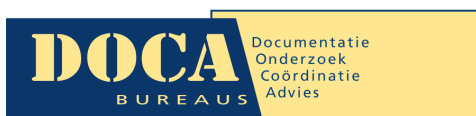


# Inclusion and education in European countries

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Final report: 6. Hungary



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1. Summary/sommaire/Zusammenfassung
2. Comparative conclusions
3. Discussion and recommendations
4. France
5. Germany
6. Hungary
7. Italy
8. The Netherlands
9. Poland
10. Slovenia
11. Spain
12. Sweden
13. UK
14. Experts and PLA

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# **INCLUSIVE EDUCATION IN HUNGARY: POLICIES, PROBLEMS, OUTCOMES**

## **AN OVERVIEW**

Budapest, March 2008

### **INTEGRATIVE PROGRAMS- CONCEPTUAL FRAMES**

Although it may not be appropriate to judge the adoption of a purely global concept in the Eastern Europe from a technical perspective, hasty use of such globalised terminology without engaging with the thinking behind it may present no more than empty rhetoric, whatever the context. Some critical groups clearly perceives inclusive education as a concept that has been adopted from the international discourse, but has not been engaged with in the local scenarios. Quite often in the national debates we see a lack of conceptual engagement through data collected in educational statistics, or policy briefs prepared for special purposes.

In his influential work on educational change, Fullan (1993) highlights the complexity of the change process from a phenomenological perspective – stakeholder-driven and influenced, not straightforward, and a long-term journey or process of conflict, rather than a blueprint. Seen in this long-term, slightly chaotic, light, the sporadic implementation of inclusive education may be one step on this lengthy journey during which stakeholders learn from mistakes and adapt their plans and practices accordingly. The teacher education focus of some government programmes is perhaps going in the right direction. However, the apparently slight regard for content and methodology of the courses, which do not reconceptualise of IE or address attitudes towards disability, demonstrates the need for further change in this context. Also, teachers are not the only stakeholders involved. Students, parents, administrators and local government officials are affected too, all of whom will see any innovation or new concept in a different light. However, the reconceptualisation of IE is to be more than physical relocation of children with disabilities, or unprepared to the joint performance minority pupils in a mainstream classroom.

### **DISABILITIES AND ANOMALIES OF KNOWLEDGE PROCESSION IN THE CLASSROOM**

Disability is not only closely related to poverty, but is also becoming widely recognised as a cross-cutting development issue that bears relevance to all dimensions of social exclusion. Although social exclusion is not necessarily the opposite of inclusion, the extensive literature that is fast developing around processes of social exclusion (Sen, 2000) can potentially assist in our understanding of combinations of exclusionary dimensions. Factors such as gender, ethnicity, disability, and poverty are rarely experienced exclusively, and as such are mutually reinforcing. Processes such as inclusive education could meet the needs of students affected by any of these dimensions. Social exclusion frameworks go some way towards understanding the processes involved and their intersecting nature. For example, even in East European environments, as in Hungarians women with disabilities are two to three times more likely to be victims of physical and sexual abuse than those without, demonstrating how being a woman and disabled can lead to double discrimination.

Difference comes in many guises, and is often defined subjectively as well as culturally. May Hungarian sociologists of education criticises the government's tendency to group social factors in the way they deal with them, resulting in the exclusion or invisibilisation of people who do not fit the required criteria. For example, programmes aimed at gender programs or minorities recalculate people with disabilities. With this in mind, lessons can be learned from the so called twin-track approach which they successfully applied in order to mainstream special groups in their development initiatives, and now propose for mainstreaming disability. The twin-track approach would not only address inequalities in all programmes, but also include specific programs aimed at the empowerment of people with disabilities. This 'two-pronged attack' method may well raise the profile and awareness of disability issues in a similar way to gender, demonstrating how taking lessons learn from other sectors concerned with people who have suffered the excluding consequences of discrimination, could result in the merging of agendas and so multiple benefits.

Although disability might be described in terms of a combination of impairment and social barriers , "the WHO manual states explicitly that valuation (of handicap) depends on cultural norms". Hence, it is important to present here a brief outline of Indian societal perceptions of disability and marginalized ethnic communities in order to gain some insight into the cultural context in which the concept of inclusive education is interpreted and implemented.

It appears that in Hungary, basically a the medical model of disability, with its often accompanying attitude of within-child (or adult) deficit, applies as the cultural norm. In an other context being on welfare can also be seen as having value as a source of income in backwarded, or ghettoized regions as the deficit, whatever it may be, entitles the disabled person to the charity and mercy of others. However, this anthropologically empathetic view does not take into account the potentially disempowering effects of being a passive recipient of welfare.

The 'modern' mobile socio-economic notion of class has a key role to play in power processes at national and local levels, including educational access within school and classroom. We can describes caste actual rigid social settings as encapsulating, politics, religion, and culture in one overarching structure that poses a formidable obstacle to constructive change.

Where do people with disabilities fit into this social system? Some see the ethnically ecluded in ghettos and some of disabled as a special strata, below all others – impure and so not 'whole' which may contribute to their societal invisibilisation in surveys and censi.

As disabling educational environments affect all children, not only those who are identified as having impairments, it is essential that school quality issues are identified and addressed. The re-conceptualisation of inclusive education as a school quality issue could have significant impact on educational change in Hungary for all children. This suggests that with the reconceptualisation of inclusive education, from students with special needs to all children, school quality could improve nationwide.

Teacher education is certainly key to this metamorphosis, but without a wider understanding of the meaning of IE for all learners, it will make little difference. This has been proved to date with the huge investment into government teacher training

programmes that have yielded little long-term fruit in the shape of pedagogical revolution. The non-implementation of child-centred teaching methods may be influenced by a focus on theory rather than practice, the brevity of teacher training courses without follow-up or feedback, or simply a lack of basic teacher knowledge leading to insecurity that they will not be able to answer a question. Nevertheless, this failure to change pedagogy is not only due to teacher education course design, but also the reality of teacher's loads, combined with resource-constrained institutions with large classes and an inflexible curriculum which force the teachers to return to didactic habits in order to cope. At the same time Hungarian experience however, suggests that class size need not be a hindrance in the practice of child-centered pedagogy if training takes into account the context-specific knowledge and methods teachers already use in their large, diverse classes, and progresses from this point.

Many of the issues and constraints surrounding the interpretation and implementation of inclusive education encountered in the Hungarian context, are not unique to Eastern Europe. However, the rigidity of stratification system, as a barrier to attitudinal change, is. The context-specificity of this socio-ethnic construct is a factor that cannot be ignored when looking at the implications for the future of any aspect of life in the country. However, the inherited system of ethnic exclusion of the Roma will not disappear overnight, but it is a highly constructed world within which all implications must be considered and all potential change would take place. In a more positive light, it may be that by being often outside the system, works to the advantage of people with disabilities and ethnic marginalization in that their development could be more amenable to innovative thinking.

While attitudes which are deep-rooted in cultural assumptions are probably the most difficult aspect of change, they have influence across the board, ranging from community, to school, to government. This suggests that attitudinal change should be considered an integral part of any inclusive education programme or plan, ranging from regions and school districts raising awareness at grass-roots level (including for parents), to teacher education (including sensitizing teachers to listen to the children's perspectives), to administrative capacity-building, to policy-making. Self-criticism and analysis is an important part of the attitudinal change process however, and could be very difficult to instigate in many stakeholders, depending on their personality. Hence, this element of change would undoubtedly need the ability for stakeholders to be prepared for conflict, and potential chaos. As it happened in conflicts around integrative school projects in 2006-7 in some parts of the country. As attitudes are based on beliefs, they can be changed when presented with new information such as inclusion success stories of children with disabilities. Islands of change may have limited coverage, but they can be scaled-up and lead to broader change with advocacy.

While there is a noticeable lack of in-depth empirical and academic research on inclusive education in India, this can also be seen as reflecting the preliminary stage such discussions are at in this context and the room for development of a constructive discourse with further research.

This absence of information suggests that there is a dire need for more research into both the implementation and impact of inclusive education in Hungary. There are large gaps in the hard-to-access research, both qualitative and quantitative, on IE in the country. The apparent desire for change hinted at by the slowly developing discussion around inclusive education at all levels, can only be fulfilled if it is planned

for. In order to constructively implement inclusive education for all children, planning must not only be adapted according to context, but also include funding for continual research, monitoring and impact evaluation from all stakeholders' perspectives. This includes the children's voices, and the parents reactions from those specific regions described as specially backwarded, or ghettoized. The long-term filling of the current research gap in IE in the country could make a significant contribution to a sustainable, adaptable process of change. Diagnosis of implementation and quality monitoring reports could lead to valuable lessons learned.

There is a significant amount of first class social research [among them the works of Nemenyi, Havas, Szalai] on the embedded injustice and low efficiency of the inclusive education on the borderline between disability training and ethnic exclusion/inclusion. However from a qualitative perspective, there currently appears to be very little research assessing the impact of teaching and learning processes in the classroom post-teacher education, specifically aimed at inclusive education. Similarly, research recording the beliefs, experiences, and desires for the future of all stakeholders involved (such as education officials, administrators, parents), including the often neglected child's voice, is hard to find, and could assist in furthering understandings of the current situation and how it can be improved. Action research, monitoring and evaluation, and impact assessments could all assist in the improved planning and implementation of IE programmes for the local government officials and school management who administer the policy, and teaching staff who are the key to educational access within the classroom. Without research on inclusive education outcomes, lessons-learned cannot be applied to make implementation more effective, and so schools more accessible to all learners.

The problems to be handled in those programs and open question of their outcome we could present in the next table:

<b>Influence</b>	<b>Strength</b>	<b>Challenge</b>
Communities: Indigenous/customary education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- relevant, practical, affordable</li> <li>- values local culture</li> <li>- promotes community solidarity and involvement</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- lack of specific knowledge, skills and resources to really support all learners</li> <li>- voices/perspectives not heard</li> </ul>
Community-based Education and non- formal/ Informal initiatives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- promoters strong links between communities, families and learners</li> <li>- flexible and sustainable</li> <li>- uses local resources</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- does not change the system on its own, but is essential for effective top-down systematic change</li> </ul>
Activists and advocates	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- ensures inclusion of particular groups</li> <li>- promotes proper resourcing and support for particular groups</li> <li>- promotes participation of key stakeholders combats discrimination</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- groups fight for individual rights of their impairment group/child – limited focus on long-term system change</li> <li>- objections to inclusion arise based on narrow definitions of inclusive education</li> </ul>
Quality education and school improvement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-focuses on changing the system to respond to diversity</li> <li>-aims to remove barriers to learning</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- can still ignore specific needs of particular groups</li> <li>- danger of expecting schools</li> </ul>

	and participation for all	to be too much and do too much
Special educational needs movement	- reformed movement spearheaded inclusive education - specific skills and methodologies to enable children with impairments to access education	- many special education professionals still promote segregation and feel threatened by inclusion - inclusive education still perceived in a narrow sense
International government agencies	- capacity for huge influence globally - vast production and dissemination of publications and resource materials	- overload of initiatives and documents, not necessarily bringing about real change in practice
NGOs, movements, networks and campaigns	- large-scale sharing and transfer of information, resources, ideas - links between practice and policy, and all different types of agencies	- accountability - large numbers of agencies, networks and campaigns – danger of publication or lack of effectiveness - competition, funding
Examples of successful inclusion	- demonstrating that inclusive education can happen in a wide range of contexts and cultures, and that barriers can be overcome	- inclusive education is very context-specific, and work needs to be on-going to extract key lessons/guidelines from these specific examples

Source: Sue Stubbs: Inclusive Education, Where there are few resources. Oslo, The Atlas Alliance, September 2008. 37-39.pp.

#### STATE EFFORTS IN INCLUSIVE EDUCATION. LEGISLATIVE HISTORY, PROGRAMMES, RESOURCES

Treatment of educational inequalities and equity in education received increasing emphasis in Hungarian public education of the last decade. Several documents were created, programs initiated for this purpose. Naturally, frequently occurred that many measures have unintended consequences against the declared intentions once distorted by the mechanisms of social mediation. Among others the s.c. head quota originally targeted elimination of disadvantages unintentionally contributed to the segregation of pupils with disadvantages and poor performance. In order to decrease educational inequalities the Ministry of Education identified the following regulations and development targets in its medium term strategy of developing public education:

- 1.) Expanding pre-primary education services within the group of the disadvantaged;
- 2.) Modernising the network of vocational training schools;
- 3.) Integrating Roma children and children with disadvantages into mainstream classes;
- 4.) Antidiscrimination program;
- 5.) Integrating children with special education needs.

Governmental strategies has identified “earmarked support for groups with labour market disadvantages” as the first of the seven major development axes of the strategy of lifelong learning and defined the “strengthening the role of education and training in creating opportunities” as the first of the five priorities of the strategy. The document argues that “it is absolutely necessary to strengthen the role and participation of education and training systems in combating social exclusion and marginalization and in improving the individual's life chances so as to mitigate social and territorial disparities. To achieve that end, special educational support must be granted to groups with disadvantages due to social or other reasons.”

The Hungarian government has passed a National Action Plan for Social Solidarity 2004-2006 as a special strategy to enhance social cohesion. That Programme sums up all initiatives to combat poverty and social exclusion in a 3 years period. The top priorities of the Plan grouped into 5 chapters: enhancement of employment, provision of access to public services, diminishing poverty, provision of child welfare, combating social exclusion. Tasks for the educational system, issues of inclusive education are incorporated almost in every chapter. Here the governments aim to create an integrated educational framework for the Roma children. The EU benchmark to secondary education attainment in the group of 18-22 is over 80% and in the age group 22 the target is 88% with secondary or tertiary educational attainment.

Equal opportunities must be provided from pre-school to tertiary education, health hazard must be combated, the information society must neutralize the digital divide, new Roma-antidiscrimination networks must be developed. Inside of the child welfare provision free nourishment, extensive textbook provision to or all disadvantaged children, new child welfare centre in all cities larger than 40 thousand people, and the expansion of pre-school institutions in the disadvantaged regions with Roma populations marked especially.

Combating social exclusion in the Plan was understood in broader terms. Regional councils on social policies and roundtables of social partners support in the 7 regions the implementation of action plan of the EU Joint Memorandum in 2005 to combat social exclusion signed by the government and approved by the decree No. 2321/2003 [2003.XII. 13].

In the frame of that special action plan the national educational administration applies four major strategies to handle educational disadvantages, using early preventive measures at pre-school level, focused on increasing of the participation of socially disadvantaged groups (drop outs, the roma, special need groups etc.) in institutions of the general education, continues to combat school drop-outs, and of course, promotes LLL.

The last point is especially important due to the fact, that there is a high drop-out rate in the basic compulsory educational system. In the age group of under 16 year-olds 14.1% of the total are under the poverty threshold [in families with 3 or more kids that ration was 24% in 2003]. Poverty and risk of dropping-out from school are, of course, enhanced by the size of the household and the number of children. The threshold of risk in the Hungarian families are those with 6 members. A disproportional share of them are Roma families.

The territorial differences are important here in two dimensions. From one side the urbanization slope is very important. The quality and richness of services is decreasing very rapidly with the size of the settlement. On the other side the GDP production capacity and the living standard is decreasing along a West-East axes int

the country. The per capita net income is 1.5 times higher in the west, then in other less developed regions of the country. The immigrant kids doesn't represent a national problem for the compulsory education. The number of foreign pupils in the school is less, then a few thousand [since 1998 3-4 thousand annually]. They hardly ever go to special classes, not even in the vicinity of refugee camps.

The current Act on Public Education from the perspective of social inclusion distinguishes between a group of socially disadvantaged, and a group of special needs children. According to the actual legislation the notion of integrative preparation aims clearly at the disadvantaged children (living in poverty and/or ethnic isolation) and not the special needs pupils. The handicapped pupils join the same pre-school and elementary school classes as other members of the same age group.

Integrative preparation in this legal frame means the implementation of equal opportunity educational programmes issued by the Ministry of Education. The disadvantaged children are registered by the Act. It defines a disadvantaged child and pupil as one, who had been taken into childcare protection by the local notary after whom regular child welfare grants are paid. The Act of Public Education also enables the maintainers of integrated educational services.

The Equal Treatment Authority may take action in individual cases and may investigate violations, if any, of the principle of equal treatment under an administrative procedure. The Ministry of Education has developed a nationwide system, called National Network of Integration in Education, for the provision of support especially to promote to the implementation of tasks associated with teaching and upbringing disadvantaged children, particularly the Roma in integrated classes. The network has two objectives: firstly to create a system of basic institutions responsible for integrating mainly the Roma into mainstream education and secondly to improve professional background services on that basis. In autumn 2003, an Integrative System of Pedagogy was introduced in the so called 'basis schools' of the network. The cumbersome and changing rules of financing created hiccups in the implementation of the program, hence its spread and multiplier effect failed to live up to expectations. There were two new per-capita grants, one for unfolding skills and one for integration, introduced in grades 1, 5 and 9 during 2003, both in a progressive system. The latter is available on condition that the recipient uses the Integrative System of Pedagogy.

As a second-chance for school dropouts a school-based adult educational service is theoretically also available. However its size was diminished in the 90ies. In the 1970ies there had been 451 such schools by 2001/2 the number of such institutions fell to 57 (their pupils decreased in the same period from 21000 to 2800). At the same time in the late 1990ies 10-15% adult learners obtained secondary degrees, in the age groups 18-22 participants of adult programs were well above the average. We see, that adult education is mainly carried out as a part-time learning process.

In the Hungarian public debates about integrative education the Roma population plays an absolutely central role. Even more those debates concern only it, beyond the Roma issue, other integrative measures not discussed at all. The political debate concerned with growing segregation, xenophobia and exclusion of that ethnic community is totally blind in relationships to other groups and issues. The special attention is understandable, the selective blindness not. The rate of under-15-old children in the Roma communities is double to national average- its 19% in the general population and 38% of the total Roma population is under 15. at the same time the rate of over 59-citizens is four times higher in the general, then in the Roma population [ it was 19 and 4.5% in 2003].

Enrolment regulations have granted parents the freedom of choice between schools since the 90s and general schools may also enrol pupils seeking admission from outside the school district, provided they have vacancies after accommodating pupils domiciled in the school district. A large circle of experts believe this practice has largely contributed to increasing inequalities and segregation of Roma pupils within the education system.

The procedure of general school enrolment will be modified in the near future so as to counterbalance segregation. It was in December 2005 that the Act on Public Education was amended with a provision that restricts the right of schools to exercise the same degree of liberty in selecting their pupils from the pool of candidates. The ratio of pupils with disadvantages must be taken into account already during the delineation of school districts. In addition to the preference of the residents of a district, disadvantaged pupils will enjoy priority among the applicants from outside the district. If vacancies still exist after meeting all these needs, the school will have to organize a draw to select the candidates it can admit. The provision, which seeks to help schools become more heterogeneous in terms of social composition, will take effect in 2007. The aim of the amendment is to prevent pupils with disadvantages from concentrating in a set of schools.

In the last 15 years the Roma policies –in education but in other field as well -used more and more organizational and other resourced, but both the political class and the broader public opinion are unsatisfied with its efficiency and outcome. The 1992-95 Roma educational programme underlines the cultural features of the roma ethnic group and targets the emancipation of Roma language and culture in the framework of Romology college programs and textbook publishing. New college programs started on Roma culture especially in elementary teachers’ training institutions. In that context in roma corrective educational programs the tuition can use a chosen Roma language reflecting the local requirements. In this period the disadvantagedness of the Roma was naturally well received, but both the authorities and the independent philanthropy thought that multiculturalism, and stabilization of a Roma elite are the major primary tools usable for the social emancipation of disadvantaged. Integration policy measures were introduced already in the 1993 Act on Public Education, the 11/1994 statute of the Ministry of Public Education 39/D and 39/E Sections. In those years an ability development normative, and integrational normative, some special pedagogical methodologies, an Intergrated Pedagogical Framework and a National Integration in Education Network were also created. In the 2000ies the multicultural approach as central goal got more and more critical reflections and classical social policy consideration started to play a more stratithforwarded role. The Act on National and Ethnic Minorities[Act LXXVII] sets out a comprehensive system of minority rights, prescribing the rights of minorities int he educational system and systematising rules and regulations in Roma education. In 1995 the Ministry of culture and Education develops a proposal for for a special Roma Education Development program. In 1995 the institution of Ombudsman in the Hungarian parlament is introduced and the problems of minority issues, including the problems in the educational sector are included into the zone their special attention. In 1997 the government enacted a special State Resolution No.1093/1997 [29/07] on establishment of a Middle-term Package on the Development Of Living Standards of

Roma. In that package a special educational program for Romani children should be prepared.

In 2002 a Romani MP, Laszlo Teleki was appointed by the Government as Secretary of State on Roma affairs and in the Ministry of Education a special high rank-post for handling the Roma education issues [the Commissioner for the Integration of Roma and Disadvantaged Children] was created. At the same time there are very few teachers of Roma origin. According to a teachers' survey of that time in 898 elementary schools with a high rate of Romani pupils altogether only 45 teachers declared themselves Roma or of Roma origin [from 27730].

Between 2002-2004 new programs were launched for the integration of the Roma in the educational sector. The process of desegregation involves legislative amendments, professional and social networking. The National Parliament amended in September 2003 the Act on Public Education.

According to the Section 84 of the new law

„the parent, ...student can submit a request on legal grounds, referring to breach of legal provision against any decision violating the principle of non-discrimination. For the procedure the Paras 6-8 of Section 83, Para 3 of Section 104 of this Act shall be applied with the departure that failing the deadline defined for the submission of the petition involve the loss of rights, there is no place for justification”

Section 66 of PEA blocks the schools free child selection, According to the Section 89 the creation of Equal Obligatory Plans is obligatory, and PEA Section 121 offers definitions of disadvantaged, cumulatively disadvantaged and the integrational preparation.

Here the prohibition of segregation is a new element and an important tool for the public monitoring of school decisions.

The issue of discrimination emerged on the visible national agenda in connection with the debates generated by the process leading to the adoption of a comprehensive anti-discrimination law in late 2003 [ETA- Equal Treatment Act]. The law which is related to the Article 13 EC created the Equal Treatment Authority –an organ responsible to combat all sorts and forms of discrimination- not only in education but on all other scenes as well. The Authority started to operate on February 1 2005.

Of course, Hungary has ratified almost all major international legal instruments combating discrimination, as the UNESCO convention against Discrimination in Education, ILO convention no.111, or the International Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Racial Discrimination. Hungary is also part to the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and others. Educational law and other sectoral laws used to contain separate and quite inconsistent anti-discrimination provisions, have been amended to invoke the provisions of the ETA. The ETA distinguishes between three types of exceptions [a] general objective justification, [b] special exceptions, [c] positive action [Kadar Andras, 2007]

In September 2003 with the modification of the kindergarden regulation [Para 65] it is obligatory to set aside places and accept disadvantaged children in the kindergardens and day-borders from the age of three, if their parents request it. From that point free meals are provided in kindergardens for the children of disadvantaged families. Those measures were important, due to the fact, that now only 11% of Romani children at least five years old are not enrolled in kindergarden [Daroczi Gabor, 2007]. Until that 2004-5 they have been rejected in huge numbers because the kindergarden lacks space for them. Numerous poor families could not enrol their children in kindergarden due to the expensive services. From September 2003 children of socially disadvantaged families are provided with free schoolbooks [1th-

4th classes from then, 5th-8th classes from September 2004]. Special funds are created for the promotion of the integrative programs. The first integration per capita support with 60 000 HUF/child/year –was together 1052 million HUF in 2004/5 schoolyear. For an other type of support [„support for preparatory training for the realization of potentials” -20000 HUF/child/year] 639 million HUF was used in the same 2004/5 schoolyear. In that year into the first program 32800, in the second one 49475 children were involved.

In the same year, in May 2003 a specific program was developed to promote the integrative education of kids with special needs. In September 2003 the definition of special education needs was incorporated into the PEA [Section 30]. The Ministry in the same year initiated the „From the Last Bank, or Desk” Program with ambitions to reduce the incidence of misplacement of disadvantaged, and especially Roma children in special schools. In that program improvements of expert qualification commissions, introduction of stricter rules including medical diagnosis, better evaluation tools and tests, and also periodic re-examination of children were the most important points. The program remained especially relevant, because the actual segregation of Roma in the school in large extent is a result of false disability diagnosis by selection of the kids to special classes or institutions. As a result of this program the overrepresentation of Roma in the schools for disabled children was reduced [but even so it remains rather high]. It is quite remarkable that as long as the EU average of children classified as disabled is 2.5%, the Hungarian parameter even now is much higher, as 5.3% after the introduction of all these measures.

Disadvantaged students have been frequently forced to continue their education on the same year due to their failure in the class. Their educational carrier in this way was disrupted, that measure stigmatised them and enhanced the risk of their drop-out. Therefore from September 2004 pupils of the 1st-3rd classes should only repeat the same class due to their frequent absence from the school. In the same wave of reforms a modification of the 32/1997 MKM decree created the opportunity to study the two native languages of Hungarian Roma- Romani and Beas in the Hungarian schools. In those years only 30 schools started to use those languages. Practically the Hungarian Roma population is bilingual, and for their majority Hungarian is their mother tongue. Anyhow, plans of „mass Romanization in linguistic terms of the minority education” were not realistic, even due to the fact, that for the Ministry the integrative programs with the mainstream educational structures were much more important. In those years an important experiment started in 51 schools [EQUAL program] unemployed Roma were trained and employed as teaching assistants of the schools. Those people were employed as „family coordinators” and trained simultaneously. The program was initiated as a model of future programmes, where practice-oriented and flexible training modules and stable employment are offered together at the same time. However mass diffusion of that highly promising form of training and work didn't take place.

In these years about 60 thousand kids are classified as disabled, or children with special needs in the Hungarian public education. Usually those students are educated in segregated special institutions. That program with the support of the National Development Plan tried 20% of those kids to redirect into inclusive classes of mainstream schools.

But despite of the comprehensive legal regulation the Hungarian educational system does not insure equal opportunities. These institutions are worsening the success of disadvantaged and disabled in school, and later on the labour market, as well. Hungary is the country in the PISA studies [2000,2003], where the social background of the family has the biggest influence on the students efficiency [Kadet,

2007]. The differences between the students' efficiencies in this country were explained by the social profile of the given school, therefore the impact of family background is expressed even stronger through the social profile of the school. The school socio-economic status explains more the PISA results, than the kid's familial background. In the average of OECD countries, 36% of differences in reading achievement could be explained by the differences among the schools, while this proportion is 71% in Hungary.

After the implementation of integrative measures in the schools participating in the programs according to partial measures [30 basic schools, 30 control schools] [Kadet Ernő, 2007] the first results were positive. The elementary schools students in the programs [4th, 8th classes] perform better on the reading-skill tests. Positive changes in the self-evaluation of children took place. The pupils in the 8th classes have lower level of social distress, their thinking is less prejudiced. As a result of all of this the pupils from the 8th classes in the participating schools are going onto high-schools with the probability of better odds in graduation.

The Ministry launched special programs and fellowships for the promotion of the above listed programs. The „From the last bench” program is used in the elementary schools. In the high schools 2 other programs, the „Arany Janos College Program of disadvantaged students” and the „Utravalo- On the road” Scholarship Program are used. A new subprogram of the Arany Janos is to support talent promotion programmes of disadvantaged students in the boarding schools. Most disadvantaged children continue their education not in senior high schools, but in vocational training where the drop-out rate is very high [about 30%]. Therefore a new comprehensive program should improve the quality of work in those institutions with hope, that drop-out could be reduced.

On the tertiary level special scholarships and tutors are offered to the students from disadvantaged backgrounds. A special affirmative action policy started in 2005. Those students whose parents attended only elementary school and eligible for supplementary family allowances or coming from public care, or state owned boarding schools without stable family ties can get special financial support for their study. The National Development Plan I. emerging in relation to the EU membership of Hungary [Ministry of Economy, National Development Agency] in its HEFOP measure nr. 2.1. develops special tools for the integrative education of disadvantaged students and supports renewal of teaching methodologies, schools in ghetto-settlements, develops tools for lowering the segregation and offers special funds for the development of day-care activities in the compulsory schools. In the measure 30356701 euros were available for the 2004-2008 period [22767525 EUR from the European Social Fund and 7589176 EUR from the Hungarian central budget]. The aim is to promote the educational success and thereby improve the labour-market prospects and social integration of disadvantaged students. The main point were- for 2005 as follows- for understanding the major aims and central tasks of the whole program. The grant scheme was divided in the next structure: 2.1.4. Promotion of extra-curricular programs to support the class success of disadvantaged youth: 500 million HUF [2000000 EUR], 2.1.3.2. promotion of inclusive education via cooperation of schools 890 million HUF [3560000 EUR], 2.1.7. elimination of school segregation 500 million HUF [2000000 EUR] 2.1.8. schools with disadvantaged in small rural settlements 541 million HUF [2164000 EUR].

That support continues in the National Development Plan II [NFT II] in the years of 2007-2013. In those years Equal Opportunity-based supporting policies are developed. The regional focus of the programs becomes more important and special target programs emerge [TÁMOP 3.3.] In frames of regional foci special advisories

for the sub-regions are employed and positive discrimination measures of the most disadvantaged sub-regions and ghetto-settlements are introduced. A special organisational unit, the National Educational Integration Network and Development Center was created in Budapest with representatives in 4 most disadvantaged regions. Roma teaching assistants are employed in some schools.

In a 2006 investigation about the efficiency of integrative measures [Szilágyi Judit, 2007] two new education forms- skill development and integration preparation, additional grants from the central budget, and a special package for integration are described [pre-school preparation, partnership relations between schools, introduction of multicultural elements in the syllabus and teacher training, innovative pedagogical programmes [cooperative learning, the project method and drama pedagogical elements], anti-discrimination trainings, etc.].

## POLICY EFFECTS AND OUTCOMES

The Hungarian socio-political debate on education has been influenced by the research on the responsibility of schools in the reproduction of inequalities, more closely on the role of schools as the outstandingly important means of integration at least since the 70s. The investigation of this literature could be approached from several points of view. The thematic junctions, programmes and controversial achievements of the internal reform cycles of the education system could be analysed. The cycles of ideological statements concerning education can be also examined. This literature can be investigated also from the perspective of systems criticism [in contrast to its egalitarian formality it is not in the least egalitarian, and indeed it has been creating poverty already since earlier than 1989] and finally, the whole discussion could be reviewed from the aspect of a specific element, the discourse connected to Hungarian politics concerning the Roma. In Hungary the group whose integration involves the most significant difficulties and problems is the Roma [as it is shown later, in the last two decades the majority of immigrants were ethnic Hungarians from the neighbouring countries]. The proportion of children born in these communities is higher than the proportion of these groups in the whole of the population. This makes the Roma integration an outstandingly important [today perhaps the most important] integration programme of the entire Hungarian education system.

In relation to these issues the specialist literature is very rich. Within the given scope there is no possibility of an overview with scientific ambitions. All that can be done is an illustration of the most significant approaches from the perspective of policy – emphasising the role, the opportunities and responsibilities of the state. Those expert texts that form the basis for a presently debated series of education reform, which will presumably start in 2009-2010, are treated with special attention. They were the documents of the so-called Education Round-table's discussion held in September 2007.

The life-cycle and so the education-cycle was chosen as the course of our analysis. The summary is significantly based on the works of the most important Hungarian researchers of the topic.

The overview is not focused on the normative texts, on the analyses of the formal documents of the education policy, but on the results [or relative failures, problematic situations].

## Starting situation, Early-childhood integration<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This chapter is significantly based on the texts of **József Nagy**.

A fundamental characteristic of our public education (including pre-school institutions) is that a fifth-a fourth of the generations growing up have difficulties or are hardly able to integrate as productive members into today's society with adequate preparation, they are unable to adapt to the accelerating changes. A smaller, but growing proportion is forced into destitute subcultures, from which it is nearly impossible to escape.

The low-level of education (of mental development) is not the only reason for being excluded and closed into subcultures, but it is also resulted from the fact that the development and characteristics of social competence do not meet the general expectations of the society and the working environment. A third – a half of pupils entering primary education or continuing the primary level in lower secondary levels are not adequately prepared for the requirements or rather the host system does not suitably adapt to the degree of the development of the majority of the hosted. From the environment of pre-school institutions then of general schools our children suddenly find themselves in radically different surroundings, in a significantly stricter pedagogic system.

In the Hungarian education system the improvement of the primary-level is behind the development of the other levels of education. The last significant changes happened in the 1970s, when in the framework of curriculum reform the education of mathematics were altered and the education of the mother tongue and reading were also partly renewed. The pedagogic culture characteristic of primary education has, however, hardly changed in the past decades. At the same time the changes of the management of education, which took place during the time of the political changes, worsened even more the situation of the primary level. The decentralisation of education management did not entail the multiplication of the expertise needed for decision making, due to the different financial possibilities of the maintainers of schools there is a great disparity in learning conditions already at entrance, and the free choice of school further increased the differences between schools.

It has been known for decades that the developmental disparity among pupils at the age of entering education can be more than five years. The age-difference according to the calendar between the youngest and oldest members of the age-group is maximum one year. The disparity in social age can be more than six years, a fundamental problem of starting school, of the primary education but also of the entire system of public education is the 6-6.5 percent-size circle of children considered mainly as having mild learning difficulties or special needs concerning partial skills. In the case of the majority there are probably no learning difficulties or special needs concerning partial skills, only significant delays in the developmental stages.

According to the DIFER Index the proportion of children who are not mature enough, who are completely unsuitable for entering education is presently 3+12%. There are further groups who partially have not reached school maturity either. The proportion of those pupils starting school with great certainty of success who finish it and reach the optimal level, which proportion includes pupils on the most advanced level, is as much as 70%.

In relation to transition there is a wide gap between primary and lower secondary level education (just as between pre-school institution and general school). A quarter – a third of the students leaving general school is not prepared for the requirements of lower secondary level, while lower secondary level education does not adapt to the abilities of the admitted pupils.

To the end of the fourth grade as much as 40 per cent of students achieve the optimal acquisition, ability to use of the basic counting skills. In the 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> grade the progress

slows down, then at the beginning of the seven grade stops in the case of half of the pupils, and in the ninth grade also only half of the pupils have optimally functioning, usable basic counting skills. In relation to the preparatory + beginner level 33 per cent of the pupils enter lower secondary level with undeveloped, unusable basic counting skills. Although this number decreases until the 9<sup>th</sup> grade, even in this grade the proportion of pupils unable to master the most basic counting operations is 13 per cent.

In the second grade the reading skills of 61 per cent of the pupils develop to a preparatory, beginner level, so they are still practically unusable. In the fourth grade their proportion is already only 26%. After this the progress slows down, even in the eighth grade the proportion of students stuck on the preparatory, beginner level is 21%.

As it was pointed out before, the developmental disparity among pupils entering education is more than five years nationwide. The traditional education system cannot cope with this kind of extremely great differences, consequently the differences of the starting year in the developmental stages double in the ten years spent in public education. Therefore a quarter - a third of the growing generations do not acquire the necessary level of fundamental components of socially useful integration. The traditional solutions used also in the Hungarian education system: classifying pupils as being disabled or having special needs concerning partial skills, dividing them according to developmental levels, segregation, making them repeat a year and similar measures are not adequate treatments of the problems. The present ambition of the education policy is to reduce the extreme disparity of developmental stages among pupils entering education from five years to two. It is considered achievable first of all through the extension of the pre-school system, through making it universal.

Besides, the more organised operation of the flexible schooling system that has been in effect since 1985 could also be feasible. In principle this system already these days makes it possible to decide which child shall stay in pre-school institution for another extra year in order to make up for their extreme delay in developmental stages. Presently, however, an increasing number of parents request that their children who are perfectly school mature shall go to pre-school for another year. The pre-school institutions themselves are interested in having as much children attending their institution as possible. At the same time they also have interest in classifying problematic children as disabled.

The experts preparing the present phase of the education reform consider today the necessary measures in this school period as the following. They recommend a comprehensive development package from the beginning of the pre-school's middle class until the end of the sixth grade with one-year preparation, two-year application trial and a couple of years of promotion. Even when following this strategy it is still very likely that until the end of general school the proportion of children with serious disadvantages, with hereditary developmental tardiness can reach 4-6%.

The second phase of the public education system<sup>2</sup>

When talking about the second phase of the public education system in the following this expression refers to the four-six grades (7-9-12) of the lower secondary level. In the Hungarian school system the selective school system exists together with the official regret at the even on a world scale outstandingly great disparity among schools, which was revealed by the PISA, and with the also official requirements of

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<sup>2</sup> This chapter is significantly based on the texts of Benó Csapó.

the application exams to secondary schools. The present-day operational mechanisms of schools distinctively work against classifying students above their level. Students drop out, quit their studies mostly in the final six grades, and schools have no developed system of means to reduce the number of drop-outs or prevent it. In international comparison not only the average performance of Hungarian students do not meet the expectations, but even the proportion of those with the best achievements is much less than in other countries. Consequently the most frequently cited argument for maintaining the selectivity of the Hungarian school system – that it helps talented pupils to achieve their full potentials – is with all certainty false.

The unified twelve-grade public education has to be specified as short time target in the reform plans. Its basic legal conditions have been already created by raising the compulsory school age to 18. Therefore with the means of building up systems that support learning it should be achieved that these twelve years amount to good quality schooling and lead up to the successful completion of secondary education. Through making vocational training schools more like vocational secondary schools and reducing the differences between vocational and general secondary schools the unified public education can gradually be accomplished.

Taking all of these into consideration the extension of secondary education is achievable not sooner than in 18-20 years. This way every Hungarian young person could complete their secondary education.

When considering it from the perspective of the geography of settlements the Hungarian school system is very much divided. Nearly fifth of the population live in the capital, while another fifth in small villages where the number of children born in a year is less than it is needed to form a school class. Taking these conditions into account highly diversified systems have to be constructed these days and in the next years in order to make it possible for every child by equalising their opportunities to finish secondary education. In today system the possibility should be created that pupils of smaller schools enter the schools on the next level together.

### Segregation, formation of ghettos<sup>3</sup>

As the consequence of the economic-social processes connected to the democratic transformation at least 700 thousand people were forced into a mass of people living in permanent deep poverty. A very significant part of them belong to Roma groups. This segment of the population is also highly concentrated and segregated geographically. In Hungary there are around one hundred settlements that has turned one and for all into poor-Roma ghettos, and there are further one hundred that at the moment appear to be unstoppable on their way to the same situation. The overwhelming majority of the ghetto settlements and those becoming ones are in the country's north-eastern and south-western depressed areas that are falling behind.

The statistical system connected to public education does not provide today in Hungary reliable data about the pre-school and school careers of pupils with multiple disadvantages. The researches [Kemény-Havas-Liskó, Neményi, Kertesi, Ladányi] are primarily concerned with the problems of Roma pupils and Roma education. Their data, however, are mostly treated in the debates on Hungarian education policy as determinative in relation to the education problems of that entire part of the population that are dropping behind. At the same time this is disputed by some [for example János Köllő]. However, it is very probable that due to the fact that the hidden – moreover often unintentional – and the less hidden dimensions of ethnic discrimination relentlessly prevail that the disadvantage/lag of children in the Roma

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<sup>3</sup> In this chapter it was drawn on the text of **Gábor Havas**.

families living in deep poverty are much more serious than of children with similar social status but with different origin. The empirical survey of Kemeny-Havas-Liskó in 2003 showed that nearly half (43.2%) of those communities where there is no pre-school institution in spite of the fact that the number of children living there would make its establishment justifiable, are poor Roma ghettos or settlements heading towards this status. The situation was similar in the examined settlements with pre-school institutions. In almost half of them (45.2%) the proportion of Roma inhabitants was more than 25 per cent. Then again, the higher the proportion of the Roma population is in a settlement, the stronger the probability is that the pre-school institutions are overcrowded. If there are not enough free spaces, then chiefly those children are admitted who have already turned five and whose both parents work. So it is most likely that children with multiple disadvantages and with parents who have low-level education and who are unemployed or live on disability assistance out of necessity do not gain admission to the pre-school institutions.

‘According to the research in 2000 on Roma pupils’ situation in general schools the proportion of Roma pupils was 16.5% in the specialised classes of the involved schools, 45.2% in the normal classes, 81.8% in the remedial classes and 84.2% in the classes for children with special education needs. A similar type of research in 2004 covered 553 general schools. In this sample schools where the proportion of Roma pupils was low appeared in much greater proportion than in the previous research. The proportion of Roma pupils was 14.6% in the specialised classes of the 553 general schools, 29.7% in their normal classes, 78.1 in the remedial classes and 71.2% in the classes for children with special education needs. In these schools there were altogether 799 special classes of that kind whose pupils were solely Roma children. The research found 50 schools where the difference between the proportions in relation to the whole school and to the classes for children with special education needs was more than five times as much, and 16 schools where the proportion of Roma pupils was under 10 per cent in the whole school but over 50 per cent in the classes for children with special education needs.’ ‘According to the data of a research in 2004 surveying normal general schools’ classes for children with special education needs 16.8 per cent of the pupils successfully completing the 8<sup>th</sup> grade in the previous school year did not continue their studies at all. While 47.4 per cent of them got into special vocational training schools which essentially mean dead end. The later job prospects of this narrow two-third practically amount to nothing. Further 34.4 per cent applied to vocational training schools, and only the remaining 1.4 per cent gained admission to education providing secondary school leaving certificate’ Gábor Havas observed [2007].

While only 3.6 per cent of the entire general school aged population study in classes for children with special education needs, 18-20 per cent of the Roma pupils according to credible estimations. Havas thinks that a significant segment of those Roma people who have successfully completed general school submitted application to some kind of secondary-level school, but the proportion of those applying to secondary schools providing secondary school leaving certificate is only very slowly rising, significantly slower than in the whole of the affected population.

The research of Havas-Liskó in 2004 clearly indicates the nature and extent of segregation:

Among pupils who have completed general schools	Schools with Roma majority	Schools with less than 50% proportion of Roma pupils
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	Roma people	Not Roma people	Roma people	Not Roma people
Failed to continue	10,1	1,5	8,1	0,7
Special vocational training school	2,8	0,5	8,1	1,9
Vocational training school	63,4	37,2	61,6	29,7
Vocational secondary school	17,5	39,5	16,7	40,7
General secondary school	6,1	21,2	5,6	27

The research of Havas-Liskó in 2004 (553 general school)

The segregation continues on further, turning-out levels of the school system. As again Gábor Havas sums it up, ‘the two-third of those Roma people who already at a significantly more disadvantageous proportion and division than the average but still gain admittance to secondary-level education drop out during the first two school years. ... Taking it as a starting point that 12-14 per cent of them do not even finish general school, and further 10% complete it but fail to continue their studies, and that around 8% get into special vocational training schools and more than half of those who continue their studies in other types of schools leave in the first two years, leads to that lamentable conclusion that at the most 20 per cent of each Roma year complete successfully their secondary-level studies, and the majority of even these students get a vocational training school certificate of a questionable value in some kind of less marketable profession’ [The same source, 2007].

In the country’s general schools around 2004-2005 there were as much as 3000 classes with Roma majority, and in at least 1200 of them only Roma pupils studied. At the beginning of the 80s, when the educational administration at the first time seriously dealt with the problem of the segregated Roma classes, there were only 150 classes of this kind recorded. Since then the ratio of Roma pupils in that entire part of the population that studies in general schools approximately has doubled, while the number of homogeneous Roma classes is eight times higher. This situation presents a classic example of disintegration. According to the findings of Ilona Liskó [2007] the segregation also continues in the vocational training schools. Accordingly children whose parents have degrees have ten times greater chance to get into restructuring secondary schools than into vocational training schools, while it is eight times more likely that children whose parents have low-level education continue their studies in vocational training schools than in restructuring secondary schools. The national data processed by her reveal that those children who get into vocational training schools are also the ones in the most disadvantageous situations who did not continue their studies before in any types of secondary-level schools, who had serious knowledge, skill as well as socialisation deficiencies and who were not motivated by either their general schools or their families to continue their studies or to study any trade. Consequently in the case of this type of school the proportion of students living in endangering family conditions has doubled in ten years, as the proportion of students struggling with learning and integration problems has also become twice as much. While in the other two types of secondary-level schools (general and vocational secondary schools) the same proportions have not significantly changed.

When charting the interests of the schools it appears that in this system the falling number of children and the raised amount of subsidisation induce the local councils maintaining these institutions to take on the provision for children with special education needs because they can use the sources gained this way in financing the operation of their institution. The majority of public education institutions, however, are incapable to satisfy the pedagogical and education professional requirements arising in the case of children with special care needs. In Hungary the public education per capita entitlements are not connected to the existence and quality of services, but to establishing the children/pupils entitlements to the fulfilment of their needs.

All of these, however, are true primarily for the schools of the local council [public] school system. The admission procedure of a considerable part of church and foundation schools in fact is fairly selective, so in these schools the proportion of pupils with disadvantages and with multiple disadvantages is significantly less than the average. In a segment of the Hungarian cities it is a well-known fact that middle-class children mainly do not study in local council schools, and in the foreseeable future in numerous other settlements the situation can become the same – certain schools chiefly admit, where they can, children from families with higher social prestige, consequently in public schools children of parents with low socio-economic status are over-representative, just as in several other European countries where the school system has a similar dual structure. The expert István Nahalka calls this the schools' 'right to the free choice of pupils'. The present version of the Hungarian school system cannot be regarded as that of comprehensive schools.

#### Policy determinants<sup>4</sup>

It can be stated about the results of the educational policy's efforts focusing on integration that

- the subsidisation system of public education has achieved few results in relation to reducing the inequalities of expenses and weakening the strong connection between the allocations of public education and the ability of local councils to raise their incomes;
- the extra subsidies provided for the support of pupils in disadvantageous situation has had little effect in helping this group to reach quality services;
- Hungarian public education is struggling with serious cost-efficiency problems. Handling these problems, reducing the excessive employment of teachers, merging or closing down institutions not complying with size-efficiency can easily result in increasing the divergence in the quality of provision and in that pupils with disadvantages receive even less qualitative services.

The local councils themselves determine the budget of their schools. These are however subsidised by the state in a determinative way through a complicated system – presently according to already 24 calculated normative per capita grants. The regulation of the increasingly detailed norms and the appearance of different fixed subsidies attempted to find – misshapen - solution to that real problem that the local councils maintaining schools have fairly different abilities to raise incomes and the subsidising system as a starting point was not suitable for compensating it – as the system was also unfitted for taking the cost differences into account. With the increase of subsidisation rights the proportion of those contributions, subsidies that are connected to settlement background, the social

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<sup>4</sup> In this part of the material the study of **Júlia Varga** was used.

situation of the pupils and that stimulate association and recognise the crossing between settlements became relatively significant to the end of the 90s, the beginning of the years of 2000, it was over 10% of the total amount of subsidy. Between the poorest and richest fifth of towns differences between 15 and 20% can be observed concerning the money spent on one pupil by the local council. In the case of villages those settlements where the local councils whose income belongs to the lowest fifth segment – and where according to every other survey children in disadvantageous situations are concentrated due to settlement segregation – greatly and increasingly lag behind. In the settlements in those schools where the proportion of children with disadvantages is higher, the costs per person are also higher. This greater amount of expenditure can be the result of the fact that these schools are attended by fewer pupils because they are less popular among the parents and so they function with lower utilisation [Varga, 2007].

At the same time the expenditures of schools educating pupils in disadvantageous situations at a high proportion are only a little bigger than the money spent on a pupil in other schools. If for example half of the pupils have disadvantages, the money spent on a pupil in all of the schools 4.6 per cent more, in schools maintained by the local councils 8.3 per cent more than in the same settlement in a school where there is no pupils with disadvantages. This amount of expenditure differences can contribute only in a small extent to compensating the disadvantages [Varga, 2007].

**The estimated effect of the proportion of disadvantaged children on the specific operational costs in general schools the settlements in the fifth segments of the estimated coefficient of the proportion of disadvantaged children, in the % of the settlement' average**

The change of the proportion of disadvantaged children:	Every school 10 percentage point	25 percentage point	50 percentage point	N
The average of the 1 <sup>st</sup> fifth	-0,55	-1,36	-2,68	38
The average of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> fifth				
The average of the 3 <sup>rd</sup> fifth				
The average of the 4 <sup>th</sup> fifth	0,39	0,98	1,98	38
The average of the 5 <sup>th</sup> fifth	0,82	2,08	4,19	38
	1,20	3,03	6,16	38
	2,55	6,51	13,48	37
Average	0,88	2,23	4,58	189
	Local council schools			

The change of the proportion of disadvantaged children:	10 percentage point	25 percentage point	50 percentage point	N
The average of the 1 <sup>st</sup> fifth	0,01	0,02	0,09	33
The average of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> fifth				
The average of the 3 <sup>rd</sup> fifth				
The average of the 4 <sup>th</sup> fifth	1,13	2,85	5,79	33
The average of the 5 <sup>th</sup> fifth	1,55	3,91	7,98	33
	1,97	5,00	10,25	33
	3,29	8,45	17,67	32
Average	1,58	4,02	8,30	164

*Source:* The calculations of Zoltán Hermann

Besides the research on the connection between expenditure inequalities and the proportion of disadvantaged children and the wealth of the settlement there are empirical results about the effects of subsidies aiming directly at reducing the disadvantages. Hermann (2006) examined the influence of the normative per capita grant claimed after pupils taking part in the ability development and integration preparation on the expenditures of schools. According to his findings the integration grant increased the expenditures with 1.4-5%, while the ability development grant with 1-3.8% depending on the proportion of disadvantaged children in the urban schools, and in the village schools with 1.5-7.5 and 1-4 per cent.

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#### TABLES AND FIGURES:

##### TABLES

##### **Table No.1. share of education and health sectors in the % of the Hungarian GDP, 2005-2007**

##### **Education**

##### **Health**

1. táblázat. Az államháztartás konszolidált funkcionális kiadásai két ágazatban a GDP %-ában (forrás: KSH)

Ágazat	2005. évi teljesítés	2006. évi előirányzat	2007. évi előirányzat
Oktatási tevékenységek és szolgáltatások	6,44	6,21	5,67
Egészségügy	5,27	4,77	4,49

**Table no2. Education sector in the Hungarian state budget [%] and in the % of the GDP, 1980-2006**

**Year- total in N- % of the state budget- % of the GDP –OECD average**

Év	Összesen (folyó áron millió Ft-ban)	Az államháztartás kiadásainak %-ában	GDP (bruttó hazai termék) %-ában	OECD átlag
1980.	24 595	5.69	3.41	
1990.	118 002	9.56	5.68	
1991.	152 706	9.62	6.11	
1992.	193 772	9.64	6.58	
1993.	231 527	8.91	6.53	
1994.	278 322	8.36	6.38	
1995.	306 525	8.56	5.46	5,4
1996.	340 562	8.66	4.94	
1997.	425 587	10.03	4.98	
1998.	493 240	9.75	4.89	
1999.	590 066	11.02	5.18	
2000.	672 943	11.13	4.97	5,3
2001.	770 879	11.38	5.05	
2002.	932 529	10.98	5.42	
2003.	1 071 456	12.30	5.66	5,7
2004.	1 089 090	10.74	5.26	
2005.	1 170 113	10.42	5.31	
2006.	1 216 135	..	5.16	

*Forrás: Oktatásstatisztikai évkönyv 2006/07, OKM és EAG 2006*

**Table No.3. Educational costs per pupil/student on different levels of educational system in % of the GDP in Hungary and in the OECD average, 2000-2003**

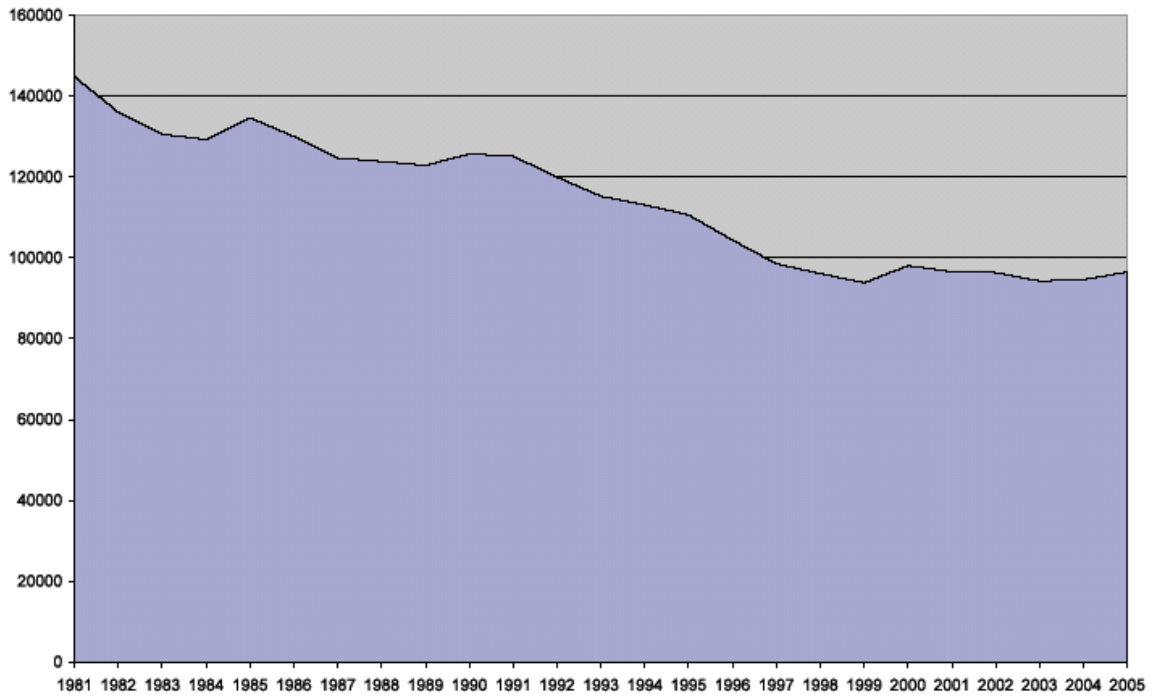
**Year – Kindergarden- basic education- lower middle- upper middle education**

Év	Óvoda (ISCED 0)		Alapfok (ISCED 1)		Alsó középfok (ISED 2)		Felső középfok (ISCED 3)	
	OECD	Magyarország	OECD	Magyarország	OECD	Magyarország	OECD	Magyarország
2000	17	21	19	18	23	17	26	23
2001	17	22	20	20	23	18	28	23
2002	18	24	20	21	23	20	28	25
2003	18	26	19	22	23	22	28	31

*Forrás: Education at a Glance, 2003; 2004; 2005; 2006*

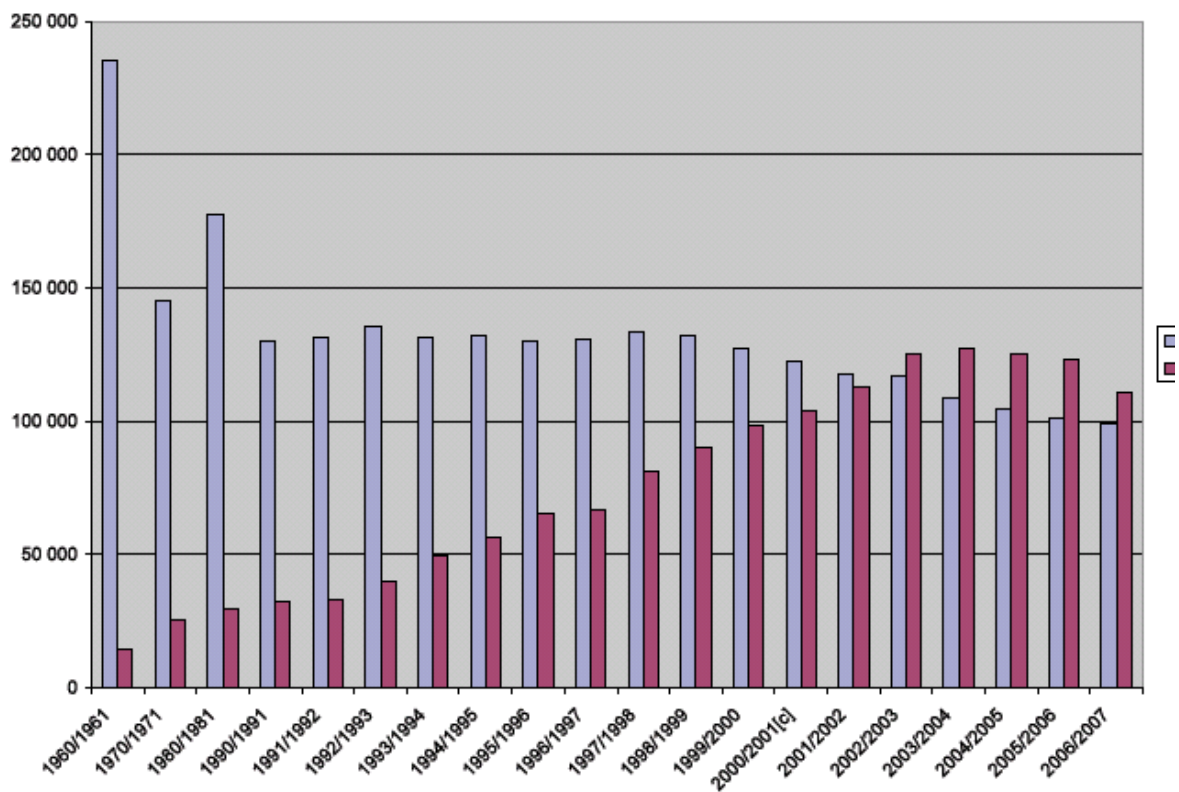
**Figure No.1.**

**Size of age groups younger than 25 years in the Hungarian population on 1.1.2006**



*Forrás: KSH*

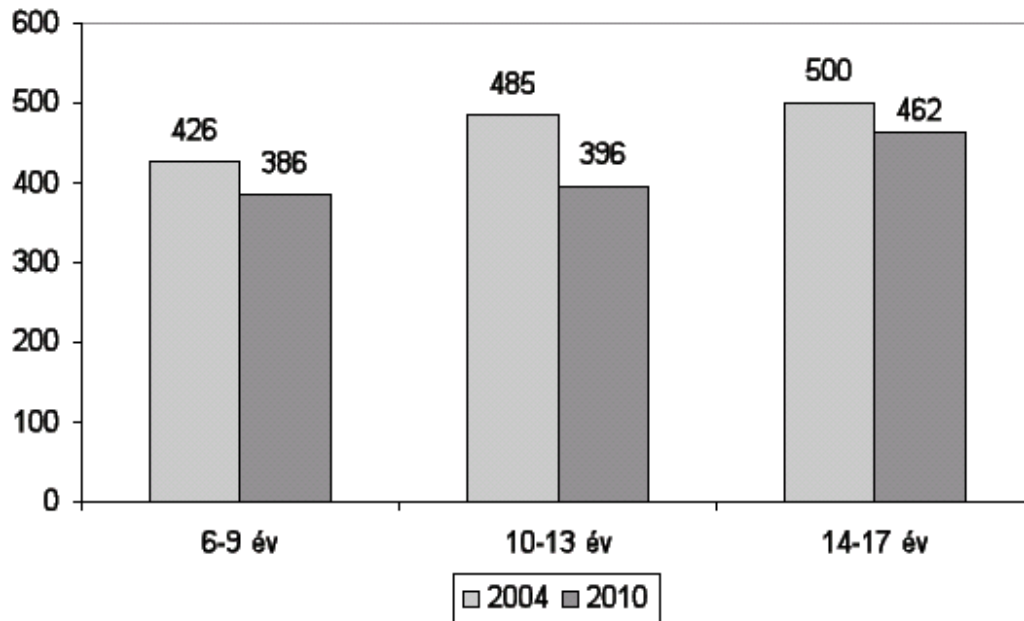
**Figure No.2.**  
**First year enrolment in the elementary school and in the higher education, 1960-2006**



*Forrás: Oktatásstatistikai évkönyv 2006/07, OKM*

Figure No.3.

## Age cohorts in 2004 and forecasts for 2010, in thousands 5-9 years 10-13 years - 14-17 years



*Forrás: Sugár, 2005*

TableNo. 4

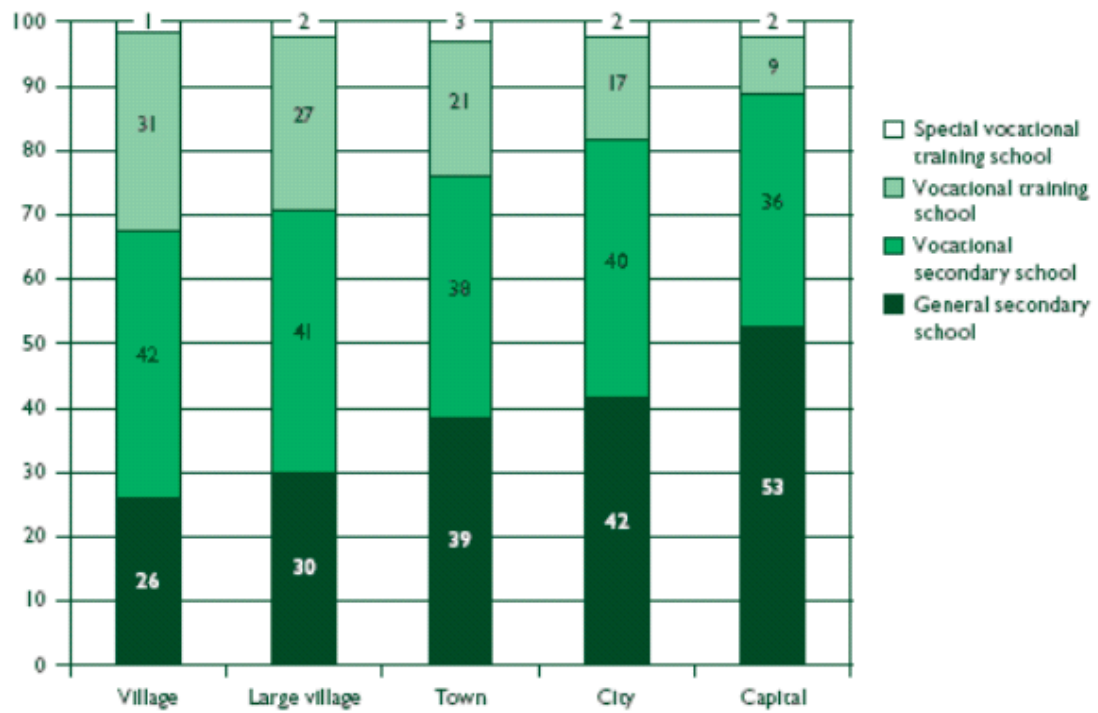
. Average values of family background indices\* for the 6th grade of general school in quintiles by background index and settlement type, 2004

Deviation quintiles of the family background index	Budapest	County seat	Town	Village	Total
0–19.9% (homogeneous)	0.96	0.64	0.33	-0.18	0.50
20–39.9%	0.63	0.53	0.19	-0.26	0.19
40–59.9%	0.45	0.33	0.08	-0.26	0.08
60–79.9%	0.35	0.23	–	-0.31	–
80–100% (heterogeneous)	0.24	-0.01	–	-0.42	–
<b>Total</b>	<b>0.66</b>	<b>0.42</b>	<b>0.06</b>	<b>-0.30</b>	<b>0.11</b>

Source: Calculations by Dániel Horn from the database of the National Assessment of Basic Competencies of 2004  
\* Family background index is an index with a mean of 0 and a deviation of 1 calculated from the schooling, employment status and household goods of pupils' parents. Whenever a pupil's index is negative, the child's socio-economic status is below average. A positive index indicates above average status. About 74% of all pupils are covered by the range between -1 and +1, whilst the bands between 1 to 2 and -1 to -2 both cover 11% percent.

Figure no.4.

*Proportions of continuing education at secondary level by school category and settlement type, 2005 (%)*



Source: Database of the information system managing applications to upper secondary schools, 2005

Figure No. 5.

High school enrollments

Prep-university high school – joint prep+vocational schools - vocational education-drop-outs

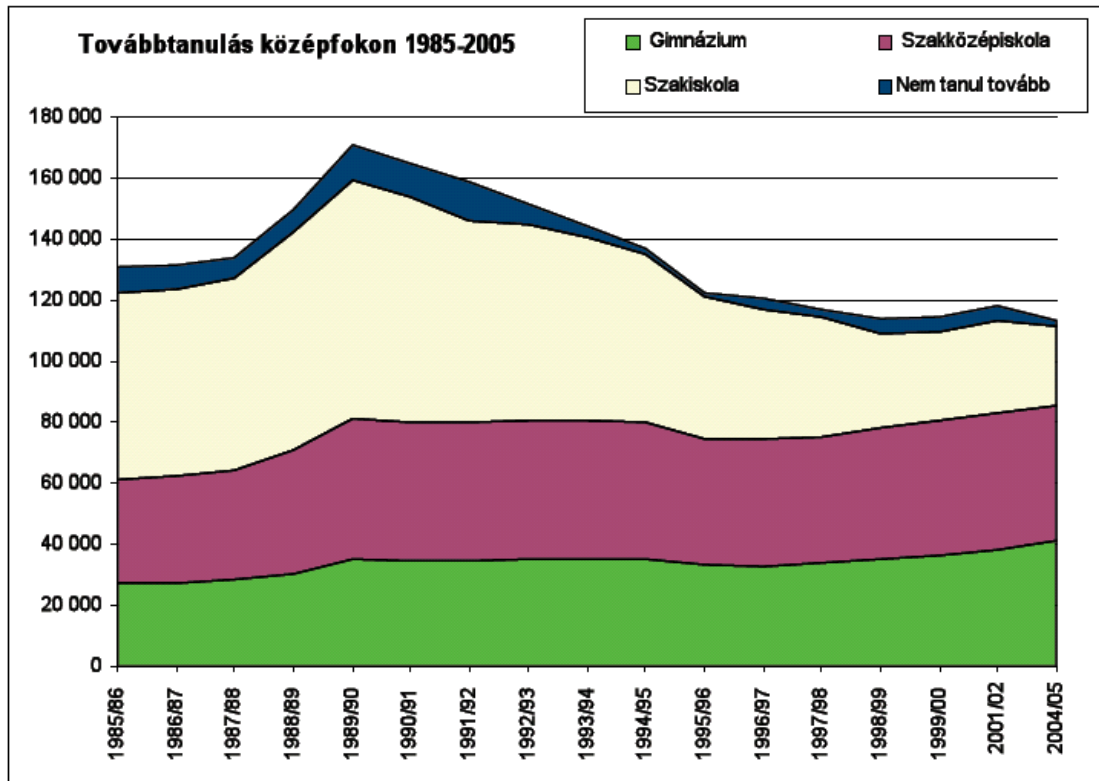


Figure no.6.

General enrolment in 2-level educational institutions

Prep-university high school – joint prep+vocational schools - vocational education

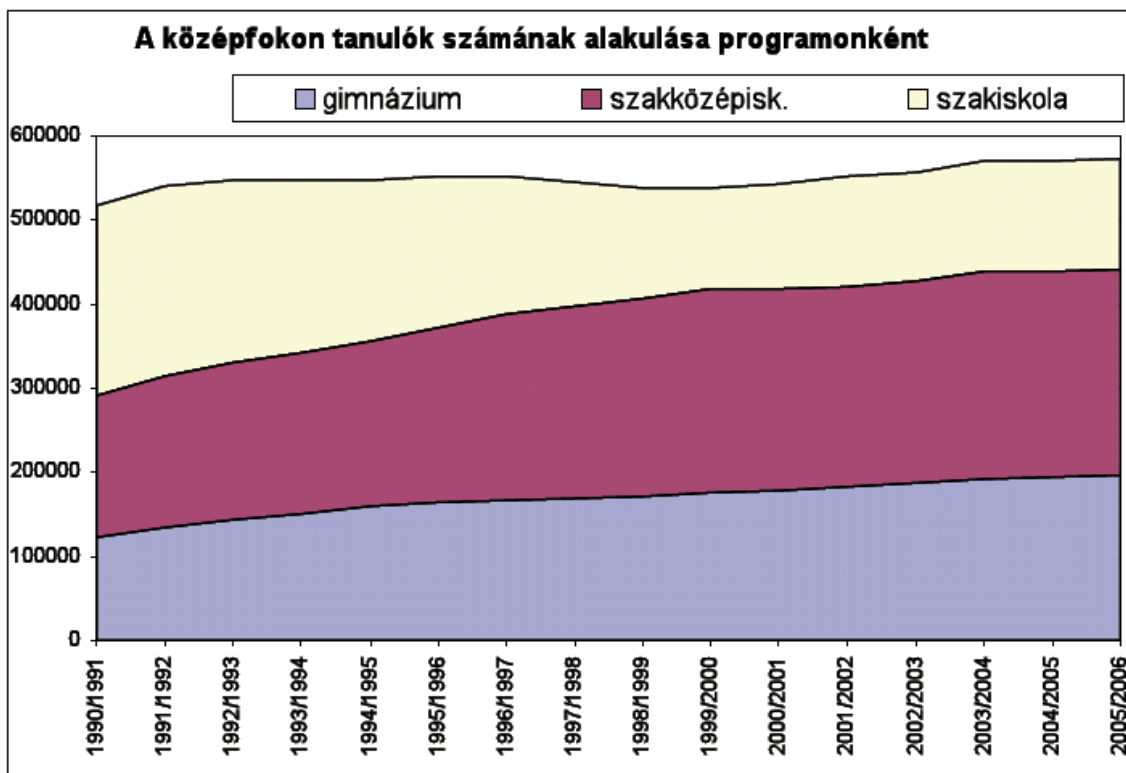


Table no.5. Student's social composition in vocational training by qualifications of fathers

**Fathers with education below 8 grads, with 8 grads, vocational school, full high school [12 classes, college level**

**Vocational/professional training certificates, yes/no, Total**

Apa képzettsége		1974	1994	1997	2001
iskolázottsága		%	%	%	%
	8 osztály alatt	31,3	1,5	2,2	,8
	8 osztály	17,3	15,5	16,2	16,4
	szakmunkásképző	39,7	53,5	63,1	57,4
	érettségi	8,3	21,2	14,4	21,0
	felsőfok	3,4	8,3	4,1	4,3
szakképzettsége					
	van	51,4	86,1	81,6	82,6
	nincs	48,6	13,9	18,4	17,4
összesen		100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
N		1432	1634	1040	1760

Forrás: Csákó-Liskó 1974, Csákó-Liskó-Tót 1994, Andor-Liskó 1997, Liskó 2001

Table no.6. Student's social composition in high schools by family composition

Rows: reformed prep high schools –traditional prep.high schools –joint prep+vocational schools –vocational training- total

Parents- educational levels – 8 grads, vocational training, high school, one with college degree, both with college degrees, total

jellemzők	képzési forma				összesen	
		szerkezetváltó gimn	hagyományos gimn	szakközép		szakmunkás
tanév alatti lakóhely						
	helyben lakó	69,9%	53,9%	42,9%	32,0%	46,0%
	bejáró	29,1%	32,9%	43,3%	53,5%	41,3%
	kollégista	1,0%	13,2%	13,8%	14,5%	12,7%
Családi együttélés						
	együtt élnek	74,7%	77,9%	71,4%	65,8%	72,2%
	elváltak	18,7%	15,3%	19,2%	20,1%	18,3%
	egyik szülő meghalt	6,6%	6,8%	9,4%	14,2%	9,4%
Szülők iskolázottsága						
	csak 8 ált		1,7%	2,8%	8,5%	3,3%
	legalább szakmunkás	6,8%	10,5%	28,7%	47,1%	25,5%
	legalább érettségi	30,4%	37,2%	48,9%	35,7%	42,0%
	legalább felsőfok	24,6%	21,2%	13,1%	7,0%	15,0%
	mindkettő felsőfok	38,2%	29,4%	6,5%	1,7%	14,1%
összesen		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
N		196	553	1040	415	2204

végzős középiskolások, Liskó, OI, 2003

Figure no.7.Stufrants with personal or family deprivations in different forms of secondary education

Prep-university high school – joint prep+vocational schools - vocational education

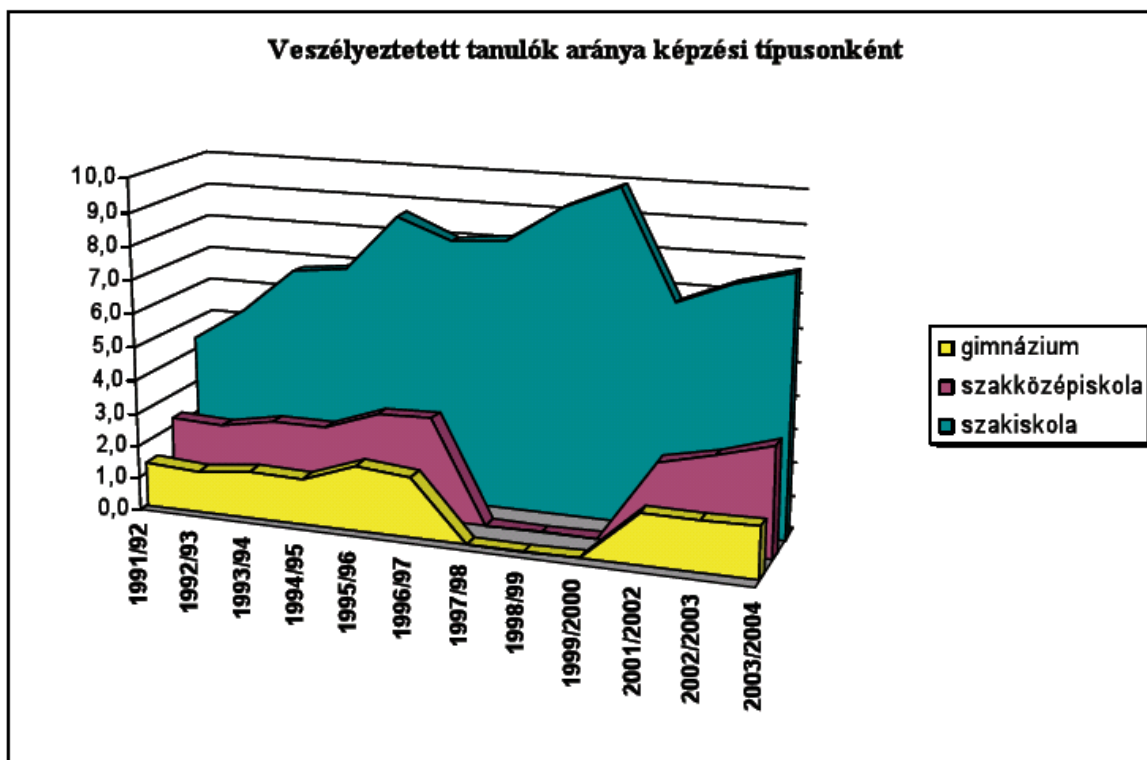


Table no.7.

Academically Failed student enrolment in the secondary education

Prep-university high school – joint prep+vocational schools - vocational education

Academically failed- total student enrollment

	Gimnázium			Szakközépiskola			Szakiskola			Összes %
	Összes évis.	összes tanuló	%	Összes évis.	összes tanuló	%	Összes évis.	összes tanuló	%	
1990/91	1152	123427	0,9	3539	168445	2,1	6462	209371	3,1	2,2
1991/92	1533	130378	1,2	4127	178911	2,3	9222	201072	4,6	2,2
1992/93	1719	136729	1,3	4369	186225	2,3	5341	196188	2,7	2,2
1993/94	1879	138198	1,4	4716	192388	2,5	5545	180615	3,1	2,4
1994/95	1992	140352	1,4	5182	196965	2,6	7975	166151	4,8	2,6
1995/96	1916	140884	1,4	7380	208415	3,5	6028	154294	3,9	2,7
1996/97	1784	140867	1,3	5069	220528	2,3	6070	143846	4,2	2,6
1997/98	1973	141402	1,4	5835	227243	2,6	6292	132637	4,7	2,8
1998/99	2250	142196	1,6	6622	234430	2,8	5628	119727	4,7	2,9
1999/2000	2216	145210	1,5	7069	241369	2,9	4929	109534	4,5	2,9
2000/2001		223474			292646			126367		3,0
2001/2002		232399			287074			126768		3,2
2003/2004	5119	239086	2,1	10400	292305	3,6	7476	126673	5,9	3,4

Table no.8.

## Drop outs in the secondary education

Prep-university high school – joint prep+vocational schools - vocational education

Drop-outs during the 4 years- drop outs during the 4 years –drop-outs during the 3 years

Tanév	Gimnázium		Szakközépiskola		Szakiskola	
	A 4 év alatt lemorzsolódott tanulók száma	%	A 4 év alatt lemorzsolódott tanulók száma	%	A 3 év alatt lemorzsolódott tanulók száma	%
1990/91	3368	11,9	5983	16,1	16803	23,0
1991/92	3409	11,2	7253	17,2	18283	22,8
1992/93	4108	11,5	7222	15,1	17672	22,9
1993/94	3667	10,4	8183	17,3	14690	21,1
1994/95	3249	9,3	7425	15,3	12971	20,9
1995/96	3656	10,0	5385	11,1	11824	20,4
1996/97	3378	9,3	4297	8,7		23,0
1997/98	3387	9,1	1904	4,0		24,7
1998/99	3004	8,5	1394	3,1		31,6

Forrás: OM Oktatásstatisztikai tájékoztatók 1990/91-1999/2000., Szakképzés Magyarországon 1997-1998.

Table 9

. Changes of the Roma continuing their studies after general school by programme type, between 1993/94 and 2002/03, (%) based on surveys

	1993/ 1994	1996/ 1997	1997/ 1998	1998/ 1999	2000/ 2001	2001/ 2002	2002/ 2003
Failed to continue	49.8	16.5	16.1	14.9	9.9	10.2	8.1
Special vocational training school	9.4	8.6	10.4	9.4	5.5	5.4	6.2
Vocational training school	30.2	61.6	57.5	56.5	62.8	63.6	63.8
Vocational secondary	10.0	9.3	12.0	15.4	16.2	16.3	15.9
General secondary	0.6	3.7	3.8	3.6	5.6	4.4	5.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	166	168	176	182	419	430	452

Source: Havas-Liskó, 2004

Table no.10.

Distribution of classes with different Roma ratios, 2000 and 2004

	2000	2004
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	Number of classes	%	Number of classes	%
Homogeneous non-Roma classes	161	5.6	932	10.1
Ratio of Roma pupils between 0.1–25 percent	863	30.0	2,824	30.6
Ratio of Roma pupils between 25.1–50 percent	890	30.9	2,410	26.1
Ratio of Roma pupils between 50.1–75 percent	397	13.8	1,191	12.9
Ratio of Roma pupils between 75.1–99.9 percent	258	9.0	620	6.7
Homogeneous Roma classes	306	10.6	1,253	13.6
Total number of classes	2,875	100.0	9,227	100.0

Source: Havas-Liskó, 2004

**Table No.11.**

**The estimated effect of the proportion of disadvantaged children on the specific operational costs in general schools the settlements in the fifth segments of the estimated coefficient of the proportion of disadvantaged children, in the % of the settlement' average**

The change of the proportion of disadvantaged children:	Every school			N
	10 percentage point	25 percentage point	50 percentage point	
The average of the 1 <sup>st</sup> fifth	-0,55	-1,36	-2,68	38
The average of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> fifth				
The average of the 3 <sup>rd</sup> fifth				
The average of the 4 <sup>th</sup> fifth	0,39	0,98	1,98	38
The average of the 5 <sup>th</sup> fifth	0,82	2,08	4,19	38
	1,20	3,03	6,16	38
	2,55	6,51	13,48	37
Average	0,88	2,23	4,58	189
The change of the proportion of disadvantaged children:	Local council schools			N
	10 percentage point	25 percentage point	50 percentage point	
The average of the 1 <sup>st</sup> fifth	0,01	0,02	0,09	33
The average of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> fifth	1,13	2,85	5,79	33

Table No.12.

Disabled people in Hungary [serious cases in total disabled], 1986 [last estimations]

groups	weight in %
Orthopeadically handicapped	31.0
Body limitations	9.9
Mentally handicapped	8.2
Visually handicapped	19.5
Voice disabilities [deaf]	19.5
Speech disabilities	4.7
Others	11.2

Table No.13. Total students and disabled among them of the public education system in Hungary in 2004/2005

Educational institution	Number of students in 000				
	Traditional programs	Adult education	total	Disabled among them	
Kindergardens	325.6		325.6	0.2%	5.7
Elementary schools	886.5	2.8	889.3	6.3%	56.7
Vocational schools	123.4	3.5	126.9	1.6%	2.0
Special vocational high schools	8.4		8.4	100%	8.4
Senior high schools	193.4	45.5	238.9	0.3%	0.8
High schools with vocational extensions	245.4	44.7	290.1	0.2%	0.8
Total	1.782.7	96.5	1.879.2	3.9%	74.4

Table No.14.

Children with special needs in the pre-schooling institutions, in integrated and non-integrated programs, 1960/61 – 2005/6

Years	Kids with special needs in kindergardens, Total	From the Total in integrated programs, institutions, N	From the Total in integrated programs, institutions, %
1960/61	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
1970/71	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
1980/81	592	n.d.	n.d.
1990/91	821	n.d.	n.d.
1995/96	2337	1149	49%
1996/97	2667	1476	55%
1997/98	2890	1707	59%
1998/99	3178	1910	60%
1999/00	3258	2091	64%
2000/01	3171	2490	79%
2001/02	4249	2888	68%
2002/03	4916	3479	71%
2003/04	5725	4236	74%
2004/05	5746	4317	75%

2005/06	5327	3896	74%
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Source: Ministry of Education, statistical system

Table No.15.

Children with special needs in the elementary-schools, in integrated and non-integrated programs, 1960/61 – 2005/6

Years	Kids with special needs in elementary schools, Total	From the Total in integrated programs, institutions, N	From the Total in integrated programs, institutions, %
1960/61	16275	n.d.	n.d.
1970/71	28077	n.d.	n.d.
1980/81	35574	n.d.	n.d.
1990/91	35420	n.d.	n.d.
1995/96	36074	n.d.	n.d.
1996/97	38475	1928	34.4%
1997/98	40304	3195	34.4%
1998/99	42834	4183	34.4%
1999/00	44617	5181	34.4%
2000/01	45596	6722	34.4%
2001/02	48575	8263	34.4%
2002/03	49967	8294	34.4%
2003/04	54055	18584	34.4%
2004/05	56922	24067	42%
2005/06	60651	29930	49%

Source: Ministry of Education, statistical system

Table No. 16.

Children with special needs in the senior high schools [gymnasiums], in integrated and non-integrated programs, 1999/2000 – 2005/6

Years	Students with special needs, Total	Form the Total in integrated education, N	From the Total in integrated education, %
1999/00	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
2000/01	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
2001/02	351	100	28%
2002/03	284	185	65%
2003/04	558	398	71%
2004/05	681	509	74%
2005/06	777	572	74%

Source: Ministry of Education, statistical system

Table no.17. Disabled groups participating in special programs by territorial administrations and educational institutions, 2001-2002

Territorial units: megye	Participants of integrated programs –N and % of special program participants							
	Kindergardens		Elementary schools		High schools		Special high schools	
Bács-Kiskun	146	61.3	445	18.0	4	100.0	15	3.4
Baranya	68	81.9	117	7.2	1	100.0	-	-
Békés	67	60.4	117	7.0	-	-	-	-
Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén	114	51.1	388	9.8	23	100.0	-	-
Budapest	344	42.9	1408	21.7	658	77.8	278	22.7
Csongrád	84	50.9	102	8.0	54	100.0	68	41.7
Fejér	221	84.7	253	12.0	28	100.0	-	-
Győr-Moson-Sopron	85	69.7	201	13.5	26	100.0	-	-
Hajdú-Bihar	49	33.6	222	9.3	73	100.0	-	-
Heves	501	95.1	1354	42.7	65	100.0	-	-
Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok	46	49.5	480	26.6	75	100.0	-	-
Komárom-Esztergom	57	53.3	232	14.3	46	100.0	-	-
Nógrád	35	57.4	284	27.2	25	100.0	-	-
Pest	553	89.9	1056	23.0	11	100.0	-	-
Somogy	106	73.1	281	12.4	9	100.0	-	-
Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg	102	86.4	720	19.7	35	100.0	-	-
Tolna	109	79.0	245	19.2	10	14.3	-	-
Vas	72	65.5	80	6.3	-	-	-	-

Table No.18. Share of deprived children by the intensity of deprivation in the region, Hungary

	1.quartil, %	2.quartil, %	3.quartil, %	4..quartil, %
2004	0.002	9.9	27.7	59.1
2005	0.95	15.2	33.8	64.9
2006	1.4	14.4	32.4	64.1
2007	2.6	16.2	34.2	65.3

Table No. 19. Number of foreign pupils in elementary schools: period of dynamic growth 1995-2000

Country/origin	1995/96	1996/97	1997/98	1998/99	1999/2000
Croatia	121	141	98	52	52
Slovenia	5	0	5	2	9
Bosnia-Herzegovina	44	28	16	29	52
Serbia-Montenegro	376	339	308	295	395
Romania	621	582	572	648	813
Slovakia	33	27	41	48	60
Ukraine	273	268	305	358	393
Others	880	1080	1554	1796	2056
Total	2325	2465	2899	3228	3830

Table No.20.

Number of students with foreign citizenships in different levels of the public education system

	Pre-school	Elementary	Vocational	High	Total
1995/96	n.d.	2353	463	2046	4862
1996/97	n.d.	2466	518	2255	5238
1997/98	n.d.	2899	505	2573	5977
1998/99	n.d.	3228	466	3038	6732
1999/2000	n.d.	3830	444	3566	7840
2001/02	1048	3777	685	4640	10150
2002/03	1554	5002	738	5459	12735
2003/04	1538	4761	911	5365	12575
2004/05	1608	4577	882	5353	12420
2005/06	1683	4515	717	5152	12067

Table No.21.

Adult educational activities in public schools 1970/71-2001/02

School year	Number of schools	Number of pupils
1970/71	451	21275
1980/81	307	15627
1990/91	161	12528
1995/96	82	5402
1996/97	66	4099
1997/98	58	3165
1998/99	54	3387
1999/2000	58	3146
2001/2002	57	2793

Table No.22.

Distribution of adult student in correspondece and eveninf classes by age, 2001/2002

Age	Evening participants N	Evening participant %	Correspondence participants N	Correspondence participants %
15	23	0.3	66	0.1
16	238	2.8	563	0.8
17	992	11.6	3868	5.5
18	1445	16.8	6497	9.3
19	1446	16.8	7667	11.0
20	1120	13.0	7584	10.9
21	782	9.1	6948	10.0
22	575	6.7	6800	9.8
23	430	5.0	5563	8.0
24	324	3.8	4021	5.8
25	258	3.0	3236	4.6
26-30	532	6.2	9388	13.5
31-40	309	3.6	5927	8.5
41-	112	1.3	1577	2.2
Total	8587	100.0	68705	100.0

Table No. 23. Students of vocational training by their father's education [in %]

Father's training	1974	1994	1997	2001
Educations levels				
Less, then elementary	31.3	1.5	2.2	0.8
Elementary school	17.3	15.5	16.2	16.4
Vocational training	39.7	53.5	63.1	57.4
High school final examinations	8.3	21.2	14.4	21.0
College, university	3.4	8.3	4.1	4.3
Professional training				
Present	51.4	86.1	81.6	82.6
Absent	48.6	13.9	18.4	17.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	1432	1634	1040	1760
Source : CSÁKÓ-LISKÓ (1974), CSÁKÓ-LISKÓ-TÓT (1994), ANDOR-LISKÓ (2000), LISKÓ (2002).				

Table No.24. Deprived sub-regions and ghettoized territories in Hungary

Sub-regions	Ghettoized territories in %	Unemployed households average in communes,%	Share of roma pupils in the elementary school,%	Share of „ghetto schools”. %
Abaúj-Hegyköz	20.8	68.9	40	40.0
Bodrogköz	35.3	62.1	37	35.7
Encs	48.6	70.1	51	36.8
Edelény	23.9	68.7	45	22.7
Mezőcsát	11.1	61.6	21	20.0
Ózd	34.5	58.8	41	21.9
Sárospatak	11.8	61.4	22	18.8
Szikszó	29.2	65.7	38	30.8
Szerencs	27.8	57.9	27	21.1
Heves	41.2	59.4	42	42.9
Csenger	27.3	63.1	21	12.5
Fehérgyarmat	20.4	64.6	38	17.2
Mátészalka	30.8	58.6	30	20.0
Nyírbátor	35.0	65.9	30	21.7
Vásárosnamény	22.2	62.7	33	21.7
Sarkad	8.3	64.7	22	33.3
Sásd	29.6	55.4	37	28.6
Sellye	48.6	57.9	46	33.3
Szigetvár	34.8	57.2	26	20.0

Source, Educational Green Book, Prime ministers Office, 2008

ANNEX:

## **PUBLIC DEBATES ABOUT INTEGRATIVE EDUCATION IN THE HUNGARIAN PRESS 2006-2008**

Hungarian media, the quality press and the broader public opinion in the last 3 years was heavily debating the ambitious governmental programs, their limited outcomes, unsatisfactory efficiency of integrative education. The debates was focused not on the problems of disabled people, but of marginalized, poor, living in ethnic ghettos or excluded in other ways. Special attention was paid to those intensive local conflicts emerging around Roma integrative programs and the resistance of majority population to participate in them. We collected the press, dealing with those anomalies and conflicts available in electronic forms in the next part [the links are full texts]

- **Tankötelezetlenek** (Népszabadság, Szűgyi Ernő, 2008. május 29.)  
<http://nol.hu/cikk/493483/>
- **Kolompár: nem az oktatás segíti elő a romák integrációját** (FigyelőNet, 2008. április 8.) [http://www.fn.hu/belfold/20080408/kolompar\\_nem\\_oktatas\\_segiti/](http://www.fn.hu/belfold/20080408/kolompar_nem_oktatas_segiti/)
- **Megrázó élmények, kudarcok és gyökeresen eltérő jövőkép - mérlegen a roma és nem roma gyerekek vágyai** (Híradó, 2008. március 20.)  
<http://www.hirado.hu/cikk.php?id=268253>
- **Növelnék az esélyegyenlőséget az oktatásban** (FigyelőNet, 2007. augusztus 22.)  
[http://www.fn.hu/belfold/0708/novelnek\\_eselyegyenloseget\\_oktatasban\\_169998.php](http://www.fn.hu/belfold/0708/novelnek_eselyegyenloseget_oktatasban_169998.php)
- **Hátrányból indul a roma értelmiség** (FigyelőNet, 2007. június 10.)  
[http://www.fn.hu/belfold/0706/hatranynbol\\_indul\\_roma\\_ertelmiseg\\_164688.php](http://www.fn.hu/belfold/0706/hatranynbol_indul_roma_ertelmiseg_164688.php)
- **Radikális szegénypárti fordulatot követelnek az oktatásban** (NOL, 2006. december 21.) <http://www.nol.hu/cikk/428935/>
- **MSZP: az iskolarendszer nem csökkenti a különbségeket** (Népszabadság Online, 2006. szeptember 1.) <http://www.nol.hu/cikk/415854/>
- **Kezdősebesség** (HVG, 2006. január 18.)  
<http://hvg.hu/hvgfriss/2006.03/200603HVGFriss133.aspx>
- **Az örök lemaradók** (Népszabadság, Liskó Ilona, 2006. január 3.)  
<http://www.nol.hu/cikk/389410/>
- **Oktatás: negatív világlás Magyarországon** (FigyelőNet, 2005. december 15.)  
<http://www.fn.hu/index.php?id=7&cid=113266>

- **Veszprámi Ildikó: Képzelt riport...** ([www.ofoe.hu](http://www.ofoe.hu) 2008.május 7.)
- **BÁRSONY JÁNOS: A roma diákok oktatása és a pedagógiai babonák** (ÉS, 2008. március 10.)  
<http://www.es.hu/pd/display.asp?channel=PUBLICISZTIKA0810&article=2008-0310-0936-00QJUH>
- **Nyíltan és őszintén** (Népszabadság, Debreczeni József, 2008. február 9.)  
<http://www.nol.hu/cikk/480732/>
- **Debreczeni József ledorongolóinak** (NOL, Tamás Tibor, 2008. január 25.)  
<http://www.nol.hu/cikk/478950/>
- **A nyomor nem válogat** (Népszabadság, Dr. Borovszky Tímea, 2008. január 24.)  
<http://nol.hu/cikk/478720/>
- **Pusztán ürügy a "romaügy"** - Olvasói levél (Népszabadság, Erős Ferenc, 2008. január 18.) <http://nol.hu/cikk/478032/>
- **Homok a fejekben** (Népszabadság, Révész Sándor, 2008. január 19.)  
<http://nol.hu/cikk/478162/>
- **Fejek a homokban** (Népszabadság, Debreczeni József, 2008. január 13.)  
<http://www.nol.hu/cikk/477395/>
- **Államilag pénzelt szegregáció** (Népszabadság, Szilasi György, 2007. december 27.)  
<http://nol.hu/cikk/475976/>
- **Fapados közoktatás – nekünk így is jó?!**  
<http://www.osztalyfonok.hu/cikk.php?id=458>
- **"Az oktatási minisztérium hivatalból teszi fel a kezét"** (ÉS)  
<http://www.es.hu/pd/display.asp?channel=INTERJU0746>
- **Tanulatlan ifjú koldustarisznyát hord** (Népszabadság, Árok Antal, 2007. november 22.) <http://nol.hu/cikk/472356/>
- **Tanulatlan ifjú koldustarisznyát hord** (Népszabadság, Árok Antal, 2007. november 22.) <http://nol.hu/cikk/472356/>
- **Néző László: Átugrani a szakadékot** (2007. szeptember 11.)  
[http://www.mno.hu/index.mno?cikk=429368&rvt=143&s\\_text=szegreg%E1ci%F3&s\\_texttype=1](http://www.mno.hu/index.mno?cikk=429368&rvt=143&s_text=szegreg%E1ci%F3&s_texttype=1)
- **Papp László Tamás: Pedagógiai röghöz kötés** (Hírszerző, 2007. szeptember 6.)  
[http://www.hirszerzo.hu/cikk.pedagogiai\\_roghoz\\_kotes.44091.html](http://www.hirszerzo.hu/cikk.pedagogiai_roghoz_kotes.44091.html)
- **Külön osztályban tanítani a roma diákokat: nem diszkrimináció az emberi jogi bíróság szerint** (Hírszerző, 2008. július 17.)

[http://www.hirszerto.hu/cikk.kulon\\_osztalyban\\_tanitani\\_a\\_roma\\_diakokat\\_nem\\_diszkriminacio\\_az\\_emberi\\_jogi\\_birosag\\_szerint.73095.html](http://www.hirszerto.hu/cikk.kulon_osztalyban_tanitani_a_roma_diakokat_nem_diszkriminacio_az_emberi_jogi_birosag_szerint.73095.html)

- **Mintegy négyszáz iskolában szegregált az oktatás** (MTI, 2008. június 20.)  
[http://kecskemet.hir6.hu/cikk/11328/080620\\_mintegy\\_negyszaz\\_iskolaban\\_szegregalt\\_az\\_oktatas](http://kecskemet.hir6.hu/cikk/11328/080620_mintegy_negyszaz_iskolaban_szegregalt_az_oktatas)
- **Ne legyen állami pénz** (Népszabadság, Aczél Endre, 2008. június 2.)  
<http://www.nol.hu/cikk/493977/>
- **Esélyegyenlőség a közoktatásban (2. rész)** (Hírextra, 2008. május 20.)  
[http://www.hirextra.hu/hirek/article.php?menu\\_id=2&cat=1&article\\_id=71700](http://www.hirextra.hu/hirek/article.php?menu_id=2&cat=1&article_id=71700)
- **Parázs vita a Parlamentben** (Hírextra, 2008. május 20.)  
[http://www.hirextra.hu/hirek/article.php?menu\\_id=2&cat=1&article\\_id=71698](http://www.hirextra.hu/hirek/article.php?menu_id=2&cat=1&article_id=71698)
- **Szegregáció vagy őszinte elemzés?** (Népszabadság, 2008. március 21.)  
<http://nol.hu/cikk/485827/>
- **Elkülönítés négyszáz iskolában** (Népszabadság, 2008. március 20.)  
<http://nol.hu/cikk/485682/>
- **Panaszvonallal az oktatási diszkrimináció ellen** (Metro, 2008. március 19.)  
<http://www.metro.hu/itthon/cikk/219945>
- **Ahol elkülönítik a romákat, ott nem osztanak uniós pénzt - Csökkenhet a szegregáció** (Világgazdaság, 2008. március 19.)  
<http://vg.hu/index.php?apps=cikk&cikk=214139>
- **Hiller: Új Tudás, Új Iskola a szegregáció visszaszorításáért - "Vissza kell szorítani a szegregációt"** (Népszava Online, 2008. március 7.)  
<http://www.nepszava.hu/default.asp?cCenter=OnlineCikk.asp&ArticleID=1021754>
- **A német szülők költöznek a jobb iskolákért** (Népszabadság, 2008. február 28.)  
<http://www.nol.hu/cikk/483168/>
- **Amióta világ a világ, szegregálnak** (Népszabadság, 2008. február 18.)  
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