OVERREPRESENTATION OF ROMA IN SPECIAL EDUCATION IN HUNGARY

By

Anasztázia Nagy

Submitted to

Central European University- Department of Public Policy

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of public policy.

Supervisors: Andrea Krizsán and Gábor Kézdi

Budapest, Hungary

1

2008

Abstract

In Hungary almost every fifth Roma child is identified as mildly handicapped, which is a much higher rate than the non-Roma children. Consequently, Hungary has around three times more mildly handicapped children than any other OECD country. According to several studies (National Educational Institute, 2006; Havas, 2007, EUMAP, 2007) a big proportion of the Roma children identified as having special needs do not have a mental disability, but come from a multiply disadvantaged family. In terms of the Ostrava case in 2007[1], the European of Human Rights courts have found that this misdiagnosis results in the segregation of Roma children.

There are fourth structural causes which lead to disproportionational representation of Roma children in the mildly handicapped category. First, because the meaning of mildly handicapped is ambiguous in Hungary, it is not so easy to differentiate children with learning and behavioral problems for children who are actually disabled. Thus, many Roma children who only have behavioral problems are placed in special schools instead of integrated ones.

Second, probably the most important incentive to recruit more children into special education is the additional financial support from the national government which the school maintainer (usually the local or county

---

[1]

municipality) receives for children with special needs. Schools can ask for the 'county selection committee' to assess children with the hope of receiving the increased amount. The committee which assesses the children also has an interest in diagnosing children as being mildly handicapped. The committee itself is maintained by the county municipality which benefits from additional resources if the committee finds that the child is mildly handicapped.

Third, Roma parents are often unaware of the consequences of having their child categorized as mildly handicapped and teachers do not provide them with meaningful information about special education and their rights as parents. Therefore even though parents have the right to ask for a review of the decision of the 'selection committee', very few Roma parents have the knowledge needed to exercise this right.

Fourth structural problem is the impossibility for reintegration into mainstream classes. Almost all of the children stay in special education throughout their primary education (REF, Hungarian country assessment, 2006); however the original aim of special education is to enable children to join "normal' classes.

These structural problems provide way to discrimination and accompanying by prejudices and vulnerability of the Roma community lead to race based discrimination of Roma in the placement procedure. Discrimination of Roma causes segregation in the education. Thus, a big

3

proportion of Roma children in the special education system do not have mental problems, but coming from a socially and culturally different background. The majority of the misdiagnosed Roma children has learning and behavioral difficulties and should be educated in integrated classes.

These discriminatory practices and the resulting segregation are very harmful for two reasons. First, unnecessarily placing a student in special education impedes the child's healthy development and creates disadvantages in their career. The curriculum of special education requires less from the children and has fewer subjects. According to statistical data, almost 65 % of all children with SEN (including mildly handicapped) continue their studies at special vocational schools, which do not provide competitive qualification for the labor market (Table *1*, Statistical Yearbook of education, 2006/07). In addition, around 14 % of children with SEN drop out of school before starting secondary education (Havas, 2007).

Second, this practice is costly for the whole society in general and Hungarian government particular. The government invests around double resources for the education of mildly handicapped children, and thus the direct costs of a child to be mistakenly classified as mentally handicapped are large. Moreover, significant indirect costs are likely to increase the total bill. According to the Bekes county report around 60 % of children with special vocational degree will be unemployed after graduation (in Bernath – Zolnay, 2006). These unemployed people will not pay taxes and will require social support from the government. Children who have

4

learning difficulties and educated in integrated classes, have greater chance to complete at least vocational school and to be employed after graduation. So, in long term the discrimination of Roma is very costly for government even in the narrowest sense.

The aim of this study is to demonstrate that the segregation of Roma children into special education is not just discriminatory for the career of the children but very costly for the society central budget as well. If the potential abilities and skills of the misdiagnosis children are developed adequately instead of segregation, they will have a greater chance to obtain a secondary school degree and to find a job and it would lead to increase tax revenue in the long - term. This paper advocates for clarification of the line between children with learning and behavioral difficulties and children who are mildly disabled. By improving the distinction between these categories Hungary can decrease the number of students who are classified as mildly handicapped so that it is in line with other OECD nations.

Table of content

Introduction:

This paper is a MA thesis written for the Central European University – Department of Public Policy that focuses on one of the problems facing the Roma minority in Hungary. However, the overrepresentation of Roma in special education is an existing problem in the whole Europe (where Roma are living), not just in Hungary.

Overrepresentation of Roma in special education for children with mental disabilities is a real problem in Hungary. According to the National Educational Institute in Hungary, Roma students are overrepresented in special needs education at a higher rate than any other OECD country[2]. In Hungary, the majority of Roma students who are identified as having special educational needs are considered to be "mildly handicapped" – a diagnosis that is often mistakenly given to students with school achievement and behavioral problems. The main issue with this practice is that once channeled into special classes or special schools these Roma students are almost never able to reenter mainstream education. Thus, as several courts have found as well as OECD and National Education Institute studies, overrepresentation in the special school system is a form of segregation (Rado, 2007; National educational Institute, 2006). The consequence of this segregation is a low quality of education for the students and a high rate of unemployment for the society. Additionally, the financing of the special school system costs more for society than funding regular education. First, the education of special educational need (SEN) children is more costly because the government provides extra

---

[2] National Educational Institute: Report on the Hungary education in 2006

resources for these students. Second, because children who only receive special education are not able to equally participate in the labor market they often remain unemployed and therefore do not contribute to the tax system and require social support from society. This thesis is focusing on mildly handicapped, since the majority of Roma are classified as "mildly handicapped".

My thesis will build upon preexisting studies that have already recognized some of the disadvantages of channeling so many Roma into special education by asking two questions. First, what are the reasons and incentives for the disproportional representation of Roma in the mildly handicapped category? And, second, what are the costs and potential benefits lost due to segregating Roma in the special education system?

In response to the first question, I will argue that procedural problems provide an opportunity for the interested local and county authorities and institutions to discriminate against Roma children in order to increase the normative funding they receive from the national government, which means that there are children who are unreasonably in the special schools. In response to the second question, I will demonstrate that the long-term consequence of the initial decision to segregate is increased costs to both the local and national governments since the career of children who are classified as mildly handicapped tends to result in unemployment. Additionally, by segregating these students rather than developing their potential the government forgoes the potential benefits of

having these children grow up to become productive members of society at a higher rate.

The study will have five chapters. The first chapter provides an overview on the anti-discrimination theory using court decisions which are relevant in the context of the thesis. The second chapter introduces the special education system in Hungary, focusing on the various categories of students and the identification procedure. The third chapter presents statistical evidence that demonstrates the extent to which Roma students are overrepresented in the Hungarian special education system, especially in the mildly handicapped sub-category. It also details three systemic problems that cause indirect discrimination against Roma resulting in the overrepresentation of Roma in the mildly handicapped category. The fourth chapter of the thesis compares the carrier of mildly handicapped children with children who have learning and behavioral problems. Specifically, the argument is based on a calculation of the educational costs and possible benefits of a mildly handicapped child educated within a special education setting compared to a child with learning and behavioral difficulties who is educated in integrated classes. This chapter demonstrates that discrimination of Roma in the placement procedure is "not cost-effective" because the future prospects of students educated in a special needs environment is much lower than a child educated in an integrated classroom, so in long term the discrimination cost more than developing the abilities of the Roma children. Addressing the systemic challenges identified in chapter two will help decrease the

overrepresentation of Roma in special education and the argument set forth in chapter three provides yet another reason why policymakers should pursue these reforms.

CHAPTER 1: Anti-discrimination policy

The black civil rights movement, often called as America's second revolution, greatly influenced and formed the anti-discrimination theory. It manly began in 1954 with the famous Brown v. Board of Education case. The main achievement of the decision was that the court recognized the harms and future impacts of the segregated education, even if the schools

functioning with equal facilities[3]. Chief Justice Warren pointed out in his opinion that "Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law, for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to [retard] the educational and mental development of Negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racial[ly] integrated school system" (Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483).

The anti- discrimination theory can understand as policy which aims to reconstruct the 'injustice society' caused by discrimination. Anderson emphasizes in his study that the governmental intervention is has great role in reconstruction of society, because without the government policies there is no force which would lead automatically to equalization in the society (Bernard E. Anderson, 1997). Different theorists had different views about that kind of reconstruction, some of them empathize that the discriminatory decision making is the main cause of the social injustices so the new policies should focus on fairness in the decision making (process based discrimination), others argued the anti discrimination law should solve the current position of the disadvantaged group and by that

---

[3] Separate but equal principle was struck down by this decision, which meant that that the separate facilities for blacks and whites where constitutional as log as they were equal. This principle quickly extended for many areas of public life as well and the American Courts have used the principle for half a century ((Plessy v. Ferguson ,1896).

providing an equal starting point for them in the society (result based discrimination).

 Summarizing the process theory, Brest says that the anti –discrimination policy seeks to prohibit the 'race –dependent decision' that disadvantages the member of the minority groups. However the disadvantage outcome not necessary mean discrimination, just if the decision is race based: "race –dependent decisions are irrational insofar as they reflect the assumption that members of one race are less worthy than other people. Not all such decions are necessary irrational, however. For example, if a black laborers tend to be absent form work more often than their white counterparts – for whatever reason – it is not irrational for an employer to prefer white applicants for the job" (Brest, 1976, pg 6), thus disadvantage as a result is not justified for intervention just if the decision is racist motivated. Ely says that the racist motivation in the decision making is the marginal preferences of the decision makers[4]. These preferences are not justified and have to exclude from the process of decision making. Furthermore, Ely identifies two modes for racist decision making, first when the interest of disadvantage groups valued negatively in the process, second, the decision making is stereotyping against members of a disadvantaged group (Ely in Koppelmann, 1996).Brest, have supplemented Ely's theory,

---

[4] The process approach was deeply worked out by Dworkin and Ely. Dworkin turn back to that rights of citizens and argues that citizens have to be treated with equal concern and respect (in Koppelmann).   Ely continues Dworkin's argument and says that the each citizen has personal (preferences for her enjoyment of some goods and opportunities) and external preferences (preferences she might have for the assignment of goods and opportunities to others), but certain preferences have to be excluded from the decision making, because they are malign and harms other people right (e.g.: whites asking to maintain such institutions which prefers their interests and needs)

with a third mode saying that race –dependent decision making can manifested in action and inaction as well. So, taking not into account the interest of the disadvantage groups in the decision making is also process based discrimination (Brest, 198)6 .

This approach concentrates on the cleaning of the process of decision making and securing fairness for the individual. If the legislation values the well being of the poor less than the interest of the dominant community in the society, then this is process based discrimination, but if the legislation just simply does not take into account the needs of the minority group during the decision making, than it's again process based discrimination. The process theory focusing on the possible racist points of decision making, however does not analyses from where the racism coming from and what is the outcome of discrimination. The stigma theory and group disadvantaged theories explains the origin and results of discrimination (result-based approach).

The stigma theory developed due to the slave system[5]. According to this theory the racial stigmas stigmatizes a whole group and its all members because of certain qualities they cannot do anything about, so the stigma is itself an injury (Koppelmann, 1996). Kenneth Krast argues for with the equal citizenship principal, this principle "guarantees to each individual the right to be treated by the organized society as a respected, responsible and participating member" (Kenneth Krast in Koppelmann,

---

[5] Stigma was the central component of the slave system. It creates a social distance between whites and blacks, because the stigmatization of blacks as nonperson was made natural by the slavery system.

1996). Thus, equal citizenship principle involves the right to be free from stigmas. The group disadvantaged theory analyses the social position of the discriminated group, so it focuses on the results or outcomes of the discriminatory practices (Koppelmann, 1996). For instance the high number of socially disadvantaged people among blacks or Roma can prove the social injustice which is, according to the disadvantaged theory, group –based injustice. Consequently, the group disadvantaged theory says that the anti -discrimination law should focus on the outcome of discriminatory decision making, and emphasizes the improvement of the relative position of disadvantage group (McCrudden, 1991). This approach requires affirmative actions (redistribution) in order to balance the social positions in the society[6].

Naturally, both approaches are in connection with each other and the antidiscrimination law has to refer for both approaches. The process -based discrimination results result-based discrimination, however the result approach receives greater emphasis, when the decision making seems to race-independent although the racially disproportionate impact clearly indicate the discrimination.

In the current anti-discrimination legislation the distance between direct and direct discrimination received big emphasis, and both of them is prohibited action. Direct discrimination arises if a person is treated less favorably because of being member of certain community, so direct

---

[6] The main critics of the anti-discrimination policies is that to have a distribution of position based on race, gender or other characteristics rather than merits is economically not efficient since it is wasteful of good and talented human resources. Others argue that policies aims to achieve EO are "expensive luxury and at odds with the operation of an effective economy" (Teresa Rees, 1998, pg.26).

discrimination is intentional and explicit in relation to the prohibited treatment[7]. While, indirect discrimination occurs when the action, provision appears neutral, but has the potential to be disadvantageous for members of certain community. So, the practices are fair in form and intention but discriminatory in outcome. This concept makes possible to take action at the initial stages of a discriminatory effect and prevent the possibility to occur discrimination[8].

In spite of the comprehensive theory, still the discrimination based on race, gender or other special characteristics is not eliminated in many countries. In the last year the European Court of Human Rights brought decision about the segregation and discrimination of Roma living in the Check Republic. The court's decision can serve as a precedent in the future and developed the field of educational discrimination. The case was launched in 1998 by the European Roma Rights Centre on behalf of 18 Romani children from the industrial Czech city of Ostrava, who were misdiagnosed and misplaced in special schools for the intellectually disabled. The European Roma Right Centre stated that the test using for assessing the ability of children were culturally biased against Czech Roma children, in addition the placement procedure allowed for the influence of racial prejudice on the part of educational authorities. The European Court of Human Rights was ruling that the segregation of Romani students in special remedial schools is a form of unlawful discrimination, and "the

---

[7] Council Directives, 2000/43 and 2000/78, 2002/73; Michel Miné, Concept of direct and indirect discrimination

[8] Council Directives, 2000/43 and 2000/78, 2002/73; Michel Miné, Concept of direct and indirect discrimination in

respondent State was at fault when failing to take into account these children's special needs as members of a disadvantage class" (Lilla Farkas, 2008). That case is based on the process based theory, since the discrimination mainly happen in the process of categorization of the Roma children. The Czech state was responsible because it allowed space to discrimination in the placement procedure and did not take into account the needs of the Roma children (e.g.: culturally neutral testing). Further important elements of the decision and of the anti-discrimination theory will appear in the 'structural causes of overrepresentation' chapter.

CHAPTER 2: Special Education System

The special educational system was created in the 19th century based on the belief that children who have similar special needs should learn together in specifically designed learning environments, where they can receive the particular attention necessary for their successful development (Singer Peter, 2007). In Hungary at both the primary and secondary levels there is a network of special schools and special remedial classes organized in regular schools. These special schools offer a curriculum that is parallel to the national curriculum, but it has fewer requirements and includes fewer subjects. The purported goal of this type of education is the integration of SEN children into the regular education schools and society (Kapcsane Nemeti Julia, 2007).

Upon the referral of a kindergarten or primary school teacher, children are assessed by the county-level Professional Committees for Assessing Learning Abilities ("selection committee"). This committee decides which children with SEN have to be educated in special schools and which can be educated in the mainstream system. According to the Public Education Act[9] (PEA) this "selection committee" makes the expert decisions about the abilities of the children and the type of education they need. Paragraph 121 of the Educational Act[10] differentiates the two categories based on the origin of the given disability. If the disability has an "organic

---

[9] 1993 Act of Public education, paragraph 27, (1)
[10] 1993 Act of Pubic education, paragraph 121 (1) 29.a, b

origin," the child has to be educated in a specialized institution with specialized teachers, however if the disability does not come form organic causes than the can be educated in mainstream schools with specialized teachers. However in both cases the level of disability have relevant role in terms of the educational form.

Valera Csepe's article, the only scholarly work to consider the categorization of special needs students following the 2007 changes to the PEA, emphasized two additional categories by considering not only whether or not the students have "organic" disabilities but also whether they can be educated in an integrated setting. Csepe's four categories are described as follows: *Category 1* students are children who do not have special needs; *Category 2a* students are children who have difficulties relating to academic achievement, but their needs can be addressed by the average classroom teacher using an individual development plan (although the teacher can ask for the assistance of a psychologist or Educational Advisor if necessary); *Category 2b* students are children with non-organic disabilities whose academic achievement is extremely low, unlike *Category 2a* students, their special educational needs are diagnosed by the "selection committee," but these students are still educated in mainstream classrooms with the support of special education teachers; *Category 3* students are children with organic disabilities diagnosed by the "selection committee" and sent to segregated special education schools. The four categories are illustrated in the graph 1 (see Appendices).

There are two perspectives on how to classify children. One view is to classify them according to whether they are educated in an integrated or segregated environment. The majority of pupils are educated in integrated settings, which can include children with special needs too (on the graph these are the groups 1, 2a and 2b). Only students in Category 3 must be educated in a segregated setting. The second perspective on how to classify children is based on the needs of the students. Under this analytic framework both Categories 2b and 3 include children with SEN diagnosed by experts while Categories 1 and 2a are students without special needs.

Students with disabilities whom Csepe would place in either Category 2b or 3 (children with special needs who may or may not be educated in an integrated setting) are further classified into three sub-groups by the "selection committee": mildly, moderately and seriously disabled children. Most Roma students who are identified as having a special education need fall into the mildly handicapped sub-group. If the source of a mild handicap is found to be organic, the child can be sent to a special education school (placing them in Category 3), however if the handicap is caused by a non-organic source the child may remain in an integrated institution with special supports (Category 2b).

Based on the Statistical Yearbook of Education there were 61,585 primary school pupils with "selection committee" identified organic and non-organic special educational needs in the 2006/07 academic year. Out of

19

this group, 33,277 SEN students were educated in regular classes. Furthermore, we know from the statistics of the Ministry of Education and Culture, than in 2007/08 academic year   39 372 children were registered among children with learning and behavioral problem. However, since 1993 the data collection based on ethnicity is prohibited, so there is no official data about Roma and about the number of Rama children with SEN, just estimation coming from sociological studies.

CHAPTER 3: Overrepresentation of Roma in the Special Education System and Systemic Causes

3.1. Evidence of Overrepresentation

Data collection based on ethnicity has been prohibited in Hungary since 1993[11]; however, estimates from studies and secondary data indicate that a high number of Roma children who are channeled into special education are indentified as mildly handicapped. According to the National Education Institute, ten times more Roma students are in the special education system than non-Roma students (National Educational Institute, 2006). The accessible statistical data prior to 1993 demonstrates that in 1974-75 Roma students constituted 25% of the special school population,

---

[11] The 1993 Act on National and Ethnic Minorities law prohibits the data collection based on ethnicity.

but by 1993 this percentage increased to 45% (National Educational Institute, 2006).

After that time we do not have official data; however several sociological studies dealt with the issue. A 1997 survey involving 309 special schools estimated the percentage of Roma students is over 40% in these schools (EUMAP, 2007). Another county level survey conducted in 1998 found that in Borsod County around 90% of children in special education are Roma (EUMAP, 2007).

Most of the experts agree that the level of overrepresentation of Roma in special education is unreasonable and could only occur if students who do not actually have real special needs are being channeled into the special needs system. Many of these misdiagnosed Roma children are placed into the mildly handicapped category. This contributes to the extremely high number of mildly handicapped children in Hungary – in fact, Hungary has approximately three times more mildly handicapped children than any other OECD country (OKI, 2007). The European ratio of registered children with (physical and mental) disabilities is 2.5-3% of the general school population, however in the 2007/04 school year 7.14 % of the general Hungarian school population studied in institutions or classes that follow the special curricula and 2.84 % of the total number of pupils were identified as mildly handicapped (National Educational Institute, 2006, Statistics of Ministry of Education and Culture).

3.2 Structural Causes of Overrepresentation

Three structural problems that create perverse incentives that result in the channeling of Roma students into the special education system: the ambiguous definition of the "mildly handicapped" category; the financial incentive to the schools and expert committees to diagnose students as being handicapped; the misinformation and disempowerment of Roma parents in the identification process; an the impossibility for reintegration into the mainstream classes.

The first structural problem is that the meaning of mildly handicapped is ambiguous in Hungary. Valeria Csepe's article and the National Education Institute's report, point out that the meaning of mildly disabled is so ambiguous and flexible that it is easy to define children with behavioral or social problems as mildly handicapped (Csepe, 2008, National Educational Institute, 2006). Because Roma have a different cultural and social background from the majority society, they are the most vulnerable to be misdiagnosed as a result of this ambiguity. Csepe states that the high number of mildly handicapped children is due to the fact that the line between the 2a group, children who actually do not have special educational needs, but have learning and behavioral difficulties and the 2b category, children who have non-organic special needs is not clear (Csepe, 2008). The problems caused by the ambiguous definition are compounded by the outdated instruments and the non-standardized testing methods used to diagnose mental handicaps. County committees are permitted to use various methods to assess the children. Moreover, the assessing tools

are culturally blind; hence Roma children - whose social attributes is different from non Roma (language, social status and other ethnicity based characteristics) - are disadvantaged throughout the process (Hermann, 2008; Farkas, 2008). Lilla Farkas was writing in terms of the Ostrava case that the culturally neutral psycho logical testing is direct discrimination, because its fails to accommodate special minority needs and adequately measure abilities. She pointed out, for instance a Roma child who fails a test because he/she speaks his/her minority language is being treated less favorable than a majority child speaking majority language. Furthermore, Roma children whose family has a traveling way of life, but the test is based on local culture and on the assumption of settled living is treat with disadvantages with the Roma child. According to she is cannot call as not intentional or indirect discrimination but fulfill the condition of direct discrimination (Farkas, 2008). The culturally blind testing accompanied by the ambiguous and flexible meaning of mildly handicapped gives space for discrimination against Roma children.

Second, important incentive to recruit more children into special education is the additional financial support from the national government which the school maintainer (usually the local or county municipality) receives for children with special needs. The identification procedure is initiated by primary schools and kindergartens when they ask the "selection committee" to assess students. Because schools receive additional money to educate students who are classified as SEN, schools might start the procedure with the hope of receiving the increased amount even though in

23

some cases sending a child to the committee is unnecessary as the student's needs could be met by a normal classroom teacher. Moreover, the committee which assesses the children also has an interest in diagnosing these students as being mildly handicapped. The committee itself is maintained by the county municipality which benefits from additional resources if the committee finds that the child is mildly handicapped. Therefore both the school and the selection committee itself have financial incentives to find that a student requires special education.

The third structural reason why Roma children are disproportionally represented in the mildly handicapped category is related to the role of parents. Roma parents are often unaware of the consequences of having their child categorized as mildly handicapped and that there is a great chance for children identified as SEN to be unemployed after completion of their studies.

The following is a list of the most important parental rights in the special education identification. Although the exercise of these rights can have an impact on the outcome of the process (Hermann – Horn, 2008), but usually the parents do not know about them.

- At the parents request, the selection committee have to take into consideration a minority child's special linguistic and socio-cultural characteristics;

- The process cannot start without the consent of the parents, however if the parents refuse, a local notary can request in official way their consent to start the procedure;

- The procedure cannot start without the presence of the parents;

- If the selection committee finds that the child has special needs, then it must provide a list of schools within the region that their child can attend and the parent have the right to chose among them.

- The parents must be informed about the decision and also about the fact that the implementation of the decision can only start with their consent. If the parents do not agree with the selection committee decision, they can submit a request for review to the notary.

- In the case of students with mildly mental disabilities, the selection committee reviews its opinion one year after its initial decision, and then in every second year until the child reaches the age of 12. After this time, the review is carried out every three years.

Teachers, the selection committee, and school directors and involved authorities often fail to provide Roma parents with meaningful information about the special education as such and their rights as parents. The parental consent is need to the placement procedure; however the Roma parents are not informed about their possible choices and consequences of this consent. For instance, in many cases the main argument of the interested authorities for the separated education or special education is the parental consent; however as Lilla Farkas also wrote there is significant difference between consent and choice (Farkas, 2008).

Finally, the forth structural cause is the impossibility for reintegration from segregated special schools, to mainstream classes, however the original aim of the special education is to develop the abilities and skills of children for such a level to be able to join normal classes. As it was mentioned above, the selection committee reviews its opinion one year after its first decision, than every second year till the child reach the age of 12, after this age the selection committee assesses in every third year the abilities and skills of the mildly handicapped child[12]. However; since the system is not change it terms of the above mentioned three structural problems, than usually the decision remain the same and the children stay in the auxiliary system during the primary education, (Roma Education Fund, Hungarian country assessment, 2006). Other problem in the revision system is that the revisions are late and do not happen on time. According toe EUMAP report that is due to the overloading of the selection committees and failure of the local notaries who should remind the families for the coming revision (EUMAP report, 2007). From the special classes is relatively easier to join normal classes, however according to the local Roma minority self-government in Ozd usually the transfer happen to late and most of the children drop out (in EUMAP, 2007).

Taken together, these four structural problems make it easy for the selection committee and the schools to discriminate against Roma children. An ECRI report found that sending Roma children into special education is a partially automatic practice of the selection committee

---

[12] 14/1994 ministry regulation

(ECRI, 2000. According to EUMAP' report and national educational Institute's report as well, a big proportion of Roma children identified as having special needs do not have a mental disability, but come from a multiply disadvantaged family (EUMAP report, 2008, National Educational Institute, 2006).

The presented structural causes of overrepresentation realize the process based discrimination, because the placement procedure and financial system of special education give space for discrimination. As it was described in the theoretical framework, the malign preferences of the schools, selection committees, and local governments cause discrimination of Roma. The malign preferences or racism take place when the public institutions do not take into account the interest and needs of Roma in the placement procedure (culturally biased testing)   or value negatively their interest, this is process based discrimination. But why Roma are overrepresented in the system? The stigma theory provides answer. The stigmatizations of Roma, prejudices and their social status in the society made the Roma community very vulnerable. The authorities can easily abuse their rights (misinformation to parents).These elements together, the prejudice, social vulnerability and procedural failures result discrimination against Roma and cause segregation of Roma children into the special education. The discrimination or the social injustice is clearly proven by the high number of mildly handicapped children in Hungary and the high proportion of the Roma in this category. In the Ostrava case the court stated clearly that „ there could be no waiver from the right not to

be discriminated „ (Farkas, 2008). The outcomes of segregation are that most of the Roma students will not have competitive qualification (special vocational school or dropping out); in addition the stigma what they receive through the SEN categorization greatly limits their further education or labor market prospects. Many of them became unemployed and live on social benefits (result based approach). In the presented problem both theories have important role and the solution have to be identified based on them.

CHAPTER 4: Making the cost argument:

These discriminatory practices are very harmful for the children's career. Once a child is channeled into special education it is almost impossible for him or her to be transfer back to the mainstream education or to continue at four-year secondary schools. In this chapter I argue that special education not only hurts the career of the children, it is also costly for the national budget

Based on the previous chapters in the thesis we can fairly assume that the majority of the misdiagnosed Roma children belong to the category 2a (children with learning and behavioral problem) instead of the mildly handicapped[13] or they do not have any external educational needs at all.

---

[13] Csepe also stated that the cause of the high proportion of mildly handicapped is the misdiagnosis of the category 2a.

As Csepe's article and the National educational Institute's report explained, the high number of mildly handicapped categorized children can be explained by the ambiguous meaning of mildly handicapped category; this chapter is focusing on comparison of the mildly handicapped children with the children with learning and behavioral problems in terms of their educational and employment carriers. Furthermore the second part of the chapter compares the educational costs and potential long term benefits of the two groups to the financial budget.

4.1 Educational and labor market prospects of mildly handicapped children and children with learning, behavioral problems:

4.1.1 Mildly handicapped children (2b category),

Mildly handicapped children remain in special schools, until their abilities are considered sufficient to reintegrate into mainstream education. However, usually children stay in the auxiliary system throughout their primary education, with practically no chance of continuing to secondary schools afterwards. There is not data about the further education of mildly handicapped children separately, only about the student with SEN. *Table 1* in the Appendixes indicates a dramatic decline in numbers at the secondary level. This can demonstrate the high level of drop out and repetition at the 8 th grade level and probably the reintegration into mainstream schools, however there is a very low probability for the last assumption (Bernath - Zolnay, 2006). Most of those pupils who continue their studies after primary school apply for special vocational schools or

vocational schools; very few enroll into secondary schools. Based on *Table 1*, 14 666 pupils with SEN enrolled to secondary level in 2007/08 academic year: 9% of them continue their study at secondary vocational schools, 7.3 % of them at secondary general schools, 18.4 % them go to vocational schools and 65.2% study in special vocational schools.

According to Gabor Havas as well, a sociologist who have done many research in this field, the majority of the pupils with SEN who attended basic special education go to special vocational education or simply drop out from school (Havas Gabor, 2004)(see table 3 in the Appendixes). Few of them will obtain secondary school degrees - mostly those students who have hearing or sight disabilities (Banfalvy, 2004). Other scholars in this field have done research as well. Kőpatakiné Mészáros – Mayer – Singer searched the career of the pupils with SEN. According to this study too, most of the pupils with SEN chose to continuous their secondary studies at special vocational schools, which almost accept all of the applicants, but provide such specializations which are uncompetitive at the labor market (Mészáros – Mayer – Singer, 2006).

We lack of data about the employment of students with SEN but we can fairly assume that their employment opportunities with special vocational school/ short term vocational school are much more limited than those of their non-SEN peers; this was supported by the Regional Employment reports as well (Vamos-Palotas-Sipos, 2007). Furthermore, Bekes County in 2003 estimated the proportion of unemployed people based on their education level.

According to this report 60% of students obtaining special vocational school certificate were to be surely unemployed (in Bernath –Zolnay, 2006).

To summarize we must first note that there is no data collected at national level about the employability of mildly handicapped children. What we know is the following: most of the children with SEN continue their studies at special vocational schools, with only approximately 16,4 % of children with SEN attending secondary school (mostly those who have sight and hearing difficulties, but not children with mild disabilities). Furthermore, we do not have national statistics on the employability of children with special vocational school degrees, but we know from a County Employment Office's report (Bekes County), that around 60 % of students completing special vocational school will be unemployed in addition the specializations what they acquire are uncompetitive at the labor market ((Mészáros – Mayer – Singer, 2006)

4.1.2 Children with learning and behavioral problems (2a)

About education and employability of children with learning and behavioral problems we know much less, because they are registered among integrated children, and there is no statistics about their further education and employment separately. We know that in 2007/08 academic year 39 372 children were identified in this category. Furthermore, 70% of student without SEN (consisting of the 2a and 1 group) obtain secondary school degrees which consists the children with learning and behavioral problems as well. We can say that probably their

school achievements are lower, but the majority of 2a group at least complete vocational schools. In addition, we know from national reports that people holding secondary school certificates have 13.2 % probability to be unemployed while this value is 31% in terms of vocational school completion. (Ignits, 2008).

Although, we do not have many and precise statistics about the groups but we can fairly assume that in terms of the category 2a (children with learning and behavioral problem), the possibility to complete at least vocational school and to be employed for longer time is greater than regarding to mildly handicapped children, whose majority do drop out or finish special vocational school with non-competitive specialization. Majority of mildly handicapped became unemployed and require social benefits

4.2. Educational costs and potential benefits:

This part of the thesis is going to compare the educational costs and potential benefits of the two categories (mildly handicapped, behavioral and learning difficulties children) first; I am going to sum up the educational costs of a mildly handicapped child[14]. Then, I am going to sum up the educational costs of children who have school achievements difficulties; however it will be zero since they are receiving the same amount of money as children who do not have any extra educational needs. Furthermore, based on the discrimination argument (high number

---

[14] This is the 'lightest' disability than the government provides smaller amount of money for their development, therefore their educational costs are lower than the seriously or moderately handicapped children's

of Roma are placed into special education) the thesis is going to present the costs of discrimination due to the failure not to develop the potential skills of Roma children based on Kertesi-Kezdi's study. .

There are not many studies connected to the costs of Hungarian special education. I will mostly rely on the budget regulation, the relevant laws, and study of Bernath-Zolnay, Kertesi- Kezdi. Bernath Gabor and Zolnay Janos in their unpublished study also tried to calculate the costs of special education in 2005; it is accessible at the webpage of the Roma Education Fund. Since the publication of the study, many aspects of the financing system have changed, for instance the Ministry of Education instead of per capita financing introduced the performance indicators (see more lately) and the amounts of the normative have changed too. Gabor Kezdi and Gabor Kertesi, in their study calculated the long-term benefits of education. The aim of the study was to demonstrate that the investment into education of Roma is worth for the state, because its long term benefits are very profitable relative to not studying and became unemployed. Thus, the authors already collected the most relevant costs of the society in terms of an unemployed people.

4.2.1 What is the cost of special education?

This part of the chapter is more relevant in terms of the discriminatory argument as incentive for discrimination rather than cost, because calculating the special elementary and secondary level is cost more for the government relative to children without SEN, however most

of the SEN children do not attend tertiary education, so the government 'save' resources on this. I though to place the chapter into the cost argument but it serves as an evidence for the second structural cause of overrepresentation of Roma in special education.

The annual central budget decides on the annual budget of the local municipalities, which are in most of the cases the maintainers of the educational institutions. Hence, the central budget regulation contains the concrete amounts, which are accessible by the municipalities and the 1993 Act of Education involves the basic principles based on the resource allocation occurs. Basically, the state is not responsible for the organization of the education, it proves central support to the maintainers in order to maintain, organize and education and organize its budge as well and moreover, the schools do not have direct access to the central resources only through the involvement of the maintainer (Szüdi, 2008). Furthermore, according to the Educational Act the state is not obliged to finance the public education with 100%, the maintainers have to ensure (allocate) the rest of the needed resources[15]. Thus, the budget of the educational institutions is coming through three main channels: central budget, maintainer (local municipality) and the educational institutions (through call for applications, renting of its properties ect.). The annual amount with which the state supports the maintainers is decided every year by the National Assembly, usually 50 -70 % of the total budget of the educational institution is provided from the central budget (Szüdi, 2008). The allocation of the budget is based on three type of normative: basic

---

[15] 1993 Act of Public education, paragraph 38, (1)

normative, supplementary normative and other resources for which the maintainer have to apply.

The basic financial principle regarding to the special need children is in the Educational Act[16], which says that every child with SEN has to be counted in terms of the financing and headcount as two or three children, depending on the degree of disability. This means that the municipality receives double normative funding for a mildly handicapped child and triple the normative funding for a moderately or seriously handicapped child (the budget regulation details the accessible amounts and conditions). Furthermore, in Hungary, the state restricts the maximum and minimum number of children in one class (it has an important role in the calculation of the performance indicator). Therefore, a mildly handicapped child must be counted as two children and a moderately or seriously handicapped child must be counted as three children in a class.

Related to the educational costs, I am going to summarize only those resources which schools can request in addition to the obligatory, basic normative funding for a mildly handicapped child. Based on the annual central budget regulation, the maintainer receives 2 550 000 HUF/performance indicator/academic year[17]. This amount is accessible to every kindergarten, primary school, and secondary school and dormitory as well. On top of this amount, the municipalities can request further,

CEU eTD Collection

---

[16] 1993 Act of Public education
[17] The performance indicator is a new element of the financing system, which indicates the performance of the education based on the mandatory number of teaching hours, set of headcount in a class.

supplementary resources for the education of special needs children. The budget regulation does not differentiate between the mainstream schools, where children with SEN are integrated into classes, and special schools. In other words, both kinds of schools are eligible for the same amount of money. Therefore, all educational institutions (kindergartens, primary schools, secondary schools, gymnasiums, vocational schools, dormitories, special kindergartens, special primary and special vocational schools) can request 192 000 HUF / 768 EUR per child with organic origin mild disability and 144 000 HUF / 576 Euro per a child with non-organic origin mildly disability. On top of this, in the case of a jointly maintained institution boarding school, the maintainer can request further support for children who must travel to school every day. Thus, the maintainer can request 74 000 HUF/ 296 Euro for such a child between the first and fourth grades, 80 000 HUF/320 EUR for such a child between the fifth and eighth grades, and an additional 80 000 HUF/ 320 EUR per child if the school maintainer ensures school busing for these children. The listed amounts must be doubled for a mildly handicapped child and tripled for a moderately or seriously handicapped child. Therefore, besides the supplementary resource (192 000 HUF, 144 000 HUF), we must add the listed amounts if the mildly handicapped child has to travel to the educational institution (please see the *Table 4* in the Appendixes).

Summarizing, a primary school/school maintainer receives 2 792 000 HUF / 11 160 Euro more; the maintainer of a secondary school (special vocational, vocational, high school) receives 768 000 HUF/ 3 072 Euro

36

more; and a dormitory receives 768 000 HUF/ 3 072 Euro more for a mildly handicapped child (organic origin) than for a 'regular' child. In sum, the government invests 4 328 000 HUF/17 312 Euro more into the education of a mildly handicapped child (primary education, special vocational education and dormitory). However, the education of children with learning and behavioral (2a) does not cost more than educating 'regular' children since 2008/09 academic year[18]. The results clearly reveal the incentives of the schools and committee to channel more children into special education, however this incentive is accompanied by prejudices and structural problems which lead to the discrimination of Roma.

4.2.2 What is the cost of discrimination in long term (benefit lost)?

There are some costs and benefits analyses related to the discrimination of blacks in America, which says that discrimination limits the access of black people to higher payed jobs and they face with income deficit in comparison to whites employers (Brimmer, 1997). Brimmer calculated the economic cost of discrimination, originating from two sources in America; first inefficient use of existing educational skills and knowledge of black people when they are employed for lower level positions, second failure to develop fully potential skills and abilities of black students in pubic education. The losses were described in terms of gain that might have if discrimination were eliminated. The outcome, discrimination of blacks cost

---

[18] In the previous years the educational financing is a per capita financing was is Hungary, and also the SEN children and children with behavioral and learning difficulties received increased support. Since 2008/09 academic year the local governments/schools are not entitled to require supplementary normative for the children with learning and behavioral difficulties. There is only annually 2 800 000 HUF/ 11 200 Euro for the development of children with learning and behavioral problem, however this amount is accessible for th educational material of SEN children.

the American economy about $241 billion in 1993, which is 3.8% of the year's GDP (Brimmer, 1997).

Based on the *Table 3* the highest employability is among people completing secondary school[19] and the lowest is among people having special vocational school certificates (this rate is based on a county report which was measured by the county employment authority) (Ignits, 2007; Bekes county report in Bernath-Zolnay, 2005). The high unemployment rate of students with special vocational schools might be due to the stigma that they receive through the categorization and education (problem with social integration); in addition to that, due to the uncompetitive specialization and low quality of education what they acquire in these schools. Even if the county statistic about the special vocational school is not so precise and unemployment rate among people with special vocational school is lower, still this rate should/would be around the same value as people completing only primary education. In long run the failure not to develop the potential skills and abilities of Roma children and segregating them into special schools costs much more for the government (most of them will not be paying taxes but will be recurring social benefits) than allowing them to access adequate education.

In Hungary, Kertesi and Kezdi estimated the potential net benefit of an extra educational support which makes able a Roma student to complete

---

[19] The thesis did not take account with people having university degree, because this is focusing on the primary and secondary education of students with SEN. (In addition, very low the number of student with SEN completing higher education)

secondary school, instead of stopping at the primary education or dropping out from secondary school (Kertesi-Kezdi, 2006).

They analyzed the potential employability and their contribution to the financial budget of four hypothetical individuals with certain level of education: (1) elementary school, (2) vocational school, without secondary school certificate, (3) secondary school, (4) tertiary education and estimated their annual contributions to the national budget. In this study the authors considered as potential benefits the personal income tax paid after full-time employment, social security contribution of the employer and employee, value added and excise tax paid after consumption; and account as costs potential costs the unemployment insurance, welfare benefits, participation in public employment projects, incarceration costs in case of prison sentence and finally costs of secondary and higher educational (in case of extra educational investment the Roma child would go to secondary school and university which cost extra educational spending for the government).

These amounts of the potential benefits and costs are in close relation with the complete educational level and labor market status after the completed education. The authors estimate the probability of the four people to be full time employed, to be unemployed, to be welfare recipients, to be registered for public project employee and to be incarcerated. Due to the inequalities in the society and low level of education some of the probabilities are lower (being full time employed) which lead to lower benefits in long term and some of them higher (being

unemployed, to be welfare recipient, to be registered for public employment projects, to be incarcerated) related to Roma.

The results shows that even in case of extra educational investment which makes Roma enable to complete secondary school would lead in long term to positive return. According the author's estimations, the future benefits of a educational investment starting at he age of 4 is about 19 M HUF/ 70 000 EUR in case if the Roma student completes secondary school instead of stopping after primary education or dropping out. This value is around 15 m HUF/ 55 000 EUR if the student complete vocational school. Based on a similar idea Perry Preschool Program was implemented in the United States for African American children in the 1960's (in Kertesi-Kezdi, 2006). In the adulthood of the children benefited from the project had higher achievements compared to the contrast group and yearly economic return was 15-17%. The benefit and cost ratio was eight to one.

This Kertesi –Kezdi study is very relevant in the context of the thesis; however its approach is a bit different from the thesis's. The Kertesi – Kezdi's study estimated the potential financial benefits in terms of secondary or vocational schools completion with extra educational investment, while the thesis focuses on the potential costs of miscategorisation originating from discrimination and resulting in low level of education. Although, the impacts of these assumptions are similar; the Kertesi-Kezdi study says that due to the social status and inequalities many Roma do not pursue their education after elementary school

eventually they drop out from secondary education, so extra educational investments would help Roma students to successfully complete vocational and secondary schools. That would lead in long term to positive financial returns to the budget of the government. While, the thesis explains that beside the social disadvantages of Roma children, the miscategorisation in special education causes an extra disadvantage for Roma, which greatly limits their future studies and employment opportunities. The main assumption of the thesis is that the majority of the Roma mildly handicapped children (group 2b) do not have mental problems but belong to children who have learning and behavioral problems (group 2a) or are to 'normal' children (group 1) (they should be educated integrated classes). Children in the categories of 2a and 1 have greater chance to complete at least vocational school. Hence, the nondiscrimination and the fair placement procedure would increase the success rate of vocational school completion or more and would cost much less for the financing budget in long term. Therefore, the study provides evidence that even with extra educational investment is more profitable for the government to help to complete a Roma child secondary or vocational school then to stop his/her education after primary education or leaving him/her dropping out from secondary education. Moreover; segregation of Roma in special education, which greatly limits their further education and lead to unemployment, is not profitable to the government at all.

By summarizing this chapter, the government spends 4 328 000 HUF / 17 312 EUR more for the primary and secondary education of a mildly handicapped child than for a child with learning and behavioral problems. However, since most of the mildly handicapped children do not attend tertiary education this has zero cost for the government. Simplifying, we can say the primary and secondary education of children with SEN costs more, however the government does not spend on the tertiary education of SEN children, so the whole educational cost of mildly handicapped children and children with behavioral and learning difficulties is approximately the same.

The bigger part of the costs is the lost profit in long term run. Majority of Roma children categorized as mildly handicapped belongs to the 2a category, children with learning and behavioral problems, who have greater chance to complete at least vocational school and to be employed. The Kertesi – Kezdi study proved that even with extra educational investment, the vocational school completion would lead to 15 M HUF profit in long run. Hence, preventing Roma children to access mainstream education, which would give them greater opportunity to complete secondary and vocational school, and sending them to special education is not profitable in long run at all.

Conclusion and recommendations:

In Hungary, approximately then times more Roma children are in special education than non-Roma children. Consequently, Hungary has around

three times more mildly handicapped children than any other OECD country. Additionally, 2.84 % of the total student population is identified as mildly handicapped in 2007/08 academic year and are studying in schools with special curricula, which is disproportional high relating to other categories. According to studies this high number of mildly handicapped children is due to the ambiguity of the mildly handicapped category, which makes it easy to channel children with learning and behavioral difficulties to special education (Csepe, 2008). Since the Roma are among the most socially disadvantaged groups and they are culturally, and linguistically different from the majority society in Hungary, it is easy to identify them as mildly handicapped and channel them into special education. Another reason recruiting more children into special education, mostly Roma children, is the high financial incentive that the schools receive from the government (4 328 000 HUF/ 17 312 Euro) . Based on outcome of the thesis the schools have two goals with channeling many Roma into special education, first hoping to receive the double financing (per capita) per a child, second to segregate the Roma children from the non-Roma. In several cases, courts have found too that this misdiagnosis results in the segregation of Roma children (Ostrava case). Because of these incentives the teachers and committees do not provide meaningful information for the Roma parents about the consequences of special education and about their rights as parents. Therefore, even though parents have the right to ask for a review of the decision of the 'selection committee', very few Roma parents have the knowledge needed to exercise this right.

Vast majority of experts agree, that the high proportion of Roma is unreasonably in the system , since the rate of handicapped children of different ethnic groups should be around the same, the scientific evidences are very clear the rate of mental handicapped children does not depend on the origin of the population. Based on that, the main statement of the thesis is that high number of Roma mildly handicapped children in Hungary indicate the discrimination in the placement procedure, and the majority of Roma children does not have special educational needs coming from mental problems.

The presented structural causes of overrepresentation realize the process based discrimination. The high number of mildly handicapped children in Hungary and the disproportional high number of Roma in this category prove the race based discrimination in the placement procedure. The interested authorities does not take into account the needs of Roma children in terms of the testing methods and Roma parents are misinformed or not informed about their rights as parents, so they are not able to exercise them as it happened case of the Ostrava. The outcomes of segregation indicate the result based discrimination theory, since the majority of mildly handicapped does not have competitive qualification and became unemployed. Beside the structural problems the stigmatization of Roma community and prejudices against them is also in important factor in the discriminatory procedure. Hence, the intervention

of the government is necessary to prevent the "stigmatic and cumulative harms" of process and result based discrimination (Brest, 1976, pg 9).

This thesis is arguing that discrimination resulting segregation is very harmful for two reasons. First, unnecessarily placing a student in special education impedes the child's healthy development and creates disadvantages in his/her career (future impacts of discrimination). The curriculum of special education requires less from the children and the stigma having through the special educational need category limits the potential opportunities of the children. According to statistical data, almost 65 % of all children with SEN (including mildly handicapped) continued their studies at special vocational schools, which do not provide competitive qualification for the labor market. Hence, we can conclude that children completing special vocational schools have much greater chance to be unemployed and this would be reported by Regional Employment Offices too.

Second, this practice is harmful very much, because it is costly for the government' budget. Although the government invests double resources for the primary and secondary education of children with SEN the career of children results in, is not profitable for the society. These unemployed people will not pay taxes and will require social support from the government. The value of a special vocational school degree is much lower at the labor market as a vocational or secondary school degree or even primary education, because special schools provides such

specializations which are not competitive. The significant part of the costs involves the personal tax lost, social security contribution and saving on social benefits. According to the Kertesi –Kezdi study even with extra education investment which would enable Roma to complete at least vocational school would lead to 15 M HUF benefit in long term.

The Hungarian government should monitor the mechanism of the special education system and recognize that a relevant part of the Hungarian population is excluded from the society and does not have fair chance to access education and employment. The Hungarian society should recognize the future negative impacts of discrimination, explained in the Brown v. Board of Education in 1954, in addition to that the its long term financial consequences. The Hungarian government intervention would be very much necessary to achieve the equalization in the society. Actions are required in terms of process based discrimination and result based discrimination as well.

This paper/thesis advocates for action related to process based discrimination approach: clarification of the line between children with learning, behavioral difficulties (2a) and children who are mildly disabled (2b) in addition stopping discrimination against Roma.
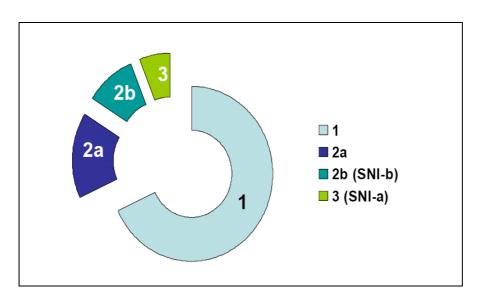
Recommendations:

I am recommending the following two important steps to the Hungarian government and to the relevant authorities.

- First of all the "selection committees", schools and interested authorities have to stop the discriminatory practices towards the Roma children. The Hungarian government has the role to call the attention for the problem and to emphasize the damages of this practice;

- Monitoring of the mechanism of special education;

- I advocate for a clarification of the line between children with school achievement problems, who are educated in integrated classes and children who are classified as mildly disabled. By improving the distinction between these categories and stopping channeling so many Roma into special education, Hungary can decrease the number of students who are classified as mildly handicapped so that it is in line with other OECD nations and proportion of other categorize.

Appendices:

Graph 1: Categorization of students

Katona, 2007 in Csepe Valeria, 2008[20]

Table 1: Total Number of Students with SEN (Category 2b and 3) in the Hungarian Educational System

School year	Kindergartens	Primary schools	Special vocational schools	Vocational schools	Secondary general schools	Secondary vocational schools
2001/02	4 249	46 575	6 291	619	351	425
2004/05	5 746	56 922	8 369	2 011	681	748
2006/2007	5 324	61 585	9 563	2699	1071	1 333

Students with SEN Educated in Mainstream Classes (Category 2b) out of the Total Number of SEN students (Category 2b and 3)

School year	Kindergartens	Primary schools	Special vocational schools	Vocational schools	Secondary general schools	Secondary vocational schools
2001/02	2 490	6 722	…	619	100	389

20

2004/05	4 236	24 067		1 617	509	748
2006/20 07	3 840	33 277		2 582	858	1 324

Statistical Yearbook of Education, 2006/07

Table 2*: Special school graduates' further education directions*

	2001-02	2002-03
High School	2 (0,2%)	4 (0,4%)
Vocational High	4 (0,5%)	35 (3,6%)
Short-term vocational Training	300 (34,4%)	305 (31,7)
Special Vocational	442 (50,7%)	456 (47,4%)
Did not continue	124 (14,2%)	162 (16,8%)

Havas Gabor, 2004

Table 3. Unemployment rate based on the level of education in 2007

Level of education	Unemployment rate*
Primary education	42 %
Special vocational school	60% (County level estimation)
Vocational school	31%
Secondary general education	13.2%
Gymnasium	8.1%

* all of the data based on the **Ignits Györgyi**,'s report, expect the unemployment rate of people completing special vocational school, which is county level estimation.

Table 4: Costs of special education of an organic mildly handicapped child*

Normative	Primary education (HUF/child; Euro /child)	Secondary education – Special vocational school (HUF/child; Euro /child)	Dormitory (HUF/child; Euro /child)	SUM (HUF/child; Euro / child)
Mandatory normative	2 550 000 HUF/achievem ent indicator	2 550 000 HUF/achievem ent indicator	2 550 000 HUF/achievem ent indicator	
Supplement ary normative: 1. Organi	192 000 HUF 768 Euro	192 000 HUF 768 Euro	192 000 HUF 768 Euro	

c mildly handicapped 2. Non-organic mildly handicapped	144 000 HUF 576 Euro	144 000 HUF 576 Euro	144 000 HUF 576 Euro	
Support for 'traveler' students** : - 1-4 grades - 5-8 grades - 1-8 grades	74 000 HUF 296 Euro 80 000 HUF 320 Euro 80 000 HUF 320 Euro			
SUM	2 792 000 HUF 11 168 Euro	768 000 HUF 3 072 Euro	768 000 HUF 3 072 Euro	4 328 000 HUF 17 312 Euro

*The amounts indicated in the table based on the 2008 annual central budget.
** 'Traveler students': Students who are travelling to the neighboring school. (In that case the local government can request further support from the central government).

Table 5: Potential benefit of the government in one year based on the educational levels*

Level of Education	Average income** (HUF/month; EUR/month)	Amount paid to the Hungarian government in one month (HUF/month, Euro/month): - Personal income tax -Social security	Potential benefit in one year

		contribution: Employer contribution, Employee contribution	
Primary education	112 000 HUF 448 Euro	68 035 HUF 272 Euro	816 420 HUF 3266 Euro
Vocational school	130 000 HUF 520 Euro	81 985 HUF 328 Euro	983 820 HUF 3935 Euro
Secondary school	174 000 696 Euro	121 905 HUF 487 Euro	1 462 860 HUF 5851 Euro

* Calculating with the annual average value of Euro, 250 HUF

**Annual average income in 2007 (Central Statistical Authority)

Bibliography

Anderson, Bernard, Government intervention, anti-discrimination policy, and the economic status of African Americans (in Thomas D. Boston, A different vision –race and public policy) 1997

Bálfy Csaba, A fogyatékossággal elő diákok a közoktatásban, 2004, internet source

Bernath Gábor-Zolnay János, Plusz pénzekkel támogatott szegregáció: Adatok a magyarországi fogyatékossá mínősítésről, internet source (accessed 07/30/2008) http://romaeducationfund.hu/

Brest, Paul, The Supreme Court 1975 Term, Forward: In the defense of the antidiscrimination principle, 90 Harvard Law Review, 1975

Brimmer, Andrew F., Preamble: the economic cost of discrimination against black Americans (in Thomas D. Boston, A different vision –race and public policy, 1997

Csépe Valéria, Különleges oktatást, nevelést, és rehabilitációs fejlesztést igénylő gyerekek (SNI) ellátásának gyakorlata és a szükséges teendők, 2008, in Köllő János, Varga Júlia (ed.), Magyar Közoktatás megújításáért, Zöld könyv (kézirat)

Havas, Gábor, Beszámoló az Utolsó Padból Program keretében végzett kutatás egyes eredményeiről. Kézirat, 2004. Report from research outcomes in 2004 called From the Last Row Program, Manuscript

Havas Gábor - Kemény István - Liskó Inlona: Cigány gyerekek az általános iskolában, Budapest, 2002.

Hermann Zoltán - Horn Daniel: Irányelvek a roma tanilók szegregált oktatásásának felszámolására

(internet resource,13/4/2008) www.oki.hu

Ignits, Györgyi, Munkapiaci helyzetkép: 2007.évi összefoglaló, Állami Foglalkoztatási Szolgálat, 2008

EUMAP, Equal Access to Quality education for Roma, OSI, Budapest, 2007

Farkas, Lilla, Elkülönítés az oktatásban: a törvényesség szempontjai, internet source (accessed 07/30/2008) , www.viresz.hu/hallgato/horizontalis2.doc

Farkas, Lilla The scene after battle: what is the victory in D.H. worth and where to go form here? , Roma rights journal, 2008, number 1.

Kertsei Gábor-Kézdi Gábor, A hátrányos helyzetű és roma fiatalok eljuttatása az érettségihez,

Kymlicka, Will, Multicultural citizenship, 1995

Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, A keresetek alakulása Magyarországon és az Unioban 2007-ben, 2008, Statisztikai Tükör, II.évfolyam 84.szám

Kopatakiné Mészáros Mária – Mayer József – Singer Péter, Élethosszig tanulni, de hogyan? Sajátos nevlési igényű tanulók a középfokú oktatásban, internet source (accessed 07/30/2008), www.oki.hu/cikk.php?kod=2006-10-3l-Tobbek-Elethosszig.html - 88k –

Koppelman, Andrew, "Result based theories" Antidiscrimination Law and Social Equality, 1996

Koppelman, Andrew, "Process based theories" Antidiscrimination Law and Social Equality, 1996

McCrudden, Christopher, Introduction in McCrudden (ed.), Anti – discrimination Law, 1991

Loss Sándor (2001) Egy csapásra: Cigánygyerekek útja a kisegítő iskolűba. Beszélő 2001/1

Oktatási és Kultúrális Minisztérium, Oktatási Statisztikai Évkönyv 2006/07 . 2008

Bencze Márta, A helyi önkormányzatok 2008 évi költségvetéséről, 2008, Iskolaszolga 2008 január – február

Országos Közoktatási Intézet, Jelentés a magyar közoktasról 2006, Budapest, 2006

Rado Peter, Esélyegyenlőség és oktatáspolitika, 1999. Országos Közoktatási konefrencia

Radó Péter, Méltányosság az oktatásban, Oktatási és Kultúrális Minisztérium, 2007

Rees, Teresa, Mainstreaming equality in the European Union, training and labor market policies, chapter 3, Conceptualizing equal opportunities, 1998

Singer Péter, Inkluziv neveles, Akadálypályán, sajátos nevelési igényű tanulók a középfokú oktatásban, Sulinova, Budapest, 2007

Szüdi János, Oktatás finiszírozás, 2008, Iskolaszolga 2008 január – február

Vámos Ágnes – Palotás Zoltán – Sipos János, A Dél-Dunántúli Régió közoktatás fejlesztési stratégiája 2007-10, 2006

Zolnay János (2007) Kirekesztés, szegregáció, vakumhelyzet a drávaszögi kistérség iskolakörzeteiben. Euróapai Összehasonlító Kisebbségkutatások Közalapítvány, Műhelytanulmány 31.

Zolnay János (2005) Oktatáspolitika és etnikai szegregéció Miskolc es Nyíregzháza általános iskoláiban. Euróapai Összehasonlító Kisebbségkutatások Közalapítvány, Műhelytanulmány 16.

Brown v. Board of education case, http://www.nationalcenter.org/brown.html

Plessy v. Ferguson case, http://www.watson.org/~lisa/blackhistory/post-civilwar/plessy.html