

FERENC BABUSIK:
SURVEY OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS EDUCATING ROMA CHILDREN

DELPHOI
CONSULTING

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Introduction

Between 1971 and the school year 1992/93, teachers in every elementary school and in every secondary educational institution used to value the progress of Roma children separately. We have comparatively accurate data¹ of elementary school aged Roma population in Hungary and settlement-level ratio in the entire population from that period.

From the school-year 1993/94, the statistical register of the Ministry of Education – which was signifying the ethnical affiliation too- had been terminated because of personal data protection therefore further research could rely on estimations only.

All of the studies written for analysing the elementary education of Roma children, its position, failure, and the reasons for failure in the lower degree educational system, had to rely on² – at least on national level – the last data recorded in 1993.

It looked necessary to plan and execute an overall research, which could give an account of both Roma children represented in elementary schools and the presence of a possible segregation (so-called “Gipsy- classes”, over-representation in remedial education, etc.), and of its effect on the success/failure of ordinary education, and the special minority programmes in schools – all of these to be connected to the other characteristics of the school (region, measurement, finance, etc.).

The research was sponsored by “Közösen a Jövő Munkahelyeiért Alapítvány” (Together For the Employments of the Future Foundation), “Nemzeti és Etnikai Kisebbségért Közalapítvány” (Public Foundation for National- and Ethnic Minorities) and the Department of Public Educational and Minority Relations of the Ministry of Education.

The target group of the research

The basis of the research – as the only available data – was the latest data on Roma students, registered in schools by the Ministry of Education in the school-year 1992/93.

The content of the database has been compared to the data placed at our disposal by the Statistical Department of the Ministry of Education concerning the school-year 1998/99 – with the help of that we filtered out the schools from the 93’ database that had been closed down since then.

The mass of facts - formed like that - is reflecting the status, that was typical of the population and the ratio of Roma students in the school-year 1992/93 in the schools of the school-year 1998/99: the ratio of the Roma students was under 10 % in 70 % of elementary schools, while it was above 20% in 15,5 % of elementary schools.

It was necessary to reach every school – because of the aim of the research -, that possibly has a considerable number of Roma students, therefore we decided that we were going to look for all the schools in which the ratio of the Roma students exceeded 8,5 %, and according to that altogether 986 schools (28,7 % of the elementary schools) have received the form/questionnaire.

The ratio of the replies from the schools was 36,6 % - that number is relatively high in the practice of questioning by mail.

¹ The question of the accuracy of the data is not independable of that how we define the affiliation to the „Gipsy” or the „Roma” population. The question has been analysed elsewhere. See: Fiáth, 2000.

² With the exception of the report of the Ombudsman concerning the segregation in schools (Kaltenbach, 1999).

Budapest was the only settlement, from where we did not receive any reply that we could rely on³. The schools where we received replies from – except Budapest – are reflecting accurately those ratios that the schools, where we applied to, represented. The answering rate – concerning certain counties, types of settlements (county towns, towns and villages), and certain types of settlement-measures - identical with the structure of the sample has guaranteed that our results are – except Budapest – *reliable independently of the settlement-structure*.

The next question is how the replying-willingness of the schools depended on the ratio of the Roma students studying in there.

The ratio of the Roma students in schools has had a consistent influence on the willingness of schools to co-operate in the research. The higher the ratio of Roma students in a certain school, the more concerned the school has become to co-operate in the research: while only 30 % of the schools replied, where the ratio of Roma students is under 10 %, till almost the half of the schools answered, where that ratio is above 40 %.

Since it is known, that the schools, where the ratio of the Roma students is high, can be found in smaller settlements, therefore we examined how the population of the settlement - the fact that how big is the settlement where the school can be found - has influenced the participation. According to our results, the schools replied independently of that variable, that is to say the schools with lower ratio of Roma students, in settlements with larger population, replied less in the same way that the schools in small settlements (where the ratio of Romas in the population is higher by the way). It follows from that *the replying-willingness has been defined almost exclusively by the question, that how the ratio of Roma students in a school is influencing the life of the school*.

In the consequence of the answering-ratios except Budapest -, independent of the type of settlements, and county-affiliation, *the 361 schools that could be considered/counted are accurately representing the school-, and demographic position and ratio of the Roma population*. It follows from that this data make the changes, happened in the last 6 years, easy to follow accurately.

Our data has met the analysing demands, and provided the requirements of statistic reliability. *The data that has been obtained from 361 schools is representing reliably all of the elementary schools in Hungary, where the ratio of Roma children has exceeded 8,5 %*.

The data, peculiar to the results of representative sampling, is that the sum of the population studying in the concerned 361 schools is 86310 persons, and the population of Roma students is 26464 persons.

Access to data concerning Roma students

The form has contained questions concerning the ethnic-affiliation of the students. The replying to these questions happened without specifying concrete persons, so the person who processed the forms, only took possession of numeric data. This information is not qualified as private data, so it is not an offend against the orders of the bill on data security (1992. LXIII.), act on statistics (1993. XLVI.). According to the act on the security of personal data the private data is only the data concerning “definite natural person”, and the data that can be connected directly to that. Since the form contained questions, that are not concerning “definite natural person”, but only a group of students (the replying schools only reported school-data, pertaining population and ratios), therefore it is unambiguously legal: during filling out and processing these forms human

³ In the practice of research, Budapest has always turned out to be a „tough one”. Since 34 schools got in to the Budapest sample/model, and just 3 of them could answer, it made the capital unable to be estimated independently: this data is going to be in the category of the county towns.

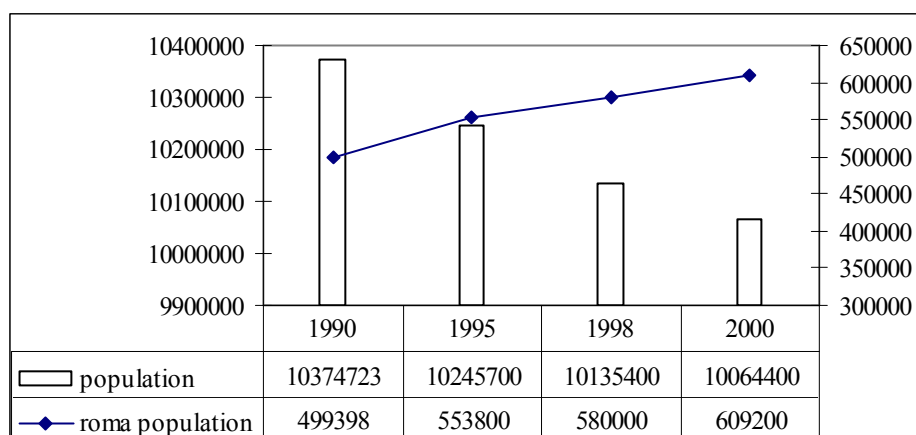
rights have not been violated, since we are only able to talk about human rights in connection with concrete persons. The information, which concerned ratios of groups in schools independently of concrete persons, could be considered as an opinion in legal understanding (in spite of its statistic relevance) – so it has not fallen under the regulation of the law of handling data.

Demographic connections

The changing of the school-ratio of Roma students between 1993 and 1999

There is a lot of study that is dealing exhaustively with the formation of the Roma population and with its estimation procedure⁴. From the point of view of the representation of school aged Roma youths that connection deserves attention, which says the population of Hungary, and the population of Roma is in different section of the demographic evolution. While the whole population is “getting older”, namely the ratio of the young age-groups in the population has a downward tendency, till the Roma population is “getting younger” – the high fertility rate and at the same time high death rate, and lower expected lifetime - compared to total population – is typical (the Roma population is in the so-called, transition period of the demographic evolution). That connection is demonstrated in the following diagram:

The formation of the number of inhabitants of the Roma population in Hungary⁵:



With the knowledge of the demographic trend, we were able to count on that in most of the schools the ratio of Roma children in 1999 is 10 % higher than it was in 1993. The demographic estimation can not consider of course the fluctuation of the Roma population - which comes from the possible migration -, and the occurrence (which was written down by another researches concerning certain settlements), that the other-than-Roma parents taking their children to another school from the "romanized" schools, which could increase the ratio of Roma children in certain schools, above the natural demographic growth (and vice versa).

The considerations above are essentially proved by the data received from the schools.

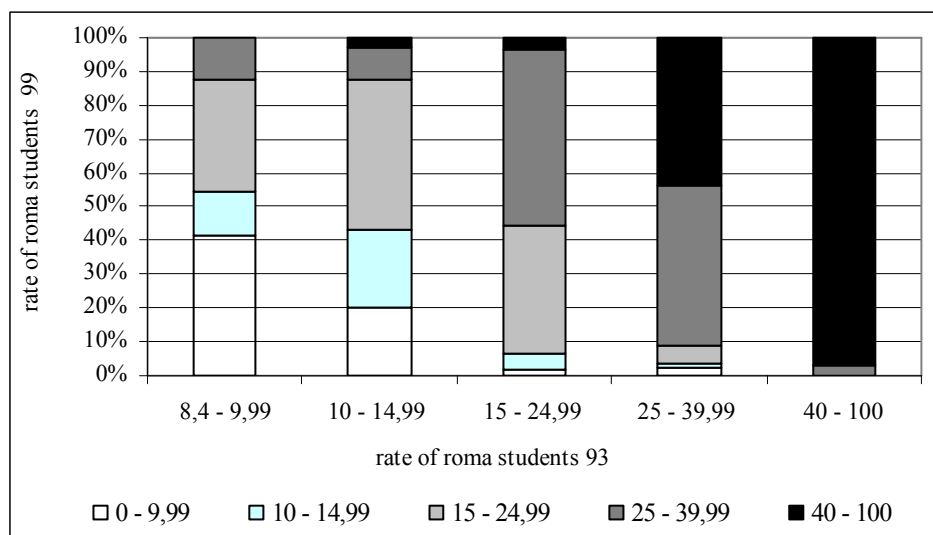
In view of the mass of the schools, 10 % ratio-increase can be experienced indeed. However we experienced serious deviation behind that 10 % ratio-increase: in certain schools the ratio of Roma students could increase from 10 % to 70 %, while in other schools that ratio is almost

⁴ Hablicsek, 1999, Kertesi, 1998, Zombory-Kovai, 2000

⁵ 1990, 1995, 2000 Hablicsek's (1999) calculations, 1998: counted data

zero. It is observable that the higher was the ratio of Roma children in a school in 1993, the higher that ratio got in the last 6 years. Similarly: the lower that ratio was in the school-year 1992/93, the lower it got in the past period. We can follow this “concentrating tendency” more accurately, if we rank the schools among layers according to the ratios of Roma students.

The formation of the ratio of Roma students in percentage between 1993 and 1999, by layers



- Only in the 3,1 % of the schools, where the ratio of Roma students were high – above 40 % - in the school-year 1992/93, the ratio of Roma children decreased – into the layer: 25 – 39,99.
- On the other hand almost in half of the schools, where the ratio of Roma children was between 25 – 39,99 % before 6 years, this ratio is above 40 %, while only in 8,8 % decreased.
- The same ratio-displacement could be told about the schools, where the ratio of Roma students was between 15 % and 24,99 % - that ratio considerably increased, approximately 15 – 15 % in these schools.
- In the schools, where the ratio of Roma students was 15 % or under 6 years before, the tendency mentioned above stops, or turns around. Out of those the schools, where the ratio of Roma students was in the range of 10 % and 14,99 %, in 20,3 % that ratio today is in between 0 and 9,99 % (this means that the ratio of Roma students have decreased), while in 44,6 % of them that ratio has moved one zone up. Out of those schools, where at least 8,5 % was the ratio of Roma students 6 years before, 41,7 % is in the 0 - 9,99 % zone, which means that so many Roma students studying in these schools. In approximately 10 % of these schools the ratio of Roma students has increased 5 %, in one-third of them it has increased 5 - 15 %, while in also 10 % of them the increase was between 15 % and 40%.

Thus we can state that, at least in its major tendencies, the ratio of Roma students is decreasing in the schools, where that ratio is low, while in those, where that ratio is higher, it is unambiguously increasing. The background of that (although our research did not and also could not touch upon that), according to certain observations, is that if in a certain school the ratio of Roma students is starting to increase (because of demographic differences), then beyond a certain boundary, the other-than-Roma parents take their children into another school. First of all in larger settlements, and rather the other-than-Roma parents take the chance of free school-selection, while in the case of smaller settlements – where the parents are only able to take their children to the neighbour settlement or settlement that is far-away – that special commuting is rather the question of financial situation (pass for the child, car, etc.). On the other hand our research – because

that question was also examined according to settlement-, and other characteristics – is strongly shading that picture, which could suggest that the only reason that stands behind the “romanization” of the schools with high ratio of Roma students is segregation.

Among other things is important question, that what is the connection between the ratio of Roma students and the demographic characteristics in a certain settlement.

The connection between the school-ratio and the dimension of the settlement⁶

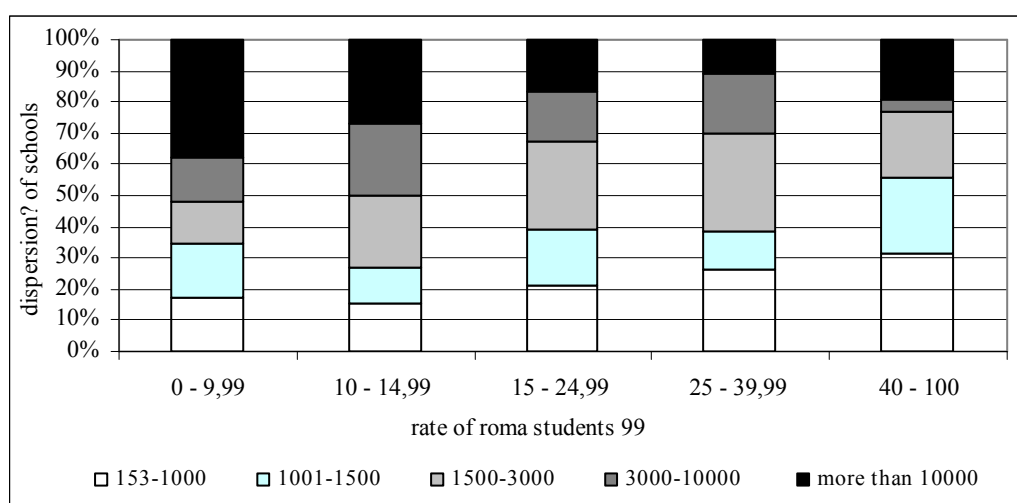
Because of the answering schools are representing all of the schools, where the number of Roma students is considerable (above 8-10 %), the dispersion of these schools according to the dimension of the settlement can accurately reflect the dispersion of all of the schools that teaching all of the Roma children.

The dispersion of the schools in percentage according to the dimension of the settlement:

local residents (person)	%
153-1000	25,8
1001-1500	17,5
1500-3000	25,2
3000-10000	13,6
above 10000	18,0
Total	100

So the quarter of these schools can be found in small settlements, where the population is less 1000 person, while less than 20 % can be found in cities where the population is more than 10000 person.

The ratio of Roma students (by percentage-layers) – according to the dimension of the settlement:



⁶ The source of the dimension of the settlements is: KSH, Terinfo (Settlement information), data according to the end of 1998

- 30 % of the schools, where the ratio of Roma students is higher than 40 %, and more than the half (55,6 %) of the schools, where that ratio is above 25 %, can be found in settlements with a population less than 1500 person. However the fifth (19,4 %) of these schools are in the settlements with a population over 10000 inhabitants.
- On the other hand almost 40 % of the schools, where the ratio of Roma students is under 10 %, can be found in bigger towns, large villages (more than 10000 inhabitants), while the rest (more than 60 %) disperse evenly between the other-sized settlements.

Our data proves – in its major tendencies – that already known connection, according to which the schools with high ratio of Roma students can be found in smaller settlements in the first place.

Besides the school-ratios however, the number of students in the given school is at least that important question.

The average number of students in schools, namely the size of the school – although it depends strongly on the population of the settlement – shows typically different connection in the settlements with a population over 10000 inhabitants, than in the smaller ones – depending on the ratio of Roma students.

- The typical size of the schools in settlements, where the population is less than 1000 inhabitants, is less than 100 student. In that case there is no strong, proven connection between the average number of students in schools and the high or low ratio of Roma students.
- In settlements, where the population is in the range of 1000 and 1500 individual, only the schools with low – between 0 and 10 % - ratio of Roma students are smaller (not a big difference, about 30-40 student less) than the schools, where that ratio is higher.
- In case of settlements with a population more than 3000 inhabitants, a very interesting fluctuation can be noticed: the average number of students in schools, where the ratio of Roma students is the highest or lowest, is 100-200 person less than in the schools, where that ratio is medium (between 10 % and 40 %).
- In case of settlements with a population over 10000 inhabitants, the fluctuation mentioned above is completed with the average number of students in schools, where the ratio of Roma students is more than 40 %, is the half of those schools', where barely studying Roma students.

Although we did not examine that the given school in which part of the settlement – whether in the centre, or in the outskirts - can be found, on the base of the experience of our foregoing town-researches⁷, we can take the risk to try to explain the problem mentioned previously: in settlements, where at least 3 or more school is running, out of the schools at least one is in the outskirts (contrast with schools, those who are in the centre of the settlement, often near to the main square). According to our experience- although it is informal in our town-researches – the schools in the outskirts on one hand usually quite smaller (the number of students is fewer), on the other hand, because of their not “elite” position, the ratio of Roma students in these schools is typically higher. It is completed also by the fact of course, that in the settlements – with the frequent exception of definitely considerable settlements, for example county-towns – the Roma population lives also in the periphery.

⁷ Overall research of the education systems of towns - Szolnok, Kiskunfélegyháza 1997, Szombathely, Csongrád 1999 - Delphoi Consulting 1997-1999

Formation of the ratio of Roma students in the classes

Examining the schools, there is a provable connection between the ratio of Roma students and the average number of students in schools, furthermore the number of students in classes is connected evidently to the size of the school, therefore we ranked the schools among layers, by their size.

The dispersion of schools by the average number of students:

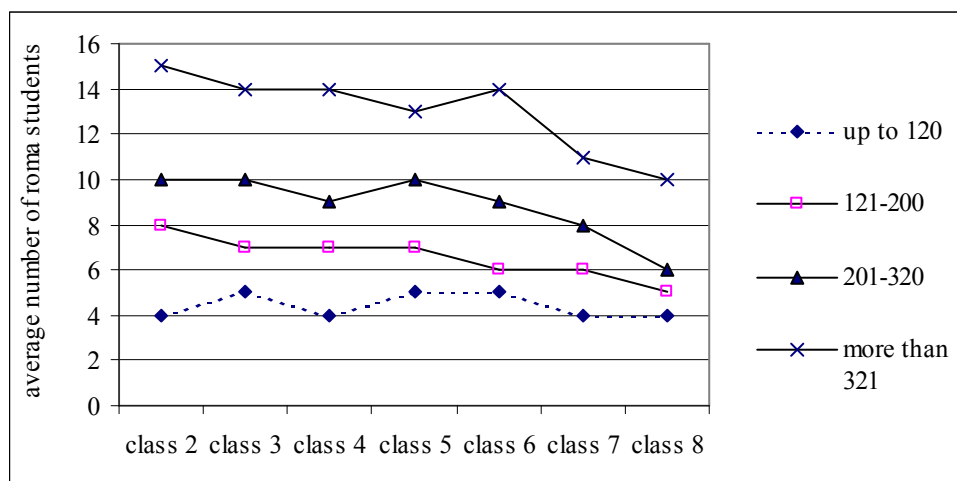
	%
- 120 student	25,1
121-200 student	27,3
201-320 student	23,1
above 321 student	24,5

According to our information *the number of students in certain school-classes* (in which both the Roma and the other-than-Roma students are represented) – *is constant independently of classes!* Apparently this connection is inconsistent with the fact, that the decrease of the number of students in elementary schools, as the effect of the demographic depression, seems to countinue.

The conflict is absolved by two connections. On one hand, we examined the schools, those where the ratio of Roma students is over a certain proportion. As we can saw in the introduction, that mass means 30 % of the elementary schools in Hungary.

On the other hand, there is two, conflicting demographic tendencies behind the permanence of the number of students in certain school-classes, equalizing each other: the number of other-than-Roma students is decreasing in classes, while the number of Roma students is increasing.

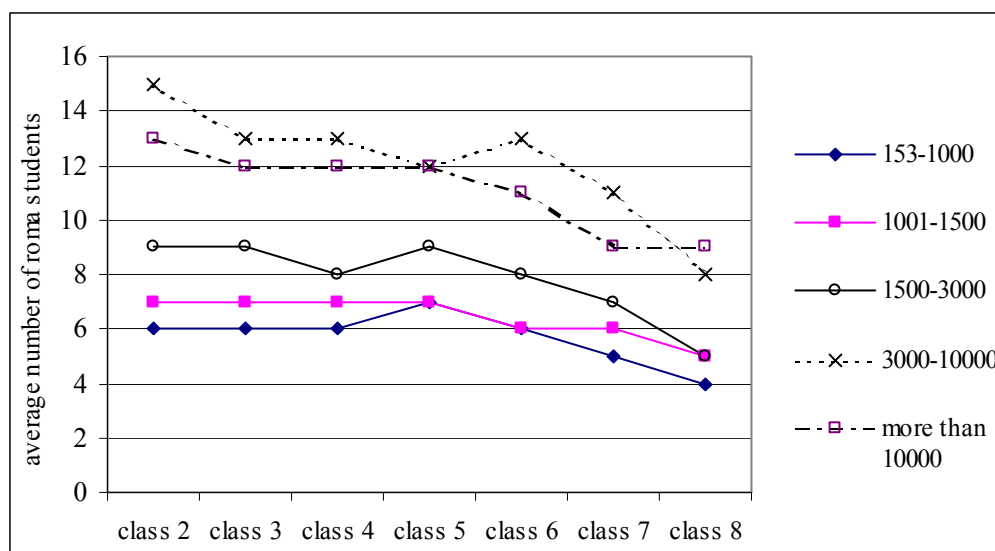
The average number of Roma students – by classes, and by school-size:



Because of the young age (or getting younger) of the Roma population, we can expect, that in the lower-classes, independently of the size of the school – aslo independently of the dimension of the settlement –, we get a higher numerical value concerning the number of Roma students.

Contrast with our theoretical expectations, the increase of the number of students among classes is not independent of the size of the school (the number of students studying in the school): the growth, according to the demographic trends, is unamiguously true in case of bigger (more than 200 student) schools, in case of the smaller ones – less than 120 student – we can not find that kind of increase.

The average number of Roma students – by classes, and by layers of settlement-dimension:



The even demograhpic distribution, that can be expeiened in case of those schools, where the population os pupils is small, can be corresponded to a similar tendency: in the elementary schools having less than 1500 students, the average number of Roma students in certain classes is the same.

It seems to be amiguous that besides the slightly decreasing number of students, the increase of the number of Roma student basicly depends on the dimension of the settlement.

That explanation is supported with the difference, concerning the average number of other-than-Roma pupils in between school-classes.

In the examined schools having a high ratio of Roma students, the decrease of the other-than-Roma population in schools⁸ can be only considered in settlements, where the number of inhabitant is between 3000-10000. However in settlements having a population less than 1000 individual, the slight decrease of other-than-Roma students is compesated by the mild increase of the number of Roma pupils.

The information mentioned above, concerning the number of students in schools, is suggesting a more general demograhpic connection, connected to the size (the level of urbanization) of settlements. The growth of the number of Roma, which comes from the young age of Roma population, is not even – that is mainly typical of bigger settlements. We can call that issue a suggestion based on imperfect data, because since ht elast representative Roma-surveying in 1993-94, there is no information that could confrim or deny that. However the research⁹ that we did in hte region of Ózd two years before, seems to be confirming that suggestion. According to the informa-

⁸ This emphasis is important, because besides demographic motions the overall number of students studying in these schools, can be strongly influenced by the choice of the parents.

⁹ The research can be found: <http://www.delphoi.hu>

tion, which is based on the representative sample of the data concerning the people aged between 14-29 years, in contrast with all the expectations, the number of children in a family is higher in large-villages and in Ózd, than in smaller settlements. The families with one child are more often in villages, while the families with 2 or 3 children (similarly aged) are more frequent in bigger settlements (however there is no proven difference in the ratio of families with 4 or more children, which ratio is quite low by the way).

Special education programme offers in schools

We gave a special role in our research to the analysis of the supply of special education in schools – according to the researches, dealing with forms of segregation. On one hand, we were seeking for an answer of what the characteristics of the schools (possessing certain supply elements) are, and what connections can be noticed between the size of schools, the characteristics of settlements etc., and certain supplies. On the other hand, we examined – not independently of the foregoing – what the ratio of Roma and other-than-Roma pupils is in certain educational forms.

Roma minority programme education

Since the more or less spontaneous manifestation of segregation in schools – on institution level – can be strongly attached¹⁰ to the closing up education, or the classes working with the program of remedial education, therefore it is practical to survey first of all what connections are typical of the schools teaching with the program, which has been developed definitely for the special claims (social, cultural, etc.) of Roma students, and that is considering these claims from the point of view of pedagogical, methodological angle.

The majority of the schools – 77 % - teaching considerable number of Roma children have not launched a training program a like that (teaching in accordance with the Roma ethnic program).

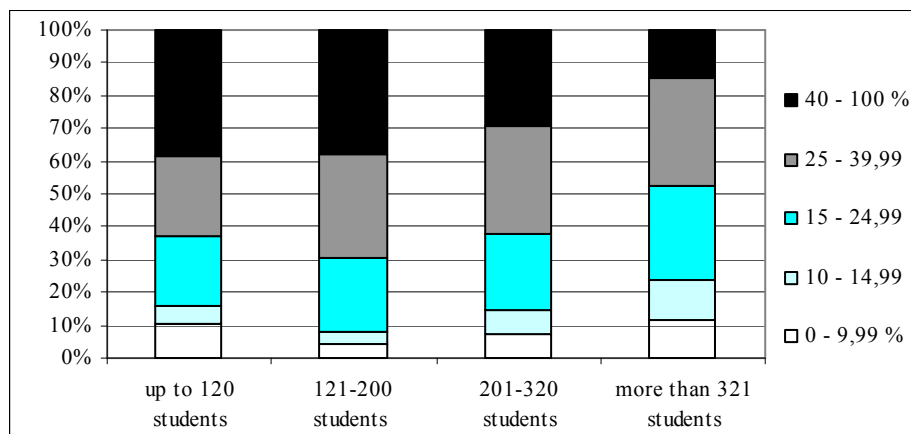
The dispersion of schools working with the special program is not even, according to the characteristics of settlements: These schools can be found mainly in settlements having more than 10000 inhabitants (29,2 %), or in settlements, where the ratio of Roma population is over 50 %. These two factors complete each other of course, since there is no settlement (having more than 10000 individuals), where the ratio of Roma inhabitants could even approach 50 %.

In large proportion of the schools (38,9 %), where the ratio of Roma children exceeds 40 %, there is a special training program according to the minority program. The size of schools is also an important factor: the more is the number of students in a school, the more likely the school is going to launch a program like this.

¹⁰ See: Kaltenbach, 1999.

Now is the time in this connection, when it is worth surveying the question, that how the size of the school and the ratio of Roma students studying there connect.

The connection between the size of schools and the ratio of Roma students:



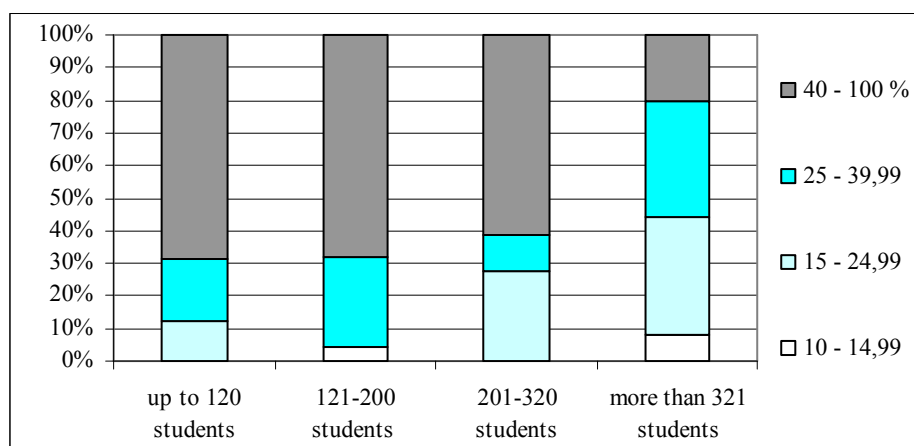
As it could be already suspected from the demographical data, there is a direct connection between the population of the school (the size of the school) and the ratio of Roma children.

- Mainly the comparatively small schools (having less than 200 student) possess the highest ratio of Roma pupils (above 40 %) – this means 40 % out of these schools, while only 16 % of the biggest schools have a high ratio like that.
- It is shown, when we compare the ratio of Roma students studying in schools to the size of the school above the 25 % zone, that not the smallest, but the comparatively small (between 121 and 200 student) schools have the biggest proportion of that ratio – in 75 % of these schools, the ratio of Roma students exceeds 25 %.
- The big schools (having more than 321 pupils) are the opposite of that: in 50 % of them the ratio of roma students is under 25 %.

So the bulk of Roma students are studying in the comparatively small schools – and out of those, rather in the schools having 120-200 student.

The reason why we quoted here the school-demographic connection mentioned above (and not in the demographic chapter), is that our previous supposition, according to which the size of the school, and the ratio of Roma students can have an influence on the decision, whether the school will, or will not launch a special Roma minority program, is proven by the data of the research.

Dispersion of the schools, those who have launched special ethnic program – according to the size of the school, and the ratio of Roma students



As we saw in the foregoing, 23 % of all of the schools teaching Roma children have a Roma minority program.

- The schools with a ratio of Roma students under 10 %, has not launched a program like that,
- relatively higher number of the biggest schools, and those who have the highest ratio of Roma students, has launched special program, than the other ones,
- that recognition is thoroughly shaded by the fact, that – as it is shown in the data of the diagram – in 90-95 % of those schools, where the number of pupils is under 200, and where the Roma minority program is working, the ratio of Roma students is higher than 25 %,
- on the other hand, in the biggest ones of those schools, where such program is working, the proportion of the schools having a ratio of Roma students higher than 25 % (55 %), barely exceeds the ratio of all of the schools with the same size (48 %).

It follows from that, although relatively low number of smaller schools have launched special ethnic program - compared to the average - however almost in all of these small schools, those who have launched such program, the ratio of Roma students is over 25 %. That statement, with a little restriction, also concerns the middle-sized – number of pupils is between 200-321 – schools: in these, a ratio of Roma students above 25 % is not that over-representated.

Since the statement mentioned above is not accurate in case of bigger schools – more than 321 student -, it is likely that smaller schools – those who can be found typically in settlements, where the population is in the range of 1500-3000 inhabitants, put more effort into launching a special ethnic program, because of their position, and also because of the succeed of higher ratio of Roma in the population.

In the schools, those who have special Roma ethnic program, almost all of the Roma students are participating in these programs – independently of classes; so all of the Roma students in the given school are participating in those from the beginning. That connection is independent of the size of schools and the ratio of Roma students.

Special education programmes, the question of private students

The problem of school-ratios

The report of the minority Ombudsman drew serious attention to the possible presence of segregative mechanism, and the joining of the schools having high ratio of Roma students and the relatively large number of Roma children studying in classes for the handicapped.

In the phase of preparing this research, during the interviews with several leader of Roma civil rights activists, and remedial expert, an observation – just informal - has come up, according to which the high ratio of Roma pupils can be also linked with the high ratio of students just like with the tool of declining responsibility.

There was several local research¹¹, that has discovered the serious connection between the classes of closing up teaching and the segregative, so-called “Roma-classes” (which says that these two concepts are often almost the same in the schools with high ratio of Roma students).

Since our research is national and representative concerning the elementary schools having a high ratio of Roma pupils, therefore there was a serious chance to find the answer for the questions - which have produced national response - mentioned above.

Dispersion of the certain types of remedial education

	%
there is no remedial education	59,8%
remedial class and/or section	20,8%
there is only remedial class	13%
there is only remedial section	6%
there is only integrated remedial education	11,1%
mixed: remedial class and/or section and/or integrated	8,3%
any kind of remedial education	40,2%

Nearly two-thirds (59.8%) of schools having a considerable number of Roma students offer no special education programme. 13% of the schools have a special education class, 6% of them have a specialised section though there are certain schools where both programmes are present. 11.1% of schools offer the special education programme in an integrated form, within the framework of ordinary class education.

Since remedial education classes and specialised classes are different from another in administrative respect rather than in the methods applied, furthermore the number of schools offering integrated education is not considerable, thus we do not differentiate between certain special education types during our further analyses.

The following tables show the characteristics of schools offering some kind of remedial education programme

¹¹ Girán-Kardos 1997,1999

Distribution of schools offering remedial education plotted against the special ethnic programme and the ratio of Roma pupils

Total number of schools offering remedial education	0 - 9,99 %	10 - 14,99	15 - 24,99	25 - 39,99	40 - 100 %	Total
Schools not having Roma minority programme	4,2%	3,5%	17,6%	21,1%	20,4%	66,9%
Schools having Roma minority pr.		1,4%	5,6%	9,9%	16,2%	33,1%
<i>Total</i>	4,2%	4,9%	23,2%	31,0%	36,6%	100,0%

Distribution of schools offering remedial education plotted against the special ethnic programme and the size of school

Total number of schools offering remedial education	-120	121-200	201-320	321 feletti	Total
Schools not having Roma minority p.	8,3%	17,4%	22,2%	18,8%	66,9%
Schools having Roma minority pr.	2,1%	11,1%	8,3%	11,8%	33,1%
<i>Total</i>	10,4%	28,5%	30,6%	30,6%	100,0%

It is worth surveying the data of these tables together.

- The presence of special education programmes is directly proportional to the ratio of Roma students – the higher the ratio is, the likelier the school is to offer a special education programme: while schools having a ratio of less than 10% of Roma students include 4.2% of the total number of schools offering special education programmes, 23.2% of schools having more than 15% of Roma students and offering remedial education programme, schools having more Roma students than 40% represent 36.6% of schools offering special education.
- In connection with the size of schools, those having 120 or more pupils have started some kind of a special education programme to nearly the same extent.
- The conclusion can be drawn that schools having less than 15% (a relatively low percentage) of Roma students and medium sized schools are those where remedial education programmes are rarely present. The special education programmes are concentrated in schools having a high, more than 40% Roma pupil ratio – mainly in those having more than 120 pupils.

Since remedial education (though it is professionally justified) implements hidden segregation, it was necessary to examine on the basis of the ratio of Roma pupils in schools (and on the basis of the size of the school, which is related to that) whether schools starting Roma ethnic programmes are different from those not launching such a programme or not (assuming, that starting a minority programme, at least its motivation is opposing segregation).

The following conclusion can be drawn from the data of the previous tables:

- More than two thirds (66.9%) of schools offering remedial education have no special Roma minority programme,
- With direct proportion to the ratio of Roma pupils schools having a Roma minority programme are not present properly in special education programmes,
- Depending on the size of the school institutions offering minority programmes are not represented properly either in remedial education programmes

During the compilation of the survey the above data drew our attention to search for deeper connection between the size of school, the ratio of Roma pupils, the presence of remedial education and the possible presence of a Roma minority programme.

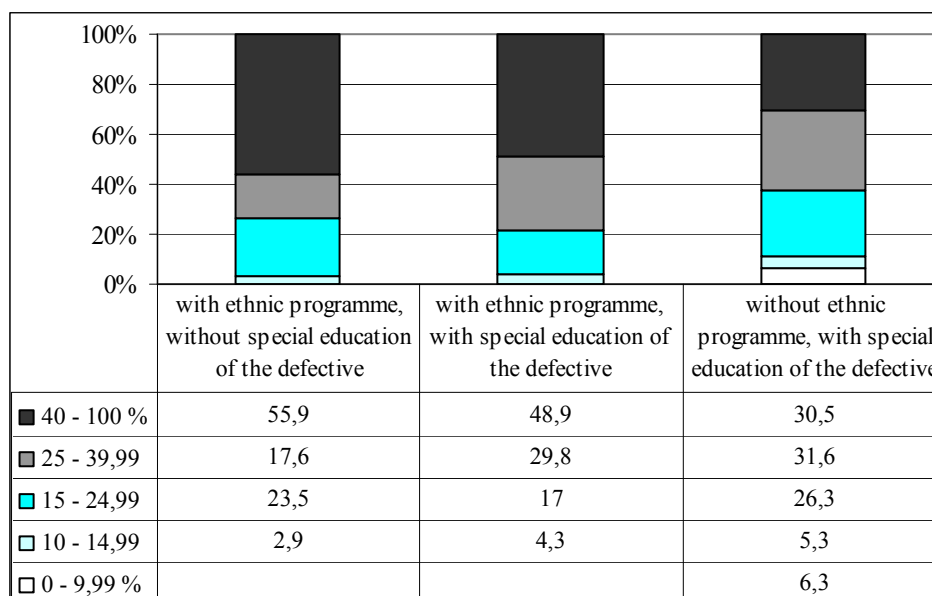
Here it is worth recalling what we noted analysing the demographic relations of minority programmes, namely that it seemed that a larger proportion of smaller schools were aiming to launching Roma minority programmes – similarly to schools having a high percentage of Roma students.

The aforementioned questions should be treated as a complex because

- The elementary school remedial education, as a presumably hidden segregative practice needs checking (abundant and accurate data are available for the checking process),
- The practice of launching special ethnic minority programmes can seem as the “school of tolerance”¹² from theoretical consideration and it means less “income” for the maintainer than the quota of remedial education does.
- The approach of the school (hidden segregation versus tolerance), the financial interest of the local government authorizing the programmes, the size of the school, and the proportion of Roma pupils can put a “pressure” on – for example - the shaping of school programmes, which will necessarily influence the behaviour (strategy forming) of schools.

The following analyses are based on the presence of ethnic minority or remedial education programmes. The size of the school and the ratio of Roma students studying there are considered independent variables since these two considerations influence basically the differences between schools, as we could see in our analysis so far.

Schools offering minority and / or special education programme plotted against the number of Roma students

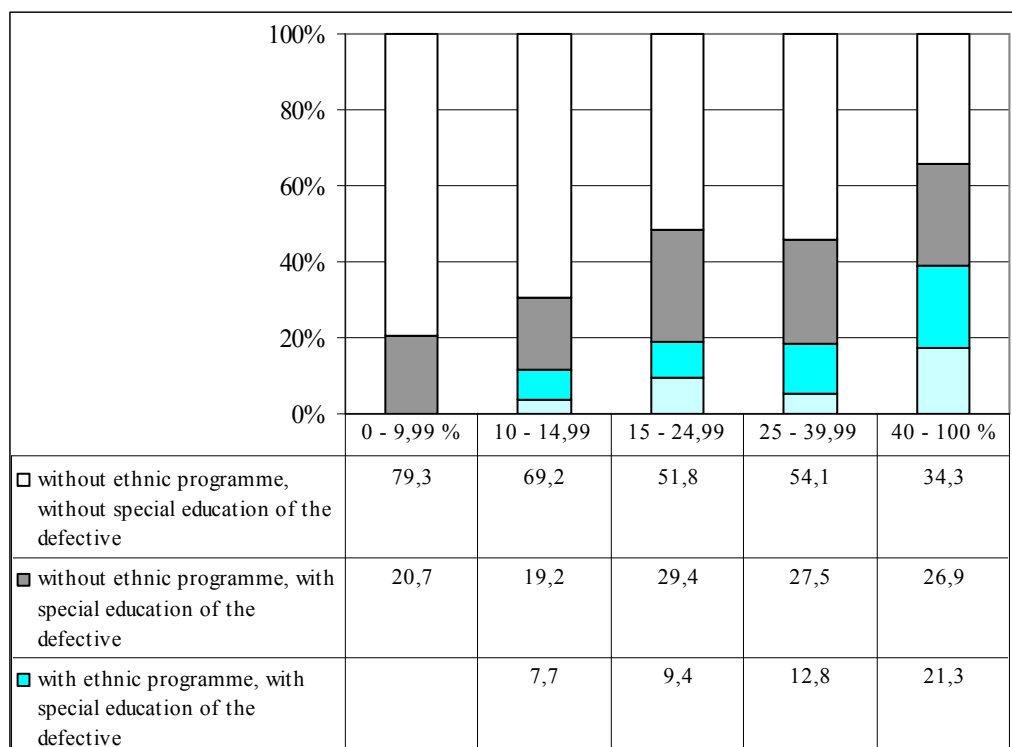


¹² Refer to the analysis of efficiency to check this assumption

- The aforementioned data prove that schools having a student ratio below 10% offer no Roma minority programme.
- In relation of Roma minority programme *versus* special education programme schools having the higher ratio of Roma pupils are basically different from other schools: in the zone of schools having a higher ratio of Roma pupils than 40%, schools rather launched a minority programme (55.9%) than a special education programme (30.5%).
- Schools representing a considerably large, though not the largest proportion (those having 25-40% Roma students) “behave in the opposing way”: only 17.6% of such schools started a minority programme but almost 36.6% of schools offered only special education programme.
- Schools having a Roma student proportion of 15-25% and those offering both educational programmes represent a middle zone among the aforementioned tendencies.

It is worth surveying a connection, namely how does launching a school programme depend on the ratio of Roma pupils.

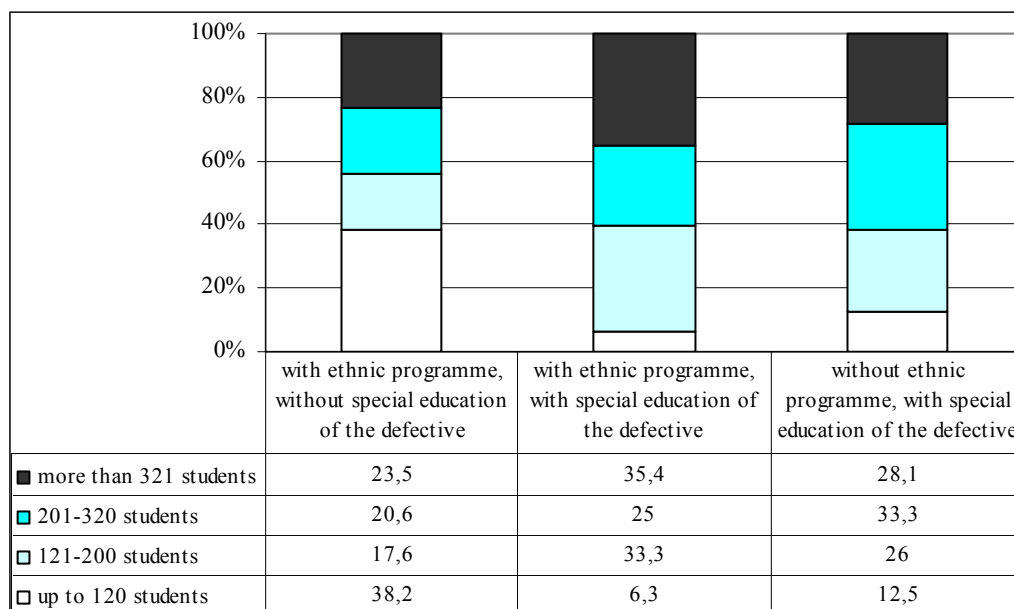
Schools representing the Roma student-ratio plotted against Roma minority and / or special education programmes



- The higher the ratio of Roma pupils is, the likelier the school is to initiate either a minority or a special education programme (the number of schools offering none of the programmes is consistently decreasing as the ratio of Roma pupils is increasing).
- Schools offering Roma minority programmes *exclusively* are familiar to schools having a large proportion of Roma students.
- The ratio of schools offering Roma minority programme *and* special education programme at the same time is consequently increasing as well as the ratio of Roma students is increasing.
- The distribution of schools offering remedial education programmes exclusively proves no relationship with the above mentioned: though in case of schools having a relatively low ratio of Roma pupils (under 15%) almost 20% of these institutions started a special education

programme, while those schools having a larger proportion of Roma students started a remedial education programme to the same extent (26.9-29.4%), not depending on the number of Roma students.

Schools offering minority and / or special education programmes plotted against the size of school, as listed by size and rate



The size of the school shows a close but not linear relation to the current programme.

- Obviously, the largest number of small schools (having less than 120 pupils) offer only special Roma minority programmes (almost 40%) while larger schools have an even share in this programme (between 17.6-23.5%).
- At the other end there is the programme initiating concept within which only remedial education programme is offered but no Roma minority programme is present besides ordinary education. This concept is typical of moderately large schools (201-320 pupils) and large schools (having more than 320 pupils).
- The collective presence of both educational specialities is a characteristic feature of moderately small schools and the largest ones.

A similarly interesting question is the connection between the size of school and the ratio of special offers.

- There is neither a Roma ethnic programme nor a special education programme present in the majority of schools having the smallest size (69%), in almost the half of moderately small schools (52%). The absence of these two specialities is typical of 38-40% of schools having more than 200 pupils as well.
- The simultaneous presence of remedial education programmes and ordinary education – without special minority programme though – is most typical of moderately large schools (38.6%).

The aforementioned data proves that *the type of special educational offer attracting a large number of Roma students is defined by both the size of the school and the ratio of Roma pupils.*

Additionally to the previously mentioned, it is worth comparing data on the distribution of schools according to certain special programmes and depending on the ratio of young Roma people and the size of the school.

- *Among all of the schools launching Roma minority programme (but not a special education one) it is obvious that schools having a ratio of Roma students of more than 40% and having less than 120 pupils (therefore these are small settlement schools) represent the largest number: they constitute 25% of the total number of schools offering the same educational composition.*
- This educational composition is less typical but still present in a considerable number (8-12%) in schools having an outstandingly large proportion, over 40% of Roma students, not depending on the size of the school.

The distribution of the programme composition embodying the opposing conceptual extreme – where there is no Roma minority programme present but some kind of a special education programme instead (or several kinds are present simultaneously), is not as spectacular and concentrated as the distribution of the previous case was.

- This kind of educational composition is mostly (10-12%) the characteristic of schools having a moderately high ratio of Roma students (15-40%) and it is in inverse proportion to the size of school.
- This kind of educational programme is present in schools having a low ratio of Roma students to a negligible extent only.

The simultaneous presence of both educational types is almost exclusively a characteristic of medium size (121-320 pupils) schools (20-25%) having an outstandingly high ratio (over 40%) of Roma students.

From the above mentioned data - on the mathematical ratio and distribution of schools – we got a clear picture on one hand on to what extent does launching a Roma minority programme in schools mean a contrasting strategy and to what extent does it mean a supplementary strategy compared to special education programmes. On the other hand – stressing again that the subject of the essay is a vast number and ratio of schools – we could indeed see a strong relation between the concentrated special education programmes and the high ratio of Roma students.

These relations are quite meaningful themselves, partly confirming the findings of the minority ombudsman's survey, partly supplementing it – in connection with the very Roma minority programmes.

As a consequence to the aforementioned, *the question of the ratio of Roma pupils participating in certain educational compositions compared to the ratio of children of other nationality has indeed significance – with knowledge of school distribution.*

The school-ratio of Roma students in special trainings

The average ratio of students participating in special training concerning all of the pupils of the given school in percentage – plotted against the ratio of Roma pupils in schools and the size of the school

	0 - 9,99 %	10 - 14,99	15 - 24,99	25 - 39,99	40 - 100 %	total
below 120	2,9	0,0	0,3	0,1	5,0	2,3
121-200	2,5	1,4	2,2	3,2	13,1	6,6
201-320	1,9	0,4	2,9	3,6	7,5	4,4
above 321	0,4	3,1	3,2	7,0	6,7	4,6
total	1,8	1,6	2,2	3,7	8,5	

There are two main tendencies typical of the ratio of students getting remedial education:

1. The higher the ratio of Roma pupils in the school, the more children participate in the remedial education,
2. In the moderately small schools (121-200 student), the ratio of students participating in remedial education is three times more than in the smallest schools, and two times more than in the biggest ones.

In the schools with a ratio of Roma students 40 % or more, and where the overall population of students is in the range of 121 and 200 person, the ratio of students participating in remedial education is extremely high, it is above 10 %.

*The average ratio of **Roma** students participating in special training concerning **all** of the pupils of the given school in percentage – plotted against the ratio of Roma pupils in schools and the size of the*

	0 - 9,99 %	10 - 14,99	15 - 24,99	25 - 39,99	40 - 100 %	total
below 120	11,4		5,0	2,5	16,2	13,3
121-200	2,8	4,0	6,1	8,3	20,9	14,3
201-320	7,6	0,6	3,6	6,3	11,3	7,4
above 321	1,3	1,8	4,2	8,3	13,8	7,2
total	6,9	1,8	4,4	7,5	16,2	

*The average ratio of **Roma** students participating in special training concerning **all of the pupils participating in remedial education** of the given school in percentage – plotted against the ratio of Roma pupils in schools and the size of the*

	0 - 9,99 %	10 - 14,99	15 - 24,99	25 - 39,99	40 - 100 %	total
below 120	83,3		85,7	100,0	92,6	91,9
121-200	27,8	72,7	86,5	77,0	83,5	80,5
201-320	87,0	50,0	62,5	82,1	94,6	80,8
above 321	35,1	60,6	69,4	79,9	95,9	76,3
total	63,3	59,1	71,1	80,4	90,2	

The ratio of Roma pupils participating in remedial education – compared to all of the pupils studying in these classes – shows a more shocking picture than expected:

- If a special education programme is offered at a specific school, the proportion of participating Roma pupils is higher than 80% (!), even if the percentage of Roma pupils is below 10% at a school. This figure does not apply to large schools with more than 321 students, the proportion being “as low as” 35% in their case.
- The higher the proportion of Roma pupils at a specific school and the smaller the size of the school, the higher – 90-100% (!!!) – the proportion of Roma pupils in special education programmes.

The above tables reveal the ratio of Roma and other pupils with reference to special education training, when it is offered at a given school.

This dramatic picture, which shows the internal distribution of schools, would not be complete without the examination of another aspect that describes the distribution of Roma pupils *from the point of view of the whole system* and not just on the level of schools.

The aggregate data of the following tables show *the distribution of Roma children within the different training programmes of primary schools* not on an institutional, but on a *national level*.

The distribution of Roma pupils in special education programmes in relation to the total number of Roma pupils in such training, as listed by size and rate.

	0 - 9.99 %	10 - 14.99	15 – 24.99	25 - 39.99	40 - 100 %	<i>total</i>
below 120	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4	3.5
121-200	0.3	0.3	2.8	6.1	23.8	33.3
201-320	1.4	0.0	3.1	10.0	15.8	32.3
above 321	0.0	0.6	6.4	19.0	4.8	30.9
<i>Total</i>	2.7	0.9	12.3	35.1	46.8	100.0

Therefore, if we take the total number of primary-school¹³ Roma children participating in special education programmes as 100%

- Of the tendencies valid on an institutional level, those that are related to the proportion of Roma pupils in schools are also valid, thus the higher the proportion of Roma learners, the higher the percentage of Roma pupils participating in special education programmes
- The tendency that the smallest schools present the highest proportion, also observable on institutional level, is not necessarily valid

Of the total number of Hungarian primary-school Roma children participating in special education programmes

- *nearly a quarter (23.8%) attend medium-size (between 121-200 pupils) schools with a proportion of Roma pupils higher than 40%*
- *nearly one-fifth (19%) attend large (more than 321 pupils) schools with a relatively high (25-40%) proportion of Roma students*
- *a quarter (10 + 15.8%) also attend the above school types.*

As a whole it can be stated that three-quarters (74.7%) of the Roma pupils participating in special education programmes attend schools that have a proportion of Roma pupils higher than 25%.

¹³ it is emphasised here, as our study does not concentrate on exclusively special education institutions.

The next and equally important question is that of the total number of Roma pupils studying in primary schools how many attend special education programmes, and how they are distributed within the schools of different sizes and proportion of Roma pupils.

The distribution of Roma pupils in special education programmes in relation to the total number of Roma pupils in primary schools, as listed by size and rate

	0 - 9.99 %	10 - 14.99	15 – 24.99	25 - 39.99	40 - 100 %	<i>total</i>
Below 120	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.2
121-200	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.4	1.5	2.1
201-320	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.6	1.0	2.1
Above 321	0.0	0.0	0.4	1.2	0.3	2.0
<i>Total</i>	0.2	0.1	0.8	2.3	3.0	6.4

The above table of aggregate data shows that

- 6.5% of the total number of Roma pupils attend some kind of special education programmes in the *primary schools* with a relatively high proportion of Roma pupils
- the majority of these pupils attend schools of the above-mentioned characteristics, i.e. have between 121-320 learners and a proportion of Roma pupils higher than 25%.

It can be concluded, therefore, that 6.4% of the total number of primary-school Roma children attend special education classes and that they go to schools with a proportion of Roma pupils higher than 25%.

In summary of the aforesaid it can be stated that

- 1. the schools that offer special education programmes are primarily the ones which also have a high proportion of Roma pupils***
- 2. besides being characterised by a high proportion of Roma students, the schools offering special education programmes are not primarily the large ones (in accordance with the settlement of the Roma population in smaller localities)***
- 3. if a school offers special education programmes, the proportion of Roma participants is 80-90%.***

The data of this study concerning the schools' and pupils' rate of participation in special education programmes seem to contradict the findings of the minority commissioner's report in that in some respects our statements provide a more gloomy outlook.

According to the cited report of the minority commissioner, the number of Roma pupils in special education programmes is 4-6 times higher than that of other pupils (and that even is many times higher than would be pedagogically-professionally justifiable). *That study, however, concentrated on special schools and institutions with special education curricula.*

The research that we carried out, however, focussed on those primary schools that are attended by a relatively high number of Roma pupils (thus less than one-third of all primary schools). This difference, from the point of view of our findings, is of utmost importance as the results refer to those schools that cater for a significant proportion of Roma children¹⁴, and solely these institutions constituted the basis of our investigations.

¹⁴ In order to gain an insight into the position of all primary schools in this respect, it would be necessary to carry out a national, representative research involving the examination of all the schools

The proportion of pupils participating in special education and Roma minority programmes

In the previous chapters we examined the correlation of specific special programmes in view of the size of schools and the proportion of Roma pupils attending them. We also discussed the contradictory position of special education and Roma minority programmes in detail. It would perhaps be worthwhile at this point to further investigate the matter, all the more because of the discovered controversy.

In line with the research methods applied so far, the nature and conditions of Roma education are best observed when the data on the proportion of Roma pupils at schools are examined together with that of the distribution of schools.

The distribution of Roma pupils in Roma minority programmes in relation to the total number of Roma pupils in primary schools, as listed by size and rate

	0 - 9.99	10 - 14.99	15 - 24.99	25 - 39.99	40 - 100	total
below 120			0.2	0.3	2.6	3.1
121-200			0.0	1.2	4.5	5.7
201-320			0.8	0.6	5.6	7.2
above 321		0.4	2.4	3.2	3.2	9.2
<i>total</i>		<i>0.4</i>	<i>3.3</i>	<i>5.4</i>	<i>15.9</i>	25.3

- a quarter (25.3%) of the total number of Roma pupils attend Roma minority programmes in the *primary schools* with a relatively high proportion of Roma pupils
- the majority of these pupils attend medium-size schools with 121-320 learners and a proportion of Roma pupils higher than 40%.
- Examining the trends we can conclude that the higher the proportion of Roma pupils at a specific school and the larger the size of the school, the higher the proportion of Roma pupils in Roma minority programmes.

If we take a look at the previous table that shows the distribution of Roma children in primary school special education programmes we find that 6.4% of the pupils attend such training and that a high proportion of Roma pupils can be found in the same categories, i.e. relatively large schools and a high proportion of Roma pupils.

In order to eliminate this seeming contradiction, it is worth observing the rate of Roma children participating in all minority programmes compared to that of participating in special education programmes.

The rate of Roma children participating in Roma minority programmes compared to the total number of pupils participating in special education programmes, as listed by size and rate

	0 - 9.99	10 - 14.99	15 - 24.99	25 - 39.99	40 - 100	total
below 120					1653.7	1374.6
121-200		140.0		318.4	291.6	267.8
201-320			375.5	91.2	557.5	344.7
above 321		981.8	586.2	262.7	1026.8	463.9
<i>Total</i>		<i>718.8</i>	<i>420.0</i>	<i>238.4</i>	<i>527.0</i>	393.0

Based on the findings and the data of the above table we can conclude that *the type of special programme Roma children participate in depends on the size and composition of a given school to a great extent*. Furthermore, it can be seen from the main trends in proportions that *the Roma minority programme and the special education programme are mutual strategic alternatives*.

- *The proportion of Roma pupils participating in Roma minority programmes is sixteen times higher (1653%) in small schools (below 120 pupils) with the highest proportion (above 40%) of Roma pupils and ten times higher (1026%) in the largest schools (above 320 pupils) with the same high proportion (above 40%) of Roma pupils than that of those participating in special education programmes.*
- *In medium-size schools the “selection” of programmes is indeed the “opposite” of small and large schools, the proportion of Roma pupils participating in Roma minority programmes is “merely” five times higher in schools with 201-320 pupils and a proportion of Roma pupils higher than 40%, whereas this figure is lower (91%) in schools that have a proportion of Roma pupils lower than 40%.*
- *In the case of schools with a proportion of Roma pupils lower than 25%, the larger the school, the greater the chance that Roma pupils can learn in alternative programmes instead of special education programmes.*

Consequently, we can observe the following *main threshold values* considering the aforementioned distributions:

- *If the school is small and has a high proportion of Roma pupils, OR*
- *If it is of medium size or larger and has a proportion of Roma pupils lower than 25% then the Roma child stands a greater chance of participating in a minority programme, rather than in a special education programme.*

As the target of our investigations was the representative sample of those schools where the proportion of Roma children exceeded 8.5 % in the academic year 1992/93, and, as we have seen it, the proportion of Roma pupils was steadily increasing in tendency and numbers, and at the same time schools with the lowest proportion of Roma children (under 10 %) do not offer a special minority programme and special education programmes are virtually non-existent, **the data we collected and the conclusions drawn thereof can be considered valid for the distribution patterns of all Roma pupils attending Hungarian primary schools.**

The data collected so far solely referred to the size of the schools and the proportion of Roma pupils studying in them, thus we can draw conclusions from the distribution of these findings.

The question of the intellectual capacities of a Roma child (or his state of intellectual development) that would necessitate his placement in special educational programmes is in principle and by definition independent of the characteristics of his residence and the proportion of Roma pupils in the school of his residence. However, these factors were found to have a decisive role in the rates of participation in special education programmes. From this it follows that

- *The proportion of Roma pupils participating in special education programmes is independent of the statement of impairment and at the same time depend on the high percentage of Roma pupils in a school*
- *There is a certain size of school and a related proportion of Roma pupils in which Roma pupils are more likely to be offered minority education instead of special education.*

Remedial training

With reference to participation in remedial training, the same procedure is followed as in the case of other special programmes analysed so far, i.e. only the rate of participation is taken into consideration. Consistent correlation in the rate of Roma participation in remedial programmes, if observed, can again reveal the characteristics of schools, irrespective of its pedagogical-professional justifications¹⁵.

The data shows the total volume of participation in remedial training with exclusive reference to Roma children. As for the structure and nature of classes (i.e. the question of “Gypsy-classes”) in schools where there is a significant rate of Roma participation in remedial programmes, this study provides no data, since a second phase of research¹⁶ based on the findings of the present study is to address that issue. Participation in remedial programmes will be examined in terms of how it is affected by other special programmes discussed so far, whose distribution patterns are already known.

The average percentage of Roma pupils participating in remedial training in relation to other programmes %

	a remedial programme offered
with Roma minority prg, w/o special education prg	58.80
with both Roma minority prg and special edu prg	55.10
w/o Roma minority prg, with special edu prg	72.90
w/o Roma minority and special edu prg.	48.90

The table above shows the following cross-effects:

- If there is neither a minority programme, nor a special education programme at a school, nearly half of the Roma children take part in remedial training,
- This rate differs somewhat (by 5-8%) in those schools which offer Roma minority programmes (whether they have special education programmes or not),
- If there is only a special education programme, the rate of participation of Roma children in remedial training is 72.9%, involving nearly three-quarters of the pupils.

As we have seen earlier, the size of the school as well as the proportion of Roma pupils are significant factors in terms of the distribution of the specific programmes. The following is the study of the effect of special programmes on the proportion of Roma children participating in remedial training using the two aforementioned factors.

The above figures reveal that the proportion of Roma pupils at a school proves to be a decisive factor in this respect as well.

- In schools with the highest proportion (more than 40%) of Roma pupils, the average rate of participation in remedial programmes is around 80%, if special programmes of *any kind* are offered at the school that Roma pupils attend. In case there are *no* special programmes at a school, their rate of participation is 10% higher.

¹⁵ Similarly to the schools’ reasons for admittance in special education programmes, this was not assessed.

¹⁶ Based on the findings of the present research we take samples from „under and overachieving” schools and carry out a detailed, comprehensive data collection. The expected date of the completion of this second phase of research is March 2001.

- In schools with a relatively high (25-40%) proportion of Roma pupils, the rate of participation in remedial programmes is the lowest (61.7%) when only a Roma minority programme is offered and is the highest (86.6%) if only a special education programme runs. This difference in proportions can also be observed in the case of schools with a medium (15-25%) proportion of Roma pupils.
- In schools with the lowest proportion of Roma pupils' participation in remedial programmes is the highest (nearly 100%!) when no other programmes are offered.

The size of schools provides a more straightforward and polarised result as to the effect of other special programmes:

- If both Roma minority and special education programmes are offered at a school, the proportion of Roma pupils participating in any other remedial programme decreases steeply (to 50% from 100%) and in direct proportion to the size of the school. Therefore, the larger the school, the less it applies the practice of remedial training.
- If there is no Roma minority programme at a school, other remedial training involves 80-90% of Roma pupils on average, whether it offers a special education programme or not.
- According to our findings, if only a Roma minority programme is offered, the size of the school does not have a significant effect on participation in remedial training; the rate of participation is relatively low (about 50%) in mid-size (201-320 pupils) schools, whereas in smaller schools it totals as much as almost 100%.

In summary it can be concluded that:

- *If only a special education programme is offered besides the remedial training in the school, the rate of Roma participation in remedial programmes is distinctly high,*
- *If the school also has a Roma minority programme, the rate of participation in remedial programmes is markedly lower.*
- *If both special programmes are offered, Roma participation in remedial programmes is in inverse proportion to the size of the school and the number of pupils. The larger the school, the lowest proportion of Roma children attend remedial classes.*

Private students

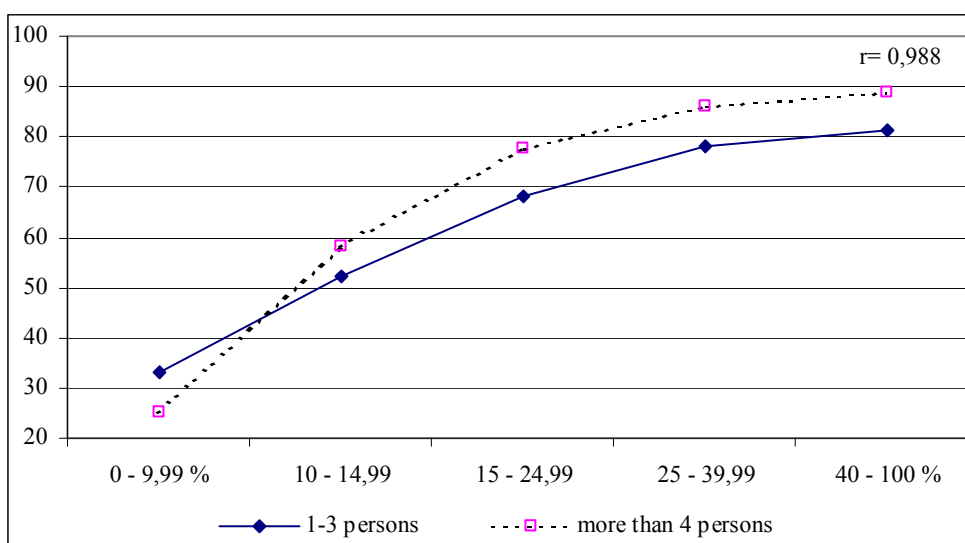
Of the schools examined, i.e. of the schools with a considerable proportion of Roma pupils 46.9% have private students, 41.1% of which are Roma pupils.

If, however, we examine the proportion of private students within the population of all students in schools with a considerably high proportion of Roma pupils, and then we compare it to the proportion of private students among all Roma pupils in these schools, we get a different result: 0.86% of all students are private students, whereas 2.33% of all Roma pupils study on a one-to-one basis.

Consequently, there are three times more Roma private students than other students and they even are concentrated in less schools.

The relatively small sample of data on private students only allows the analysis of the tendencies of the rate of Roma private students compared to that of Roma mainstream students and the effect the size of the school has on that rate.

The percentage of Roma private students of the total number of private students in view of the proportion of Roma pupils at a school



The higher the proportion of Roma pupils in a school, the higher the rate of Roma private students of all private students (the correlation is not as self-evident as it might seem, as a school with a low proportion of Roma pupils could have a high rate of Roma private students at the same time).

With regards to the number of Roma pupils at a given school, there is no significant difference between the number of private students in the ‘1-3 people’ and in the ‘more than 4’ categories as they both show a high degree of correlation.

The larger the size of the school, the lower the rate of Roma private students of all private students. However, this relatively “low rate” should be viewed considering other factors as well, as it was high enough to begin with.

If the proportion of Roma pupils is higher than 15% at a given school, the proportion of Roma private students, irrespective of the size of the school, is 70% or higher.

The distribution of private students and Roma private students with regards to the proportion of Roma pupils at a school

	0 - 9.99 %	10 - 14.99%	15 - 24.99%	25 - 39.99%	40 - 100 %	total
Private students	3.2	5.1	22.4	38.4	30.9	100
Roma private students	0.5	3.9	21.9	39.8	33.9	100
% of private students	0.28	0.43	0.57	0.99	1.1	

- If we examine the proportion of Roma and other private students compared to the proportion of Roma pupils at a school, we find that only in those schools do we have higher percentage of private students than Roma private students where the proportion of Roma pupils is lower than 10%.
- The higher the proportion of Roma pupils at a school, the higher number of pupils take classes on a one-to-one basis.

We can draw the following conclusion from the aforesaid: becoming or being a private student strictly corresponds to the proportion of Roma pupils at a specific school. The higher the proportion of Roma pupils, *the higher the rate of private students and the higher the rate of Roma private students*. In schools with a proportion of Roma pupils higher than 25% this rate can reach 80%.

Therefore, the assumption held in professional, human-rights and informal circles, namely that certain schools may pressurize Roma students to pursue their studies on an individual basis, which practice – due to the characteristics of private tutoring – can also be interpreted as a covert mechanism for shifting responsibility, seems to be grounded in so far as becoming a private student primarily correlates with the proportion of Roma pupils at a school.

Some issues concerning school administration

The basic data of school management

Due to the scope and methods of the present research, namely that (potentially) sensitive data had to be collected by questionnaires from a relatively high number of schools, the number of questions had to be limited to the minimum possible. Following this basic approach and also considering the fact that the schools now polled would enter an in-depth and much more detailed data collection later in the next phase of the research, questions regarding their financial management were limited to the simplest one data: the amount of the net total expenditure (without expenses allocated for reserve purposes) of the school.

Thereby we get the basic figure of the school budget, as resulting from the budgetary bargaining of the local authority and the school. The amount of net expenditure includes wage costs (+ social security contributions) and the material costs of education (the most significant of which being heating, electricity and other overheads).

Moreover, we also know the itemized and total figures of the quota allocated by the state that are calculated based on the characteristics of a given school, the quotas for the special programme elements and the number of participating students.

The *difference of the two main figures* (i.e. the total school-related income of local authorities from state quotas and the net expenditure of a given school) is a very important piece of information for our analysis in that it shows *the amount of local authority support to the operation costs of a given school*. For the purposes of this study, this figure is called the “total local authority support (TLAS) and is calculated as follows: TLAS = net expenditure – total amount of quotas.

There are considerable differences in the size of schools (total number of students) and consequently in the number of teachers (therefore in total wage costs), as well as in the characteristics of school buildings (e.g. the state and age of buildings affects heating and other overheads). The data obtained in this phase of the research does not give an insight into the specific expenses¹⁷ related to the special training programmes above basic services, which also make a considerable difference.

However, the amount of per capital local authority support at a specific school *can be calculated*. This *type of measurement* – when the averages resulting from the major factors are

¹⁷ It is known from the findings of our research on school systems (Szombathely, Csongrád, etc.) that the data obtained from schools (itemized budget, subject divisions) are not sufficient in themselves to identify specific indicators. In order to be able to establish a system of local funding, it would be necessary to obtain data the collection of which is not customarily done in Hungary at the moment.

considered -- *obliterates the differences between schools and therefore makes it observable how the amount of support school maintainers give per pupil depends on the specific major factors discussed so far*. The amount of support per pupil is a favourable index for other reasons as well in that it describes the *final target of educational state funding*, which does not lie in the financing of material and personal needs¹⁸, but focuses on the result, i.e. the skills development of children.

As a starting point in our investigations it would be interesting to examine the amount of local authority support per pupil in the academic year 1998/99 in all the primary schools studied.

We find extreme differences in the amount of local authority support per pupil: in 7.5% of the institutions maintainers deducted from, instead of supplementing the state quotas.

On the other end of the scale we find those local authorities that contributed to the maintenance of institutions with more than 350,000 Fts per pupil. The average support per pupil in all the schools observed was 96,700 Fts.

This practice of funding that reveals great variations and internal conflicts can be explained by several factors (whether viewed collectively or individually) ranging from the financial capacities of local authorities to the bargaining position of schools, and many others.

Analysing the relation of local authorities and schools and the possible variables influencing specific financing (type of settlement, number of population, rate of Roma pupils, etc.) we find that there is no determinative correlation between the presumed factors and the institutional support per person provided by the local authority. The only assessable (yet negative = -0.48239) correlation was found in the number of students per teacher. The more "generous" the contribution of the local authority (i.e. the more support the school obtains), the less number of pupils per teacher. However, there are incredibly great local differences in this respect.

The fact that there is no correlation between the number of pupils per teacher and the results achieved may be due to these significant local differences (that will be discussed later).

As no substantial correlation was found between the nature of schools, settlements and the practice of capital funding, we set out to examine the programmes offered at schools.

Further considering that there is a significant discrepancy between the individual institutions and also in the representation of Roma pupils, special programmes and basic provisions that are greatly at variance, we applied the method of finding covert variables (factors). This method is suitable for revealing the intrinsic correlations hitherto concealed by the differences between variables that were considered important (or measured) in the case of specific schools.

In the course of the factor analysis we examined the possible intrinsic correlations between the *basic figures of educational funding* (the basic quota, subsidy of local authorities based on the special programmes offered, the local authority per capita support) and *the basic figures of the specific schools (number of pupils, Roma children, and teachers as well as the number of pupils participating in special programmes)*.

1. *Effect of the size of the institution*, this factor includes the following variables

- net expenditure of institution
- total income of institutions from quotas
- number of teachers
- total number of students

¹⁸ In the next phase of this research we intend to reveal whether successful versus unsuccessful schools that teach Roma pupils follow the strategy of "cheap versus expensive" teachers.

- total number of Roma students
2. *Effect of special education funding*
 - income of local authorities after special education programmes
 - number of pupils in special education programmes and in the institute
 - total number of *Roma* pupils in special education programmes and in the institute
 3. *Effect of minority programmes funding*
 - income of local authorities after ethnic programmes
 - number of pupils in Roma minority programmes
 4. **Main effect of remedial programme funding**
 - income of local authorities after remedial programmes involving Roma pupils
 - number of Roma pupils in remedial programmes
 - local authority support / pupil (in thousand Fts)

The variables listed under the four factors above are self-evident, except for two cases. However, these two exceptions are very significant: the local authority support per pupil *does not* belong to the category listing the factor *Effect of the size of the institution* (although it may seem logical there (!)), but among the variables *Main effect of remedial programme funding* (that is why we included ‘main’ in the description)

The structure of the first and fourth factors (containing important information), therefore, show that the amount of local authority support per pupil more closely correlates with the number of Roma pupils participating in remedial programmes than with any other characteristic of the institution.

In the next analysis, in line with the previous methods, the size of the school, the proportion of Roma pupils and the special programmes offered in it will have a decisive role - and taking into account the valuable information gained from the factor analysis, i.e. whether there is remedial training for Roma pupils at a specific school - will be considered discriminatory factors.

The connection between financing and special programmes

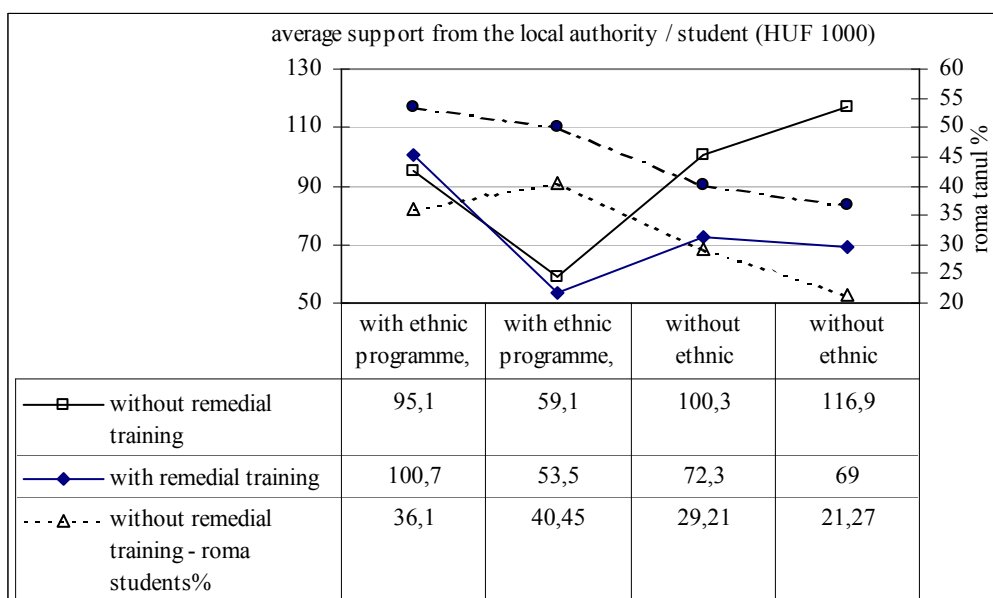
The average total amount of quotas received by local authorities in view of programmes offered in addition to (or instead of) basic training

	average income (in 1000 Fts)	
	with remedial prg	w/o remedial prg
with Roma minority prg, w/o special edu prg	131.5	146.5
with Roma minority prg, with special edu pr.	351.5	366.5
w/o Roma minority prg, with special edu prg	324	339
w/o Roma minority prg, w/o special edu prg	104	119

The above table shows the quota allocated to local authorities by law according to the composition of programmes. As we know, the quota received for remedial training (which is calculated if it does not take place within the framework of the minority programme) is relatively low: 15,000 Fts/pupil.

The figure below, on the other hand, shows the average amount of local authority contributions to education in the schools within the scope of the present research.

Average amount of contribution made by local authorities according to the composition of programme packages, and the percentage of Roma pupils involved



Our previous data shows that the percentage of Roma pupils participating in remedial training is higher than that of the non-participating population when any of the special programmes are offered.

This fact - detailed in the chart above - is important because, as also seen earlier, Roma children in special programmes are overrepresented on one hand, and, on the other hand, Roma minority programmes, by definition, are exclusively targeted for them. The quotas allotted to local authorities by law must (or should) be commensurate with this ratio.

In contrast, our data attest to the following:

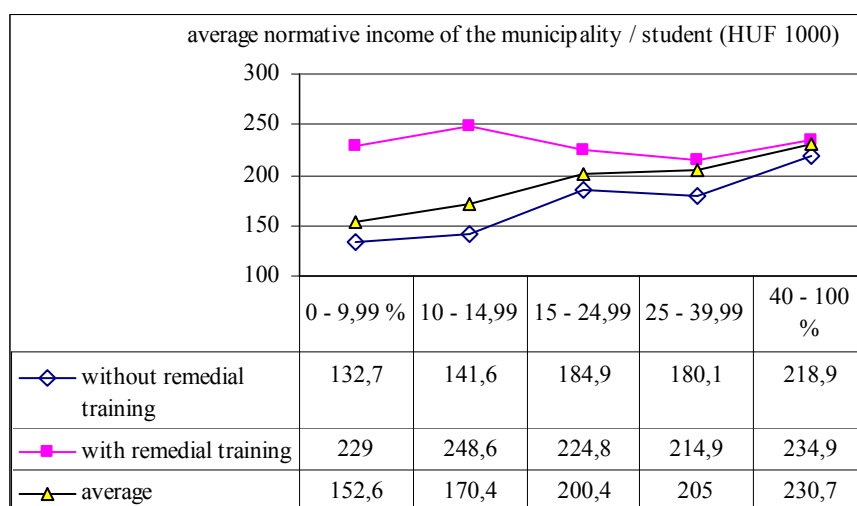
- *the most unfavourable position* - when the supplementary support made by local authorities is considered - is held by those schools *which offer both Roma minority and special education programmes*,
- when no classes based on a Roma minority programme are offered by a school, those schools that have remedial training as well receive a supplementary support short of 30 - 50 thousand Ft,
- *in general, schools that do not offer any special programmes are found to be in the best position.*

In summary, based on the data obtained it could be stated that local authorities "penalise" schools that offer special programmes - even a "pecking order" can be observed as those schools which offer all three special programmes are disadvantaged the most, while schools which do not undertake any kind of special training are "rewarded". Furthermore, and this is where the representation of Roma children is of particular interest, the amount of capital funding inversely correlates with the number of Roma children in any of the possible compositions of education programme packages.

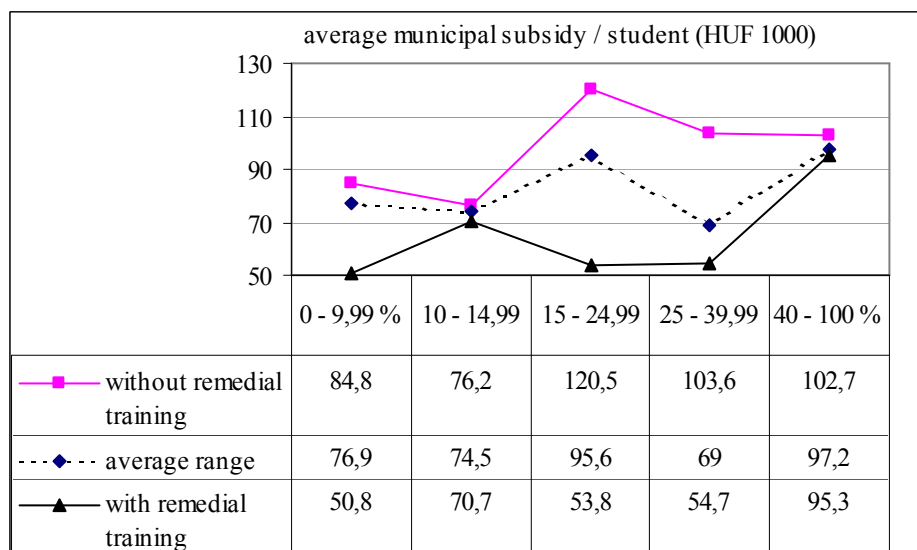
There is only one counter-example to refute this statement. When all proportions are taken into consideration, *on the average, those schools receive the most supplementary support* (compared with others when differences caused by remedial training programmes are not included) *which offer only a Roma minority programme in addition to the compulsory basic services.*

The above funding discrepancy, which depends on the number of Roma pupils, makes it worth inquiring into the relationship between the average quota received by local authorities and the amount of subsidy a school receives from the local authority in view of the number of Roma pupils attending it.

The average quota received by local authorities in view of the number of Roma pupils



Average support from local authorities in view of the proportion of Roma pupils



As previous analysis shows, Roma participation in remedial training is consistently high - on average, it totals 80 % in schools with a proportion of Roma pupils higher than 10 %.

	0 - 9.99 %	10 - 14.99	15 - 24.99	25 - 39.99	40 - 100 %
participation in rem.training %	53.3	88.0	82.4	81.5	83.0

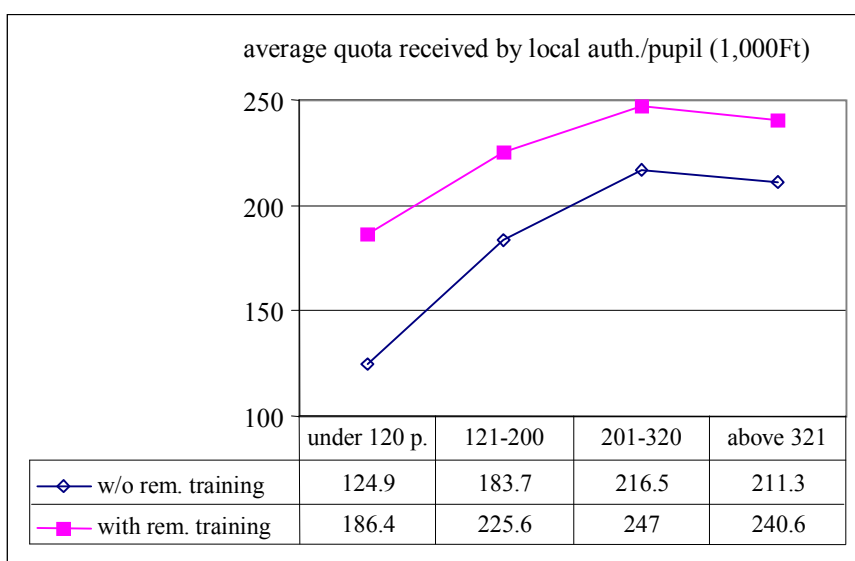
Thus, local authorities which maintain schools and their schools examined which offer remedial training for Roma pupils (i.e., the majority of schools) have a high index of quota received/number of pupils irrespective of the percentage of Roma pupils in that school, while local authorities which do not offer such training in their schools (and the number of other special programmes is similarly low) the average quota received is in direct correlation with the percentage of Roma pupils (i.e., the number of extra programmes offered).

The data that attest to lopsidedness in the funding of schools on the part of the local authorities can be derived from the compound results of the two tables and the graph. Remedial training is vastly underfinanced by local authorities, and if we examine the amount of subsidy independent of the remedial training we can observe a marked non-linearity when compared to the proportion of Roma pupils in a given school.

On the average, 50 % of the capital funding to schools is made to cover teachers' wages and deductions which would lead to the conclusion that discrepancies (in capital funding) are caused by the fact that in a particular special programme package, or when the number of Roma pupils is growing, there are varying numbers of pupils per teacher.

Our data do not confirm this: *irrespective of the choice of educational programmes offered in a school and the ratio of Roma pupils there are 10 pupils per teacher as an average in all the cases.*

The average quota received by local authorities in view of the size of schools

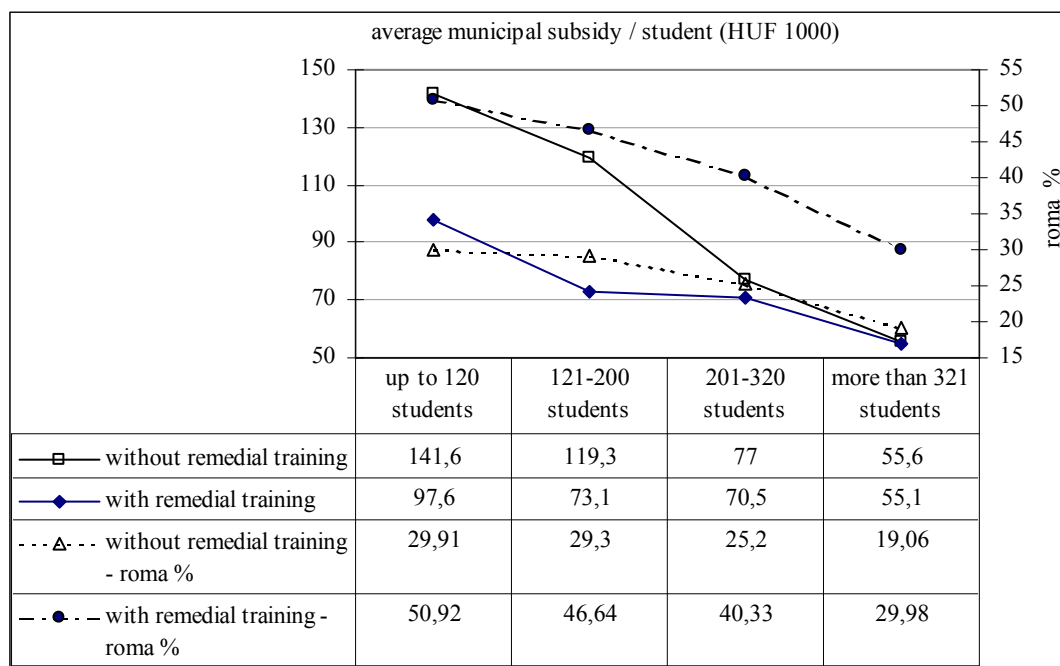


The quota received by local authorities *per pupil is in direct correlation with the size of the school, i.e., the number of pupils attending. The larger the school, the greater the chance it is offering several special programmes - consequently, local authorities receive bigger quotas because the supplementary quotas for special programmes are also included.*

The practice local authorities follow in capital funding contradicts this reasoning: the larger the school, the smaller the average amount of support per pupil. As we recall, the number of pupils per teacher inversely correlates with the amount of subsidy per pupil made by the local authority. Large schools hold a *seemingly good bargaining position*, especially when its size is considerable and the local authority will receive higher quotas due to the complementary special pro-

grammes it offers, in this case it can employ relatively more faculty. At the same time, the budgeted support it receives (here we mean the support from the local authority per pupil) is well below the corresponding support smaller schools receive.

The average amount of support from local authorities in view of the size of schools



In contrast, the proportion of Roma pupils which is dependent on the size of the school is in direct correlation with the amount of support from local authorities per pupil - note, however, that schools in the under 200-pupil bracket which offer a remedial training programme are discriminatively financed, as it is now known.

One possible explanation for this contradiction is, as observed in our data, that the more special programmes a school offers, relatively it is more "disadvantaged" in the capital funding system of the local authorities, while smaller schools, in general, offer fewer special programmes.

In summary it can be concluded that

- *Smaller schools where the proportion of Roma pupils is higher to start with have to finance the training of Roma pupils well beyond their means because they are in a much less favourable position than the larger schools when the relative support from local authorities is considered.*
- *The practice of local authorities in financing schools does not take into consideration the proportion of Roma pupils in a school: although the maintainers of schools receive proportionately higher quotas (for the higher number of special programmes), in general, schools with lower than 40 % of Roma pupils, especially when they offer remedial training, are financed much more unfavourably than schools with markedly high proportions of Roma pupils.*
- *The practice of local authorities in financing schools outright penalises remedial training programmes - this is especially noticeable when we take the proportion of Roma pupils into consideration.*

- *When a particular special programme is considered, schools where no extra features are offered benefit the most. When additional services are offered, schools which launched a Roma minority programme are relatively better financed by their maintaining organisations.*

The questions of effectiveness

Grades

Based upon the above - as we have seen the amount of support institutions receive from local authorities do not follow neither the quotas received by the local authorities, nor the proportion of Roma pupils - the question arises: what is the relationship between the practice local authorities follow in capital funding and the effectiveness of schools? Discrepancies, or in some cases contradictions in financial support are caused by the practice of local authorities supporting more effective school better than less effective ones. (Which would, after all, be the practice of the much-desired merit-based capital funding...)

We measured effectiveness with two variables we thought would be characteristic: the grade averages of mathematics and Hungarian, and the proportion of those admitted to the various types of secondary institutions. Naturally, both variables were examined separately for Roma and non-Roma pupils, and we have also taken into consideration the results of Roma pupils who took part in a minority programme.

We examined the correlation between grades in mathematics and Hungarian and other variables on the class and the school levels.

Let's see first what we do not know! *We have not observed any explicit relationship between grades* (whether examined by class, or by school average) *and the following:*

- a. the size of the school (total number of pupils),
- b. the proportion of Roma pupils characteristic of the school (or the absolute number of Roma pupils),
- c. the number of teachers,
- d. the existence of a remedial programmes for Roma pupils,
- e. the existence of any kind of special programmes.

Furthermore, the grades of non-Roma pupils do not correlate with the grades of Roma pupils, while the grades of Roma pupils - whether or not they participate in a minority programme - do correlate closely: i.e., the grades of Roma pupils correlate exclusively with the grades of other Roma pupils.

When we examine grades either in mathematics or Hungarian both Romas and non-Romas show a slight decline from one age group to the other - on the average 0.5 by the eighth grade. The grade average of Roma pupils is consistently 1-1.5 point lower than that of their non-Roma counterparts. There is no significant and obvious difference between the grades of pupils who participate in a Roma minority programme and the grades of those who receive mainstream education.

Of course, we are fully aware of the fact that the significance of grades is extremely relative: especially that grade averages are characteristic of a given school and are not really (or at all) useful for measuring the effectiveness of a school or for the description of actual development.

Even so, we (could) have expected an observable difference between schools with different significant characteristics (such as the proportion of Roma pupils, etc.) *Within the scope of our investigations* - which endeavoured to explain some basic and the same time non-pedagogical relationships - *the question of grades remains unanswered.*

Results of admission

While grades reveal the inner relativity of a school and consequently are not an adequate measure of the actual aptitude of pupils (hence the effectiveness of their school), we have reason to believe that the rate of admission to a secondary institution is more suitable for measuring effectiveness because primary schools are evaluated by the expectations of a more or less independent agent, i.e., the secondary school.

As the number of admitted mainstream Roma and non-Roma pupils and those who participated in a Roma minority programme as well as the number of school-leaving eighth-graders within these clusters is known, consequently we know the admission ratio of those who participated in any of the above educational programmes - by the type of secondary education.

Let's start again with the unknown! Using the method of calculating partial correlation we have examined the strength of mutual relationships between the admission ratios of (Roma and non-Roma) school-leavers in the various educational clusters and the different secondary school types, as well as between these and the amount of per capita financial support given by the local authority.

The amount of per capita financial support given by the local authority does not have any effect on the secondary admission rate. Our investigations have not identified any connection between grades, secondary school admission rates and the per capita financial support given by local authorities.

The data collected about the admission rates of those pupils who participated in a Roma minority programme could not be evaluated *in itself* due to the errors teachers made in filling out the questionnaires. So admission rates of the pupils concerned could only be evaluated by pupils participating in a given programme, i.e., globally.

Secondary school admissions by the percentage of Roma pupils in schools

	0 - 9.99 %	10 - 14.99	15 - 24.99	25 - 39.99	40 - 100 %	total
<i>trade school</i>	37.1	38.5	44	45.3	51	45.8
<i>vocational sec. school</i>	36.1	33.7	36.1	35.6	31.2	34.3
<i>secondary grammar school</i>	25.8	20.8	19.8	17.4	16.1	18.5
<i>average</i>	99	93	99.9	98.3	98.3	98.6

45.8 % of all school-leavers were admitted to trade schools, 34.3 % to vocational secondary school and 18.5 % to grammar school.

Examining it on the basis of the proportion of Roma pupils in school the average admission rates, "naturally", show a different picture: the greater the percentage of Roma pupils in a school, the fewer of them are admitted to trade schools and still fewer to grammar school. The percentage of those admitted to vocational secondary schools is below the average in only those schools that have the highest proportion (above 40 %) of Roma pupils.

This data does not cause great surprise in the light of research done so far. Knowing that smaller schools have a higher proportion of Roma pupils the following chart which describes the effects of the size of the school shows a familiar picture similarly to the one above.

Secondary school admissions in view of the size of schools

	-120	121-200	201-320	321
trade school	50	46.4	46.5	41.6
vocational sec. sch.	34	34.1	32.7	35.7
grammar school	16	18.1	17.8	20.3
<i>average</i>	100	98.6	97	97.6

It is more relevant to our subject to see what the admission rates of Roma pupils are.

Secondary school admissions of Romas by the percentage of Roma pupils in schools

	0 - 9.99	10 - 14.99	15 - 24.99	25 - 39.99	40 - 100	with min. pr.	w/o min. pr.	total	<i>comp'd to average</i>
<i>trade school</i>	72.9	69.1	84.9	74.2	69.4	72.1	74.9	74.9	163.5
vocational sec. sch.	17.3	15.7	15.3	12.6	14.7	14.1	14.4	14.4	42.0
<i>grammar school</i>	6.2	16.3	4.2	4.2	3.3	4.6	4.8	4.8	25.9
<i>average</i>	96.4	101.1	104.4	91	87.4	90.8	94.1	94.1	95.4

74.9 % of all Roma school-leavers were admitted to a trade school - this is the 163.5 % of all those admitted to this type of school (i.e., the chances of Roma children to be admitted to a trade school is one and a half times greater.)

14.4 % were admitted to vocational secondary schools - which is the 42 % of the total average of admissions - this means that young people of Roma ethnicity make up less than half of those admitted to this type of secondary education which gives a school-leaving certificate.

A mere 4.8 % were admitted to grammar school - this is one quarter of all those admitted to grammar schools.

Knowing the national proportion of those who finish school (the most recent national data is from the academic year 1992/93.) we could think that the chances of Roma children to be admitted to grammar school have improved. One thing, however, should not be looked over: the above data shows the number of those *admitted* to any type of secondary education - as far as the primary school knows about it.

This data does not reveal the true percentage of those who actually have started their studies on the secondary level (as primary schools follow the life of pupils until they finish there) - and

we also know that the drop-out rates of Roma children are many times higher than that of non-Roma students.

It is expected then that only 4.8 % of Roma primary-school pupils admitted to grammar school will actually finish it.

It is also widely known that a diploma from a trade school is not an advantage on the labour market (more to the contrary) - a vocational diploma without a school-leaving exam practically leads straight to unemployment.

As far as the labour market is concerned, only 14.4 - 19.2 % of young people of Roma ethnicity who finished primary school will be admitted to a secondary institution which increases their options.

Secondary school admissions of Romas in view of the size of schools

	-120	121-200	201-320	321
trade school	67.7	72.9	67.4	79.6
vocational sec. sch.	16.1	13.9	13.3	14.5
grammar school	2.6	3.4	8	4.9
<i>average</i>	<i>86.4</i>	<i>90.2</i>	<i>88.7</i>	<i>99</i>

Analysing it from the perspective of the size of schools, it is striking that young people of Roma ethnicity who attended the largest schools have an admission rate close to the average.

In mid-sized (201 - 320 pupils) schools, however, these chances are considerably better than average while in the smallest schools it is considerably worse.

The chances of being admitted to grammar school is twice the average for those who attended a mid-sized school but in the case of the smallest schools the percentage is half the average.

All considered, the proportion of young people of Roma ethnicity who attended the smallest schools and were admitted to any type of secondary institution is lower (almost by 10 % when compared to the average) to start with.

The above and the numbers of school-leavers we have previously identified make it particularly interesting to know what influence special programmes have on admission rates.

Secondary school admissions of Romas by programme

	with min. pr., w/o spec. ed.	with min. pr., with spec. ed.	w/o min. pr., with spec. ed.	w/o min. pr., w/o spec. ed.
trade school	65.2	76.6	87.1	69.4
vocational sec. sch.	18.1	11.5	13.5	15.1
grammar school	4.7	4.5	5	4.9
<i>average</i>	<i>88</i>	<i>92.6</i>	<i>105.6¹³</i>	<i>89.4</i>

A particular special programme does not influence the proportion of young Romas who are admitted to grammar school (especially that this proportion is extremely low in the first place).

¹³ The error lies in the inconsistency of the collected data.

It is interesting to note, the worse rates of admission are achieved by schools where main-stream education is complemented only by a Roma minority programme. When this rate, however, is compared to the finishing rates of the largest schools (above 320 pupils) - which group is known to overrepresent schools which have launched only a Roma minority programme -, we can see that only the admission rate of grammar schools show a difference. That is, young Romas are admitted to grammar school in average numbers from schools with such programmes, while the numbers are lower for trade schools. The approximately 10 % underrepresentation in total admissions can be explained by that 10 % fewer Roma children left these schools to seek secondary education.

Secondary school admissions of Romas in view of the availability of remedial training in the school

	available	not a.
trade school	67.7	79.6
vocational sec. sch.	15.5	13.7
grammar school	7.5	3.1
<i>average</i>	<i>90.7</i>	<i>96.4</i>

When we examine the schools with remedial training for Roma pupils (in which, as we know it, almost all pupils are involved) for the proportion of admissions to the various secondary institutions we can register significant differences between grammar schools and trade schools.

These differences, however, cannot be explained by the same method.

In schools which offer a remedial training for Roma children the percentage of those admitted to grammar school is lower - this might be caused by the simple (and, for our purposes, unverifiable) cause that young Romas with a lower level of aptitude participate in greater numbers in remedial training. Although this reasoning seems to be contradicted by - previously analysed - statistical data from schools with remedial training: it is improbable that the aptitude of Roma children depends on, say, the size of the school they attend.

This latter reasoning (i.e., the improbability of a purely pedagogical interpretation) is corroborated by data indicating that ***schools without a remedial training have young Romas admitted to grammar school in proportions that are almost one and a half time higher than the average. This percentage is also higher for secondary institutions that give a school-leaving certificate while it is lower for trade schools, which do not increase their chances on the labour market anyway.***

The above relationship - even though a direct link between the capital funding of schools and their effectiveness cannot be underpinned by data - calls our attention to the following: the "underfinancing" and "penalising" attitude of local authorities to remedial training (arising from the lower financial support per pupil) - whenever it causes schools to launch other, relatively less "penalised" special programmes - can contribute (although presumably "unintentionally") to the increased chances of admission of Roma children.

Summary - major statements of the research

Our research was carried out among those primary schools that have a percentage of Roma pupils higher than the average national percentage in primary schools. Initial data was supplied by MKM for the academic year 1992/93 and further data was collected in schools where the proportion of Roma pupils was higher than 8.5 % for this year.

- The proportion of Roma children in our schools has been steadily increasing over the last six years by the average of 10 per cent, in harmony with the demographic trend.
- The changes of the proportion of Roma pupils in school is not uniform, it closely depends on proportion of Roma pupils in the school, the size of the school and the size of the municipality where the school is operating. There is a basic tendency for the proportion of Roma pupils in schools where this proportion is high to grow even higher over the years. According to our data, there is a joint effect of more than one mechanism behind this phenomenon (the so-called "Gypsyfication of schools"). The results seem to corroborate - even if indirectly - the mechanism identified and described in other research and informal observation that non-Roma parents take their children out of schools with high and increasing proportion of Roma pupils ("segregational component"). Nevertheless, data about the size of schools and the number of Roma pupils in a grade shed light on another, equally important mechanism, namely, that in bigger municipalities - independent of the migration of non-Roma children - the proportion of Roma pupils is higher in the lower grades than it is in smaller municipalities (demographical and urbanizational component).
- Only one-fifth of all primary schools with a significant number of Roma children offer an educational programme based on special Roma ethnic programme - one that takes into consideration the linguistic, cultural and social situation of Roma pupils. Schools that do have such programme are characteristically those with a high proportion of Roma pupils, located in small towns and having a small number of pupils.
- Classes in the special education programme of the primary school (special groups and integrated classes) Roma children are significantly overrepresented. This case of overrepresentation is strongly connected to the proportion of Roma children in the school, so theoretically it is independent of the possible individual causes of disadvantage.
- Schools that have a special education programme are largely schools with a high proportion of Roma children. Primary schools with a special education programme, besides characteristically having a high proportion of Roma pupils, are predominantly small schools (in connection with the geographical distribution of the Roma population who largely reside in small towns),
- If a primary school has a special education programme, 80 - 90 % of those participating in it are young Romas.
- Our data therefore does not only corroborate the findings of previous sporadic research which claim that the proportion of participation of Roma children in special education programmes is indicative of marked segregation, but they also show mainstream primary schools in a much unfavourable light than does the minority ombudsman's report about schools with a special curriculum - at least in this aspect.
- A special education programme, participation in remedial training programmes - or education based on a Roma minority programme - can be looked upon as alternatives when their distribution and the proportion of Roma children participating in such programmes is considered.

- The type of special programme young Romas participate in strongly depends on the size of the school and the proportion of its Roma pupils.
- The higher the proportion of Roma children, the higher the proportion of private students too. The majority (80 %) of private students are Romas in schools with a higher than 25 % of Roma pupils. It seems probable therefore that the choice of becoming a private student is made under pressure from the school and there is an intention of shifting the responsibility in the background.
- The financial support schools receive from local authorities is not in proportion with the quota paid to local authorities. The amount of support does not correlate with need (e.g., the size of the school, the proportion of Roma pupils) and sometimes it is outright contrary to it. Irrationally, those schools receive the highest relative support from the local authority which do not launch any kind of special programme for Roma pupils. This is complemented by the phenomenon that the proportion of remedial training programmes launched in a school is in inverse correlation with the amount of financial support from the local authority - as if to "penalise".
- The amount of financial support paid to schools by the local authority and the effectiveness of schools do not show a connection.
- The effectiveness of schools is indicated solely by the secondary school admission rates. The chances of admission are considerably worse than average for Roma pupils, especially to grammar schools and secondary institutions which give a school-leaving certificate.
- Roma pupils are admitted to secondary institutions most reliably when they have had attended a mid-size school or one without remedial training.

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