

FROM THE VICIOUS CYCLE TO THE VIRTUOUS CYCLE

**Policy considerations and proposal on the main intersectional
content of complex policy measures to prevent early dropout of
Roma girls in Hungary**

By
Ildikó Török

*Submitted to Central European University
School of Public Policy*

in partial fulfillment for the degree of Master of Arts in Public Policy

Supervisor: Professor Violetta Zentai

Budapest, Hungary
2016

Author's Declaration

I, the undersigned, Ildikó Török hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. To the best of my knowledge this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where proper acknowledgement has been made. This thesis contains no material that has been accepted as part of the requirements of any other academic degree or non-degree program, in English or in any other language.

This is a true copy of the thesis, including final revisions.

Date: 20 June 2016

Name (printed): Ildikó Török

Signature: ILDIKO TÖRÖK

Abstract

This thesis has dual objectives. On the one hand, it aims to diagnose those factors that can contribute to the dropout of teenage Roma girls based on their intersectional disadvantages. On the other hand, it identifies those policy program elements, tools, approaches of a complex and responsive policy which can prevent early dropout of Roma teenage girls. The lessons learned in the thesis would like to serve as a resource for national level policy makers to tailor more responsive dropout prevention policies which answer for the intersectional disadvantages of Roma girls. For this purpose, firstly, secondary data from academic literatures, surveys and researches are analyzed, which can uncover the reasons that predispose them to dropout from secondary school. Secondly, primary data is collected through individual semi-structured interviews with NGOs' leaders at the local level. The thesis found that only a complex intervention can prevent Roma girls' early drop out since the reasons of their drop out are also complex including low quality of education, poor family background, territorial disadvantages, bad health, traditional gender roles, early marriages, early motherhood, poor self-confidence, inferiority complex, loss of motivation in the school etc. Based on the interviews' findings I recommend that a complex, responsive policy to prevent Roma teenage girls' dropout should address the family, the school, the community, the gender roles in the three different Roma groups in Hungary, health state and low self-confidence of the Roma girls. Furthermore, such a policy should involve diverse approaches, tools and interventions such as extracurricular studying, Roma peer mentoring, prevention of victimization, handling the unsuccessfulness and motivation loss and hiring special experts like social workers, psychologists, career counselors, doctors.

Key words: Roma, Roma women, Roma girls, intersectionality, school dropout, Hungary

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor, Professor Violetta Zentai, for her valuable comments and support during the entire thesis writing period.

I also express my gratitude for Zsuzsanna Tóth, my academic writing professor for being critical and available any time.

I am grateful to Éva Zemandl, my former public policy tutor during the Roma Graduate Preparation Program for her continued encouragement.

Finally, I am thank to my family, my husband and friends for their encouragement and patience.

Table of Content

Chapter 1. Research Objectives, Analytical Framework and Research Design	5
1.1 Research Objectives, Research questions.....	5
1.2 Analytical Framework.....	6
1.3 Research Design	9
1.3.1 Methodology	9
1.3.2 Sampling.....	10
Chapter 2. Diagnosis of dropout reasons in the Hungarian context	12
2.1 Factors that hinder the school attainment of Roma girls, and contributes to dropout	14
Chapter 3. Multilevel policy framework on the Roma girls' dropout prevention.....	22
3.1 European level policy making	22
3.1.1 The European Union's Strategy against early school leaving.....	22
3.1.2 EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies	22
3.2 National level policy making	23
3.2.1 Educational programs in the National Social Inclusion Strategy	23
3.2.2 The critical comments on the education programs of the National Social Inclusion Strategy (NSIS).....	23
3.3 Local level policy	24
3.3.1. Bottom-up policy experience regarding Roma girls' educational inclusion	24
Chapter 4 Experiences of the bottom-up initiatives	27
Chapter 5 Policy dilemmas and Policy program recommendations.....	39
5.1 Reflection on the program elements from the interviews.....	39
5.2 Dilemmas.....	39
5.3 Recommendation for the Ministry of Human Resources	40

List of Figures

Figure 1. School attainment of Roma based on the national census in 2011.....	12
Figure 2. The proportion of Roma and non-Roma students on different school levels	13
Figure 3. The ethnic identity of the vicinity of Roma	14
Figure 4. Highest completed level of education of Roma and the total population.....	18

List of Abbreviations

NSIS: National Social Inclusion Strategy

REF: Roma Education Fund

UNDP: United Nation Development Office

UNIFEM: United Nations Development Fund for Women

Introduction

Roma are the most populous minority group across Europe with the estimated number of 10-12 million (Council of Europe 2016). According to the Hungarian census (Hungarian Central Statistical Office 2011) the number of Roma was 315,000 in 2011, but other sociological studies and Roma organizations claim that the number Roma in Hungary is between 600,000 and 800,000 (Kállai and Törzsök 2003). They are disadvantaged in the fields of education, employment, housing and health, which leads to exclusion, discrimination, lack of quality education, high level of unemployment, and poor living standards (Ministry of Human Resources 2011).¹

Among the Roma, Roma women face multiple kinds of discrimination on the basis of gender, ethnicity and their social class (Kóczé 2009). This includes discrimination not only from non-Roma people, but from people within the Roma communities as well². The situation of Roma women in Hungary can be described as follows: their level of education is lower than the national average and not competitive in the labor market (Bernát 2014). The employment rate of Roma women is low, only 22% of them were employed (Gfk Hungaria 2013), but almost half of the Roma were employed in the Public Employment system (Gfk Hungaria 2013), however this type of employment only temporarily reduces unemployment, therefore cannot lead to long term labor market reintegration (Scharle and Köllő 2011). According to the National Social Inclusion Strategy their health state is poor (Ministry of Human Resources 2011) therefore, Roma women have 10 years shorter life expectancy than that of majority women (Jároka 2006). In addition, most of them live in rural disadvantaged areas of the country

¹ This paragraph was cited in my CPI term paper (**Political participation and representation of Roma in Hungary**).

² This sentence was cited in my term paper submitted to Roma inclusion class (**From the vicious circle to the virtuous circle**).

which also exacerbate their situation (Ministry of Human Resources 2011). Moreover, segregation and discrimination aggravate the situation.

Roma teenage girls also face multiple discrimination on the basis of gender, class, ethnicity and age (Kóczé 2009). According to the Phenjalipe's Strategy on the Advancement of Romani Women and Girls (2014), which is an established strategy by Roma women about Roma women, "Low educational achievement, high rates of irregular attendance and school dropouts, high unemployment rates and poor employment opportunities deprive them from real possibility for integration and full participation in society" (Phenjalipe 2014, 1). The data done by Fundamental Right Agency in 2011, reveals that only 37% of the Roma women remained in the school after the age of 16, while 54% of them dropped out (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2011). Since the disadvantages of Roma teenage girls intersect and reinforce one another thereby causing a vicious cycle, it adversely affects their school attainment and they are more likely to drop out from school compared to Roma men or non-Roma girls (Bernát and Páthy-Dencső 2009; Kóczé and Cukrowska 2013). Since the problems of Roma teenage girls are highly complex because of intersectionality, in order to break their vicious cycle, the policy solution has to be specifically targeted, responsive and complex on dropout prevention of teenage Roma girls.

Preventing them from dropout is crucial to break the above mentioned vicious cycle, since with better education their access to the labor market would be enhanced which is key for their integration into the society. Investing in their dropout prevention is not only an issue of fairness and social justice but it touches upon national productivity as well. Kertesi and Kézdi (2006) argue that the financial benefits of Hungary would be higher if the educational level of Roma was increased. More precisely, according to their estimates, if a Roma student acquires high school graduation, instead of finishing elementary school, this would mean 19 million extra

forints for the Hungarian budget. Since with better education, the likelihood of finding a good job is higher, they could pay personal income tax, social security contribution, value added tax after consumption etc (Kertesi and Kézdi 2006). From an employment point of view, the World Bank argues that approximately full Roma integration in the labor market would influence economic productivity positively, significantly reduce government payments for social assistance and increase tax revenue (World Bank 2010)

So far, academic literature has been paid little attention to complex disadvantages of Roma girls which can cause high dropout, and the complex, targeted policy intervention needed to prevent this. Existing academic literature addresses the intersectional disadvantages of Roma girls which cause educational and labor market difficulties (Bernát and Páthy-Dencső 2009), but without detailed diagnosis about the reasons of dropout and the policy recommendation for it. Kertesi and Kézdi analyze the life path of Roma students (Hajdu, Kertesi, and Kézdi 2014), their chances in secondary education (Kertesi and Kézdi 2008), the segregation and its effect on Roma in elementary school (Kertesi and Kézdi 2005), the gap in competence test results between Roma and non-Roma students (Kertesi and Kézdi 2012a). These studies contain information about Roma girls and boys tendencies, but have not touched upon the issue of detailed dropout reasons and policy recommendation for Roma girls. Liskó addresses the nature of dropout in the Hungarian vocational education system (Lisko 2008) providing information about Roma students, without gender disaggregated data and detailed policy recommendation for Roma girls.

Nonetheless, there is a growing number of policy studies, strategies on Roma educational inclusion or Roma women which also addresses the high Roma teenage girls' dropout but have not dealt with the complex policy response with detailed program elements, tools and

approaches. Therefore, this thesis is intended to close this gap in the literature and in the policy studies as well regarding Roma teenage dropout prevention policy elements. The final purpose of my thesis is to identify those program elements, tools what are essential to tailor complex, targeted dropout prevention policy for Roma teenage girls, thereby serve a resource for national level policy makers to tailor more responsive dropout prevention policies which answer for the intersectional disadvantages of Roma girls. The research questions are as follows: What are the reasons of Roma girls' dropout? Furthermore, what tools, elements, approaches have to be used in a targeted, responsive policy to prevent Roma girls' early drop out?

The structure of thesis is as follows: In Chapter I, research objectives, analytical framework and research design will be introduced, while Chapter II identifies the factors that contribute to dropout of Roma teenage girls. Chapter III, provides information about the European-, national and local level of policy making related to Roma girls dropout. The findings of the interviews will be analyzed in Chapter IV, while reflection on it and policy recommendation will be detailed in Chapter V.

Chapter 1. Research Objectives, Analytical Framework and Research Design

In this chapter, the aims of this research will be presented followed by the introduction of the analytical framework, namely the conceptualization based on theory, policy papers, reports and strategies. In the final part of this chapter, the research design will be described.

1.1 Research Objectives, Research questions

At first, this thesis diagnoses those factors that can contribute to the dropout of teenage Roma girls based on their intersectional disadvantages. Based on expert interviews at NGO level, local, good practice experience is collected about the bottom-up policy initiatives regarding Roma students, including Roma girls dropout prevention executed by NGOs from the most disadvantaged part of the country. Based on this diagnosis and the experience of expert interviews from bottom-up initiatives at NGO level, the final objective of the research is to identify those policy program elements, tools, approaches of a complex, specifically targeted and responsive policy which can prevent early dropout of Roma teenage girls.

Based on good practices from interviewed NGOs, I argue that those policy program elements, tools which work in the most poverty-stricken counties can work also as elements of a national level intersectionally-sensitive and targeted Roma girls' dropout prevention policy.

The main questions of the thesis is: What are the reasons of Roma girls' dropout? Furthermore, what tools, elements, approaches have to be used in a responsive policy to prevent Roma girls' early drop out from secondary school?

Further aim of my thesis is to offer critical comments on the current educational policies of the National Social Inclusion Strategy, since it lacks targeted and responsive, intersectionally-sensitive educational policy making in Hungary regarding Roma. The final contribution of the research is to serve as a resource for the policy makers in the Ministry of Human Resources for

tailoring more responsive targeted dropout prevention policies at national level which address specifically the intersectional disadvantages of Roma girls.

I argue that only a complex intervention can prevent Roma girls' early drop out since the reasons of their drop out are also complex including segregation, poor family background in terms of knowledge capacity and financial means, territorial disadvantages, bad health, traditional gender roles, early marriages, early motherhood, low self-confidence, loss of motivation in the school etc. Under targeted and complex policy making, I mean those policy measures which can give a meaningful and effective answer to the factors discussed in the diagnosis without systemic school reform. Therefore, such a policy intervention should address the family, the school, the community, the gender roles in the three different Roma groups in Hungary, state of health of the Roma girls. Furthermore it should use diverse approaches, tools, interventions such as extracurricular studying, Roma peer mentoring, prevention of victimization, handling the unsuccessfulness and motivation loss as well as it should hire special experts like social workers, psychologists, career counselors, doctors.

1.2 Analytical Framework

The theory of intersectionality is essential to present the complex disadvantages of Roma women and Roma girls. This theory was coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw who stated that intersectionality is “denot[ing] the various ways in which race and gender interacted to shape the multiple dimensions of Black women’s experiences” (Crenshaw 1991, 1244). Since the end of the twentieth century, when this theory was coined, many other scholars (Lykke, Collins, Bello, Kóczé) added to it, or applied it not only to African-American women. Kóczé argued that by using the theory of intersectionality, the situation of Roma women can be described in a more complex way (Kóczé 2009). A well-established report from United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) about the gender mainstreaming of Roma women, uses the following definition for intersectionality: „Intersectionality is a theory and a paradigm

for sociological and cultural studies that conceptualize the cultural patterns of oppression as integrating race, gender, class, ethnicity, sexual orientation and disability.” (Pantea 2009, 40). This definition captures the essence of the disadvantages of Roma girls too since they face discrimination based on their ethnicity, gender, class, and age as well.

So far, academic literature has been paid little attention to complex disadvantages of Roma girls which can cause high dropout, and the complex, targeted policy intervention needed to prevent this. Nonetheless, there is a growing number of policy studies, strategies on Roma educational inclusion or Roma women which also addresses the high Roma teenage girls’ dropout but have not dealt with the complex policy response with detailed program elements, tools and approaches. Therefore, policy studies, strategies will be highlighted focusing on dropout reasons of Roma girls and complex policy measures.

For the purpose of this thesis, I apply the drop out definition of the European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training (CEDEFOP) on selection of key terms. According to CEDEFOP’s report (2008), dropout is „Withdrawal from an education or training programme before its completion.” (Cedefop 2008, 25). It is also stated that this term includes „both the process (early school leaving) and the individuals (early school leavers)” (Cedefop 2008, 25).³ The UNDP report on the ‘interplay between gender and ethnicity’ presents general observations about Roma girls’ education stating that compared with Roma men or non-Roma women, the educational attainment of Roma girls are lower, their dropout is more likely, and they spend fewer years in education (Koczé and Cukrowska 2013).

³ In this thesis the term dropout and early school leaving are used interchangeably. Although, I am aware of the difference between them, but in the policy making they are not separated, as the definition of CEDEFOP reflects on it. However, the EU policy vocabulary only uses early school leaving.

Taking into consideration the intersectional disadvantages of Roma women and girls, a policy paper produced by the Roma Education Fund (REF), presents internal and external factors which hinders the school attainment of Roma girls. As internal barriers „cultural practices, early marriage, taking care of younger siblings, patriarchal structures” are mentioned by the report, while external barriers include „violence against minority groups, including minority women and girls (e.g. forced sterilization of Romani women), sexual violence or fear of violence against minority girls because of stereotypes about them, parents’ fear of violence against their daughters on the journey to school in more remote regions, also act as barriers to education” (Nagy 2015, 2).

According to a UNIFEM report „substantial household and family responsibilities, earlier entry into (domestic) work of first-born girls, early childbearing, no (or less visible) models of female success through education in Roma communities, and school segregation” are important reasons of the Roma girls dropout (Pantea 2009, 16). The Hungarian National Social Inclusion Strategy (NSIS) also identifies the reasons why Roma girls drop out stating that „loss of motivation, socialization differences arising from disadvantaged status, early abandonment of studies partly due to early motherhood and partly due to traditional family roles, which are often handled inadequately by schools and the social protection systems in practice.” (Ministry of Human Resources 2011 26). Both, the REF, the UNIFEM and the Hungarian NSIS documents offer similar explanations for their dropout. More importantly both documents refer to the complexity of the problems, listing several risks and reasons.

The European Commission's final report on 'Reducing early school leaving' (2012) emphasizes that since dropping out is a complex problem, it requires comprehensive policy responses touching upon „personal, social, economic, education or family-related” factors as well (European Commission 2013, 4). Rumberger argues in a very similar vein, claiming that to prevent school dropout, the whole environment of the student – namely the school, the family and the community – has to be addressed also (Rumberger 2011).

Based on the various reasons responsible for high dropout rate of Roma girls, introduced in the above mentioned policy studies and strategies, and based on intersectionality theory, in the second chapter, I will continue the analysis of dropout reasons of Roma teenage girls in the Hungarian context.

1.3 Research Design

1.3.1 Methodology

The research consists of two phases. The first constituted a secondary data analysis of academic literatures, surveys and research which are relevant for the understanding of the factors of Roma teenage girls' early drop-out, more specifically, uncovering the reasons that predispose them to dropout from secondary school.

Secondly, in order to further substantiate my research, primary data is collected through a series of individual, long, semi-structured interviews with local level NGOs' leaders. Each of the interviews lasted approximately one and a half hours. I decided to conduct interviews with those NGO experts, who already had extensive and considerable bottom-up experience dealing with Roma students' inclusion at local level. I identified five appropriate NGO and conducted five interviews with their respective leaders. In order to avoid research bias, interviewees are chosen almost on an equal footing regarding Roma origin. This means that three Roma experts and two non-Roma were interviewed. During the interviews, my questions focus on Roma girls at the age of 14-18 years with primary school or secondary school who have serious risk of early

drop-out due to failing in the school, high proportion of absence from classes, significant deterioration of school performance, drop out already present among siblings and low levels of completed education of parents.

1.3.2 Sampling

Three Hungarian counties - Szabolcs-Szatmár Bereg county, Hajdú-Bihar county, Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county - are selected to investigate the reasons, the condition and the practices concerning the prevention of Roma teenage girls' drop-out. These counties were selected because all have functioning NGOs working on Roma Students' inclusion. Furthermore, in these counties, the unemployment rate - particularly the young unemployment - and the poverty rate are the highest, the economic activity rate is the lowest, and the number of Roma with compounded disadvantages is high with cumulated disadvantages (Központi Statisztika Hivatal 2013).

Based on good practices, I argue that those policy program elements, tools which work successfully in the most poverty-stricken counties can work also as elements of a national level intersectionally-sensitive Roma girls' dropout prevention policy.

For this research, I wanted to talk to experts from the NGO level, who have many years of experience working with Roma students, and also use an intersectionally-sensitive approach during working. The selected NGO leaders are the initiators of their local, bottom-up program initiatives regarding Roma inclusion. Therefore they possess the firsthand knowledge about the reasons behind Roma girls' dropout and about the appropriate program tools which can prevent their dropout.

The reason I chose to focus on the dropout of Roma girls, not boys, is because maintaining girls in the educational system with quality education, can enhance their opportunities for finishing school and acquiring a meaningful job, therefore countering the level and the consequences of poverty in their future families. Moreover, in line with European Roma Grassroots

Organizations' (ERGO) argument, if Roma women are well educated and aware of their rights and opportunities for advancement, they are better able to take their own decisions and the children also benefit, since women pass this self-confidence and skills on to their children (European Roma Grassroot Organizations - Spolu 2016). Furthermore, it positively affects the development of Roma communities thereby provoking social changes because Roma women are integral to the cohesion of family and community (Koczé and Cukrowska 2013).

Chapter 2.

Diagnosis of dropout reasons in the Hungarian context

Based on literature, studies, statistical data, this chapter aims to identify those factors that contribute to Roma teenage girls' dropout in the Hungarian context.

Based on Bernát research in 2014, Figure 1 shows that 27% of Roma girls stopped elementary school before the achieving the eighth grade, while this is significantly lower in case of Roma boys (19%). Regarding the completion of school through grade 8, the proportion of Roma girls and boys is almost balanced, since 56% of Roma girls and 59% of Roma boys completed eighth grades. A more remarkable difference appears during vocational school, as only 10% percent of the Roma girls finish VET, while this proportion for Roma boys is significantly higher, almost double (17%) (Bernát 2014). This means that for Roma girls, it is much more difficult to remain in the secondary level of education. Surprisingly, until graduation from high school, the earlier mentioned remarkable difference is balanced, since 5% of Roma boys and girls achieve graduation.

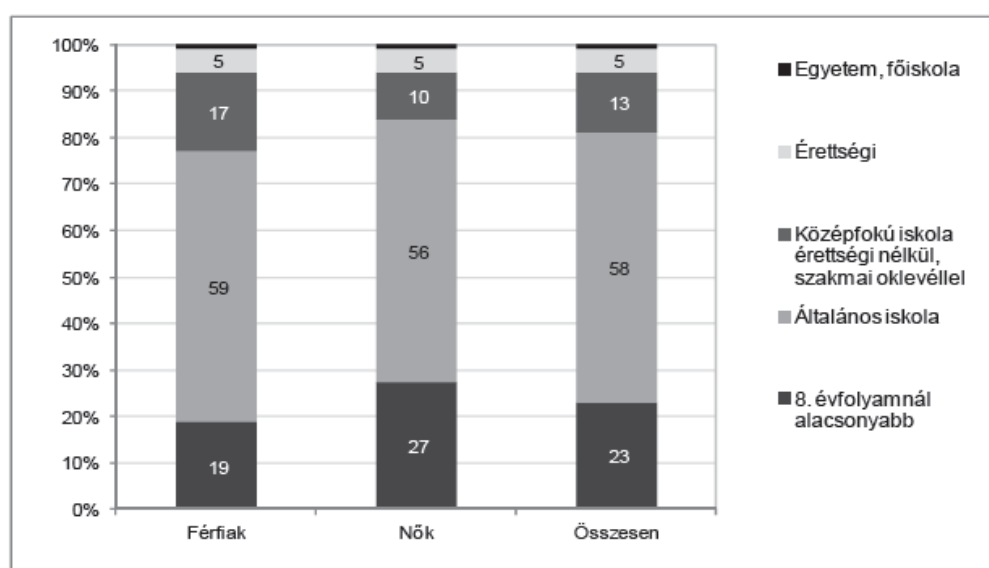


Figure 1. School attainment of Roma based on the national census in 2011 Source: Bernát Anikó, *Leszakadóban: a romák társadalmi helyzete a mai Magyarországon* [Left behind: the social situation of Roma in Hungary today]⁴

⁴ All translations are mine, unless otherwise indicated.

The whole puzzle about the educational attainment of Roma girls becomes more interesting when comparing Roma girls to non-Roma girls as well. As Figure 2 shows from the above-mentioned research of Bernát (2014), during kindergarten the difference is not significant, since the proportion of non-Roma girls attending kindergarten is higher only by 1%. The difference starts to grow, during the ages of 7-15, since the proportion of Roma girls attending school in this age group is 92%, while that of the non-Roma girls is 100%. The most remarkable difference can be seen in the age group of 16-19, since 90% of non-Roma girls attend school at this age, while this rate is only 56% in the case of Roma girls.

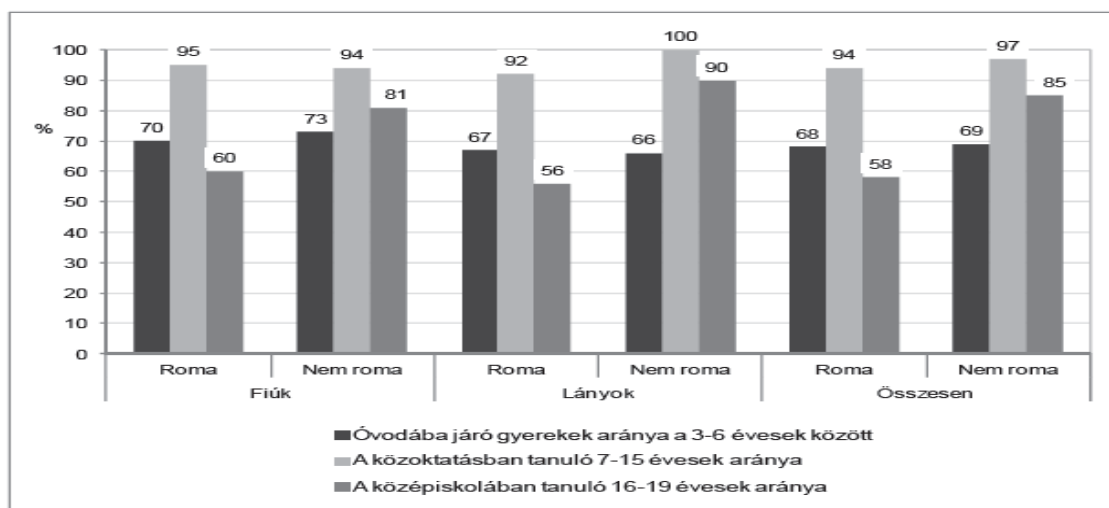


Figure 2 The proportion of Roma and non-Roma students on different school levels

Source: Bernát Anikó, *Leszakadóban: a romák társadalmi helyzete a mai Magyarországon*

2.1 Factors that hinder the school attainment of Roma girls, and contributes to dropout

Local community, residential segregation, territorial inequalities

Roma are concentrated in the most disadvantaged regions such as North Hungary, Northern Great Plains and Southern Transdanubia, which are adversely affected by social and economic problems (GfK Hungaria 2013). A World Bank report presents that almost half of the Hungarian Roma population lives in rural areas of the country (Revenga, Ringold, and Tracy 2002). Moreover, as the Roma research of GfK Hungaria shows in Figure 3, 45,4% of the Roma live in segregated environments, and only 4,1% of them lives in such environments where there is only one Roma family.

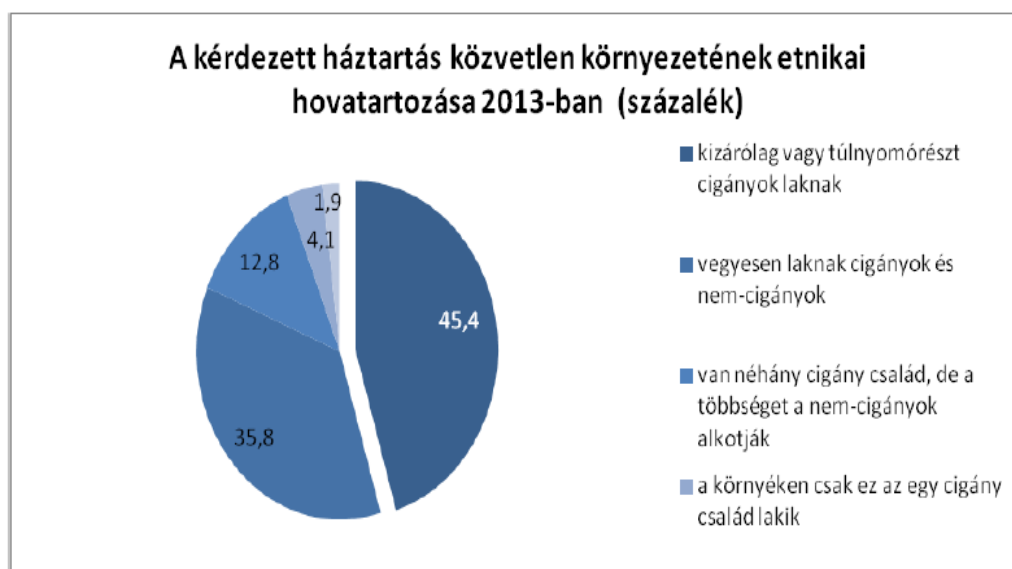


Figure 3. The ethnic identity of the vicinity of Roma

Source: GfK Hungaria, Roma Research 2013

As a consequence of these combined factors, Roma live in those regions where there is a lack of quality education, the unemployment is comparatively high, and health related problems are frequently present. In these segregated communities, the life experience and the opportunities

for advancement of Roma children, especially girls, is significantly constrained, since they experience same problems and apply the similar solutions to cope with them.

Family background

Currently the unemployment rate is 6%, however, the employment rate of disadvantaged groups and region are still comparatively low (Hungarian Central Statistical Office 2016), and discrimination towards Roma further exacerbates their situation.

Roma children raised in a segregated living environment do not see their parents officially working. Usually the mothers do not work officially, instead they are at home looking after the children and the entire family, while the fathers work in temporary jobs, public employment or in the black economy or even remain unemployed. These parents have different schedules than those with permanent work (L. Ritók 2015). It is widely-known that the education level of the parents highly influences the school progress of the Roma child (Kertesi and Kézdi 2010). As their parents are likely to have low levels of completed education, disadvantaged Roma students are not socialized into reading and writing. Moreover their social competence is usually low (Réger 1995). Furthermore, these students suffer from weaker educational support from their family from knowledge capacity point of view (OECD and European Commission 2015).⁵

Gender Roles

Three Roma groups live in Hungary: Romungro, Oláh and Beas Roma groups (Szuhay 2002). Their languages, traditions therefore gender roles are different (Janky 1999). Based on research, Neményi argues that it would be a failure to treat all Hungarian Roma women as a homogenous group. Her research (Nemenyi 1999) about the gender roles and fertility rate among these three groups of Roma women in Hungary found that women from Oláh Roma and Beás group are

⁵ This paragraph was cited in my term paper submitted to Roma exclusion in education course (FIELD REPORT- THE RIGHT TO EDUCATION IN 21ST CENTURY- A BASIC HUMAN RIGHT, NOT A PRIVILEGE)

the most traditionalist in terms of family planning, number of children, giving birth, ideas about sexual morality, while Romungro Roma women seemed closer with regard to these dimensions to more mainstream women of similar status.

Gender roles in the Oláh group of Roma

Besides the earlier mentioned educational and labor market related disadvantages and discrimination, Roma women usually face oppression in traditional Roma communities, where gender roles are clearly divided (mostly with respect to Olah Roma group). According to Kriszta Bódis's documentary about the Oláh Roma gender norms, the majority of Roma women still preserve traditional family roles (Bódis 2008), contributing to their further exclusion. In most Roma communities, women's choices are overregulated by their families and communities' rules and decisions⁶. This group of Roma believe that if the above mentioned gender roles are violated, the social order of their community and rhythm of their life are endangered. Therefore, by insisting on traditional gender roles, they maintain their "normal" social order. Sending the girls to school and let them study 'unnecessary' knowledge for the Roma community, can threaten the unity of their community, since the girl is likely to break away from the community. Sometimes these communities do support the education of the girls, but only when they consider the studied knowledge useful for the Roma community (Bódis 2008). In some traditional Roma communities early marriage and early childbirth are still common (Kóczé and Balogh 2011). As a consequence, early dropout are likely, further undermining the right to education and employment of Roma girls (Pavee Point Traveller and Roma Centre 2014).

Gender roles in Romungro and Beas Roma groups

As Neményi argues (1999), Romungro women are the most similar to the non-Roma Hungarian women with similar socioeconomic status. In less traditional Roma families, the gender roles

⁶ This paragraph was cited in my term paper submitted to Roma inclusion Policies in Europe class (From the vicious circle to the virtuous circle)

are still important but less restrictive. However disadvantages and discrimination related to education and labor market participation are still exist⁷. Regarding Beás Roma women, Neményi's research states that they belongs to more traditional group of Roma in terms of fertility and related issues (Nemenyi 1999).

Education system, schools, teachers

According to the National Social Inclusion Strategy, almost two third of the Roma students fall into the category of multiple disadvantaged students, and approximately one half of the multiply disadvantaged Hungarian students are Roma (Ministry of Human Resources 2011). In addition, an increasing share of Hungarian students will be Roma (Roma Education Fund 2007), who will constitute the future workforce (Ministry of Human Resources 2011). Therefore, it is highly important to prevent their dropout and provide them with quality education. However, they are frequently excluded from quality education, since schools typically operate according to middle-class norms, while Roma kids are not socialized accordingly (White 2012).

Moreover, non-Roma students leave schools with high number of Roma (Kertesi and Kézdi 2009). Due to the selectivity of the Hungarian school system and territorial segregation, there are regions with homogeneous Roma students, where it is impossible to establish the conditions of integrated quality education (Radó 2011). It is exceedingly difficult to hire highly qualified teachers to these schools because the teachers and the schools are not prepared to handle disadvantaged students (Liskó 2001)⁸.

⁷ This claim is based on past personal and professional experience of the researcher when working and living with Roma women, since there is a gap in literature regarding the gender roles of the 3 groups of Roma in Hungary.

⁸ This paragraph was cited in my term paper submitted to Roma exclusion in education course (FIELD REPORT- THE RIGHT TO EDUCATION IN 21ST CENTURY- A BASIC HUMAN RIGHT, NOT A PRIVILEGE).

Since 2011, the government pushed down the upper age of compulsory education to 16, which originally was 18 (OECD and European Commission 2015). As a result, the likelihood of early school leaving is probably higher, as there is no compulsory education after the age of 16. Furthermore, the opportunity of public work is attractive for young Roma students, since it means 52 000 Forint per month. This monthly wage encourages needy students to leave school (Ónody-Molnár 2016).

From Figure 4 (GfK Hungaria 2013), it is immediately apparent that the structure of educational attainment of Roma in 2013 is completely different from that of the total population in 2012. Two-third of the Roma population completed only 8th grade in 2013, while this proportion in the national sample is only 25%. In terms of vocational school, there is no significant difference, but regarding high school graduation, Roma significantly lag behind.⁹

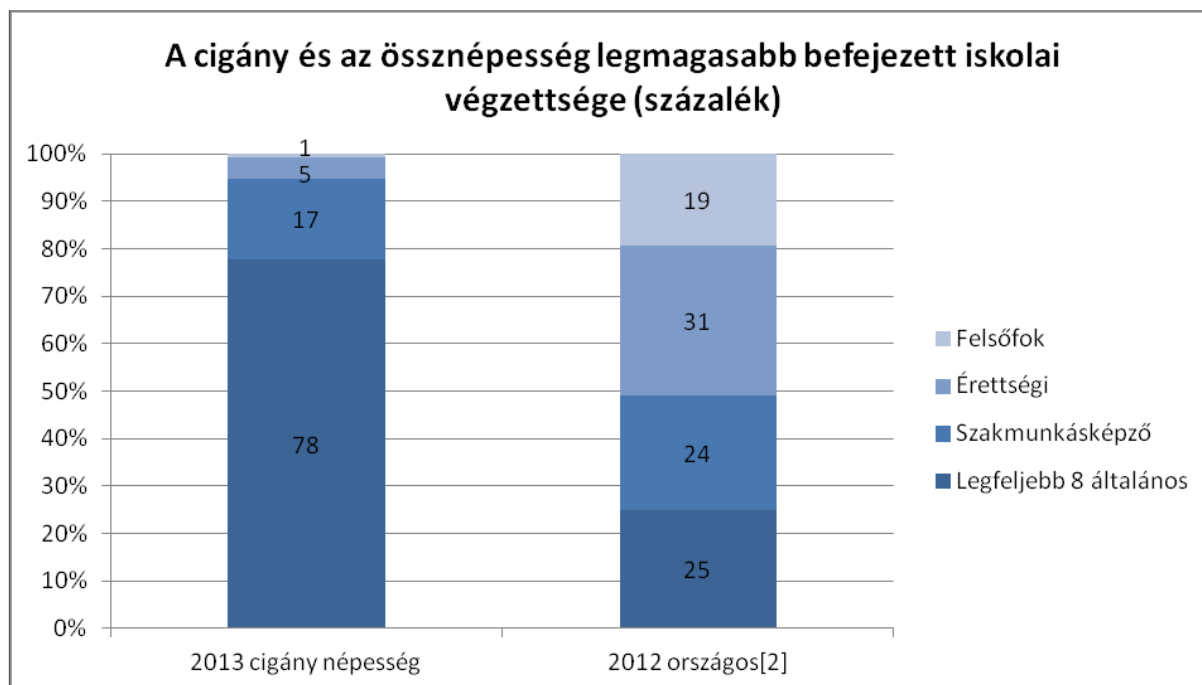


Figure 4.. Highest completed level of education of Roma and the total population

⁹ This paragraph was cited in my term paper submitted to Roma exclusion in education course (FIELD REPORT- THE RIGHT TO EDUCATION IN 21ST CENTURY- A BASIC HUMAN RIGHT, NOT A PRIVILEGE)

Source: GFK Hungaria, Roma Research 2013

In contrast to the diagram, which shows data from 2013, based on Judit Szira's (REF) television interview, the latest data from Roma Education Fund revealed that the proportion of Roma student with high school graduation is 20% in 2016 and the rate of Roma students with university degree is 2% (cited in index 2016). According to the National Social Inclusion Strategy, instead of secondary school, the largest share of the Roma students attend vocational school after completing elementary school. The dropout rate is the highest in the vocational type of secondary education, which means that approximately one in four students in vocational school were held back a grade once during their school life¹⁰. Furthermore, remarkable amount of students leaves the vocational school before finishing it without qualification, which obviously determine their future life in long term unemployment. (Ministry of Human Resources 2011). However, if students do not dropout, vocational schools usually lead to dead end, since the acquired qualification is not competitive in the labor market, thus social mobility cannot be achieved with these low level certificates.

Hajdú, Kertesi and Kézdi argue that there has been a huge improvement in the Roma's level of education during the last two decades, but at the same time, the level of education of non-Roma Hungarians has improved significantly. More precisely, the gap between Roma and non-Roma youth is still wide, but it appears not on the elementary school level, but on the secondary level (Hajdu, Kertesi, and Kézdi 2014).

All in all, the Hungarian educational system perpetuates or even more deepen the existing gap between Roma and non-Roma students (Kertesi and Kézdi 2005).

Intersectional discrimination in reproductive health

¹⁰ This paragraph was cited in my term paper submitted to Roma exclusion in education course (FIELD REPORT- THE RIGHT TO EDUCATION IN 21ST CENTURY- A BASIC HUMAN RIGHT, NOT A PRIVILEGE)

According to the Roma research of GfK Hungarian, education level, gender, age, economic status affect state of health, but among them, the education level has the greatest influence on health. Namely the higher the level of education, the better the state of health (GfK Hungaria 2013). But this relation is true in invers way, since if a student health status is not satisfactory, it is impossible to go to school and have good performance.

A research carried out about Roma women's health (2003) claims that many Roma girls are forced to live in areas which represent health and safety danger such as living in segregated rural areas where public services are not easily accessible. In some traditional Roma communities, in order to protect girls' virginity and prepare them for marriage, it is likely that girls finish education, therefore they will not acquire the knowledge necessary to care for themselves as well as their families, or try to change those cultural practices that negatively influence their health and well-being (European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia Observatories 2003).

Lack of success, self-esteem and positive future

As Fejes argues, success is highly important during education. Since Roma students experience little or no or success during studying, motivation loss towards studying frequently happens (Fejes 2005). Moreover, they receive little positive reinforcement from their parents, teachers or non-Roma peer groups, which negatively affects their future view (L. Ritók 2015).

Lack of capital

Lack of social, economic and cultural capitals of disadvantaged Roma girls hampers their school progress (Gordos 2000). In their home environment, Roma girls typically lack the resources, needed to improve the skills necessary to succeed in school (Kertesi and Kézdi 2012b). Furthermore, lack of social network further exacerbates their situation.

Risk of victimization

According to a research conducted by the European Roma Rights Center, „Roma are highly vulnerable to trafficking due to structural forms of discrimination and poverty which result in low socio-economic status, low educational achievements and high levels of unemployment” (European Roma Rights Center 2010, 1). Hungarian television reports (Origo 2013), online media (Vincze 2013) revealed that a huge proportion of prostitutes in Zurich and Amsterdam are Hungarian Roma Women, mainly from the segregated settlement of the city of Nyíregyháza and other depressed regions of Hungary. According to these media reports, these - many times teenage - girls find prostitution as the only way to break out from poverty. This estimation is also acknowledged by Kóczé and Balogh in a policy paper about the inclusion of Roma women (Kóczé and Balogh 2011). Their policy paper also emphasizes, that Roma women and Roma teenage girls are the most vulnerable regarding trafficking and prostitution, nevertheless the poorly functioning social protection system in Hungary cannot prevent the problem.

All in all, since, their disadvantages can intersect and mutually reinforce each other, once the effect of these factors is cumulated, it is easy to fall into the vicious cycle. Breaking the cycle is only possible by well-designed, more responsive, complex policy making that can address the intersectional inequalities of Roma women and girls.

Chapter 3. Multilevel policy framework on the Roma girls' dropout prevention

The purpose of this chapter is to show the different levels of the policy making regarding Roma girls' dropout prevention. Strategies from EU level, the educational programs regarding Roma at national level, and local level experience will be presented.

3.1 European level policy making

3.1.1 The European Union's Strategy against early school leaving

In line with the EU 2020 Strategy, Hungary carried out a Strategy to reduce early school leaving (ESL). In Hungary, the rate of early school leaving is close to the EU average, around 10-11% in 2015 (European Commission 2015). The ESL emphasizes that Roma students are more concerned with early school leaving without qualification. In addition, among Roma students, the girls are in the most disadvantageous situation (Hungarian Institute for Educational Research and Development 2014).

3.1.2 EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies

While EU needs well-educated and skilled workforce (Eurostat 2014a), it has to face aging and shrinking labor force (Eurostat 2014b). Roma is a young population with higher fertility and birth rate (Kemény 2004), but they lack education which is essential to find a meaningful job. Therefore, it is crucial to invest in the prevention of their school dropout and keep them in the education system to significantly better chances of labor market participation. In 2011, the European Commission adopted the EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020, in order to raise attention to the situation of Roma, therefore, every member state had to carry out their own Roma Strategy (European Commission 2016).

3.2 National level policy making

3.2.1 Educational programs in the National Social Inclusion Strategy

In the scope of the EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020, among each member states, Hungary prepared its own National Social Inclusion Strategy, so called Roma Strategy. It is a comprehensive Strategy which contains educational programs for disadvantaged and Roma student in Hungary. The Deputy state secretariat for Social Inclusion is responsible for the implementation and execution of the following programs: Sure Start Children's Houses, Program for efficient integrated learning and institutional development (IPR), Arany János Program, Tanoda Afterschool Study Program, On the Road (Útravaló) equal opportunity scholarship program, Second-chance-type program and Special colleges for Roma. Each of these programs are focusing on disadvantaged, including Roma students aiming to support them from early childhood till the tertiary education (State secretariat for Social Inclusion 2011).

3.2.2 The critical comments on the education programs of the National Social Inclusion Strategy (NSIS)

The NSIS lacks intersectionally-sensitive policy considerations regarding education, although multiply disadvantaged Roma girls have special needs and difficulties compared to other Roma boys and non-Roma students. The NSIS contains a complex analysis about the situation of Roma women, acknowledging their multiple disadvantages. Nevertheless, it pays much less attention to Roma girls, and their disadvantages. It only mentions the educational gap between Roma girls and boys and their higher dropout rates and more complex reasons of Roma girls' dropout. Although certain theoretical knowledge is included in the NSIS, but the policy solutions do little to address the intersectional disadvantages of Roma girls. Moreover, the lack of disaggregated data by gender and ethnicity in the existing Roma educational programs is further hampering knowledge about Roma women and girls.

The Deputy State secretariat for Social Inclusion recently started to implement a program for endangered multiple disadvantaged students, including Roma girls, to prevent their early dropout from school and early pregnancy and victimization (State secretariat for Social Inclusion 2011). It is a huge step that after the recognition of the complex disadvantages of Roma girls, the state secretariat started to implement more targeted program. However, this is only a pilot program with extremely limited financial support, therefore it can only reach a limited number of Roma girls in need. Moreover, they failed to take into consideration the differences among the three Roma groups in Hungary, even though it would be an essential factor.

3.3 Local level policy

3.3.1. Bottom-up policy experience regarding Roma girls' educational inclusion

Local NGOs are the closest to the 'problem', they possess first-hand experience and knowledge about Roma girls' disadvantages, which should be channeled to the national level of policy making. Since there are well-established bottom-up policy initiatives with measureable successes regarding Roma students, the lessons learnt from these initiatives should be applied during tailoring country wide educational policies regarding Roma girls. For this purpose, five in-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted in those counties from Hungary where the unemployment rate - particularly the young unemployment - and the poverty rate are the highest, the economic activity rate is the lowest, and the number of Roma is high. The selected NGO leaders are the inventors of their local, bottom-up program initiatives regarding Roma inclusion, therefore they possess the firsthand knowledge about the reasons of Roma girls' dropout and about the appropriate program tools which can prevent their dropout. Moreover, since they can demonstrate measureable results of their programs, all of these NGO leaders recognized as credible expert in the field of Roma inclusion.

Kriszta Bódis is the founder of the Creation-oriented model program¹¹ which has been functioning in Ózd, Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County since 1998. This is a child education centered program, which includes the family and the community as well, offering long-term, complex services in order to break the vicious cycle in the life of the Roma (“Van Helyed Model Program,” n.d.).

Nóra L. Ritók is an art teacher as well as the headmaster of the Igazgyöngy Foundation and Art School (Real Pearl Art School)¹². Thanks to her work, disadvantaged children in 12 settlements in Hajdú-Bihar County have access to motivation and self-confidence building exercises through educational methods based on art. The main purpose of L. Ritók’s program is „to support the personal and artistic development of these children ‘outside the walls of the school building’ in order to improve their chances of integrating into society when they grow up” (Igazgyöngy Alapítvány és Művészeti Iskola 2016, 1). Although their work focuses on the children, the families are also provided with help.

My third interviewee asked that they remain anonymous, therefore, I will call them Tóth. They were a social worker with Roma students in Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County for 12 years, then operated a complex education oriented program in Budapest’s most disadvantaged district. Their experience as a social worker is highly important for my research.

Melinda Rézműves is an ethnographer, kindergarten teacher, author of the first Roma reader and exercise book and the director of the first Roma Country House¹³ in Hodász. In the country house, she organizes various programs, trainings, workshops for Roma student, including a dropout prevention program for Roma girls (Roma Tájház - Hodász 2014).

Oláhné Balog Tímea is a kindergarten teacher, social politician, director of the Roma Láng Foundation (Roma Flame Foundation), project manager in the Tanoda After school program in

¹¹ <http://vanhelyed.org/en/about-us/>

¹² <http://igazgyongy-alapitvany.hu/>

¹³ http://www.romatajhaz.hu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=9:ismertet&lang=en&Itemid=

Álmosd in Hajdú Bihar County. The foundation runs afterschool teaching and social competence development programs by educated Roma mentors, since they believe in the positive effect of Roma role models (Sz. Vrancsik 2015).

Chapter 4

Experiences of the bottom-up initiatives

In line with the factors addressed in the diagnosis during Chapter 2, this chapter aims to describe the findings of the five semi-structured interviews regarding the reasons of Roma girls dropout and about the program elements of a complex dropout prevention policy.

During my interviews, the questions were grouped into two topics: the first set of questions concerned the reasons of Roma teenage girls' dropout, while the second group of questions were about the experience of the NGO leaders on policy elements of a Roma girls' dropout prevention policy.

Regarding the first group of questions, all of the interviewed NGO leaders agreed on the fundamental reasons behind Roma teenage girls' dropout rates. In general, all of them emphasized that the Hungarian educational system is not able to compensate the socio-cultural and the economical disadvantages of the Roma students. Furthermore, the substandard quality of the segregated schools contributes to the loss of motivation of the Roma girls, therefore they only have negative experience about studying) In addition, the low level of education of the parents means a further disadvantage in Roma students' life in terms of lack of financial background, and lack of inspiring role models who finished higher education successfully (Interview Bódis 19 May 2016, L. Ritók 1 June 2016, Tóth 25 May 2016, Oláhné 2 June 2016, Rézműves 10 June 2016). In these types of families, the girls typically follow the life pattern of their mother or older sister, therefore become unemployed, or waiting for public employment opportunities (Interview L. Ritók 1 June 2016). Although the parents try to motivate their daughters verbally, according to the NGO leaders, these are just 'empty words', since many times these girls are responsible for house works and looking after other siblings. Consequently, they have less time for studying, which can leads to their early dropout (Interview Bódis 19

May 2016, L. Ritók 1 June 2016). Bódis stressed the effect of the patriarchal Hungarian society, which can adversely influence the school participation of the girls. Moreover, many Roma communities are even more patriarchal than the Hungarian society, and their gender roles can hamper the education of the Roma girls (Interview Bódis 19 May 2016). All of the NGO leaders agreed that the Oláh Roma community is the most traditional, therefore, their gender norms are the most restrictive compared to Romungro and Beás Roma communities (Interview Bódis 19 May 2016, L. Ritók 1 June 2016, Tóth 25 May 2016, Oláhné 2 June 2016, Rézműves 10 June 2016). Bódis was a director of a documentary about the gender roles in an Oláh Roma community in Hungary. She further analyzed the gender performance of the Roma women and girls, observing that studying means a way to break out from the traditional community. From the traditional community point of view, studying further can generate problems, because the secondary or vocational school is far from the original settlement where the family lives, therefore the girl can no longer be controlled the family. As a result, the girls can lose their 'good reputation' within the community (Interview Bódis 19 May 2016).

One of the most pressing reasons of Roma teenage girls' dropout in each of the three counties is the lack of sexual education in Roma families, since this topic is considered 'taboo' (Interview L. Ritók 1 June 2016, Tóth 25 May 2016). Consequently, Roma teenage girls are not provided with information about safe sex, birth control methods, and existence of prevention clinics. Accordingly, the risk of early pregnancy is high in all three counties (Interview L. Ritók 1 June 2016, Tóth 25 May 2016).

“One of the young Roma women wrote me on Facebook during the previous week explaining that she is pregnant again. I asked whether they had safe/protected sex. She asked back what I mean by save sex, how can safe sex be done. It is obvious that she has never heard anything about condoms or contraceptives or any protection methods” (Interview L. Ritók 1 June 2016).

L. Ritók highlighted that prostitution is also a very important reason of dropping out from school. Both, forced and voluntary prostitution are exist in Hajdú-Bihar county. *“One of my ex-students, a Roma teenage girl was a victim of trafficking and forced to prostitution abroad. During this time period she became addicted to drug. When she came back to Hungary, she was diagnosed with schizophrenia. Since these are multiple diagnosis, no Hungarian institute is willing to treat her”* (Interview L. Ritók 1 June 2016).

When asking the second group of questions, regarding the essential policy elements for a successful Roma girls’ dropout prevention policy, all of the interviewed NGO leader unanimously pinned down that since the dropout is caused by various reasons, the policy response have to cut across these dimensions. Furthermore, they estimated that in their counties almost every Roma girls finish elementary school, but the maximum level of their education is vocational school, but the likelihood of early drop out without qualification is high (Interview Bódis 19 May 2016, L. Ritók 1 June 2016, Tóth 25 May 2016, Oláhné 2 June 2016, Rézműves 10 June 2016).

Family diagnosis and involvement

According to the all of the interviewees, the first important element of a viable policy to map the family background, since the programs have to focus on these identified shortcomings of the family. Accurate and detailed measuring the shortages in the family is essential so that to have a puzzle about the cause of failures of the girls. It is important to address those needs, lack of skills, resources what the family cannot provide. More importantly, after diagnosing the family’s challenges, securing their involvement is crucial for the success of the policy (Interview Bódis 19 May 2016, L. Ritók 1 June 2016, Tóth 25 May 2016, Oláhné 2 June 2016, Rézműves 10 June 2016). Every interviewee emphasized that without close family involvement, the policy cannot reach its goal. If the family is treated as real partners during the

policy implementation, they do not feel isolated, therefore they can more easily trust and believe in the importance of the policy (Interview Bódis 19 May 2016, L. Ritók 1 June 2016, Tóth 25 May 2016, Oláhné 2 June 2016, Rézműves 10 June 2016). Bódis further stressed that her creation-oriented social and integration model program tries to make the family an important component of the program, in this way the program develops the family as well, since families of the children are provided with opportunities for regular meetings with the leader and the mentors, workshops, as well as free school for parents. (Interview Bódis 19 May 2016). Toth explained that her program treats the child in the focus, but through the work of several social workers, the program put huge emphasis on the family as well. Furthermore, the boyfriend or partner of the girl is also treated as part of the family, since partners have considerable influence on the girls' behavior as well. (Interview Tóth 25 May 2016). L. Ritók and Bódis also shares the opinion of Tóth regarding boyfriends/partners, because according to their experience the partner effect on Roma girls is more pronounced than that of the non-Roma girls. Furthermore, Roma girls feel themselves as subordinates in their relationships (Interview Bódis 19 May 2016, L. Ritók 1 June 2016).

Mentoring

Regarding the deficiencies of the educational system and schools, all of the interviewed experts agreed on that a successful dropout prevention program has to reduce the shortcomings of the schools. To reach this goal all of them recommended the engagement of mentors, who has be the closest supporter of the girl (Interview Bódis 19 May 2016, L. Ritók 1 June 2016, Tóth 25 May 2016, Oláhné 2 June 2016, Rézműves 10 June 2016). The responsibilities of the mentors are highly complex including the individual, social and educational support of the girls, which covers the skills and ability development during afterschool teaching, maintaining close contact with the family, and the school teachers as well, while trying to build deep trusting relationship with the mentored girl. In addition, the mentor functions as a role model for the girls (Interview

Bódis 19 May 2016, L. Ritók 1 June 2016, Tóth 25 May 2016, Oláhné 2 June 2016, Rézműves 10 June 2016). Oláhné pointed out that young educated Roma women mentors would be the most efficient mentors for the Roma teenage girls, since these women are likely to come from similar background than the mentored Roma teenage girls, but they went through tertiary education successfully and have career (Interview Oláhné 2 June 2016). Oláhné further stressed, that the main purpose of her NGO (Roma Láng Alapítvány) is to offer role models to the disadvantaged Roma student, since all of the NGO members are educated Roma persons (Interview Oláhné 2 June 2016). Each of the NGO leaders emphasized the importance of the voluntary selection of the mentors. In other words, the mentored girls should find the appropriate mentor, who best fits their personality. By using this selection method, there is a better chance for the girl to form a close, confidential relationship with her mentor (Interview Bódis 19 May 2016, L. Ritók 1 June 2016, Tóth 25 May 2016, Oláhné 2 June 2016, Rézműves 10 June 2016).

Sex education

L. Ritók, Tóth and Oláhné stressed that the lack of sex education is a major problem, therefore the policy must include these dimension. Organizing teenage girls clubs is crucial, but the personality of the presenter and the atmosphere have to be friendly and confidential. Otherwise the girls, cannot open up, do not dare to ask and speak about their stories (Interview L. Ritók 1 June 2016, Tóth 25 May 2016, Oláhné 2 June 2016). L. Ritók explained that it is important to give free condoms and finance the abortion, if it is needed. More importantly, besides sexual education, family planning education is highly important, since the girls are the most vulnerable during the teenage time period, therefore the likelihood of falling in love is higher, as is the risk of unwanted early pregnancy too (Interview L. Ritók 1 June 2016).

Art, creation and visual education to reduce unsuccessfulness and enhance self-confidence

All of the NGO experts shared the same opinion about the high importance of unsuccessfulness and the loss of motivation of the Roma girls. According to their views, this is largely the result of the school and the teachers' approach, the teaching method, curricula and stigmatization (Interview Bódis 19 May 2016, L. Ritók 1 June 2016, Tóth 25 May 2016, Oláhné 2 June 2016, Rézműves 10 June 2016).

Self-confidence and self-esteem building program elements are essential for a complex policy to focus on dropout prevention. L. Ritók and Bódis consider art, creation and visual education the most effective methods to support the self-confidence and self-esteem of teenage Roma girls. Both experts pinned down that unsuccessfulness and motivation loss experienced in the school, can be compensated by applying those artistic methods (Interview Bódis 19 May 2016, L. Ritók 1 June 2016). While introducing the creation-based model program, Bódis claimed that the main goal of her model program is the creation of art pieces, the positive feeling towards creation, as well as the reinforcement of the students' self-confidence. While creating art, as an additional goal, the girls work on topics such personality development, women roles, successful careers, drug prevention etc. She proudly spoke about the film and media workshop of the Van Helyed Foundation, where Roma and non-Roma children and young individuals made a movie about The Blindness of Sounds. Furthermore, they also documented the whole filmmaking process. The movie was presented in film festival, cinemas and schools. After the movie, the children also shot a video clip (Valovi Rap), which won the Plural Plus Prize. Through the success of these performances and other works students started to feel more intelligent, valuable and deserving of a career (Interview Bódis 19 May 2016).

L. Ritók built her method from visual education methods, using visual communication for the compensation for disadvantages and social competence development. It is very effective to use these methods with Roma girls, since women's roles can be better understood and reinforced

during using visual methods. What is visually processed and reinforced – such as women careers, motherhood, cooking, and their own career goals– is engraved into their mind , (Interview L. Ritók 1 June 2016). L. Ritók stated her conviction with the following sentences: *“I am convinced that art education is a crucial tool in the integration process in education. The school alone is not able to provide those services, approaches that a disadvantaged children need, in other words, without using art education and complex handling of their disadvantages, these children will reproduce the poverty of their parents”* (Interview L. Ritók 1 June 2016). L. Ritók also uses cooperative learning together with visual education. After this kind of education, the Roma girls turn to the younger students to help them (as a mentor). During this activity, Roma girls can practice what they learnt, more precisely the coordinator role in communicating behavioral norms in which positive women roles can also be practiced (Interview L. Ritók 1 June 2016).

All in all, L. Ritók and Bódis claimed that art education and creation-oriented methods can greatly contribute to development of Roma girls’ chances in life, self-confidence and vision of positive future. Both experts profess that the usefulness of art education and creation-oriented methods are important tools in addressing the elements during the challenge of dropout prevention of Roma girls, since those methods positively affect their personality, reinforce their gender and ethnic identity, make Roma girls able to balance between traditional and modern women roles, and more importantly offer different ways to attain success in women roles (Interview L. Ritók 1 June 2016 and Bódis 19 May 2016). In addition, Rézműves introduced that in her Roma Country House, drama pedagogy is applied to help to transform negative experiences into positive (Rézműves 10 June 2016). Oláhné explained that in her program, Roma dance training has threefold purpose. On the one hand, as a kind of art, it contributes to successfulness, while it strengthen their Roma identity and facilitate healthy lifestyle (Interview Oláhné 2 June 2016).

Prevent victimization trainings

All of the experts agreed on the relevance of preventing victimization. They would solve it by organizing training which bring attention to its dangers and dispelling misconceptions about this form of escaping from poverty (Interview Bódis 19 May 2016, L. Ritók 1 June 2016, Tóth 25 May 2016, Oláhné 2 June 2016, Rézműves 10 June 2016). However L.Ritók and Bódis stated that the prevention of victimization can be addressed through art and visual education (Interview L.Ritók 1 June 2016 and Bódis 19 May 2016).

Autonomy- and democracy trainings

Only Bódis suggested to apply trainings and approaches to educate the girls about making autonomous/independent choices and democracy, since it enhances their confidence and their ability to set goals in life. In addition with long term planning, and autonomous thinking they could become more aware of their opportunities and learn how to choose among them. Bódis emphasized that in her program, the children can influence the operation of the program, which requires their ability of long term planning. *“Through the experience of forming the creation-oriented program, they become aware how to influence their own life too, which is the most crucial in the case of girls”* (Interview Bódis 19 May 2016).

Systematic health screening

Tóth asserted that since disadvantaged Roma girls might dropout due to medical reasons and they rarely have access to health care, furthermore certain traditions even hamper their willingness to visit doctors, to organize systematic health screenings and to foster their access to individual treatments would be crucial in a dropout prevention program. (Interview Tóth 25 May 2016)

Cultural programs, excursions to open up the country for the girls

“After the summer vacation, I asked the students what they did during the vacation. One of the girl happily explained that once she was in a pastry shop with her family in the city center, otherwise she was home only (in the segregated settlement)” (Interview Tóth 25 May 2016).

All of the NGO leaders underlined that due to segregation and financial limitations, the living space of the girls and their families is constrained, therefore, the program has to offer them cultural programs throughout the country such as excursions, theatre, exhibitions so that to reduce the adverse effect of territorial disadvantages and segregation. Furthermore, these excursions are a good opportunity to visit the possible future workplaces also (Interview Bódis 19 May 2016, L. Ritók 1 June 2016, Tóth 25 May 2016, Oláhné 2 June 2016, Rézműves 10 June 2016).

Crisis Fund

Rézműves and Tóth emphasized that the policy has to create a crisis fund, for the needs of those girls who fall into an unforeseen crisis, or who are in multiple disadvantaged financial situation, the financial help has to be immediate. Many times it fund has to be used for traveling cost, since buying a monthly pass means problem for them. (Interview Tóth 25 May 2016, and Rézműves 10 June 2016)

Scholarship

L. Ritók and Tóth had shared further views the need for scholarships for the Roma teenage girls. However, both of them highlighted that it is very likely that the scholarship of the girls will be spend for urgent needs such as food, or bills (Interview Tóth 25 May 2016 and L.Ritók 1 June 2016). L. Ritók revealed that her NGO transfers the scholarship for the students some days before the end of the month, since at that time the families run out of money, and they need to meet the basic needs of their children (Interview L.Ritók 1 June 2016).

Warning system

Rézműves raised the importance of a warning system among the school head teacher, mentors, social workers, psychologist, in order to allow for immediate information exchange about the problems but also successes of the Roma girls. (Interview Rézműves 10 June 2016)

Measures regarding gender norms in the three different Roma communities

When asked about the 3 different Roma groups' gender roles and traditions, Tóth, L. Ritók and Bódis emphasized that it is very important to take into consideration the traditions of the 3 different groups in policy making. L. Ritók, Bódis and Tóth think that since the Oláh Roma group insists on their traditions more than the Romungro, or Beás group, it is more difficult to influence the Oláh group especially regarding school (Interview Bódis 19 May 2016, L. Ritók 1 June 2016, Tóth 25 May 2016). According to Bódis, an important element of the program has to be to diagnose the dropout reasons along the different Roma groups. The reasons can be different from community to community. For example in more traditional communities, insist on virgin marriage therefore early marriage is practiced, which can lead to early school leaving. Nevertheless, in ghetto environment, the reason of dropout is not the virgin marriage, but rather the similar peer pattern (Interview Bódis 19 May 2016). Regarding traditional families, Tóth noted that they are rather worried about sending their daughters to school or excursions, since the girls are in majority environment, not around the family. Therefore, Tóth recommend to hire an educated Roma man, who is already a father to be the leader of the program. Accordingly, the trust of the traditional family towards the program will be higher (Interview Tóth 25 May 2016). In these cases deeper family involvement is required. (Interview Bódis 19 May 2016, L. Ritók 1 June 2016, Tóth 25 May 2016)

Involvement of the experts from various fields

Each of the interviewed NGO experts agreed that such a complex dropout prevention policy program needs involvement of experts coming from various fields such as psychologist, social workers, social pedagogy, health care professionals and teachers. More importantly, those experts should have had experience with Roma girls (Interview Bódis 19 May 2016, L. Ritók 1 June 2016, Tóth 25 May 2016, Oláhné 2 June 2016, Rézműves 10 June 2016).

Timeframe of the policy program

All of the participants confirmed that short term programs are never effective enough to prevent dropout, since they cannot reach their goal entirely, therefore well-designed, complex, systematic, long-term programs are needed (Interview Bódis 19 May 2016, L. Ritók 1 June 2016, Tóth 25 May 2016, Oláhné 2 June 2016, Rézműves 10 June 2016). Furthermore, Bódis, L. Ritók and Tóth agreed that these elements/interventions have to be built in the public education system in Hungary. Until there is no political will to transpose these recommended element to the public education system, NGOs have to carry out dropout prevention programs (Interview Bódis 19 May 2016, L. Ritók 1 June 2016, Tóth 25 May 2016). L. Ritók pinned down that *“it is not normal, that the Hungarian government maintains an educational system which does not provide equal opportunities and cannot compensate the disadvantages of the students. When the educational system is not functioning well, the solution cannot be to use extra funds from the EU to replace the missing elements by NGO programs. Why is it impossible to operate those services inside the educational system?”* (Interview L. Ritók 1 June 2016).

Target group

Bódis, Ritók and Tóth emphasized that the target group of such a program has to be Roma girls in pre-pubertal age, since at this age it is easier to offer alternatives for Roma girls. After the

pubertal ages have started, the effectiveness of such a program is decreased (Interview Bódis 19 May 2016, L. Ritók 1 June 2016, Tóth 25 May 2016).

The bottom-up, local programs of the interviewed NGO leaders try to diagnose the disadvantage of the Roma students and elaborate on the individual, complex educational help while at the same time attempt to understand their family background and their traditions. All of the programs go beyond the school and add those services that the education in itself is not able to provide to compensate the disadvantages of the Roma girls. However, the final conclusion of the interviews conducted with Tóth, L. Ritók and Bódis is that instead of NGO programs, the public educational system should be able to replace these shortcomings, thereby they argued for a systemic educational reform. In the scope of this thesis, I do not consider this intervention feasible, since it requires strong political support and reconstruction of the whole public education system and the child protection system as well. Nonetheless, to investigate the possibilities of such a Hungarian system reconstruction which would include the public education system and the child protection system in order to provide adequate services for disadvantaged children in the school (not outside of the school by NGOs), would be highly important to study and an outstanding topic for next research.

In the scope of this thesis, based on the diagnosis of the disadvantages of Roma girls, and based on the recommended program elements by the NGO leaders, I compile those program elements, tools and approaches which are essential for national level policy makers in order to tailor intersectionally-sensitive, complex, responsive, targeted policy to prevent Roma girls' early dropout.

Chapter 5

Policy dilemmas and Policy program recommendations

This chapter aims to cover my reflection on the reasons of the dropout, as well as on the program elements described by the interviewed NGO experts. Furthermore, policy dilemmas will be highlighted since some of those introduced elements are not easily manageable during working with Roma. Finally, detailed policy recommendation will be provided.

5.1 Reflection on the program elements from the interviews

Sorely important information was collected from the interviewed NGO leaders about Roma girls. On the one hand, the interview responses nicely captures the complexity of the reasons which contributes to drop out, while on the other hand, they offer complex program elements for a responsive, targeted dropout prevention policy. The suggested program elements by the NGO leaders, are able to respond to the dropout reasons diagnosed in Chapter II. Family diagnosis and involvement can answer to the shortcomings of the family and the community, while mentoring and extracurricular education respond to the deficiencies of the school system. Sex education and training against victimization can prevent the risk of early motherhood or victimization. Art, visual education, drama pedagogy and autonomy/democracy trainings can foster their self-confidence, feeling of success, autonomous thinking and long term life planning. Health screening and treatment can prevent health problems and develop girls' state of health. Cultural programs can reduce the effect of segregation and territorial disadvantages, while crisis fund and scholarship can compensate poverty. Finally, measures regarding gender norms in the three different Roma community, contribute to more targeted policy planning taking into consideration the different traditions.

5.2 Dilemmas

It is important to mention and reflect on those policy dilemmas that emerge during working with Roma and also come up in this thesis. The involvement of the whole family, as well as the

partner of the Roma girl can be problematic, due to different values and traditions that Roma communities have. In order to successfully involve the family being a real partner during the operation of the policy, further and deeper research is needed about the approaches how to balance the different traditions or how to make the environment suitable for Roma too. Regarding gender norms in the Roma families, especially those with strict traditions, the difference between traditional Roma and majority Hungarian gender norms are not easily bridgeable. Since the traditions can protect but at the same time limit the community, the family and more importantly the girls in the family

As a Roma woman from Romungro community and having experience working in the Ministry of Human Resources at the State secretariat for Social Inclusion, furthermore having living experience in Romungro, Beás, Oláh and mixed communities as well, I would argue for the importance of presenting and offering different kinds of way of living for Roma girls so that they could choose to make decisions that best suit their special needs and desires. After they have gathered experience which transcend patriarchal Roma gender norms, they have the basis to make important decision about their value system. Accordingly, the most important intent of the following policy recommendations is to prevent the dropout of Roma girls, thereby offering an alternative path-way to them.

5.3 Recommendation for the Ministry of Human Resources

Policy program elements of the dropout prevention policy for Roma teenage girls

Policy instruments:

- **Family background diagnosis:** The policy has to contain family diagnosis as a starting element so that to be aware of what shortcomings of the family mean risk for the Roma girl's education.

- **Family involvement:** Being aware that without parents' involvement, the policy efforts on the girls cannot be effective, it is crucial to organize workshops, club afternoons for them where their skills and social competence can be developed and also they will be informed about the progress of their daughter.
- **Mentoring:** Mentors have a central role as well as various responsibilities during the program. Being a role model, providing extensive support, keeping in close relation with the family.
- **Art, creation, visual education, drama pedagogy trainings:** These kinds of trainings are essential in order to understand and practice successful, various women roles and careers, to compensate inferiority complex, motivation loss, and enhance self-confidence.
- **Education for democratic and autonomous thinking:** These kind of trainings can contribute to independent thinking, enhance confidence and ability to set goals and influence their own in the life. This element can also appear as a horizontal principle during the program.
- **Sex education, trainings to prevent victimization:** Sex education is crucial to prevent unwanted pregnancy. Organizing trainings to raise attention to the dangers of victimization and dispelling misconceptions about this form of escaping from poverty, is extremely important in such a policy.
- **Afterschool, extracurricular studying:** The afterschool teaching is essential during such a complex dropout prevention program, since it can compensate the poor quality of education in the schools. Furthermore, this is one of the elements to reduce the girls' motivation loss and unsuccessfulness in the school.

- **Role model meetings:** Since disadvantaged student can learn more effectively from role models, it is crucial to organize such a meetings inviting educated Roma individuals, especially women with credibility.
- **Cultural programs, excursions:** To open up the country and balance the adverse effect of segregation and territorial inequalities, cultural program organization is an essential component. Moreover, visitation possible future workplaces, can provide better future perspective.
- **Differentiation along the interventions for Roma girls coming from different Roma groups:** policy makers have to be aware of the different traditions and gender norms of the three Roma groups, since it has affects the patterns of school visiting and risks of drop out.

Policy tools:

- **Systematic health screening and treatment:** Since large proportion of Roma girls has poor health, systematic screening and treatment have to be a mandatory element of such the dropout prevention policy.
- **‘Warning system’:** building up such a system among head teacher, mentors, psychologists, social worker and parents, is highly important in order to ensure the quick flow of information and take actions on time.
- **Scholarship:** Since most of the disadvantaged Roma girls come from poor family, the scholarship can compensate their shortages and also can motivate for better studying.
- **Crisis fund for immediate problems, needs:** Since family- or individual crisis can cause dropout, to install a crisis fund is crucial.

Conclusion

This aim of this thesis is twofold. On the one hand, it aims to diagnoses those factors that can contribute to the dropout of teenage Roma girls based on their intersectional disadvantages. On the other hand, it identifies those policy program elements, tools, approaches of a complex and responsive policy which can prevent early dropout of Roma teenage girls. The thesis serves as a resource for national level policy makers to tailor more targeted and responsive dropout prevention policies which answer for the intersectional disadvantages of Roma girls. This thesis found that only a complex intervention can prevent Roma girls' early drop out since the reasons of their drop out are also complex, including low quality of education, poor family background, territorial disadvantages, poor health, traditional gender roles, early marriages, early motherhood, poor self-confidence, inferiority complex, loss of motivation in the school. Based on the interviews' findings, I recommend that a complex, targeted policy to prevent Roma teenage girls' dropout should address the family, the school, the community, the gender roles in the three different Roma groups in Hungary, health state and low self-confidence of the Roma girls. Furthermore, such a policy should involve diverse approaches, tools and elements such as extracurricular studying, Roma peer mentoring, prevention of victimization, sex education, handling the unsuccessfulness and motivation loss and hiring special experts like social workers, psychologists, career counselors, doctors. By this complex and targeted policy it is possible to break the vicious cycle of Roma girls and transform it to virtuous cycle.

Bibliography

- Bernát, Anikó. 2014. "Leszakadóban: A Romák Társadalmi Helyzete a Mai Magyarországon." In *Társadalmi Riport 2014*, edited by Tamás Kolosi and István György Tóth, 246–64. <http://www.tarki.hu/adatbank-h/kutjel/pdf/b333.pdf>.
- Bernát, Anikó, and Blanka Páthy-Dencső. 2009. "A Roma Nők Helyzete Kelet-Európai Összehasonlításban Az Ezredforduló Után." In *Szerepváltozások*, edited by Ildikó Nagy and Tiborné Pongrácz, 165–76. TÁRKI.
http://www.tarsadalomkutatás.hu/kkk.php?TPUBL-A-885/publikaciok/tpubl_a_885.pdf.
- Bódis, Kriszta. 2008. *Báriség*.
- Cedefop. 2008. *Terminology of European Education and Training Policy: A Selection of 100 Key Terms*. doi:10.2801/15877.
- Council of Europe. 2016. "Roma and Travellers." Accessed April 26.
<http://www.coe.int/en/web/portal/roma>.
- Crenshaw, Kimberle. 1991. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review* 43 (6): 1241–99.
<http://multipleidentitieslgbtq.wiki.westga.edu/file/view/crenshaw1991.pdf>.
- European Commission. 2013. "Reducing Early School Leaving: Key Messages and Policy Support." http://ec.europa.eu/education/policy/strategic-framework/doc/esl-group-report_en.pdf.
- . 2015. "Education and Training Monitor 2015 - Hungary." http://ec.europa.eu/education/tools/docs/2015/monitor2015-hungary_en.pdf.
- . 2016. "Eu Framework." http://ec.europa.eu/justice/discrimination/roma/eu-framework/index_en.htm.
- European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia Observatories. 2003. "Breaking the Barriers – Romani Women and Access to Public Health Care."

http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/180-ROMA-HC-EN.pdf.

- European Roma Grassroot Organizations - Spolu. 2016. "MAINSTREAMING EMPOWERMENT OF ROMA GRASSROOTS WOMEN." Accessed June 14.
[http://www.ergonetwork.org/media/userfiles/media/egro/framework for supporting women empowerment.pdf](http://www.ergonetwork.org/media/userfiles/media/egro/framework%20for%20supporting%20women%20empowerment.pdf).
- European Roma Rights Center. 2010. "ERRC Conference Facilitates Stakeholder Discussion of Trafficking in Romani Communities." In . <http://www.errc.org/cikk.php?cikk=3797>.
- European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, UNDP and European Commission. 2011. "The Situation of Roma in 11 EU Member States - Survey Results at a Glance."
http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/2099-FRA-2012-Roma-at-a-glance_EN.pdf.
- Eurostat. 2014a. "Europe 2020 Indicators - Education." http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Europe_2020_indicators_-_education.
- . 2014b. "Europe 2020 Indicators - Employment."
http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Europe_2020_indicators_-_employment.
- Fejes, József Balázs. 2005. "Roma Tanulók Motivációját Befolyásoló Tényezők." *Iskolakultúra* 11. http://www.staff.u-szeged.hu/~fejesj/pdf/Fejes_2005_Roma.isk.pdf.
- Gfk Hungaria. 2013. "Szegénység, Társadalmi Kirekesztés És Csoport Szükségletek Vizsgálatát Támogató Tevékenység: Célzott Kutatás - Roma Kutatás," 1–146.
- Gordos, Ágnes. 2000. "A Kulturális És Társadalmi Tőke Szerepe Az Általános Iskolás Cigány Gyerekek Iskolai Előmenetelében." *Új Pedagógiai Szemle* július.
<http://epa.oszk.hu/00000/00035/00040/2000-07-ta-Gordos-Kulturalis.html>.
- Hajdu, Tamás, Gábor Kertesi, and Gábor Kézdi. 2014. "Roma Fiatalok a Középiskolában Beszámoló a TÁRKI Életpálya-Felmérésének 2006 És 2012 Közötti Hullámaiból."

http://econ.core.hu/file/download/TRIP/Append_A.pdf.

Hungarian Central Statistical Office. 2011. "Népszámlálás 2011."

http://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xftp/idoszaki/nepsz2011/nepsz_09_2011.pdf.

———. 2016. "Unemployment Rate, January-March 2016."

<https://www.ksh.hu/docs/eng/xftp/gyor/mun/emun1603.html>.

Igazgyöngy Alapítvány és Művészeti Iskola. 2016. "Best Practices." Accessed June 16.

<http://igazgyongy-alapitvany.hu/en/art-school/best-practices/>.

index. 2016. "Már a Romák 20 Százaléka Szerez Érettségit."

http://index.hu/belfold/2016/01/02/mar_a_romak_20_szazaleka_szerez_erettsegit/.

Janky, Béla. 1999. "A Cigány Nők Helyzete." In *Szerepváltozások*, edited by Tiborné

Pongrácz and István György Tóth, 217–38. TÁRKI.

Jároka, Livia. 2006. "Report on the Situation of Roma Women in the European Union."

<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?objRefId=115178&language=EN>.

Kállai, Ernő, and Erika Törzsök. 2003. "A Roma's Life in Hungary."

http://kisebbskutato.tk.mta.hu/eselyegyenloseg/tudasbazis/eokik_romareport_2003.pdf

.

Kemény, István. 2004. "A MAGYARORSZÁGI CIGÁNY NÉPESSÉG DEMOGRÁFIÁJA."

Demográfia.

<http://demografia.hu/kiadvanyokononline/index.php/demografia/article/viewFile/615/427>.

Kertesi, Gábor, and Gábor Kézdi. 2005. "Segregation in the Primary School System in

Hungary Causes and Consequences." *Közgazdasági Szemle* 52 (4).

<http://edecon.mtaki.hu/sites/default/files/Kertesi-Kezdi-Segregation.pdf>.

———. 2006. "Expected Long-Term Budgetary Benefits to Roma Education in Hungary."

<http://www.romaeducationfund.hu/sites/default/files/publications/kertesi-kezdi->

[budgetarybenefits.pdf](http://www.romaeducationfund.hu/sites/default/files/publications/kertesi-kezdi-budgetarybenefits.pdf).

- . 2008. “A Roma És Nem Roma Fiatalok Középiskolai Továbbtanulása. Első Eredmények a TÁRKI-Educatio Életpálya-Felmérés Alapján.” *Társadalmi Riport* 10 (1): 344–62.
- . 2009. “Általános Iskolai Szegregáció Magyarországon Az Ezredforduló Után.” *Közgazdasági Szemle* LVI (november): 959–1000.
http://epa.oszk.hu/00000/00017/00164/pdf/1_kertesi-kezdi.pdf.
- . 2010. “Iskolázatlan Szülők Gyermekai És Roma Fiatalok a Középiskolában [Children of Roma and Uneducated Parents in Hungarian Secondary Schools].” *BUDAPESTI MUNKAGAZDASÁGTANI FÜZETEK* 3.
- . 2012a. “A Roma És Nem Roma Tanulók Teszteredményei Közti Különbségekről És E Különbségek Okairól.” *BUDAPESTI MUNKAGAZDASÁGTANI FÜZETEK* 5.
<http://www.econ.core.hu/file/download/bwp/bwp1205.pdf>.
- . 2012b. “A Roma És Nem Roma Tanulók Teszteredményei Közti Különbségekről És E Különbségek Okairól.” *BUDAPESTI MUNKAGAZDASÁGTANI FÜZETEK* 5.
- Kóczé, Angéla. 2009. “Missing Intersectionality.” *POLICY STUDIES SERIES*.
<https://cps.ceu.edu/sites/default/files/publications/cps-policy-study-missing-intersectionality-2009.pdf>.
- Kóczé, Angéla, and Lidia Balogh. 2011. “Roma Women in Focus - Current Issues in Europe Regarding the Social and Political Inclusion of Romani Women- Policy Paper Issued for the Roma Women in Focus Conference Held in Budapest.” http://www.red-network.eu/resources/toolip/doc/2013/01/28/romani_women_social_inclusion-in-europe.pdf.
- Kóczé, Angéla, and Ewa Cukrowska. 2013. “Interplay between Gender and Ethnicity : Exposing Structural Disparities of Romani Women.”
<http://www.eurasia.undp.org/content/dam/rbec/docs/Exposing-structural-disparities-of->

Romani-women.pdf.

Központi Statisztika Hivatal. 2013. “A Foglalkoztatottság És a Munkanélküliség Regionalis Különbségei, 2012.”

<https://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xftp/idoszaki/regiok/debrecenfogl munk12.pdf>.

L. Ritók, Nóra. 2015. “Mi Lesz Veled Brigitta?”

<http://ferge85.fergezszusa.hu/index.php/irasok/publication/l-ritok-nora-mi-lesz-veled-brigitta/36?layout=mobile&tmpl=component#page/24>.

Lisko, Ilona. 2008. “Szakképzés És Lemorzsolódás.” In *Zöld Könyv - A Közoktatás Megújítása*, edited by Károly Fazekas, János Köllő, and Júlia Varga, 95–121.

http://www.mtaki.hu/file/download/zk/zoldkonyv_oktatas_04.pdf.

Liskó, Ilona. 2001. “Cigány Tanulók És Pedagógusok.” In *Romák És Oktatás*, edited by Andor Mihály, 31–47. Pécs: Iskolakultúra. <http://www.iskolakultura.hu/ikultura-folyoirat/documents/books/Rom%E1k%E9s%20oktat%E1s.pdf>.

Ministry of Human Resources. 2011. “NATIONAL SOCIAL INCLUSION STRATEGY - Hungary.”

http://ec.europa.eu/justice/discrimination/files/roma_hungary_strategy_en.pdf.

Nagy, Anasztazia. 2015. “Realizing the Rights of Marginalized and Disadvantaged Women and Girls PANEL DISCUSSION - Creating a Platform for Romani Women and Girls: Making Them Heard and Seen through Education.” In .

Nemenyi, Mária. 1999. “Biológia Vagy Kultúra? Termékenységgel Kapcsolatos Szerepviselekedések a Roma Nők Között.”

http://www.sulinet.hu/oroksegtar/data/magyarorszagi_nemzetisegek/romak/a_ciganyok_magyarorszagon/pages/006_Biologia_vagy_kultura.htm.

OECD and European Commission. 2015. “EDUCATION POLICY OUTLOOK - HUNGARY.”

- Oktatáskutató és Fejlesztő Intézet [Hungarian Institute for Educational Research and Development]. 2014. "A VÉGZETTSÉG NÉLKÜLI ISKOLAEHAGYÁS ELLENI KÖZÉPTÁVÚ STRATÉGIA."
- http://ofi.hu/sites/default/files/attachments/nemzeti_strategiak.pdf.
- Ónody-Molnár, Dóra. 2016. "Új Trend: Érettségi Helyett Közmunka." *168 Óra*, May 21.
- <http://www.168ora.hu/itthon/dr-ambekar-gimnazium-orsos-janos-hatranyos-helyzetu-kozmunka-gimnazium-145571.html>.
- Origo. 2013. "Nyíregyháza-Zürich Expressz." <https://vimeo.com/channels/nyiregyhazazurich>.
- Pantea, Maria-carmen. 2009. "Gender Mainstreaming in the National Action Plans for the Decade of Roma Inclusion."
- https://www.researchgate.net/publication/242550234_Gender_Mainstreaming_in_the_National_Action_Plans_for_the_Decade_of_Roma_Inclusion.
- Pavee Point Traveller and Roma Centre. 2014. "Roma and Education."
- <http://www.paveepoint.ie/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/Roma-and-Education.pdf>.
- Phenjalipe. 2014. "Strategy on the Advancement of Romani Women and Girls."
- [https://cs.coe.int/team20/cahrom/8th CAHROM Plenary meeting/Phenjalipe Strategy on the Advancement of Romani Women and Girls \(2014-2020\)_final EN.pdf](https://cs.coe.int/team20/cahrom/8th%20CAHROM%20Plenary%20meeting/Phenjalipe%20Strategy%20on%20the%20Advancement%20of%20Romani%20Women%20and%20Girls%20(2014-2020)_final%20EN.pdf).
- Radó, Péter. 2011. "Roma Gyerekek És Az Iskola 2: Az Oktatáspolitikai Kudarcáról." *OktpolCafé*. <http://oktpolcafe.hu/roma-gyerekek-es-az-iskola-2-az-oktataspolitika-kudarcrol-482/>.
- Réger, Zita. 1995. "Cigány Gyerekek Nyelvi Problémái És Iskolai Esélyei." *Iskolakultúra* 5 (24).
- Revenge, Ana, Dena Ringold, and Wiliam Martin Tracy. 2002. "Poverty and Ethnicity."
- Roma Education Fund. 2007. "Advancing Education of Roma in Hungary."
- http://www.romaeducationfund.hu/sites/default/files/publications/hungary_assessment_e

nglish.pdf.

Roma Tájház - Hodász. 2014. "Roma Tájház - Hodász."

Rumberger, Russell W. 2011. *DROPPING OUT Why Students Drop out of High School and What Can Be Done about It*. <http://mina.education.ucsb.edu/rumberger/book/ch1.pdf>.

Scharle, Ágota, and János Köllő. 2011. "A KÖZCÉLÚ FOGLALKOZTATÁS KIBŐVÜLÉSÉNEK CÉLZOTTSÁGA, IGÉNYBEVÉTELE ÉS HATÁSA A TARTÓS MUNKANÉLKÜLISÉGRE."

http://www.budapestinstitute.eu/uploads/BI_kozcelu_kut_jelentes_2011aug30.pdf.

Sz. Vrancsik, Éva. 2015. "Álmosdon Ég a Roma-Láng." <http://www.haon.hu/almosdon-eg-a-roma-lang/2831136>.

Szuhay, Péter. 2002. "AKIKET CIGÁNYOKNAK NEVEZNEK." In *A CIGÁNYSÁG TÁRSADALOMISMERETE*, edited by Terézia Reisz.

[http://www.iskolakultura.hu/ikultura-folyoirat/documents/books/A cig%El_nys%El_g t%El_rsadalomismerete.pdf](http://www.iskolakultura.hu/ikultura-folyoirat/documents/books/A_cig%El_nys%El_g_t%El_rsadalomismerete.pdf).

Török, Ildikó. 2016 Political participation and representation of Roma in Hungary, term paper for Comparative Political Science class

Török, Ildikó. 2016 From the vicious circle to the virtuous circle, term paper for Roma Inclusion Policies in Europe class

Török, Ildikó. 2016 FIELD REPORT- THE RIGHT TO EDUCATION IN 21ST CENTURY- A BASIC HUMAN RIGHT, NOT A PRIVILEGE, TERM PAPER FOR ROMA EXCLUSION ON EDUCATION CLASS (JOINT PAPER)

"Van Helyed Model Program." n.d. <http://vanhelyed.org/en>.

Vincze, Barbara. 2013. "Hello Schatzi, Jössz Fickizni?"

<http://www.origo.hu/itthon/20130717-a-zurichben-dolgozo-magyar-prostitualtak-elete.html>.

White, M. Julia. 2012. "Pitfalls and Bias: Entry Testing and the Overrepresentation of Romani Children in Special Education."

http://www.romaeducationfund.hu/sites/default/files/publications/pitfalls-and-bias-screen_singlepages.pdf.

World Bank. 2010. "Europe and Central Asia Roma Inclusion: An Economic Opportunity for Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Romania and Serbia Policy Note."