



Civil society monitoring report on implementation of the national Roma integration strategy in Hungary

*Assessing progress
in key policy areas
of the strategy*

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UCCU Roma Informal Educational Foundation
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on implementation
of the national Roma integration strategy
in Hungary**

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ÁRÉ	Permanent Roma Forum of Roma NGOs
AVM	The City is for All
CSO	Central Statistical Office
CSOK	Family Housing Allowance
EBH	Equal Treatment Authority
EFOP	Human Resource Development Operational Programme
EMMI	Ministry of Human Capacities
ERDF	European Regional Development Fund
ERRC	European Roma Rights Centre
ESF	European Social Fund
FRA	European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights
GINOP	Economic Development and Innovation Operational Programme
HEP	Local Equal Opportunities Programme
HMS	Household Maintenance-Cost Subsidy
HNSIS	Hungarian National Social Inclusion Strategy
KIP	Complex Instruction Programme
MTA	Hungarian Academy of Sciences
MTA KRTK	Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Centre for Economic and Regional Studies
MTVA	the Media Service Support and Asset Management Fund
NCC	National Core Curriculum
NEET	young people not in education, employment, or training
NEKI	Legal Defence Bureau for National and Ethnic Minorities
REF	Roma Education Fund
ReSzaSz	Trade Union of Residents and Specialists
RNÖ	Roma Local Government
TASZ	Hungarian Civil Liberties Union
TÁMOP	Social Renewal Operational Programme
TIE	Comprehensive school-based holistic health development
TOP	Territorial and Settlement Development Operational Programme
ODIHR	Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (OSCE).
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In the recent period, the indicators of the Hungarian Roma community available to research, for the most part, deteriorated. The deterioration of some of these indicators is linked to the general deterioration of state/municipal sector-level services: such as the deepening shortage of teachers and kindergarten teachers or the dropping availability of healthcare services. In respect of housing, the continued lack of a coherent housing policy, and the flow of housing subsidies to the middle-class are hindering the improvement of the situation of the poorest and the Roma. The indicators only showed improvement in the area of employment, which is primarily on account of wide-scale public employment schemes (which the government is just now planning to curb). Certain measures – such as, for example, reducing the mandatory school age to 16 – openly act against Roma integration, as also shown by the very first impact analyses. This will affect employment indicators negatively even in the medium-term.

Employment

For the moment, there is still very little data on the labour market situation of the Roma, the data available, however, continue to be distressing. There are two aspects that clearly impact the data: firstly, academic qualification is a key factor in terms of finding employment on the open labour market: close to 16 per cent of Roma between the age of 15-64 had not even finished primary school in 2015 and another 63 per cent only had basic academic qualifications. (These ratios for the non-Roma population were 1.0 and 19 per cent, respectively). Secondly, there are territorial disadvantages in play as well: 52 per cent of the Roma population are living in North Hungary and the Northern Great Plain, the regions with the most unfavourable employment conditions in Hungary. One in five people in public employment and one in eight unemployed were Roma in 2015 (while among those in active age, at the most one in ten are Roma).

The effects of labour market interventions are also limited by contrasting regulatory processes that hinder labour market integration, such as provisions resulting in the lowering school qualifications. After the lowering of the age limit, close to 15 per cent of 17-year old students dropped out of public education by 2017. Approximately two thirds of Roma young people between the ages of 18 and 24 were early school leavers, which in part explains why the ratio of Roma youths who are neither students nor employed is more than four times higher than for non-Roma youths.¹

The labour market indicators of the Roma were substantially improved in recent years by the wide-scale public employment system. Although the Strategy aims at developing and expanding the system, and places emphasis on the importance of the transition to the open labour market, the data do not inspire hope in this respect. Taking general involvement for 2016 into consideration, as well as the fact that Roma public workers have lower access to activation programs and are more likely to remain in public employment than enter the open labour market, it is likely that these programmes only reached a limited number of Roma. Another relevant issue is the efficiency of these programmes. In 2016, only 34,687 people took part in trainings,² and only 10 per cent of participants found jobs in the open labour market.

It is today a regularly recurring criticism of labour services that they are not always capable of providing the most sufficient, suitable and tailor-made services to special disadvantaged groups. Concerned persons would be reached more efficiently through more active role

¹ <http://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xftp/idoszaki/munkerohelyz/munkerohelyz17.pdf>

² The 2016 information document draws attention to the fact that a given person was entitled to receive the training grant twice. There is, however, no data on how many people this concerned.

assumption by local family support services and their harmonised operation with other institutions (labour representative offices, retraining institutes, employers).

Although numerous employment programmes and schemes have been launched in recent years, there is very little data available on how these programmes reach the Roma, which in itself gives cause for worry. Access to programme results is also highly restricted – and difficult – and as such it is difficult to assess their actual impact. Taking into account programme size, the quantified results made available and the fact that very few good practices can be observed for the targeted reaching of those in the most disadvantageous position from a labour market perspective, it is a concern that the Roma are not involved in these programmes to a justified extent and are not among the few that manage to transition to the primary labour market with the help of these programmes.

Numerous studies have established that the low employment rates of the Roma cannot be explained merely with their low educational levels and unfavourable regional segregation, but with labour market discrimination as well. The number of cases that reached the EBH does not even come close to the number of actual discrimination cases.

Housing and essential public services

The housing conditions of the Roma population are considerably worse than average in respect of both basic amenities and dwelling environment. Some of the Roma are living in segregation or in ghetto field settlements, in very low standard dwellings, and lacking the most fundamental conditions. Low-status residential zones and segregated areas are, for the most part, left out of major settlement developments; at the most, there are small-scale interventions as part of European Union tenders. The forcing out of the most vulnerable from municipal dwellings is no isolated practice, and neither is discrimination against Roma residents, see the events in Miskolc for example.³ The housing of the Roma population is greatly defined by the fundamental and general properties of the Hungarian housing policy system.

The portfolio of municipal housing is minimal at the national level as well but is almost completely missing in disadvantaged (small) settlements. It is also a general trend that the poorest, including the Roma, are increasingly pushed out of social housing. Municipalities “only utilise part of the housing volume for social purpose in name. The ratio of municipal dwellings in settlements is less than 1 per cent (0.7 per cent). In the context of European Union projects aimed at segregated areas, municipalities of small settlements have the opportunity to establish social housing, and such projects will be implemented in 110 settlements in the 2014-2020 development cycle. Social urban rehabilitation programmes also contribute to increasing the social housing portfolio – but overall, these can only reduce deficiencies and shortcomings to a minimal degree. Moreover, there are some municipalities that – fearing conflicts and resistance from the village – are not even submitting applications to tenders. In a settlement in Heves County, the representative body withdrew from a winning application, thereby losing hundreds of millions in development funds.

According to Eurostat data, the ratio of households overburdened by housing costs deteriorated in the past two data years. Although the situation improved between 2012 and 2016, it again started to decline in recent years (2016-2017). In both 2010 and 2017, the problem affected approximately one tenth of households. The 2012-2016 data indicate that the wide-scale public utility cost reduction programme by the Hungarian government somewhat alleviated affordability problems. The measure, on average, allowed for a 10 per cent price reduction in respect of gas, electricity and district heating from January 2013. The price cut, however, did not apply to households heating with wood or coal.

³ <https://www.osce.org/odihr/262051>

During the transformation of housing subsidies and social services in recent years, the weight of a regular benefit form, one that provided greater social security decreased; while the weight of a fundamentally ad-hoc benefit type increased. The low standard of housing-related benefits and services, the lack of municipal social housing and the overall anomalies of the housing policy jointly contribute to the indebtedness of the poor and, in given cases, their eviction. According to the Ministry of Justice, there were 1,355 evictions in the second quarter of 2018, but approximately 900,000 households would require some sort of instrument or support to increase housing security. The removal of children from families and placing them in child protection care is an existing problem. The European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC) has pointed out in several of its reports that Roma children living in poverty are over-represented in state care, meaning that the rate of removal from the family in their case is high.

While the government spends considerable budgetary funds to support the housing of higher income social groups (e.g. the Family Housing Allowance; the reduction of the value-added tax on new homes; increasing the VAT refund support related to home construction), it pays significantly less attention to improving the living circumstances of the poorest. These latter are served almost exclusively by local projects implemented using European Union funds. These local projects do accomplish minor and major results, but their sustainability is doubtful and they represent minimal progress at the macro-level. Moreover, these are only implemented where there is municipal intent in place.

Impact of health care policies on Roma

In Hungary, the general deterioration of the quality and availability of healthcare services⁴ primarily affect lower socioeconomic status groups, including the members of Roma communities. This is also true in terms of avoidable deaths, in an EU comparison Hungary is among the countries with the worst indicators in this respect. Moreover, in Hungary, the difference between the financial situation of the richest and poorest echelons of society is almost tenfold. 55.5 per cent of the individuals that described themselves as "Roma/gypsy" live in severe material deprivation, in contrast with only 13.8 per cent of the entire population. Consequently, the members of Roma communities in Hungary are significantly impacted by the issue of low birth weight births and premature births, and their life expectancy is also lower.

The settlement-level and regional disadvantages are also reflected in healthcare indicators. On the map of districts' complex development disparities, disadvantaged regions show a high-degree of overlap with areas more densely populated by Roma. The aging of general practitioners and general practitioner's districts that remain without a GP long-term are fundamental problems. The number of unfilled general practitioner's practices is increasing, and more and more patients do not have a GP. Most of the general practitioner's districts persistently without a GP are in underprivileged areas, where the highly visible group of Roma communities are concentrated as well. The health visitor system⁵ aligned with the general practitioners' service is an exemplary healthcare service in Hungary. The geographic distribution of unfulfilled health visitor positions covers and exceeds the residential areas where Roma communities in Hungary are concentrated. More than 128 thousand infants and children do not receive the required equal opportunity services due to substitutions, which means seven percent of all those eligible for the service.

The prevailing social practice of using gratuities and the difficulty of finding the resources to pay for such gratuities is a severe burden for lower socioeconomic status groups,

⁴ https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/2017-european-semester-country-report-hungary-en_1.pdf, p. 25

⁵ http://www.euro.who.int/_data/assets/pdf_file/0008/80783/E84926.pdf, p. 61

including the members of Roma communities, meaning that these individuals are more likely to suffer the negative consequences of this system than others.

Targeted programmes (e.g. school-based health development, training of Roma mediators, the *Bari Shej* programme, programmes related to training of healthcare workers) are not suitable to mitigate inequalities that arise as a result of the problems in basic healthcare services.

Related to the negative discrimination observed in healthcare, high latency is reflected in the low number of cases brought before the Equal Treatment Authority.

In general, it can be established that stereotypical approaches related to the Roma at the level of documents have taken a backseat in recent years. They are, however, still present in the services provided by the institutions of society, and at the level of individual interactions.

Education

In the recent period, the regulation by the government of education has been contradictory in respect of equal opportunities and Roma integration. Certain measures greatly contribute to the development of severely disadvantaged children, such as, for example, the measure on the mandatory enrolment of children into kindergarten effective as of 1 September 2015. Other encouraging measures – to some extent – are the introduction of a dual training scheme from 2012 that supports companies that are willing to train students or the operation of Roma colleges.

Other measures have the opposite effect, and actually lead to closing down avenues of learning and social mobility: for example, the introduction of 3-year vocational school training or the reduction of public knowledge training hours. There are virtually no paths leading from vocational schools to vocational grammar schools and grammar schools, where a baccalaureate diploma can be earned, which is a process that clearly reinforces segregation within the structures of education. The current training structure forces the majority of Roma youths into a form of training from which there is no way to progress even if they want to. Moreover, the reduction of the mandatory school age to 16 has increased dropout rates tremendously.

The professional supervision system – despite considerable regulatory work in this field – is weak and unsupervised in its operation. The quality of early childhood education and school education is threatened by the chronic shortage of educators and teachers, something to which the government has been unable to find solutions for years. One tenth of the settlements are facing kindergarten teacher resourcing issues, mostly affecting the countryside and the eastern part of the country. At the beginning of July 2018, there were 2,400 open positions advertised on the public administration jobs portal for primary and secondary school teachers. The significant shortage of teachers contributes greatly to unchanging dropout rates (today every second Roma youth drops out of school without any qualifications (early school leaving) from the Hungarian educational system), and the most significant service disruptions arise in areas where disadvantaged families are overrepresented. In addition, most Roma youths are taught in segregated classes, where it is very difficult to provide quality education. In the recent period, the rate of segregation has increased, primarily due to the rise in the number of non-state schools. The latest research results show that the gap between Roma and non-Roma society is growing dramatically as a result of segregated education.

In respect of the content-related regulation of education, it can be stated that although the National Curriculum does mention the Roma community in certain sections, the analyses show that the course books in Hungary have only reached the level of the concept of cultural expansion and addition, with multiple errors and deficiencies. In addition, the curriculum in Hungary lacks in general the elements of social knowledge that would make

the general issues of poverty and exclusion comprehensible. It is, therefore, not surprising that surveys conducted among secondary school students, and college/university students show that young people have very little information on people threatened by social exclusion, such as those living with disabilities, the poor, the homeless or the 13 ethnicities living in Hungary, and that the degree of solidarity expressed is rather low.

There are numerous, for the most part EU-funded, programmes and schemes currently ongoing in education, focused on diverse topics from early childhood development through reducing early school leaving to creating opportunities. At the same time, it can be said in respect of all the programmes that proportionate to the size of the problems and the large number of those in need, they reach a relatively narrow group and as such their effect is limited, while it is also true for most that no related impact studies have been conducted.

Although several new civil application and individual scholarship opportunities are available, these barely scratch the surface of structural issues, such as the issue of selection, and instead of focusing on prevention they typically focus on the mitigation of the disadvantages caused by the educational system in a relatively narrow scope.

Case Studies

The case studies support the above observations and the correlations of the various processes and confirm these in the field. Primarily the fact that in the absence of a uniform opportunity-enhancing and creating concept, the decisions of the various sector-level policies could lead to results that cancel out their respective impacts. The case study of Nyírbátor shows that the town's support system facilitating job-seeking and employment is clearly forward-thinking and, for the time being, proving to be efficient. At the same time, the increasingly segregating educational structure growing in local education foreshadows local Roma youth arriving to the labour market with a disadvantage even greater than before.

The case study relating to the segregated areas in Bag and Dány examines a threat that is increasingly widespread nationwide, namely the impact of the spreading of designer drugs, from the perspective of local integration results. Based on the experiences of the civil society organisation that has been operating with success at the settlements for years, it can be established that without the elimination of the hopelessness and lack of opportunities that are considered to be the primary cause of widespread drug use, no significant change can be expected in this matter. The processes of recent years show that a civil society organisation with a tight budget is also able to generate results, even in the case of a community where all indicators are particularly poor on account of the accumulation of decades of disadvantages. If this is truly the case, substantially greater effect should be expected of a committed integration policy, due to the considerably greater resources and scope of powers of a state or a municipality, or the system of institutions operated by them. As far as designer drugs are concerned, actions by the authorities and cooperation between social, law enforcement, civil society and municipal levels is a necessity, the absence of which threatens integration initiatives and aspirations as well as the results achieved to date.

INTRODUCTION

This monitoring report analyses the education, housing, labour market and healthcare situation of the Roma community in Hungary, and the assumed effects of related government interventions. It summarises and analyses available data, attempting to uncover correlations through interviews with experts, participants and stakeholders. The report, where national data were available, interpreted these data and in given cases also carried out secondary expert analyses. Where no such data were available, it attempted to gain a picture on nationwide impact by way of expert and participant interviews. Where this particular opportunity was also limited, it outlined processes on the basis of a given local case study. Wherever possible, it attempted to present government measures in respect of their local impact, as well as within the context of the size and scope of the given problem. This was one of the greatest challenges: not to let the big picture fade away alongside the innumerable programmes and schemes listed in the progress reports, and to show the fact that the vast majority of these programmes are highly limited in scope.

The analysis is based on the cooperation of ten Roma organisations or organisations working to help the Roma community – the key focal points were defined together using the guide, and they jointly decided on the documents to be requested from government players and authorities, as well as on the finalised format of the report.

EMPLOYMENT

For the moment, there is still very little data on the labour market situation of the Roma.⁶ The data available, however, continue to be distressing. Academic qualification is a key factor in terms of finding employment in the open labour market⁷, but at the same time, close to 16 per cent of Roma between the ages of 15-64 had not even finished primary school in 2015 and another 63 per cent only had basic academic qualifications. These ratios for the non-Roma population were 1.0 and 19 per cent, respectively.⁸ In addition, 52 per cent of the Roma population are living in North Hungary and the Northern Great Plain, the regions with the most unfavourable employment conditions in Hungary.⁹

Labour market status of the population aged 15-64 (2015)			
	Employed	Unemployed	Inactive
Roma	39%	16%	45%
non-Roma	65%	4%	31%

Labour market status of the population aged 15-64 (2015)¹⁰

As a particularly striking figure, one in five people in public employment and one in eight unemployed were Roma in 2015 (while among those in active age, one in ten are Roma at the most).¹¹

Improving access to labour market and effectiveness of employment services

One of the priority objectives of the Hungarian National Social Inclusion Strategy (HNSIS) is to increase the employment rate and promote the labour market integration of the Roma and individuals with severe disadvantages from a labour market viewpoint.¹² In supporting the objectives defined, in the case of programmes implemented the Employment Department of the Heves County Government Office, for instance, also ensures mentoring services and external labour market services by involving civil society organisations and relevant institutions, by purchasing the aforementioned services.¹³ At the same time, a regularly recurring criticism of the National Employment Service is that "it is not always capable of providing the most sufficient, suitable and tailor-made services to special

⁶ *Civil társadalmi jelentés a Nemzeti Társadalmi Felzárkózási Stratégia megvalósításáról Magyarországon 2012-ben (Civil Society Monitoring Report on the Implementation of the National Roma Integration Strategy and Decade Action Plan in 2012 in Hungary)*, 2012, p. 65 Available at: http://autonomia.hu/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/civil-society-monitoring-report_hu.pdf

⁷ *Munkaerőpiaci helyzetkép 2016 (Labour Market Overview 2016)*, HCSO, p. 9 Available at: <https://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xftp/idoszaki/munkerohelyz/munkerohelyz16.pdf>

⁸ *Munkaerőpiaci helyzetkép 2015 (Labour Market Overview 2015)*, HCSO, p. 13 Available at: <https://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xftp/idoszaki/munkerohelyz/munkerohelyz15.pdf>. 2015 data were used to prepare the report as no similar data were available in the 2016 HCSO report.

⁹ *Ibid* p. 14

¹⁰ *Ibid* p. 14

¹¹ *Ibid* p. 15

¹² *Hungarian National Social Inclusion Strategy (HNSIS)*, p. 75 Available at: <http://romagov.kormany.hu/download/8/e3/20000/Strategia.pdf> and *Hungarian National Social Inclusion Strategy II*, p. 90 Available at: <http://romagov.kormany.hu/download/e/17/c0000/Magyar%20NTFS%20II.pdf>

¹³ Interview with Péter Fenyves, Head of the Employment Department of the Heves County Government Office. Interviewed by: Zsombor Farkas on 17.08.2018 for the purpose of preparing this report.

disadvantaged groups and to job-seekers and inactive persons.”¹⁴ Alongside others, the Permanent Roma Forum (Állandó Roma Értekezlet, ÁRÉ)¹⁵ has also pointed out¹⁶ that concerned persons would be reached more efficiently through more active role assumption by local family support services and their harmonised operation with other institutions (placement offices, retraining institutes, employers). In respect of how effectively the programmes reach their target groups, data is available only rarely or to a limited degree.¹⁷ Given that the ratio of Roma employees in the public servant and public employee sector is extremely low (0.1 per cent and 1.1 per cent, respectively, in contrast with the estimated 8.3 per cent in the civil sector),¹⁸ programmes focusing on these particular areas are of increased significance. However, the ratio of 2.6%¹⁹ estimated for the public sector would also require considerable improvement.

The HNSIS II classifies both young people and the Roma as employees at a disadvantage in terms of the labour market.²⁰ In respect of programmes facilitating transition from education to the labour market, relevant state grants were restarted in 2015.²¹ The Youth Guarantee Programme uses active labour market tools to facilitate the employment of young people below the age of 25. According to the monitoring report, 47,922 NEET (not in education, employment, or training) young people below the age of 25 took part in the Youth Guarantee Programme,²² while the number of participants employed as part of the programme was 31,651. The ratio of those obtaining qualification or certification was approximately 11 per cent, while the ratio of participants in employment six months after exiting the programme is slightly above 15 per cent.²³ No ethnicity data are available, but

¹⁴ Hajdu, Makó, Nábelek & Nyíró. (2018) *A Munkapiaci Szakpolitika Eszközei (2016. április – 2017. május) (Labour Market Policy Tools (April 2016 – May 2017))* in: Munkaerőpiaci Tükör 2017 (Labour Market Yearbook 2017). MTA KRTK. p. 188-189 Available at: http://www.mtakti.hu/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/mt_2016_hun_szakpolitika_eszkozei.pdf

¹⁵ The Permanent Roma Forum (Állandó Roma Értekezlet - ÁRÉ) is a consultation forum for Roma organisations and experts, which aims to elaborate and draw up professional positions, constructive criticism and specific recommendations in important public and socio-political matters. Relating to the planned changes, ÁRÉ has drawn up a policy analysis, as part of which we polled hundreds of public workers and also involved more than fifty Roma organisations at regional meetings.

¹⁶ *Igazságosság, képesség tétel és prevenció. Az Állandó Roma Értekezlet javaslatai a közfoglalkoztatáshoz kapcsolódóan (Equitableness, enablement and prevention. Proposals of the Permanent Roma Forum relating to public employment)*. ÁRÉ, Working document, 2018.

¹⁷ When preparing the report, as part of a request for access to data of public interest, we requested data regarding the GINOP 6.1.1. programme. Unfortunately, we did not receive the requested data by the statutory deadline. We received data only from the Ministry of the Interior but, for the most part, these were unsuitable to draw conclusions. The data made available only revealed that the ratio of those with low academic qualifications among the persons involved in training supporting public employment is 92.9%.

¹⁸ B. Simonovits B., J. Koltai (2013): *Munkáltatói attitűdök a védett tulajdonságú munkavállalók foglalkoztatásával összefüggésben Budapest: EBH TÁMOP-5.5.5 projekt társadalomtudományi kutatásai, 4. tanulmány (Employer attitudes relating to the employment of employees with protected characteristics. Budapest: Social science studies in the EBH TÁMOP-5.5.5 project, Study 4).*

¹⁹ *Ibid* p. 4

²⁰ HNSIS II p. 89

²¹ In convergence regions, GINOP-5.2.1 launched in January 2015, and in the central region, the VEKOP-8.2.1 project commenced in September 2015.

²² In convergence regions, there is HUF 160 billion available between 1 January 2015 and 31 October 2021 to support at least 144,500 young people, and HUF 4.2 billion is allocated for between 1 September 2015 and 31 December 2017 to support 4,200 young people in the Central Hungary region (see: *Youth Guarantee programmes implemented in Hungary using European Union funds*. Available at: <http://ifjuszagigarancia.gov.hu/europai-unios-finanszirozas>). In contrast, the expected annual budget of the public work programme planned for 2019 will be HUF 180 billion (See: <https://zoom.hu/hir/2018/06/23/a-kormany-lefelezi-a-kozmunkat/>).

²³ *Hungarian National Social Inclusion Strategy II (HNSIS II) Monitoring Report 2017*, p. 45 See: <http://romagov.kormany.hu/download/2/17/12000/Magyar%20Nemzeti%20T%C3%A1rsadalmi%20Felz%C3%A1rk%C3%B3z%C3%A1si%20Strat%C3%A9gia%20jelent%C3%A9s%202017.pdf>

taking the 2011 census data into consideration, we know that the ratio of NEET young people within Roma youth is at around 35 per cent, compared to the 15.3 per cent national NEET ratio. The analysis by the Budapest Institute²⁴ also points out that in contrast with numerous other countries, reaching and including Roma young persons was not manifested as a priority in Hungary, but at the same time the chance of participation in the Youth Guarantee Programme is not lower in districts where the ratio of Roma within the target group is higher.²⁵ The task of Roma partner organisations involved in planning and implementation is unclear, and they seemingly play a modest role in reaching Roma youth in targeted fashion.²⁶ The ÁRÉ has drawn up several proposals in the interest of increasing the reach and targeting of the programme and its efficiency, among other things, encouraging the harmonised cooperation of stakeholder institutions and organisations.²⁷ *Romaversitas Foundation* and the *Endaja – Public-Political Platform for Roma Youth* have produced a short informational video to reach Roma young people.²⁸

Contrasting processes: Labour market interventions vs. provisions resulting in the lowering school qualifications

From an employment aspect, at the level of goals the HNSIS does not assign special attention to Roma youth suffering severe disadvantages, dropped out of education and having low levels of academic qualifications. Young Roma are first and foremost featured in the Strategy relating to the field of education. However, it also recognises the difficulties arising from the low levels of education. In the interest of avoiding the trap of low academic qualification, professional organisations are recommending reinstating the compulsory school age limit to 18 years, as the lowering of this limit has greatly contributed to the rise in the number of early school-leaving cases.²⁹ After the lowering of the age limit, close to 15 per cent of 17-year old students dropped out of public education by 2017.³⁰ An increase of this degree in the ratio of untrained persons cannot be offset by the few training programmes aimed at unschooled unemployed people. This is also reflected in the results of the competency development programme implemented in the interest of increasing the labour market chances of the most disadvantaged groups.³¹ The programme was successfully completed by 14,500 people, of whom 3,500 joined public employment or supported employment after the completion of the training. Slightly more than 40 per cent of participants in competency training were Roma. In the 180-day period after the completion of the training, taking the above ratios as basis, a maximum of 700 Roma workers held income-earning activities for at least 90 days. Given the programme's results, it is also generally true that relatively few of those completing the training were able to take on jobs in the primary labour market. The assessment of the actual effects of

²⁴ As part of the Mind the Gap! project, the Budapest Institute, in partnership with the Romaversitas Foundation, examines the implementation of the Youth Guarantee Programme, and the reaching and inclusion of Roma youth. The research focuses on both factors hindering the programme's implementation as well as local specificities and regulations impacting the programme. An additional objective of the project is to promote the exchange of experiences based on research results, both domestically and internationally.

²⁵ *The youth guarantee in Hungary - measuring take up and assessing outreach of youth guarantee schemes among Roma youth*. Working document. 2018

²⁶ *Ibid*

²⁷ ÁRÉ, 2018

²⁸ *Youth Guarantee Programme – Complete video*. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hkiMnAoO8e0&frags=pl%2Cwn>

²⁹ Anikó Fehérvári (2015): "Lemorzsolódás és korai iskolaelhagyás trendjei" (Trends in dropping-out and early school leaving) in: *Neveléstudomány* (Educational Science). Available at: http://nevelestudomany.elte.hu/downloads/2015/nevelestudomany_2015_3_31-47.pdf

³⁰ *A közoktatás indikátorrendszere 2017* (The indicator system of public education), MTA KRTK KTI, p. 97 Available at: http://www.mtaki.hu/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/A_kozoktatasi_indikatorrendszere_2017.pdf

³¹ TÁMOP-5.3.8-B-12/1-2012-0001 (The programme lasted for three years. The grant agreement was signed in 2012 and was concluded in 2015.)

the programme would only be possible in possession of appropriate data and through comprehensive studies. However, the ratios can be illustrated through the example of a disadvantaged settlement, Jászfényszaru, which has a population of approximately 5,800. Here – according to an announcement³² –, 40 people, approximately 8 per cent of those with only eight primary school grades completed, were able to participate in the programme.³³

The retraining and further training programmes can also be combined with other tools, such as programmes facilitating mobility or consulting programmes. In order to promote labour market mobility, Government Decree No. 23/2017 (II.3) adopted in February 2017 introduced support that may be provided for the construction or renovation of workers' accommodations.^{34,35} There is no data available on the extent to which this impacts Roma workers.

Another programme, the GINOP-5.3.6-17, was launched in March 2017 with a budget of approximately 9.48 million EUR³⁶ (3 billion HUF),³⁷ with the aim of establishing a system that provides comprehensive job-employee matching, job placement, counselling and professional HR services. We found no mention in the programme description of the involvement of Roma partners or programme elements specifically aimed at Roma job-seekers. At the same time, based on the 2017 monitoring report, the EFOP-1.3.2-16 project entitled "Development of a mentoring network aimed improving social inclusion" refers to the Roma community among its objectives: its goal is to achieve a higher degree of reach of disadvantaged, primarily Roma people and to ensure that Roma communities are provided information and are activated.³⁸ In order to fill a mentoring position, the applicant must make a declaration on their Roma origin, must have at least secondary academic qualifications and two years of experience in the field of Roma integration.³⁹ No information is available on the efficiency, results or details of the programme. A 2016 article, penned by one of the most well-known Roma journalists,⁴⁰ reveals that the 6.32 million EUR (2 billion HUF) grant announced in the call for applications may be drawn down

³² *Training and labour market service in Jászfényszaru*, 2013. Available at: <http://jaszsagonline.hu/hirek/telepules-info/kepzes-es-munkaero-piaci-szolgalatas-jaszfenyszarun.html>

³³ In Jászfényszaru, approximately 8 per cent of the population are Roma, and in the residential areas inhabited by them, 65 per cent of the population have primary school qualifications at the most (in other parts of town, this figure is 30%). In the same area, the sole income source of 22.5 per cent was state or local aid. If we examine the residents of the lagging area also populated by Roma, then in the case of 1,031 people – excluding those under the age of 19 (according to the HCSO's 2011 census data, 20 per cent of the population of Jászfényszaru was under 19. See *Regional data – Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok County*, HCSO, 2011. Available at: http://www.ksh.hu/nepszamlalas/tablak_teruleti_16), approximately 500 people only have primary school education and are very likely the target group for the programme which only allows for the inclusion of 40 people, meaning that the programme was only available to roughly 8%.

³⁴ The support is available to municipalities and their affiliated companies, provided the municipality contributes to the costs with a 40 per cent input of its own resources, has appropriate financial security and undertakes to complete the investment project within one year in the case of renovations or within two years in the case of the construction of a new building. As an additional condition, the municipality has to hire four job-seekers as maintenance staff in the establishment.

³⁵ Hajdu, Makó, Nábelek & Nyíró. (2018) op. cit.

³⁶ In this report a conversion rate 316.42 HUF/EUR is used.

³⁷ *Ibid* p. 189

³⁸ The announcement was made on 18 October 2016.

³⁹ Call for applications of the Directorate-General for Social Affairs and Child Protection for the position of Mentor: http://www.mezotur.hu/files/2017/M%C3%A1jus/EFOP/JNSZ_EFOP-1.3.2-16%20mentor%20p%C3%A1ly%C3%A1zat.pdf

⁴⁰ Attila Balogh Hidvégi is the editor-in-chief of Romnet www.romnet.hu

by a consortium of county Roma and Gypsy minority self-governments; however, there is no such grouping in Hungary, which raised the suspicion of corruption.⁴¹

The HNSIS II strategy defines mentoring as a tool to improve employability.⁴² Professional organisations⁴³ consider mentoring – particularly in respect of the permanently unemployed – to be important and forward-thinking. With the help of individual care provision, job-seeking and training plans, personalised and efficient support, assistance and incentive may be provided to job-seekers, thereby increasing their chances of entry or re-entry to the labour market, which is a priority objective of the Strategy.⁴⁴

Beyond the mentoring service, the cooperation between the various institutions could also support the inclusion of disadvantaged job-seekers in programmes and their transition to the labour market. There are, however, numerous criticisms made regarding inter-organisational cooperation (for instance with family support services). Gábor Kovács, the head of the employment programme of the Hungarian Charity Service of the Order of Malta,⁴⁵ emphasises that although the various institutions do perform their functions individually, numerous problems have been observed during the cooperation of institutions from different areas. For example, family support services could act as efficient partners as they also operate below the district level, but for the time being, there is no cooperation with them, only on an ad hoc, informal basis.

The EU 2020 strategy defined the development of worker mobility in the interest of promoting employment as a key area of intervention.⁴⁶ In order to improve worker mobility, employers can provide tax-free housing allowance⁴⁷ to employees which, starting from 2017, can be used to pay for not only workers' accommodation or service apartments, but also for a full or partial payment of the rent of the residential space rented by employees. In the first two years, the allowance cannot exceed 60 per cent of the minimum wage. Housing allowance is also available as part of the GINOP-5.1.1-15/2015-00001 priority labour market programme called "*Út a munkaerőpiacra*" (*Road to the Labour Market*),⁴⁸ which allowance is available to the long-term unemployed (including public workers) and career-starters seeking jobs. There is no information available on the ratio of Roma workers taking advantage of the aforementioned allowance.⁴⁹ Taking into consideration, however, that in the opinion of ÁRÉ, the geographical mobility of workers should be stimulated and supported more efficiently than current opportunities do, it is very likely that these programmes do not reach the Roma to the necessary degree. This is why special attention should be paid to disseminating information on opportunities and

⁴¹ Attila Balogh Hidvégi "Máris milliárdokkal tömné ki a kormány Farkas Flórián nem létező szervezetét" (Government already looking stuff billions into the pockets of Flórián Farkas' non-existing organisation), <http://www.romnet.hu/hirek/2016/07/08/maris-milliardokkal-tomne-ki-a-kormany-farkas-florian-nem-letezo-szervezetet>

⁴² HNSIS II p. 90

⁴³ See, for instance, the Permanent Roma Forum.

⁴⁴ HNSIS II p. 89

⁴⁵ Erika Gulyás: "Tanfolyamokkal nincs kiút a közmunkából" ("Training courses provide no way out of public work") in: Népszava, 2017, https://nepszava.hu/1136334_tanfolyamokkal-nincs-kiut-a-kozmunkabol

⁴⁶ HNSIS II p. 13

⁴⁷ *Adómentes lakhatási támogatás (Tax-free housing allowance)* 2018, Tudatos adózó. Available at: <https://tudatosadozo.hu/adomentes-lakhatasi-tamogat-as-2018/>

⁴⁸ *Ibid*

⁴⁹ To this end, we requested data of public interest from the competent ministries, however, we received no data by the statutory deadline, only from the Ministry of the Interior. However, no data concerning the housing allowance were received. Even concerning travel allowance, the data made available only reveal how many people received support to travel for the training, provided it was held outside of the place of residence/stay.

support with as wide a scope as possible, and to encourage the exploitation of such opportunities.

As far as programmes aimed at becoming entrepreneurs are concerned, these are not particularly relevant for the Roma. Currently, there is one such tender available among the calls for applications announced by the Budapest Government Office.⁵⁰ One of the conditions, however, is that the grant applied for must be advanced by the entrepreneur, which makes it impossible for registered job-seekers or Roma receiving rehabilitation treatment to take advantage of the opportunity. The “*Vállalkozz itthon fiatal*” (*Be a young entrepreneur in Hungary*) programme,⁵¹ as part of the Youth Guarantee Programme, which offers a similar opportunity also requires own funds (and participation was extremely low: only 50 applications in 2017 in regions outside of Pest County),⁵² which allows us to assume that the Roma target group was again not the first to be reached by the call for applications, which requires own funds anyway.

Based on the above, it can be established that although numerous employment programmes and schemes have been launched in recent years, there is very little data available on how these programmes reach the Roma, which in itself gives cause for worry. In addition to the number of programmes, numerous other aspects should also be taken into account before coming to the conclusion that there are several efficient programmes in progress in the area of Roma employment. Based on the above, it seems that access to programme results is highly restricted – and difficult – and as such it is difficult to assess their actual impact. Taking into account programme size, the quantified results made available and the fact that very few good practices can be observed for the targeted reaching of those in the most disadvantageous position from a labour market perspective, it is a concern that the Roma are not involved in these programmes to a justified extent – in proportion to their exposure to targeted problems – and are not among the few that manage to transition to the primary labour market with the help of these programmes.

Fight against discrimination in employment and antigypsyism at workplace

Numerous studies have established that the low employment rates of the Roma cannot be explained merely with their low educational levels and unfavourable regional segregation, but with labour market discrimination as well⁵³ – as also recognised by the Strategy,⁵⁴ but not much is said about interventions to eliminate such labour market discrimination.

Based on the survey of the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), in 2011 32 per cent of Roma women and 23 per cent of Roma men respondents in Hungary said that they had felt discriminated against because of their ethnicity when looking for work in the preceding 12 months.⁵⁵ Labour market discrimination is particularly hard on mothers

⁵⁰ Károly Fazekas and János Köllő (ed.) (2017): “Munkaerőpiaci Tükör 2016” (Labour Market Yearbook 2016), p. 192 Available at: <https://www.mtakti.hu/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/MunkaeropiatiTukor2016.pdf>

⁵¹ Call for proposals for the “Vállalkozz itthon fiatal” (Be a young entrepreneur in Hungary) programme. Available at: <http://palyazatok.org/vallalkozz-itthon-fiatal-a-fiatalok-vallalkozova-valasat-segito-program/>

⁵² Sándor Czinkóczi: “Vállalkozz itthon, jól megszívát az állam” (Be an entrepreneur in Hungary, and the state will screw you) 444.hu, 2017 Available at: <https://444.hu/2017/05/12/mar-banjak-a-fiatalok-hogy-bedoltek-amikor-a-kormany-penzet-igert-nekik>

⁵³ Cf.: Gábor Fleck and Vera Messing: “A roma foglalkoztatáspolitikai alakváltozásai” (Transformations of Roma employment policies), p. 82 In: Anna Lovász and Álmos Telegdi (ed.): “Munkapiaci diszkrimináció” (Labour Market Discrimination) in: *Közelkép* (In Focus), 2009 Available at: <http://econ.core.hu/file/download/mt09/hu/kozelkep.pdf>

⁵⁴ *HNSIS II*, p. 31, 47

⁵⁵ *Discrimination against and living conditions of Roma women in 11 EU Member States*, p. 22, FRA. Available at: <http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2014/discrimination-against-and-living-conditions-roma-women-11-eu-member-states>

with small children. At the same time, browsing the website of the Equal Treatment Authority (EBH), we see that in the 2015-2018 period, there were only seven cases brought to the authority where Roma were involved.⁵⁶ This indicates that the number of cases that reached the EBH does not even come close to the number of actual discrimination cases. The latency of discrimination cases and the low number of official proceedings (EBH, court proceedings) may have numerous causes. For instance, the discriminated are often unaware of discrimination or do not know what tools they have at their disposal in the event of discrimination, but the barriers to enforce rights and the available compensation – quite modest, certainly so by international comparison – rather divert the victims from taking legal steps.⁵⁷ High latency, in part, may also be the result of the lack of awareness raising campaigns. According to a study by the EBH, awareness of the authority has declined slightly by 2017 as compared to 2013, when an active communication campaign was conducted by the authority, but not since.⁵⁸

In addition to overt discrimination, covert discrimination practices also exist. In Slovakia and Hungary, it is frequent practice that when hiring, employers require academic qualifications or a certificate of good moral standing, which are not made necessary by the nature of the given work. According to the report released by the European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC), Romani applicants are often required to meet impossible criteria to fill given positions, or Romani applicants are often required to pay for the training necessary for a given job, while the service is available free of charge to non-Roma applicants.⁵⁹

During our interview with the Head of the Employment Department of the Heves County Government Office,⁶⁰ we received no answers on what the placement office actually does if it encounters a discriminative employer. Based on the research, it can be assumed that such cases exist,⁶¹ but we found no guidelines whatsoever at the state level. It was only as a result of a specific question during the interview that it was revealed that pursuant to effective legal regulations, there is no way to ensure during the job placement process that an employer does not exclude a certain ethnicity from filling a position.⁶² According to the ERRC report, however, this does happen, and labour office officials in some cases comply with employer requests of not sending Roma workers and applicants. Sometimes labour office officials defend their actions by saying that they do this to protect the Romani individual from the humiliation of being rejected and refused the job.⁶³

⁵⁶ Equal Treatment Authority, Legal Cases <http://egyenlobanasmod.hu/article/view/ebh-183-2015>

⁵⁷ Csilla Kollonay Lehoczy: "Az egyenlő bánásmód biztosításának jogi eszközei az Európai Unióhoz való csatlakozás nyomán" (Legal instruments guaranteeing equal treatment in the wake of accession to the European Union) in: Munkaerőpiaci Tükör 2009 (Labour Market Yearbook 2009), p. 80 Available at: <http://real.mtak.hu/10473/1/egyben.pdf>

⁵⁸ Mária Neményi-Bence Ságvári-Katalin Tardos (2017): *Az egyenlő bánásmóddal kapcsolatos jogtudatosság (Legal Awareness of the Right to Equal Treatment)*, 2017, p. 26 Available at: http://real.mtak.hu/73102/1/nemenyi_sagvari_tardos_ebh_2017_.pdf

⁵⁹ The Glass Box: Exclusion of Roma from Employment. Budapest: European Roma Right Center, ERRC, 2017. <http://www.errc.org/cms/upload/media/02/14/m00000214.pdf>

⁶⁰ Interview with Péter Fenyves, 2018.

⁶¹ *A munkáltatók munkavállalói kiválasztási gyakorlata a diszkrimináció tükrében (Employee selection practice in the mirror of discrimination)*, (2011) Bori Simonovits, p. 40 Available at: http://www.egyenlobanasmod.hu/tamop/data/2.2_kivalgyak_majus18.pdf

⁶² Interview with Péter Fenyves, 2018.

⁶³ ERRC, 2017.

Although there are legal provisions in force in Hungary pursuant to which disadvantaged workers must be employed proportionately at workplaces, the Roma do not fall under the scope of this particular provision.⁶⁴

The HNSIS set out the explicit objective of organising meetings where the representatives of the various sectors jointly act in the interest of the employment of disadvantaged persons⁶⁵, but no further information is available on this either in the 2015-2017 action plan or anywhere else.⁶⁶ The Strategy names three programmes⁶⁷ that aim to improve the employment of unemployed Roma fighting discrimination and the elimination of labour market discrimination specifically aimed at Romani women. Based on the 2017 monitoring report of the Strategy,⁶⁸ the implementation of all three programmes have fallen behind planned schedules. In a 2016 interview, the Deputy State Secretary responsible for social inclusion said that 1,017 women took part in the "Nő az esély" (*Growing / Women's Opportunities*) programme, of which 514 found employment.⁶⁹ No public information is available on the exact results, efficiency and spending of the programme,⁷⁰ but at the same time, a comparison would be expedient with the fact that the employment ratio of Romani women in Hungary is only 23.8 per cent.⁷¹

Employment model programmes in the public sector

A possible solution to discrimination against certain groups is to favour such job-seekers when hiring in the public sector or to incentivise hiring through dedicated programmes. It was a strategic objective of employment programmes organised in the public sector to involve Roma public servants to an increased extent in areas such as healthcare, the military, police, education, various social areas and media, however, very little information is available on the implementation and efficiency of these programmes.⁷² Even if positive initiatives do exist at the state level, these receive very little publicity and as a result have no impact on social opinion and approach. This is well reflected by the programme facilitating military careers. The *Balázs Lippai Scholarship Programme* helps only ten Roma and disadvantaged youth each year to continue their studies in this particular area.⁷³ Besides the highly limited programme size, the limited social opinion-shaping impact is

⁶⁴ Dr. Etelka Gregóczi Maiyalehné and Dr. Zoltán Petrovics: "Szervezetben belüli esélyegyenlőség" (Equal opportunities within the organisation), 2012, p. 6 Available at: <https://cmsadmin-pub.uni-nke.hu/document/ytkk-uni-nke-hu/eselyegyenloseg.original.pdf>

⁶⁵ HNSIS, p. 89

⁶⁶ HNSIS II Monitoring Report 2017.

⁶⁷ „Nő az esély – képzés”, „Nő az esély – foglalkoztatás”, A roma lányok szakmatanulási lehetőségeinek vizsgálata ((Growing / Women's Opportunities - Training, Growing / Women's Opportunities - Employment, Examination of the vocational learning opportunities of Roma girls.). HNSIS II Monitoring Report 2017 pp. 13-14

⁶⁸ HNSIS II Monitoring Report 2017

⁶⁹ Katalin Victor Langerné: "Magyarország az egyetlen, amelyik célzott programmal felvállalta a roma nők képzését" (Hungary is the only country to implement a targeted programme to train Roma women) 2016. Available at: <http://csalad.hu/2016/03/08/langerne-victor-katalin-magyarorszag-az-egyeten-amelyik-celzott-programmal-felvallalta-a-roma-nok-kepzeset>

⁷⁰ Cf.: Zsófia Fülöp: "Majd most!" (Maybe now) in: Magyar Narancs, 2017 <http://m.magvarnarancs.hu/belpol/majd-most-106817/?orderdir=novekvo>

⁷¹ EFOP-1.1.3-17 Nő az esély – foglalkoztatás (Growing / Women's Opportunities - Employment), 2018, p. 5 Available at: <https://www.palyazat.gov.hu/efop-113-17-n-az-esly-foglalkoztats-1>

⁷² HNSIS II., p. 107

⁷³ *Odaitélték a Lippai Balázs esélyegyenlőséget elősegítő ösztöndíjat* (Balázs Lippai Scholarship for Promoting Equal Opportunities awarded), 2014. Available at: https://honvedelem.hu/cikk/43041_odaiteltek_a_lippai_balazs_eselyegyenloseget_elosegito_osztondijat

also shown by the fact that the report-film⁷⁴ presenting the Roma military career path has had only 5,000 views since 2013.⁷⁵

The “*Kapcsolódj be a közvetítésbe*” (*Join the broadcast*) programme is currently ongoing.⁷⁶ In 2015, six and in 2016, eight disadvantaged young people participated in the programme.⁷⁷ Of the 14 young people who completed the training, only two Roma young persons became in-house associates of the MTVA.⁷⁸

Good practices at companies

The *HRom* programme⁷⁹ (see in detail at the end of this chapter) operated by the *Autonómia* Foundation facilitates access for educated Roma youth to jobs at various companies. The *Integrom* programme⁸⁰ also targets job-seeking Roma youth between the age of 18 and 35 with at least secondary school education to find employment in the corporate sector. Both organisations collaborate with the Hungarian Employers Forum on Equal Opportunities as well as with numerous companies that take on Roma employees. We found no relevant information on state initiatives serving to facilitate good practices aimed at the employment of Roma by companies.

Employment alternatives in areas with limited primary labour market demand

The Strategy set the goal of developing and expanding the system of public employment⁸¹ and, by way of public employment schemes, the promotion of developing labour market suitability.⁸² The updated version of the Strategy shifts emphasis to the temporary and complementary nature of public employment and the importance of transitioning to the open labour market.⁸³ According to the 2017 monitoring report, the public employment scheme impacted 223,469 people in 2016, and approximately one in five of these (44,694 people) were Roma.⁸⁴

The Strategy – also with a view to the EC’s country specific recommendations – emphasises that the activation elements of public employment must be reinforced. Accordingly, training funds were provided by the European Social Fund. Of the 85,000

⁷⁴ Video entitled “*Jövőjük a haza védelme*” (*Their future is to protect their homeland*) Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hPNjYXLX97TA>

⁷⁵ We found no statements relating to the programme among the official statements of either the Ministry of Human Capacities (<http://www.kormany.hu/hu/emberi-eroforrasok-miniszteriuma>) or the Ministry of Defence (<http://www.kormany.hu/hu/honvedelmi-miniszterium>).

⁷⁶ The call for applications was announced jointly by the Ministry of Human Capacities (EMMI) and the Media Service Support and Asset Management Fund (MTVA), aimed at disadvantaged, primarily Roma youth between the age of 18 and 30, who have at least secondary academic qualifications and would like to work in the media.

⁷⁷ *HNSIS II Monitoring Report* 2017, p. 15

⁷⁸ *Kapcsolódj be a közvetítésbe! (Join the broadcast) programme restarts*, 2017. Available at: <https://www.hirado.hu/2017/06/22/iden-nyolc-fiatal-vehet-reszt-a-kapcsolodj-be-a-kozvetitesbe-programban/>

⁷⁹ For more on the programme see: <http://autonomia.hu/hu/programok/hrom/>

⁸⁰ For more on the programme see: <http://integrom.hu/>

⁸¹ According to the government’s definition, public employment is a special form of employment. Subsidised “transit employment”, aimed at helping public employees to successfully get or get back into the primary labour market. *What you need to know about public employment*. Available at: <http://www.kormanyhivatal.hu/download/d/b3/70000/Amit%20a%20közfooglalkoztatásról%20tudni%20kell.pdf>

⁸² *HNSIS*, p. 19

⁸³ *Hungarian National Social Inclusion Strategy II*, pp. 89–91

⁸⁴ *HNSIS*, p. 6 See also: *Munkaerőpiaci helyzetkép 2015 (Labour Market Overview 2015)*, 2015 Available at: <https://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xftp/idoszaki/munkerohely/munkerohely15.pdf>

people planned to be included, a total of 45,625 were included by 31 March 2017, of which 30,006 people successfully completed the training.⁸⁵ No data are available on the ratio of Roma participation.⁸⁶ Taking general involvement for 2016 into consideration, as well as the fact that Roma public workers have lower access to activation programs and are more likely to remain in public employment⁸⁷ than enter the open labour market, it is likely that these programmes only reached a limited number of Roma. Another relevant issue is the efficiency of these programmes. 34,687 people⁸⁸ took part in training in 2016, and 9 out of 10 participants received 1-5 months of training.⁸⁹ The programme predominantly offered training providing so-called partial vocational qualification,⁹⁰ and only 9.7 per cent of participants found jobs in the open labour market.⁹¹ It is the position of the ÁRÉ that the training and re-training within the context of public employment should be harmonised with the labour shortage of observed in certain sectors (such as healthcare), which in turn could improve employment ratios in the open labour market. Good quality training, adapted to demand, would be required, linked with incentives provided to employers. In addition, it would also be important that the training support system is developed to ensure the currently effective minimum wage for the entire duration of the training. It would also serve the accomplishment of objectives if training participants and future employers were to enter into an agreement guaranteeing practical training and further employment.

Two major changes were announced in 2017 in the field of public employment: firstly, persons under the age of 25 can be involved in public employment schemes only if the labour market programme implemented as part of the Youth Guarantee System offers no other realistic alternatives; and secondly, the average maximum monthly number of

⁸⁵ HNSIS II Monitoring Report. Available at: <http://romagov.kormany.hu/download/2/17/12000/Magyar%20Nemzeti%20Társadalmi%20Felzárkózási%20Stratégia%20jelentés%202017.pdf>

⁸⁶ To this end, we requested data of public interest from the competent ministries (Ministry of the Interior). Unfortunately, the data received by the closing of the manuscript cannot be used in the report. On the one hand, data concerning origin are based on self-declaration and show significantly lower figures than the data based on research and surveys, and on the other hand, the relevant data cannot be compared as the data made available are not comprehensive. Pursuant to the data made available, the average number of public workers in 2016 was 223,470, of which, by their own account, 13,545 were of Roma origin. The number of persons involved in training supporting public employment is 77,297, of which 26,569 are Roma. Based on these data, it cannot be determined what the actual reason is for the low declaration ratio observed among public employees and the disproportionate increase observed in respect of training support.

⁸⁷ According to a survey conducted by the National Employment Service, the type of the place of residence (town/city) and academic qualification (higher school qualification is an advantage) contributes greatly to being included in the training. Roma people are 1.8 times as likely to enter into public employment than non-Roma, and the non-Roma also have a greater chance of being included in the training than the Roma, whose chances are further deteriorated by low levels of education. Although the data are from 2010, we have no reason to assume that these ratios have improved significantly over the past 8 years. See: *Control group and multi-variable assessment of active assets and labour market schemes*, National Employment Service, 2010, p. 21-22 Available at: https://nfsz.munka.hu/Lapok/archivum_programok/full_tamop_131/content/tamop_131_strategia_3.2_kontrolcsop.pdf

⁸⁸ The 2016 information document draws attention to the fact that a given person was entitled to receive the training grant twice. There is, however, no data on how many people this concerned.

⁸⁹ State Secretariat for Public Employment and Water Management: Report on public employment in 2016. Available at: http://kozfoiglalkoztataskormany.hu/download/4/8e/e1000/Beszámoló_2016_170713.pdf

⁹⁰ Basic partial vocational qualification, which requires no school qualifications, and can be obtained as part of vocational training and special vocational training outside of the school system or as part of the HÍD II programme. Government Decree No. 150/2012 (VII. 6.)

⁹¹ Erika Gulyás: "Tanfolyamokkal nincs kiút a közmunkából" ("Training courses provide no way out of public work") in: Népszava, 2017. Available at: https://nepszava.hu/1136334_tanfolyamokkal-nincs-kiut-a-kozmunkabol

people participating in public employment programmes will be gradually reduced by the government to 150,000 by 2020.⁹²

No data are available as yet relating to the first point, but based on the experiences of Dr. Ambedkar School,⁹³ it seems clear that as per the new regulation, young people below the age of 25 are in fact primarily participating in training programmes. Young people can take part in two trainings at the most every two years, but then can again be involved in public employment. In relation to this, the main problem is the fact that the majority of training courses offered are not suitable to facilitate finding employment in the open labour market and, as also shown by the experiences of GINOP 6.1.1., most of the people participating in training have not gained know-how that can be utilised in the labour market.⁹⁴

As far as the second point is concerned, ÁRÉ has drawn up detailed proposals. ÁRÉ views public employment, as an active labour market tool for managing unemployment, to be important and useful from both a professional and a social aspect, but also feels that the more efficient and fair transformation of the public employment system is unavoidable. In respect of the distribution of increasingly scarce financial resources, priority attention should be paid to regional inequalities. Unfortunately, there are no data available as yet on whether these geographical inequalities were taken into account when reducing the number of persons included. It was also identified as a major employment-related problem by ÁRÉ that service providers start collecting on public utility and other debts essentially without delay from people living on the verge of poverty or in poverty, immediately after joining public employment. The effective statutory framework allows for these debts to be deducted from wages up to an extent of 50 per cent. As a result, tens of thousands working in public employment receive wages just a few thousand forints higher than 72 EUR (22,800 HUF). It would be important to adopt a legal regulation that would allow the deduction of public utility arrears and other public debts of public workers from the public employment wage to a lower degree. The current practice runs the risk of increasing poverty.

The above-mentioned government decree also set the goal – as an alternative to public employment– of supporting the establishment of social cooperatives. Counties showing the highest public employment rates have seen the greatest ratio of social cooperatives established. Their number has increased substantially in the past 8-10 years, but we see considerably fewer social cooperatives actually in operation.⁹⁵ In their current form, however, social cooperatives are unsuitable to serve as an alternative to public employment. As György Molnár,⁹⁶ one of the most renowned researchers of the topic points out, the statutory amendment based on which municipalities become cooperative members was erroneous, because cooperatives with municipal members cannot in essence be viewed as real cooperatives.⁹⁷ In this form, the chances of voluntary and open membership being enforced are very low as is the principle of democratic membership

⁹² Government Decision No. 1139/2017 (III.20) on Certain Labour Market Measures

⁹³ To help with the preparation of the report, the representative of the civil society organisation representing Roma youth under the age of 25 shared their experiences as part of an interview. Interview with János Orsós, teacher at the Dr. Ambedkar School, 2018.

⁹⁴ As recommendation, see ÁRÉ's proposals on aligning trainings and labour shortage.

⁹⁵ Éva G. Fekete – Katalin Lipták (2014): "Közfoglalkoztatásból szociális szövetkezetbe?" (From public employment to social cooperatives?) In: A területi fejlődés dilemmái (The Dilemmas of Regional Development) (ed. Miklós Lukovics – Bence Zuti), Faculty of Economics, University of Szeged, Szeged, 2014, pp. 123–142

⁹⁶ Researcher at the Institute of Economics Centre for Economic and Regional Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

⁹⁷ The current capacity of these cooperatives to generate commercial revenues is low. The inappropriate use of the cooperative form also entails hazards according to experts, as by turning an initially viable model on its head, it can set this inevitable social economic form (particularly inevitable on the peripheries) back by decades.

control, as municipalities are not equal partners.⁹⁸ The strengthening of communities, increasing social capital and enhancing solidary business approach would be essential for the viable introduction of social cooperatives.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ See Eszter Prókai: "Szövetkezetekbe rejtene az állam a közmunkásokat" (State to hide public workers in cooperatives) in: Magyar Nemzet, 2017. Available at: <https://mno.hu/belfold/szovetkezetekbe-rejtene-a-kormany-a-kozmunasokat-2418013> és Molnár György: "A közmunkaprogram leépítése jó irány, de több bölcsesség kellene hozzá" (Phasing out the public works scheme is the right direction, but would require more wisdom) Mérce, 2017. Available at: <https://merce.hu/2017/11/18/a-kozmunaprogram-leepitese-jo-irany-de-tobb-bolcsesseg-kellene-hozza/>

⁹⁹ G. Fekete – Lipták, op. cit.

Promising practice: HRom – A cooperation between Roma job-seekers and companies

The programme aims to establish a new Roma employment model, which primarily looks to increase the labour market chances of trained and educated Roma youth in the private sector. It is purposefully and consciously looking to go beyond the tools of the most widely implemented Roma employment projects which focus on the long-term unemployed with low education, thereby directing attention to the growing target group of educated Roma, and their labour market and integration-related problems.

One of the emphatic elements of the project is that it sees labour market integration as a two-sided process, thus concurrently supports potential Roma employees in entering and finding jobs in the corporate sector, as well as employer companies in establishing a more inclusive and diverse environment by transforming their internal processes and in assisting less competitive applicants through more flexible recruitment/selection processes.

The pilot phase of the project was between 2014 and 2016, where the co-implementor of the Integrom programme was Autonomía Foundation. The model proved to be viable: numerous companies joined the programme, educated Roma were located who were open to working in the corporate sector and were able to take on the tasks of the given positions at a high level. Over the course of the 3-year experimental phase, 16 Roma young people were placed in positions at partner companies. The pilot was implemented as a collaboration between Autonomía Foundation and the Boston Consulting Group. Since 2016, the HRom programme has been supervised in Hungary by Autonomía Foundation, within the context of an EU-funded Bulgarian-Hungarian project.¹⁰⁰

The primary target group of the project was Roma youth between the ages of 18 and 35, who have completed at least secondary level education. During the three years of the programme, Autonomía Foundation is planning to involve 150 participants, with the programme currently ongoing with approximately 100 participants, with 45 having found jobs or having been promoted to new, better positions at their place of work.

The programme attempts to find and provide answers to the following challenges (for details and data see the relevant chapters of the Roma Civil Monitor):

- Lack of self-confidence and low self-esteem due to failures and set-backs in education and labour market endeavours.
- The intent for mobility of Roma young people is strong, their relocation is primarily hindered by career-starting salaries and the disproportionate costs of urban living.
- Absence of relational capital: In most cases, they are representatives of the first educated generation, with hardly any network of relationships in the large corporate world, they

¹⁰⁰ “Bridging young Roma and Business – Intervention for inclusion of Roma youth through employment in the private sector in Bulgaria and Hungary”

- often have employment patterns and examples in their environment from other sectors
 - civil sector, social, education and healthcare sectors.
- They often study at low-prestige institutions of higher education, their degrees are less competitive and their language skills are also frequently poor.
- Work experience gained in the private sector is insufficient, and the large corporate sector is a world unknown to most.
- Labour market discrimination, very few “affirmative action”-type initiatives by employers.
- Given their background in poverty, disposable resources are relatively hard to come by.

Key **objectives** of the *HRom* project:

- The labour market integration of trained and educated Roma youth.
- Opening access to quality, white-collar positions.
- Complex support provided to Roma participants.
- For employers, the facilitation of adapting HR processes.
- The establishment of a model that offers recommendations and proposals for the planning and adapting of social policy measures, and also provides tools for diversity initiatives in the private sector.
- The quantitative and qualitative measurement of the impacts and results of the programme.

Activities

Between 2016 and 2019, Autonomía Foundation will be realising the stable institutionalisation and professional expansion of the project as part of a EU-funded international project. Core activities include:

I. Supporting participants, capacity building:

- Recruitment, mentoring
- Seeking out and screening participants who have interest in the private sector and have realistic chances of securing jobs there.
- From mentoring through recruitment all the way to placement, uncovering and managing any arising personal problems hindering the process, maintaining motivation.
- Labour market training – communication skills, CV clinic, interview and AC simulation, self-confidence building.
- English or German language course – bringing an existing, approximately B1 level language proficiency up to a level that can be used in a working environment.
- User-level IT training – the Excel training of applicants for primarily administrative positions to bring them up to a basic or medium advanced level.
- Monitoring and supporting of placement processes.

II. Supporting corporate partners:

- Organisation of regular workshops, mutual experience sharing among partner companies
A forum for primarily HR managers, where they share project experiences and the methods of problem handling.
- Identification and sharing of good practices.
- Preparation of a publication based on Hungarian practices and potentially relevant tools that can be adopted from international literature.¹⁰¹

III. Evaluation and policy recommendations:

Project results and impacts are evaluated on the basis of a complex methodology, based on which Roma integration and labour market methodology and policy recommendations are drawn up.

¹⁰¹ <http://autonomia.hu/hu/document/sokszinu-befogado-munkahely-romaknak-es-masoknak/>

HOUSING AND ESSENTIAL PUBLIC SERVICES¹⁰²

This chapter attempts to summarise the characteristics of the housing conditions of the Roma population, the inequalities of the housing situation, the features of housing segregation, as well as the key housing policy tools and the grants and schemes relating to housing. Our study focuses on the measures – or lack thereof – impacting the poorest stratum of the population, in particular the Roma and those living in places of segregation. Based on this, it becomes clear that government interventions do not facilitate the improvement of the housing situation of the poorest, rather in fact increasing inequalities and re-generating (housing) poverty. The statement of the 2012 Civil Society Monitoring Report is still valid today: *“Despite increasingly grave problems, Hungary has been without any coherent housing policy since the political transition. Most measures target the middle class and very limited funds have been left available for addressing the housing problems of the poorest, including the Roma”*.¹⁰³ According to Bálint Missetics (2017) *“a brief overview of the key housing policy measures of the past two and a half decades [...] shows that the state could have done much more to reduce housing poverty even if it had not spent more on housing affairs, but instead had used the expenditures for this purpose to finance schemes that do not increase, but rather reduce social inequalities”*.¹⁰⁴

Access to basic amenities

The Metropolitan Research Institute (*Városkutatás Kft.*) defines adequate housing and the seven elements thereof on the basis of the definition by the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. These include access to basic services and infrastructure, and the fundamental quality and quantity-related elements of housing (such as floor-space and heating). The housing problem is defined by affordability and acceptable housing conditions: *“affordability [...] means that households are unable to pay the costs of a socially acceptable [“adequate”] dwelling, and/or housing costs represent a burden that puts the day-to-day welfare of families at risk. Another component of the housing problem is the lack of adequate housing, when the household is living under housing conditions that are socially not acceptable (substandard)”*.¹⁰⁵

The housing conditions of the Roma population are considerably below average in respect of both basic amenities and dwelling environment. Some of the Roma are living in segregation or in ghettoised settlements, in very low standard (comfortless, substandard) dwellings, under socially unacceptable circumstances and lacking the most fundamental conditions.

According to the data of the Hungarian Central Statistical Office (HCSO), as of 2007 100 percent of Hungarian settlements have running water as part of public utilities. In 2016, 95 per cent (4.2 million homes) of all dwellings, 97 per cent of urban dwellings and

¹⁰² Thank you to Nóra Teller for helping us write this chapter by making numerous sources, studies and data available to us.

¹⁰³ Lília Balogh et al. (2013) *Civil társadalmi jelentés a Nemzeti Társadalmi Felzárkózási Stratégia megvalósításáról Magyarországon 2012-ben (Civil Society Monitoring Report on the Implementation of the National Roma Integration Strategy and Decade Action Plan in 2012 in Hungary)*. Budapest: Decade of Roma Inclusion Secretariat Foundation, p. 9. Available at: http://autonomia.hu/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/civil-society-monitoring-report_hu.pdf

¹⁰⁴ Missetics Bálint (2017) *Lakhatáshoz való jogot! A szociális lakáspolitikai legszürgetőbb feladatairól (Right to housing. On the most urgent tasks of social housing policy)*. Budapest: Transformation Institute, p. 18 <http://mmaa.hu/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Lakhat%C3%A1st-mindenkinek-vitaanyag.pdf>

¹⁰⁵ Hegedűs et al. (2009) *Lakhatási szükségletek Magyarországon (Housing needs in Hungary)*. Budapest: Metropolitan Research Institute p. 2. Available at: <http://www.mut.hu/?module=news&action=getfile&fid=114874>

91 per cent of settlement dwellings had access to running water.¹⁰⁶ In 2017, 96 per cent of dwellings had toilets and 97 per cent had bathrooms. In the lowest income decile, these ratios are considerably lower (90 per cent and 91 per cent respectively). The region most lagging behind is North Hungary, where 92 per cent of dwellings have bathrooms and 91 per cent have toilets.¹⁰⁷ The HCSO's 2015 Housing Survey classified 8 per cent of the entire domestic dwelling portfolio as substandard. The ratios are well above average in settlements (15 per cent), in small settlements with populations under 1,000 (19 per cent), in disadvantaged regions (with the Southern Great Plain region in the worst position; 14 per cent) and in the lowest income decile (26 per cent).¹⁰⁸ *"The dwellings of non-residential and low status residential areas are in the worst position, where the absence of established infrastructure is also a factor in the lower comfort class of homes"*.¹⁰⁹ According to the representative surveys of the MTA,¹¹⁰ in 1993 more than half (56 per cent) of Roma, while in 2003 as much as 72 per cent were living in segregation (in environments exclusively or for the most part populated by Roma), in other words in non-residential and/or very low status residential zones. In the latter data year, half (49 per cent) of Roma dwellings had no flushing toilets, and nearly one third (28 per cent) had no running water either.¹¹¹ The situation improved by 2013 and two thirds of Roma dwellings had flushing toilets, but the severe lagging behind the average persisted.¹¹² The 2016 study of the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) revealed that one third (33 per cent) of the Roma population in Hungary were living in dwellings without running water and 38 per cent in dwellings without a toilet, a shower or bathroom inside the dwelling. (Within the total population, this ratio is just a few percent.) Nearly half (44 per cent) of dwellings had typically some sort of quality-related problem (leaking roof, damp walls, etc.), while this ratio within the total population is 27 per cent.¹¹³

As for the affordability of housing, half of the Roma population are living in income poverty (48 per cent) and severe material deprivation (56 per cent), which means they are unable to adequately heat their dwelling and/or unable to cover housing-related costs. The ratio of severe deprivation among the non-Roma population is 14 per cent.¹¹⁴ We found no data on affordability broken down separately for the Roma and the non-Roma. Based on the data of the HCSO's housing survey (2015), households on average spend one fifth (22 per cent) of their income on housing maintenance costs. This ratio is 37 per cent and 13 per cent in the lowest and highest income decile, respectively. 12 per cent of all households are struggling with severe affordability problems (in other words, spend more than 35 per

¹⁰⁶ HCSO STADAT 2.3.7. http://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xstadat/xstadat_eves/i_zrk001.html

¹⁰⁷ HCSO STADAT 2.2.3.2. http://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xstadat/xstadat_eves/i_zhc019a.html

¹⁰⁸ Data of the HCSO's 2015 Housing Survey.

¹⁰⁹ HCSO (2014) *2011 Census. 12. Housing conditions*. Budapest, 2014. p. 16. Available at: https://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xftp/idoszaki/nepsz2011/nepsz_12_2011.pdf

¹¹⁰ No similar studies have been conducted since.

¹¹¹ István Kemény – Béla Janky – Gabriella Lengyel (2004): *A magyarországi cigányság, 1971-2003 (The Roma in Hungary, 1971-2003)* Budapest: Gondolat – MTA Institute for Minority Studies. Available at: <http://kisebbssegkutato.tk.mta.hu/a-magyarorszag-i-ciganysag-1971-2003>

¹¹² Luca Koltai (2013) (ed.): *A szegénység és a társadalmi kirekesztés célzott vizsgálata a roma lakosság körében (Targeted examination of poverty and social exclusion within the Roma population)*. Budapest: National Institute for Family, Youth and Population Policy. Available at: http://www.modernizacio.hu/download/454/file/tamop541_iv_921_roma_a5.pdf

¹¹³ *Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey. Roma – Selected findings*. FRA: European Union Agency For Fundamental Rights, 2017. Available at: http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2016-eu-minorities-survey-roma-selected-findings_hu.pdf. (1,171 Roma households, 4,941 individuals in Roma households in Hungary.)

¹¹⁴ HCSO STADAT 2.2.2.1. http://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xstadat/xstadat_eves/i_zaa007.html

cent of their income to cover housing expenditures). This problem affects close to half (46 per cent) of households in the lowest decile, but only 1.5 per cent in the highest decile.

Table 1: Average monthly housing maintenance costs of households, the ratio of housing maintenance costs compared to income (%), by income deciles and in total, 2015:

Household income deciles	Average monthly housing maintenance costs (EUR)	Ratio of housing maintenance costs compared to income (%)	Distribution of households by the ratio of housing costs compared to income				Total
			0–14 %	15–24 %	25–34 %	over 35%	
1.	85.96	36.6	5.5	20.4	28.1	46.0	100.0
2.	100.50	32.0	5.7	26.2	34.0	34.1	100.0
3.	111.88	29.3	9.2	34.6	31.8	24.4	100.0
4.	114.40	25.0	13.6	46.8	26.4	13.2	100.0
5.	121.36	23.0	16.9	51.0	24.0	8.0	100.0
6.	127.36	21.2	23.0	52.7	17.1	7.3	100.0
7.	130.21	18.8	31.2	53.2	11.4	4.2	100.0
8.	137.16	17.4	41.0	47.0	9.2	2.8	100.0
9.	146.01	15.9	52.2	40.2	6.2	1.4	100.0
10.	164.65	13.3	73.8	22.4	2.3	1.4	100.0
Total	127.36	22.1	30.3	40.1	17.5	12.1	100.0

Source: Data of the HCSO's 2015 Housing Survey.

The time-series data of Eurostat on households overburdened by housing costs indicate the period between 2010 and 2017 to be fluctuating, and in the past two years to be deteriorating: the situation improved between 2012 and 2016, but again started to decline in recent years (2016-2017). In both 2010 and 2017, the problem affected approximately one tenth of households (4 per cent improvement). However, in the lowest income quintile, the ratio of affected households increased by close to 20 per cent between 2010 and 2017 (from 32 to 38 per cent):

Table 2 Housing cost overburden rate by income 2010-2017 (in %)

Income quintiles	2010	2012	2014	2015	2016	2017
Lower quintile	32.4	36.4	35.2	28.4	27.8	38.1
2 nd quintile	15.0	19.9	14.4	8.5	9.6	9.8
3 rd quintile	5.0	8.8	9.4	2.9	3.7	3.3
4 th quintile	2.6	6.1	3.6	1.5	1.8	1.5
Upper quintile	1.3	2.3	1.4	1.2	1.0	0.7
Total	11.3	14.7	12.8	8.5	8.8	10.7

Source: Eurostat, Living conditions and welfare, Housing cost overburden rate by income quintile, EU-SILC survey

The 2012-2016 data indicate that the public utility cost reduction somewhat alleviated affordability problems. The measure, on average, allowed for a 10 per cent price reduction in respect of gas, electricity and district heating from January 2013. The objective of Act LIV of 2013 on Utility Price Cuts is to "mitigate unjustifiably high household burdens" and to "improve the quality of the population's standard of living". The price cut, however, did

not apply to households heating with wood or coal.^{115, 116} Moreover, “families falling into the two highest income deciles receive a larger portion of benefits than those in the two lowest deciles: 139.05 million EUR (44 billion HUF) in contrast with the 104.29 million EUR (33 billion HUF) provided to the two lowest deciles.”¹¹⁷

The phenomenon of usury is directly linked to the affordability problems and indebtedness of the poorest. The Criminal Code sanctions usury, however,¹¹⁸ in segregated areas it is one of the most important and most necessary tools of survival strategy. *“In certain settlements, usurers are practically essential. The reason is that, quite simply, the victims of usury are unable to access funds anywhere else. If we examine the interests of the victims, it is not unambiguous that usury is actually hurting them”.*¹¹⁹ There is much experience and far fewer accurate data, although several studies have examined the issue in detail.¹²⁰ According to the data of an earlier small-sample research (2008), a fifth of Roma residents living in poverty in the examined settlements have been forced to turn to usury. *“The higher the ratio of Roma in a given settlement, the more they require usury money and the number of local usurers is also proportionately higher. [...] There is only one way to escape from this trap: leave all movable and immovable assets behind – meaning transfer and assign these to the creditor – and start a new life somewhere else.”*¹²¹ In most cases this means homelessness.

Settlement and public utility development

Pursuant to Act CLXXXIX of 2011 on Local Governments in Hungary, the task of settlement municipalities is the operation and development of settlements. One of the objectives of the 2014-2020 Public Administration and Public Service Development Strategy is to improve the availability and quality of services, including infrastructural conditions (e.g.

¹¹⁵ According to the aforementioned UNDP report, in 2011 81 per cent of Roma households used wood for heating and 13 per cent used wood for cooking as well (Source: *The housing situation of Roma communities: Regional Roma Survey 2011*. Roma Inclusion Working Papers, UNDP Europe and the CIS. Bratislava Regional Centre. p. 27 (Available at: <http://www.eurasia.undp.org/content/dam/rbec/docs/The-housing-situation-of-Roma-communities.pdf>)

¹¹⁶ The government has been operating the ‘social firewood programme’ since 2011, as part of which the municipalities of small settlements can apply for firewood and coal subsidies to the Ministry of the Interior. 2,255 municipalities submitted applications in 2018, and the limit amount is approximately 4 billion HUF. (Source: <http://www.kormany.hu/hu/belugyminiszterium/onkormanyzati-allamtitkarsag/hirek/negymilliard-forintos-tuzeloanyag-tamogatas-a-raszoruloknak>). This is close to 1.8 million HUF per settlement on average. In contrast with the ‘universal utility cost reduction’, households are not automatically entitled to firewood and coal support. The municipalities of settlements are allowed to set out eligibility criteria in their own decrees, and practice shows that this is typically provided in addition to settlement support to those they deem ‘worthy’ as in-kind support. The problem is the use of the application system, discretionality and benefits as a means of reward, as well as the fact that its rate, particularly in the case of those most in need, is far from sufficient to resolve heating-related difficulties.

¹¹⁷ József Hegedűs – Eszter Somogyi (2018) *A lakások megfizethetősége és a társadalmi egyenlőtlenségek – a KSH 2015-ös lakásfelmérése alapján (the affordability of dwellings and social inequalities – Based on the HCSO’s 2015 Housing Survey)*. In: *Miben élünk? A 2015. évi lakásfelmérés részletes eredményei (What are we living in? Detailed results of the 2015 housing survey)*. Budapest: Hungarian Central Statistical Office. p. 23. Available at: http://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xftp/idoszaki/pdf/miben_elunk15_2.pdf

¹¹⁸ <https://buntetojog.info/kulonos-resz/btk-381-%C2%A7-uzsora-buncselekmey/>

¹¹⁹ Worded by Tibor Béres. Eszter Prókai. Az uzsorás nem ellenség. Ő a kéz, ami enni ad (The usurer is not the enemy, he is the hand that feeds), Abcúg, 25.02.2016. <https://abcug.hu/az-uzsoras-nem-ellenseg-o-kez-ami-eni-ad/>

¹²⁰ See e.g.: G. Fábián – K. Szoboszlai – L. Hüse. Available at: http://mike.mtapti.hu/loss/pdf/Loss_181-201.pdf. Durst 2011. Available at: <http://beszelo.c3.hu/cikkek/%E2%80%9Eha-nincs-penz-ugyis-belemegy-az-ember-valamibe%E2%80%9D>

Béres-Lukács (2008). Available at: http://www.esely.org/kiadvanyok/2008_5/BERES.pdf

¹²¹ Tibor Béres – György Lukács (2008) Kamatos pénz a Csereháton (Usury funds in Cserehát). *Esély*, 2008/5. p. 84, 86 http://www.esely.org/kiadvanyok/2008_5/BERES.pdf

running water access, sewage disposal). Low-status residential zones, segregated areas and substandard dwellings are, for the most part, left out of major developments (at the most, there are isolated interventions as part of EU tenders). Municipalities have a number of reasons not to have a vested interest in their development. Firstly, they are unwilling to undertake any conflicts. Secondly, part of the substandard dwelling portfolio – among other things, due to earlier social housing investments – was built on invaluable areas that were not to be developed (e.g. flood areas). Thirdly, non-residential areas, which according to the 2011 census had more than 300,000 residents (20 per cent in dwellings without bathrooms, and 18 per cent in dwellings without any comfort)¹²² do not represent mandatory infrastructural tasks.

The opportunities of those living in housing poverty and in low-status residential zones are made even more difficult, at times impossible, 'from the other side' by unclear ownership status. In the secondary housing market, properties change hands informally, some of the residents have no registered permanent address, or times are 'courtesy residents', and – also – on account of this, they are forced out of any potentially available opportunities (e.g. borrowing, state aid, development programmes).

Access to secure and affordable housing

The portfolio of municipal housing is minimal at the national level as well, but is almost completely missing in disadvantaged (small) settlements. It is also a general trend that the poorest, including the Roma, are increasingly pushed out of social housing. Municipalities "only utilise part of the housing volume for social purpose in name. The ratio of 'social housing' [...] in reality is merely 1.5 per cent within the total housing portfolio".¹²³ "Between 1990 and 1999, the municipal housing volume of 850,000 observed before the political transition dropped to barely 180,000. [...] In 2016, there were only 110,000 municipal dwellings in Hungary, and by 2018 only 2.7 per cent of homes are in municipal ownership".¹²⁴ According to HCSO data, in 2017, 108,000 dwellings were in municipal ownership (with only 2.7 per cent renovated).¹²⁵ The fact that the ratio of municipal dwellings in settlements is less than 1 per cent (0.7 per cent) was only revealed by the 2015 housing survey.¹²⁶

According to Nóra Teller: *"When asset management arguments conflict with social arguments, it essentially becomes a political issue which aspect can be better enforced by local actors: supporting or forcing out the poor. However, by the state entrusting the management of the housing needs of those in need to local municipalities, it has pushed and is pushing the management of the problems of increasingly vulnerable families, whose support is also increasingly cost-intensive, down to the local level. The result is known: politicians are unwilling to 'undertake' the given tenants – stigmatised on account of being homeless or Roma – even if they do not have to pay a dime for renovating the dwellings and tenants would also receive other support free of charge".*¹²⁷ At the same time, the local

¹²² HCSO (2016) Census 2011 – 20. Social and economic characteristics of those living in non-residential areas. July 2016 http://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xftp/idoszaki/nepsz2011/nepsz_20_2011.pdf

¹²³ Bálint Missetics (2017) Lakáspolitikai és hajléktalanság (Housing policy and homelessness). In: Zsuzsa Ferge (2017) *Magyar társadalom-és szociálpolitika 1990-2015 (Hungarian social and societal policy, 1990-2015)*. Budapest: Osiris Kiadó. p. 343

¹²⁴ Nóra Teller (2018) *Önkormányzatok és a lakáspolitikai: kényszerpályán? (Municipalities and housing policy: No alternative?)*. MÉRCE.hu, 23 August 2018, <https://merce.hu/2018/08/23/onkormanyzatok-es-a-lakaspolitika-kenyszerpalyan/>

¹²⁵ HCSO STADAT 2.3.6. http://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xstadat/xstadat_eves/i_zrl001.html

¹²⁶ Data of the HCSO's 2015 Housing Survey.

¹²⁷ Nóra Teller (2018) *Önkormányzatok és a lakáspolitikai: kényszerpályán? (Municipalities and housing policy: No alternative?)*. MÉRCE.hu, 23 August 2018, <https://merce.hu/2018/08/23/onkormanyzatok-es-a-lakaspolitika-kenyszerpalyan/>

incentives for establishing social housing are not in place, as municipalities have to take substantial and re-generating outstanding debts into account.

As part of EU projects ("Eliminating segregated living circumstances through complex programmes", EFOP1.6.2. and 2.4.1.), municipalities of small settlements have the opportunity to create social housing. Such projects will be implemented in 110 settlements in the 2014-2020 development cycle. The social urban rehabilitation schemes also target the increasing of the social housing portfolio, as one of the tools of desegregation. However, overall, these can only reduce deficiencies to a minimal degree (these concern just a few dwellings, families per settlement). Moreover, there are some municipalities that – fearing conflicts and resistance from the village – are not even submitting applications to tenders. In a settlement in Heves County, the representative body withdrew from a winning application,¹²⁸ thereby losing hundreds of millions in development funds.¹²⁹

The forcing out of the most vulnerable from municipal dwellings is no isolated practice, and neither is the discrimination of Roma residents. Extreme examples of this are the evictions in Budapest – which were given relatively high media coverage on account of protest from civil society organisations – or the practice in Miskolc from a few years ago.¹³⁰ During the latter, by amending the applicable local decree, the town started terminating the contracts of and then evicting the Roma living in 'numbered streets', with the aim of eliminating low-comfort social housing. Tenants with fixed-term rental contracts for low-comfort social housing received a compensation of 6,320 EUR (2 million HUF) per dwelling, with the proviso that can only purchase another property outside of Miskolc. The nearby small settlements attempted to prevent evicted families from finding new homes through local decrees. The discriminative practice was investigated by the Commissioner for Fundamental Rights, numerous civil society organisations, the Legal Defence Bureau for National and Ethnic Minorities (NEKI) as well as the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR). According to the latter's report, *"as of the summer of 2014, the local government issued eviction orders to numerous families in the Numbered Streets, and used several methods to essentially end contracts with (predominantly) Roma tenants of social housing, followed by the demolition of housing. In the same period, a number of control activities were carried out jointly in segregated neighbourhoods of Miskolc where Roma represent the majority of population. [...] Reportedly, in the course of the control activities, the groups would inspect entire apartments and in some cases issue fines, in a manner described as 'harassing and fear inducing' by the Commissioner for Human Rights"*.¹³¹ The Miskolc decree and the local decrees of small settlements were ultimately repealed, which does not mean that the forcing out of Roma families has ended.

Effectiveness of housing benefits and social assistance to maintain housing

The 1 March 2015 amendment of Act III of 1993 on Social Governance and Social Benefits considerably transformed social aid provided by municipalities. One component of this which impacts the foundations of the local support provided for housing is the introduction

¹²⁸ Minutes of the extraordinary public meeting of the representative body of the municipality of Kerecsend, 9 May 2018.

http://kerecsend.hu/index.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_view&qid=458&Itemid=129

¹²⁹ See also, for example: <https://merce.hu/2018/05/25/visszautasitottak-a-felmilliárdos-unios-tamogatást-amit-a-szegregáció-felzámolására-kellett-volna-kolteniuk/>

¹³⁰ <https://www.osce.org/odihr/262051>

¹³¹ *The Housing Rights of Roma in Miskolc, Hungary. Report on the ODIHR Field Assessment Visit to Hungary. 29 June – 1 July 2015* The OSCE/ODIHR Contact Point for Roma and Sinti Issues. Warsaw, Poland 27 April 2016 3-4. <https://www.osce.org/hu/odihr/262031?download=true>. See also, for example: <http://dev.neki.hu/miskolc-fuggessze-fel-a-kilakoltatasokat/> and <https://tasz.hu/cikkek/antidiszkriminacios-per-indul-miskolc-vezetese-ellen>

of the settlement support,¹³² and concurrently the discontinuation of the Household Maintenance-Cost Subsidy (HMS). Close to 500,000 received the Household Maintenance-Cost Subsidy in 2012, but only 333,000 in 2015. The average monthly per capita amount of the subsidy was 11.72 EUR (3,707 HUF) in 2012, and only 6.89 EUR (2,180 HUF) in 2015. The drop in the quality of service is also reflected in the considerable decline in budgetary funds spent thereon (*Table 2*). The per capita housing subsidy shows that it was far from sufficient to veritably alleviate affordability-related difficulties and to establish housing security.

Table 3 Household Maintenance-Cost Subsidy data, 2010-2016

	2010	2012	2014	2015	2016
Number of subsidy recipients (persons)	361,076	498,931	412,416	333,149	160
Amount used (thousands EUR)	60,945	70,157	61,553	27,547	8.22
Average per capita amount (HUF)	168.79	140.62	149.25	82.69	–

Source: HCSO STADAT 2.5.15. Available at:

http://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xstadat/xstadat_eves/i_fsp011b.html

According to TÁRKI's May 2018 study, "with the reduction of housing benefits, the weight of a regular benefit form, one that provided greater social security decreased; while with the concurrent increase of other benefits, the weight of a fundamentally ad-hoc type benefit type increased". It is also important that "the smaller a settlement is, the less likely it is for residents to receive housing-related benefits and subsidies".¹³³ In July 2015, four months after the amendment, Habitat for Humanity examined the local effects of the amendment in 31 settlements. According to the report, "of the 26 municipalities still disbursing the Household Maintenance-Cost Subsidy, only one upheld former HMS eligibility rules and the formula determining the subsidy amount, while the other municipalities typically simplified these former rules that primarily favoured low income households with multiple children".¹³⁴ Taking the example of the 31 settlements examined as a starting point, it can be established that for multi-member families living in housing poverty, the changes are clearly unfavourable and the high degree of discretionality establishes the threat of excluding families on account of subjective aspects".¹³⁵ As a result

¹³² Pursuant to the Social Act, "settlement support can provide assistance, particularly in covering regular housing costs, (...) as well as decreasing housing-related arrears". Local municipalities, however, themselves determine what supply (need) groups are named within this particular form of support. The legislator only "recommends" that {these} "life circumstances" (needs) should be regulated (...) (Mózer 2016: 87). In addition, in extraordinary life situations or in the case of severe subsistence problems, municipalities are obligated to provide extraordinary settlement support (which is equivalent to the former municipal aid). (...) By introducing the settlement support, the scope of authority of municipalities to determine aid has expanded and, at the same time, so did the opportunity for discretionality, as in contrast with earlier regulation, the Social Act does not specify the lower limits, standard and regularity of local aids and local municipalities – along statutory guidelines – can themselves make decisions on providing local aids and the related eligibility criteria. These factors makes access unpredictable, and can increase the vulnerability of those living in poverty to local practices, as well as weaken social security." (Zsombor Farkas (2018) *A segélyezési rendszer 2015. március 1-jei átalakításának körülményei és hatásai a végrehajtási szinten*

Lokális gyakorlatok és tapasztalatok (The circumstances and effects of the 1 March 2015 transformation of the aid system at the executive level. Local practices and experiences). Budapest: TÁRKI manuscript, p. 6-7)

¹³³ Marianna Kopasz – András Gábor (2018) *A segélyezési rendszer 2015. március 1-jei átalakításának hatásai (The effects of the 1 March 2015 transformation of the aid scheme)*. Budapest: TÁRKI. (Manuscript) p. 5

¹³⁴ Lea Kőszeghy (2016) (ed.) *Annual Report on Housing Poverty In Hungary 2015* Budapest: Habitat for Humanity, Hungary. p. 24, https://www.habitat.hu/files/eves_jelentes_a_lakhatasi_szegenysegről_teljes_valtozat2015.pdf

¹³⁵ *Idem*. p. 25

of the transformation of municipal aid, "aid recipients have become vulnerable to local politics".¹³⁶

The March 2015 amendment of the Social Act also impacted the debt management service,¹³⁷ service was discontinued and cannot be applied for since the entry into force of the amendment. As of 2006, cities with populations greater than 40,000 were obligated to provide debt management service (as well as the related debt reduction support), but at the same time this was also introduced in certain smaller towns (e.g. Bátonyterenye), typically within the framework of projects. The number of the recipients of debt relief grants dropped by more than 15,000 between 2010 and 2015 (Table 3). In 2014, "in settlements with populations under 10,000, the number of households receiving the grant dropped by 57 per cent. [...] The number of grant recipients only increased in settlements with populations between 50,000 and 100,000 people and only to a slight extent".¹³⁸ On the one hand, it was precisely severely indebted households in small settlements that were not reached by the grant. On the other, the household maintenance-cost subsidy and debt management covered only 10-15 per cent of average household overhead costs.

Table 4 Debt relief grant data, 2010-2016

	2010	2012	2014	2015	2016
Number of grant recipients (thousands of persons)	19,857	13,450	8,924	4,536	512
Amount used (thousands EUR)	5,929	4,487	3,198	1,487	76.04
Average per capita amount (EUR)	298.60	333.65	358.34	327.76	–

Source: HCSO STADAT 2.5.15. Available at:

http://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xstadat/xstadat_eves/i_fsp011b.html

Prepaid meters serve to prevent the accumulation of arrears. The commissioning of these devices is free of charge for vulnerable consumers.¹³⁹ These are persons living with disabilities and the socially disadvantaged (pursuant to the provisions of the social¹⁴⁰ and child protection¹⁴¹ acts). The system is important, but concerns only 1 per cent of consumers. "At the end of 2016, 40,500 consumers were registered as vulnerable, approximately 14,900 among natural gas consumers, which in both cases is less than 1 per cent of consumers. Based on the burdens of housing costs and the data of public utility

¹³⁶ Péter Mózer – Katalin Tausz – Attila Varga (2015): A segélyezési rendszer változásai (Changes of the system of aids). *Esély*, 2015/3. p. 43-66, http://esely.org/kiadvanyok/2015_3/2015-3_2-1_MozerTauszVarga_Segelyezesi_rendszer.pdf

¹³⁷ Within the system of the debt management service, households using the service, firstly, received a debt relief grant to repay accumulated arrears and, secondly, were obligated to take part in regular debt management counselling. "Although the grant reached only a fraction of households with arrears (approximately 20,000 households in 2010) and access showed considerable regional inequalities, it still represented a systemic solution compared to earlier debt management programmes". (Bálint Missetics (2017) *Lakáspolitikai és hajléktalanság (Housing policy and homelessness)*). In: *Zsuzsa Ferge (2017) Magyar társadalom-és szociálpolitika 1990-2015 (Hungarian social and societal policy, 1990-2015)*. Budapest: Osiris Kiadó. p. 358)

¹³⁸ Lea Kőszeghy (2016) (ed.) *Annual Report on Housing Poverty In Hungary 2015* Budapest: Habitat for Humanity, Hungary. p. 22, https://www.habitat.hu/files/eves_jelentes_a_lakhatasi_szegenysegről_teljes_valtozat2015.pdf

¹³⁹ Act LXXXVI of 2007 on Electricity, Sections 64-65; Government Decree No. 273/2007. (X. 19.), Sections 30-37

¹⁴⁰ Act III of 1993

¹⁴¹ Act XXXI of 1997

arrears, in reality considerably more energy consumers would require support in having access to an appropriate volume of electricity, without risking the financial security of the household".¹⁴²

Family Housing Allowance

The government introduced the Family Housing Allowance (CSOK) in July 2015, which – even with conditions amended in 2016 – represents significant support for higher income families with multiple children (where parents have permanent jobs in the primary labour market as well as savings). In 2017, the Family Housing Allowance was disbursed to approximately 29,000 applicants (in a value of close to 221.22 million EUR or 70 billion HUF).¹⁴³ *"Concurrently with the Family Housing Allowance, the value-added tax on new homes was reduced and the VAT refund support related to home construction was also introduced. [...] Together with the VAT reduction, the net annual cost of the programme in the coming years is estimated to be at between 50-114 billion HUF [158-360 million EUR]. This will, therefore, without a doubt be the most expensive housing support programme of the coming period, meaning that the decade-long tradition of the unfair distribution of state funds for housing is set to continue."*¹⁴⁴

The poorest, including the Roma, are forced out of the support as they are unable to meet the criteria (most being either unemployed or public workers, without savings). *"The support structure excludes numerous groups (for the most part groups in need) from the scope of eligibility to begin with. [...] Typically [...] groups that would most require state support to resolve housing issues. An even greater problem is that such programmes supporting the acquisition of ownership, although seemingly universal, in reality favour households that have more in the way of own funds (in other words more income and savings)".¹⁴⁵*

Consequences of ineffectiveness: indebtedness, evictions, removal of children from the family

The low standard of housing-related benefits and services, the lack of municipal social housing and the overall anomalies of housing policy jointly contribute to the indebtedness of the poor and, in given cases, their eviction. The 2016 report by Habitat for Humanity clearly defines the problem and its consequences: *"The loosely regulated private rental housing market, the lack of social housing, accompanied by the fact that there has not been a central, social-based housing maintenance subsidy and debt management support for more than two years, will most likely increase the number of people who are unable to provide adequate housing for themselves and their families in the long-term without becoming indebted. If the government does not reverse these processes, there is high risk of deepening housing poverty, increasing the number of people forced to live homeless or*

¹⁴² Lea Köszeghy (2017) (ed.) *Annual Report on Housing Poverty In Hungary 2016*. Budapest: Habitat for Humanity, Hungary, p. 24-25, https://habitat.hu/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/Habitat_eves_jelentes_2016_web_2.pdf

¹⁴³ *Retail housing lending, 2017*. Statistical Mirror, HCSO, 13 April 2018, <http://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xftp/idoszaki/lakashitel/lakashitel1712.pdf>

¹⁴⁴ Bálint Misetics (2017) *Lakáspolitikai és hajléktalanság (Housing policy and homelessness)*. In: Zsuzsa Ferge (2017) *Magyar társadalom-és szociálpolitika 1990-2015 (Hungarian social and societal policy, 1990-2015)*. Budapest: Osiris Kiadó. p. 353

¹⁴⁵ Misetics Bálint (2017) *Lakhatáshoz való jogot! A szociális lakáspolitikai legsürgetőbb feladatairól (Right to housing. On the most urgent tasks of social housing policy)*. Budapest: Transformation Institute. p. 17, <http://mmaa.hu/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Lakhat%C3%A1st-mindenkinek-vitaanyag.pdf>

*under inhumane housing conditions, which in turn will also have a severe impact on employment, education, social mobility and social integration".*¹⁴⁶

Based on the response given – after considerable procrastination – by the Ministry of Justice to a question posed by a Member of Parliament, there were 1,355 evictions in the second quarter of 2018.¹⁴⁷ According to "A Város Mindenkié" (*The City is for All*), "based on data for last year released by the Hungarian Chamber of Judicial Officers, close to 4,000 evictions are to be expected during the period from 30 April 2018 to 15 November 2018. [...]. The figures clearly reveal that delaying evictions in itself provides no solution, as this year will see the same number of people – including families with small children – be evicted, but in a shorter period of time".¹⁴⁸ In January 2018, the organisation launched a campaign and drew up a bill in order to, at least, stop families with children from being evicted without alternative placement ensured.¹⁴⁹ The bill was not adopted by the National Assembly. According to Bálint Missetics (2017), "it is greatly indicative of the situation of the Hungarian 'social housing sector' and its 'societal' nature that in the past 15 years, the number of evictions from municipal dwellings on account of arrears has tripled. In 2015, in the nine months not affected by the winter eviction moratorium, on an average day more than four evictions were carried out from municipal dwellings alone"¹⁵⁰ (Chart 1). Nearly two thirds (62 per cent) of people living in such housing are struggling with affordability problems (among private tenants this ratio is 53 per cent),¹⁵¹ "for the most part on the basis of the standard of housing, and only secondarily on the basis of overhead costs. [...] Arrears in the sector are dramatic, not just according to the number of the families concerned, but also according to the rate of outstanding debt."¹⁵²

¹⁴⁶ Lea Kőszeghy (2017) (ed.) *Annual Report on Housing Poverty In Hungary 2016*. Budapest: Habitat for Humanity, Hungary. p. 53, https://habitat.hu/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/Habitat_eves_jelentes_2016_web_2.pdf

¹⁴⁷ Response by Dr. Pál Völner to Dr. Lajos Oláh, Budapest, 17 August 2018, <http://www.parlament.hu/irom41/00989/00989-0001.pdf>

¹⁴⁸ Véget ért a moratórium: kezdődnek a kilakoltatások (*The moratorium ends: evictions begin*). ÁVM, 2018, https://avarosmindenkie.blog.hu/2018/05/03/veget_ert_a_moratorium_kezdodnek_a_kilakoltatasok

¹⁴⁹ See also: Gyerekek kilakoltatás? Soha többé! (*Evicting children? Never again!*) ÁVM, 2018, https://avarosmindenkie.blog.hu/2018/01/16/gyerekek_kilakoltatasa_soha_tobbé

¹⁵⁰ Bálint Missetics (2017) *Lakhatási válság – az állam felelőssége* (*Housing crisis – the responsibility of the state*). Új egyenlőség, 02.04.2017, <http://ujegyenloseg.hu/lakhatasi-valsag-az-allam-felelossege/>

¹⁵¹ József Hegedűs – Eszter Somogyi (2018) *A lakások megfizethetősége és a társadalmi egyenlőtlenségek – a KSH 2015-ös lakásfelvétele alapján* (*The affordability of dwellings and social inequalities – Based on the HCSO's 2015 Housing Survey*). In: *Miben élünk? A 2015. évi lakásfelmérés részletes eredményei* (*What are we living in? Detailed results of the 2015 housing survey*). Budapest: Hungarian Central Statistical Office. http://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xftp/idoszaki/pdf/miben_elunk15_2.pdf

¹⁵² Nóra Teller (2018) *Önkormányzatok és a lakáspolitikai: kényszerpályán?* (*Municipalities and housing policy: No alternative?*). Mércé.hu, 23 August 2018 <https://merce.hu/2018/08/23/onkormanyzatok-es-a-lakaspolitika-kenyszerpalyan/>

Chart 1 Evictions from municipal housing, 2001-2015¹⁵³



Source: HCSO Municipal data collection; Figure from: Misesics 2017. Available at: <http://ujegyenloseg.hu/lakatasi-valsag-az-allam-felelossege/>

On account of the above, writes Nóra Teller, “it is actually in the sector [...] through which – in theory – the welfare system would use a direct tool (by ensuring housing) to remedy poverty and vulnerability (as these dwellings typically have people unable to enter the private rental market living in them) that the state fails miserably”. Even though, “beyond the 110,000 municipal rental dwellings, approximately 900,000 households would also require some sort of instrument or support to increase housing security. Of the tens of thousands of people in hopeless situations, the National Asset Management Agency provides affordable housing to 35,000 defaulted debtor families, which can undoubtedly be viewed as the largest social housing programme since the political transition.”¹⁵⁴ This means that the National Asset Management Agency only provides a solution to a fraction of those in hopeless situations.

The removal of children from families and placing them in child protection care is an existing problem. One of the typical reasons for this practice is bad housing conditions, which for the most part can be traced back to financial difficulties, despite the fact that pursuant to the child protection act of 1997,¹⁵⁵ the removal of children from families for solely financial reasons is not allowed. The European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC) has pointed out in several of its reports that Roma children living in poverty are over-represented in state care, meaning that the rate of removal from the family in their case is high.¹⁵⁶ Discriminative local practices were examined at numerous small settlements by the Hungarian Civil Liberties Union (TASZ) which – hand-in-hand with the “A Város Mindenkié” (The City is for All) group – also launched a campaign in 2016 to remedy the situation. Although according to the Ministry the “statement [...] has no merit”,¹⁵⁷ there

¹⁵³ Legend: Red: Number of evictions//Orange: Of which, due to arrears

¹⁵⁴ Nóra Teller (2018) *Önkormányzatok és a lakáspolitikák: kényszerpályán?* (Municipalities and housing policy: No alternative?). MÉRCE.hu, 23 August 2018, <https://merce.hu/2018/08/23/onkormanyzatok-es-a-lakaspolitika-kenyszerpalyan/>

¹⁵⁵ Act XXXI of 1997 on the Protection of Children and the Administration of Guardianship

¹⁵⁶ ERRC (2007): *Fenntartott érdektelenség: Roma gyermekek a magyar gyermekvédelmi rendszerben* (Dis-interest of the Child: Romani Children in the Hungarian Child Protection System), December 2007. Budapest: European Roma Rights Centre. <http://www.errc.org/cms/upload/media/02/90/m00000290.pdf>

ERRC (2011): *Életfogytiglan: Roma gyermekek a magyar gyermekvédelmi rendszerben* (Life Sentence: Romani Children in State Care in Hungary) June 2011. Budapest: European Roma Rights Centre. <http://www.errc.org/cms/upload/file/életfogytiglan-20-june-2011.pdf>

¹⁵⁷ https://tasz.hu/files/tasz/imce/2015/emmi_valasz_hianyzo_emlekekre_2017.05.17.pdf%20p.1-2, p. 1-2.

are signs that indicate otherwise. Research by the *Gyerekesély Közhasznú Egyesület* (Chances for Children Association) in 2015-2016 in Nógrád County found that “*despite material reasons [...] not being explicitly present in removal decisions, but rather as background factors, income poverty still remain a clearly typical reason for assignment into state care*”.¹⁵⁸ “*Close to 80 per cent of those in state care between the ages of 0 and 17 are Roma, which in itself is explained neither by the high ratio of the Roma population, nor the extreme poverty impacting the Roma (and non-Roma) residents of the villages concerned. The living conditions of families are not improving, the chances of returning to home care are slim; and child protection guardians recommended the discontinuation of state care for only one in ten children.*”¹⁵⁹

As shown, it is typically civil society organisations, and not the dedicated Roma minority self-governments – which in theory are also responsible for the representation of interests – that act against discriminative practices hurting Roma children and families.

Fight against residential segregation, discrimination and other forms of antigypsyism in housing

Residential segregation

Pursuant to Act CXXV of 2003 on Equal Treatment and Promotion of Equal Opportunities, the conditions of access to housing shall not be determined with the aim of artificially separating any particular groups, against the group’s voluntary decision.¹⁶⁰ According to the Equal Treatment Authority (2013), “*housing segregation is a unique form of housing discrimination, that manifests itself by establishing criteria for housing eligibility, which leads to a given group defined on the basis protected characteristics to be segregated in a given settlement or settlement area artificially, and not on the basis of voluntary intention*”.¹⁶¹

The 2015 sectoral policy strategy of the Ministry of Human Capacities (EMMI) emphasises that housing exclusion greatly impacting the Roma population often represents very poor (“often critical”) housing standards, and dwellings located on the peripheries, or with illegal or uncertain legal frameworks, and is often accompanied by regional concentration. A survey by the National Development Agency conducted in 2010 found 1,600 slums in one quarter of the country’s settlements (820 settlements), with a total population of 280-300,000 people.¹⁶² So-called segregation maps were drawn up on the basis of 2011 census data. The segregation indicator applied indicates the ratio of those with, at the most, primary school education and no regular wages within the active (15-59-year-old) population. The indicator contains no ethnicity data. A segregated area is an area where the segregation indicator – depending on settlement type – reaches the 20-50 per cent

¹⁵⁸ Ágnes Darvas et al (2016) Roma gyerekek a szakellátásban. Gyermekjólét és gyermekvédelem Nógrád megyében (Roma children in state care. Child welfare and child protection in Nógrád County). Esély, 2016/4. p. 53, http://www.esely.org/kiadvanyok/2016_4/2016-4_3-1_Darvas-Farkas-Kende-Vigh_Roma_gyerekek.pdf

¹⁵⁹ *Idem* p. 66

¹⁶⁰ See: Act CXXV of 2003 Sections 8 and 26 (3).

¹⁶¹ Adél Kegye (2013) Védett tulajdonságú csoportok hozzáféréseinek akadályai a közigazgatási döntéshozatalban (Impediments to the public decision-making access of groups with protected characteristics). Budapest: Equal Treatment Authority; p. 47, http://egyenlobanasmod.hu/sites/default/files/kiadvany/M1_mell_5_os_kutatas_EBH_0.pdf

¹⁶² Veronika Domokos – Béla Herczeg (2010) *Terra Incognita. Szociológiai Szemle (Review of Sociology of the Hungarian Sociological Association)*, 2010/3. p. 82-99, http://www.szociologia.hu/dynamic/szocszemle_2010_3_all.pdf

value. 1,383 segregated areas were identified in 709 settlements in the country. 2.8 per cent of the population live here, the majority being Roma.¹⁶³

According to the study (2016) by the Metropolitan Research Institute, *"the living opportunities of poor people concentrated in segregated areas/slums are considerably deteriorated by the fact that the public services of the welfare system are often not available to slum residents at all, or are very expensive or available through great difficulty, and are of frequently of low standard and inadequate capacity (for structural reasons), which is accompanied by discrimination paired with prejudice (institutional factor). The rate of these disadvantages varies greatly from slum to slum as they depend on numerous structural and individual factors. [...] The interests of majority society (which at the same time also includes families with better financial standing) serve to keep the phenomena of extreme poverty invisible and dictate that families have no contact with majority society. It is this attitude that is also manifested in the policies influenced by local decision-making, where a series of institutional and individual decisions leads to kindergarten and school segregation. This exclusion also contributes to the 'expanded re-generation' of disadvantages"*.¹⁶⁴

Projects implemented with EU funds target the improvement of the living conditions and housing situation of those living in segregated areas. According to the EMMI's strategy (2015), increasing the comfort levels of dwellings in segregated areas is an important element of complex interventions (ERDF type activities). *"In many disadvantaged settlement areas, the prerequisite of housing interventions is the legalisation of housing and the clarification of the ownership status of plots and buildings. It is important that those with legal housing are not excluded from the programme either"*.¹⁶⁵ In spite of strategic proposals, there is no perceivable improvement as yet at the national level. EU-financed local projects do accomplish minor and major results, but their sustainability is doubtful and they represent minimal progress at the macro-level. Moreover, these are only implemented where there is municipal intent in place; meaning that the vast majority of those living in Roma slums are excluded from these opportunities to begin with. In fact, the case of the 'numbered streets' in Miskolc and the withdrawal of Kerecsend from the winning bid indicate that it is often the municipalities themselves that reinforce housing exclusion and discrimination practices against the Roma.

Discrimination in rental housing market

No comprehensive current analyses examining housing market discrimination are available. It can be assumed that despite known cases, discrimination in the social housing sector is lower than in the case of private rental dwellings. According to the Equal Treatment Authority (2013), *"housing discrimination petitions, similarly to complaints related to public administration proceedings, are for the most part unsuccessful. [...] There are very few objective components in housing cases based on which rulings may be brought in these cases. This is particularly true for access to social housing, where a committee selects the successful applicant from countless candidates on the basis of aspects that also contain subjective elements"*.¹⁶⁶ According to a survey by the FRA, in

¹⁶³ Sectoral political strategy for the 2014-2020 period, forming the basis for the management of slum-like housing. Budapest, 2015. EMMI State Secretariat for Social Affairs and Social Inclusion. <http://www.kormany.hu/download/3/a6/40000/Lakhat-Strat.pdf>

See also: <http://www.mut.hu/?module=news&action=getfile&aid=39990>; <http://www.mrtt.hu/vandorgyulesek/2017/05/balog.pdf>

¹⁶⁴ Evaluation of the Complex Programme for Segregated Settlements (TÁMOP 5.3.6-11). Summary study. Metropolitan Research Institute 28 June 2016, p. 14-15

¹⁶⁵ Sectoral political strategy for the 2014-2020 period, forming the basis for the management of slum-like housing. Budapest, 2015. EMMI State Secretariat for Social Affairs and Social Inclusion. p. 66, <http://www.kormany.hu/download/3/a6/40000/Lakhat-Strat.pdf>

¹⁶⁶ Adél Kegye (2013) Védett tulajdonságú csoportok hozzáféréseinek akadályai a közigazgatási döntéshozatalban (Impediments to the public decision-making access of groups with protected characteristics).

2011, 26 per cent of Hungarian Roma were discriminated against during the search for, purchase or rental of dwellings.¹⁶⁷ *"The vast majority of rental properties are leased informally, which makes tenants vulnerable as the risk is built into the rent. [...] In many cases, low income tenants, those with children or Roma are required to give deposits, or just simply not allowed to rent the given dwelling".*¹⁶⁸

Improvement of housing conditions and regeneration of deprived neighbourhoods

While the government spends considerable budgetary funds to support the housing of higher income social groups, it pays significantly less attention to improving the living circumstances of the poorest. These latter are served almost exclusively by local projects implemented using European Union funds. 2005 was the year when the first slum elimination programme – financed from the central budget – was launched after the political transition. Within the framework of the 2005-2010 scheme, using more than 12.64 million EUR (4 billion HUF), merely 50 local interventions were realised. At the macro-level, no real attempt aimed at improving structural conditions can be observed, "sectoral policy intervention, overall, has no perceivable integration effects in proportion to the rate of the social problem".¹⁶⁹ After 2010, "complex programmes for segregated settlements" were launched as part of the Social Renewal Operational Programme (TÁMOP); a total of 55 projects between 2011 and 2015 with support of 24 million EUR (7.9 billion HUF). *"The complex programme for segregated settlements affected 76 segregated areas, which represent 4.7 per cent of the 1,600 slums registered during the aforementioned NDA survey. The approximately 27,500 people living in the segregated areas reached represent 8 per cent of the 300,000 people living in segregated areas/slums in total, and 1.7 per cent of the 5,267 persons included. The number of people and families leaving the segregated areas cannot be expressed as a percentage. In this respect, the programme realised between 2011 and 2015 may be viewed as a pilot programme, and the realistic expectation is to come up with methodologies suitable for mitigating the problem, and not the mitigation of the problem itself".*¹⁷⁰

The projects realised in the 2014-2020 period as part of the Human Resource Development Operational Programme and using European Union funds are typically starting in the summer and autumn of 2018. There is a total of 3.79 million EUR (1.2 billion HUF) available for the "Eliminating segregated living circumstances through complex programmes" (ESF) scheme announced in September 2016. The ERDF scheme supplementing the above was announced with an almost equivalent budget (72.21 million EUR or 22.85 billion HUF). (The call for applications called "Improving the housing circumstances of people living in segregated settlements" was announced in March 2018 with a limit amount of 3.16 million

Budapest: Equal Treatment Authority; p. 33,
http://egyenlobanasmod.hu/sites/default/files/kiadvany/M1_mell_5_os_kutatas_EBH_0.pdf

¹⁶⁷ FRA, Survey data explorer - Results from the 2011 Roma survey, <http://fra.europa.eu/en/publications-and-resources/data-and-maps/survey-data-explorer-results-2011-roma-survey>

¹⁶⁸ See: Levente Kovács. *Alig lehet albérlethez és szociális bérlakáshoz jutni: az egyik drága, a másik nincs* (Almost impossible to rent or get social housing: the former is expensive, the latter is non-existent). Zoom.hu 26 June 2018, <https://zoom.hu/hir/2018/06/26/alig-lehet-alberlethez-es-szocialis-berlakashoz-jutni-az-egyik-draga-a-masik-nincs/>

¹⁶⁹ Zsombor Farkas (2017) „Telepszerű lakókönyezet volt a hivatalos elnevezése...” Telepfelszámolási programok integrációs hatásai és nem szándékolt következményei a rendszerváltás előtt és 2005-2010 között ("Slum-like living environment was the official name..." Integration effects and unintended consequences of slum elimination programmes before the political transition and between 2005 and 2010). Doctoral (PhD) dissertation. Budapest. ELTE Faculty of Social Sciences (Manuscript) p. 180

¹⁷⁰ Evaluation of the Complex Programme for Segregated Settlements (TÁMOP 5.3.6-11). Summary study. Metropolitan Research Institute 28 June 2016, p. 79

EUR or 1 billion HUF ¹⁷¹). As part of the "Eliminating segregated living circumstances through complex programmes (ESF)" (EFOP-1.6.2-16) scheme, 110 slums are set to see complex programmes launched, involving at least 7,000 people.¹⁷² According to the call for applications, local projects receive grants between 0.14 and 0.63 million EUR (45 and 200 million HUF), which even in its entirety cannot represent the foundation for actual and sustainable integration processes. Especially given that the structural conditions are not in place. According to the 2017 Monitoring Report of the Hungarian National Social Inclusion Strategy II, the implementation of measures is progressing "on schedule". However, the problems arising from the application system have not been resolved: municipal intent is still dominant, there is a known skimming effect and an absence of public policy criteria.

In the 2007-2013 development cycle, urban segregated areas were targeted by social urban rehabilitation projects as part of regional operational programmes. The integration effects of these were analysed by *Pannon Elemző Iroda* (2011): *"the strategic embeddedness of the projects is weak, the cities do not have a long-term intervention strategy in respect of the action area, which is why the projects by themselves can only achieve limited impact. [...] From the perspective of Roma integration effect, the projects were only able to accomplish limited results"*. The "support tools that should have ensured the professional standard of social urban rehabilitation projects did not function efficiently" at the scheme level. At the level of development policy, the assessment emphasises that development funds can only be used "on a short-term project basis, in the context of a rigid regulatory framework". "The operating mechanisms and institutional solutions that allow for the implementation of longer-term complex [...] projects are missing".¹⁷³ The EMMI "housing strategy" points out that *"the majority of programmes were not implemented in slums or town areas for the most part populated by Roma, but in less run-down areas"*, and that *"project complexity and integratedness in most cases was low"*.¹⁷⁴ In the 2014-2020 period, social urban rehabilitation (using ERDF and ESF funds) appeared as part of the Territorial and Settlement Development Operational Programme (TOP).¹⁷⁵ Calls for applications were announced twice (December 2015, August 2016), with a limit amount of nearly 69.53 million EUR (22 billion HUF).¹⁷⁶ According to the monitoring report (2017) of the inclusion strategy, the "ERDF part" of urban rehabilitation has already been implemented, and the utilisation of ESF funds is progressing "as planned".¹⁷⁷ In any case, the examination of the long and short-term social integration effects of interventions is still a task to be completed (the deadline undertaken in the case of 20 per cent of TOP target values is 2018, and 2023 for the other 80 per cent). However, among other things,

¹⁷¹ Government Decision No. 1037/2016. (II. 9.) on establishing the annual development budget of the Human Resource Development Operational Programme.
<https://net.jogtar.hu/jogszabaly?docid=A16H1037.KOR&getdoc=1>

¹⁷² Hungarian National Social Inclusion Strategy II Monitoring Report 2017. p. 62,
<http://romagov.kormany.hu/download/2/17/12000/Magyar%20Nemzeti%20T%C3%A1rsadalmi%20Felz%C3%A1rk%C3%B3z%C3%A1si%20Strat%C3%A9gia%20jelent%C3%A9s%202017.pdf>

¹⁷³ Eszter Somogyi (2011) A regionális operatív programok szociális városrehabilitációs konstrukciójának értékelése a roma integrációs hatás szempontjából (The assessment of the social urban rehabilitation schemes of regional programmes from the perspective of Roma integration). Interim report, 28 October 2011 pp. 4-5

¹⁷⁴ *Sectoral political strategy for the 2014-2020 period, forming the basis for the management of slum-like housing*. Budapest, 2015. EMMI State Secretariat for Social Affairs and Social Inclusion. p. 52,
<http://www.kormany.hu/download/3/a6/40000/Lakhat-Strat.pdf>

¹⁷⁵ Two similarly-themed calls for applications were announced as part of the Competitive Central Hungary Operational Programme (VEKOP) in respect of Budapest and Pest County.

¹⁷⁶ Government Decision No. 1005/2016. (I. 18.) on establishing the annual development budget of the Territorial and Settlement Development Operational Programme.
<https://net.jogtar.hu/jogszabaly?docid=A16H1005.KOR×hift=ffffff4&txrefrer=00000001.TXT>

¹⁷⁷ Hungarian National Social Inclusion Strategy II Monitoring Report 2017. p. 61,
<http://romagov.kormany.hu/download/2/17/12000/Magyar%20Nemzeti%20T%C3%A1rsadalmi%20Felz%C3%A1rk%C3%B3z%C3%A1si%20Strat%C3%A9gia%20jelent%C3%A9s%202017.pdf>

the Metropolitan Research Institute also draws attention to tendering criteria that hinder successful implementation as well as the counter-interests of municipalities.¹⁷⁸

Promising practice: Utcáról lakásba Egyesület (From Streets to Homes Association)

The *Utcáról lakásba Egyesület (From Streets to Homes Association)* was founded in 2012, and its primary objective is to provide homes and social housing to rough sleepers and – to this end – introduce the “Housing First” principle and methodology in Hungary. The Association grew out of an earlier initiative of the “A Város Mindenkié” (ÁVM - *The City is for All*) Group.¹⁷⁹ According to one of the founders of the organisation: “After we had the opportunity to help two couples living in a hut they built themselves gain access to social housing, the stakes of our work were raised. We set the objective of testing how we could apply the various elements of the Housing First approach, as part of a project with a minimal budget and working with a very small target group. Our activity in the first year convinced the municipality that it would be worth transforming our practice into a programme for the district”.¹⁸⁰

The civil society organisation is attempting to somewhat make up for and remedy the deficiencies and anomalies of central housing policy, for the moment only in the capital city and its surrounding areas. Based on their approach, the first step and essential prerequisite of providing efficient assistance to the homeless is to create independent housing, which in turns requires cooperation with the municipalities. “Municipal dwellings can be renovated with the help of civil society organisations, private donors and future tenants, which in itself already represents a profit for the given municipality, while also providing sustainable housing for the tenants in the long run.”¹⁸¹

The Association facilitates the housing of homeless people and those living in housing poverty from multiple sides and through numerous innovative means. In 2015, it established a housing agency (Housing Now), then also launched a mobile home investment programme. As part of the initiative, people in need “have the opportunity to lease low-rent and low-maintenance-cost homes [...] with the help of the association from investors who become mobile home owners by joining the programme”.¹⁸² The Association’s “Adj Munkát” (Give Work!) programme attempts to help clients already living in homes or still homeless obtain jobs in the primary labour market. With the Association’s help, people who are disadvantaged from a labour market perspective (as well) “can legally offer their services [...] while social workers help them in job-seeking and in other matters as well, if needed”.¹⁸³

On account of limited resources, the civil society organisation reaches just a few for the moment, and works with a relatively narrow target group. As part of their programmes, they have managed to ensure housing to approximately 30 people to date, but their various services are used by significantly more. This is an initiative whose expansion would

¹⁷⁸ Evaluation of the Complex Programme for Segregated Settlements (TÁMOP 5.3.6-11). Summary study. Metropolitan Research Institute 28 June 2016.

¹⁷⁹ <https://avarosmindenkie.blog.hu/>

¹⁸⁰ Vera Kovács (2014) The “From Streets to Homes” experiment of The City is for All Group in Kőbánya. Esély, 2014/1. p. 92, http://www.esely.org/kiadvanyok/2014_1/kovacs.pdf

¹⁸¹ Source: <http://utcarollakasba.hu/>

¹⁸² *Idem.*

¹⁸³ <http://utcarollakasba.hu/mi-az-adj-munkat/>

greatly contribute to resolving the housing problems of the most vulnerable social groups, and ultimately to laying the foundation for their (re)integration into society.

IMPACT OF HEALTH CARE POLICIES ON ROMA

According to a comparative opinion poll published in 2018, conducted in 27 countries around the world, Hungarians – at the top of the list of countries participating in the survey – are most worried about healthcare (72 per cent).¹⁸⁴ *“The per capita purchasing parity-based healthcare spending was 1,371 EUR in Hungary, which puts the country in the lowest third of EU member states (the EU28 average was 2,781 EUR). [...] After a drop in 2007-2009, the real value of healthcare spending also decreased in 2012, and although after 2013 it appears to fit into the averages of the Visegrad 4 countries, it has not yet reached the base levels recorded in the reference year 2005...”*¹⁸⁵ The EU comparison of “free-of-charge” (social security based) Hungarian healthcare services¹⁸⁶ signal the need for comprehensive reform. The deterioration of the quality and availability of healthcare services¹⁸⁷ primarily affect lower socioeconomic status groups, including the members of highly visible Roma communities: their financial and relationship capital is limited, which makes it difficult for them to find alternative routes to services.

Hungary shows weak health outcomes, which have negative implications for the labour market as well.¹⁸⁸

In terms of their cultural, linguistic and residential areas, Roma communities within Hungary are not a homogeneous group. A “less visible” part of these communities lives alongside the non-Roma population of the country, while another “highly visible” part mostly lives in small settlements, slums, inner-city ghettos under segregated conditions. Caution should be exercised when interpreting the below referenced collected data as being representative of the entirety of the Hungarian Roma communities.

Ensuring equal access to public health care services

Examining the Roma slums, describing them using the appropriate methodology, and the changes measured may be sufficient in and of themselves to serve as indicators for measures targeted at the improvement of the social, economic, and healthcare situation of Roma communities within Hungary. Based on a comparative study of the healthcare indicators of a sample of less than 1,000 persons in Eastern Hungarian Roma slums in 2003 and 2014, the Roma Decade programme did not result in any significant changes.¹⁸⁹ This draws attention to the fact that unhealthy living conditions are typical for residents of Roma slums, and that access to healthcare services is (also) difficult.

By comparing different databases and research outcomes, a 2018 communication of the University of Debrecen¹⁹⁰ provides a comparative map of the geographic distribution and

¹⁸⁴ Ipsos: What Worries the World - January 2018. <https://www.ipsos.com/en-my/what-worries-world-january-2018>, p. 14

¹⁸⁵ Healthcare spending statistics in Hungary, 2010-2015 HCSO Statistics 2017. <http://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xftp/stattukor/eukiadasok1015.pdf>

¹⁸⁶ Euro Health Consumer Index 2017 (Health Consumer Powerhouse Ltd., 2018.), <https://healthpowerhouse.com/media/EHCI-2017/EHCI-2017-report.pdf>, p. 14

¹⁸⁷ https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/2017-european-semester-country-report-hungary-en_1.pdf, p. 25

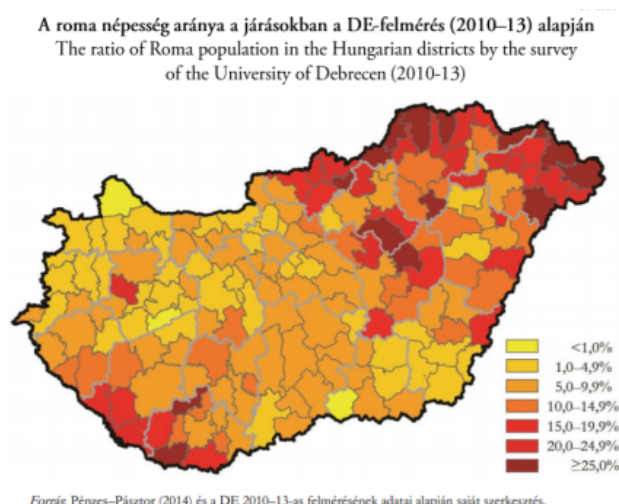
¹⁸⁸ https://ec.europa.eu/health/sites/health/files/state/docs/2017_companion_en.pdf, p. 25

¹⁸⁹ https://dea.lib.unideb.hu/dea/bitstream/handle/2437/236334/FILE_UP_0_art%253A10.1007%252Fs00038-017-0954-9.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

¹⁹⁰ János Péntes – Patrik Tátrai – Zoltán István Pásztor: A roma népesség területi megoszlásának változása Magyarországon az elmúlt évtizedekben (Changes in the Spatial Distribution of the Roma Population in Hungary During the Last Decades). Territorial statistics, 2018, 58(1): 3–26; DOI: 10.15196/TS5801, <http://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xftp/terstat/2018/01/ts580101.pdf>

residential ratios of Hungarian Roma communities (not reflecting their cultural/linguistic heterogeneity):

Chart 1: Comparative map: Estimated geographic distribution of Roma communities within Hungary



Source: Own editing based on Péntes-Pásztor (2014) and the DE's 2010-2013 survey

The data relevant to these Roma communities will be described in this report by way of comparing the above-mentioned comparative map with the national average ratio/rate of occurrence of the problems/characteristics/indicators under investigation.

Healthcare status of the members of Roma communities within Hungary

According to the study on the inequalities within healthcare:

"The regional inequalities observable in the healthcare status of individuals can be traced back, to a large extent, to the differences in the social structures of the different regions. At the same time, however, the risk factors characterising a given region – e.g. environmental pollution, housing situation, clean potable water, differences in access to health care, etc. – also play a role..."

For a long time, and to a certain extent in non-technical public discourse even today, the examination of factors influencing the healthcare status of these groups has been limited to the exclusive examination of the lifestyle factors and the characteristics of the immediate physical environment of the communities. These factors – smoking, alcohol consumption, nutrition, weight, and living conditions – undoubtedly play a significant role in the development of the most common non-communicable diseases. However, on the one hand, the development and concurrent occurrence of most of these risk factors depend heavily on social status: due to reasons connected to their place in society, lower-status individuals have a higher chance of becoming smokers, overweight or obese, and of living in an environment that is harmful to their health. In other words, an individual's lifestyle and immediate physical environment only 'intermediates' the effects of that individual's social status on their health.¹⁹¹ On the other hand, a notable school of thought within the relevant technical literature ascribes a profound role to psychosocial factors, especially to levels of stress experienced (Wilkinson-Pickett 2009; Kopp-Szedmák 1998). The extent of the experienced stress, on the one hand, is closely linked to the social status of the

¹⁹¹ The term "intermediary" introduced by the WHO to describe these factors refers to the same as well.

individual, and to the unique cultural features of society on the other hand, especially to the level of social cohesion."¹⁹²

The current political canon categorises the members of Roma communities within Hungary into one group, considering them an ethnic group (without a native country) from a legal standpoint. Social practice, however, categorises Hungarian citizens as "Roma/Gypsy" based on ostensibly uniform racial features, and/or a place of residence within the segregated places of residence/Roma slums, instead of/in addition to voluntary, ethnic self-identification, which is also acceptable from a legal/ethical standpoint. The stigmatisation originating mostly from the non-Roma majority¹⁹³ – the existence of which is proven by social exclusion at the level of behaviour, fuelled by the effects of prejudice(s) from an emotional standpoint, and as stereotypes at the cognitive level, also discernible in the media – presents as an "excess burden"/additional stress in terms of the livelihood/career challenges that affect everyone.¹⁹⁴

3 per cent of the total population described themselves as "Roma/Gypsy" during the last census: which translates into 315,583 persons. In contrast with mainstream society, which is characterised by low fertility rates, *"their age composition alludes to the classic age pyramid, the number of individuals within successor generations exceeds their parents' numbers, resulting in a population that is characterised by relatively high levels of fertility and expansive reproduction"*.¹⁹⁵ *"At the same time, the number and ratio of elderly individuals within these communities is noticeably low, which is the result of higher mortality rates and lower life expectancy compared to the Hungarian or the members of German ethnic community in Hungary."*¹⁹⁶

In Hungary, the difference between the financial situation of the richest and poorest echelons of society is almost tenfold.¹⁹⁷ 55.5 per cent of the individuals that described themselves as "Roma/Gypsy" live in severe material deprivation, in contrast with only 13.8 per cent of the population as a whole.¹⁹⁸

Public administration describes the districts of Hungary using a complex indicator.¹⁹⁹ The least deprived groups in the most deprived districts are described as "beneficiaries"; the intermediate group is described as "to be developed"; while the most deprived groups are referred to as districts "in need of development through complex programmes".²⁰⁰ When

¹⁹² Éva Orosz – Zsófia Kollányi: Egészségi állapot, egészség-egyenlőtlenségek nemzetközi összehasonlításban (International comparison of health status, health inequalities). <http://old.tarki.hu/hu/publications/SR/2016/16orosz.pdf>

¹⁹³ <https://minorityrights.org/minorities/roma-8/>

¹⁹⁴ Marjoka van Doorn: The nature of tolerance and the social circumstances in which it emerges. 2014 Current Sociology. <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0011392114537281>

¹⁹⁵ The nationality-based, demographics age group data reports should be interpreted with caution: e.g.: the ratio of the 0-14 age group within the "Roma/Gypsy" population is 32.4 per cent (N₁=315,583 persons), while the same ratio within the Hungarian nationality is 14.3 per cent (N₂=8,504,492 persons), which translates into 102,249 "Roma/Gypsy" children aged 0-14, and 1,216,142 children Hungarian nationality aged 0-14.

¹⁹⁶ HCSO: STATISTICS – The demographic characteristics of nationalities within Hungary – page 2 2015/82. http://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xftp/stattukor/nemzetiseq_demografia.pdf

¹⁹⁷ Cf.: <https://www.portfolio.hu/gazdasag/elkepeszto-tizszeres-jovedelmi-kulonbseg-van-a-magyarok-kozott.269803.html>

¹⁹⁸ Cf.: https://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xstadat/xstadat_eves/i_zaa007.html

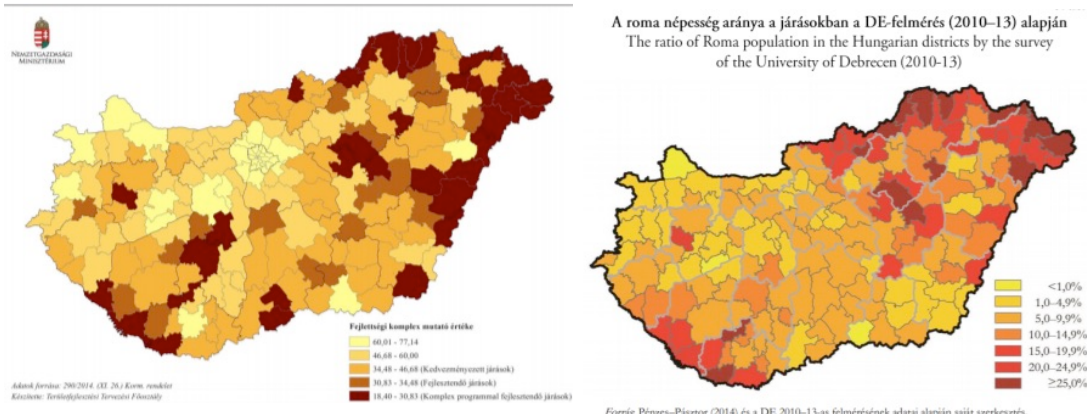
¹⁹⁹ A complex indicator generated from indicators on social and demographic status, housing and living conditions, local economy and labour market conditions, and infrastructure and environmental conditions.

²⁰⁰ Government Decree No. 290/2014 (XI.26.) on the classification of beneficiary districts. <https://net.jogtar.hu/jogszabaly?docid=a1400290.kor>

displaying the rates of deprivation by district²⁰¹ the areas of deprivation coincide with the regions more densely populated by "Roma", which is also denoted on the comparative map.

Chart 2: Estimated regional distribution of disadvantaged districts²⁰² and Roma communities within Hungary²⁰³

Hátrányos helyzetű térségek lehatárolása, kedvezményezett járások. Tipold Ferenc
főosztályvezető Nemzetgazdasági Minisztérium Területfejlesztési Tervezési
Főosztály. „VÉDELEM, AKTIVITÁS KÉPESSÉ TEVÉS Területfejlesztés: Területi
hátrányok leküzdése. Eszközök és eredmények” konferencia 2016. június 14.



http://szocialiskonferencia.kormany.hu/download/e/e3/71000/kedvezmenyezett_jarasok_besorolasa_v%C3%A9g%C5%91_tipold.pdf

Considering that the sources, preconditions of (good/better) health are²⁰⁴ unavailable or deficient in the case of individuals characterised by lower socioeconomic status, it can be considered a fact – especially for “highly visible” groups – that the health status of Roma communities within Hungary is worse than the Hungarian average. The fact of regional segregation and the intentions to reduce this segregation are supported by the centrally determined topics related to the Roma specified in the Local Equal Opportunities Programmes²⁰⁵ (HEP) of public institutions and local governments. Individual

²⁰¹ Delineation of underprivileged regions, beneficiary districts. Ferenc Tipold, Head of Department, Department of Regional Development Planning, Ministry for National Economy. “VÉDELEM, AKTIVITÁS KÉPESSÉ TEVÉS Területfejlesztés: Területi hátrányok leküzdése. Eszközök és eredmények” (PROTECTION, ACTIVITY, ENABLEMENT Regional development: Overcoming regional disadvantages. Means and results) conference; 14 June 2016, http://szocialiskonferencia.kormany.hu/download/e/e3/71000/kedvezmenyezett_jarasok_besorolasa_v%C3%A9g%C5%91_tipold.pdf

²⁰² legend: complex indicators from yellow to brown of regional development: translation of the three last indicators: Beneficiary districts/Districts to develop/Districts to be developed through complex programmes. Source: Government Decree No. 290/2014 (XI.26) Prepared by: Department of Regional Development Planning.

²⁰³ Title of the slide : Delineation of disadvantaged regions, beneficiary districts. Ferenc Tipold, Head of Department, Department of Regional Development Planning, Ministry for National Economy. “PROTECTION, ACTIVITY, ENABLEMENT regional development: Overcoming regional disadvantages. Means and results” conference; 14 June 2016

²⁰⁴ Article 36(1) of Act CLIV of 1997: housing, place of work, sports, vacation, education, nutrition, income, stable ecological system, sustainable resources, social justice and equality

²⁰⁵ Pursuant to the Act on equal treatment and the promotion of equal opportunities (Act CXXV of 2003), every local government must have in place a 5-year Local Equal Opportunities Programme (HEP), which must undergo review every two years.

*discrimination complaints are handled by the "Equal Treatment Authority"*²⁰⁶ on an ongoing basis.

The Hungarian National Social Inclusion Strategies²⁰⁷ and the government resolution aimed at the implementation of those strategies²⁰⁸ are designed to promote the reduction of the exclusion trends that are now also observable at the national level.

The ratio of social security coverage among the "Roma" and "non-Roma"

In Hungary, social security is a risk community²⁰⁹ and participation in the scheme is mandatory. Participation in social security stemming from the participation requirement is the basis of eligibility for the different healthcare services. Healthcare services must be provided even if someone's social security status is unclear. Anyone whose social security number is invalid for other reasons can only access healthcare services against a fee, with the exception of emergency services, or services that are provided during an epidemic. According to the social security regulations, persons without social security coverage (e.g.: pensioners, persons on childcare benefits) can only obtain eligibility for the benefits in-kind²¹⁰ of health insurance on the basis of social solidarity. Considering that ethnicity is categorised as a sensitive piece of information in Hungary, no reliable data exists on the ratio of persons with social security coverage within the Roma communities in Hungary.

Availability of healthcare services in disadvantaged regions

Basic healthcare services operate with a significant human resources deficit, which is characterised by the aging of general practitioners and general practitioner's districts that remain without a GP long-term. The average age of general practitioners is increasing steadily (57 years currently, the ratio of general practitioners above the age of 60 is over 40 per cent, while the ratio of paediatricians above the age of 60 is 48 per cent). There are very few new general practitioners entering the labour market.²¹¹ The number of unfilled general practitioner's practices is increasing (currently 347; of which practices that have been without a GP for more than one year: 280);²¹² more and more patients do not have a GP. Most of the general practitioner's districts persistently without a GP are in disadvantaged areas, where highly visible Roma communities are concentrated as well. It can be noted, in general, that access to basic general practitioner's (healthcare) services for members of Roma communities within Hungary is unfairly rendered difficult.

²⁰⁶ The Equal Treatment Authority is the autonomous state-run forum of legal remedy in charge of the review of compliance with the requirement of equal treatment.

²⁰⁷ In November 2011, the Hungarian government approved the Hungarian National Social Inclusion Strategy (HNSIS), which is aimed at the resolution of the issue of populations in regions that have fallen behind, as well as child poverty and the situation of the Roma in Hungary. The Strategy was updated in 2014: HNSIS II.

²⁰⁸ Government Resolution No. 1430/2011. (XII. 13.)

²⁰⁹

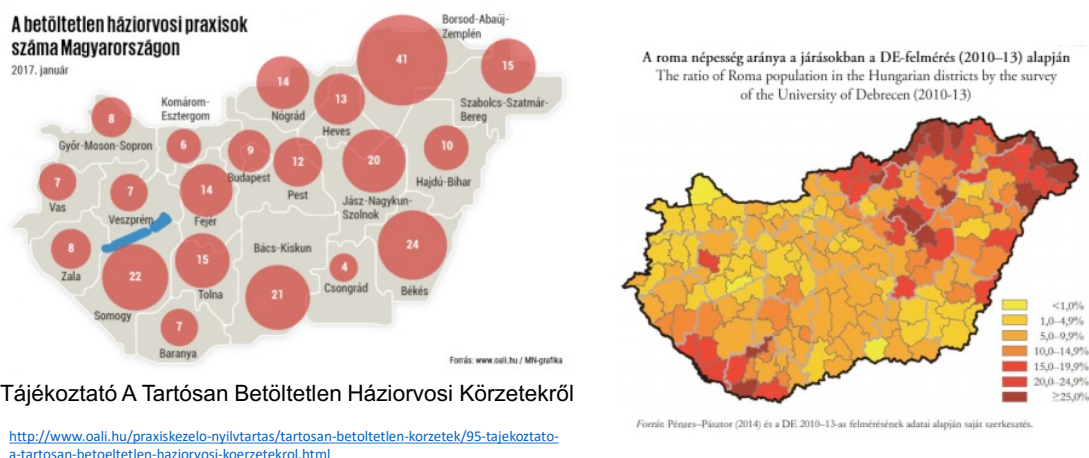
http://www.neak.gov.hu/felso_menu/lakossagnak/ellatas_magyarorszagon/jogosultsag_az_ellatasra/az_egssz_segbiztositas_szolgaltatasaira_jogosultak

²¹⁰ Benefits in-kind under health insurance in Hungary: visit to the general medical practitioner, on-call services provided by the general medical practitioner; health visitor, child, mother, and youth protection services; dental care; treatment facility services; patient transport; transport and rescue of a deceased person if ordered by physician; at-home nursing services; out-patient specialist care; in-patient specialist care; spa services; breast milk service; pharmaceutical product subsidy; specialist medical accessory subsidy; travel cost reimbursement. Source: https://fogalomtar.aeek.hu/index.php/Term%C3%A9szetbeni_ell%C3%A1t%C3%A1s

²¹¹ Róza Ádány (ed.), Magor Papp (ed.) (2017): *Prevenációs szolgáltatások az alapellátásban* (Prevention services in basic healthcare). Medicina Könyvkiadó Zrt.

²¹² Cf.: www.oali.hu

Chart 3: Estimated regional distribution of unfilled general practitioner's districts and Roma communities in Hungary

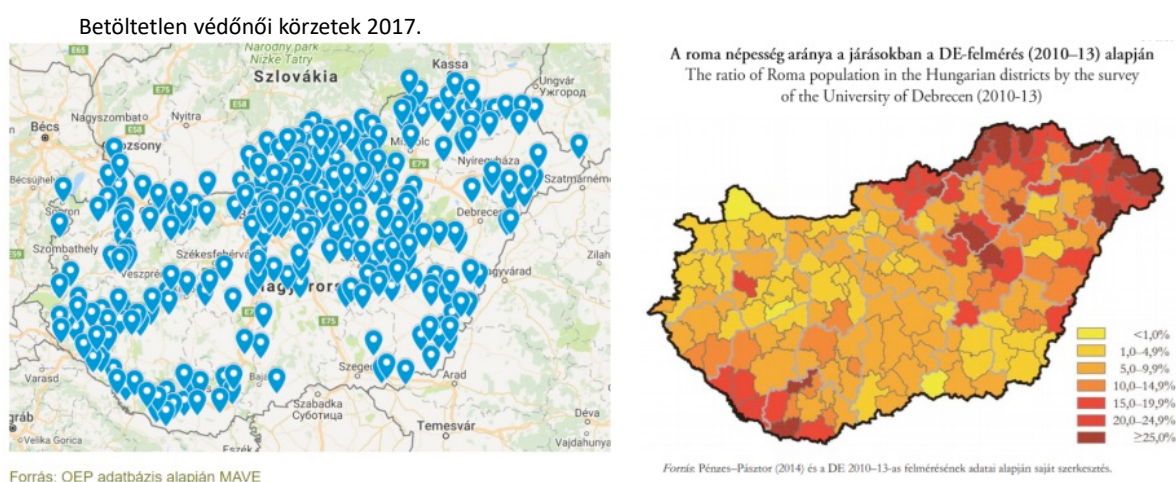


In terms of access, the biggest difference that can be observed is that while some practices service 800-900 people, others have to provide services to over 3000 patients.²¹³

The health visitor system aligned with the general practitioners' service is an exemplary healthcare service in Hungary.²¹⁴ The health visitor plays a pivotal role in protecting women, providing care for expectant mothers and supporting children from infancy until they reach the age of compulsory education. The regional service areas face significant resourcing issues, which is usually resolved by way of substitutions, which has an adverse effect on the number and quality of in-person (at-home) visits and at the same time increases administrative burdens.

The geographic distribution of unfilled health visitor positions covers and exceeds the residential areas where Roma communities in Hungary are concentrated.

Chart 4: Estimated geographic distribution of unfilled health visitor positions and Roma communities in Hungary



²¹³ See:

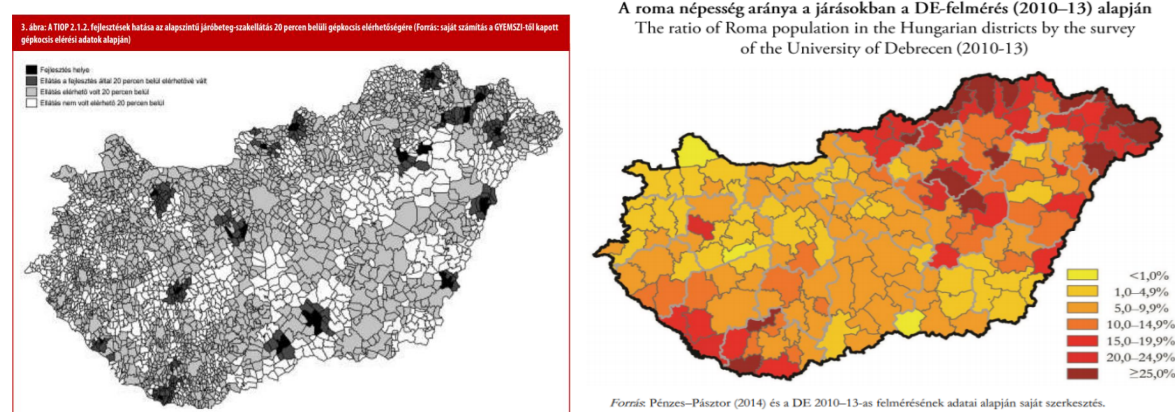
https://oali.aek.hu/phocadownload/userupload/Svajci_Magyar_Program/Allashirdetese/Svjciprojektrvid.pdf

²¹⁴ http://www.euro.who.int/_data/assets/pdf_file/0008/80783/E84926.pdf, p. 61

"Currently, there are a total of 457 unfilled health visitor positions in Hungary, and due to the many substitutions, workers are becoming increasingly overloaded. More than 128 thousand infants and children do not receive the required equal opportunity services due to substitutions, i.e., seven percent of all those eligible for the service."²¹⁵ Consequently, groups that do not have a strong ability to represent their interests, including the "highly visible" Roma/Roma women living in poverty, do not receive the full range of basic health visitor services that they are eligible for by law. Among others, support for expectant mothers, infants and children's healthcare is unfairly uneven and incomplete.

One of the most notable elements of infrastructure that has undergone development within the 2007-2013 European Union development cycle was the improvement of out-patient specialist care capacities. Disadvantaged regions – including the areas of higher concentration of "highly visible" Roma communities in Hungary – were favoured under this development initiative, which is a positive development, but one that could only reduce the disadvantages to a limited extent.

Chart 5: Development of outpatient capacities and access difficulties²¹⁶, and the estimated geographic distribution of Roma communities in Hungary²¹⁷



Despite the developments, there are still many areas in Hungary with high concentrations of Roma communities that coincide with areas, where outpatient services can only be accessed by travelling for more than 20 minutes by car. It is obvious that for the majority of people living in poverty without access to a car, reaching specialist healthcare is even more difficult.

²¹⁵ Communication by the Association of Hungarian Health Visitors, 2017.
<http://www.mave.hu/?q=hirek/hir/171>

²¹⁶ Effect of the SIOP 2.1.2 development programmes on the accessibility of basic outpatient specialist healthcare services by car within 20 minutes (Source: own calculations based on the data on accessibility by car provided by the National Institute for Quality and Organisational Development in Healthcare and Medicines - GYEMSZI).

Legend: from black to white signs: 1. Place of development 2. Healthcare service became accessible within 20 minutes due to the development 3. Healthcare service was accessible within 20 minutes 4. Healthcare service was not accessible within 20 minutes.

²¹⁷ Source for the second chart: Source: Own editing based on Péntes-Pásztor (2014) and the DE's 2010-2013 survey. Péter Elek, Norbert Kiss, Balázs Váradi: The effects of the of capacity development of outpatient specialist medical services in micro-regions, in: EGÉSZSÉGÜGYI GAZDASÁGI SZEMLE 2015/1.
http://real.mtak.hu/28150/1/Elek_Kiss_Varadi_EGSZ_jarobeteg_fejlesztések_final.pdf

Theoretically, “gratuity” is given by patients receiving free-of-charge healthcare services to healthcare workers when they are satisfied with a service. It is similar to the “tip” one provides above the billed amount at restaurants and other hospitality outlets. Certain under-documented cases point to the existence of “gratuity” provided in advance in order to gain/potentially gain access (unlawfully) to better services or to skip wait lists. The medical directors of the individual institutions can either condone or prohibit the acceptance of gratuities by their personnel.

Most doctors work without pre-determined gratuity fees, and leave it up to the patient to decide how much they are willing to pay for a given treatment, surgery, but there are also many others that work with set fees. The rates of these gratuity fees can be found on many forums on the internet.²¹⁸ Although according to the Code of Ethics of the Hungarian Medical Chambers,²¹⁹ it is the ethical duty of every doctor to do everything in their power to eliminate the use of gratuities, the Labour Code permits employers to allow the acceptance of such gratuities for their employees. The Hungarian Medical Chambers links the elimination of gratuities to the need to raise doctors’ salaries. The results of a joint survey conducted by the Trade Union of Residents and Specialists (ReSzaSz) and Szinapszis Kft²²⁰ show that 96 per cent of doctors would like to work in a healthcare system without gratuities, while 60 per cent of them think that salary increases only will not be sufficient to eliminate gratuities.

Based on a 2016 survey conducted by Transparency International, Hungarians consider gratuities to be one of the most common forms of everyday corruption.²²¹ Even presumably underestimated official HCSO figures show that gratuities amounted to “3 billion HUF [9.48 million EUR] in 1998, which signals an increase of 18 per cent at nominal value. In 1998, Hungarian citizens used 0.09 per cent of their incomes to pay gratuities, which has only changed marginally by 2014 (0.08 per cent).

The prevailing social practice of using gratuities, and the difficulty of finding the resources to pay for such gratuities is a severe burden for lower socioeconomic status groups, including the members of Roma communities, meaning that these individuals are more likely to suffer the negative consequences of this system than others.

Initiatives to inform people of their healthcare rights

Being aware of your healthcare rights is an integral part of health literacy. The school, as an institution – complementing the primary socialisation role that the family plays – has a very important role to play in the transmission of values related to health. *“It plays a significant role in development, because in addition to its knowledge transmitting function, it also shapes social and emotional skills, and thereby influences physical and mental health as well as health preservation.”*²²² It can be stated in general that the reduction of the compulsory schooling age from 18 to 16 has had a negative effect on the time available for and the efficacy of the transmission of that education (attitude, knowledge, skills)²²³.

²¹⁸ E.g.: <https://haszon.hu/archivum/3802-mennyi-ma-a-halapenz.html>;
<http://www.blikk.hu/aktualis/belfold/halapenz-kalkulator-megmutatja-mennyit-adjunk-egy-egy-mutet-utan/hxqtsx9>

²¹⁹ <https://mok.hu/public/media/source/etikaiKodex/kodex141128.pdf>

²²⁰ Szinapszis’ Own Survey Gratuity Survey – 2017, <http://reszasz.hu/index.php/104-szinapszis-sajat-tanulmany-halapenz-kutatas-2017>

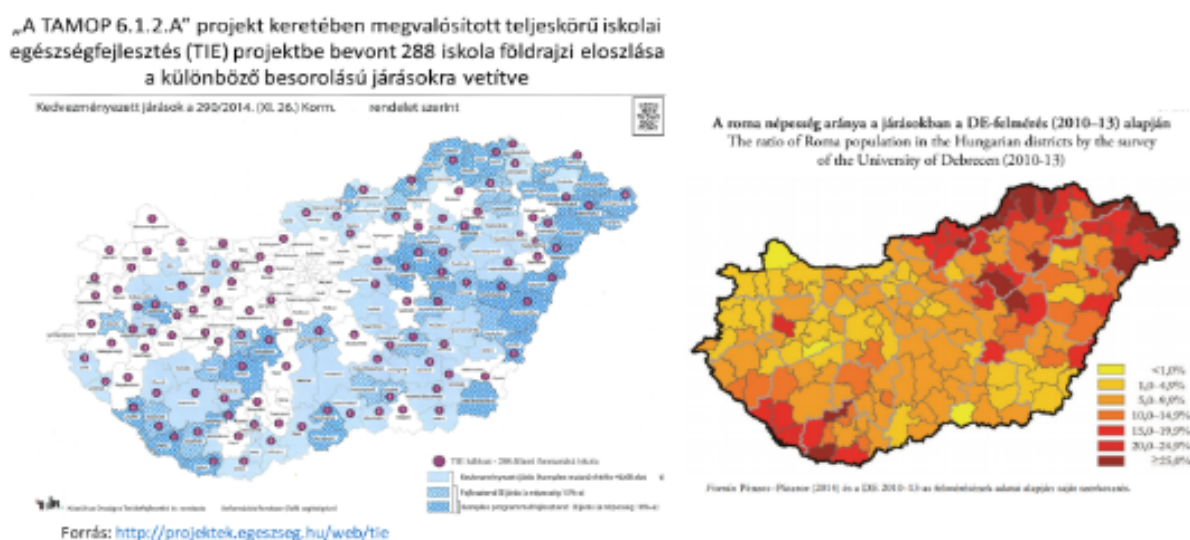
²²¹ <https://transparency.hu/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/GCB2016-Prezentacio.pdf>

²²² Egészségfejlesztés, vol. LVI, 2015. issue 5–6: The concept of health education, and possibilities of the examination thereof in institutions of public education. Review of literature: Éva Járomi, Kristóf Szilágyi, József Vitrai PhD.

²²³ See in more detail in the chapter “Education”.

Comprehensive school-based holistic health development (TIE) is incentivised by way of a decree,²²⁴ as well as through an EU-financed model programme.²²⁵ Considering, however, the 2018 database of national institutions of education,²²⁶ the 288 locations included in the "TIE" project represented 4 per cent of the total number of institutions. If we took two unrealised assumptions as our basis (every student in the participating institutions took part in the weekly activities and the activities were only focused on disadvantaged and highly disadvantaged students), the programme would still have only reached 70,243 students, while 12 per cent of the total student population in Hungary, that is 186,751 students are categorised as disadvantaged or highly disadvantaged. No summary data or any kind of impact assessment results are available on the 5-year maintenance period of the project that ended in 2015. The National Health Development Institute – that was responsible for the professional management of the project – was dissolved with a legal successor, with most of its experts taking up employment in disparate positions.

Chart 6: The geographic distribution of schools included in the TIE project²²⁷ and the geographic distribution of Roma communities within Hungary



Targeted programmes to improve the access of the Roma

The majority of the programmes targeted at improving access (to healthcare) can also be described along the lines of the same critical observations:

²²⁴ Chapter X of the Decree No. 20/2012 (VIII. 31.) of the Ministry of Human Capacities on the operation of institutions of education and the name use of institutions of public education, <https://net.jogtar.hu/jogszabaly?docid=a1200020.emm>

²²⁵ <http://projektek.egeszseg.hu/web/tie>

²²⁶ Number of students, teachers per grade KIRSTAT-2017, KIR2-INT, 22.02.2018, www.kir.hu/kir_stat/

²²⁷ Geographic distribution of the 288 schools involved in the Comprehensive school-based holistic health development project (TIE) implemented under TAMOP 6.1.2, broken down by various district categories. Legend: Beneficiary districts pursuant to Government Decree No. 290/2014 (XI.26.)

TIE network – 288 state-operated schools:

1. Beneficiary district (value of complex indicator below 46,68)
2. Districts to develop (15 per cent of the population)
3. Districts to be developed through complex programmes (10 per cent of the population)

Made with the help of the National Regional Development and Regional Settlement Information System (TeIR). Source: <http://projektek.egeszseg.hu/web/tie>

- a) In terms of their services, the projects that support social inclusion and also target Roma communities usually attempt to satisfy "growth needs"²²⁸ and do not typically provide any services to satisfy "deficiency needs".²²⁹
- b) In regards to the programmes targeting the Roma community, the quantitative metrics used to describe their implementation do not provide any information on the content, quality elements involved.
- c) No resources were allocated to involve the target group during the planning of the project, or to monitor them; impact assessment was not carried out in all cases and/or is not publicly available.

We reached out to Attila Sztojka, Head of Department at the Ministry of Human Capacities, in a letter and requested information on programs specifically targeting the Roma. He cited several Roma programmes supported by European Union funding,²³⁰ but we did not receive any data on whether the target group was involved in the planning of the projects or about the quality of the outcomes.

The scope of the targeted programmes is generally limited in terms of the problems they address, as well as the size of the target group. A good example is the chapter of the Monitoring Report of the Hungarian National Social Inclusion Strategy (2017) on the outcomes of the activities related to healthcare²³¹, which reports that 4 practice communities have been created by of the inclusion of 24 basic healthcare practices in the Northern Plain and Northern Hungary regions within the framework of the project entitled *"Basic healthcare organisation model programme supported by a Virtual Care Centre focusing on public health, implemented with funding from Healthcare and a Swiss grant."* At the national level, Bence Rétvári, the Parliamentary Secretary of State of the Ministry of Human Capacities reported in October 2017 that *"thanks to the additional funding provided for basic healthcare services, as well as the targeted application programmes over the past few years, 198 basic medical care practices around the country that have been unfilled for an extended period of time have been filled"*.²³² At the same time, according to the data of the National Healthcare Services Centre, there were 306 unfilled general practitioner's districts on 1 October. There were adult, paediatric, and mixed practices among the empty general practitioners' districts at the beginning of the month. (In May, there were 352 general practitioners' districts and 284 dental practices that have been empty for a prolonged period of time.)²³³ The number of problematic practices that have been improved through the model programmes dwarf in comparison with the magnitude of the issue of empty practices. The final report of the project makes a

²²⁸ Cognitive needs: to comprehend, to understand, to learn. Aesthetic needs: symmetry, order, beauty. Self-actualisation need: to realise our personal potential.

²²⁹ Physiological needs: hunger, thirst, sexuality. Deprivation: Danger of death. Safety needs: protection from the elements, predictability. Deprivation: danger of death, neurosis, anxiety, obsessive compulsive disorder. Love and belongingness needs: intimacy, being part of a reciprocated loving relationship. Deprivation: psychopathy, anti-social personality. Esteem needs: esteem for oneself, recognition from others, status, prestige. Deprivation: feelings of inferiority, anxiety.

²³⁰ EFOP-1.1.3 Nő az esély (Growing / Women's Opportunities - Employment); Reduction of the social and labour market disadvantages suffered by Roma women; EFOP-1.6.1 Supporting Inclusion Cooperation; The purpose of the programme is to improve Roma women's active participation in society; EFOP-1.3.2 Development of a mentoring network aimed improving social inclusion.

²³¹

<http://romagov.kormany.hu/download/2/17/12000/Magyar%20Nemzeti%20T%C3%A1rsadalmi%20Felz%C3%A1rk%C3%B3z%C3%A1si%20Strat%C3%A9gia%20jelent%C3%A9s%202017.pdf>

²³²

<http://www.kormany.hu/hu/emberi-eroforrasok-miniszteriuma/parlamenti-allamtitkarsag/hirek/versenykepes-alapellatast-szeretnenk-kialakitani>

²³³

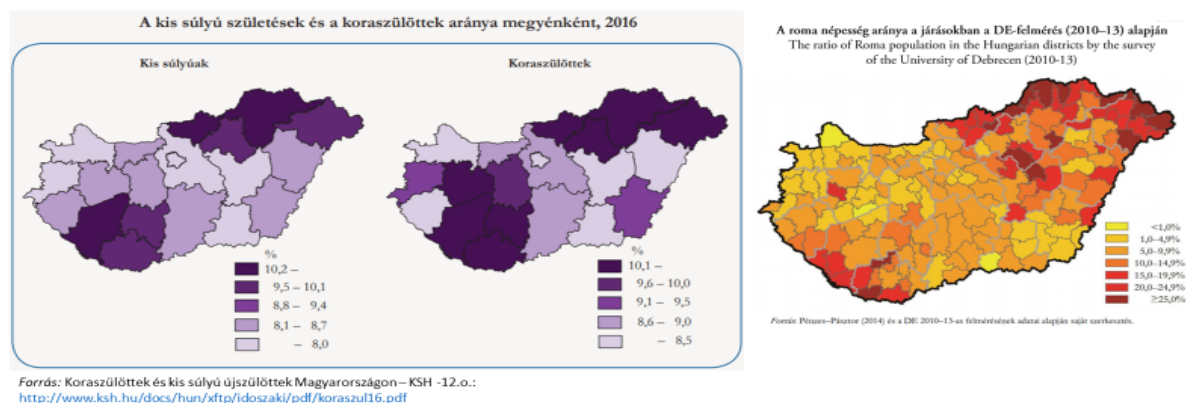
https://www.pecsistop.hu/tartalom/cikk/490380_ismet_novekedett_a_regota_ures_haziorvosi_praxisok

reference to the same as well: "Current basic healthcare is organisationally unable to systematically and comprehensively resolve all these tasks."²³⁴

Targeted programmes are not suitable to mitigate inequalities that arise as a result of the problems in basic healthcare services. It follows from the problems related to access to health visitor services that the groups that do not have a strong ability to represent their interests, including "highly visible" Roma living in poverty, cannot/do not receive the full range of basic health visitor services that they are eligible for by law.

Infants born to teenage mothers have a higher chance of being born prematurely, with a lower birth weight, which negatively impacts their chances in life, as well as their health. In Hungary, nearly 8 per cent of children are born prematurely.²³⁵ In the European Union this ratio is significantly lower, around 6 per cent, while the best ratios are produced by Scandinavian countries where the same ratio is around 3-4 per cent. There is a clear correlation between poor social status, lower educational attainment, and premature births. In 2016, the frequency of low birth weight births among primary school graduates was 13 per cent, while the same ratio among college/university graduates is nearly half, only 6 per cent. A similar correlation can be observed in terms of premature births: the ratio of premature births decreases as the mother's level of education increases. The ratio of children born prematurely within the population at or below primary school level education is above 10 per cent, whereas the same ratio is 7.5 per cent among college/university graduates.²³⁶

Chart 7: Estimated national countrywide distribution of low birth weight (1) and premature infants (2) compared to the geographic distribution of Roma communities in Hungary



Source: Low birth weight and premature infants in Hungary – HCSO p. 12

Based on the comparative map it can be established that the members of Roma communities in Hungary are significantly impacted by the issue of low birth weight births and premature births.

It further increases the risk of premature births if women give birth at a young age, between 14 and 18 years of age. The strong correlation between the number of teenage pregnancies and social disadvantages is further underscored by the fact that the ratio of

²³⁴ Cf.: <http://box.oali.hu/index.php/s/JbIdfhxRkdQHSx3#pdfviewer>

²³⁵ 2009: 8.4%; 2010: 8.6 per cent - HCSO.

²³⁶ Premature and low birth weight infants in Hungary – HCSO, <http://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xftp/idoszaki/pdf/koraszul16.pdf>

such pregnancies is nearly 3 times as high in northern Hungary than it is in the Western Transdanubian region.²³⁷

Part of the targeted programmes are based on the actual or supposed specific cultural characteristics of certain Roma communities. The health visitor service has been operating Hungary for over 100 years. If this network operated optimally around the country, there would not necessarily be a need for the engagement of Roma mediators, although in certain traditional Roma communities the use of trained Roma healthcare mentors, who are aware of and accept local traditions, and are able to engage the families at the local level could be justified to ensure the success of prevention and information programs. The amount available under EFOP 1.4.4-17 entitled "Bari Shej – Nagylány – FataMáré" is 8.4 million EUR (2.66 billion HUF) to be used within a period of 24 months to help 1,780 young girls facing disadvantages through 89 winning organisations.²³⁸ When interviewing a group of girls (between 12 and 20 years of age) in the town of Buják, it became apparent that the topics of sexuality and family planning were taboos for them (even amongst themselves); they were afraid of opening up about such topics, but at the same time have still shown interest in them.²³⁹ However, similarly to other programmes targeting the Roma, this programme also fails to comprehensively take into consideration the multiple difficulties that Roma women face (difficulties travelling, material circumstances, childminding arrangements, and opposition to certain traditions). Partly due to their scope (6 month to 1-year programmes), these programmes are unable to resolve the issues surrounding intersectionality.²⁴⁰ Without providing further domestic funding for these programmes and without monitoring quantifiable changes cannot be expected to occur.

Another problem that affects targeted programmes is "skimming". The elimination of this problem is also an objective of the Social Inclusion Strategy. The essence of this is that based on local social stratification, the beneficial effects of the support programmes are skimmed by the group that is in relatively "better" shape, while excluding the groups that are in "worse" shape, as well as those in need. Neither the documentation of the targeted programmes or the Social Inclusion Strategy Monitoring Report mentions the effectiveness of the steps taken to reduce skimming.

The most critical issues arising in connection with health, and the changes therein over the past few years

In terms of avoidable deaths,²⁴¹ in an EU comparison (EuroStat data)²⁴² Hungary is among the countries with the worst indicators in absolute terms, as well as in terms of the large deviation between men and women, where men are largely overrepresented. When it

²³⁷ <http://www.kompetenspedagoqus.hu/sites/default/files/cserti-csapo-tibor-orsos-anna-melyszegenysegy-gyermekegyegegyseg-a-ciganyok-romak-helyzete-es-eselyegegyenlosege.pdf>

²³⁸ <http://romagov.kormany.hu/download/2/17/12000/Magyar%20Nemzeti%20T%C3%A1rsadalmi%20Felz%C3%A1rk%C3%B3z%C3%A1si%20Strat%C3%A9gia%20jelent%C3%A9s%202017.pdf>

²³⁹ The interviews with the girls participating in the programme were documented by Ilona Nótár in the town of Buják in June of 2018.

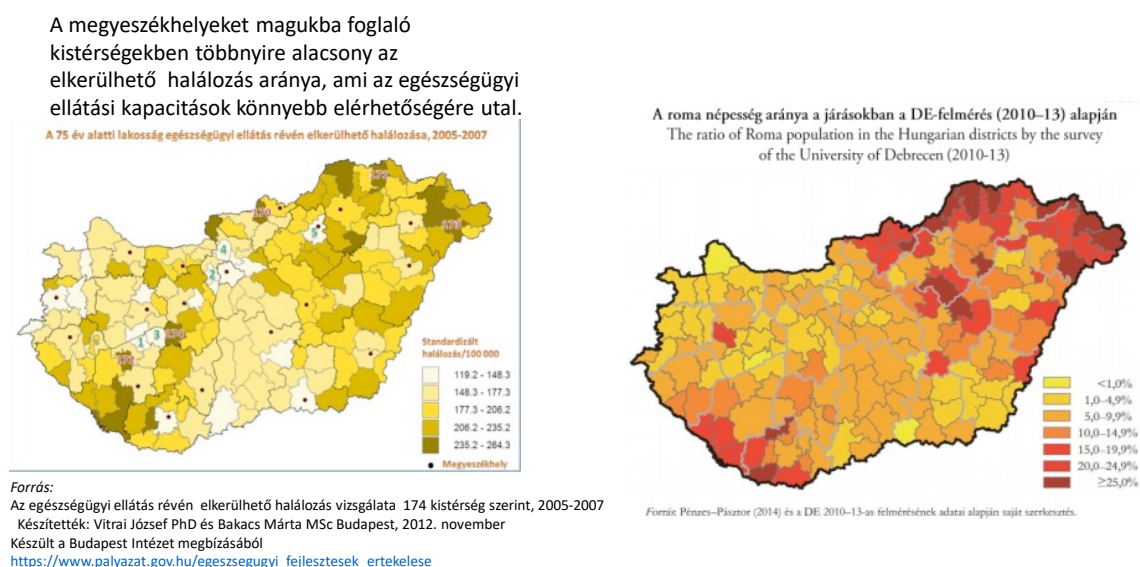
²⁴⁰ The concept of "intersectionality", interpreted on the basis of Kimberly Crenshaw's definition, is used here to mean multiple burdens undertaken by women.

²⁴¹ Avoidable deaths refer to factors causing death (e.g. communicable diseases, malignancies, diabetes, ischemic heart disease, other cardiovascular diseases, diseases of the pulmonary system, other missed or defective medical interventions, pregnancy, diseases, events during birth and confinement, etc.), where the occurrence of the resulting death is avoidable, meaning that if appropriate medical, (public) health interventions are applied and used in the given age groups and in a timely manner, the deaths can be avoided for the most part.
https://www.tankonyvtar.hu/hu/tartalom/tamop425/0019_1A_Megelozo_orvostan_es_nepegeszsegtan/ch03s04.html.

²⁴² See: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Amenable_and_preventable_deaths_statistics

comes to deaths that can be avoided through proper healthcare, we cannot find any data beyond 2012; the geographic distribution²⁴³ of the deaths that could be avoided through healthcare shows that the members of “highly visible” Roma communities are overrepresented compared to their overall ratio within the population of the country.

Chart 8: Geographic distribution of deaths that can be avoided through the provision of healthcare services²⁴⁴ and the estimated geographic distribution of Roma communities within Hungary



Source: An examination of deaths that can be avoided through the provision of healthcare services in 174 sub-regions, 2005-2007. Prepared by: József Vitrai PhD and Márta Bakacs Msc Budapest, November 2012. Made on behalf of the Budapest Institute.²⁴⁵

Fight against discrimination and antigypsyism in health care

Initiatives to raise awareness and manage discrimination and anti-gypsyism/romaphobia among healthcare personnel

The general problems of the healthcare system have a negative impact on individuals characterised by lower socioeconomic status. These disadvantages are also unfairly heightened by the stigma attached to Roma communities in Hungary.

From the chapter on healthcare activities and results of the Social Inclusion Strategy Monitoring Report (2017:²⁴⁶ in 2015 the *Egészségügyi Nyilvántartási és Képzési Központ (Healthcare Registration and Training Centre)*²⁴⁷ introduced a training module on bioethics, medical ethics and intercultural skills that is available for wide dissemination. [...] 230

²⁴³ An examination of deaths that can be avoided through the provision of healthcare services in 174 sub-regions, 2005-2007. Prepared by: József Vitrai PhD and Márta Bakacs Msc Budapest, November 2012. Made on behalf of the Budapest Institute. https://www.palyazat.gov.hu/egeszseguqyi_fejlesztések_ertekelese

²⁴⁴ legend: standardised mortality; county seat

²⁴⁵ https://www.palyazat.gov.hu/egeszseguqyi_fejlesztések_ertekelese

²⁴⁶

<http://romagov.kormany.hu/download/2/17/12000/Magyar%20Nemzeti%20T%C3%A1rsadalmi%20Felz%C3%A1rk%C3%B3z%C3%A1si%20Strat%C3%A9gia%20jelent%C3%A9s%202017.pdf>

²⁴⁷ The Healthcare Registration and Training Centre and the Healthcare Inventory Management Institute were dissolved on 31 December 2016. From 1 January 2017 the legal successor of these institutes is the Állami Egészségügyi Ellátó Központ (National Healthcare Services Centre).

persons completed the training in 2015; in 2016 100 persons have started the training. The training course consists of 1,200 hours of training". The number of personnel working in hospitals and specialist care centres alone was 107,186 in 2015,²⁴⁸ meaning that in two years 0.3 per cent of the employees were reached.

A direct effect from increasing individuals' knowledge has not been proven. Impact assessments of sensitivity training and presentations organised for the employees²⁴⁹ are usually not completed by the organisers and/or the results thereof are not available.²⁵⁰

According to social psychology, changing the cognitive and emotional schema that underlie discrimination is very difficult in adults, because adults easily accept information that supports already existing cognitive schema, whereas information that would weaken those schemas are generally deflected.²⁵¹ These presentations, training courses usually do not take this into account; therefore, we cannot expect them to be effective. When compared to education/exposure in childhood and young adulthood no significant results should be expected from readjustment/retraining in adulthood.²⁵²

Discrimination related complaint mechanisms and their operation

According to a 2009 study conducted by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights,²⁵³ 18 per cent of Hungarian Roma experienced discrimination in healthcare in the year preceding the year in which the study was completed. More recent data on this is not available.

The high level of latency is also underscored by the fact that the Equal Treatment Authority passed 285 official public administrative decisions in 2017. Of these, 30 resolutions contained a judgment establishing the violation of the law. Of the protected characteristics 4 can be connected to ethnicity; and out of the areas of discrimination, one can be connected to the area of social security and healthcare.²⁵⁴

According to the 2016 report of the National Patient Rights, Beneficiary Rights, Children's Rights and Documentation Centre (OBDK), which existed until 31 December 2016, "5 percent of the 14,183 reports received last year – 0.7 percent higher than in the previous year – contain a complaint regarding overly long patient wait lists, patient appointments", however, many written complaints (6 percent) mentioned concerns over the language used by and the attitude of doctors and nurses. In terms of the impairment of rights, more than half of the complaints addressed to the OBDK where related to the right to adequate healthcare services, 17 percent raised complaints regarding the right to human dignity, 14 percent mentioned impairment of the right to information, while 7 percent of the reports mentioned the impairment of the right to access healthcare documentation."²⁵⁵ The government merged the OBDK into the Ministry of Human Capacities on 1 January 2017, and established the Integrated Rights Protection Service (IJSZ) in order to manage and

²⁴⁸ Cf.: https://www.enkk.hu/hmr/documents/beresletszam/2015/negyedek/2015Q4_vez.pdf, p. 22

²⁴⁹ It is up to the individual, local employers to decide which civil society service provider or state-organised training – out of the many available – they choose. As a result, there is no country level data available on how many people have taken part in such training courses, presentations.

²⁵⁰ EFFECTIVENESS OF TRAINING COURSES – HUNGARY 2016 Research Report Szent István University, Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences, Social Sciences Management and HR Research Centre. http://www.hszosz.hu/sites/default/files/aktualis/treninghatekonysag_magyarorszag_2016.pdf

²⁵¹ Cf.: Charles Rajzman (2010): Együttélés és társadalmi terápia (Living together and social therapy). Saxum kiadó Budapest, p. 35

²⁵² Cf.: Aronson, The Social Animal 1994, p. 284

²⁵³ European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey: Main results, 2009

²⁵⁴ Cf.: <http://www.egyenlobanasmod.hu/article/view/az-ebh-2017-ben/mid:7>

²⁵⁵ Magyar Idők 01.04.2017, <https://magyaridok.hu/belfold/szocialis-szferaban-sok-panasz-1536205/>

prevent the impairment of the rights of the beneficiaries of state services (healthcare, social, child protection) that arise in the course of the provision of the services supervised, financed by the state. According to the 2017 report of the IJSZ, the number of queries related to patient rights increased (14,622 reports). *"The most important patient rights mentioned in these reports were: right to health care services (53 per cent), right to human dignity (18 per cent), right to information (7 per cent), and the right to access to healthcare documentation (7 per cent). Overall, it can be established that – in the majority of the cases – patient rights could be impaired jointly, and that it is difficult to separate them from one another. The complainants and their relatives most often complained about long patient wait lists, meaning that their most pressing concern was related to their ability to access healthcare services. Despite the fact that the number of complaints increases every year, the distribution of the violations of patients' rights – as presumed by the complainants – practically remains the same every year, which proves that the comments, observations, and recommendations made by patient right advocates is still necessary for the attainment of the desired goal and outcome."*²⁵⁶

The structural permanence of patient rights violations shows the (civil) rights violations that arise in connection with healthcare services. At the same time, the state secretary responsible for healthcare acknowledged at a conference in 2014 that "the resolution of patient rights cannot be achieved from one day to the next, as we are talking about changing the attitude of the players of the sector."²⁵⁷

Stereotypical approaches in healthcare professions, public policy documents, and discourse

According to criminologist Melinda Tóth's research,²⁵⁸ Roma healthcare employees (who are not part of the maintenance personnel: cleaning personnel, patient transport personnel) *"in the majority of cases do not acknowledge their ethnicity publicly, because they perceive it as a stigma, and they fear for their and their family's future, because they are certain that they will not be considered equal if they publicly acknowledge their Roma origins."*

Semmelweis University launched a programme in Budapest in 2011,²⁵⁹ aimed to help high school students with good results who identify as Roma prepare for the medical school entrance exam. By 2018, a total of two students were able to take root; they are currently third-year students. In an interview, one of the students who moved from the countryside to Budapest said that even though they got into university through the "Roma programme", they now feel that it is a stigma that creates additional obstacles, as their competence is continuously being questioned.

In general, it can be established that "overtly stereotypical approaches" at the level of documents have taken a backseat in recent years. They are, however, presumably still present with a negative connotation attached to the members of Roma communities in Hungary in the services provided by the institutions of society, and at the level of individual interactions.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁶ <http://www.ijsz.hu/menupontok-2-5.html>

²⁵⁷ <http://www.ijsz.hu/tavaly-tizezer-megkereses-erkezett-a-betegjogi-kozponthoz.html?keresendo=%C3%A9ves+jelent%C3%A9s&keresesmeget=1>

²⁵⁸ Melinda Tóth: Criminalisation of the phenomena arising from the conflicts of minority and mainstream culture in Hungary, 2018 Eötvös Loránd University, Faculty of Law, Department of Criminology, Melinda Tóth: Criminalisation of the phenomena arising from the conflicts of minority and mainstream culture in Hungary, 2018.

²⁵⁹ Roma Medical Training, <http://semmelweis.hu/hirek/tag/roma-orvoskepzes/>

²⁶⁰ See the studies analysing the political discourse and media landscape related to the Roma in Hungary: Gábor Bernáth – Vera Messing (2017): "Disempowered by the media: causes and consequences of the lack of

Addressing needs of the most vulnerable groups among Roma

As we have mentioned previously, the development of the majority of risk factors and their coexistence strongly correlates with social status. The high ratio of Roma within “excluded” groups shows that the risk of the use of cheaper psychoactive compounds, illegal drugs that are more easily available is higher – among others – among the members of Roma communities. Therefore, based on the actual data available to us “Roma ethnicity” is not a reason underlying a higher frequency of the occurrence of illegal drug use, however, the risk of exposure is heightened by poverty, low levels of educational attainment, unemployment, etc.

The majority of drug prevention programmes is related to the implementation of different child and youth protection programmes in institutions of public education (“DADA”; “ELLEN-SZER”; “School-based Crime Prevention Counselling Network”; “Parents and families are primary partners of the Police in preventing drug crimes”; “OVI-ZSARU”).²⁶¹ The content of these programmes involves the age-appropriate transfer of accident and crime prevention knowledge, the elimination of drug use, and the avoidance of abuse/becoming a victim of abuse. Due to the fact that the monitoring, impact and effectiveness analysis of these programmes is deficient and/or unavailable, objective assessment is not possible.

According to certain civil society organisations engaged in drug prevention, “the police-led, mostly criminalised approach to the diversion of drug consumption is a marginally effective approach. School interventions based on social influencing, and/or skills development have proven effective in reducing legal and illegal drug use; interventions by peers, and those geared towards disadvantaged students are showing promising results.”²⁶²

In Hungary, 181 new psychoactive compounds have been identified since 2010; 24 new psychoactive compounds were identified in 2015. Drug use patterns now include synthetic cannabinoids (first JWH compounds, more recently compounds that are part of the FUBINACA, PINACA and CHMINACA group), designer stimulants (Mephedrone in 2010, MDPV in 2011, Pentadron since 2012, α -PVP in 2014, and α -PHP in 2015), as well as new types of amphetamines. In 2015, 80 per cent of the patients participating in needle exchange programmes injected one of the new psychoactive compounds.²⁶³

“So far no specific responses have been envisaged by the prevention service providers to the discernible spreading of new psychoactive compounds in Hungary”.²⁶⁴

media voice of Roma communities.” Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power.
<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/1070289X.2017.1380264>

²⁶¹ Directive No. 16/2016 (VII. 21) of the National Police Headquarters on the uniform implementation of child and youth protection programmes,
<https://net.jogtar.hu/jogszabaly?docid=A16U0016.ORF&txtreferer=00000001.txt>

²⁶² <http://drogfokuszpont.hu/bevalt-gyakorlatok-portalja/prevenzio/iskola/>

²⁶³ Csesztregi et al., 2016,
http://szocialismunka.btk.pte.hu/sites/szocialismunka.btk.pte.hu/files/files/szocialis_szemle_2017_1.pdf, p. 27

²⁶⁴ Hungarian National Focal Point: National Drug Report 2017, <http://drogfokuszpont.hu/wp-content/uploads/K%C3%A1b%C3%ADt%C3%B3szer%C3%BCgyi-helyzetk%C3%A9p.pdf>

EDUCATION²⁶⁵

Access to quality early childhood care and preschool education

Early childhood development has a definitive effect on the further development of children, and predicts the risk of early school leaving.²⁶⁶ According to a (2016) study conducted by HÉTFA Research Institute, the long-term returns on early childhood development programmes multiply by between 2.38 and 12.9.²⁶⁷ Hungarian PISA results also show that the years spent in early childhood education contributed to the achievement of higher scores.²⁶⁸ From the perspective of these types of development, the *Biztos Kezdet Gyermekház* (Sure Start Children's Houses)²⁶⁹ providing services to children in families facing difficult conditions, living in disadvantaged, underprivileged settlements, settlement parts are of primary importance. The conditions of applying to the programme improved every year, however, its limited reach is well illustrated by the last available comprehensive analysis from 2014, according to which across the 112 children's houses there were 1,700 children who attended activities regularly, and 3,941 children engaged in total.²⁷⁰ In the same year, the number of people in the 0-5 age group came to 554,821,²⁷¹ 27 per cent of whom lived in a poor household (nearly 150,000 children)²⁷² therefore, the number of children engaged in the program was a fraction of those in need.

According to the impact assessment conducted by HÉTFA, which involved 17 institutions, the children's houses were able to fit into the life of the local community, the social skills, vocabulary, and motor coordination of the children improved, especially in cases where the parents were also involved in the programme.²⁷³ It is important to note that the number of external experts used by the children's houses decreased as a result of the nationalisation of the financing of the houses, as state funding only covers the wages of two employees. The operator often engages public workers to support the programme.²⁷⁴ The problem is that the children's houses in smaller towns have a difficult time finding appropriately qualified professionals, employee churn rates are high, and positions are sometimes filled by inappropriately qualified or unqualified people.²⁷⁵ According to the study, *"it is not possible to attract the most disadvantaged families to join the children's house [...] if it is too close to the segregated area, then the better off families will avoid it, if it is too close to the centre then it is inaccessible to the*

²⁶⁵ The chapter was compiled by Uccu Roma Informal Educational Foundation. Cooperating organisations: Együtt Közösen Egymásért Egyesület; Khetanipe Association; The Motivation Community; Pro Cserehát Egyesület

²⁶⁶ Balázs Török (ed.) (2015): Változások az óvodarendszerben. Véleménykutatások eredményei (2014/15). (Changes in the kindergarten system. Results of opinion polling (2014/15)). Hungarian Institute for Educational Research and Development (OFI). 2015, p. 12.
In: http://ofi.hu/sites/default/files/1503613_ofi_valtozasok_az_ovodarendszerben_vegleges.pdf

²⁶⁷ Hétfa (2016): Impact assessment of the Sure Start programme. HÉTFA Research Institute. 9 February 2016, p. 68. In: http://hetfa.hu/wp-content/uploads/hetfa_biztoskezdet_zarotanutmany0210.pdf

²⁶⁸ Balázs Török (ed.) (2015): Változások az óvodarendszerben. Véleménykutatások eredményei (2014/15). (Changes in the kindergarten system. Results of opinion polling (2014/15)). OFI, p. 12
In: http://ofi.hu/sites/default/files/1503613_ofi_valtozasok_az_ovodarendszerben_vegleges.pdf

²⁶⁹ Adopted from the Sure Start program, UK.

²⁷⁰ Hétfa (2016): op. cit. p. 3

²⁷¹ <https://www.ksh.hu/interaktiv/korfak/terulet.html>

²⁷² Júlia Varga (ed.) (2018): op. cit. p. 115

²⁷³ Hétfa (2016): op. cit. p. 3

²⁷⁴ Hétfa (2016): op. cit. p. 3

²⁷⁵ References research conducted by Szomor and co.: Hétfa (2016): op. cit. p. 36

poorer families."²⁷⁶It is important to note the *Toy Library and Your Story* sessions launched by the Roma Education Fund, which made it possible for more than one thousand beneficiaries to participate in 2017.²⁷⁷

Measures to ensure kindergarten enrolment for at least two years

As of 1 September 2015, enrolment into kindergarten is mandatory from the age of three, which promotes equal opportunities for severely disadvantaged children in education, and facilitates early development.²⁷⁸As a result, children from groups within society were enrolled into kindergarten education that were previously absent,²⁷⁹and although there were some capacity issues in the 2016/2017 school year as well, the figures show a nearly ten percent improvement compared to the 2010/2011 school year.²⁸⁰

Kindergarten teacher training and availability. Kindergarten oversight, inclusion of parents in kindergarten programmes

In 2017, there were open kindergarten teacher positions in 146 towns according to the [közígállás.hu](http://kozigallas.hu) website, which also includes the vacancy notices of state operated institutions.²⁸¹ In 2017, 1,405 settlements had an operating kindergarten,²⁸² which means that one tenth of the settlements are facing kindergarten teacher resourcing issues, mostly affecting the countryside and the eastern part of the country. The oversight of kindergartens is conducted by appropriately qualified experts on the basis of the Pedagogical Oversight Manual issued by the Office of Education. Even though the creation of the Manual was financed using EU grants, there are no publicly available data on the visits conducted to monitor the quality of the kindergartens. The EFOP (HRDOP) 3.1.1 Supporting early childhood education programme – which is aimed at supporting the services provided during the day to kindergarten children and children under the age of 3 – was launched using EU funds.

The inclusion of parents is only mentioned in one sentence in the national core program of kindergarten education, which sentence is related to teaching children how to lead a healthy life.²⁸³ The government has allocated 18 million EUR (5.7 billion HUF) to better serve children with arrested or uneven development and their families only before they reach the mandatory schooling age in a manner that is more aligned with the needs of these children and their families. The development programme will be implemented within the framework of the EFOP 1.9.5 "Inter-sectoral development of early childhood intervention" calls for applications. Several areas will work together within the program to create a joint technical protocol, apply a single path for the education of children, and develop a uniform screening, assessment, evaluation system.²⁸⁴

²⁷⁶ Hétfa (2016): op. cit. p. 3

²⁷⁷ Roma Education Fund 2017 Annual Report 21. o. <http://www.romaeducationfund.org/sites/de>

²⁷⁸ Balázs Török (ed.) (2015): op. cit. p. 19

²⁷⁹ Péter Lukács (2017): On an implemented and planned reform. In: *Educatio*. Vol. 26 Issue 4, p. 558. http://real.mtak.hu/80765/1/EDU_26.2017.4.4_Lukacs_Egy_megvalosult_es_egy_tervezett_reformrol_u.pdf

²⁸⁰ Péter Lukács (2017): op. cit. p. 559

²⁸¹ Márta Kovács (2017): There are 150 Hungarian settlements where there isn't enough attention paid to kindergartners. *Hír24*. 06.10.2017 <https://24.hu/belfold/2017/10/06/150-magyar-telepulesen-nem-jut-eleg-figyelem-az-ovodasokra/>

²⁸² <https://holmivan.valami.info/oktatas-lista-135/ovoda>

²⁸³ Government Decree No. 363/2012 (XII. 17.) on the National Kindergarten Core Education Programme). <https://net.jogtar.hu/jogszabaly?docid=a1200363.kor>

²⁸⁴ http://romagov.kormany.hu/download/6/7f/91000/MNTFS%20nyomonk%C3%B6vet%C3%A9si_jelent%C3%A9s_2016.pdf, p. 15

Costs of kindergarten education

Free of charge meals in institutions of public education are available for a wide range of children in need in Hungary.²⁸⁵ At the same time, kindergarten education is only partly free, as families must provide their children with indoor and outdoor clothing, and other equipment, kindergarten class contributions, and the costs of participating in cultural events, which is a significant burden for families.²⁸⁶

Improving quality of education until the end of compulsory schooling

Today every other Roma young person drops out of school without obtaining any qualifications (early school leaving) from the Hungarian educational system. More than half of those who complete secondary school complete a vocational school, and only one fifth graduates from a grammar school. The ratios are reversed in non-Roma populations; therefore, the gap between the two groups is growing.²⁸⁷ This tendency is also supported by the fact that currently there are more scholarships available for vocational school students than to grammar school students, which we will also demonstrate below using the Ámbédkar School as an example. Access to quality education is also restricted by the fact that there has been a consistent shortage of teachers, and that the number of classes held by non-specialist teachers in schools is growing as well – especially in districts where the ratio of disadvantaged children is high;²⁸⁸ in the beginning of July 2018 there were 2400 open positions advertised on the public administration jobs portal for primary and secondary school teachers.²⁸⁹ The vacancies are spread out between 523 settlements.²⁹⁰ The significant shortage of teachers contributes greatly to unchanging drop-out rates, with the most significant service disruptions arising in areas where disadvantaged families are overrepresented.²⁹¹

In addition, it is also often the case that Roma students attend segregated institutions, which prevents them from accessing quality education, reduces the chances of relationships forming between different groups of young people, and contributes to maintaining already strong prejudices.²⁹² According to a publication of the OECD entitled *Excellence and Equity in Education (2013)* the correlation between school performance and socioeconomic background is weaker in countries that operate more heterogeneous

²⁸⁵ Pursuant to Act XXXI of 1997, children eligible for regular child protection benefits are eligible for free of charge meals in institutions of public education. <https://net.jogtar.hu/jogszabaly?docid=99700031.TV>

²⁸⁶ Viola Szent-Gály (ed.) (2015): Reducing disadvantages in kindergarten, successful school starts. Educatio Kft. p. 66. https://www.educatio.hu/pub_bin/download/tamop311_II/eredmenyek/ovodai_hatranycsokkentek/1502293_T311_Disszem_Kutatasi_OVIS_net.pdf

²⁸⁷ Gábor Kertesi – Gábor Kézdi (2016): Opportunities of Roma youth and the inequalities of the school system MTA KTI p. 3

²⁸⁸ The shortage of teachers is very high at the national level as well, it is particularly difficult to find specialist teachers in school located in disadvantaged areas. <https://szakszervezetek.hu/hirek/12615-tanarhiany-tobb-szaz-szaktanari-allast-hirdetnek>

²⁸⁹ Hir 24 (2018): More than two thousand teachers are missing before the school year begins. Hir24. <https://24.hu/belfold/2018/07/09/tobb-mint-ketezer-tanar-hianyik-a-tanevkezdeshez/>

²⁹⁰ HVG (2018): More than two thousand teachers are missing from the school system before the school year begins http://hvg.hu/itthon/20180709_Ketezernel_is_tobb_tanar_hianyik_a_tanevkezdes_elott

²⁹¹ Krisztina Mihályi (2014): The European Union and domestic context of early school leaving. In: Eszter Szegedi (ed.) (2014): Qualifications for everyone! Tempus Public Foundation. Budapest, p. 4 http://oktataskepzes.tka.hu/content/documents/Projektek/2013/QALL/Vegzettseget_mindenkinek_QALL_zarok_iadvany.pdf

²⁹² Kertesi – Kézdi (2016): op. cit. p. 4

schools. The segregated education of Roma and disadvantaged children in the Hungarian education system does not promote the resolution of the issue of early school leaving.²⁹³

Roma children's enrolment in schools

The enrolment into school of Roma young people is ensured for the most part, the biggest issue that this population faces is high dropout rates, which means that their chances of continued education have failed to improve for years. Most Roma young people are taught in segregated classes, where it is very difficult to provide quality education.²⁹⁴ A study investigated the chances of college/university education between 2006 and 2012 – by the summer of 2012 nearly 10 per cent of non-Roma students and nearly 50 per cent of Roma students failed to obtain a qualification. The ratio of students obtaining a baccalaureate diploma is 75 per cent among non-Roma students, and 24 per cent among the Roma students. Only 5 per cent of Roma young people start college/university education compared to 35 per cent of the non-Roma young people. The differences are mainly due to the disadvantages and falling behind experienced in the period preceding secondary school.²⁹⁵

Ratio and number of students at risk of dropping out in the second half of the 2017/18 school year²⁹⁶

County	Number of students	Number of students at risk of dropping out	Ratio of students at risk of dropping out
Bács-Kiskun	38,988	3,030	7.77%
Baranya	26,399	2,028	7.68%
Békés	26,121	2,205	8.44%
Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén	52,447	7,397	14.10%
Budapest	144,940	7,920	5.46%
Csongrád	30,819	1,828	5.93%
Fejér	30,748	2,743	8.92%
Győr-Moson-Sopron	36,406	2,393	6.57%
Hajdú-Bihar	43,604	4,666	10.70%
Heves	24,286	2,545	10.48%
Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok	29,723	3,118	10.49%
Komárom-Esztergom	22,299	1,940	8.70%
Nógrád	12,744	2,064	16.20%
Pest	79,260	5,619	7.09%
Somogy	22,540	2,504	11.11%
Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg	45,878	6,902	15.04%
Tolna	16,399	1,435	8.75%
Vas	18,366	1,341	7.30%
Veszprém	25,179	2,551	10.13%
Zala	19,112	1,892	9.90%

Based on the table, in Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg, Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén and Nógrád counties the ratio of children at risk of dropping out is 50 per cent higher than the national average. These are the three counties that are home to more than one third of Hungary's Roma population.²⁹⁷

²⁹³ Mihályi (2014): op. cit. p. 19

²⁹⁴ Kertesi – Kézdi (2016): op. cit.

²⁹⁵ Kertesi – Kézdi (2016): op. cit.

²⁹⁶ Source: <https://www.kir.hu/kir2esl/Kimutatas/VeszelyeztetettTanulokMegoszlasa>.

23.6 per cent of the Roma population lives on the Northern Great Plain region, and 24.4 per cent in Northern Hungary. Péntes-Tátrai-Pásztor (2018): Changes in the Regional Distribution of the Roma Population in Hungary in the Last Decades. Regional statistics, 2018 58(1): 3–26. p. 11

Programmes aimed at compensation of disadvantage and reduction of early school leaving

Managing the issue of early school leaving is one of the five target values identified in the economic and social strategy of the European Union until 2020 – to reduce the ratio of school dropouts without qualification below 10 per cent within the European Union. Hungary also committed to a 10 per cent reduction by 2020.²⁹⁸ According to the statistical data, the ratio has been decreasing in Hungary from 2005 (12.5 per cent) until 2010 (10.5 per cent), however, the dropout rate was once again higher in 2013 (11.8 per cent).²⁹⁹ In the second half of the 2017/2018 school year the ratio of students at risk of dropping out was 13 per cent.³⁰⁰

Several projects are targeting the reduction of early school leaving specifically, including programmes under EFOP (HRDOP) 3.1.1 “Supporting early childhood education” and EFOP (HRDOP) 3.1.3 “Public education measures targeting social inclusion and integration”. According to the Social Inclusion Strategy Monitoring Report (2017),³⁰¹ the objectives of assessing and analysing the status of early childhood education and of compiling relevant recommendations have been fulfilled as part of the above-mentioned project. In addition, eight 30-hour kindergarten teacher further training courses have been developed and accredited, including the related teaching materials. Under the EFOP (HRDOP) 3.1.3 “Public education measures targeting social inclusion and integration” priority project, 1100 kindergarten teachers from 550 kindergartens will undertake further training until the end of 2020 with a total budget of 13.27 million EUR (4.2 billion HUF).³⁰² The size of the program can be gauged by looking at the total number of kindergartens and kindergarten teachers in Hungary: currently there are 4,576 kindergartens in Hungary employing 31,462 kindergarten teachers.

²⁹⁸ Krisztina Mihályi (2014): op. cit. p. 11

²⁹⁹ Benő Csapó (2015): The issues facing Hungarian public education based on the data. Values and reference frameworks. In. Iskolakultúra, Volume 25, issue 2015/7-8. p. 12
<http://real.mtak.hu/34819/1/02.pdf>

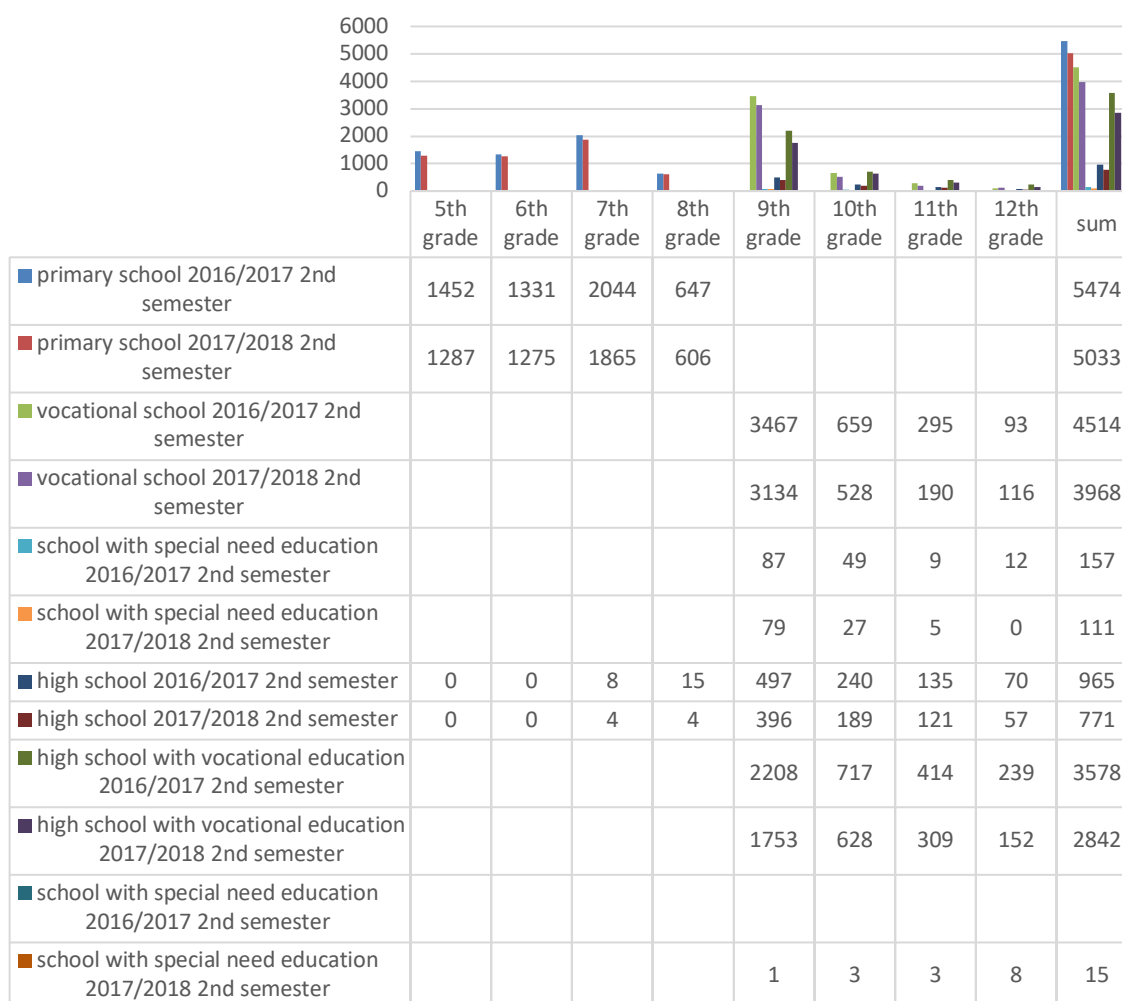
³⁰⁰ <https://www.kir.hu/kir2esl/Kimutatas/VeszelyeztetettTanulokMegoszlasa>

³⁰¹ Hungarian National Social Inclusion Strategy II Monitoring Report 2017, p. 28
<http://romagov.kormany.hu/download/2/17/12000/Magyar%20Nemzeti%20T%C3%A1rsadalmi%20Felz%C3%A1rk%C3%B3z%C3%A1si%20Strat%C3%A9gia%20jelent%C3%A9s%202017.pdf>

³⁰² Monitoring Report 2017, op. cit. p. 28

Repeat rates

Repeaters in the given year



Source: <https://www.kir.hu/kir2esl/Lekerdezések/Aggregator>

The data clearly show that repeat rates are always higher in the first grade of a particular stage of training. In the case of children starting a certain new stage of training this shows that there are many among them who are at a significant disadvantage; especially students that come from low-quality, segregated schools.

Since 2014, there have been two priority projects ongoing under the Human Resource Development Operational Program (HRDOP) entitled "Creating opportunities in public education" and "Supporting institutions at risk of early school leaving". The first project incorporates three programmes: *Tanoda* (after school study club), *Második esély* (Second Chance) and *Bari Shej*. The *Tanoda* and *Bari Shej* programmes are aiming to prevent early school leaving, while the *Második esély* programme supports students that have already dropped out. The *Bari Shej* program reached 485 students between 2015 and 2017.³⁰³ The number of students participating in the *Tanoda* program was 5,792 students in 2015. Between 2016 and 2018 there have been a total of 270 after school study clubs to help disadvantaged students with a total budget of 23.23 million EUR (7.35 billion HUF). No data is available on the programmes "Supporting institutions at risk of early school leaving" and "EFOP Second Chance"; the latter was preceded by TÁMOP (SROP) – 3.3.9 "Supporting

³⁰³ Monitoring Report (2017), op.cit. p. 25

second chance programmes” which was concluded on 30 June 2015. Number of programme participants was 2,271; of which number of students that obtained a qualification, training certificate, or have completed training that results in a qualification was 799.³⁰⁴ In contrast, the number of children at risk of early school leaving in the second half of the 2017/2018 school year was 66,121.³⁰⁵

Education Inspectorate, and the public availability of the related data

Over the past few years Hungary has developed a system for the general inspection and supervision of institutions of education and training.³⁰⁶ According to the statement of Miklós Thaisz, Head of Department at the Ministry of Human Capacities, the teacher career path is a suitable tool to improve teachers' performance.³⁰⁷ In regards to the operation of the Inspectorate, we interviewed a teacher who has worked in a secondary school in Miskolc for 20 years, who said the following: Since the implementation of the new system the inspector only made contact on one occasion. The majority of the 100 teachers at the school have had a similar experience with the consultant, who did not return to the school after the first meeting.³⁰⁸ No national data is being collected on the educational inspection visits. The records of these visits can only be viewed by school management and the teacher concerned; it is not available to the parents.

Complex Instruction Programme

The Integration-based System of Education that was launched in 2003, which targeted the elimination of segregation as well as the dissemination of modern teaching methodologies has been gradually stifled by the government starting in the beginning of the 2010s. The Ministry of Human Capacities selected the so-called KIP (Complex Instruction Programme)³⁰⁹ as the new reference model. A government plan for the dissemination of the programme also exists – entitled Complex Core Programme – however, it is not presented as being part of a desegregation strategy; rather it seems to be a substitute for the conflict-ridden strategy of eliminating segregation.³¹⁰ In addition to the base school located in Hejőkeresztúr, currently there are 14 qualified primary schools, 37 primary schools receiving training, 16 DIGI-KIP schools, five vocational grammar schools, and 11 schools within the Budapest Complex Vocational Training Centre applying the method³¹¹ – which is a rather limited scope. There are 6,001 schools operating in Hungary;³¹² 91 of these schools are using the KIP.

Parents' role, grassroots activities

According to the act on public education, it is the parent's right to receive regular, detailed, substantive information, advice, assistance in connection with the development of their child. Considering, however, that family visits are not mandatory, and cooperation with the parents' household is not a priority item of further training programmes either, there

³⁰⁴ Monitoring Report (2017), op. cit. p. 28

³⁰⁵ <https://www.kir.hu/kir2esl/Kimutatas/VeszelyeztetettTanulokMegoszlasa>

³⁰⁶ Cf.: Article 145(1) of Decree No. 20/2012 (VIII. 31.) of the Ministry of Human Capacities on the operation of institutions of education and the name use of institutions of public education, https://www.oktatas.hu/koznevelis/tanfelugyelet/altalanos_tajekoztato

³⁰⁷ <http://folyoiratok.ofi.hu/uj-koznevelis/szaktanacsadas-tanfelugyelet-minosites>

³⁰⁸ Interview with a secondary school teacher in Miskolc.

³⁰⁹ K. Nagy Emese (2015): KIP-könyv I–II (Complex Core Programme Book I–II). Miskolci Egyetemi Kiadó, Miskolc. http://komplexinstrukcio.hu/files/KIP_I_II.pdf

³¹⁰ Fejes - Szűcs (2018): Az oktatási integráció ügye a 2010-es évek végén (The issue of integration in education at the end of the 2010s). In: Fejes-Szűcs (ed.) (2018): op. cit. pp. 25–26

³¹¹ <http://www.komplexinstrukcio.hu>

³¹² http://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xstadat/xstadat_eves/i_zoi009b.html

are no institutional guarantees that would ensure that the education of children is being carried out in cooperation with the families.

Between 2011 and 2013, the ROMED Programme laid down the foundations of quality mediation in 22 European countries. By training more than 1,300 mediators, it ensured that mediation between Roma communities and public institutions is implemented fairly, and in a manner that avoids the obstacles and pitfalls associated with the complex relationship that exists between the two sides.³¹³ In Hungary 45 mediators received training under the ROMED1 programme, however, the full programme is only being implemented in five towns.³¹⁴ As part of the ROMED2 programme, 6 Roma mediators started work in six settlements with support from the European Council. After the conclusion of the programme, between 2017 and 2018 fifteen Roma mediators were given jobs as part of public employment thanks to the civil society initiative by the Partners Hungary Foundation.³¹⁵ The foundation is still continuously organising Roma mediator training courses, however, it receives no state support whatsoever for the financing of training or for the post-training employment of Roma mentors. According to the foundation's plans, 15 people will be employed in 2019, also within the context of public employment, based on the decisions of local municipalities.³¹⁶

Support of secondary and higher education particularly for professions with high labour market demand

Interoperability of school paths, including segregation within the training system

Since the regime change vocational schools have become a typical form of further education for disadvantaged and severely disadvantaged students; with such students enrolling in training that holds the lowest prestige within such vocational schools at much higher rates.³¹⁷

The introduction of three-year vocational school training (from the 2010/2011 school year) and the reduction of public knowledge training hours are problematic from a professional standpoint. Due to the fact that the average student that enrolls in a vocational school is characterised by basic skills deficiencies brought on from primary school, these students would require a longer training duration and remedial programmes to ensure that they can begin acquiring vocation specific knowledge without problems.³¹⁸ A study conducted in 2012 found that 60 percent of Roma students enrolled in the 8th grade of primary school attended a class, where more than half of the classmates fulfilled the conditions of functional illiteracy. The same ratio is less than 20 percent for non-Roma students.³¹⁹ There are virtually no paths leading from vocational schools to vocational grammar schools and grammar schools, where a baccalaureate diploma can be earned, which is a process

³¹³ <http://coe-romact.org/sites/default/files/leaflets/ROMED2%20-%20HUNGARIAN.pdf>

³¹⁴ <http://coe-romact.org/sites/default/files/leaflets/ROMED2%20-%20HUNGARIAN.pdf>

³¹⁵ Szilvia Rézműves - Partners Hungary Foundation, Hungarian ROMED2 expert – interview on 20.02.2018

³¹⁶ Szilvia Rézműves - Partners Hungary Foundation, Hungarian ROMED2 expert – interview on 20.02.2018

³¹⁷ Makó-Hajdu-Tóth (2015): Szakiskolák, oktatás, szegénység – egy interjú kutatás eredményei (Vocational schools, education, poverty – outcomes of an interview based study). In: Esély Vol. 27 Issue 6 / 2016, p. 42, http://real.mtak.hu/80982/1/Esely_2016_6_2_1_Mako_Hajdu_Toht_Szakiskolak_u.pdf

³¹⁸ Makó-Hajdu-Tóth (2015): op. cit. p. 59

³¹⁹ Kertesi-Kézdi (2012): A roma és nem roma tanulók teszt eredményei közti különbségekről és e különbségek okairól (On the differences between the test results of Roma and non-Roma students and the reasons underlying these differences). Közgazdasági Szemle 2012. p. 834

that clearly reinforces segregation within the structures of education. The current training structure forces the majority of Roma young people into a form of training from which there is no way to progress even if they want to.

Means to facilitate the further education of disadvantaged young people and their efficiency

The introduction of the dual training system and the reduction of the mandatory schooling age to 16 occurred virtually at the same time.³²⁰ These measures had a direct negative effect on the career orientation of young people; career guidance services do not provide the appropriate required information (a significant proportion of Roma young people and their parents are not aware of what kind of professions exist); the interfaces of institutional talent management and disadvantage compensation are deficient and fragmented. According to a report,³²¹ the vast majority of Roma young people (living within a segregated area) do not usually choose a profession, rather they choose a school which is close by and is willing to admit them.³²² Despite the fact that pursuant to Government Decree No. 110/2012 one of the priority tasks of teachers in the 7th and 8th grades is to facilitate career orientation and provide career guidance. There is limited access to modern career building and career guidance activities for the most impoverished groups, families that live in small towns, which also impacts upon the competitiveness of the economy.³²³

Programmes to reach adequate levels of Roma-youth participation in education from vocational training to tertiary education

Today in Hungarian public education there are measures in place concurrently to encourage the participation of Roma young people at all levels of school education and in all types of training, and other measures to inhibit such participation. Encouraging measures include – to some extent – the introduction of a dual training scheme from 2012 that supports companies that are willing to train students.³²⁴ At the same time, however, the number of students receiving support within the framework of the “Path to a trade” scholarship programme in the 2016-2017 school year was 3,162.³²⁵ Another example of an “encouraging” measure is the introduction of a Christian Roma college system that was created based on the example of *Romaversitas*.³²⁶

At the same time, we consider the reduction of the mandatory school age to 16 an “inhibiting” measure, as it increased dropout rates tremendously. According to an internal study of the Ministry of Human Capacities, in the 2014-2015 school year there were a total of 42,254 dropouts across the country,³²⁷ with most of these young people ending up working as public workers, employed in the grey or black economy. That is because the 28.44 to 41.08 EUR (9-13 thousand HUF) scholarship stipend they can receive based on their school performance is still lower than the wages they can earn through public work.

³²⁰ Act CXC of 2011 on National Public Education /Section 45 (3)

³²¹ Eszter Prókai: *Roma vagy?* (Are you Roma?) *Legyél szakács!* (Why not learn to be a cook?) <https://abcug.hu/roma-vagy-legyel-szakacs/>

³²² Pályázat hátrányos helyzetű fiatalok számára, 2017 (Application opportunity for disadvantaged young people, 2017) <http://www.csalad.hu/2017/07/04/palyazat-hatranyos-helyzetu-fiatalok-szamara>

³²³ Tibor Borbély-Pecze(2016): Szakképzés és pályaaorientáció-tévtutak és lehetőségek (Vocational training and career orientation – wrong paths and opportunities). p. 63 Educatio 2016/1. http://epa.oszk.hu/01500/01551/00095/pdf/EPA01551_educatio_2016_1_059-069.pdf

³²⁴ <https://piacesprofit.hu/gazdasag/ez-a-valasz-a-szakemberhianyra>

³²⁵ Monitoring Report 2017. p. 11 It is important to note that OLAF is investigating the programme, and that the previous president of the RNÖ (Roma Local Government) was summoned for an interview. <http://nol.hu/belfold/farkas-floriant-beidezte-az-europai-csalas-elleni-hivatal-de-o-nem-ment-el-1621617>

³²⁶ <https://dari.oktatas.hu/index.php?id=kozerdeku>

³²⁷ <http://168ora.hu/itthon/brutalis-adatok-itt-a-tankotelezettseg-leszallitasanak-eredmenye-2611>

The referenced Ministry of Human Capacities study establishes that “*early school leaving does not only concern vocational schools, however, it can be established that it affects vocational training to a large degree, including also vocational grammar school training*”.

Supplementary services provided to Roma young people in vocational training and tertiary education

The number of students receiving support within the framework of the “Útravaló” scholarship programme in the 2016/2017 school year was 4028. A total of 1088 children participated in the Arany János programme in the 2015/2016 school year. 35,990 children received support within the framework of the Szabóky Adolf vocational training scholarship programme. In addition, from 23.23 million EUR (7.35 billion HUF) in EU funding more than 270 after school study clubs have been supporting disadvantaged students in their development between 2016 and 2018.³²⁸ Although several new application opportunities have been introduced (e.g. scholarship programmes, after school study clubs, Roma colleges) or have been more widely disseminated recently, which allocate significant resources to supporting disadvantaged and/or Roma students, these barely scratch the surface of structural issues, such as the issue of selection; and instead of focusing on prevention they typically focus on the mitigation of the disadvantages caused by the educational system in a relatively narrow scope.³²⁹ The Roma Education Fund provides additional academic scholarships.³³⁰

We still find very few Roma young people at colleges and universities today, however, while previously only 1 per cent of Roma people born in a given year enrolled in an institution of higher education today that rate is 4-5 per cent.³³¹ However, even the significant progress measured in absolute terms cannot make us forget that the gap between Roma children and children from mainstream groups has widened specifically in this particular area the most over the past 2-3 decades.³³² *Romaversitas* is a foundation operated, complex training programme geared towards Roma young people. In their 20 years of existence they have helped over 300 Roma students earn college/university degrees. The foundation's work is not supported by the government (its largest contributor is the Roma Education Fund), and they are also technically unable to submit applications to opportunities announced under the Social Renewal Operational Programme – which are announced specifically to support Roma young people enrolled in higher education – because applicants are limited to traditional churches and universities.³³³ The foundation launched a programme to support secondary school students a few years ago, which allows 15 young people from within a 20 km radius of Budapest to earn grammar school baccalaureate diplomas and reach their professional goals by receiving support from specialist teachers, mentors, and career guidance counsellors.³³⁴ A similar support system is applicable to Roma students enrolled in higher education, supplemented with an additional scholarship.

Second chance programme for Roma young people

Most of the second chance schools focus on students that have been excluded from mainstream education, and want to restart their school education. These schools – most of which are not operated by the state – include *Belvárosi Tanoda* (Belvárosi Tanoda Secondary School), *Zöldkakas Líceum* (Zöldkakas Secondary School), *Burattino Iskola*

³²⁸ Monitoring Report 2017. p. 11

³²⁹ Fejes-Szűcs: (2018) op. cit. p. 25

³³⁰ http://www.romaeducationfund.org/sites/default/files/publications/ref_2017_annualreport_2.pdf

³³¹ <http://old.tarki.hu/adatbank-h/kutjel/pdf/b334.pdf>, p. 265

³³² *Ibid.*

³³³ <http://168ora.hu/itthon/daroczi-gabor-az-embereknek-tele-a-hocipoje-az-igeretekkel-8588>

³³⁴ http://romaversitas.hu/most-tortenik/kozepiskolas_program/

(Burratino School), or the *Dr. Ámbédkar Iskola* (Dr. Ámbédkar School) founded 10 years ago. The latter has encountered several difficulties recently, as the school's managing authority the Dzsaj Bhím Community lost its status as a church in 2012, and therefore, did not receive the supplementary headcount-based support for its educational activities that is provided to churches. Together with the loss of the church status, the school also lost the ability to receive 1 per cent PIT donations, which also meant a significant loss of funding for the school. Furthermore, the number of students enrolled in the school dropped dramatically, because due to the reduced mandatory school-age, children from poor families entered the public work programme instead of enrolling in school; which although improves their livelihood in the short-term also detracts from their chances of success in the long-term. This phenomenon does not only affect Ámbédkar, rather it is a discernible trend. Additional drains on the system originate from the HÍD programmes,³³⁵ or the training courses organised by labour centres, both of which offer scholarship opportunities. The training courses organised by these institutions, however, lack the type of training (e.g. foreign language training) that would allow these young people to successfully enter the labour market or enrol in higher education.³³⁶ There is barely any information available on the effectiveness of the HÍD programmes, while several arguments can be cited against the basic concept underlying their operation. The most important of these arguments is that these programmes represent another point of selection in the Hungarian educational system. The number of students affected over the last three years was around 3,000 (HCSO, 2015, 2016, 2017). This programme enforces the accumulation of educational problems that need to be resolved even more strongly than the segregating mechanisms that currently characterise the system, which makes effective disadvantage compensation nearly impossible. The main problem is that this type of programme does not encourage completion of primary school by way of effective disadvantage compensation but rather applies lowered expectations, which can only be interpreted as superficial treatment, and it does not prevent students from dropping out of secondary school.³³⁷

Dual modes of training, availability of places of practical training

The study conducted on the outcomes of dual secondary school training³³⁸ establishes that the quality of dual VET training is low in that students undertaking final exams often perform at a level that does not meet even the most basic standards both when it comes to practical subjects or subjects in general culture. Companies invest significant amounts in dual training; however, the component that appears to be essential to ensuring quality training seems to be missing in Hungary at the secondary school level: The system of training centres linked to plants, factories. (This is a very important part of the German model that was taken as an example). The referenced study is based on a 2016 survey conducted in Baranya County, according to which the knowledge level of students is "catastrophically poor".

Fight against discrimination and antigypsyism in education

National data on segregated schools

The Hungarian educational system today is not only not able to compensate for the

³³⁵ Act CXCV of 2011 on National Public Education Section 14
<https://net.jogtar.hu/jogszabaly?docid=A1100190.TV>

³³⁶ Derdák Tiborral, az iskola igazgatójával készült interjú (Interview with Tibor Derdák the principal of the school). <http://168ora.hu/itthon/az-orban-kormany-szandekosan-falakat-huz-a-hatranynos-helyzetu-gyerekek-ele-149165>

³³⁷ Fejes-Szűcs (ed.) (2018): op. cit. p. 16

³³⁸ Tamás Vámosi (2017): Evaluation of dual secondary school training in light of output and the results of the complex exam. In: Karlovitz János Tibor (2017): Válogatott tanulmányok a pedagógiai elmélet és szakmódszertanok köréből (Selected studies from theories of the pedagogy and specialised methodologies). 2017 <http://www.irisro.org/pedagogia2017januar/34VamosiTamas.pdf>

disadvantages arising from a child's social background, but it is actually reinforcing them through the selection and segregation mechanisms present at all levels of public education. The latest research results on ethnic segregation show that the level of segregation in schools is primarily determined by student mobility and the proportion of Roma students. It is an important correlation to note that with a given proportion of Roma residents and a given education policy environment the greater mobility of higher status students coincides with even higher rates of segregation in school.³³⁹

Segregation measured in primary schools has been increasing sharply since the regime change. One of the results of the equal opportunities education policy implemented between 2002 in 2010 was that the level of segregation in public education decreased significantly in cities between 2006 and 2008, followed by a period of stagnation.³⁴⁰ The commuting of the children of higher status parents to "elite" schools resulted in the schools of certain towns becoming "ghetto schools" despite the fact that the towns themselves did not necessarily become Roma majority towns.³⁴¹ Ethnic segregation across schools in Hungary is significant. The segregation index as calculated by Hajdu, Hermann, Horn and Varga (2015)³⁴² – slightly increased between 2010 and 2013.³⁴³ In 2016, the proportion of Roma students in every 7th primary school site was above 50 per cent, while in another 9.7 per cent of schools the proportion of Roma students was 30-50 per cent.³⁴⁴

Having had no assigned compulsory school districts, church-maintained primary schools have previously contributed to heightening segregation in education.³⁴⁵ The role of church-maintained schools in heightening segregation has increased significantly (thanks to the increase in the ratio of church-maintained schools – the ratio of church-maintained schools increased by 68 per cent between 2010 and 2014 – as well as to the government's measures that favour church-maintained institutions).³⁴⁶ After 2010, several institutions of education were transferred into church maintenance, most of which are in disadvantaged regions and smaller settlements. Church schools even in disadvantaged regions and in smaller towns are primarily engaged in the education of children of more affluent families, meaning that they help the local elite escape from state-maintained schools. It must also be mentioned here that several churches operate institutions of education that admit significant numbers of disadvantaged students, however, these schools are often ghetto schools and are located in towns where the same church also operates a church-maintained elite school.³⁴⁷ The latest research results show that the gap between Roma and non-Roma society is growing dramatically as a result of segregated education.

On 14 February 2019, a second instance judgement was passed in Hungary in a segregation court case that lasted for more than ten years. The court case was opened by

³³⁹ Kertesi-Kézdi (2014): *Iskolai szegregáció, szabad iskolaválasztás és helyi oktatáspolitikai* (Segregation in school, freedom of choice of school, and local education policy). *100 magyar városban* (in 100 Hungarian cities). Budapesti Munkagazdasági Füzetek, BWP – 2014/6. p. 7.
<http://www.econ.core.hu/file/download/bwp/bwp1406.pdf>

³⁴⁰ Kertesi- Kézdi (2014) p. 27

³⁴¹ Tünde Virág (2010): *Kirekesztve* (Excluded). Village ghettos at the edge of the country. Budapest. Akadémiai Kiadó.

³⁴² This shows what percentage of possible contacts between disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged students fail due to segregation in school.

³⁴³ Fejes-Szűcs (2018): op. cit. p. 12

³⁴⁴ Ercse (2018): *Az állam által ösztönzött, egyház-asszisztált szegregáció mechanizmusa* (The mechanism of church-assisted segregation encouraged by the state). In: Fejes-Szűcs (2018): op. cit. pp. 177–199

³⁴⁵ Eszter Berényi (2018): *Szabad iskolaválasztás és szegregáció* (Freedom of choice of school and segregation). In: Fejes-Szűcs (2018). pp. 57–66

³⁴⁶ Fejes- Szűcs (2018) op. cit. p. 25

³⁴⁷ Fejes – Szűcs (2018) op. cit. p. 25

the Chance For Children Foundation (CFCF) against the education authority on the grounds of violating the criteria of equal treatment. The case concerned 28 segregated schools. In its ruling of first instance in April 2018, the Metropolitan Court of Budapest ordered the Ministry of Human Capacities (EMMI) to instruct the managing authority not to launch a first grade in the following school-year, and to set out the school admission district borders with respect to the prohibition of admission to first grade; and furthermore also ordered the Ministry to draw up an anti-segregation plan within three months with the involvement of experts. The ruling stated that EMMI is to pay a public interest fine of 158.000 EUR (50 million HUF), which is to be used to finance the monitoring by civil society organisations of the implementation of desegregation programmes for a period of five years.³⁴⁸ The Ministry of Human Capacities appealed the ruling. As per the ruling of second instance on 14 February 2019, the court again ruled in favour of the CFCF and stated that the Ministry is to be held responsible for the segregated education of Roma children. At the same time, it gives cause for concern that the second instance decision did not address the prohibition of launching a first grade in the schools concerned, just as it also failed to address the requirement of re-defining the district boundaries.³⁴⁹

Temporary ("emergency") services

According to a comprehensive study conducted in 2017, the proportion of school that used emergency classrooms has decreased significantly between 2001 and 2016.³⁵⁰ The ratio of emergency classrooms in institutions of education that included a primary school was about 25 per cent in 2001; however, the same ratio dropped to around 13 per cent by 2016.³⁵¹ On the other hand, the distribution of the emergency classrooms shows significant regional variance. The ratio of schools that use emergency classrooms is high in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, Fejér, Hajdú-Bihar, and Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok counties.³⁵² Although a significant reduction can be observed in the use of emergency classrooms, the near 10 per cent ratio still shows that these classrooms are not just used as temporary solutions.

Consequences of complete freedom of choice of schools

From 2013 onwards the education system has become more centralized, however, the right to the freedom of choice of school and the most important school incentives remained the same.³⁵³ When examining the segregation processes at play Kertesi és Kézdi (2014) arrived at the conclusion that *"the primary source of segregation in schools is not that non-Roma families are trying to avoid Roma students, but rather the strong selection that is based on the presumed quality of the schools and the observable abilities of the students, which is made possible by the freedom of choice of school and the low cost of commuting."*³⁵⁴

Initiatives to raise awareness of discrimination in education

Although an independent state-run institution is responsible for the supervision of actions taken against discrimination in Hungary (Equal Treatment Authority), the high level of latency clearly shows that one institution cannot replace a strong antidiscrimination policy. Dr. Katalin Gregor, Head of the Legal Department of the authority mentioned in a response

³⁴⁸ Metropolitan Court of Budapest 40.P.23.675/2015/84. <http://cfcf.hu/sites/default/files/23675-2015-84-I%20%C3%ADt%C3%A9let%20Es%C3%A9lyt%20a%20H%C3%A1tr%C3%A1nyos%20-%20Nemzeti%20Er%C5%91forr%C3%A1s%20.pdf> pp. 1-5

³⁴⁹ Appeals Court 2.Pf.21.145/2018/6/I.

³⁵⁰ Júlia Varga (ed.) (2018): op. cit. p. 17

³⁵¹ Júlia Varga (ed.) (2018): op. cit. p. 17

³⁵² <http://mek.oszk.hu/17900/17966/17966.pdf>

³⁵³ Kertesi-Kézdi (2014) p. 7

³⁵⁴ Kertesi-Kézdi (2014) op. cit. p. 39

to our question that over the last three years the authority only received one complaint (in 2017), where an organisation acting as an enforcer of rights of public benefit raised a complaint about segregation in education, and the authority carried out the applicable public administrative proceeding in response. The low number of complaints related to discrimination addressed to the authority suggests that Roma people are often not aware of their rights being violated, and even if they have suspicions that their treatment is discriminatory, they have no means with which to counteract such conduct. There are also other reasons behind the fact that victims of discrimination rarely contact the authorities; they may be afraid that their child's vulnerability in school would only increase after such a proceeding is launched; while others simply do not have confidence in the effectiveness of the proceeding. The obstacles of exercising rights, and the small amounts awarded as compensation – even in an international comparison – in such proceedings all divert victims from seeking legal recourse.

Legal regulation and practice

"There are no significant issues with Hungarian laws overall, furthermore, the regulations are considered as progressive in a European comparison, as it specifically prohibits discrimination and segregation; however, there are many issues with the application and enforcement of these rules. The fact that there are certain pitfalls inherent in these rules is well illustrated by the judgment of the Curia made in connection with the case in [Nyíregyháza-huszártelep]. There can be legal interpretations of even the most progressive, up-to-date regulations that even if on a religious basis allow for segregation," – said the representative of the Foundation for a Chance for Children (Esélyt a Hátrányos Helyzetű Gyerekeknek Alapítvány). The issue, therefore, does not lie in insufficient legislation, rather the avoidance of such regulations, and the lack of enforcement of decisions.

The topic of discrimination in the teacher training curriculum.

There is no uniform practice within teacher training that would prepare prospective teachers on how to handle situations of discrimination. In Hungary, the concept of intercultural education has not been accepted as a basic tenet of the educational system; it is only partially represented. This is one of the most important obstacles that prevent the substantive inclusion of anti-discrimination approaches in teacher training. In 2016, a Masters level training on social inclusion was included in the higher education register; however, the training does not yield a teacher diploma. The teacher training Institute at the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Miskolc introduced teacher training that focuses on disadvantaged students. The content and the goals of the training were created such that prospective teachers could prepare more effectively for working with disadvantaged children.³⁵⁵ They have created a vibrant and active professional network with the disadvantaged schools in the region.³⁵⁶ At the University of Szeged, courses that review the problems encountered by disadvantaged and Roma students and the available solutions to such issues, as well as courses on the Roma are a compulsory part of teacher training. Prospective teachers can gather practical experience as volunteers in the programmes, workshops, campaigns initiated by REF and the Motivation Community.³⁵⁷

³⁵⁵ Anetta Ádám (2015): Fókuszban a hátrányos helyzet (Disadvantages in focus) – a Támo 4.1.2-B tevékenységei és eredményei (Activities and Results under Támo 4.1.2)– Miskolci Egyetem BTK Tanárképző Intézet (Teacher Training Institute, Faculty of Humanities, University of Miskolc). In. Horváth H. – Jakab (ed.)(2015): A tanárképzéssjövőjéről III (On the future of teacher training III). OFI Budapest. P. 72. http://ofi.hu/sites/default/files/attachments/a_tanarkepzes_jovojerol_3.pdf

³⁵⁶ Anetta Ádám (2015): op. cit. p. 73

³⁵⁷ Balázs József Fejes, Valéria Kelemen, Norbert Szűcs (2014): The model of the motivation student mentoring programme. Útmutató felsőoktatási hallgatók részvételével szervezett hátránykompenzáló programok megvalósításához (A guide to the implementation of disadvantaged compensation programmes

Topics of anti-discrimination and Roma culture in the school curriculum

The National Core Curriculum (NCC) features the topics of Gypsy/Roma minorities under general culture content with the topic of "*The culture of ethnic groups and minorities in Hungary, changes in the situation of the Roma/Gypsy population*" specified for grades 5-8, and the topic of "*The history, situation, and integration processes of Roma/Gypsy society*" specified for grades 9-12. In the framework curricula that are generated to convey the content of the NCC, the topic of the situation of Roma minorities is usually broadly mentioned within the framework of the following subjects: (1) History, social and civil knowledge, (2) Hungarian studies and Hungarian civilization, and (3) Ethics.

There are two recent studies that looked at mentions of Roma minorities in school course books. After reviewing 53 primary and secondary school course books the monitoring group³⁵⁸ concluded that the books included in the analysis did not further the objective of learning about and understanding the culture, social situation of the Roma, and do not contribute to the elimination of stereotypes and prejudices. Furthermore, this situation has deteriorated even further with the nationalisation of school course book printing, as the books that remain are the ones that are most problematic in terms of content and quantity. According to the research conducted by Binder and Pálos (2015),³⁵⁹ although the content presented on the Roma is not insignificant in the most recent experimental course books, the distribution of the information is rather uneven. In addition, it is often the case that the context of a given piece of content/work of literature is not appropriately determined, which could even become counterproductive if it is coupled with anti-Roma prejudices.

It is clear that the course books in Hungary have only reached the level of the concept of cultural expansion and addition, with multiple errors and deficiencies. In addition, the curriculum in Hungary lacks, in general, the elements of social knowledge that would make the general issues of poverty and exclusion comprehensible. It is, therefore, not surprising that surveys done among secondary school students,³⁶⁰ and college/university students³⁶¹ show that young people have very little information on Gypsy/Roma minorities, and that the degree of solidarity expressed is rather low.

Ethnic Roma teacher training is included in the training course register of four of the 46 Hungarian institutions of higher education.³⁶² Input requirements include at least an intermediate level baccalaureate exam in Romani or Boyash language. Only a few students can comply with the training requirements, as there are no trained language teachers or high-quality language courses available, and students do not have the opportunity to learn Roma languages in public education to the degree that is required for the training. In the

organised with the participation of students in higher education). SZTE JGYPK, Szeged.
https://motivaciomuhely.hu/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/FJB_KV_SZN_mentorprogram_ekonyv_hu.pdf

³⁵⁸ Balázs-Menesi-Horváth-Varga (2014) *Feketepont (Minus)*.
https://issuu.com/monitornyitottmuhely/docs/monitor_fekete_pont_2014_tank_nyvk

³⁵⁹ Binder Mátyás, Pálos Dóra (2014): Romák a kerettantervekben és a kísérletitankönyvekben (Roma in framework curricula and experimental course books). p. 6.
<http://cfcf.hu/sites/default/files/Binder%20P%C3%A1los%20-%20ROMA.TK.KUT.%202016.pdf>

³⁶⁰ Laboda L. (2018) Középiskolások romológiai ismeretei egy kérdőív vizsgálat tükrében (2018 - Secondary school students' awareness of Roma issues in light of questionnaire-based survey). http://romologiafolyoirat.pte.hu/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/romologia_15.pdf

³⁶¹ Edina Kovács (2014): Tanárképzésben résztvevő hallgatók romák kapcsolatos elképzeléseinek vizsgálata (Analysis of the concepts of students of teacher training on the Roma). In: Endrődy-Nagy– Fehérvári (szerk.) (2018): *Hera ÉVKÖNYVEK V. Innováció, kutatás, pedagógusok*. Hungarian Educational Research Association. Budapest 2018. pp. 626-636.
http://hera.org.hu/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/HERA_Evkonyvek_V.pdf

³⁶² https://www.felvi.hu/felveteli/egyetemek_foiskolak/IntezmenyiOldalak/intezmeny_lista.php?elj=18p

2014/2015 school year 40 students participated in Gypsy-Roma ethnic teacher training.³⁶³

Opportunities for the combating of discriminatory practices

One of the most important means by which discriminatory practices can be combated is by contacting the Equal Treatment Authority (EBH). If the EBH establishes the impairment of rights in a case, it may apply one or several sanctions specified in Article 17/A (1) of the Act on Equal Treatment.³⁶⁴ However, the EBH is not in a position to specify exactly how, or using what means the infringing segregation should be eliminated. As a sanction it can only specify the elimination of the segregation as the objective of the sanction, and leaves the selection of the means and methods to meet that objective to the obligees.³⁶⁵ This is what the local government took advantage of in the judgment that was passed in the case of the segregated school in Kaposvár. The local government implemented the decision of the Curia after a series of lengthy delays. As a result, in the 2017/2018 school year they did not launch a segregated class. They have, however, maintained segregation in the remaining classes.³⁶⁶ The Foundation for a Chance for Children (*Esélyt a Hátrányos Helyzetű Gyerekeknek Alapítvány*) fights against discriminatory practices and the segregation of Roma children in school.³⁶⁷ The Foundation also published a manual in order to document and monitor segregation in schools in Hungary. The manual analyses the litigated segregation cases in Miskolc, Hajdúhadház, Győr, Jászládány, Gyöngyöspata, as well as the re-segregation case in Nyíregyháza in detail.³⁶⁸

Promising practices

It is frequently the case that the innovations that target the resolution of social problems come from civil society. This is also the case in connection with the programmes that target the acceptance of the Roma minority.

Board games. Sociopoly³⁶⁹ is a game for young people and adults where players of the game have to survive for one month under conditions that people in long-term unemployment face (their income and expenditures are roughly aligned with Hungarian reality), thereby imitating the kind of decision-making and life situations that people living in extreme poverty must face every day. The board games created by the Motivation Community try to describe issues such as equal treatment and education in an easy-to-understand and experience-based manner targeting secondary school students and students of higher education. The board game called Mentor allows players to follow the school life of disadvantaged students and experience the difficulties children living in poverty face every day. The board game called System Error is a cooperative board game, where the objective of the players is to try and save the segregating educational system

³⁶³ Office of the Commissioner for Fundamental Rights, the national human rights institution of the UN *Közös jelentés a nemzetiségi pedagógusképzés utóvizsgálatáról és a nemzetiségi hallgatók pályaképvizsgálatáról* (Joint report on the ex-post assessment of ethnic teacher training and the career progression and profiles of ethnic students). (2017) https://www.ajbh.hu/documents/10180/2602747/K%C3%B6z%C3%B6s+jelent%C3%A9s+a+nemzetis%C3%A9gi+pedag%C3%B3gusk%C3%A9pz%C3%A9s+ut%C3%B3vizsg%C3%A1lat%C3%A1r%C3%B3l+710_2017/5ebbd2f8-f5c6-f37b-933a-8450e328d8d8?version=1.0

³⁶⁴ Dr. Lukovics-Dr. Pánczél (ed.) (2017): Experiences of the Equal Treatment Authority on discrimination in the field of education. EBH. Budapest, p. 4. <http://www.eqyenlobanasmod.hu/app/webroot/files/img/articles/1582/EBH%204%20HUN%20web.pdf>

³⁶⁵ Dr. Lukovics-Dr. Pánczél (ed.) (2017): op. cit.

³⁶⁶ Fejes-Szűcs (2018) op. cit. p. 20

³⁶⁷ <http://www.cfcf.hu/>

³⁶⁸ <http://cfcf.hu/sites/default/files/Gal%C3%A9ria/guide-for-monitoring-and-documenting-school-segregation-hungary-hungarian-2014.pdf>

³⁶⁹ <http://www.szociopoly.hu/>

of an imaginary town from collapsing.³⁷⁰

Theatre training. There are several drama workshops that are working with the topic of segregation in education. The session entitled “Missing Classmate” created by the Káva Kulturális Műhely (Káva Cultural Workshop) works through the issue with the tools of participatory theatre; primarily targeting the secondary school age group. The session was created in cooperation with the Anblokk Association and is based on a social sciences research study.³⁷¹ They put on crisis situations experienced in one’s school career, and then think about possible solutions together with the viewing, participating students.

Opportunities for in-person contact. The school community service – which is a 50-hour requirement that students must fulfil as a prerequisite to allowing students to take the baccalaureate exam – allows secondary school students to meet Roma/Gypsy persons by volunteering at civil society organisations. Presumably such meetings are not frequent; however, we are aware of several such programmes.³⁷²

Promising initiatives. The “District-8 Tour”³⁷³ organised by Uccu Foundation in District 8 of Budapest – the district of Budapest with the highest ratio of Roma residents – is led by young Roma volunteers. They share their experiences in the neighbourhood. Participants can ask any questions they want during the tour, which may contribute to the reduction of anxiety and prejudices. The objective of UCCU Foundation is to reduce the incorrect beliefs and prejudices about the Roma in society, thereby ensuring that all of us can live in a more inclusive and more open world. Lack of acceptance usually originates from a lack of knowledge. In Hungary, a large proportion of the anti-Gypsy people do not really know the people they reject. UCCU creates opportunities for primary and secondary school students to meet and talk with young Roma people. Community development is an important part of their work. They train their volunteers on an ongoing basis. In their teams committed young Roma people are able to gain valuable professional experience. They inspire extraordinary school sessions, they make students think and help them to develop their critical thinking skills. The sessions are always led by volunteer young Roma people, who expose participants to the dynamics of exclusion by sharing their personal life stories, and the discriminatory atrocities that they have suffered. Dialogue and in-person meetings provide an authentic experience to participants, thereby reducing prejudice. The foundation currently operates in Budapest, Pécs, Miskolc and Ózd. In every city there are well-trained coordinators that organise the work of the volunteering young people. One of the difficulties that the foundation faces is that it can only employ the coordinators part-time and that it can only pay them a minimal fee for their services. The programme is unique in Hungary, as it provides an opportunity for Roma and non-Roma young people to meet each other and to thereby reduce prejudices.

Phiren Amenca is an international initiative to facilitate the cooperation of Roma and non-Roma young people and engender tolerance that also has a Hungarian branch.³⁷⁴ The *Igazgyöngy Alapítvány* (Igazgyöngy Foundation) operates in the district of Berettyóújfalu using a complex opportunity enhancing model that they have created. The model has three pillars: education, family support, and community development, as well as engendering inter-institutional cooperation and mediation between families and institutions. 540 children were enrolled in the art schools of the foundation in 2015, with 70 per cent of the children being disadvantaged, half of whom were severely disadvantaged, mostly Roma

³⁷⁰ Péter Csempesz (2016): *Mentortársas és Rendszerhiba* (Mentor Board Game and System Error). http://www.tani-tani.info/mentortarsas_es_rendszerhiba

³⁷¹ <http://hianyzopadtars.hu/>

³⁷² <https://bagazs.org/iskolai-kozossegi-szolgalat/>, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pZke9sSe9s8>

³⁷³ <http://www.uccualapitvany.hu/setak/>

³⁷⁴ <http://phirenamenca.eu/>

children. The services of the foundation cover nearly 1000 families.³⁷⁵

The sustainability and dissemination of the good practices employed by the listed civil society initiatives is largely hampered by the fact that a part of these civil society organisations is excluded from eligibility for government support due to the lack of transparency of the assessment of the applications by the government. More sources of funding are required, e.g. only traditional churches and universities are eligible to submit applications for the operation of Roma colleges.

³⁷⁵ SRS Report of the Igazgyöngy Foundation (2015). http://igazgyongy.linkensphere.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/SRS_final.pdf

COMPREHENSIVE LOCAL CASE STUDIES

Nyírbátor

While the Nyírbátor district has one of the worst economic-social indicators in the country,³⁷⁶ thanks to its prospering and continuously developing industrial park, the district seat Nyírbátor is taking on an increasingly significant economic role in the region. One fifth of the town's population, which counts 12,000 in total, are Roma, with the majority living in segregated settlement areas separately from other areas. Two radically opposing processes have started in the past five years in respect of the integration of the Roma population: while due to the appearance of church-maintained primary schools the institutional segregation of Roma students happened in just a few years, the municipality launched individual support programmes in order to help Roma workers and job-seekers living in the settlement to enter the primary labour market. Our case study briefly presents the key moments of these two processes.

Situation of the Roma in the town

In Nyírbátor, the ratio of the Roma population far exceeds the national average, with a total of 2,200 people living in the two Roma slums of the settlement. The smaller segregated area consists of only two streets, with barely 50 residents. The majority of Roma live in the northern part of town, separated from the central area by the railway, in a larger slum in the vicinity of former and current industrial estates. The majority of the dwellings here are buildings initially built for the workers of the nearby vegetable oil plant, with only a bedroom and a kitchen, but the wide streets also have some past 'social housing' buildings and single-storey row-houses. One third of slum dwellings are of low comfort level, with only half having toilets. Only some of the roads have concrete, and numerous sections of the pavement are missing. The water and electrical utility network are established over the entirety of the slum, but sewage disposal is only partially resolved. According to reports by the paediatricians working in the area,³⁷⁷ early childbirth is still a typical phenomenon, and spinal and musculo-skeletal disorders are still typical health problems among children living in the slum. Many of the children are not eating properly, with several suffering from anaemia and headaches.

The educational level of people living in the segregated area falls well short of national and settlement averages, and the ratio of those within the active population who only have primary school education exceeds 70 per cent.³⁷⁸ During a survey conducted in 2018,³⁷⁹ more than 60 adults were identified in the northern town area who had not even completed primary school. Employment data paint a similarly worrying picture: while unemployment rate is below 10 per cent in the entirety of the town, in the segregated area this same ratio is close to 60 per cent.

Employment – "Esély a jövőért" (Chance for the future)

"A town leader should not just do what's likeable or well-received, today or tomorrow. We need to look much further than that", said the town's mayor in an interview in

³⁷⁶ The Nyírbátor district is one of the districts to be developed by way of a complex programme, and based on its economic-social indicators it is ranked as the country's 12th most underdeveloped district – Government Decree No. 290/2014 (XI.26.) on the classification of beneficiary districts.

³⁷⁷ TÁMOP-5.2.1. Gyerekesély (Give Kids a Chance) programme Micro-region situation analysis, Nyírbátor Micro-region (2012).

³⁷⁸ Source: HCSO 2011 census data.

³⁷⁹ The survey was conducted by Zsuzsanna Danó Lakatosné, who lives in the segregated area and also works there as a community organiser.

response to a question on how much social backing a support programme specifically aimed at the Roma has in town.³⁸⁰

The Nyírbátor Industrial Park commenced operations in 2006, and in the 10 years that have passed since then the area has been completely filled up. Currently, more than 20 companies have business sites here, who recruit employees from the 60 km radius around the town. In 2018, the town's municipality obtained further significant EU funds for the continued development of the industrial park.

In Nyírbátor, the ratio of registered job-seekers within the active age population is 8.9 per cent,³⁸¹ which is more than two and a half times higher than the national ratio, however, employment data within the settlement varies greatly. Unemployment and low employment primarily affect Roma job-seekers and workers without marketable school education or past work experience. In the past, the Roma living in the slum also reported discriminative practices by local companies, which in the period preceding the current labour shortage employed Roma workers only very rarely even despite appropriate qualifications.

The participants of the community programme launched in 2013 went to residential forums and community discussions to collect problems that most occupy the locals.³⁸² One of the most important issues for Roma in the slums was the lack of work opportunities, which coincided with the town management's intention to have companies in the industrial park employ as many local job-seekers as possible. The experts contributing to the programme, in collaboration with the municipality, started to organise further residential and other professional forums, which representatives of local companies were also invited to. The demand for workforce by the latter was clear, and they were also able to accurately formulate what they expect from future employees. As a result of these negotiations, in 2017 the municipality launched its "Esély a jövőért" (Chance for the Future) programme, the primary objective of which is to place as many unemployed as possible at the companies operating in the industrial park. The initiative was joined by local employers who, as part of cooperation, undertook to indicate their current workforce needs to the municipality every month (headcount, position, necessary experience etc.). On the employee side, joining the programme is subject to being a registered job-seeker or to be working in public employment. The municipality concludes a cooperation agreement with programme participants, in which it undertakes to notify participating job-seekers about job offers at local employers, to organise or seek out training courses corresponding to arising needs and provide financial support to accomplish long-term employment. Grants are available under the following legal titles:

1. Job-seekers who have certifiably participated in a recruitment procedure needed to fill a vacant position are entitled to apply for *pre-employment* grant of 6.32 EUR (2,000 HUF) maximum three times each year.
2. Job-seekers who as part of the programme enter into an employment relationship and whose employment still exists after the trial period (and are otherwise not receiving regular child protection benefits) are entitled to a 100 percent children's meals grant for their children for a period of one year.
3. Workers and job-seekers who find employment as part of the programme and whose employment contract is not terminated for at least six months are eligible for the *start of work* grant. The grant is provided for 12 months, and its amount in the first two quarters is 47.40 EUR (15,000 HUF) per quarter, and in the third and fourth quarters 31.60 EUR (10,000 HUF) per quarter.

³⁸⁰ Publication of the Municipality of Bátor – Nyírbátor (April 2017)

³⁸¹ National Employment Service (nfsz.hu) – Unemployment data for settlements August 2018

³⁸² <https://www.partnershungary.hu/romed/>

4. Workers that have successfully completed the training offered as part of the programme are eligible for a one-time training grant. The grant amount is 50 per cent of the minimum old-age pension.
5. In addition to their wage, job-seekers that take part in simplified employment offered as part of the programme may also receive a grant of 0.63 EUR (200 HUF) per day.

Within the context of the programme, the municipality to date has concluded cooperation agreements with five local companies and 350, for the most part Roma job-seekers and public workers. Since the launch of the programme in 2017, approximately 80 people have been successfully placed in jobs.

The scholarship programme aimed at disadvantaged primary school students, adopted in May 2018 by the representative body, is closely linked to the settlement's employment-stimulating activity. As part of the grant programme, a total of 50 upper grade students can receive a grant of 31.60 EUR (10,000 HUF) a month every year (for a period of 10 months) in three categories (academic, sports and creative). The fundamental criteria of winning the grant includes the income of the applicant family,³⁸³ the orderliness of the living environment as well as the criterion that at least one parent must be in an employment relationship or be registered as a registered job-seeker for a period shorter than three months.

State and church-maintained schools

Role assumption by the church in maintaining public education institutions has increased considerably since 2010, and the spreading of church schools has been more emphatic in poorer regions of the country and in smaller settlements. The ratio of severely disadvantaged students in church-maintained primary schools indicates that these institutions primarily cater to children from families with better financial situations.³⁸⁴ This latter observation is also confirmed by the events in Nyírbátor.

While still acting as a school maintainer, the municipality of Nyírbátor set out the town's school admission district borders to ensure that primary schools have approximately an equal ratio of Roma children. However, this state of equilibrium was upset from one moment to the next with the appearance of the first church-maintained primary school. The Calvinist Church took over one of the town's primary schools, along with all attending students and teachers working there, starting from the 2013/2014 academic year. In the agreement concluded between the municipality and the Calvinist Church, the parties, among other things, stipulated that the school's new maintainer must uphold the earlier ratios in respect of the institution's student composition. However, the new maintainer deviated from this commitment in the very first admission period following the agreement. Numerous Roma families, that by virtue of living district previously belonged to the school, reported that their children's admission was rejected by the Calvinist school for various reasons. The reasons for rejection were highly varied: irregular practice of religion, failure to pay church tax, failure to attend the open day, etc.

The situation was further exacerbated by the fact that in 2016, the local secondary school (which in the meantime was passed into the maintenance of the Catholic Church) also launched primary school training as part of a phasing-out system. The secondary school already had eight-grade secondary academic training in the past, but as in the case of that particular form of education, the new primary school classes also very rarely accepted Roma or severely disadvantaged children.

³⁸³ The monthly per capita net income cannot exceed triple the amount of the lowest value of current old-age pension.

³⁸⁴ Zoltán Hermann – Júlia Varga (2016): State, municipal, church and foundation-maintained schools: ratios, student composition and student performances.
<http://old.tarki.hu/hu/publications/SR/2016/15hermann.pdf>

The consequences of the admission practice of church-maintained schools are well illustrated by the data in the table below:³⁸⁵

Institution	Number of students	Disadvantaged headcount	Severely disadvantaged headcount	Severely disadvantaged ratio
Báthory István Catholic Primary School, Secondary School and Vocational Secondary School	466	42	6	7.9% ³⁸⁶
Nyírbátor Hungarian-English Bilingual Primary School	639	39	256	40.1 %
Báthory Anna Calvinist Primary School	489	82	67	13.7 %

Source: Public education statistics 2017.³⁸⁷

The ratio of severely disadvantaged students in the Calvinist primary school just exceeds 10 per cent, while it fails to reach 10 per cent in the Catholic school. In contrast, the same ratio in the state-maintained primary school exceeds 40 per cent. While in church-maintained schools, concurrently with the continuous increase in student numbers the number of severely disadvantaged children is dropping, the state-maintained primary school is seeing a completely opposite process. The speed of the transformation is well reflected by the fact that the 120 severely disadvantaged students in the Calvinist primary school recorded in 2014 has today been practically halved, while in the state school the number of severely disadvantaged children has essentially remained unchanged, but the total number of students has dropped by approximately 150 compared to 2013.

We have no ratios available on severely disadvantaged students broken down by grade, but based on information provided by the municipality, we can state that the difference between the three institutions is even greater in the lower grades. The status quo has been ultimately disrupted, and Roma children can, practically without exception, only gain admission to the state-maintained school. Roma students, in addition to complete institutional segregation, also study separately in their own school. Although they are in the majority in respect of numbers in the lower grades, they rarely gain admission to specialised bilingual classes. The very first negative effects of the drastic change in student composition are already perceptible. In the state school, the number of absences in recent years has risen continuously, and the ratio of private students is high, reaching 3 per cent. The school still has all specialist teaching positions filled, but churn among teachers has increased in recent years and it is increasingly difficult to replace departing staff members. No suitable candidates were located for the five vacancies announced until the start of the current academic year. *"As a result of the changes in student composition, our school is seemingly losing the advantage it has held for decades, namely that this is an institution that career-starting teachers are always glad to come to, and we have also had regular applicants to fill vacant positions from nearby schools"*, is how the institution's current vice principal analyses the situation in his application for the position.³⁸⁸ The siphoning effect of the town's two church-maintained schools plays a major role in the migration of teachers. Higher salaries, and selected children with better status represent adequate attraction.

For the time being, the long-term consequences of school segregation cannot be estimated. While Roma children are already becoming physically completely isolated from their non-Roma peers, the municipality is working on (by spending substantial

³⁸⁵ The table does not show the Éltés Mátyás Primary School, which follows a special curriculum and in terms of admissions belongs to the county district.

³⁸⁶ Within the complete student headcount, the number of primary school students is 76 + 86 people from the 5-8-grade secondary school. The ratio of severely disadvantaged students was determined in proportion to the number of students of primary school age.

³⁸⁷ Institutional registry of the Public Education Information System (KIR) (31.01.2018 and 22.02.2018) <https://dari.oktatas.hu/index.php?id=kozerdeku>

³⁸⁸ Application for the position of head of institution, János Ferenc Vida (March 2018) <http://www.oktanybt.hu/vida%20ferenc%20janos.pdf>

funds) integrating Roma job-seekers and workers and inserting them back to the primary labour market; the labour market where those that were prohibited from attending the same school as children would have to be working side-by-side in just a few years.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The living situation of the Roma in Nyírbátor is fundamentally impacted by the processes launched in the areas of education and employment. It is alarming, however, that complete segregation in schools is causing damages that cannot be compensated for down the line. The current segregated educational structure foreshadows local Roma youth arriving to the labour market with a disadvantage even greater than before. The town's support system facilitating job-seeking and employment is clearly forward-thinking and, for the time being, proving to be relatively efficient. In addition to financial incentives, cooperation with employers is also an important component of the system, as is assistance and preparation based on the individual skills and capabilities of potential employees/workers. Adapting and disseminating this active labour market support structure – building on local needs and demands – is certainly a practice to be recommended. However, in the long term, such initiatives can only become successful and effective if implemented as part of a harmonised integration strategy built on mutual intentions, and if not restricted in the medium term by processes in local education.

Drug use in the segregated Roma slums of Bag and Dány

This case study primarily focuses on the drug use observed in the Roma slums in Bag and Dány and wishes to reveal how the social policy deficiencies of current administrations, the existential uncertainty of Roma communities and extreme poverty create the day-to-day need for drug use.

Cross-sectoral activities of a non-governmental organisation³⁸⁹

BAGázs Public Benefit Association has been performing community work in the segregated Roma slum in Bag in Pest County since 2011, and since 2017 in the segregated slum in Dány. The Association's operation rests on three pillars: permanent presence in the segregated settlements, a volunteer base with a diverse background and high motivation providing complex holistic programmes for children and adults, and relationships and cooperation with institutions. The priority objective of the Association is to bring about a permanent change in the lives of segregated Roma communities and in their environment (e.g. local institutions, village communities) and to transform the stereotypes and prejudices of the majority society against the Roma. This is implemented through professional work based on community needs and adopted to the dynamics and development pace of the given slums. Since its foundation, the

Association has been focused on implementing this professional work based on the mutual assumption of responsibility, by way of mutual and common will, and for this reason it does not give donations and does not provide financial support. In order to retain its independence, it does not apply for state and central grants. The Association's programme structure covers the following areas: developing the basic skills of Roma children, their emotional development and mentoring; supporting the adults living in the slums in obtaining primary school education, learning professions, in their labour market integration and the management of debts; mentoring and community development amidst the hopelessness caused by dependence and the use of designer drugs.

The slums³⁹⁰

In respect of the segregated Roma settlements of Bag (400 people) and Dány (600 people), it can overall be said that the level of education of residents is low, average and per capita income are far below the Hungarian average, families have children at a young age and live in multi-generation, large headcount households which accumulate considerable debt.

The basic survey of the Association conducted in 2017 relating to households in the Bag and Dány slums³⁹¹ showed that the local community is far from homogenous and the households vary greatly from one another, but the fundamental characteristics of segregated areas still fundamentally define the lives of the communities.

The ratio of minors in the Bag slum is outstandingly high (close to half of residents are under the age of 16), however, the ratio of elderly is hardly measurable. The reasons for this are most probably unhealthy diets, insufficient and deficient infrastructure (e.g. public roads and public spaces are covered by sand instead of concrete, as a result of which residents suffer from chronic respiratory illnesses from a very young age), and

³⁸⁹ Based on the report by BAGázs Public Benefit Association

³⁹⁰ <https://bagazs.org/2018/04/12/alapkutatas-a-telepeken/>

³⁹¹ Data collection covered people born before 2000 and older than 16 years old, and respondents who continuously lived in a given place of residence and had a common budget were deemed to be in the same household. One of the key sections of data collection concerned households, where data was collected solely from the head of the household (the oldest female member of the household as the main purchaser) by researchers and volunteers, while the other key section was collected from all members of the household older than 16. The questionnaire was prepared by the BAGázs Public Benefit Association with the help of the Department of Social Research Methodology of the ELTE Faculty of Social Sciences.

poor physical environment (e.g. some of the dwellings have no bathrooms and toilets, and hygienic maintenance is carried out considerably less frequently than needed).

In the majority of households, access to public utilities is low (there is no piped gas in most of the slum dwellings, a quarter of dwellings have no running water, close to half have no electricity meters installed, and one in two houses have no bathrooms and hot water) and debts are high. By their own account, nearly half of households have arrears to one or more public utility service providers or other creditors (e.g. commercial banks). At the start of *BAGázs' Jogklinika* (Legal Clinic) programme in 2013, law students, collaborating with the local municipality, surveyed the principal debts of properties in the slum as recorded on the title deeds, which at the time reached 568,886 EUR (180 million HUF). This figure, however, can only be evaluated in terms of volume as official records can only monitor the volume of debt, and not the nature thereof.³⁹² For this reason, the Association's Legal Clinic and Debt Management programmes aim to eliminate extra-legal situations and the debt spiral, and are accompanied by the "Mentoring Programme".

Less than half of the adults living in the slum have not finished primary school. Of these, one quarter are most likely illiterate, having failed to complete even the first two grades, and thus having not learnt to read or write. This represents approximately 12-15 per cent of adults in the slum. This represents approximately 12-15 per cent of adults in the slum. Hardly any people in the slum have completed vocational school, and the first two people to complete secondary school education were two young adults in 2017, in Budapest, as part of part-time evening courses.³⁹³ It is presumably linked to the low level of education that despite nearly half of slum residents having regular work, the average net income is 227.54 EUR (72,000 HUF), and in some families, due to the high number of children, per capita income is far below average. In comparison, net average income in Hungary for 2018 is estimated at 681.68 EUR or 215,700 HUF (708.55 EUR or 224,200 HUF taking family tax benefits into account as well).³⁹⁴ Many of the slum residents receive some sort of income supplement which they use either to supplement their wages or solely live off these (e.g. minimum income benefits or health deterioration grants). Accumulated debts also make legal employment difficult as due to the low average net income, choosing a registered place of employment instead of black work is not profitable because of the forced collection proceedings that result in 33 or 50 per cent deductions from pay.³⁹⁵ The result of the poor income situation is that close to half of households run out of money by the end of every single month, due to which most households postpone the payment of bills or the purchase of clothing, but at times they have no money for food either.

The basic survey also assessed the ratio of those among slum residents that have committed criminal offences. On the basis of self-declaration, one quarter of respondents have committed misdemeanours or criminal offences in the past.

³⁹² In most cases, in practice the owners are not the people in whose name the property is registered, and at times, the people living in the property are not even the registered owners or those reported to the census statistics offices.

³⁹³ The Association's "*Felnőttoktatás*" (Adult Education) programme helps slum residents over the mandatory school age in finishing primary school, while children's programmes (School Community Service (IKSZ), "*Iskolai repéta és mentorálás*" (School Second and Mentoring)) in each case focus on overcoming the academic difficulties of children and encourage their further education.

³⁹⁴ <http://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xftp/qyor/ker/ker1808.html>

³⁹⁵ This is why the objective of the Association's "*Munkaerőpiaci Mentorprogram*" (Labour Market Mentoring) programme is to insert slum residents back to the primary open labour market.

In the Dány slum,^{396, 397} the average number of children in families is lower than the average for the Roma population in Hungary, but life expectancy is well below the national average here as well. While in Bag the average age of women when having their first child is over 20, in Dány every one in four women have their first child before the age of 18, and two thirds of women become mothers before the age of 20. The amenities of households are better in Dány than in Bag; more than 80 per cent of dwellings have running water, two thirds have hot water and bathrooms, but in spite of this fact, indoor toilets are found in less than one third of dwellings. One third of households have piped gas, and prepaid electricity in nearly one fifth of dwellings.³⁹⁸ Close to half of households owe as much as 3,160 EUR (1 million HUF) in public utility arrears (electricity, gas), and one third of dwellings in the slum are encumbered by bank loans (primarily mortgage), and personal debt is also extremely high, with fast loans affecting everyone in two adults. For nearly two thirds of slum residents, money runs out by the end of the month each month, and they are unable to pay their public utility fees, with some even foregoing buying medication.

Similarly to Bag, only half of the adults living in Dány have finished primary school, with one quarter dropping out of school after the completion of the fourth grade. At the same time, a positive trend is observed in that the level of education is rising among young people, with 11 people finishing secondary school and six having passed the school leaving examination. Having children at an early age and, on a related note, the risk of early school leaving makes young women extremely vulnerable and exposed. The basic research painted an extremely unfavourable picture of the labour market situation of the residents of the Dány slum, as unemployment rate is extremely high – particularly among women – and only one quarter of locals have regular registered jobs. A large part of family income is made up of various income supplement transfers, and in addition 10 per cent of slum residents are working off the books and 5 per cent make money from '*lomizás*' (collecting discarded items of potential value during household clear-outs, where items thrown out are collected by the waste management company). The outstanding deficiencies of financial awareness and planning are most likely linked to irregular incomes.

The narrative life history research, conducted in Dány among women after the basic research, in part confirmed the experiences of the basic research, but also redirected attention to the destruction – which is less measurable by quantitative means – that the rapidly spreading use of designer drugs is causing among addicts, families and the community.

Drug use

Dependence on designer drugs was already perceptible in Bag well before the launch of the Association, while Dány does not have decades of past drug use problems. At the same time, it is clearly visible in both slums how increasingly inexpensive, increasingly easier to obtain designer drugs of deteriorating quality and new types of psychoactive substances become part of everyday life. Addicts turning to the Association for help report hallucinations, near-loss of consciousness states and frequent memory losses following drug use, which are also accompanied by physical bodily changes and disfigurements (e.g. sores, wounds, ulcerous limbs, rotting teeth, etc.) clearly visible to the external environment as well. This is of importance because even if addicts do leave

³⁹⁶ In Dány, in addition to household data collection, the Association's associates and volunteers this year started a larger-scale qualitative study as part of the "*Párbeszéd a roma nőkért*" (Dialogue for Roma Women) BAGázs project implemented as part of ERASMUS+, where the Association tried to better understand the community's operation, traditions and system of norms through the life stories of local women.

³⁹⁷ The Association's above-mentioned programmes (in the section titled "General characteristics of the Bag slum") also operate in the Dány slum, and as such are not detailed in this section.

³⁹⁸ BAGázs' Debt Management programme provides support in installing prepaid electricity meters, in order to avoid having public utility arrears accumulated to the electricity provider, and to allow slum residents to themselves monitor and portion the volume of electricity used.

everyday drug use behind, their deteriorated state of health greatly hinders their reintegration. Although there are rehabilitation institutions functioning in Hungary that offer free of charge care where psychological changes are treated by experts, those living in extreme poverty are unable to rid themselves of the physical marks of drug use. Their family members and their direct environment suffer equally from their dependence, they often become physical and emotional victims of aggression or drift into an impossible financial state, to an extent where they are unable to buy food for the day. In Bag, the Association has made numerous child protection alerts to the associates of the Family and Child Welfare Service and the Office of Guardianship Affairs in cases where children of drug dependent parents were gravely neglected. The competent institutions take action in the interest of the protection of children, in many cases placing them with foster parents, however, the parents' drug problem remains unresolved. The experience of the Association is that civil professional helpers can provide support to drug dependent parents after the removal of the child, and after brief or longer-term social assistance, they are able to gain admission to a rehabilitation institute and start working on rebuilding their lives. The associates of the Family and Child Welfare Service and the case managers of Guardianship Offices, because of being overburdened or on account of them having 'official roles' or 'roles of power' (the general notion regarding such case managers is that children must be protected from them, circumstances and problems must be lied about) are often unable to establish the relationship of trust that is required to perform development and assistance work with the given family after the removal of the child. Moreover, in the absence of continuous professional training, they are unaware of the appropriate tools and protocols of action. With the active collaboration of the Association, in the case of most recent alerts, requirements had already been laid down at the case conferences of children, which requirements obligate parents to actively act against the child's drug use or against vulnerability to drug use during the child protection proceedings. However, no specifics or strategic opportunities (e.g. contact details of rehabilitation institutions, information on how to obtain the medical documents required for admission, etc.) are formulated, and in most cases slum residents turn to the Association's associates in such matters. Currently, thanks to the Association's work, each of the country's three drug rehabilitation institutions dealing with children and young people have a Bag resident in treatment, and their families receive continuous support from associates. Although addiction experts and drug rehabilitation institutions are able to treat dependence, they cannot resolve the socialisation disorders of dysfunctional families, the deficiencies of the social care system and are unable to offer a way out of existential uncertainty.

Action by the police is an important cornerstone of local action against distributors, although their elimination in itself does not solve the drug problem. With the cooperation of the Association, numerous reports have been made to the police against distributors, but as far as the Association knows no charges have been made at all in connection with criminal offences involving drugs to date. Based on consultations with the police, the image outlined is that the investigating authority is unable to prove the existence of drug-related crimes in relation to designer drugs or new types of psychoactive substances, on the one hand, because these are not banned substances and, on the other, because in order to prove the crime of drug distribution in substantiated fashion, testimonies by multiple consumers are required, who, while incriminating themselves (consumption), also testify against the same distributor. However, consumers fear for their own and their family's safety because of the revenge of distributors, given that they live in the same community and Hungarian legal regulations and the police are unable to adequately guarantee anonymity in proceedings or their protection after the proceedings, regardless of the outcome.

In Dány, drug use is typical in every second/third household, primarily among men, particularly young men, with the wives, life partners or mothers living in the same households suffering the consequences.³⁹⁹

In Bag – presumably due to the longer presence of drugs – practically all households are affected, with users including both men and women, while children often try a psychoactive substance before the age of 10. This is why in Bag, the Association is primarily trying to make up for the deficiency of the state and care provision system, ensuring that the authorities entitled to take measures receive alerts in due time about children threatened by drug use, so the children and adults receive professional care and that during their rehabilitation, their families and direct environments can prepare for their return home. The Association also works towards the community receiving assistance in meeting the formal and content-related criteria needed to make the reports necessary to open police proceedings against distributors.

However, facilitating access to drug rehabilitation services and the elimination of distributors from the communities alone are unable to resolve the problems of people living in extreme poverty. People living in Roma slums barely have a chance of obtaining appropriate academic qualifications and long-term employment, followed by a secure existence, and similarly the system is, at the most, only able to mitigate drug dependence.

The associates of BAGázs have seen that designer drugs and the new types of psychoactive substances spreading in the poorer, rural settlement areas lagging behind have made entire communities dependent by now; making settlements, residential communities, the social care provision system and authorities alike face a considerable challenge. As a locally active civil organisation, the Association feels that national action plans do not react adequately to local needs, existing resources are not appropriately exploited and neither the helpers, nor local institutions are aware of the protocol that should be applied in the given situation. It is also worth reviewing that in light of the situation outlined in the first part of the study, drug use among people living in extreme poverty is not the actual sickness, but rather a symptom of the deficiencies of current social policy and existential uncertainty.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The most obvious and pressing problem in the Roma slums in Bag and Dány today is the spreading and pervasive use of designer drugs. It must be emphasised without the elimination of the hopelessness and lack of opportunities that are considered to be the primary cause of widespread drug use, no significant change can be made to the lives of those living in segregated settlements. The elimination of segregated areas requires will and intent by decision-makers, that reacts to educational deficiencies, unemployment, housing difficulties and poverty in a complex fashion. At the same time, the results achieved by BAGázs show that a civil society organisation with a tight budget is also able to generate results, even in the case of a community where all indicators are particularly poor on account of the accumulation of decades of disadvantages. If this is truly the case, substantially greater effect should be expected of a committed integration policy, due to the considerably greater resources and scope of powers of a state or a municipality, or the system of institutions operated by them. As far as designer drugs are concerned, actions by the authorities and cooperation between social, law enforcement, civil society and municipal levels is a necessity, the absence of which threatens integration initiatives and aspirations as well as the results achieved to date.

³⁹⁹ In Dány, the "Párbeszéd a roma nőkért" (Dialogue for Roma Women) project is also built around women telling their story as members of a drug-using family. The project has a community developing approach, supporting them as relatives in the fight against drugs. In Dány – in the recent period – the Association was able to help two young men be admitted to a drug rehabilitation institution (both went to Pécsvárad).

RECOMMENDATIONS

Horizontal

1. The government should put in place in every sector a uniform measurement and estimation system in respect of Roma participating in government programmes; involve stakeholders in the decision-preparation process, as well as in preparing, implementing and assessing interventions.
2. It should prepare actual and public preliminary impact estimations and subsequent impact studies on the programmes and schemes, and the EU should provide grants and funds on the basis of these.

Employment

3. By transforming programmes aimed at the transition from the public employment system to the open labour market, the efficiency of these programmes must be increased, with quality assurance also provided. Special emphasis must be placed on trainings and re-trainings provided within the framework of public employment, as well as the harmonisation of the labour shortages observed in the various sectors.
4. In relation to the prevention and elimination of labour market discrimination against the Roma, the use of the relevant complaint mechanisms must be reinforced, and in respect of participation in public work programmes, it should be ensured that selection is carried out in transparent fashion, with no chance of abuse of power. The more efficient and fair transformation of the public employment system is essential. In respect of the distribution of increasingly scarce financial resources, priority attention should be paid to regional inequalities.
5. For the more efficient exploitation of available labour market services, a system should be put in place where local family support services and other institutions (labour representative offices, retraining institutes, etc.) play a more active and coordinated role, in the interest of more efficient reach and promoting job-seeking assistance through individual attention.
6. As part of the Youth Guarantee Programme, greater emphasis must be placed on the targeted reach of Roma youths, and to this end Roma partner organisations that are able to reach such Roma youths should be assigned a greater and more specific role.

Housing and essential public services

7. The government should act and take steps against municipalities applying unlawful housing practices.
8. Through a tighter and stricter examination of the equal opportunity plans of settlements (making access to EU and other funds subject to the implementation of these plans), it should force local housing and settlement policy to reduce housing segregation and increase access to public services.
9. It should draw up and launch programmes to substantially increase and develop the municipal social housing portfolio.
10. The system of housing subsidies and social services should be transformed to provide actual assistance for the affordability and security of housing. Priority attention should be paid to families with children living in poverty and exclusion.

11. Through the tighter professional control of the child protection system, the enhanced cooperation between social and child protection services and by strengthening the housing security of families, it should prevent and reduce the number of children being removed from families living in poverty.

Impact of health care policies on Roma

12. An incentive programme must be drawn up without delay to manage chronic service shortages (unfilled general practitioner's districts, shortage of health visitors, long waiting lists), with priority focus on regional differences and settlement disadvantages.
13. Funds must be provided for the efficient implementation of healthcare education and comprehensive school-based holistic health development.
14. In respect of the negative discrimination observed during healthcare provision, it should attempt to reduce high latency by way of bringing complaint mechanisms closer to the community.
15. The deterioration of the drug situation requires immediate intervention, in terms of laboratory capacity, the involvement of experts with experience supporting prevention, the response time pertaining to new substances, and responses by the authorities alike.

Education

16. The mandatory school age must be re-set to 18.
17. The number of public knowledge classes in vocational training must be increased.
18. Through the tighter control of the professional supervision system and through quality assurance, it must guarantee that all schools receive appropriate outside professional assistance.
19. An incentive programme must be drawn up without delay to manage chronic service shortages (shortages of specialist teachers and kindergarten teachers in particular), with priority focus on regional differences and settlement disadvantages.
20. During the content-related regulation of education, introducing and presenting ethnicities must be assigned greater role and significance in the national curriculum and the course books used, which introduction and presentation should cover the history and culture of the Roma community, as well as the topics of poverty and social exclusion.
21. During the in-school presentation of Roma culture and social problems, innovative solutions by civil society organisations (e.g. board games, living library, forum theatre) should be used and local civil society players should be involved, if possible.
22. To increase the reaching of target groups by expanding currently running programmes.

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