Black and white trapped in integration

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Abstract

During the last decade sociological research revealed a high number of segregated classes and schools in Hungary in which Romani students study separated from their non-Romani peers in public educational institutions. The Ministry of Education facing the segregation manner of these schools developed integration tools and established a National Educational Integration Centre and Network to promote integration. While the Ministry initiated several changes in the legal content of the Act on Public Education, implemented additional educational programs and introduced new normative financial systems to compensate and finance the extended tasks and duties of schools as well as aimed to eliminate the existing shortcomings that Romani and socially disadvantaged students face in schools, definite barriers still inhibits realisation of integration, equity and multicultural diversity for Romani students. This paper aims to analyse the implementation and realisation of this integration strategy identifying critically the weak points and revealing the emerging threats, as well as the shortcomings of the employed policies and side effects of the applied methods. Finally I offer policy recommendations to the relevant stake-holders in order to improve the integration policy and effectively create a non-selective and non-discriminatory education system.

1. Introduction

In Hungary according to recent statistical data 908.000 students attend primary school in 2003/04, 22.000 children less then in the previous year – due to the falling born rate. Nevertheless in remedial special schools and classes the number of participants has slightly increased recently up to 53.000 students.

Since Hungary ratified the Act LXIII of 1992 on the Protection of Personal Data and the Publicity of Data of Public Interest (hereafter: Data Protection Act), schools are prohibited to register pupils as Roma that hinders gathering relevant statistical information on the real number of Romani students. The last national representative survey including real education statistic on Roma was conducted in 1993, more than 10 years ago. Since there have been a significant shift in the school population as well as changes in the education system, we can reckon only trends concerning the participation of Romani children at different level of schools. Despite the fact that we may conclude that the number of Romani children studying and finishing primary school has been considerably increased, as well as their participation in secondary schools, but the number of students leaving the secondary education institutions with a final exam is still very law. While in 1993 - based on representative data - the 50 percent of non-Romani children got admission in secondary schools, in case of Romani children this ratio was only 3 percent. Nowadays based on the statistics of the Ministry of Education 94 percent of Romani students finish primary schools, and 85 percent carry on further education Though many of them never complete the secondary school since the dropout rate of Romani children is meaningfully high, near to 40 percent (Havas-Kemény, 1995).

Recent sociological research (Kertesi-Kézdi, 1996; Radó, 1997; Babusik 2000; Havas-Kemény-Liskó 2002; 2004) claims that the low performance and high drop-out rate of Romani students are due to a set of interweaving factors. These research gathered and analysed all related relevant factors: the role of pre-school education in Kindergartens, impact of deprived settlement, school facilities, equipment and buildings on school standards, undemanding requirements in school; hidden curricula in schools; discriminative attitude and negative expectations of teachers; selective and segregating mechanisms of schools; law qualification of parents; lack of motivation; tense situation between family and school, and all other consequences of *unequal access to quality education*.

Comprehensive sociological research has focused on schools with a high ratio of Romani children¹ and revealed segregation and substandard education of Romani children as a universal phenomenon in the Hungarian public education system almost at all level and in all education forms where Romani students are present². The research revealed that while numerous segregated Roma schools emerged based residential segregation of Romani neighbourhoods (*spontaneously, unintentionally segregated schools*), on areas with mixed population there are other forms of segregation that occur. Education institutions with mixed school population showed tendencies to separate Romani children in separate classes (*segregated classes*) arguing with implementing special school curricula (e.g. special pedagogical talent care programs targeting non-Romani and catch-up programs targeting Romani students).

The high ratio of Romani children in remedial special schools (originally established for mentally handicapped children) has anything to do with the capability of Romani children but on the contrary draw the attention to the shortcomings of the present education system and education policy. According to the report of the Parliamentary Commissioner for National and Ethnic Minority Rights (hereinafter: ombudsman) the Romani students are over represented in these institutions, moreover in same county (e.g. Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen county) the rate of Romani students following special remedial curriculum reaches 96 percent (Loss, 1998).

Several other forms of segregation occur in the education system. Primary schools often are not able to cope with the complex set of problems facing with the teaching of Romani students. Different social and cultural background, language or learning difficulties, ethnic origin, different socialisation seem to be "compelling" reasons for schools to move numerous Romani students into private student status. Without any chance returning to normal schools again, these students are squeezed out completely from the education system very soon.

The Ministry of Education facing the shocking results of segregation research developed a new strategy to promote integration.

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¹ Based on the last representative research of Kemény

² Based on international research we can conclude that these trends and phenomena appear in other countries of Central-Eastern-Europe (see: ERRC: STIGMATA, Segregated Schooling of Roma in Central and Eastern Europe)

In 2003 the Ministry established the National Educational Integration Centre and Network (hereinafter: Integration Centre and Network), meanwhile initiated several legal changes, too. The Integration Centre and Network aims to spread the new normative financial system and encourage the schools to apply for it. The centre is also responsible to develop a pedagogical background to the integrated education and consider the pre-conditions to implement successfully the new system.

In my policy paper I analyse the implementation and realization of this integration strategy. The research background of the Policy paper can be found in my Research paper (www. policy.hu/kurucz).

The method employed includes an analytical overview of expert studies and research, examination of the legal background, analysis of statistical data on education, completed with the interviewing of people working in special Roma educational programs and integration programs, employees of the integration network, teachers, school directors, Romani families and children. By way of conclusion, I will present recommendation to eliminate the disadvantages functioning of schools as well.

In the following chapters – based on my research findings – after analyzing the legal changes and the new education policy (*integration policy*), I examine the applied tools in that sense that to which extent they are able to promote the integration and multicultural education in schools. While analyzing the new integration tools (primary the normative financing system) I highlight the possible impact on the content and quality of education in schools which used to face the critics of segregation and low standard education level. Finally I identify the threats and shortcomings of the integration policy that may place obstacles in the way of effective integration. In the last chapter I make policy recommendations to develop more effective integration policies in order to promote access for equal opportunity and realisation of a less selective and discriminative education system.

2. Shortcomings of the Hungarian education system

Recent results of the *Programme for International Student Assesment, 2003 (hereinafter: PISA)* carried out in the OECD countries drew the attention to the general shortcomings of the Hungarian education system (OECD, 2004).³ Fifteen-year old Hungarian children scored well below the average on exercises testing their reading ability, text comprehension, mathematics and natural sciences. According to the socio-economic status-index⁴ of the between-country comparison, in other countries, despite the fact that family background has a fundamental influence on the performance of the students it does not automatically lead to students falling in school. On the contrary, in Hungary, the differences in opportunities that can be attributed to family background determine performance in school, far more than in any other OECD country. In addition, access to unequal opportunity increases in time with each year spent in school.

The Institute for Research in Education (Oktatáskutató Intézet), has recently carried out two similar studies in schools with a high ratio of Romani students. (Havas-Kemény-Liskó 2002; 2004). The results indicate that the poor performance in school of the Romani students are based on three main factors:

- 1.) *pre-conditions*: lack of pre-schooling; family background: marginalised situation, social and economical status of the parents, low professional qualification of relatives and parents; different socialisation; different language socialisation; lack of cultural capital;
- 2.) *determining factors*: size of the settlement; placement of school on the settlement; performance of school employees quality of school services; discrimination; the percentage of Romani and non-Romani children in school and classes; relationship between family and school; lack of mediators (Romani teachers, family co-ordinators, Romani social workers); segregation, lack of multicultural curricula

⁴ OECD (2004), Learning for tomorrow's world: First results from PISA 2003, Figure 4.8, p.176

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Http://www.oki.hu/cikk.php?kod=2005-01-vt-Felvegi-Gyorsjelentes.html

3.) *reinforcing factors:* old and rigid pedagogical models, rigid school system; shortcomings of the Hungarian education system (e.g. lack of independent individual learning ability; predominating lexical demands over practical applications); intolerance; negative expectations and attitudes of teachers; hidden curricula; selective and segregating school mechanisms.

While the factors of the first group are responsible for the occurrence of the early disadvantages, the factors identified in the second group prevent Romani from having access to quality education and, as a consequence, their fundamental rights are affected. Finally, due to the factors in the third group, largely attributable to the institution system and the general content of education, initial deficiencies accumulate during school years and finally become severe flaws.

Recent sociological research proves that the segregation of Romani children is present at all levels and forms of the education system: segregation may occur between schools in the same town, between classes within a school, and within a class, where Romani children can be segregated as individuals. Based on estimations by researchers there are approximately 700 completely segregated Romani classes in Hungary today, which means about 8000 Romani students receive low level education that may place definite obstacles in the way of their secondary or higher education studies. Based on residential segregation of Romani neighbourhoods several schools spontaneously segregated with a 90-100 percent overwhelming Romani school population.

Another disadvantageous mechanism of the Hungarian education system facing Romani children is their placement to remedial special schools in disproportionately high numbers. Subsequently the normative support for mentally handicapped children increased, the number of students in remedial special schools has increased also from 3.5 percent (2000) to 5.6 percent (2004). It shows that the normative support has a strong impact on the number of students labelled as mentally handicapped. At present, this number is two times higher than the average in the European Union⁵. On one hand, this shows the strong effect of the systemoriented management of these institutions: if the system needs more children, it absorbs more. On the other hand, besides *de facto* mentally handicapped students, children with writing or counting disorders (dyslexia, dysgraphia, dyscalculia) or behavioural problems may belong to

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⁵ http://www.romnet.hu/interju/mohacsiv.html

the same category in Hungary and are victims of transfer procedures, because they do not get the extra attention and differentiated education in the normal classes which they belong to.

Furthermore, the failure of socially disadvantaged Romani children on tests by Remedial Expert Comities often resulted in lack of pre-schooling education or culturally biased tests.

According to the research of the Hungarian Ombudsman, the proportion of Romani students in special remedial schools is approximately 6-7 times higher than the one of Romani children within the normal education system (Kaltenbach, 2000). In some special remedial schools in the countryside, Romani student account for 90-100 percent of total school population (Loss, 1998), which shows that these schools educate pseudo-handicapped Romani children in large numbers.

Romani children also lack access to integrated education in some schools with mixed school population. Due to pressure from non-Romani parents to keep their children in local schools, their maintainers often co-operate to create special educational programs in order to separate non-Romani and Romani children. They may launch special pedagogical programs for talented children aiming at gathering non-Romani children in one class and Romani children in another class, or they launch catch-up programs for Romani students to separate them.

The private student status is also a form of segregation. Through this, the school expels Romani children from school. Research and interviews with teachers, Romani children and their parents, have shown that once children are taken out of normal classes, the school practically ceases to function as an educational institution for them. The pupils are thus left on their own to face the difficulties of studying. In the current school system, the private pupil status is an opportunity for the school to avoid its responsibilities in education and instruction.

3. Institutional background of the integration policy

In 2003 the Ministry of Education established the National Educational Integration Centre and Network to promote integration in the field of education. The Network consists of three regional offices (in North-Hungary, in North-Plain, South-Transdanubium) besides the co-

ordinating central office, which is located in Budapest. The Network is responsible to popularise a new normative financial system for schools that want to take part in the "integration process". The Centre aims also to co-ordinate redirection of misplacement of Romani children in remedial school. It aims to promote that mentally healthy children would not go to remedial special schools due to cultural-ciased test, selective education system or mistakes of the Expert Committies.

In 2003 the OOIH assigned 45 schools to basis-institution. The teachers of these schools had to complete training focused on the Integrated Pedagogical System (IPR). Subsequently they had to develop their own complex model programs and methodology. Basis-institutions had to offer information and several services to other schools (50kms distance), such as organising professional presentations, visits, and ex-change programs for teachers, sport programs and quiz for children, etc. They were entitled to receive EUR 20.000-24.000 grant for their extended tasks (20 percent for management costs).

According to my research findings these basis-institutions aiming at implementing integration programs did not always meet the requirements prescribed in the MKM decree, which should have been occur in the selection process. Without an independent monitoring body assessing the integration process time to time at the local level, only accidentally came to truth if a "model-school" requesting integration normative did not necessarily took into consideration the special needs of Romani students, did not make real changes in its pedagogy practise, educated Romani students segregated, or surprisingly did not educate any Romani students at all in the school. In same case they happened to lack of appropriate institutional background, or they were not able to co-operate successfully with the local Kindergarten, the local government or the minority self-government, which all jeopardized the integration process.

Problems occurred concerning the functioning of the expertise network too that aimed to promote the realisation of integration at local level. The network consisted of *small regional co-ordinators* and counsellors. The co-ordinators were usually Romani youngsters, responsible to co-ordinate the integration process between schools and other institutions locally and counsellors supposed to be professors, educational experts responsible for further developing the integration pedagogy and helping the adaptation process. Due to adhoc selection process of persons, lack of expertise, proficiency and definite tasks, furthermore without prescribed competency, responsibility this personal support and network resulted in low level performance and missing added value.

4. Normative financing system

A ministerial decree, the *Guidelines for Nursery School and School Education of National* and *Ethnic Minorities*⁶ used to ensure a legal opportunity for schools and their maintainers to create separated "catch-up" classes for Romani students for a long time.

Between 1998 and 2003 the normative support was distributed based on certain requirements relating to the ethnic content of programs. The discriminative aspect of this decree is evident in the fact that none of the education provisions for other minorities contained suggestions to implement catch-up programs for the members of the minority group; this is stated only in the case of Roma students.

The schools justified the creation of homogenous Romani or non-Romani classes in mixed schools in various ways. Dividing classes based on the capability of students was perhaps the most common of them. School officials often made use of special pedagogical programs for talented students to gather all non-Romani students in one class. Conversely, catch-up or remedial classes were launched to bring together all Romani students within an other class that followed substandard curricula possibly with less qualified teachers. Such type of segregation kept the non-Romani groups of students from meeting and getting acquainted with the norms and values of their Romani peers while perpetuating a negative image on Roma.

In an attempt to eliminate the negative tendencies within the catch-up programs and their financing system, the Ministry of Education introduced new types of normatives from 2003. The 57/2002. (XI.18.) OM decree of the Ministry of Education⁷ enacted (additionally to the 11/1994.MKM decree) ⁸ the 39/D.§ (4) and the (39/E.§) (4) paragraphs about *the talent-care and integration programs* aiming to promote the integration process among children coming from different social and cultural background. The "talent-care normative" is basically the renamed form of "catch-up normative" as far as supporting the children in catching-up goes.

⁶ Decree No. 32/1997 of the Ministry of Education

⁷ In: 143.sz. Magyar Közlöny

School maintainers can request the *talent-care normative support* for a child if three conditions are present: 1.) the parents did not complete more than eight classes of primary school and 2.) receive regular family allowance (in addition, the director has the right to establish the children's needs independently in 10 percent of the cases) and 3.) the proportion of children participating in the integration process is between 50-80 percent from the total number of students in the school and 25-50 percent between two parallel classes.

The maintainers may request the *integration normative support* with similar preconditions for children who already participate in talent-care programs. The normative support bring a significant contribution for programs at schools with a mixed population⁹, while schools with an overwhelmingly disadvantaged school population are deprived from the two normative types at the same time. Schools receiving the integration normative must take an active part in the desegregation process and are obliged to integrate 10 percent of disadvantaged students into other classes. Furthermore they must promote pedagogical changes in the first, fifth and ninth grade classes to promote equal access to education for all disadvantaged students. In 2003, based on the ministry's estimation, approximately 2000 students participated in the programs.

Despite of the fact that the integration policy is largely based on research that revealed the *Romani* children to be segregated in the education system (Havas-Kemény-Liskó 2002; 2004), the existing education policy and the normative support targets on *disadvantaged children* in general, not specifically on Roma. Consequently, this *mainstream policy* can cause a double mistake a.) *supporting the integration process of schools without a Romani school population b.) not supporting schools with Romani children studying within completely segregated circumstances.* According to my research, there are examples for both types in the Hungarian education system, which draws attention to the fact that this integration policy missed its intended target.

Several misuses of the present financing options also constitute a critical point and need to be revised. Schools and maintainers have a strong interest and an easy opportunity to manipulate the data concerning the number of disadvantaged children. There are several ways to do this. For instance:

⁸ In: Oktatási Közlöny 2003. aug.6-i száma

⁹ The sum of talent-care normative is HUF 17.000 (EUR 68) and the integration normative is HUF 51.000 (EUR 204) after each child.

- if a school asks only half of the children's parents to declare their disadvantaged status then the other half *seemed to* belong to the other category, therefore the school may take on the integration normative support
- the municipality applying for integration normative support from a certain settlement may only ask mixed schools to declare the number of disadvantaged students and exclude ghetto schools from the survey. This manipulation ensures that the integration normative will meet the requirements.
- schools with disadvantaged students without any Romani children use the integration normative (and teach multicultural curricula) although there is nobody to integrate
- by the end of the year schools direct some "disadvantaged" students to the parallel class, meeting the requirements of the educational decree, who are not Romani. Therefore segregation between Roma and non-Roma will further increase, and Romani students are getting in more marginalised situation.

Without defining the exact target group of an integration process, the ministry seems to slip out of the responsibility to monitor the real effects of the implementation of the policy. Without an appropriate, regular monitoring system and follow-up checks on the use and financing of the integration normative, the integration process in the schools can not be examined and confirmed. Schools and their maintainers can misuse the normative in a way that will not result in any changes in the situation of Romani children.

5. The target group of the integration policy

One of the main disadvantages of the presented integration policy is that it contaminates the compensation of social disadvantages with ethnic discrimination and segregation. Consequently, this policy becomes ineffective in fighting against ethnic segregation.

Instead of financing the integration process the normative support are used to finance only institutions without measurable effect. Avoiding to define and identify the real target group leads to the result of the implementation becoming difficult to measure.

The number of requests for integration normative support is predictably not good indicator of the integration process. This may increase considerably in the following years but still may not cause any changes in the situation of Romani children.

We can agree that children coming from families where the parents are undereducated (8 or less completed classes), have permanent unemployment status, receive regular supplementary family allowance, suffer from residential deprivation, low economical, social status have very limited chance to break out from the vicious circle they were born into. To promote changes in the society, implementation of effective, complex governmental measures are necessary to be taken to achieve even access to opportunities.

We must realise that equalization and integration are against the interest of many social groups that want to save, reinforce and transmit (by heredity) their social status by means of holding other groups back in their positions. The government has to support the social integration of the Romani minority by legal, political, institutional and financial means. Through their policies and with the help from mass media, governments have a specific role in forming the social context, influencing social prejudices and minority images in order to foster a multicultural, thriving and vigorous civil society.

6. Unequal opportunities to normative financing, school merges

In Hungary the deprived type of settlement is significantly connected with other low economic indicators (pl. high unemployment rate, poor qualification, underprivileged social situation) of disadvantaged groups living there. Researchers (Havas-Kemény-Liskó, 2002; 2004) found that in these settlements a striking number of Romani students face the disadvantages of substandard education.

While the integration normative support ensures extra funding for schools with socially (and usually also ethnically) mixed school population, ghetto schools are deprived from this opportunity. Due to residential segregation Romani students do not have the chance to integrate with anyone. The school (based on parental request) can require ethnic normative to launch a Romani or Beash language program¹⁰, but many parents nowadays do not claim this right.

Concerning institutional and organizational background, equipment and human resources, schools located in this deprived environment have the lowest chance to provide quality education. Nevertheless, applying special educational programs (e.g. children centred pedagogy, co-operative learning, step-by-step programs, differentiated education) using trained and experienced teachers would have a crucial importance under these circumstances since these schools frequently lack basic conditions for their effective functioning.

There is a long lasting debate on closing or supporting these ghetto schools. The answer should be the result of a thorough analysis of local resources and conditions. Carrying the children to other settlements by bus, besides destroying their social relationships and undermining their sense of stability, may also hinder school attendance. Researchers argue that closing the local school (and post office, shops) may result in destroying future perspectives of the inhabitants.

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¹⁰ Beás vagy Romani nyelvoktatást a 32/1997 (V.11.) Nemzeti és Etnikai Kisebbségek Óvodai és Iskolai Oktatásának Irányelve (In: Magyar Közlöny 1997/1995.) szerint legalább nyolc szülő írásos kezdeményezése alaőján indulhat el.

Pre-school education is inevitably important in deprived villages. In small settlements Kindergartens prepare the children for schools and also compensate their flaws. Despite its primary importance, many villages (e.g., Gilvánfalva, Csenyéte) lack sufficient places in kindergarten. Therefore, Romani parents with a poor ability to assert their rights are often deprived from gaining access to kindergarten for their children.

Municipalities often lack sufficient financial resources to cover the expenses of all local services therefore they subordinate the qualitative functioning of institutions to financial rationalisation and economic interest. This happened to many kindergartens and primary schools (e.g. Miskolc, Nyíregyháza, Budapest) – municipalities merged 2 or 3 of them into one institution. In Miskolc 33 primary schools functioned in 2003-2004, then due to systematic merges this number decreased to 15 institutions in 2004. Unfortunately this "merge" happened only in principal, because in practise the children remained in two separated school buildings. It seems municipalities try to manipulate the rate of advantaged and disadvantaged students within one institution, and they merge homogenous Romani schools with homogenous non-Romani schools to show up the wanted figures. They can show that in the institution the proportion of Romani students is now 50 percent, that is an appropriate rate to request integration normative support. Still, there is no significant change in the situation of children.

Homogenous Romani schools are of two major types: a) substandard schools with poor conditions in all concerns (e.g. institution, staff, education) due to a combination of diverse factors or b) alternative quality education where the school tries to meet the demand of challenges based on the needs of children, they try to apply for extra money to cover the cost of differentiated schooling and programs to implement a high quality education.

These quality schools (e.g. Fazola Henrik Primary School in Miskolc running Step-by-Step program) got into worse conditions by merges. Recent research shows (Kertesi-Kézdi, 2004) that spontaneous segregation of schools can be reinforced due to administrative decisions.

While the Ministry of Education attempted to motivate the local governments to suspend running Romani and non-Romani classes in parallel, the maintainers of the schools found the small gaps in the regulations and used their funds for other purposes. These small gaps often undermined educational achievements and stopped effective programs.

According to researchers (Kertesi-Kézdi, 2004) distributing *vouchers* for parents would provide them with the opportunity to encourage schools directly to launch high quality programs that would create competition among them to attract more and more children.

The Ministry of Education promised to fund those segregated schools, which can increase the number of non-Romani children in the school until 2008. This seems to be quite an impossible precondition, while non-Romani parents will take extra effort to enrol their children to schools with low Romani population. Without adequate help and support from a monitoring system these schools can not make changes and offer real perspectives to children from advantageous position by themselves.¹¹

7. Conclusion

The lack of definition and of the real target group, the shortcomings of the normative system of institutions and the lack of an independent monitoring system may result in the misuse of normative support and a perpetuated abuse of the integration principle. The decentralised education system, the free choice of schools in any district and discriminative practices in schools significantly contribute to the fact that disadvantaged Romani children currently study, in a large proportion, in segregated schools and classes.

My research indicates that the talent-care and integration normative support do not fulfil their mission while centrally forced integration meets strong local resistance. While local governments protect their authority and rights, schools try to preserve their existing pedagogical practices. The negative attitude against Roma coupled with institutionalised prejudices also place obstacles in the way of integration.

According to the data of PISA, the educational performance of Hungarian children is determined by their origin and social background. Bringing substantial improvements to these main factors, as well as eliminating the negative reinforcing effect of schools, are the basic conditions to offer Roma real opportunities in the public education system and subsequently in real life.

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¹¹ Based on Lisko's finding in 2002, Romani parents do not agree with any forms of segregated, isolated teaching.

8. Policy recommendations to promote access to equal opportunities for Romani students in education

- Monitoring the real integration process of Romani children
- Identifying the difficulties in the integration process and finding appropriate tools to eliminate them
- To implement effective supporting programs to prevent high drop-out rates of Romani students in schools
- To launch a quality-control system in primary schools in order to check the quality of education given in segregated schools
- To promote employment of Romani social workers and teachers in schools
- To include information on socialisation and culture of Roma in teacher training
- To overview the present segregating mechanisms of schools and implement effective integration programs
- To help and motivate local parties, self-governments, to elaborate integrative programs applied to local circumstances instead of forcing nationally planned programs
- To define a clear target group of the integration programs
- To establish an effective monitoring system to gauge local needs and the implementation of the integration process as well as follow-up and evaluate the results of the programs for equal opportunities
- To critically revise the integration policy and its implementation
- Research the utilisation of normative support,
- examining the content and implementation of the integration programs,
 measuring their outcomes, collecting information on co-operations and its obstacles

- Identifying the preconditions and methods of carrying out effective integration programs, guarantee sufficient sources of funding to cover extra expenses.
- To work out ways to measure changes in the situation of Roma students.
- Spontaneously segregated schools must receive help (e.g. human resources, institutional development, financial sources) for quality education or institutional integration.
- Provide real chances for pseudo-handicapped children
- Examine the content of local co-operation with Romani organisations, and promote their empowerment to exercise real influence
- support schools in order to employ Roma family co-ordinators to improve communication and ease tensions between the school and parents of enrolled students
- Revise the role and participation of local governments in education
- Implement programs to eliminate the negative selection mechanisms of schools (utilise the outcome of PISA)

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