
2006	93944	65,9
2007	92816	65,2
2008	91732	64,4
2009	90930	63,8
2010	90779	63,7
2011	87605	61,5
2012	95247	66,9
2013	95824	67,3
2014	94326	66,2
2015	93222	65,4
2016	91469	64,2

4 Secondary education

target group The target group at secondary education are students between the age of 14 to 18 years old. Students who have graduated the 8th grade of primary education can opt for continuing education at secondary level.

structure Secondary, so called lyceum education is carried out in three main areas: 1. A theoretical specialisation (*filiera teoretică* in Romanian) where training is available in human and natural sciences; 2. A technological specialisation (*filiera tehnologică* in Romanian) where trainings are offered in mechanics, service economy, natural resources and environmental protection and 3. A so called vocational specialisation (*filiera vocațională* in Romanian) where trainings are offered in military sciences, theology, sports, arts and pedagogy.

The trainings are usually offered on a full-time basis; in some special cases there is a possibility to attend the training in a different form. These are 3 or 4 years programmes and, pursuant to the LEN, grades 9 and 10 are compulsory as well.

Technological and vocational lyceums are maintained by the county school-inspection authorities. Technological and vocational training may also be offered upon the request of a company or the National Workforce Centre. Students attending these trainings have the possibility to develop professional practice in school or – on a contractual base – at a company.

Students finish their studies by taking oral and written exams (*bacalaureat*, LEN, Article 77). Those who studied in Hungarian shall take oral and written exams in their mother tongue, in a foreign language, in digital competencies and in special subjects. Successful examinees receive a secondary school diploma that entitles them to enter higher education. Besides taking the final school leaving exam, those studying at lyceums can take a professional exam as well and receive a Europass Certificate Supplement. It is worthy to mention that due to new

exam control methodologies in the last academic years failure rates of these exams were pretty high (40% in 2014).

The so-called post-lyceum education is in a way a transition between secondary and higher education, in the framework of which they receive higher-level vocational training. These are 1-3 years programmes and are partially financed by the state (LEN, Article 44).

legislation Secondary education is also regulated by LEN, and it is coordinated by Ministry of Education. This level of education is also supervised by county school inspection offices.

language use In secondary education in Romania there are legal possibilities to use Hungarian in education. The Hungarian language can be used as a language of instruction, and it is also permitted to use it in Romanian language schools – if parents request it. In “Hungarian schools” (where the language of instruction is Hungarian) the Romanian language and literature is taught in Romanian. The history and geography of Romania place names should be learnt in Romanian, too (LEN, Article 46, paragraph 8).

teaching material Elaboration of teaching materials has the same legal background and procedure as at elementary level. Besides Hungarian language and literature, other manuals are translations of Romanian versions.

statistics The number of students involved in Hungarian language education in secondary education has decreased over the last 24 years: from 41,367 students in 1990, to 25,916 in 2016 (detailed data see in Statistical Annexes). From 1990 onwards, the Hungarian secondary school population has reduced with 37 per cent.

According to Harta Școlii data there are at least 53 secondary schools where Hungarian language is the main language of instruction. Of course, there are other mainly Romanian

language schools where school classes in Hungarian exist as well. In post-lyceum type of education 525 students were involved in 1990, and this number increased to 1252 in 2016.

Table 3: Changing number of students in Hungarian language secondary schools compared to 1990

Year	nr.	% (1990=100%)
1990	41367	100,0
1991	33447	80,9
1992	31196	75,4
1993	30475	73,7
1994	30055	72,7
1995	29950	72,4
1996	29604	71,6
1997	29196	70,6
1998	27274	65,9
1999	26430	63,9
2000	26207	63,4
2001	28301	68,4
2002	29415	71,1
2003	29634	71,6
2004	31013	75,0
2005	30876	74,6
2006	30968	74,9
2007	31559	76,3
2008	31616	76,4
2009	33563	81,1
2010	35452	85,7
2011	36872	89,1
2012	34555	83,5
2013	32418	78,4
2014	29037	70,2
2015	27121	65,6
2016	25916	62,6

Note: 1990=100%. Data from <http://statistici.insse.ro/shop/> INS

Table 4: Changing number of students in Hungarian language post-lyceum education compared to 1990

Year	nr.	% (1990=100%)
1990	525	100,0
1991	1103	210,1
1992	969	184,6
1993	1058	201,5
1994	862	164,2
1995	905	172,4
1996	753	143,4
1997	1087	207,0
1998	1347	256,6
1999	2094	398,9
2000	2362	449,9
2001	2001	381,1
2002	1658	315,8
2003	1427	271,8
2004	1457	277,5
2005	1512	288,0
2006	1152	219,4
2007	1102	209,9
2008	1268	241,5
2009	1185	225,7
2010	1376	262,1
2011	1382	263,2
2012	1612	307,0
2013	1401	266,9
2014	1434	273,1
2015	1335	254,3
2016	1252	238,5

Note: 1990=100%. Data from <http://statistici.insse.ro/shop/> INS

5 Vocational education

target group	Students who have graduated from the 8th grade of primary education can opt for continuing education in basic vocational education. Regularly the age of a student on this level is 15 or 16, however if somebody has been forced to interrupt their studies, he or she can finish vocational education for free up to the age of 18. In postsecondary vocational education students who have finished their studies in secondary schools can enter. In this form of education there is no age limit.
structure	<p>Vocational schools in Romania can be divided in two forms: basic vocational schools (in Romanian: educație profesională), and postsecondary vocational schools (in Romanian: Învățământ postliceal).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Basic vocational schools operate separately or with a lyceum. The programmes run from 6 months up to 2 years. The content of the training is decided by the MEN after consulting social and economic partners. After finishing the training students receive a professional certificate. Trainings are for free until the student reaches the age of 18. - Postsecondary vocational school programmes run from 1 year up to 3 years. The duration of the programmes depends on the complexity of the qualification.
legislation	Vocational schools are regulated by LEN, and by some Ministerial Decrees. One of the most important decrees is 2016/5033 which stipulates that basic vocational schools can only function if they have a framework-contract with social partners (private or public institutions).
language use	According to the LEN and the earlier mentioned Ministerial Decree (2016/5033) there are legal possibilities for Hungarian language vocational training. However, it should be mentioned that basic vocational training in Romania, and specifically among the Hungarian minority have a low social prestige. Therefore, vocational trainings in Hungarian language are sparse (after primary level Hungarian language schools prefer offering programmes in theoretical specialisations)

statistics

According to the National Statistics Office 4123 students participated in 1990 in Hungarian language vocational education, and their number increased to 5912 in 2016.

Table 5: Changing number of students in Hungarian language vocational education compared to 1990

Year	nr.	% (1990=100%)
1990	4123	100
1991	6380	154,7
1992	5738	139,2
1993	6112	148,2
1994	6293	152,6
1995	5491	133,2
1996	5272	127,9
1997	5984	145,1
1998	5876	142,5
1999	5747	139,4
2000	6798	164,9
2001	7090	172,0
2002	7950	192,8
2003	8281	200,8
2004	9437	228,9
2005	10139	245,9
2006	9876	239,5
2007	8770	212,7
2008	7309	177,3
2009	4221	102,4
2010	1740	42,2
2011	153	3,7
2012	1158	28,1
2013	1926	46,7
2014	3658	88,7
2015	4686	113,7
2016	5912	143,4

Note: 1990=100%. Data from <http://statistici.insse.ro/shop/> INS

6 Higher education

structure

As Romania has joined the Bologna process, higher education is divided into three segments: BA, MA and postgraduate programmes. In the academic year of 2016/2017 92 accredited universities operated, 55 of which were state funded and 36 were private. An additional 10 private universities operate with temporary licenses. State universities receive state funding, but tuition may also be asked. Accreditation of higher educational institutions is carried out by the ARACIS, and it is worthy to mention that accreditation bodies are not required to have Hungarian speaking members for the accreditation of programmes delivered in Hungarian (ARACIS, 2018)

legislation

Higher education (HE) is regulated by the LEN as well. Within the LEN there is a special section which deals with higher education: from Art. 114 to Art. 231. The main chapters of this sections are: general aspects of HE, structure of HE, organisation of HE, organisation of post-tertiary education, medical HE, military and national security HE, HE in arts and sports, research activity, quality of HE and research activities, supporting student-centred HE, leading of HE, financing of HE.

language use

Hungarian language and literature is offered as a foreign language at the University of Bucharest (Hungarology), but there are also universities offering full academic programmes in Hungarian and universities at which every programme is offered in Hungarian. Full academic Hungarian (and Romanian) programmes are offered in three state funded institutions that are classified as multicultural (the Babeş-Bolyai University in Kolozsvár/Cluj, the University of Medicine and Pharmacy of Târgu Mureş and the University of Arts in Marosvásárhely/Târgu Mureş offer programmes in Romanian and Hungarian). At multicultural universities listed in the LEN, programmes may be offered in the official language of the state but also in universal languages, and, in Hungarian and in German.

At the University of Oradea teacher training is offered in Hungarian. Besides there are three separate private universities which run programmes in Hungarian only: the Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania (Sapientia), the Partium Christian University (PKE) in Nagyvárad/Oradea and the Protestant Theological Institute of Cluj (the Sapientia and the PKE are funded by the state budget of Hungary). Next to that, in the form of off-site training, several Hungarian higher educational institutions (e.g. from Debrecen, Budapest, Tatabánya) offer academic programmes in Transylvania.

teacher training According to the LEN (Art. 236.) a teacher position in education system can be obtained after graduating from an initial university training, complemented with an MA degree on pedagogy (2 years), and with a school practice of one school year. In the case of early childhood education (0-3 ages) a position can be obtained after graduating from pedagogical secondary schools. Due to the law anybody who has graduated from a higher education programme, after fulfilling a “pedagogical module” has the right to teach disciplines related to his/her initial training programme or academic field. There are two pedagogical modules: module 1 complementing BA programmes and module 2 complementing MA programmes. Module 1 certificates entitles the beholder to teach in lower secondary education; module 2 certificates entitles the beholder to teach in upper secondary education.

primary training

Until the end of the 90s, kindergarten teacher trainings and primary school teacher trainings in the Hungarian language were offered on the secondary school level. The reasons for this was partially structural (after 1990 the need for vernacular teachers has increased), and partially the ambivalences of the legal regulations. Since 1999 primary teacher training is carried out in higher educational institutions again, but the pedagogical secondary schools did not cease to exist. As a result, both educational forms train elementary school teachers. At the university level the BBTE offers trainings at five locations: Kolozsvár/Cluj;

Marosvásárhely/Târgu Mureş; Székelyudvarhely/Odorheiu Secuiesc; Szatmárnémeti/Satu Mare and Kézdivásárhely/Târgu Secuiesc and also the above mentioned University of Oradea has such a programme. The Partium Christian University from Oradea has also such a programmes too. At the same time the Reformed Cantor and Teacher College in Târgu Mureş (in Hungarian: Református Kántor és Tanítóképző) also offers elementary school teacher and cantor trainings (for more details see Szikszai ((ed) 2010, p. 78-80).

secondary training

Postsecondary teacher colleges have ceased to exist back in the communist period (in the early eighties, in the so-called Ceausescu-era), the Hungarian language college operating in Marosvásárhely/Târgu Mureş amongst them. Afterwards, the basis for teacher training in the Hungarian language became Kolozsvár/Cluj where, at the BBTE, students were offered several subject pairs in which they could receive a degree. Subjects and pedagogical methodology were taught parallel. Since the 1990s the BBTE focused more and more on disciplinary, scientific education, therefore the training of nursery and elementary school teachers became effaced. Currently teacher training is only a supplement of disciplinary education, i.e. students who absolve certain “pedagogical modules” have the right to be employed as teachers (Szikszai ed. 2010, p. 80-82, Péntek 2004, LEN Article 236).

in-service training

Obligatory extension courses for teachers did not exist for a while after 1990. Since 2000, such courses became available primary at university centres (Péntek, 2004, p.95). According to the new legislation teachers are required to collect at least 90 credits in 5 years at extension courses (LEN Article 245). Extension courses may be offered by universities and other private and state-funded institutions with legal permission to do so. This permission is provided by the Ministry of Education through a special commission of accreditation.

The article of the Act concerning minority education also pronounces that minority teachers have the right to participate in trainings offered abroad in the language concerned (LEN Article 45). It means that Hungarian language teachers may participate in extension courses in Hungary, but the law is not fully obvious in terms of credit-settlement and finances. For Hungarian teachers the RMPSZ organises extension courses in the framework of Bolyai Summer Academy, accredit-settlement which can be asked for by teachers at their own institution. Therefore, these in-service courses are not accepted in every school.

statistics

There are no precise, annual based time-series data regarding the number of Hungarian students in higher education. An estimation based on the available census data from 1992, 2002, and 2011 indicates that there are circa 32.000 Hungarian students in Romanian higher education today. Of course the total Hungarian student population is not studying in their mother tongue. According to the last census data from October of 2011 (school year 2011/2012) 12195 Hungarian minority students are involved in Hungarian language higher education from Romania, which means that 38,4 percent of the total Hungarian student population in Romania uses their mother tongue in higher education.

Table 6: Number of Hungarian minority students enrolled in Romanian higher education institutions

Census year	1992	2002		2011	
	No.	No.	%	No.	%
Language of instruction					
Hungarian	n.d.	9268	33,7	12195	38,4
Romanian	n.d.	18254	66,3	19535	61,6
TOTAL	12842	27522	100%	31730	100%

Note: Data from Veres, 2015, p. 88-89

7 Adult education

structure and language courses

Adult education is basically regulated by the LEN (Chapter 5), and – since 2013 - by a modified Government Decree from 2000 (Government Decree 2000/129 modified by the Law nr. 2013/167). Other legal documents concerning adult education can be found in the current strategy of life-long learning (Government Decree 2015/418). The goal is to achieve basic- and special competencies which are required to pursue a profession. The training can be organised by pre-university institutions, institutions of advanced education, the ministry, training centres of local authorities, accredited governmental and non-governmental organisations and employers (LEN Article 331). Not only the MEN, but also the Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Protection, the Ministry of Culture and National Cultural Heritage, the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Administration and Interior are responsible for adult education. Pursuant to Article 640 of the LEN the organisation formerly responsible for qualifications has been reorganised under the name: National Authority for Qualifications (Autoritatea Națională pentru Calificări, hereafter: ANC). Adult education in Hungarian does not have a separate responsible body at the Ministry.

Adult education programmes can differ from each other. They can consist of initial training, qualification or requalification and in-service training or specialisation. Language courses can be organised both within the framework of these types of adult education training programmes, as well outside of it. According to statistics from 2017, training programmes on communication in English or German were organised as in-service trainings (ANOFM, 2018).

Language trainings organised outside of these adult education regulations are based on market needs. This is the case for Hungarian language courses. There are a lot of private training companies which run - in market base - Hungarian language courses at different levels. Those type of companies cannot be found in Transylvanian cities only (Kolozsvár/Cluj,

Nagyvárad/Oradea, Temesvár/Timisoara, Marosváráshely/Târgu Mureş, Csikszereda/Miercurea Ciuc, Spesiszentgyörgy/Sfântu Gheorghe, Nagyszeben/Sibiu) but in the capital of Romania, Bucharest as well.

language use According to the Government Decree 2000/129 (Art. 2) adult education can be offered and obtained in Hungarian too. During the accreditation process documentations of adult education training programmes in Hungarian should be prepared in Romanian and Hungarian. (Art. 17).
Generally speaking, one could interpret that adult education in Hungarian compensates the lack of vocational training in the language. (Papp, 2005)

statistics There are no detailed statistics available concerning the language of instruction or participation of ethnic groups in adult education. Moreover, data concerning participation in different form of adult education available at the National Institute of Statistics are not presented at regional or county level (Institutul Național de Statistică, 2018) . The data available from county level agencies of labour force employment show that in regions where there are mainly Hungarian inhabitants (Hargita/Harghita, Kovászna/Covasna counties) both the number of institutions offering trainings and the number of people receiving their qualification fall behind the national average (ANOFM, 2018).

8 Educational research

Research concerning minority education or its target group is quite diversified. Linguistic research has a long tradition, while socio-linguistic research is more recent. After 1990, as a result of re-institutionalisation of the Romanian and Transylvanian sociology, some sociological research has been carried out on the topics youth and education.

Even though researches concerning minority education are diverse and quite elaborate in certain subtopics it could be observed that minority education policies and researches on minority education runs parallel (Fóris-Ferenci, 2007; Papp, 2015). As part of national policies, policy on minority education development has restricted possibilities because there is no chance for data-based policy intervention.

Linguistic research has been carried out at institutions which have been re-organised after 1990, such as the Transylvanian Museum-Association (EME), the Department of Linguistics at the BBTE, the Hungarology Department of the University of Bucharest, the Transylvanian Alliance for the Mother Tongue, the Szabó T. Attila Linguistic Institute, the Academic Committee of Cluj, the Bolyai Alliance and the Hungarian University Institute of Cluj (KMEI). The Cluj-based researchers have intensive professional connections to the research institutes of the Hungarian Academy of Science, but are also an integral part of the Carpathian based research network, called Termini (beside the already mentioned Transylvanian Word History Database, see also Péntek (2004, 2008), Fóris&Ferenczi & Péntek (2011), Szilágyi (2008), Benő & Péntek (2011)). The National Minorities Research Institute in Cluj also focuses on research of linguistic practices, language rights, language sociology, educational history (Horváth, 2008; Horváth & Tódor, 2011; Sorbán, 2012; Tonk, 2014), and on demographic aspects of the Hungarian school system.

Lecturers at the Hungarian line of study of the BBTE (primarily pedagogical and sociological departments) publish in topics of vernacular pedagogy, educational history, didactics, pedagogical evaluation, student monitoring and school preferences. Besides that, they carry out research aiming to give a sociological description of the Transylvanian youths (Fóris & Ferenczi, 2006, 2007; Fodor, 2001; Fodor & Fehér, 2010; Pletl, 2011; Magyarai, 2014; Csata, 2004; Gábor & Veres, 2005). Csango's language skills, belief systems and identity are also important research topics to mention here (Tánczos, 2004, 2011, 2012).

Comparative research on different segments of Hungarian education in Transylvania has been carried out, partly funded by Hungarian financial resources, such as: level of competencies in the international measurements, concepts of quality among the actors of Hungarian education in Romania, the challenges of minority adult education, monitoring of students receiving their qualifications in schools of Hungarian language, trends in the minority Hungarian higher education, school preferences among minorities, minority Hungarians in postgraduate programmes) (Papp, 1998; Papp, 2005, Mandel & Papp, 2007; Papp, 2012; Szikszai, 2010; Papp, 2013; Papp & Csata, 2013).

9 Prospects

Long-term survival of a minority language needs to meet two basic and simple conditions: 1. there should be people speaking the language and 2. there should be formal and informal places in which the language may be used. The first condition is a demographic one influenced by assimilation, ethnically mixed marriages, migration and natural demographical processes. The second condition refers to places in which the given language may be used. It is obvious that in order to survive, a language needs to have formal and informal places of use ensured. In legal terms these places (including education) are ensured, but it remains a question whether the legal regulations are fully met or how they are applied.

After 1990 there were significant changes in minority higher education. At the level of public/compulsory schooling, schools using Hungarian as a language of instruction, have in many ways more freedom and are legally tied to local societies. Education in itself cannot solve demographic problems, but with conscious efforts and educational planning not only those living in diasporas could be reached, but probably the hundred thousand Transylvanian Roma who claim to be Hungarian mother-tongue speakers as well. In this way these groups could be resources for the minority language education. Nevertheless, it should also be recognised that the inner structure of education is crucial. Therefore, it is necessary to create systems of statistics in relation to minority education, to create and distribute the culture of measurement and evaluation, to acknowledge extension courses for teachers, to prepare high-quality textbooks and to promote Hungarian language for professional use.

Legal and professional requirements of research and development in minority education are met, but, interestingly enough, the opportunities are still not utilised. Many people work for the survival of Hungarian education in Romania, but still, it is a repeated notion that the system itself does not have an institution or authority which functions as an umbrella organisation. The

current situation could probably change through the implementation of educational planning projects. Besides that, it could be of help when research projects, educational planning and improvement do not end at the end of the governmental term and will be applied in the national policy on education and in the Hungarian politics as well.

In a country such as Romania that continuously falls back in international assessments (like the PISA) the great challenge for the near future is to spread evidence-based development practices in education. Yet, it is unclear how minority education, considered unattended, can face this challenge.

10 Summary statistics

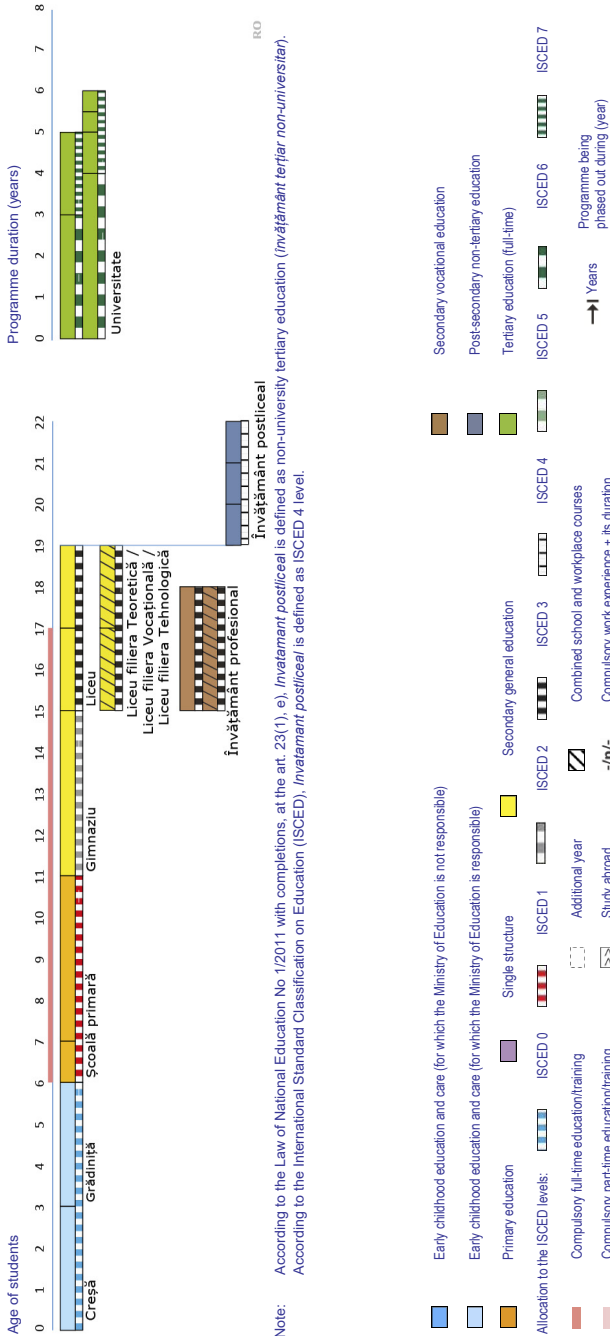
Table 7: Changing number of pupils in Hungarian language schools between 1990 and 2016.

	1990	2016
Pre-school	47600	32911
Primary School	142459	91469
Secondary School	41367	25916
Post-lyceum	525	1252
Vocational School	4123	5912

Note: Summary of tables 1-5.

Education system in Romania

The structure of the education system in Romania 2018/2019



Source: Eurydice (2018 / 2019)

EDUCATION AND LESSER USED LANGUAGES

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Webpage on educational data of RMDSZ: <http://archivum2.rmdsz.ro/oktatas/>

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Other websites on minority languages

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

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

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

Council of Europe <http://conventions.coe.int>
European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (1992) and *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities* (1995). European Treaty Series 148 and 157, Strasbourg.

Eurydice <http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/education/eurydice>
Eurydice is the information network on education in Europe. The site provides information on all European education systems and education policies.

European Parliament Committee – supporting analyses database

<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/committees/en/supporting-analyses-search.html>.

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

NPLD

<http://www.npld.eu/>

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

FUEN

<https://www.fuen.org/>

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

ELEN

<https://elen.ngo/>

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

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q&a

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Corsican; the Corsican language in education in France (2nd ed.)
Croatian; the Croatian language in education in Austria
Danish; The Danish language in education in Germany
Frisian; the Frisian language in education in the Netherlands (4th ed.)
Friulian; the Friulian language in education in Italy
Gàidhlig; The Gaelic Language in Education in Scotland (2nd ed.)
Galician; the Galician language in education in Spain (2nd ed.)
German; the German language in education in Alsace, France (2nd ed.)
German; the German language in education in Belgium
German; the German language in education in Denmark
German; the German language in education in South Tyrol (Italy) (2nd ed.)
Hungarian; The Hungarian language in education in Romania
Hungarian; the Hungarian language in education in Slovakia
Hungarian; the Hungarian language in education in Slovenia
Irish; the Irish language in education in Northern Ireland (3rd ed.)
Irish; the Irish language in education in the Republic of Ireland (2nd ed.)
Italian; the Italian language in education in Slovenia
Kashubian; the Kashubian language in education in Poland
Ladin; the Ladin language in education in Italy (2nd ed.)
Latgalian; the Latgalian language in education in Latvia
Lithuanian; the Lithuanian language in education in Poland
Maltese; the Maltese language in education in Malta
Manx Gaelic; the Manx Gaelic language in education in the Isle of Man
Meänkieli and Sweden Finnish; the Finnic languages in education in Sweden
Nenets, Khanty and Selkup; The Nenets, Khanty and Selkup language in education in the Yamal Region in Russia
North-Frisian; the North Frisian language in education in Germany (3rd ed.)
Occitan; the Occitan language in education in France (2nd ed.)
Polish; the Polish language in education in Lithuania
Romani and Beash; the Romani and Beash languages in education in Hungary
Romansh; The Romansh language in education in Switzerland
Sami; the Sami language in education in Sweden
Scots; the Scots language in education in Scotland (2nd ed.)
Serbian; the Serbian language in education in Hungary
Slovak; the Slovak language in education in Hungary
Slovene; the Slovene language in education in Austria (2nd ed.)
Slovene; the Slovene language in education in Italy (2nd ed.)
Sorbian; the Sorbian language in education in Germany (2nd ed.)
Swedish; the Swedish language in education in Finland (2nd ed.)
Turkish; the Turkish language in education in Greece (2nd ed.)
Ukrainian and Ruthenian; the Ukrainian and Ruthenian language in education in Poland
Võro; the Võro language in education in Estonia
Welsh; the Welsh language in education in the UK

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