

„Some go well, some go not so well”

About the operation of Tanodas – Extracurricular education method

Autonomia Foundation, 2017

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The present analysis's creation was set in motion by the so-called Tanoda-scandal that burst out in September, 2016, but we don't intend to narrow our focus to the issues and questions around the referred Call for proposals no. EFOP-3.3.1-15.

In our paper we intend to present a picture of the role of Tanodas in the social integration of Roma, using our experiences in local communities. Although studying the anomalies of the last Call and how they were handled is important, it can be stated that what happened in the funding process shows us the underlying problems of the whole structure of Roma integration policy and financing system. This is why we think the more general experiences that effect other Roma-related development programs, are the most relevant. The Tanoda phenomenon can be much better understood in a wider frame of Roma integration programs.

The case studies that served as the basis of this analysis were made by Autonomia Foundation with the initiation of ERGO Network, sponsored by the European Union Program for Employment and Social Innovation (EaSI).

The Tanoda in Hungary

Tanodas, or at least the Tanoda method first appeared among Roma integration programs in the mid-1990s, funded by private individuals in Budapest.¹² Tanodas were then started in a few rural Roma community houses in the early 2000s,³ first not under the name 'Tanoda', but implementing activities – extra-curricular development - that we today call the Tanoda method. About the same time, 'Ferencvárosi Tanoda' (Tanoda in the District IX. of Budapest) was set up in Budapest, and it was followed by other initiations. Although helping Roma children in school was the main goal of Tanodas from the beginning, in the original concept there was a much greater emphasis on drawing in and involving parents. In the community spaces funded by USAID – that were founded and run by NGOs in the countryside (Nagykanizsa, Debrecen, Ózd, Salgótarján, Pécs, Kisköre, Gyomaendrőd) – programs were started that offered diverse services primarily to Roma adults. The labour market related, educational, social and free-time programs were all successful in activating local families, and only after succeeding here, did they start working with children through extracurricular development programs, the actual Tanoda activities.

Thus, it is important to highlight the fact that at the beginning of Tanoda movement a) local Roma organisations were the initiators, working out a package of services that addressed the whole community and b) Tanoda activities were inseparable from the other programs, so that

¹ József Balázs Fejes, Máté Lencse, Norbert Szűcs (edit.): Mire jó a tanoda? (What is Tanoda good for?), Motiváció Foundation, 2016, Szeged.

² The Belvárosi Tanoda Alapítvány (Belvárosi Tanoda Foundation) was already founded in 1990, and there were other, clubs and programs even before that operated after school, but with similar agenda. They functioned either as part of a church, or even in civil, semi-official circumstances, but were rarely institutionalized and were barely known.

³ Under the program that was funded by the United States' Development Office (USAID), complex development started in seven community houses around the country in 2000.

involving parents, families not only came before, but was also a prerequisite of starting Tanoda activities.⁴

The number of Tanodas in the country started to grow rapidly from 2004, when the first EU-financed Call for proposals was published.⁵ Ninety-two applications were issued, and twenty-three projects got funding. This was followed by the next Call in 2005, that was basically a repetition of the first one. The next Call in 2008⁶ was much more specific on the areas of activities eligible for funding, and on the indicators for progress evaluation. Expectations regarding the target group also changed, moving the focus to higher age-groups of primary school and to high school students. Approximately a hundred Tanodas were funded through this Call. The first initiation to standardize the Tanoda method should also be mentioned as part of this program period.⁷ If we look at the list of obligatory activities, we can see that involving parents, having common activities with them is only one of the eight tasks and cannot be regarded as particularly important compared to other items on the list:

1. „Ensuring the necessary material, infrastructural environment;
2. Selecting pupils for the Tanoda, and conducting the standardized knowledge-level test with them;
3. Preparing individual development plans;
4. Organizing individual, or alternatively micro-group units for development;
5. Creating a system of tutor-based development;
6. Signing a contract with the selected pupils;
7. **Ongoing consultation with parents** and school teachers;
8. Continuously recording development on an individual basis;
9. Defining compulsory educational elements of the program for all participants (identity-development, talent-deployment, strengthening a conscious identity, heritage preservation, language skills, career advice, family visit, competence development, IT skills, arranging free-time activities and programs with the active part-taking of participants' schoolmates and parents).“

These efforts for standardization aimed at least as much at the unification of administrative- and documentation standards as the consolidation of the methodology itself. These expectations put burdens on the implementing organizations, often ones that were immensely hard to adapt to. Additionally, not only was the orientation of the programs changed from being family-based, concentrating on the development the socio-cultural environment of the children in favour of school-based coaching activities; the new conduction of Tanoda projects also showed a picture of a „school after school-time“ even though the Call for proposals specifically stated that Tanoda programs cannot simply mean helping with the homework, running as a „supplement day care“ so to say. This tendency was not clear before the 2015 Call for proposals, it became obvious only there.

In the row of calls for proposals, the 2012 and 2013 were the next. These were included in the HEFOP⁸ programs, and approximately a hundred projects were selected. That was when several

⁴ This period is captured in the first summary that was aimed at standardizing the Tanoda method, the Tanodakönyv (2005), edited by Kerényi György.

⁵ HEFOP/2004/2.1.4.

⁶ TÁMOP-3.3.5/A/08/1.

⁷ Szilvia Fehérvári, Orchidea Karlowits-Juhász, Rita Ormos (manuscript, 2008): A tanodák standardizálásának szempontrendszere, Educatio Kht, Budapest.

⁸ Human Resource Operative Program

organisations started to run not only one Tanoda that was in the village of their seat, but also in other settlements in their micro-region.

The most important step in this period of time was the founding of the so-called TanodaPlatform in late 2013, created by experts with substantial experience and a strong background in education. The goal of the TanodaPlatform was „to make their voices heard more efficiently for a more reliable financing system, for clarifying the role of Tanodas, for gaining acknowledgement of the work done by Tanodas, and for the support of this work.”⁹ The initiating organisation (Motivation Association) put together a document called Tanodastandard. The focuses of this document differ not only from the priorities of the calls for proposals mentioned above, but also from the principles of operation of the 178¹⁰ funded Tanodas’ in many cases. The emphasis of Tanodastandard was rather on the activities that develop social and individual competences, using innovative methods (for instance board game pedagogy) differing from the traditional schools’ instruction, concentrating on expanding the involvement of the local community, instead of trying to compensate for the insufficiencies of the traditional education system.

The Platform functions as a network that not only provides a forum for sharing the collected professional experience but also helps with interest representation. Its members had been involved in the designing of the 2012 Call’s programming (as individual experts, before the creation of TanodaPlatform); they try to work together against the anomalies of the financing system of Tanodas. The completely civil organisation was the one that presented the main issues of the 2015 Call in a structured and detailed manner. As a result, the Ministry of Human Resources launched a special, targeted Call in late 2016 allocating state funds to compensate the organisations that have a substantial experience in this area but did not get funding through the 2015 Call.

It is important to note regarding TanodaPlatform that they look at the network of Tanodas as a „Tanoda movement”, which means the civil background does not plainly refer to the organisations’ legal status, but also to the way they visualize Tanodas as an - at least partially - independent entity from public schools, and in the way they work, involving a high number of volunteers. TanodaPlatform makes it clear that compensating for setbacks at school should not be the main aim of Tanodas. They should rather provide services „that are not or only limitedly available for children and adolescents who lag behind at school, and who are forced to the periphery of society. (...) The Tanoda scheme of goals and tasks differs from those of traditional public education, it represents a different set of priorities and tries to provide additional services, not replacements. Tanodas don’t only function as educational institutions, their contribution to socialization, career-building, transmitting culture, community building, free-time management, and social support is just as important part of their role.”¹¹

The base of the Tanodastandard was written by the TanodaPlatform on its own initiation. The network later joined the Tanoda Work-group organized by TKKI (Türr István Alapkezelő és Kutató Intézet – Türr István Fund Manager and Research Institute), which had the task to update the Tanodastandard. About 80% of the TanodaPlatform’s ideas remained after the inspection of TKKI/EMMI¹² (the state actors mostly criticized and mitigated the distancing from schools).¹³

⁹ http://tanodaplatform.hu/?page_id=19

¹⁰ In previous years, Tanodas were also created independently from the calls that aimed specifically to fund them. The so-called settlement-liquidating program, the ‘Child-chance’ (Gyerekesély) program and other, bigger organisations (Maltese Charity, churches etc.) initiated similar programs, the number of which can only be estimated: around 50 similar projects run continuously or fractionally. 178 Tanodas were created only under the TÁMOP 3.3.9 Call. These Tanodas had to reach the standards and methodology set by the Call for proposals. This did not apply to those that were created under different programs.

¹¹ http://Tanodaplatform.hu/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/Tanoda_Sztenderd.pdf

¹² Emberi Erőforrások Minisztériuma – Ministry of Human Resources

The operation of Tanodas is partly defined by financial uncertainty since the mid-2000s. This would have been true even if the EU funding system (the five periods) had been punctual and reliable. The unreliable frequency of calls for proposals, decision-making, contracting and financing was hard even for those organisations that functioned relatively well and had a stable financial background. A number of Tanodas had to shut down, even if the service they provided was of a very high standard and they had a good and embedded relationship with both the local community and local institutions.

The implementers of Tanodas (as we will show in the case studies referred to below) in several instances continued the work that they started, without any funding, not being able to afford even the basic conditions for their programs. They continued, even if that meant burdening themselves with debt from utilities and salary costs, so that the children they started working with „remained in their range of vision.”

As this paper is not aimed at, and its scope does not allow to present a full analysis on the history of the Tanoda method,¹⁴ we summarize the main tendencies in a few points:

The operation of Tanodas has changed substantially, mainly because of the expectations in the Calls for proposals funded by the EU. The emphasis moved from the NGO-based, rather socially than educationally compensating activities towards improvement of school achievements through extracurricular programs. Underlining this tendency, we witness in several cases that the state education system implicitly or explicitly strengthens the segregation of Roma children instead of trying to work against it. The development of school achievements thus moves from the classroom and instruction time to an outer place and time, into Tanodas' programs and responsibility.

1. The previously seen community-based disadvantage compensation that focused on socio-cultural drawbacks rather than problems at school subjects, only appears in a part of Tanodas. It doesn't even appear as a priority in the calls, neither in the evaluation standards. Consequently, applicants have to set out projects that concentrate on the compensation of the public school's failures, rather than emphasizing the community and social elements. This tendency is strengthened by two additional factors: Although in the beginning it was strictly banned, and later contraindicated for school teachers having daily contact with the children to also be involved in activities at the Tanoda, in the 2015 applications these teachers were already included in the original plan (partly due to the lack of professionals in these small villages, and partly because of the change of focus of the Call to less educational and more management-oriented aspects). These teachers cannot be expected to implement the alternative, innovative methods and approach, the lack of which at school created the need of Tanodas in the first place. The second problem - might be one of the causes of the scandal surrounding the 2015 Call - is the ill functioning of the whole funding system. Both the profitable application writing firms and the politically defined decision-making lead to these dysfunctions. These application writers are solely interested in receiving funding, and not in the program being innovative and - as we showed above, possibly even opposing the funders' intentions - using methods that do not focus on compensating for the dysfunctions of schools, but on the socio-cultural, family-, and community-based development of children. How deep doubt are the Tanodas left in can be shown by the survey¹⁵ made in 2015 including 100 Tanodas, of which 80% could not or did not want to declare their opinion on whether the

¹³ Szűcs Norbert (TanodaPlatform, Motivation Association)

¹⁴ Several researches were conducted by other authors, such as György Lukács (manuscript, 2015): Tanoda kutatás; Szilvia Németh (edit., 2008): A tanoda-típusú intézmények működésének, tevékenységének elemzése, research summary; Roma Oktatási Alap, https://www.romaeducationfund.hu/sites/default/files/publications/tanodaelemzes_tarki_ref_08_0.pdf

¹⁵ György Lukács (manuscript, 2015): Tanoda kutatás

Tanoda should be for disadvantage-compensation of schools, or for competence development.

2. The target group of the Tanoda programs also changed since the start. The direction of focus and involvement of the first Tanodas' went from local community → family → children and this was also the basis of definition of the target group. Today on the other hand, this target has been narrowed to underprivileged (including Roma) children in the higher age-groups of preliminary school and high schools with matriculation. Although involving other target groups or working with volunteers is not banned by the calls, the priorities are not on these factors, far from them being part of the basic criteria.
3. Although the creation of TanodaPlatform meant the appearance of a network that was simultaneously able to provide a high standard professional background (even quality assurance) and to represent the Tanodas' interests, the results of the 2015 Call showed that the professional application writers are preferred to the civil applicants, even if they have no previous experience in education and development. Similarly, the results do not reflect the geographical distribution of Roma in Hungary. Some villages could get funding even with practically no Roma living there. Lastly – though it might not come as a surprise, regarding the above mentioned problems –the meaningful involvement of the local community (reaching further than signing a letter of intent), cannot be seen in the results, and in the succesful applications.

The Tanodas involved in the present research

In late 2016, Autonomia Foundation led a research on twelve Tanodas by the initiation of ERGO Network, funded by the European Union Program for Employment and Social Innovation. The goal of the project was to get a round picture about the operation of Tanodas, and to see how deeply they are involved in the local communities. The research initiation was of course affected by the list of funded programs for the EFOP-3.3.1-15 Call for proposals, published in September, 2016, and the reactions that followed.

While selecting the Tanodas for this research, we took into account the results of this Call, as we wanted neither the funded nor the non-funded Tanodas' opinions to dominate our research. We also paid attention to geographical diversity, selecting Tanodas from five different counties: Nógrád, Borsod, Baranya, Somogy and Tolna. We talked to six funded Tanodas (one of them was first put on the reserve list: The major told us „we managed to pull it up from the reserve list, because we did well at the referendum”¹⁶). The remaining six applications were refused with varying reasons.

The case studies were written by employees of Autonomia Foundation. The research data was collected through interviews. Interviews were made with the representatives of the applicant organisations, leaders of the local Roma minority self-government (if a Roma minority self-government doesn't function in the village, we spoke to the local Roma organisations' leader, if no such is present either, then with the person that seems to have a leading role in the Roma community), and where it was possible, with the major or the notary and/or the headmaster of local schools. Case studies were made about every selected village.

The data was collected in October, 2016. We managed to finish the case studies in eight villages, as in one of the villages nobody knew anything about the applicant organisation, and we couldn't find anyone who could have told us the story around it. At another location we managed to settle a meeting with the leader of the applicant organisation, but they withdrew before the interview took place. (During this period the independent media started to report about the anomalies around the Call, suggesting that the evaluation and the results were incorrectly influenced).

¹⁶ Refers to the referendum held on 2nd October, 2016: “Do you want the European Union to be entitled to prescribe the mandatory settlement of non-Hungarian citizens in Hungary without the consent of parliament?”

In several cases we managed to meet employees from both the funded and the non-funded applicant organisations within one settlement, and as a result, we managed to collect information about 12 applicant organisations altogether. In three cases, although we could not manage to interview any of the applicant organisation's employees, we are in possession of a sufficient amount of information about the circumstances of the application (and the planned project).

Six of the studied applicants are Roma NGOs, the other six are professional project implementing (and proposal-writer) NGOs, that presumably satisfy all legal criteria of an NGO, but their operation is not defined by the principles of democratic decision-making and participation. This contrast doesn't describe the whole picture however, as there are two organisations that were launched as Roma NGOs, but today their focus is mostly on services (such as writing applications), rather than on providing interest representation and on an inclusive way of operation.

Two organisations funded by churches can be found in the sample. One of them succeeded and the other didn't in the last Call. One of them can be regarded as a real NGO, not only because of its legal status. It was founded by people from the local congregation, while the other can only be seen as a branch of the central church it belongs to.

Previous experience in Tanoda projects:

| Funded* / non-funded | Experience with Tanodas | No experience |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------|
| Funded | 3 | 4 |
| Non-funded | 5 | 0 |

*We put the organisation that was at first on the reserve list to the group of funded organisations.

This chart gives us a clear view on the contradictions behind the 2015 call for proposals, and the decision-making procedures. Experience with Tanodas, many times throughout several funding periods did not guarantee a positive result, and several of the winning applicants had not have any previous experience not only with Tanodas, but any projects targeting Roma.

The background of Tanodas

Regarding the initiators of the applications, probably the most important aspect is whether the intent was local or the motive behind the application was solely for the purpose of applying. Unquestionable local (community) intent can be found in five of the twelve cases, in five there is definitely no such involvement, including three cases where the settlement (or part of settlement) wasn't even informed about the winning application and the soon to be started Tanoda. None of the five Tanodas that were initiated by locals succeeded, while the ones that showed no local engagement, all got funding. (In two cases it wasn't obvious whether the local engagement was really substantial, whether they initiated contact with the applicant organisation or the other way around).

Apart from the question of initiation, it is also an important aspect who wrote the actual application in the end. In two cases it was clearly handed out to an outsider application writer organisation, and in two additional cases the task was done by the initiator, but these organisations themselves are involved in professional application writing services for other organisations. The remaining organisations – occasionally with some external help – wrote their

applications for themselves, which suggests an important and positive improvement compared to previous years.

The educational plan was elaborated by local teachers in four cases, in the remaining places the writer of the application did this part fully or partially, too. Two organisations have their own capacity to work out such plans. (It has to be noted that in two of the four cases where local teachers wrote the plans, these teachers are also active members of the applicant organisation.)

In eight places the local community was not involved at all in the planning stage, in the needs assessment. In the rest of the cases they were clearly involved, if in some cases only through the local Roma minority self-government. Three of the four applicants that involved the local community were Roma organisations.

In six places local, Roma people will take part in the implementation. In the other six places the cooperation either only works on a formal level, or in one case the applicant (that has no experience in the area) that got funding in a city also succeeded in a village in the same region, taking the place of the Tanoda that had been working there for five years, and then asked the leader of that Tanoda to be the leader expert for the new project. (This offer was rejected, because „they don't have the necessary team of experts, and the application was written by a specialized firm, that will take a great amount from the granted funds to begin with. The firm assured everyone in advance that they will get funding, but also set a great price for it.”)

Success of the application and the involvement of local Roma

| Funded* / non-funded | Meaningful involvement of local Roma | No meaningful involvement of local Roma |
|-----------------------------|---|--|
| Funded | 1 | 6 |
| Non-funded | 5 | 0 |

*We put the organisation that was at first on the reserve list to the group of funded organisations.

In this chart we can clearly see that the organisations that involved the local Roma community either in the planning or in the implementation phase (where there was an already functioning Tanoda) had almost definitely no chance of getting funds through this Call. Although the number of items doesn't allow us to show a statistically relevant correlation, it can still be seen that the correlation is there and does not seem to be random at all.

The cooperation between the applicant organisations and the local self-governments is stable in most cases. There was only one place where the applicant only informed the local self-government, that they will „write an application for the village”. In at least two cases the local self-government was an active initiator in the proposal, while in three other cases the self-government was indifferent to who applies or who will be selected. The leader of an applicant organisation that also applied in another village, said: „I knew him (the major) since the co-operatives. I was a tractor... agricultural mechanic back then. The major is a correct man. He signed it (the application) for me, and told me he did the same for the other applicant. He doesn't have preferences, he will give the room to whomever succeeds. He was correct.” This also means that here neither the educational plan, nor the participating experts' merits had any effect on the major's decision.

The leadership of one of the county seats was similarly allowing: there had been an already successfully functioning Tanoda for years, but for this Call, two other organisations applied, too, that have no previous experience in this area. Both new organisations got funding, but the old

one did not. And even one of the new organisations' leader admitted, that „the decision was based on personal connections.” He was also surprised that the old Tanoda wasn't selected.¹⁷

The relationship between the applicant organisations and the local Roma minority self-governments is much more obvious: In six cases the local Roma minority self-government was not involved at all in the process, there has been no cooperation between them and the applicants. In one case there has been a Tanoda in the village for the last financial period that was run by an organisation that offered services regionally. They had a good understanding with the local Roma minority self-government, in this period however, the minority self-government intended to apply themselves, which of course resulted in conflicts.

Another ambiguous situation appeared in a village where there had been a functioning Tanoda, run by a local Roma NGO, that truly involved volunteers and locals. In this period, another organisation (seated in another village) also applied in the village, and this caused a division in the local Roma minority self-government and the Roma community (only the latter got funding).

All the organisations that have previously run Tanodas have a project-based budget, which means they have no or almost no other source of income, or independent financial base. This means they can only function themselves, and run a Tanoda if they can get funding for this purpose. Only those organisations are in a slightly better position that either function with funds from several Calls simultaneously, thus – although sometimes not completely legally – they can provide the spaces for the Tanoda activities, or those that have a church as a founder behind them, can get help for the fund-free periods from that church. „Since December, 2015, the Tanoda in Sz. is only open periodically (in other villages not at all), mostly those projects can continue that were created by a different funded project and with a different goal. We closed our doors in D.”

Although we can see that the relationship between the organisations and the local self-government is good or even outstanding, these local self-governments suffer with the same lack of sufficient financial backing, and this way cannot offer much help for the functioning of Tanodas, even if they want to. (On the contrary, in some places previous Tanoda projects could help out the local government with the rent of the rooms for Tanoda activities, and by that assured a small frame of flexibility in their budgets). The five organisations (none of them got funding in the period) that involved volunteers in their work, continued to work with the children in their Tanodas, believing that they will get funding through the 2015 Call. They also closed down at the end of 2016, due to lack of funding. „There have been hard times like this before, then the teachers volunteered to prepare the kids who failed, for their repeat exams, but now the situation seems so hopeless that this probably won't happen, either.”

About the operation

About the Tanodas operations our most important question concerned their profile, so to say: what is the focus of their activities. Improvement of school achievements, coaching, or developing diverse competences, improving social skills with the involvement of families? Additionally, we wanted to figure out whether the background of the applicant organisation has an effect, and if yes, what sort of effect, on this profile.

As we showed in the introduction, since the beginning of the 2000s, the calls reflect the tendency of change in focus from the community-based educational and social development towards the

¹⁷ Autonomia Foundation had connections to several Tanodas and applicant organisations even before the present research. The leader of an organisation that won funding for three different Tanodas told us that the MP for the region made the selection personally, without his support no organisation stood any chance of receiving funding.

compensation of public schools' dysfunctions. The last call, and especially the list of funded organisations gives us a clear impression that Tanodas are truly not much more than school after the actual school time. Thus, development of social skills and basic competences, free-time activities can be funded, but the ideal Tanoda (that receives EU funding) seems to be a place for local teachers to help children with difficulties, after instruction time is over that a) „fit into” the target group, or b) about whom their teachers have reported problems (the same teachers that lead activities in the Tanoda). There are only a few exceptions from this tendency, where the Tanoda provides services that the school not only does not, but also for structural reasons could and should not provide (weekend programs, activities including the whole family, violence-free communication workshops, developing basic competences, etc.).

This shift of focus almost automatically brought another problem to the Tanoda programs: this new way of functioning has a real segregating effect – at least in those villages where this can be defined due to the ethnic diversity. The Tanodas „pull in” the children with whom the school cannot or does not want to deal. The school that is not willing or not capable of social integration either sees the Tanoda as a concurrent institution because of the „all day education” program or just ignores it completely. And Tanodas (due to the structure of their functioning and their civil status) are not only incapable of fighting segregation, they rather worsen it.

This is the reality even if it is not the result of a consciously built strategy by Tanodas and if the participating teachers „only want the best for the children”. They try to do good in a faulty system, that is determined by the spontaneous or conscious segregation in schools. This is why there are more and more voices questioning the merits and use of Tanodas and declaring that everyone would be better off without them. The leftist argument is that it strengthens segregation, while the rightist political sphere looks at it as an obstacle in the process of centralising the public education system.

Before we try to answer the dilemma above based on our own research, we have to consider whether it is reasonable to evaluate Tanodas as one group. Might there be several different types of Tanodas, that not only differ in functions and results, but also need differentiated regulation and financing systems?

The Tanodas we have a sight over can be sorted into the following categories:

- Small, local initiations that include the Roma community on a high level. These Tanodas try to cooperate with the local school (that is required by the Call itself), but they rather provide programs that are not available at all for the local disadvantaged children, and that are not in the range of the school's tasks and public schools do not have the financial background to provide them, either. Among other activities, they often emphasize the nurture of Roma identity and language (even though the demand for this very rarely comes from the parents, it rather reflects either an assumption among the majority society about the need of this aspect, or fulfils a requirement in a funding program).
- NGOs that started as a real civil organisation but now function as professional service providers. We got to know three organisations that ran Tanodas for the last few funding periods in several villages simultaneously, and have become an important regional entity in the sector. These organisations' biggest strength is in writing applications and organizing the project. As their operations are rather standardized, their Tanodas' focus is mostly on improvement at school subjects. Even if they make efforts to involve local entities (local Roma minority self-government, NGOs or activists), this cooperation is usually formal, and extending local independence is not among their goals. In their Tanodas most of the staff is from the local school, but the leader expert is usually appointed by the founder organisation. Although they arrange free-time activities and

involve parents, they don't focus on working with volunteers and implementing new, innovative methodologies.

- We found two Tanodas where the initiators were teachers from the local schools who recognized the drawbacks that the disadvantaged children had to face at school and founded NGOs to start Tanodas in their village. These Tanodas are run by local teachers, but the focus is still on competence development and social skills. They can be regarded as truly civil organisations, as the teachers continue their work as volunteers even when there is no funding.
- Project-based Tanoda runners: this description fits organisations that apply for basically any call that targets social issues, irrespective of the actual content. These organisations function as professional application writers and organizers, many times apply for and get funding in settlements far away from their seat, without first consulting with the local community. Even the local school and self-government is involved in the application only on a formal level. They mostly run their activities in a strong cooperation with the local school and its teachers, their methods do not differ from those at the school, their activities are merely the duplicates of school instruction and day-care. In two cases, organisations contacted the local self-government or Roma minority self-government with the offer, that if they apply through them „they will guarantee the win”, so it's worth it to run the local Tanoda under their name. As one of them said, „we have an agreement with Fidesz¹⁸, a framework agreement.”

There are of course Tanodas that do not fit in any of the categories above. One example is the Maltese Charity that got funding for Tanodas in several places. The organisation didn't find settlements to fit in the description of the Call, but rather applied in villages where they already had a presence (mostly through their Jelenlét (Presence) program). To which group they belong based on their operation and focus can only be seen later on. But it can already be stated that based on the background of expertise and the local involvement, they cannot be sorted into the last category, that are the „project-factories”.

Based on their focus of operation, six of the twelve Tanodas that we got to know during our research belong in the category of amending the problems of public school. About two, we cannot tell in this early stage what their focus will be. We naturally didn't find any Tanoda that wanted no cooperation with the local school and with that, didn't have anything to do with school subjects, but two of them made it clear that their main focus is on social skills, developing basic competences, and not supplementing school work. We have to add, that even most of the Tanodas in the first category don't only provide help with disadvantages at school, and two of them specifically told us that their focus is not on free-time activities, social development because of lack of funding. This might be true in other places, the other way around. „The school does not have the necessary funding to organize afternoon activities for the children, so anything like the Tanoda and the Malta Symphony program helps. The more of their afternoon the children spend in a proper environment, the easier it is with them at school.”

Almost all of our interviewees mentioned the results of their mandatory evaluation, as in, how children's grades and performance at school was affected by attending the Tanoda. There was however a school headmaster who showed no interest in these results. Firstly because of the short time-frame (9-24 months) that is hardly enough to come to conclusions. And secondly, because the most important improvement is not and should not appear in grades, but the

¹⁸ Ruling right-wing party from 2010 to date (2017 February)

behaviour of children at school, their motivation and concentration, and very importantly, the parents' attitude towards the school and their children's education.

We didn't find significant differences between the effect of Tanodas on school achievements based on which focus category the Tanoda belongs to (although we did not make the comparison between all schools' and Tanodas' results).

The financing system of Tanodas

Tanodas in our sample have different levels of stability regarding their financial background. There are organisations that can survive in spite of problems deriving from the completely unreliable funding system, even in the sometimes one-year long gaps of funding (that occur even to organisations that receive funding in every round of calls). These organisations can usually rely on their backing from a church. There are other organisations however, that did not count on continuing their Tanoda work after the end of the program period. They closed their doors and applied in another, neighbouring village for the last Call. We also found three Tanodas where the staff continued to work as volunteers after the funding period ended, but had to close down after all when they realized they would not get funding for the next program period.

Four of the six funded applicants agree that the current financing system is not sufficient: the worst part is the lack of continuity for the children and their families that „get used to” the services provided by the Tanoda and the trust they build up with the community. This is very hard to start over from the bottom. This is also hard for the running organisations, as they cannot promise and provide a stable job for the Tanoda staff. The fragmented funding system also results in many cases in difficulties of keeping up the Tanoda equipment and rooms. The local self-governments are far from being able to help out in these difficult periods, as they also need the last bits of money they can get from the little rent a functioning Tanoda can afford from its budget. With a Tanoda closing down, the local self-government either has to find a new renter, or the value and condition of these rooms, buildings start to degrade quickly.

We asked the leaders of the applicant organisations, what suggestions they had for the funding system, or any other aspect of the legal system behind Tanodas. The non-funded applicants of the 2015 Call all talked quite cynically both about the decision and the handling of applications in general. The delay in the decision-making and the limitation of insight by applicants into the reasoning lead to distrust already, but many of the applicants were confident that the decisions were incorrect. Even two of the funded applicants admitted that the current decision-making mechanism has a negative effect on the sector. Their objectivity is clearly shown when we see that they criticise that same practise¹⁹ that (according to them, thanks to their good connections) guaranteed their success.

We talked with several interviewees about the option of normative financing. One of them sees the solution in normative funding based on measurable indicators. Another expert however warns that if the funding would be based on the number of attendees, the already misshaped Tanoda method would be even more deformed by the incentive to include as many children as possible, resulting in bigger study groups and less attention for each child. This would take away one of the most important bases of Tanoda programs.

Beyond the operation

¹⁹ An analysis was written by two researchers at Motiváció Egyesület (Motivation Association, TanodaPlatform): Report of the Tanoda Platform about the EFOP-3.3.1-15 tanoda call results, Edited by: József Balázs Fejes, Norbert Szűcs, 2016, manuscript

Tanodas are not only important for their actual educational programs as local organisations, especially Roma organisations. During the period between 2013 and 2016, Tanodas had to face great problems due to lack of funding, especially after the relative frequency of calls in previous years. The organisations' biggest problem wasn't the lack of local application writer capacity (although generally it remains a great issue for initiatives targeting Roma integration), but the lack of calls. And when a Call was published, the decision-making process, contracting and the actual payment took unbearably long. Additionally, significant calls from previous years that played an important role in local Roma communities, such as Biztos Kezdet-Gyerekház (Sure Start), Children Charity program, Complex settlement program, etc., also had a gap in their relative regularity. In this period of time, even with the surreally long procedures for payment (2012 Call), and the delayed decision-making (2015 Call), Tanoda programs were a rare exception, through which local Roma organisations with substantial local connections could or could have received funding.

Several of these organisations started Tanodas only because this Call was available, as opposed to others. It does not mean that the Tanoda method and activities is far from their original purpose of operation and mission, only that it is not sure whether without this push, in a spontaneous way based on needs assessment in the community, they would have applied for this exact Call, given other options. Additionally, their capacities might not be sufficient to run a proper Tanoda in some cases.

These organisations – regardless of their political status or operational problems – played and should still play a great role in representing the local Roma communities' interests in politics, policy-making, and in the local institutions. Their place is especially important in motivating the Roma community, building a bridge between Roma and development programs that try to target their issues. If this intermediary is missing, projects can go in the wrong direction, and programs can be created with the goal of helping Roma integration, but that cannot offer actual benefits for the Roma people. In reality, lot of these organisations are puppets in the local and national political games and corruption, but in an ideal environment, they would have an ever needed role in Roma integration.

These organisations also have a great effect in community-building. This effect does not always appear directly, in explicit community-building programs. In many of the small villages where Tanodas operate, they are practically the sole source of community-wise, culturally and socially improving programs they have access to. Although Integrated Community Spaces (IKSZT) function in many of these villages, and they would have to provide such services and programs, these institutions are so deeply underfunded, that they are not capable to do much more than physically being open. This might be a reason for two of the Tanodas in our sample to hold their activities in such Community Spaces.

Four of the twelve Tanodas in our sample had a role in community building in their villages. We could maybe sort the Tanoda run by Hit Gyülekezete (The Church of Faith – evangelist church) in this category, too (as this Tanoda accepted „any children”, not only those that belong to the church).

So we see Tanodas are much more than a „supplementary day-care” not only because of their educational methods. Tanodas that truly fulfil their purpose, besides providing developing activities for children that schools cannot – and that are not in their place to - provide, they also play an important role in the life of the local Roma community. Although this seems to be of lower importance, Tanodas are in many cases the only local entity that could fulfil these tasks. It is important to mention those benefits that are brought by Tanodas only in an implicit way.

- Services provided for the families (help with social and other administration difficulties, basic office services) – in an informal manner;

- A community place where there is no other opportunity for that;
- developing the local work force. Tanodas often involve local Roma workers (out of necessity or by choice), that gives a great opportunity for them to gain experience in project-based operation, management and financing. There are three organisations in our sample that started this way, locally, and grew out to be what they are today. There are two additional organisations that made efforts in villages that are not their seat to develop the local work force. In three cases it is clear that the local Roma minority self-government developed from a basic functioning to a much substantial level throughout the cooperation with the local Tanoda;
- Consolidating the relationship between the local leadership (self-government) and the Roma community; In many places, although there is a Roma minority self-government or a Roma NGO, the Roma community and the major, self-government doesn't get on too well. Tanodas – perhaps in part because of their permanent presence and necessity of coordination – prove to bring a change in this regard in several cases (Although places can also be found in the Autonómia Foundation's experience in villages outside our sample, where the Tanoda caused conflicts, mostly because of the local government's financial problems and expectations. These conflicts however didn't occur between the community and the major (self-government), but between the latter and the organisation behind the Tanoda;
- Organizing cultural, free-time programs for the whole community.

As we can see neither the legal and financing system, nor the Tanodas' network-based efforts (TanodaPlatform) could create a standardized model for Tanodas. Not only the focus of their operation is very diverse (replacing and supplementing educational activities of the public school system, or skill development, social skills, or community building, or a mix of the above), but also the characteristics and financial background of the founder organisations. It would be hard to declare that one or another Tanoda is useless or counterproductive, even if at least two of the Tanodas we got to know are - in an indirect manner – contributing to segregation. Thus, in these cases we can at least say that these Tanodas might pose more threat to Roma communities than it provides benefits, and they might actually be straight-out harmful.²⁰ If we would measure Tanodas' values solely based on the children's achievements at school, or the improvement of social and communication skills,²¹ they should all close immediately, or at least they should not receive any EU or state funding. This discussion between independent public education experts and the representatives of Tanodas (TanodaPlatform), is not yet settled.

It is hard to dispute the arguments of education researchers and economists: if the principle purpose of Tanodas does not prove to be effective, as in grades do not improve, children don't have more options for secondary and higher education, the system is not worth the effort. If schools could use the extra resources that now flow into Tanodas for similar activities and they could reach goals more cost-effectively – and to that, in a more integrated environment -, these resources should undoubtedly flow in that direction.

Although these arguments are indeed strong and relevant, we also have to consider two additional aspects. Due to the current education system and politicized schools,²² or for other reasons regarding the education system, on the short term it is not particularly realistic that innovative developing activities that are not strongly connected to any traditional subject, will be built into public education, replacing the work of Tanodas. The other reason for keeping

²⁰ Lanner Judit: Kellenek-e a tanodák? (Are Tanodas Necessary?)

(<http://www.koloknet.hu/iskola/pedagogus/oktataspolitika/kellenek-e-tanodak/>)

²¹ Researching and improving Tanodas 2012/2013, Roma Educational Fund, Judit Lanner, Szilvia Németh, Zágón Bertalanné (http://www.romaeducationfund.hu/sites/default/files/publications/tanoda-projekt_zarobeszamolo_2013nov_.pdf)

²² See the infringement proceedings by the European Commission against Hungary in May, 2016, because of schools' segregating practices.

Tanodas in the picture is the role of Tanodas beyond educational purposes.²³ Of the six Tanodas that functioned already before the 2015 Call (there is not enough information about the new Tanodas to draw conclusions), five did a significant effort in drawing in parents. This role cannot be fulfilled in these villages – at least not with such intensity – by any other local institution or actor, not even the school. And although admittedly only two of the six Tanodas proved to operate with truly innovative methods differing from what we can see at schools, the skill development and free-time activities are already more than what a public school could offer. To sum up, it would be hard to dispute the concerns regarding the strictly educational achievements of Tanodas, it would also be a faulty approach however to disregard the (at least in the current funding system) secondary benefits that come from the presence of most Tanodas.

Having NGOs, even Roma NGO as the runner organisations behind Tanodas however not always guarantee that these secondary benefits are actually part of the operation of a Tanoda. We found an organisation during our research that gets funding from the 2015 Call – and knowing the complete list of funded organisations, it is not too far-fetched to say it is not a separated case – that was on paper - in its name, leadership and formal membership - a Roma NGO, but had no clue on how to involve the local Roma community and families and start development. The planned Tanoda will function under a strong cooperation with the local school and teachers (as could be seen many cases before in other places), turning into life the fears of education experts, functioning as a „supplementary day care“. They do not have the methodological basis needed, neither tried to involve the local community in the planning process.

Even involving the local Roma minority self-government is not a guarantee for Roma families to be truly involved. Minority self-governments got a significant role in only four of the twelve Tanodas we visited, meaning they had a strong position in the planning part and/or the operations. In two of these cases the minority self-government was the applicant themselves, more specifically the leader of the applying organisation and the minority self-government is one person. Despite of this, a formal cooperation or agreement took place in all but two cases between the applicant organisations and the Roma minority self-government.

Conclusions

Politicians and policy-makers look at the Hungarian Tanoda program with pride, they refer to it as a good example in the efforts of Roma integration policies. However, the Tanoda method went through significant change since the mid-1990s. The thriving community-based development of social and other skills and competences is now replaced with the compensation for drawbacks at school. Although there are still organisations that want their Tanodas to be based on the old method, the current financing system puts them in a disadvantage, even without the problematic decision-making mechanisms. The clear advantage is at Tanodas working closely together with, and as supplementation to the many times segregating and weakly performing public schools. Statistically significant tests cannot prove the measurable improvement in children's school performance, that would support this shift of focus. Due to the lack of research on the secondary (earlier primary) benefits of Tanodas, we cannot state on a scientific basis that Tanodas are necessary, neither that they are not. Criticizing the current practices of Tanodas without consideration – although lies on seemingly professionally undoubtable statements – might have a negative effect in the end, taking away the

²³ See also the suggestions in the analysis by Roma Oktatási Alap (Roma Education Fund).

chance of locally significant organisations to run Tanodas based on the original model, providing social development activities under the Tanoda name.²⁴

When evaluating Tanodas, we have to pay attention to their diverse forms. The circle of Tanodas has been widened with the last (2015) Call with organisations that run Tanodas without even the last bit of the original model left in them. Many organisations got funding that can't really make the difference between the two models on a strategic level, nothing can be known about their previous projects – due to no references –, and the lack of their field knowledge suggests that they only applied for the Call to receive any funding. Based on this, we can assume that their work in the Tanoda won't be a strategically built program for equal opportunities, social development, or even for basic school-supplementation.

The accusation that Tanodas strengthen segregation should be revised based on our research. It is not the Tanodas that segregate but the other way around: segregation in the public school system (and in other areas of life) is why Tanodas are needed. As they are created by these circumstances, they can only go on while they accept the framework of segregation that can now even be captured in the EU funding system. The few Tanodas that showed us through their operations that programs working closely together with public schools, but still with an autonomous agenda helping disadvantaged (mostly Roma) children to prosper, cannot function in this structure.

The organisations that can function – so the ones that received funding through the 2015 Call – regardless of them being officially Roma NGOs, operate as project managers without any sign of civil background or innovative methods.

Although we can agree with most of the recommendations of experts (Roma Education Fund, TanodaPlatform), we see two fundamental decisions that have to be made before laying out the future plan for Tanodas: public schools have to leave behind their segregating practices, and the Tanoda definition should be required to include both reaching out to the Roma community and involving them, and helping with school achievements, on an equal level.

This can be followed by the complete remaking of the financing system, taking into account the local organisations' interest, needs and capacity.

²⁴ The Roma Oktatási Alap (Roma Education Fund) remind in their analysis that Tanodas should rather focus on early preliminary school children, as in later years it gets harder and harder to achieve real success in the development.

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