

Linguistic Minorities in Serbia (with Special Emphasis to Education in Minority Languages)

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Summary

In the first part of this report the emphasis is on the ethnic-linguistic composition of the country, based on the census data from 2002 compared with the census data from 1991. The rest of the report is primarily focused on the educational issues of linguistic minorities in Serbia. We present data concerning the educational level of the population, the legal-normative preconditions for the education of minorities and the expert treatment of the problems encountered in education in the languages of national minorities since 2001. Finally, we discuss the representation of minorities in education in their own language, some problems involved in education in minority languages and possible models for education in minority languages in the Republic of Serbia.

Keywords: ethno-linguistic, teaching in languages of minorities, teaching models, education system.

Introductory remarks¹

The 'Republic of Serbia' became the official name of the country around the middle of 2006 as a result of restructuring the country formerly known as the 'State Community of Serbia and Montenegro'. Between 1991 and 2003 Serbia and Montenegro were constitutive parts of the 'Federal Republic of Yugoslavia', after the dissolution of the 'Socialistic Federative Republic of Yugoslavia' (or the second Yugoslavia). Namely, in the period after the World War II until 1991 Serbia was located within the second Yugoslavia, while from the end of the World War I to the beginning of the World War II it was a part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians (named as

the Kingdom of Yugoslavia since 1929). Before 1920 the northern part of the present-day Serbia, called Vojvodina, was a constituent part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. These facts illustrate troubled historical changes taking place in the region. Throughout the 20th century, the state borders often changed and as a result many people have held several citizenships without ever leaving their hometown.

At the time of writing this report in 2006 there are two autonomous provinces within Serbia, Vojvodina and Kosovo. Kosovo has been under the protectorate of the United Nations since 1999. This article does not include census data from the territory of Kosovo, because it has not been possible to access relevant and authentic data from that region.

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Ethno-demographical data

The declared national composition of Serbia is given in Tables 1–3 according to the last census from February 2002 (held in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, see: *The Ethnic Mosaic of Serbia*, 2004). The previous census was held in 1991. In some cases we will compare the results of these two censuses, as well as some earlier ones.

A few brief comments on the tables may be helpful here:

1. The declared national composition is given in a descending order.
2. All the figures are rounded off.
3. The first figure is referring to the number of people in the ethnic group and the figure in brackets to their percentage in the entire population.
4. The declared figure of Romanies far lower than in reality.
5. We use the terms ‘constitutive nations’ and ‘national and ethnic minorities’ in accordance with the source material.

Let us now analyze in more detail the figures presented in the Tables 1-3 (Ivanović, 2006a).

According to the census from 2002, the Republic of Serbia had 7,498.001 inhabitants in total. That number included 6,212.838 or 82,86% of Serbs, 69.049 or 0,92% of Montenegrins and 80.721 or 1,08% of Yugoslavs as constitutive nations, while 1,135.393 or 15,14% of inhabitants were members of different national and ethnic minorities. Members of the national and ethnic minorities were represented in the following way: 61.647 or 0,82% of Albanians, 136.087 or 1,82% of Bosnians, 20.497 or 0,27% of Bulgarians, 20.012 or 0,27% of Bunjevci (Bunjevacs), 2.211 or 0,03% of Czechs,, 4.581 or 0,06% of Goranci (Goransians), 70.602 or 0,94% of Croats, 293.299 or 3,91% of Hungarians, 25.847 or 0,35% of Macedonians, 19.503 or 0,26% of Muslims, 3.901 or 0,05% of Germans, 108.193 or 1,44% of Roma population, 34.576 or 0,46% of Romanians, 2.588 or 0,03% of Russians, 15.905 or 0,21% of Ruthenians, 59.021 or 0,79% of Slovaks, 5.104 or 0,07% of Slovenians, 5.354 or 0,07%

TABLE 1. NATIONAL COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION IN SERBIA IN 2002

Inhabitants: 7,5 million	Wallachians 40,000 (0,50)
Constitutive nations	Romanians 35,000 (0,46)
Serbs 6,210.000 (83%)	Macedonians 26.000 (0,35)
Montenegrins 69.000 (0,90)	Moslems 25.000 (0,25)
Yugoslavs 81.000 (1,10)	Bulgarians 20.500 (0,27)
National and ethnic minorities	Bunjevacs 20.000 (0,27)
Hungarians 293.000 (3,90)	Ruthenians 16.000 (0,20)
Bosnians 136.000 (1,80)	Ukrainians 5.400 (0,07)
Croats 71,000 ((0,95)	Goransians 4.500 (0,06)
Albanians 62.000 (0,80)	Slovenians 5.100 (0,07)
Slovaks 60.000 (0,80)	Germans 4.000 (0,05)
Romanies 108.000 (1,45)	Russians 2.600 (0,03)
Other (not declared, undecided, regional belonging unknown) 206.000 (2,75)	

(Source: *The Ethnic Mosaic of Serbia*, 2004)

TABLE 2. NATIONAL COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION IN SERBIA IN 2002: SERBIA PROPER (CENTRAL SERBIA)

Inhabitants: 5,5 million	Goradians 14.000 (0,25)
Constitutive nations (90,7)	Romanians 4.200 (0,08)
Serbs 4,900.000 (89,5)	Slovenians 3.000 (0,06)
Montenegrins 33.500 (0,60)	Hungarians 3.000 (0,06)
Yugoslavs 31.000 (0,60)	Slovaks 2.400 (0,04)
National and ethnic minorities 511.000 (9,30)	Germans 750 (0,01)
Bosnians 136.000 (2,50)	Ukrainians 700 (0,01)
Albanians 60.000 (1,10)	Czechs 570 (0,01)
Wallachians 40.000 (0,70)	Ruthenians 280 (0,01)
Bulgarians 19.000 (0,35)	Bunjevacs 250 (0,00)
Moslems 16.000 (0,30)	Romanies 80.000 (1,50)
Macedonians 14.000 (0,25)	Other 110.000 (2,05)

(Source: *The Ethnic Mosaic of Serbia*, 2004)

TABLE 3. NATIONAL COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION IN SERBIA IN 2002: VOJVODINA

Inhabitants: 2,032.000 (in 1991-2,014.000)	Ruthenians 16.000 (0, 80) (in 1991-0,90)
Constitutive nations (69,25)	Ukrainians 4.600 (0,25)
Serbs 1,322.000 (65)(in 1991-55)	Germans 3.200 (0,16)
Montenegrins 35.500 (1,75) (in 1991-2,20)	Slovenians 2000 (0,10)
Yugoslavs 50.000 (2,45) (in 1991-8,70)	Czechs 1650 (0,08)
National and ethnic minorities: 625.000 (30,75)	Russians 950 (0,05)
Hungarians 290.000 (14) (in 1991-17)	Goradians 600 (0,03)
Croats 57.000 (2,80) (in 1991-3,7)	Wallachians 100 (0,00)
Slovaks 57.000 (2,80) (in 1991-3,2)	Romanies 29.000 (1,50) (in 1991-1,20)
Romanians 30.500 (1,50) (in 1991-1,90)	Other 94.000 (4,64) (in 1991-5,50)

(Source: *The Ethnic Mosaic of Serbia*, 2004)

of Ukrainians, 40.054 or 0,53% of Vlachs (Wallachians), and 206.411 or 2,75% of other minorities (not declared, undecided, national belonging unknown).

In the Central Serbia, out of 5,466.009 inhabitants in total, 4,891.031 or 89,48% of them were Serbs, 33.536 or 0,61% were Montenegrins, while 30.840 or 0,56% were Yugoslavs. 510.602 or 9,34% were mem-

bers of different minorities, which were represented in the following way: 59.952 or 1.10% of Albanians, 135.670 or 2,48% of Bosnians, 18.839 or 0,34% of Bulgarians, 246 or 0,00% of Bunjevci (Bunjevacs), 563 or 0,01% of Czechs, 3.975 or 0,07% of Goranci (Goradians), 3.092 or 0,06% of Hungarians, 14.062 or 0,26% of Macedonians, 15.869 or 0,29% of Muslims,

747 or 0,01% of Germans, 79.136 or 1,45% of Roma population, 4.157 or 0,08% of Romanians, 1.648 or 0,03% of Russians, 279 or 0,01% of Ruthenians, 2.384 or 0,04% of Slovaks, 3.099 or 0,06% of Slovenians, 719 or 0,01% of Ukrainians, and 39.953 or 0,73% of Vlachs (Wallachians). There were 112.156 or 1,49% of the others.

In the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, which has had the largest number of minorities, out of the total number of population amounting to 2,031.992, there were 1,321.807 or 65,05% of Serbs, 35.513 or 1,75% of Montenegrins, and 49.881 or 2,45% of Yugoslavs, while 624.791 or 30,75% of the population were the members of the national minorities. The members of the national and ethnic minorities were the following: 1.695 or 0,08% of Albanians, 417 or 0,02% of Bosnians, 1.658 or 0,08% of Bulgarians, 19.766 or 0,97% of Bunjevci (Bunjevacs), 1.648 or 0,08% of Czechs, 606 or 0,03% of Goranci (Goranians), 56.546 or 2,78% of Croats, 290.207 or 14,28% of Hungarians, 11.785 or 0,58% of Macedonians, 3.634 or 0,18% of Muslims, 3.154 or 0,16% of Germans, 29.057 or 1,43% of Roma population, 30.419 or 1,50% of Romanians, 940 or 0,05% of Russians, 15.626 or 0,77% of Ruthenians, 56.637 or 2,79% of Slovaks, 2005 or 0,10% of Slovenians, 4.635 or 0,23% of Ukrainians, and 101 or 0,00% of Vlachs (Wallachians), while 94.255 or 4,64% were other minorities.

In addition to these figures, it is also necessary to mention that the multiplicity of national and ethnic minorities in the Republic of Serbia gets additionally complicated when we consider the disintegration of former Yugoslavia, and the creation of the so-called new national minorities such as Slovenians, Croats, Bosnians and Macedonians, since the republics of origin of these nationalities became independent states after the breakup of the former common state. Beside the already mentioned new minorities, the list of ethnic groups was enlarged with additional ones: Bunjevci, Egyptians, Šokci, Ashkali, Goranians, and Tzintzars. However, this was not a result of ethnogenetic processes of creation of nations and ethnic groups, but the result of splitting and hence neutralizing minority communities as politically relevant factors. The treatment of Yugoslavs was extremely controversial in the unclearly defined area somewhere between the constitutive nations and minori-

ties. The members of this denomination were either minority members who reluctantly used their actual national identity, descendants coming from mixed marriages, or representatives of the majority nation who intentionally wanted to identify their national identity with the complex state they lived in. The problem with this identity got more complicated when the state community decreased in size, and especially after it had changed its name.

Educational issues

The field of education gives us numerous opportunities to observe the situation of minorities in a country. For that reason, our main interest in this report is focused on the educational issues of linguistic minorities in Serbia.

Education in minority languages represents a subsystem within the educational system of any country. This paper aims to clarify some educational issues in such a subsystem of the educational system of Serbia as a whole. Minority education as a subsystem definitely represents a very complex structure, considering a great number of minority communities, the number of particular minority members, their territorial dispersion, cultural-historical heritage, and so on. Therefore, only some of the questions concerning education in minority languages will be emphasized in this report.

Educational structure of the population of the Republic of Serbia

In Table 4 we summarize the data concerning the educational level of the population.

A more detailed analysis of the educational structure of inhabitants of the Republic of Serbia (Ivanović, 2006a) follows in the text below.

The most represented educational level among the Serbs is secondary school education with 42,2%, followed by completed elementary school education and the category of those who completed only 4th to 7th grade of elementary school. The representation of the illiterate among the population older than 10 was 3,35%; among Montenegrins, the most distinctive educational levels were: secondary school education (48,1%), elementary school education and

university education. The percentage of the illiterate was 3,35%. Yugoslavs were most represented by secondary school education (48,7%), elementary school education and university education, while the representation of the illiterate was 0,96%.

When it concerns members of national minorities, the situation was the following: Albanians – elementary school education (45,0%), secondary school education, 4th - 7th grade of elementary school and 7,70% of the illiterate; Ashkali – elementary school

education (37,2%), without any education and 1st - 3rd grades of elementary school, secondary school education, and 10,55% of the illiterate; Bosnians – elementary school education (37,6%), secondary school education, 4th - 7th grade of elementary school, and 4,99% of the illiterate; Bulgarians – secondary school education (28,3%), elementary school education, 4th - 7th grade of elementary school, and 5,45% of the illiterate; Bunjevci (Bunjevacs) – secondary school education (38,8%), elementary school

TABLE 4. EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURE OF SOME ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA – THREE MOST REPRESENTED EDUCATIONAL LEVELS

National group	University education	Secondary school	Elementary school	4 th to 7 th grade	Illiterate (among the those over 10 years of age)
Serbs	*	42,2	23,1	13,7	3,35
Monteneg.	16,30	48,1	16,8	*	3,35
Yugoslavs	10,9	48,7	22,8	*	0,96
Hungarians	*	37,3	29,8	20,9	1,09
Bosnians	*	33,1	37,6	11,0	4,99
Croats	*	41,3	24,5	16,7	1,97
Albanians	*	16,6	45,0	13,6	7,7
Slovaks	*	34,9	32,0	22,8	0,67
Wallach.	*	*	26,9	38,5	10,52
Macedon.	*	44,4	25,0	9,5	1,88
Moslems	*	37,9	34,1	11,3	4,69
Bulgarians	*	28,3	24,3	20,9	5,45
Bunjevacs	*	38,8	27,8	22,9	1,09
Ruthenians	*	43,8	22,1	19,9	0,40
Ukrainians	*	46,2	21,0	13,2	2,62
Gorians	*	43,3	39,9	7,9	2,16
Slovenians	14,9	47,2	19,6	*	0,52
Germans	*	40,5	21,3	18,4	1,76
Russians	31,1	41,0	10,5	*	0,36
Romanies	*	*	29,0	29,4	19,65

(Source: *The Ethnic Mosaic of Serbia*, 2004)

education, 4th - 7th grade of elementary school, and 1,09% of the illiterate; Tzintzars – secondary school education (40,8%), university education, elementary school education, and 0,74% of the illiterate; Czechs – secondary school education (40,6%), elementary school education, 4th - 7th grade of elementary school, and 0,72% of the illiterate; Egyptians – elementary school education (44,2%), secondary school education, 4th - 7th grade of elementary school, and 8,81% of the illiterate; Goranci (Goranians) – secondary school education (43,3%), elementary school education, 4th - 7th grade of elementary school, and 2,16% of the illiterate; Greeks – secondary school education (47,5%), university education, elementary school education, and 0,18% of the illiterate; Croats – secondary school education (41,3%), elementary school education, 4th - 7th grade of elementary school, and 1,97% of the illiterate; Hungarians – secondary school education (37,3%), elementary school education, 4th - 7th grade of elementary school, and 1,09% of the illiterate; Macedonians – secondary school education (44,4%), elementary school education, 4th - 7th grade of elementary school, and 1,88% of the illiterate; Muslims – secondary school education (37,9%), elementary school education, 4th - 7th grade of elementary school, and 4,69% of the illiterate; Germans – secondary school education (40,5%), elementary school education, 4th - 7th grade of elementary school, and 1,76% of the illiterate; Roma population – without any education and 1st – 3rd grade of elementary school (32,5%), 4th - 7th grade of elementary school, elementary school education, and 19,65% of the illiterate; Romanians – elementary school education (30,1%), 4th - 7th grade of elementary school, secondary school education, and 4,64% of the illiterate; Russians – university education (31,1%), secondary school education, elementary school education, and 0,36% of the illiterate; Ruthenians – secondary school education (43,8%), elementary school education, 4th - 7th grade of elementary school, and 0,40% of the illiterate; Slovaks – secondary school education (34,9%), elementary school education, 4th - 7th grade of elementary school, and 0,67% of the illiterate; Slovenians – secondary school education (47,2%), elementary school education, university education, and 0,52% of the illiterate; Šokci – secondary school education (36,3%),

elementary school education, 4th - 7th grade of elementary school, and 1,43% of the illiterate; Turks – secondary school education (37,4%), elementary school education, 4th - 7th grade of elementary school, and 5,49% of the illiterate; Ukrainians – secondary school education (46,2%), elementary school education, 4th - 7th grade of elementary school, and 2,62% of the illiterate; Vlachos (Wallachians) – 4th - 7th grade of elementary school (38,5%), elementary school education, without any education and 1st – 3rd grade of elementary school, and 10,52% of the illiterate, and Jews – secondary school education (38,0%), university education, elementary school education, and 0,09% of the illiterate.

Already with a brief overview of the stated figures, it can be seen that there were great differences among the members of the national minorities in relation to the education statistics for the population of Serbia. Taking into consideration the average percentage of the illiterate (3,45%), ten minority communities had a higher percentage, and 18 ethnic communities were below the average concerning the representation of illiteracy, which means that their percentage of the illiterate was almost insignificant. Following the Roma community, where almost every fifth member was illiterate (19,65%), the representation of illiteracy was as follows: Ashkali (10,55%), Vlachos (Wallachians) (10,52%), Albanians (7,70%), Turks (5,49%), Bulgarians (5,45%), Bosnians (4,99%), Muslims (4,69%) and Romanians (4,64%). Illiteracy almost did not exist among Jews, Czechs and Tzintzars, since it was below one percent. A similar situation was found among Bunjevacs, Hungarians, Šokci, Germans, Macedonians and Croats, since it ranged from one to two percent. From the aspect of the education structure, there were also very noticeable differences among various minority communities. Roma population had the weakest educational profile, since they had the highest percentage of uncompleted elementary education and the lowest percentage of secondary, vocational and higher education. The situation was slightly better with Albanians, Egyptians, Goranci (Goranians), Bosnians, Ashkali and Muslims, who shared the first six places in the ranking for elementary education, but they had low percentages in the secondary, advanced and higher education. As ex-

pected, the demographically 'old' and 'urban' ethnic communities have been characterized by the highest percentages of advanced and higher education, such as: Jews, Russians, Tzintzars, Turks and Slovenians. They are followed by Macedonians, Czechs, Germans, Bulgarians, Croats, Ukrainians, Ruthenians and Turks. The following minorities have been placed at the end of the list: Šokci, Hungarians, Slovaks, Bunjevci (Bunjevacs) and Vlachos (Wallachians). If these figures are compared with the figures concerning the distribution of places of living and working, it can be seen that the communities significantly participating among the rural and agricultural population are at the rear of the list, which was to be expected.

A more detailed analysis of the educational structure of some of the mentioned minorities shows that they are exposed to different forms of educational discrimination, especially in relation to achieving university education. For an illustration, let us present some data from Kontra's study (2006) concerning the percentage of university students from the Hungarian minority contrasted to the percentage of Hungarian inhabitants in the country. Name-

ly, if the education was made accessible to all citizens without any discrimination, one would expect to find no difference between these percentages. The data show that Hungarians have been disproportionately undereducated since at least 1957 (see Figures 1-3).

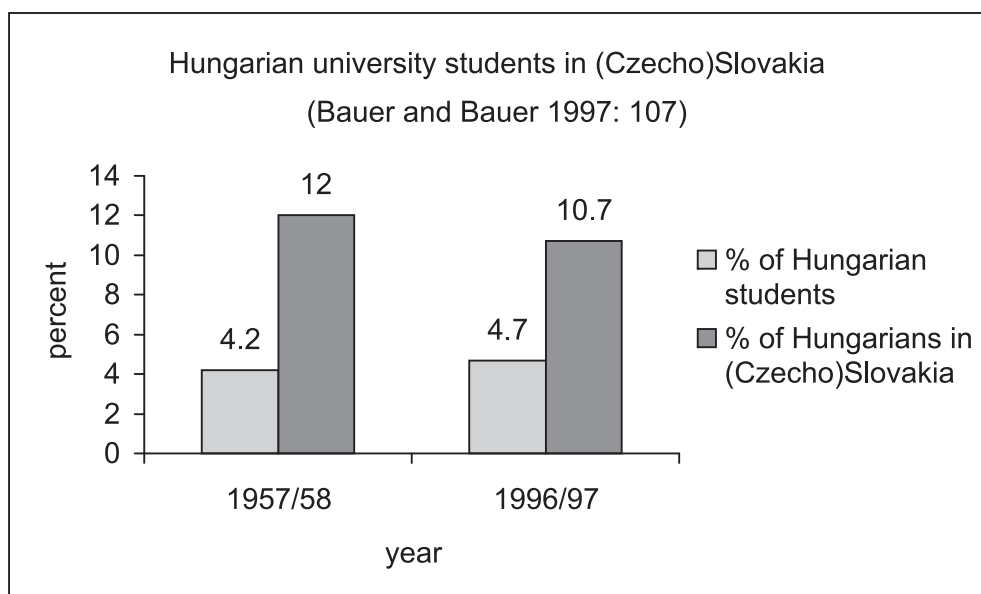
According to the 1991 census data, Hungarians were also considerably undereducated in comparison to Slovaks. For instance, 8.2 percent of Slovaks acquired a college or university degree, in contrast to only 3.6 percent of Hungarians (Lanstyák 2000:57).

The 1992 census data in Romania show a similarly disproportionate ratio: Hungarians constituted 7.12 percent of the citizens of Romania but only 5.18% of the university students.

The Hungarian national minority in Vojvodina, Serbia, has shown the same pattern of undereducation since at least 1964.

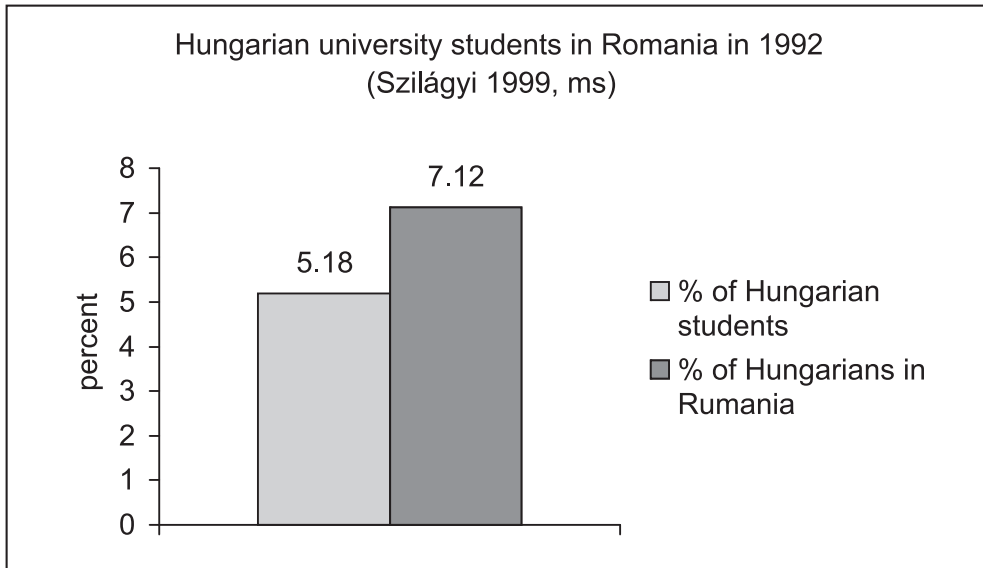
As Kontra emphasizes, it can be seen that these patterns of under-education are given without regard to the language of instruction. In addition, while all majority students receive tertiary education through the medium of their mother tongue, not all minority students have that opportunity. For instance, in 1992 ethnic Hungarian students constituted 6.9% of

Figure 1. ETHNIC HUNGARIAN CITIZENS AND UNIVERSITY STUDENTS IN (CZECHO)SLOVAKIA



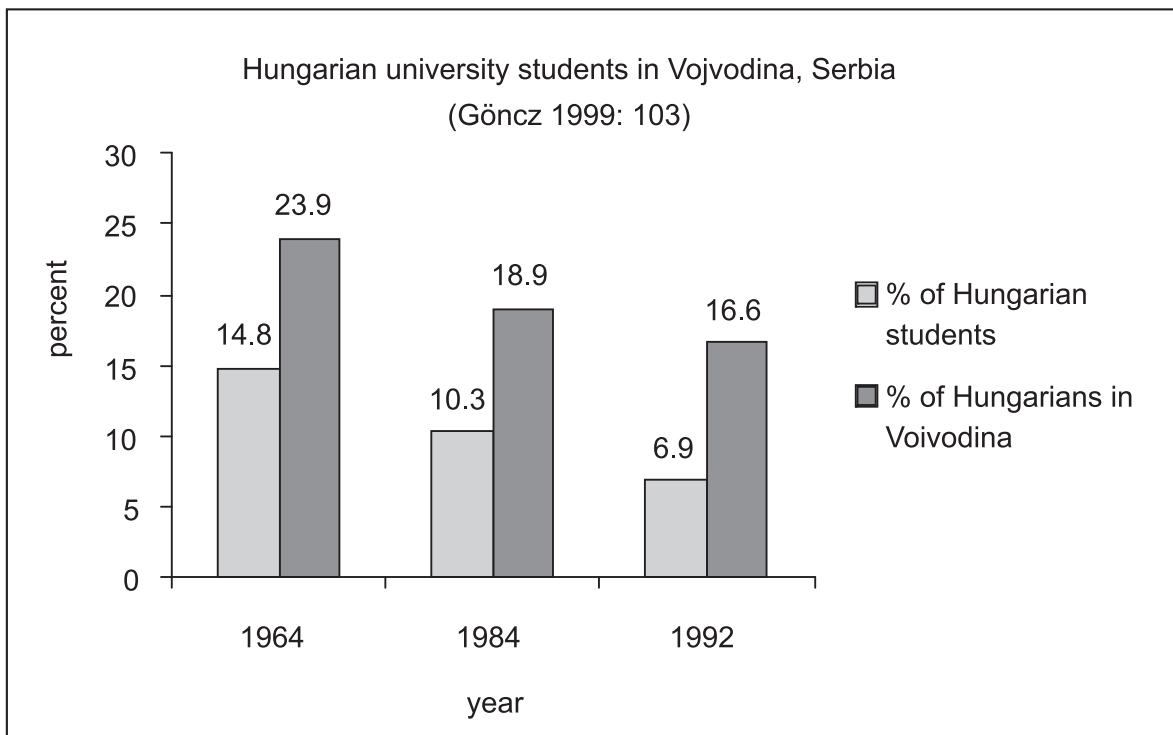
(Source: Kontra, 2006)

Figure 2. ETHNIC HUNGARIAN CITIZENS AND UNIVERSITY STUDENTS IN ROMANIA (Szilágyi 1999, ms)



(Source: Kontra, 2006)

Figure 3. ETHNIC HUNGARIAN CITIZENS AND UNIVERSITY STUDENTS IN VOJVODINA, SERBIA (Göncz 1999:103)



(Source: Kontra, 2006)

all students in Vojvodina, Serbia, but only 59% out of 6.9% studied in Hungarian (Göncz 1999: 103).

It can be said that the Hungarian minorities 'subsidize' the higher education of the majority nations in the countries where they pay taxes. They are forced to support education through the medium of the official language, which is made less accessible to them than to mother tongue speakers of the official language, since Hungarians cannot use the language of their choice as the medium of university education. Such patterns of discrimination concerning education can be found in every country of the region.

Legal-normative preconditions for minority education in Serbia: a historical overview and the current situation

The most complete overview of the legal-normative framework defining the rights of national minorities to education in their language has been written by Pribiš (2003). Her overview was analyzed in details by Ivanović (2006a) and that analysis is used in this report.

She has reviewed the situation from 1974 to 2003, that is, from the Constitution of the Socialistic Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) to the Constitutional Charter of the State Community of Serbia and Montenegro. Her starting position is that the SFRY Constitution from 1974 was the highest point of the implementation of rights of the nations and nationalities (the term used for national minorities) in the common complex state. This Constitution guaranteed the members of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia a right to education in their language on the territory of every Republic and Autonomous Province, as pursuant to the law (Article 171, Paragraph 2). In the Socialistic Autonomous Province of Vojvodina (SAPV), the Constitution, as the supreme legal document, prescribed that the pre-school and elementary school education was equal for all the members of Yugoslav nations, as well as for the nationalities who lived on the territory of the Province (Article 180, Paragraph 1 of the Constitution). The secondary, advanced and higher education was provided in the languages of nations and nationalities according to the law (Article 189, Paragraph 2). In the areas where there were members of several na-

tions and nationalities, it was possible to establish schools and sections of classrooms with curriculum taught in different languages (Article 189, Paragraph 3). The education was carried out under the conditions of a uniform school system established by the Provincial Law (Article 189, Paragraph 4).

The Provincial Law on Education (*SAPV Official Gazette* 15/83, 11/86, 5/87, 17/88, 23/88 and 18/89) described in details the scale of norms prescribed by the Constitution, since until 1990 the Province of Vojvodina had its independent normative function and established the education system according to the education system that was agreed among the republics and the autonomous provinces within Yugoslavia. The Law on Education prescribed that pre-school and elementary school education and teaching subjects of the shared educational base in secondary school education must be provided in the languages of nations and nationalities. The instruction of the teaching subjects of general vocational and the narrow vocational area in the secondary school education must be also provided in the languages of the nations and nationalities chosen by at least 15 pupils of the same grade in the same specialized training programme. The parents choose the language of instruction for their children. The instruction of the advanced and higher education was provided in the languages of nations and nationalities chosen by at least 30 students of the same year of study in the same specialized training programme. The Law on Education thus provided equal standards concerning the number of pupils and students who applied for the organization of teaching in the language of a nation or a nationality. It was possible to organize the instruction, either on the whole or of particular teaching subjects, in the language of a nation or a nationality even for a smaller number of pupils and students, if there was a need to do that. (Actually, it should be noticed that although there was a legal possibility, it was never implemented in practice. Concerning the nations, the education was carried on exclusively in the Serbo-Croatian language, and only four minorities – Hungarians, Slovaks, Romanians and Ruthenians - had the education in their language). This need was established by the community group of self-governing organizations (SIZ), which provided funds for work of the educational

organizations on the basis of pupils' and students' declaration. The law prescribed the study of the language of social environment, which could be both the language of the nation and the language of the nationality. Public documents issued by elementary, secondary, advanced and higher schools and faculties (certificates, diplomas, pupils' books and registration forms), were issued in the language in which the education was acquired. The script in public documents in cases when education was acquired in Serbo-Croatian language, was freely chosen by the person filling in the document, since Cyrillic and Latin script were equal. Textbooks in Serbo-Croatian language were printed both in Cyrillic and Latin script.

The year 1990 was a turning point. According to Article 32 of the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia from 1990, there was a difference between the education of Serbs and other nations and national minorities who had a right to education in their language according to the law. This provision of the Constitution introduced great changes concerning the implementation of the right to education in languages of other nations and national minorities who had previously been educated in their language on the territory of the Province under equal conditions as the majority nation.

The Republic Law on Social Care for Children (*Official Gazette of RS* 49/92, 24/93, 53/93, 28/94, 47/94, 48/94 and 25/96) prescribed that pre-school education must be carried out in Serbian language and that it can be also carried out in the language of a national minority, in a way and under conditions prescribed by the minister of education. In that way, and contrary to the provisions of the Constitution according to which the conditions for acquiring the pre-school education had to be prescribed by law, the minister of education was given authority to pass legal documents in the ways and under conditions for the implementation of the rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

The provision of Article 15, Paragraph 1, of the Republic Law on Elementary Education (*Official Gazette of RS* 5/90) made a difference for education in the languages of nations and national minorities, since it prescribed that teaching in elementary schools must be conducted in the Serbo-Croatian language. The provision of Paragraph 2 prescribed

that teaching had to be conducted for the members of other nations or national minorities in the language of the nation or the national minority according to the Constitution, the law and the bylaw of the municipality. According to this provision of the Law, teaching could be conducted in the language of other nation or national minority only if the bylaw of municipality established the equal position of that language and the Serbo-Croatian language. The provision of Paragraph 4 of the same Article prescribed compulsory learning of the Serbo-Croatian language, in cases when teaching was conducted in the language of another nation or national minority. When the language of the other nation or the national minority was in question, the possibility to learn the language of social environment was abolished, but the pupils who declared to belong to the other nation or the national minority were given the right to learn the mother tongue with elements of the national culture, if they received education in the Serbo-Croatian language. According to this Law, public documents issued by the elementary school were printed either in Cyrillic, or both in Cyrillic and Latin script. If teaching was conducted in the language of another nation or national minority, documents were printed in Cyrillic script and in the language and script of another nation or national minority.

The Law on Secondary Education (*Official Gazette of RS* 5/90) also explicitly prescribed that the education curriculum must be implemented in the Serbo-Croatian language. For the members of another nation or minority, the schools conducted teaching in the language of that nation or national minority if at least 15 pupils of one or more educational profiles of the same level of education in the same specialist training programme signed up for it when they enrolled in the first grade. The Law provided a possibility to organize the instruction even for a smaller number of pupils, if the Provincial Fund in the area of secondary education established a need to do so. This Law also prescribed obligatory learning of the Serbo-Croatian language if the instruction was conducted in another language. Also, this Law abolished learning of the language of another nation or national minority as the language of the social environment, introducing only the right of members of another nation or national minority who

acquired education in Serbo-Croatian language, to learn their mother tongue with elements of the national culture. Unfortunately, such solutions denied the existing and practiced right of the members of other nations and national minorities to education in their language, regardless of the number of pupils who selected it. In terms of public documents, the situation was identical with the situation in the elementary school education.

The Law on Advanced Schools (*Official Gazette of RS 5/90*) prescribed that the teaching curriculum must be carried out in Serbo-Croatian language, and that on the territory of the autonomous provinces it could also be carried out in the language of a national minority if at least 30 students of the same year of studies signed up for it. The curriculum of particular teaching subjects, or on the whole, could be organized in the language of another nation or national minority even for a smaller number of students, in the agreement with the Provincial administrative body. The advanced school issued public documents (indexes and diplomas) in Serbo-Croatian language and Cyrillic script. If teaching was conducted in the language of another nation or national minority, public documents were issued bilingually both in Serbo-Croatian language and Cyrillic script and in the script of another nation or national minority.

According to the Law on Universities (*Official Gazette of RS 5/90*), the university curriculum was taught in the Serbo-Croatian language, while the language of another nation or national minority was used in the autonomous provinces if at least 30 students of the same year of studies signed up for it. The Law provided the possibility to organize the curriculum of particular teaching subjects, or on the whole, in the language of another nation or national minority even for a smaller number of students, if such a need was established by the provincial administrative body in charge of education affairs. According to this Law, public documents were issued in Serbo-Croatian language and Cyrillic script. If the instruction at the faculty was conducted in another language, the public documents were issued bilingually both in Serbo-Croatian language and Cyrillic script and in the script of another nation or national minority.

The Law on Textbooks and Other Teaching Means (*Official Gazette of RS 29/93*), explicitly pre-

scribed that textbooks must be printed in Serbian language and Cyrillic script. Such provision of the Law hindered the use of textbooks by pupils who were educated in the languages of national minorities whose script was Latin.

Article 4 of the Law on Elementary Schools (*Official Gazette of RS 50/92, 53/93, 67/93, 48/94, 66/94 and 22/2002*) clearly prescribed that the curriculum in schools must be implemented in Serbian language. The provision of Article 5 of the Law provided a possibility to teach the curriculum to the members of national minorities in their mother tongue if at least 15 pupils signed up for that when they enrolled in the first grade. The provision of Paragraph 2 of the same Article provided a possibility to implement the curriculum in the minority language even for less than 15 pupils enrolled into the first grade, with the consent of the Provincial administrative body for education and culture. The provision of Paragraph 5 of the same Article of the Law established the right of the minority members who received education in Serbian to study their mother tongue with elements of the national culture. These provisions of the Law established inequality in the education between the majority nation and minority members. Sections of classes taught in the Serbian language, as well as combined sections, were formed without consent of the national body, and when the minority language was in question, this consent was necessary if the number of pupils enrolled in the first grade was less than 15. In areas where national minorities were not the majority population, pupils who were educated from the first to the fourth grade of elementary school in a minority language, received the instruction from the fifth to the eighth grade in the Serbian language, while the minority language, which was a compulsory subject, was replaced with the Serbian language. These pupils were offered a possibility to study their mother tongue with elements of the national culture for smaller number of hours per week than the mother tongue, as a compulsory teaching subject, and with poorer scope of content, which disabled the pupils, as members of national minorities, to continue their education in their mother tongue in secondary school. In schools where the instruction was held in minority languages, public documents were issued both in Serbian language and Cyrillic

script and in the minority language. Public documents had to be filled in the Serbian language and Cyrillic script, although the script of the national minority was Latin, which required a special effort for a person who filled in such a public document. Although the Law on Official Use of the Language and Script prescribed that public documents must also be issued in Latin script on the request of the citizens in municipalities where there was established equal use of the Latin and Cyrillic script, the minister of education did not issue blank forms printed both in Cyrillic and Latin script.

Article 4 of the amended Law on Secondary Schools (*Official Gazette of RS* 50/92, 53/93, 67/93, 48/94, 24/96, 23/2002, 62/2003 and 64/2003) prescribed that schools must implement the curriculum in the Serbian language. Provisions of Article 5, Paragraph 4 of the Law prescribed that the secondary school must implement its curriculum in the language of a national minority, or bilingually, if at least 15 first grade pupils signed up for it. The secondary school may organize such teaching even for a smaller number of pupils in the class, with the consent of the Provincial Secretariat for Education and Culture. These provisions of the Law represented further restrictions of the rights of national minorities to acquire secondary school education in their language. Pupils' request for teaching to be conducted in a minority language in already formed sections of the first grade is a new restrictive factor for the exercise of the right to education in the mother tongue. Pupils who are members of a minority, and who were taught in the Serbian language, had the right to study their mother tongue with elements of the national culture. Although the Law on Secondary Schools enabled a possibility to issue public documents in the Latin script as well when teaching was conducted in a minority language, and to have public documents issued in another language too, the minister of education did not issue such blank forms in both scripts. It was thus not possible to obtain public documents in both languages, although the Law on the Official Use of Language and Script prescribed it as the right of citizens on the territory of municipalities where the use of Latin script had been established as equal.

Article 4 of the Law on Advanced Schools (*Official Gazette of RS* 50/92, 39/93, 53/93, 67/93, 48/94,

66/94 and 24/96) prescribed that the education in a minority language was equal to the education in one of the world languages. Introduction of teaching in the language of a national minority depended on the advanced school, and not on the students. The advanced school was the one to decide whether it would apply for the consent to the Government of the Republic of Serbia, while the Government was the one to assess if it should give the consent or not. The Law on Advanced Schools did not comply with the provision of the Constitution. According to the Constitution, the law must regulate conditions for the exercise of the right to education in the language of a national minority. Public documents were issued in the Serbian language and Cyrillic script by the advanced school, and if the teaching also was conducted in the language of a national minority, public documents were issued in a bilingually printed form, both in the Serbian language and Cyrillic script and in the language and script of the national minority. A possibility to print a blank form for public documents in Latin script was not anticipated, nor were such blank forms issued.

The provision of Article 8 of the Law on Universities (*Official Gazette of RS* 21/2002) prescribed that the teaching in the language of a national minority was equal to the teaching in one of the world languages, and it depended on a faculty whether it would apply for the consent to organize the instruction in the language of the national minority to the Government of the Republic of Serbia. The Government was the one to assess the need for organizing such a form of teaching and to authorize it. Only the Law on Universities took over the provision from the Law on the Official Use of Language and Script and enabled the possibility to obtain public documents in the Latin script as well. This Law also prescribed that it was possible to obtain a bilingual public document with the compulsory use of Cyrillic script beside the script of the national minority.

The Federal Law on the Protection of Rights and Freedoms of National Minorities (*Official Gazette of FRY* 11/2002) prescribed in several of its Articles the following provisions: education in the language of a national minority cannot exclude compulsory learning of the Serbian language; the teaching curriculum related to national issues must contain topics

related to the history, art and culture of the national minority to a significant extent; national councils of the national minorities must participate in the elaboration of the curriculum for the teaching subjects involving particularities of national minorities, bilingual teaching, and studying of the language of the national minority with elements of the national culture for pre-school, elementary school and secondary school education; the teaching curriculum in the Serbian language must contain topics on history, culture and situation of national minorities, as well as other topics that will improve mutual tolerance and coexistence; the curriculum must enable the members of a majority nation to study the language of a national minority; departments and faculties are to be established where pre-school, elementary and secondary school teachers of the language of national minorities will be trained in the language of a national minority or bilingually; university staff must be trained to teach in the languages of national minorities in order to enable the studies of specialized subjects in languages of national minorities; the state must provide means for the specialized advanced training and for the advanced training in the terminology for the pre-school, elementary school and secondary school teachers of the language of the national minority; through international cooperation, the state must enable members of national minorities to study abroad in their mother tongue, and to recognize diplomas acquired in such a way according to the law, as well as to enable the establishment and maintenance of private educational institutions, schools and universities according to regulations. This Law authorized the provincial laws to prescribe the minimal number of pupils in order to exercise the right to education in the language of a national minority, which might be smaller than the number prescribed by the law.

The provision of Article 3 of the Constitutional Charter of the State Community of Serbia and Montenegro (*The Official Gazette of SCG 1/2003*) established the goals of the merging into the state community such as the respect of human rights of all individuals under its jurisdiction; preservation and improvement of human dignity, equality and the rule of law, as well as a coordination of the regulations and the practice with European and international

standards. The provision of Article 8 of the Constitutional Charter established the Charter on Human and Minority Rights and Civil Freedoms, as part of the Constitutional Charter on Human and Minority Rights and Civil Freedoms, which was passed according to the procedure and in a way prescribed for the Constitutional Charter. The provision of Article 9 of the Constitutional Charter established the commitment for the member states of the state community to establish, provide and protect minority rights on their territories. It also prohibited the reduction of the existing minority rights, as well as a commitment for the state community to respect the exercise of minority rights and enable their protection, if the protection was not provided by the member states. The commitment for the Republic of Serbia also originated from the provision of the Constitutional Charter prescribing that the laws regulating the area of education must prescribe, provide and protect the rights of the national minorities in the area of education at all levels. The provision of Article 10 of the Constitutional Charter prescribed direct application of provisions of the international agreements on minority rights valid in the territory of the state community and the precedence of ratified international agreements and generally accepted rules of the international law above the law of the state community and its members.

The provision of Article 2, Paragraph 2, of the Charter on Human and Minority Rights and Civil Freedoms (*Official Gazette of SCG 6/2003*) prescribed that the minority rights guaranteed by the Charter must be directly implemented according to the Constitutional Charter, and the provision of Article 3 prescribed that the minority rights guaranteed by the Charter prescribe, provide and protect them with the constitutions, laws and politics of the member states. The provision of Article 3, Paragraph 3, of the Charter, prohibited any direct or indirect discrimination on the basis of national affiliation. However, it allowed the introduction of special measures necessary for the implementation of equality, necessary protection and progress of individuals and groups of individuals who were in an unequal position, in order to enable them to enjoy the minority rights under equal conditions. The provision of Article 4 of the Charter introduced the prohibition

for the member states to interpret the provisions of the Charter in a way to allow the state community, member states, groups or individuals to undertake actions directed to the abolishment of rights guaranteed by the Charter or to their limitation to the extent greater than it was prescribed by the Constitutional Charter, the Charter and the Constitutions of member states. The provision of Article 5 of the Charter allowed the limitation of minority rights only within the limits prescribed by the Constitutional Charter, the Charter and the Constitutions of the member states and only by the generally applied law. In order to limit the minority rights, the purpose of limitation must be determined and the limitations must not be introduced for other purposes. Also, this limitation must not endanger the essence of the guaranteed rights. Concerning the limitations of the minority rights and interpretations of the rights that were to be limited, it is obligatory to bear in mind the importance of the aim of the limitation, the nature and length of the limitation, the relation between the limitation and its aim and the possibility to attain the aim even with the less limitation. The provision of Article 6 of the Charter prescribed the possibility to introduce measures for departure from the guaranteed minority rights in case of the proclamation of the state of war or emergency, if the survival of the state community was endangered. The provision of Article 7 of the Charter prescribed a guarantee and direct application of the minority rights guaranteed by the generally accepted rules of the international law and the international treaties. The provision of Article 8 of the Charter introduced the prohibition of the limitations of minority rights guaranteed by generally accepted rules of the international law and the international treaties valid in the state community, and the valid laws and other regulations, for the reasons not guaranteed by the Charter or guaranteed to a lesser extent. The provision of Article 9 of the Charter prescribed the right to efficient court protection in case of violation or deprivation of the minority right guaranteed by the Charter, and the right to elimination of the consequences of such violation. The provision of Article 49 of the Charter guaranteed to members of national minorities the equality before the law and equal legislative protection, pro-

hibiting any discrimination based on the affiliation to a national minority, and enabling the possibility for applying the regulations, measures and actions directed to the assurance of rights to the members of national minorities who suffered from inequality, in order to enable them to enjoy equal rights under the same conditions. (In order to implement the provisions of the Charter, the Executive Council of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina issued a decision ordering the advanced schools and faculties to enrol members of the Roma population into the first year of studies on the basis of the list submitted by the Ministry of Education and Sport of the Republic of Serbia, in cases when they pass the entrance exam for the enrolment into the advanced schools and faculties, but are not placed on the ranking lists within the number of students financed by the state budget). Any provocation and spreading of the national, racial, religious and other animosity and intolerance was prohibited and punishable according to the Charter. Accordingly, the commitment to respect the spirit of tolerance and the intercultural dialogue in the area of education, and take the efficient measures to promote the mutual respect, understanding and cooperation among all the people who live in the territory of the state community regardless of their ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity was also prescribed. The provision of Article 52 of the Charter guaranteed to all the members of national minorities the right to be educated in their own language in the state institutions, as well as the right to establish private educational institutions. The members of national minorities were also given the right to use their own name and surname in their language (Article 52 of the Charter).

The current Law on the Basis of the Education System (*Official Gazette of the RS* 62/2003, 64/2003, 58/2004 and 62/2004) prescribes equality of the citizens of Serbia concerning the exercise of their rights to education, regardless of their national and linguistic affiliation. The development of an awareness of state and national affiliation and nurturing of the tradition and culture of national minorities are established as goals and tasks of education. The provision of Article 7, Paragraph 2, of the Law guarantees to the national minorities to have the teaching in pre-school institutions and secondary schools in

their mother tongue. The Law prescribes that only exceptionally the teaching can be organized in Serbian language for the members of national minorities. Those exceptions to the rule that the Republic of Serbia is obliged to prescribe special laws arranging the pre-school, elementary school and secondary school education, remained unchanged because the provisions of the Law remained uncoordinated with the new provision related to the right of the national minorities. Since the Law on Social Care for Children ceased to be valid in the part related to the regulation of pre-school education, the exercise of rights of national minorities on this level of education remained unregulated. The Law also provides a possibility that other legal persons can establish elementary schools (Article 31, Paragraph 1). The Law also prohibits the organization of activities in the institutions in the area of education that would endanger, disdain or discriminate groups or individuals on the basis their national, linguistic and religious affiliation. In order to avoid different interpretations of the term discrimination, the Law states precisely what is considered as the discrimination of a child or a pupil – it is a direct or an indirect differentiating or encouraging, excluding or limiting differences with the aim to prevent the exercise of the rights, to decrease the rights or to abolish the equal treatment of children and pupils. The violation of the provision of the Law is established as a violation for which the institution or a person in charge of the institution is to be punished. Religious instruction and civic education have been introduced in schools by the Law as compulsory optional subjects. Religious instruction furthermore emphasizes and implies education in minority languages. The Law prescribes the possibility for the members of national minorities to use the textbooks from their home country on the basis of a special permission by the minister of education, according to the standards established by the National Educational Council. This right of the members of national minorities has been implemented slowly, due to a slow administration in the Ministry of Education and Sport. If the reciprocity were respected concerning the exercise of the right of Serbs in Hungary, Romania and Croatia, who used the textbooks from the Republic of Serbia without any obstacles, the violation of the identical right of

the national minorities in Serbia would not occur. A serious violation in the line of duty committed by an educational worker represents an expression of national hatred or religious intolerance (Article 131, Paragraph 1, Point 4 of the Law). A serious violation in the line of duty is penalized with a notice of dismissal, if the violation was committed with premeditation or consciousness negligence and the extenuating circumstances for the employee are not established. A teacher, an expert associate or a pre-school teacher must be removed from the job if he/she has committed a serious violation of work. If the principal does not apply this provision, this is considered as a violation for which both the principal and the institution are punished.

The recently adopted (02/09/2005) Law on Higher Education (*Official Gazette of RS 76/2005*) prescribes that the right to higher education is given to all persons regardless of their ethnic, national or social background, language, religion, political or other affiliation. However, there is no planned minority representative in the National Council of Higher Education. (It is a body established in order to provide development of higher education and improve its quality. In other words, this is the most important body concerning the higher education system). Moreover, a place for a minority representative is not anticipated in the Commission for Accreditation and the Quality Test. The provisions of Article 80 regulate the language of studies. Its Paragraph 1 prescribes that the higher education institution organizes and carries out the studies in the Serbian language, as well as the organization of doctoral dissertation elaboration and *viva voce* exam, which can be organized and carried out in the language of a national minority and in a foreign language according to the bylaw of a higher education institution, while Paragraph 3 determines that a higher education institution can conduct the program of studies in the language of a national minority or a foreign language if such a program is accredited. Within the provisions on the rights and obligations of students, Article 86 establishes the right of students to education in the language of a national minority according to the law, and the right to diversity and protection from discrimination. In the provisions on files and public documents, Article 97 determines that files must

be kept in the Serbian language and Cyrillic script. However, on the territory of municipality where Latin script is also in official use, files are kept in that script too. Accordingly, text in the Latin script is written below text written in Cyrillic script. Paragraph 3 determines when teaching is carried out in the language of a national minority. It also prescribes that files are kept both in the Serbian language and Cyrillic script and in the language and script of a national minority. Article 99 prescribes that the higher education institution issues public documents in the Serbian language and Cyrillic script, and on the territory of municipality where Latin script is also in official use, the higher education institution issues public documents in that script too. When teaching is performed in the language of a national minority, or some of the major languages, public documents must be issued as forms printed bilingually in the Serbian language and Cyrillic script and in the language and script in which the teaching was performed.

According to the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, particular affairs related to the exercise of rights of national minorities in the area of education were committed to the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina by the Law on Establishment of Particular Competences of the Autonomous Province (*Official Gazette of RS* 6/2002). The affairs transferred to the competent bodies of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina include introducing curricula for languages of national minorities to elementary and secondary schools, as well as to higher education institutions. It is not related only to establishing of the curricula, but to the complete legislation and supervision of those institutions which have to be transferred to the appropriate bodies of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina.

Due to different interpretation of the guaranteed right, the provision of Article 3 of the Decision on more detailed regulation of particular issues related to the official use of language and script of national minorities in the territory of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina (*Official Gazette of APV* 8/2003) prescribes the right of the members of a national minority to register their personal name and name of their children into the record books in the original form in the language and script of their language. The names as such must be written in the public docu-

ments issued on the basis of record books regardless of the language and script of the blank form on which they are written. It is also possible to write down one's personal name in the Serbian script and orthography beside the name written in the original form.

In addition to the mentioned national legal standards passed at different levels, from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (later the State Community of Serbia and Montenegro), to the Republic of Serbia, to the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, this review of the legal regulations of minorities' right to education in their own language would be incomplete if we did not mention the international legal framework within which the Republic of Serbia has found itself. It is the Framework Convention on Protection of the National Minorities which prescribes in its Article 1 that the protection of national minorities and rights and freedoms of minority members is a constituent part of the international human rights protection, and that as such it belongs to the area of international cooperation. Article 12, Paragraph 1, prescribes that the member states, wherever it is convenient, must take measures in the area of education and research in order to find out more about culture, history, language and religion of their national minority and their majority. In relation to the above, Paragraph 2 of the same Article prescribes that the member states will above all provide appropriate possibilities for the training of teachers and access to textbooks, as well as work on the improvement of contacts among pupils and teachers of different communities. Paragraph 3 of the same Article prescribes that member states are committed to promoting equal opportunities for all members of national minorities to have access to education at all levels. In Article 13, Paragraph 1, the Framework Convention prescribes that the member states will recognize the right of the members of national minorities within the education system to establish and manage their own private institutions for education and training, while Paragraph 2 prescribes that the exercise of that right does not imply any financial obligations for the member states. Article 14, Paragraph 1, prescribes that the member states are committed to recognizing the right of every minority member to learn his/her minority language. Paragraph 2 of the same Article prescribes that if there

is sufficient demand, the member states must try to organize for the members of national minorities, as much as it is possible and within its educational systems, the appropriate possibilities for attending the classes or supplementary classes in their mother tongue, in the areas traditionally populated by the members of national minorities or in the areas where the minority members live in majority. Paragraph 3 of the same Article prescribes that the provisions of Paragraph 2 of this Article will be implemented without detriment to learning the official language or teaching in that language. The Federal Minister of the National and Ethnic Communities signed the Framework Convention on behalf of the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on 11 May 2001. After its ratification in the Federal Assembly, the Convention for the FR Yugoslavia, as a non-member state of the Council of Europe, came into force on 1 September 2001, on the basis of Article 29, Paragraph 2.

Scientific-expert treatment of the education problem in the languages of national minorities (since 2001)

Several conferences and expert meetings have been organized on the topic of education in minority languages in the Republic of Serbia since 2001. Some of the conferences are listed below:

- a) The Provincial Secretariat for Culture, Education and Science, within the Executive Council of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, organized a series of town-hall meetings in 2001 with the topics related to the minority education problems in cooperation with the Centre for Multiculturalism from Novi Sad. The lectures were given by the national and international experts and published in the Proceedings called *Aspects of Education in Languages of Ethnic Minorities (Aspekti obrazovanja na jezicima etničkih manjina, 2001)*.
- b) In order to establish a dialogue between the representatives of ethnic and national communities and the state institutions on the level of the Republic of Serbia and FR Yugoslavia, an expert meeting named 'Educational Policy for National Communities' was organized in August 2002. Its sponsor was the Foundation Conrad Adenauer, and the co-organizers were the Federal Ministry of National and Ethnic Communities and the Ministry of Education and Sport of the Republic of Serbia. This meeting was the first public meeting of the representatives of all national communities living in Serbia. The content of the work presented in this meeting was published in the Proceedings called *Educational Policy for National Communities (Obrazovna politika za nacionalne zajednice, 2002)*.
- c) The Ministry of Education and Sport of the Republic of Serbia organized an expert conference on the topic of 'Reform of Education in the Republic of Serbia – the first steps and the approaching challenges' in Belgrade in September 2002.
- d) Once a year since 2000 the Institute for Educational Research organizes an academic conference called 'Education Researches and the School Practice'. The topic of the fourth conference in 2002 was 'Respect for Diversity and Education'. More than fifty academics, experts and representatives of governmental and non-governmental organizations participated in the conference, as well as representatives of elementary and secondary schools (pedagogues, psychologists and teachers), representatives of churches and religious communities. The content of the work presented at the conference was published in the Proceedings 'Respect for Diversities and Education' (*Uvažavanje različitosti i obrazovanje, 2003*).
- e) A Conference on education in minority languages in Vojvodina took place in Novi Sad in February 2003, organized by the Charity Association 'Panonija' as a support to the Project 'Learn together – live together' run by the Charity Association 'Panonija' and the Secretariat for Education and Culture within the Executive Council of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina. (Proceedings: *Zbornik Savetovanja o obrazovanju..., 2003*).

- f) An International Conference called ‘Challenges to Education in minority languages’ took place in Novi Sad in 2005, organized by the Pedagogical Institute of Vojvodina and the Secretariat for Education and Culture of Vojvodina. (Proceedings: *Izazovi obrazovanja...*, 2005).
- g) Wilton Park Conference called ‘Towards Europe – Education of National Minorities in Serbia and Montenegro’ took place in Belgrade in November 2005, organized by the Belgrade Fund for Policy Exceptionality.

Finally, it is necessary to mention the report of the Vojvodina Centre for Human Rights called *The right to education of the members of national minorities in Vojvodina (Pravo pripadnika...*, 2005), supported by the Swedish Helsinki Committee for Human Rights. The report includes the analyses of situations in the education of Hungarian, Slovak, Romanian and Ruthenian communities as four communities with a long tradition of education in their own languages in Vojvodina. Also, there were included data about the education of Croatian, Ukrainian and Roma minorities to a lesser extent. (It is also important to point out that there were several sociolinguistic researches concerning minority languages and minority education carried out in the last decades of the 20th century, especially in Vojvodina. Some sources are mentioned in the Thematic Bibliography attached to this report).

Current situation in the education in minority languages in the Republic of Serbia

The figures concerning pre-school, elementary, secondary and higher education of national minority members in Vojvodina have been provided on the basis of the statistical data originating from the Regional Secretariat for Education and Culture. When the territory of Central Serbia is concerned, then the figures have been taken from the Ministry of Education and Sport of the Republic of Serbia. In cases when a particular minority community does not have education in its own language, the data has been taken from the cultural-education or scientific organizations of the particular minority. The reference

year of the review of the given figures is the academic year 2004/2005. (See in more detail: Ivanović, 2006b)

Representation of minorities in the education in their own languages in the Republic of Serbia

Albanians

1.310 children in total are included in pre-school education and 5.860 of pupils in elementary school education in the Albanian language in the Republic of Serbia, across three municipalities in the Southern part of the Republic dominantly populated by Albanians.

There is no possibility to gain advanced and higher education in the Albanian language. However, there are organized studies of the Albanian language and literature at the Department of Albanian language and literature within the Philological Faculty in Belgrade.

Ashkali

Ashkali, as a newly established minority do not have organized education in their language on any level of the educational system.

Bosnians

Bosnians, as a newly created minority after the disintegration of former Yugoslavia, do not have an organized pre-school and school education in their language in Serbia for now.

Also, there is no elementary school education in the Bosnian language. However, in 40 schools there is an optional subject called Bosnian language with the elements of the national culture, which is given for 2 hours a week in the first, second and third grade of elementary school. 3.518 pupils are involved in this form of preserving their mother tongue. There is no secondary school education in the Bosnian language. In order to gain advanced and higher education in the Bosnian language, the University in Novi Pazar has been established, consisting of four faculties. The Bosnian language is studied at the Department of Bosnian language and literature or at the Department of Serbian language and literature within the

Department of Philology at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences.

Bulgarians

At the moment, there is no pre-school and school education organized in the Bulgarian language in Serbia.

Also, there is no elementary school education in the Bulgarian language. However, in five schools there is an optional subject called Bulgarian language with the elements of the national culture, which is held in classes from the first to the eighth grade of elementary school. 1.626 pupils in total attend these classes.

There is education in the Bulgarian language neither at the secondary school level, nor at the advanced and higher education level. There is only a possibility to study the Bulgarian language and literature at the Department of Serbian language with the South Slavic languages at the Philological Faculty in Belgrade.

Bunjevci (Bunjevacs)

Bunjevci, as the so-called new national minority (included into the census only in 1991) do not have organized education in their language on any level of the educational system.

The existence of the standard language of this minority is a controversial matter, since actually the 'Icavian dialect of Bunjevci' is one of the dialects of the Croatian language (spoken by a great majority of Croatian population in general), which creates additional difficulties in adequately treating the educational problems of this minority community in general. There is no Department for studying the language of this minority at any of the institutions of higher education in the Republic of Serbia.

Croats

Croats, as a newly created minority, have organized forms of education in their language in several cultural-education organizations. Since 2001 a nursery school has been established, which means that about 150 children gain pre-school education in the Croatian language in Serbia. 114 pupils of Croatian

ethnicity are included in elementary school education in Croatian (from the first to the third grade).

There is only one secondary school, Classical Bishopric Grammar School 'Paulinum' in Subotica, which has trained clergymen' candidates of the Catholic church since its establishment in 1963.

There is no organized higher education in the Croatian language in Serbia. There is only the Theology-Catechism Institute where the instruction is held in Croatian too. About 50 students from the Republic of Serbia enrol in the university studies in the Republic of Croatia every year.

Czechs

Czechs do not have any organized education in their language on any level of the educational system in Serbia. However, there are studies of the Czech language within the Department of Slavic Studies at the Philological Faculty of the University in Belgrade.

Germans

Germans do not have an organized form of education in their language on any level of the educational system in Serbia. The German language has been studied as a foreign major language in many elementary and secondary schools. There is a possibility to study the German language and literature in Belgrade, Novi Sad, Kragujevac and Novi Pazar.

Hungarians

Hungarians, as the most numerous minority community in Serbia, have a relatively involved network of cultural-educational, scientific and other organizations, and have educational possibilities in their language from the pre-school education level to some forms of university studies. 4.450 children gain pre-school education in Hungarian and there is also bilingual pre-school education (both in Serbian and Hungarian) that includes 714 children.

Elementary schools in Hungarian are attended by 18.525 or 80% pupils (40 years ago this number was over 40,000), while the rest of them attend classes in Serbian. The total number of the disturbed children, who attend classes in the Hungarian language

is 489, and the music school in the Hungarian language of instruction is attended by 1.033 of pupils.

Secondary school education in Hungarian is attended by 9.237 pupils, which represents about 70% of the Hungarian secondary school pupils. (About 30% of them do not study in their mother tongue). The biggest problem at this level of education is the teaching staff for secondary vocational schools (a shortage or lack of specialised teachers who speak Hungarian is a phenomenon present within about 25% of all subjects). For these reasons secondary school pupils learn quite a few subjects in Serbian (Gábrity-Molnár, 2003). In this way the mother tongue preservation programmes have actually become transitive educational programmes (Göncz, 2003).

Vocational advanced education in Hungarian language of instruction is completed by 15% of Hungarian students and 20% of them study partially in their mother tongue. The rest attend classes in Serbian language of instruction.

There is no university in the Hungarian language in the Republic of Serbia, but there is a newly opened Teacher-Training Faculty as part of the University of Novi Sad.

Exceptionally, every year at the request of the Dean, and with the permission of the Minister of Education, higher education teaching is held in the Hungarian language in particular subjects at certain faculties of the University of Novi Sad: at the Art Academy, Faculty of Economics in Subotica, School of Civil Engineering in Subotica. Some subjects are taught in Hungarian for future secondary school teachers at the Faculty of Philosophy and the Faculty of Science. It is possible to study the Hungarian language at the Department of Hungarian language and literature within the Philological Faculty in Belgrade, as well as at the Instructorship and the Department of the Hungarian language and literature within the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Novi Sad. According to the estimates, about 1.000 young Hungarians go to study in Hungary and only about 20% of them plan to come back (Gábrity-Molnár, 2004a).

Macedonians

Macedonians, as a newly created minority after the disintegration of former Yugoslavia, do not have or-

ganized education in their language on any level of the educational system in the Republic of Serbia.

Roma population

The Roma population is a very old, numerous and also very specific national minority community living on the margins of society in Serbia. Pre-school education in Roma language is attended only by 36 children in one pre-school institution in the Sombor municipality, while 20 children are included in the bilingual program (both in Serbian and the Roma language) in one pre-school institution. There is no teaching held in the Roma language in elementary schools. However, there is a possibility for the pupils of Roma nationality who attend classes in the Serbian language to study the subject named Roma language with elements of the national culture. This form of teaching includes about 1.500 pupils of Roma nationality, all living in Vojvodina. There is no education in the Roma language neither at the secondary school nor at the higher education level.

Romanians

The pre-school education in the Romanian language is attended by 242 children.

1.523 pupils are included in the education in the Romanian language in elementary schools, and 974 pupils of Romanian ethnicity attend classes in Serbian.

Secondary school education in the Romanian language is organized in one grammar school and one Economics vocational school for 187 pupils in total.

38 students (future teachers) receive the advanced education in the Romanian language, and there are studies of the Romanian language and literature at the Universities in Belgrade and Novi Sad.

Russians

Russians do not have organized education in their language in Serbia. It is possible to study the Russian language as a foreign major language in a number of elementary and secondary schools. There is a possibility to study the Russian language and literature in Belgrade, Novi Sad and Niš.

Ruthenians

182 children attend the pre-school education in the Ruthenian language, and there are 693 pupils in the Ruthenian elementary schools, while 639 pupils of the Ruthenian ethnicity attend classes in Serbian.

Secondary school education in the Ruthenian language is organized in one grammar school for 67 pupils in total.

There is also the Department of the Ruthenian language and literature at the University in Novi Sad.

Slovaks

872 children are involved in pre-school education in the Slovak language, 3.462 pupils are involved in elementary school education, while 1.225 pupils of Slovak ethnicity attend classes in Serbian.

Secondary school education in the Slovak language is organized in two grammar schools for 342 pupils in total.

Higher education in the Slovak language is organized at the Faculty for Education, and studies of the Slovak language and literature exist in Belgrade and Novi Sad.

Slovenians

Slovenians, as a newly created minority do not have organized education in their language.

Šokci

The situation is the same as with Bunjevci (Bunjevacs).

Tintzars

As a new minority (included into the census since 2002), they do not have organized education in their language on any level of the educational system. The existence of their standard language is also a controversial matter.

Turks

Turks also do not have any form of organized education in their language on any level of the education-

al system. There are studies of the Turkish language and literature in Belgrade and Novi Pazar.

Ukrainians

Ukrainians do not have organized education in their language, but in 8 schools there is an optional subject called the Ukrainian language with elements of the national structure, which is held in the classes of the first and second grades of elementary schools, attended by 110 pupils in total.

And finally, **Vlachos (Wallachians) and Jews** do not have organized education in their language on any level of the educational system in the Republic of Serbia.

Some problems of education in minority languages in the Republic of Serbia

Dealing with the problems of education in minority languages in today's Serbia, Ivanović (2006c) pointed out that it is necessary first to take up the concrete socio-political context within which the education in general is carried out. The social context is significantly determined by the political crisis, which is also transferred to the society in general. Namely, Serbia is a country that was governed by an authoritarian political regime for more than ten years at the end of the past century, the regime whose exponents are today on trial for the war crimes and crimes against humanity, so the country is unavoidably in the situation to have to face its past, simply because the former regime actively worked on the violation of human rights. Naturally, this has left a trace in the area of the inter-ethnic relations. Still, the process of education in minority languages today, which can be hardly separated from the inter-ethnic relations in general, has been carried out in the society that puts considerable efforts into breaking with such previous practices. It is a society that has done a lot concerning the change of the legislation in the area of education, that actively builds a different minority politics, and that strongly sends messages that the official politics of the country is a politics of inclusion into the European integrations. This is encouraging in the context of the overall social situation.

Furthermore, the process of educational reform is ongoing on all levels and in all areas. Also, it is known that the educational system is one of the biggest and at the same time the most complex system in every country, right beside the health and judicial systems. Such systems are huge and inert state systems, so it is difficult to reform them. However, unlike other systems, the education is somehow the most sensitive. This is natural, because every country and every government uses the education to create individuals according to its expectations and generally according to its projections. Nothing is surprising here, since it was already present in the democracies of the classical civilizations. Therefore, the achievement of the desirable implies not only a quantity of knowledge that must be acquired, but particular competencies to be attained and particular view of the world to be adopted. It is a matter of the national identity. Therefore, it seems that we have problems somehow more related to minority communities. Namely, any education has in itself a strongly incorporated state-national momentum. According to Žigmanov (1999) the 'product' or the 'outcome' of the education process is a socially desirable individual who often corresponds to the perspective of the majority community. Therefore, the state or the state representatives, especially the totalitarian and authoritative provenances, very cautiously leave the matters from the sphere of education to others, including its citizens of minority identity. However, that has not been the case so far, because the state representatives express their readiness to actively include minority representatives into the process of reform.

Sooner or later, the reform actions will bring to the affirmation of the teachers' role in the teaching process, which must be encouraged for the different, contemporary and more appropriate ways of carrying out the teaching of today. At the same time, some teachers will have to become sensitive to a positive acceptance of ideas on the education in minority languages, since there have been cases of expression of particular intolerance towards colleagues who teach in minority languages. Therefore, the role of different segments and levels of the state must be clearly defined, which must be respected later. Also, it must be clearly defined what is the role and function of

minority institutions and organizations. Some minority institutions are too weak and often divided, while in some cases the influence of political organizations is too strong and the influence of civilian and professional organizations, even more importantly, is too weak. This is surely the origin of many problems involved in the reform of education in minority languages.

According to Ivanović (2006c) sometimes it really seems that the minority members themselves create obstacles to the development of preconditions for education in the languages of national minorities, more than the inefficiency of the state or the un-readiness for opening the possibilities for education of minorities by the institutions of the majority nations. There are moments when the presence of the so-called 'ethno-businessmen' is particularly evident. Ethno-businessmen are a new kind of people who have surfaced at a particular moment and have taken the key positions in the most important institutions and organizations of minority communities. Unfortunately, they are almost by rule incompetent staff who are simply not able to explore and elaborate the actual situation in which the minority community is found, or to plan and trace possible solutions. On the contrary, they often show high level of arrogance and autarky, causing damage in the most direct way precisely to the community they represent and on whose account they profitably live for years.

Finally, speaking about the problems of education in the minority languages in Serbia, after globally perceiving the problem of the social context, and after establishing that the national educational system as a whole is burdened with problems, it is possible to concretize the problems of education and teaching. According to Ivanović (2006b), there are at least five basic problems of education in the languages of national minorities:

1. *Non-existence of the sub-system centre for development, coordination and monitoring of the education in the minority languages.* In everyday practice there is a lack of a centre which would take systematic care for the establishment, development, improvement and monitoring of the entire sub-system of education in the minority languages in Serbia. Because of the non-existence of such a cen-

tre, the existing national bodies of the Ministry of Education and Sport of the Republic of Serbia, from the regional school administrations, to the municipal educational administrations, to the school administrations, resolve the problems of education in minority languages *ad hoc*, unsystematically, and often without appropriate criteria and standards for (potential) outcomes. What is needed is the care for pupils' applying, enrolling and attending the education in their mother tongue, then planning, advanced training and monitoring of appropriate qualified personnel who will teach in minority languages, coordination with adequate training courses and departments, planning, organizing and printing of appropriate blank forms to keep files of educational documents, and issuing of public documents for the minority members who receive their education in their mother tongue, elaboration of the evaluation and a reward system for the work of teachers who teach in minority languages and keep files bilingually (which assumes precisely twice as much work in comparison to the teachers who teach in the language of the majority nation), as well as the elaboration of proposals and projects for more rational networks of education in minority languages, cooperation with the educational authorities of the countries of origin of national minorities, and many other things, which are necessary, but which are inadequately resolved or not resolved at all in many cases.

2. *The problem of non-existence of qualified personnel for education in the minority languages.* As seen from the previous chapter, there is no teacher education for the subjects taught in the languages of national minorities. Furthermore, even the training courses do not exist, or there is not a sufficient number of them at the faculties where the teachers have been trained. Since there is no appropriate education for subject-specific teaching in minority languages, and there are as yet no implications for the de-

velopment of a cooperation with teachers in the countries of minorities' origin, there are no basic preconditions for the quality education, which has been reflected in a great shortage of qualified teachers for teaching in minority languages.

3. *The problem of non-existence of textbooks in the languages of national minorities and the problem of textbooks containing parts of the teaching contents that offend members of some national minorities.* Most textbooks (except the textbooks in the mother tongue and in the language of the national minority with the elements of national culture) have been written in Serbian language and have been subsequently translated. The translation for younger children is a very complex job, even if the translator works with a very well designed textbook. However, if the textbook has any shortcomings, the translation will only make them bigger. When the authors write a textbook, they often do not take sufficient care for whom they write it and they thus create texts and situations which are strange and unfamiliar, sometimes even offensive, when translated to a minority language or when read in its environment and culture. (For example, the mathematics textbook contains a text describing a person in a shop buying 2 kg of pork. This will present a problem if the textbook is given to Bosnians, for example). Therefore, textbooks should be written in the minority language for all subjects. This implies that the author of the textbook thinks and writes in the language in which the pupil will be learning.

The Institute for Educational Research has done a systematic inspection of all the textbooks and their contents, and found quite a few statements and attitudes that have been very offensive for particular national minorities. It would be good practice if such inspection continues to be systematically carried out. In that way, many subsequent unnecessary problems, which are often not the expression of a desire to offend the other, but a result of ignorance and misinformation,

would be removed beforehand. (Petrović, 1998)

4. *Insufficiently developed network of educational institutions.* There is insufficiently developed network of pre-school institutions (in some parts of the country), and especially the secondary schools for members of national minorities in their mother tongue. This is a very serious and relevant problem related to having to make a decision about the choice of the language for elementary education. It also must be kept in mind that members of many minorities are dispersed over a wide area and therefore their involvement in the education in their own language is made even more difficult. In this respect it is also possible to plan appropriate solutions to the problems by taking similar environments and national compositions in other countries as a model.

5. *The problem of small class teaching.* This problem appears in schools where the majority of pupils study in the language of the majority nation, and very few of them apply to study in a minority language. Small classes will certainly continue to disappear naturally, which will probably result in the creation of the so-called combined classes. From the educational-psychological and didactic-methodical point of view, the work in such classes (either small or combined) is certainly problematic and presents a series of difficulties such as: a problem of uncertainty of continuing such classes, their instability as a problem for both pupils and teachers, as this does not instil a sense of perspective or prospect. Also, there is a frequent complaint by parents that the pupils in small classes where they are also a minority, consisting of a very small number out of the total number of pupils, feel threatened by the great majority in the school. Furthermore, there is the problem of pupils' socialization in small classes, as well as the problem of teaching quality in small classes, although it would be logical that the teacher can devote much more time to his pupils. Instead, a certain psychologi-

cal saturation comes often into effect, which causes certain apathy in both the teacher and the pupils. We must also mention the problem of absence or impossibility to establish a true competitive spirit, which naturally appears by itself in bigger groups, and which must be sometimes pedagogically managed, monitored and stimulated even there.

Without trying to make this text a catalogue of problems, we have presented some of them, and some solutions that may be useful for further development of the educational subsystems in minority languages in every heterogeneous region.

Possible models of education in the minority languages in the Republic of Serbia

The essential question is raised here - is it possible to create one unique educational model for the education in minority languages in Serbia (or in any other country in the region)? Is it possible to have the same subsystem for a minority community with several hundred thousands of people and for communities with only a few thousand of them, or for the Roma minority, which is large, but which does not have capacities and human resources, and therefore finds itself in a completely different situation? In other words, we may ask ourselves if we must therefore create a unified or yet more dispersed models for education in minority languages. Or we may simply ask what will be the common and what will be the separate elements of education in minority languages if the dispersed models are created.

Let us first present some of the well-known models of education for heterogeneous minorities that can give a few answers to the above questions.

One of the best known models (in fact, typologies) today, elaborated by Scandinavian scholars (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1984) uses as its basis the languages of education. This model can be applied to both native and immigrant minorities and also to learners speaking the dominant language, and it can aid us in predicting (linguistic and other) outcomes of education. The model starts with the social goals of education, which, depending on the educational policy, can imply certain forms of assimilation or iso-

lation, or possibly, by stimulating linguistic and cultural pluralism, even the integration of the minority groups, while on the other hand it can stress a more or less powerful linguistic or cultural stimulation of the dominant group(s). It is on basis of these things that the language or languages of teaching are decided upon in order to achieve the linguistic goals of education: monolingualism in the language of the majority, or monolingualism in the language of the minority, or, again, certain variants of bilingualism.

This typology lists seven educational programmes (types): 1. In the *traditional programme*, teaching is conducted in the official (state) language, in linguistically homogeneous classes comprising of children from the majority group (and stimulates monolingualism in the language of the majority). 2. If there are minority children in such classes, for them this will be a *programme of linguistic submersion*. (The successful pupils often give up their first language and culture by accepting the values of the language group controlling the school; as a consequence, the less successful ones take it in a sense as if failure were their own fault). 3. *Segregation programme* has the minority language as the language of teaching, pupils are children from minority groups (it results in the isolation of the group). 4. In the *maintenance programme* minority children are educated in their mother tongue. The language of the majority is intensively taught through school subjects and used in other school activities. (Such programmes result in bilingualism: the second language reaches and develops parallel to the first one). The *language immersion programme* starts with education in the language of the minority, but for children of the majority group in linguistically homogeneous classes. At first, instruction is entirely in the language to be acquired, the pupils begin learning their first language only later, first in the form of a school subject, while afterwards tuition in certain subjects is also done in this language. (These programmes lead to bilingualism and have given good results in Canada). 6. The *transitive programme* starts with education in two languages in the beginning, and when the minority pupils have acquired a certain level of the majority language, it continues entirely in the majority language. (These programmes aim at the acquisition of the

language of the majority). 7. The typology also differentiates a programme referred to as *utopian bilingual programme*, where teaching is conducted in two languages in classes of children from both language groups. (In such cases the school should decide on the language that needs more support depending on the lack of opportunity for it to develop outside of the school. If this factor is not kept in view, it will turn into a transitive programme).

According to this typology the programmes 4, 5 and 7 lead to the development of acceptable forms of bilingualism if they are well organized.

This model was further elaborated in Lanstyák's (1995) typology, which can serve as a good starting point for minority education models in Central-Eastern Europe. One of its sub-types is *teaching in two languages*, in which case the teaching is done in two languages of approximately same importance in the teaching process. (Variants of it are: certain subjects are taught in one, others in the other language; both languages are used during the same lesson; immersion as a second language learning programme for majority language students). Other two types are *instruction in the second language* (when the second (majority) language has an exclusive or dominant role - its variants are: education entirely in the second language, cultivation of the mother tongue and language teaching), and *instruction in the mother tongue* (its variants are: entire education in the mother tongue and education with a strong dominance of the mother tongue).

From the perspective of the minority communities it can be concluded from the programmes in the presented models that some programmes offer very attractive solutions (maintenance programme or variants of the instruction in the mother tongue, which bring closer the process of education of minority pupils to the process of education of the majority), while the continuance is threatened for the others (for example instruction entirely held in the second language), with many transitional forms in between. It is obvious that because of several restrictive factors the most striking model cannot be always realized. In such cases it is necessary to define some minimum requirements of the programme contents for minority students. Those are the following requirements:

1. Learning the mother tongue and nurturing the national culture (especially in the field of music and art)
2. Teaching national literature
3. Teaching national history.

(See Ivanović (2007) and Tóth (1999) in more details about the educational importance of these contents in minority education).

If these subjects are taught in a proper way, they guarantee to the minorities the right to preserve their national identity, which is an extremely complicated issue in their case. There are similar issues (affiliation with a group, nationality consciousness, and emotional attachment to the nation) that Hódi (1992) tackles by applying the depository of social psychology when he analyses questions of national identity through the situation of Hungarian minority living in Vojvodina, Serbia. His conclusions are also applicable to other ethnic minority groups in the region and concern questions about the processes of integration and assimilation. He emphasizes that many people who are belonging to minority communities look upon national affiliation as on some burdensome heritage that can evoke guilty conscience and a sense of fear. He interprets the process of acclimatization as a dimension whose extreme points are integration (keeping national identity) and assimilation (giving up national identity), with several intermediate forms of partial detachment. Change of identity often has material interests as its background, since exchanging the former identity for a more advantageous one is motivated by the wish to rise on the social scale. In addition to natural assimilation there are also many various forms of forced assimilation: economical assimilation (the economic power of a disadvantaged group starts to wane), social assimilation (opportunities open up only through the acquisition of the language and culture of the preferential group), demographic assimilation (e.g. migration caused by lack of work), political assimilation (a claim to give up national identity in order to prove political loyalty), environmental assimilation (extinction of the relics from the past), language and cultural assimilation (restrictions on the use of the mother tongue, “regulations” about the use of names), psychological assimilation (alienation from national history, insis-

ence on historical “crimes”). These forms of forced assimilation can rouse the feeling of national identity out of proportion or give rise to the development of minority complexes. In the background of the latter there are continuous frustrations caused by national affiliation, and they can lead to the development of various types of personalities: the careerist, for example, identifies himself with the privileged group, the wounded and mistrustful acquiesces to the circumstances and tries to avoid any kind of public manifestations. The narrowing down and decline of the national culture causes perplexities in the national consciousness; in other words, we are faced with personalities formed and functioning in a subtractive bilingual situation.

Possible models based on the comparative analyses of minority education in the European countries

The formal discussion on possible models of minority education in Serbia has not started yet, nor have the official bodies come up with any models or proposals concerning this issue. However, following the proposals made by the professional associations, civil organizations and eminent individuals, according to Spevak (2003) three general models can be differentiated concerning the external factors of the educational organization, that is, the questions of foundation, organization and management of the school.

The first model may be called the independence of the curriculum from teaching in minority languages. This model implies that in the system of schools only the teaching contents of particular subjects related to the national identity of particular national minority communities or to the language, culture etc., should be made as curricula or parts of the curricula of the national communities themselves. The possibility for the national communities to make certain parts of the curriculum themselves is predicted.

The second group models may be classified in general along the lines of organizational and curriculum independence of teaching in the languages of national minority communities. Beside the curriculum independence, this system has another additional component, which in reality means that a part of the

school consists of classes and teachers who work in a minority language, and a special council of teachers is established within the school, which monitors and takes care of the organization of teaching in minority languages, as well as of the advancement of teaching, free activities, and all problems related to the teaching in the language of a national minority.

The third group of proposals takes into consideration principles of the segregation of institutions. Those models factually promote separate monolingual schools. According to this principle, the existing parts of the schools working in one minority language should establish a separate school and achieve not only the organizational and curriculum independence, but complete and actual school independence.

Of course, all those models have their good and bad sides, and some problematic elements. It seems that due to the national structures in the micro-regions, it will not be possible to choose one system exclusively. There would probably be different models in the micro-environment in the settlement, where 80% of inhabitants consist of one national-minority community who represents the local majority at the same time and in the settlement where the members of national minorities consist of 30% or maybe less percentage of the inhabitants.

In relation to the application of the mentioned models Ivanović (2007) pointed out several questions that have to be solved, and that have not been addressed yet. For example, the issue is who should make the teaching curricula and approve of the textbooks to be used in teaching in a minority language, or more precisely, whether the minority community is the one that should agree or give an opinion upon these issues. Some further questions are the following: Who should have the right to establish schools, primarily the elementary schools? Who should exercise the professional supervision of teaching in the languages of national minorities? (Currently, this professional supervision does not even exist, after the old system of the professional supervision has been disbanded). The issue of teachers' education and training, the issue of the school board composition (e.g. to what extent the school boards should reflect the structure of the local environment, since it is not regulated by the rules and laws, primarily for the bilingual schools) are also open questions.

The criteria for opening the classes in the languages of particular national communities should be also questioned. The topical issue is the issue of principals; or rather the issue is if the people who run the schools are acquainted with the teaching languages. All those issues are not strictly connected to particular educational models, but they will probably appear in broader discussion before the national governmental bodies decide to propose any solutions considered to be appropriate for the present reality of the Republic of Serbia, with their regulations and proposals for amendments of the adequate republic laws.

No matter which of the mentioned models of establishment, organization and management of the schools is accepted and carried out by the regulations and normatively-expert state apparatus, it is necessary to list possible models of the curriculum implementation in the education in minority languages in Serbia (thus, the internal factors of organization of the educational process).

Analyzing several educational systems of the neighbouring countries and regions, especially their subsystem of education in the minority languages (Hungary, Bohemia, Slovakia, Croatia), in the opinion of Ivanović (2007) it is possible to define 4 possible curriculum implementations of education in the minority languages as a common denominator (the curriculum models apply to all levels of education from the pre-school to higher education):

A – model. According to this model, the entire teaching is conducted in the minority language, but it is also compulsory to study the language of the majority nation by attending two lessons per week. This model directly corresponds to the language preservation programme or to having the entire education in the mother tongue (and to the mentioned third model of the external organization of the educational process). However, as Ivanović (*ibid.*) pointed out, it implies some additional solutions for different practical problems, such as the problems appearing because of the dispersion of the minority over a large area, etc. Of course, this model implies either well-developed network of education for the higher education teaching

staff belonging to a particular national minority in Serbia, or the contract establishment of very tight educational personnel cooperation with the country of origin of the minority in question, either through the intergovernmental mixed committees for monitoring the agreements on the mutual protection of minorities or through a direct cooperation of two ministers of education, or with the Provincial Secretariat for Education and Culture, as it is the case with Vojvodina.

B – model. According to this model, teaching of the so-called national subjects is conducted in a minority language (the mother tongue and the minority literature, history, geography, art culture, music culture), but it is also compulsory to study the language of the majority nation by attending two lessons per week (or in terms of the regular lesson schedule on the level of the mother tongue and minority literature). In this model, the teaching staff problems have milder form, but it is also necessary to establish the tight connection with the country of origin of the national minority.

C – model. According to this model, the entire teaching is conducted in the language of the

national majority, but the mother tongue and literature is studied as the optional subject, with the lessons schedule as for the mother tongue and literature per week. According to this model, the teaching staff problems would be easy to solve either within Serbia, or through establishing the educational teaching staff cooperation with that in the country of origin of the national minority.

D – model. According to this model, the entire teaching is conducted in the language of the majority nation, but the subject called the language of the national minority with elements of the national culture is studied as the optional subject by attending two lessons per week (or in terms of the regular schedule on the level of the mother tongue and literature). According to this model, the teaching staff problems will even less pronounced, but it is necessary to establish better connections with the country of origin of the national minority.

The mentioned models could be applied selectively, either individually or in particular mutual combinations, depending on the determination of the minority members, their number, and the personnel structure of teachers.

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