

Aranka Varga

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF INCLUSION



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OF INCLUSION

University of Pécs  
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FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF TEACHER TRAINING NETWORKS

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## Starting points

In this publication I will intend to present the theoretical foundations and practical experience of inclusion and cooperation. I will rely on the research that I have been conducting for the past five years, and my publications that aimed at presenting my research results set into the framework of the latest scientific literature. This volume wishes to contribute with a synthesis to the internal and international attention to the different cases of inclusion. I would like to introduce the theoretical approaches and practical examples selected in the book with the new interpretation of a 400-year-old fable. Considering the story from a different angle might hopefully help us to realize that new approaches may open new horizons. Let us recall the fable now!

*„Once upon a time the fox invited the stork for dinner. The fox prepared a delicious dinner. When the stork appeared, it made a surprised glance at the table. On the flat plate there was a steaming soup, its tempting odour filled the whole room. However, it was impossible for the stork to reach for the delicious meal with his long, thin beak, so it had to leave with an empty stomach. Thank you for your invitation, let me invite you as well, he said to the fox on leaving. Come to me for dinner tomorrow in the evening. The fox happily accepted the invitation. The stork was busy in the kitchen all day and its dinner was maybe even more enticing than that of the fox. The fox could not wait for the delicious food, but now it was his turn to be astonished at the sight of the beautifully laid table. The stork put the food in front of the fox in a long-neck bottle and wished good appetite. The fox tried from the left, tried from the right, but could not reach the food while the stork was merrily consuming the content of the bottle. So now the fox remained hungry... (La Fontaine: The Fox and the Stork)*

The story of La Fontaine has been carrying the message since our childhood about the one who plays a dirty trick, and then he himself is tricked. The story and its interpretation are combined, and its meaning leaves no room for doubt, it is taken for granted.

However, if we wish to change the traditional interpretation, we need to step out from the well-known interpretational framework and view the story from a different angle. As a starting point of the new approach, we should refute the presumption that the cunning fox was not inviting the stork sincerely, with good intentions for dinner. So, let us suppose that during the preparations it did not even come to the mind of the fox that the stork would not gain access to the offered food. If we start our story with dumping the original interpretation, we may assume that the fox offered its best food on its best festive plates to the stork.

The story surely seems completely different now. The ungrateful stork did not appreciate the generous gesture of the fox, so instead of adapting to the situation rapidly, it sought for revenge immediately. Considering it a bit deeper, we may also state that it is also true that the fox should have also observed that the stork was apparently not enjoying the situation and clearly suffering. Why not changing the plates, especially seeing the helplessness of the stork? The fox might not have realized the problem in the eagerness of hosting. To continue the story, let us suppose that the stork did not have any revengeful concepts in its mind either. It just wished to give back the invitation, and it did all the best in its way. Hopefully, these ideas have helped us forget about the traditional interpretation.

The new moral of the story is completely different. The fox and the stork both tried their best, behaved openly and cooperatively, but they failed to find the means that would have helped the other take advantage of the offered opportunity. So the chance was given to have a wonderful dinner together, even on two occasions, but the access to the tasty food was restricted to one of them on both occasions. We might say that all is OK, they should eat separately and then noone takes offence. Well, and then how about two types of plates or teaching each other to eat from the other plate while eating together?

I may have tried to approach the topic of my book from a bit far. On the one hand, I wished to point out that the approach of inclusion presumes that we decline our commonly accepted, traditional interpretations and seek for new ways of understanding. On the other hand, striving for mutual acceptance is a bit similar to the way that the fox and the stork would have to go through in order to be able to feast together happily.



## Starting points

I will dedicate the first chapters of the book to survey the new viewpoint essential for inclusion in its components, historical development, theory and increasing areas of practical interpretation. This way I would like to facilitate the change of viewpoints that was also necessary in the story of the fork and the stork.

After this I will present examples where implementation of inclusion seems indispensable, or inclusion exists in reality. These concrete cases show how the actions of inclusion or the lack of these might reflect upon the life of an individual or a community. I hope the readers will add the examples of their own.



## The chapters of the book

The volume consists of three main parts. The first chapter revolves around the notion of inclusion in its historical and international context. We will come to understand the approach and its appearance in the educational environment through the interpretational framework of equal opportunities. This will be followed by an attempt at providing a descriptive model of inclusion. We will use the detailed system of input, process and output based on other research models of inclusion. The first two chapters serve as the foundations of the practical examples discussed in the third chapter. The writings of the three main chapters appear as independent topics and complement each other.

The aim of the first study is to provide a solution to the problem of the professional debate concerning the lack of clarified notions and the resulting misunderstandings. The introductory thoughts list the most important notions in connection with the topic of equality, thus providing a 'common language' that will help us in discovering the issues related to the topic. We will be able to observe the differences between the notions of equality and equity both legally and content wise. As a hint, the chapter will briefly touch upon the issue of inequality in education, referring to the conclusions of both Hungarian and international educational sociology theories and researches. Among the theories, in addition to the mechanisms of the reproduction of social inequality in schools, the system of bicultural socialisation and the multicultural movement will provide the foundations for solutions to the issues of inequality in a school context. The presented theories will be connected to everyday practice through the context of effectiveness, efficiency, equity. I will treat these notions at system-levels and in the framework of an international testing context (PISA). In addition, there will be some short statements about the Hungarian education system published in the study on the situation of the Hungarian public education („Jelentés a magyar közoktatásról”)

In the following parts the historical development of the interpretation of inclusion in different countries will be treated, with particular reference to their common points. The guidelines of the 'Education for All' movement that started in 1990 will set this into a system. A new approach will be observable in the focus of the interpretations. This will go beyond the first definition of inclusion that referred primarily to the integrative education of handicapped people. The new interpretation aims at presenting that process of expansion, due to which in our days inclusion means mutual acceptance in the whole society.

Our next step will be a topic-related scrutiny of the educational system in various countries. Touching upon the development of the integrative education of handicapped learners as a theoretical and practical starting point, we will come to understand the precise content and expanded interpretation of the presently used notion of inclusive education. It will be salient that inclusive education these days primarily means the adaptation and rearrangement of the school environment according to the requirements of inclusion. This situation is due to the expansion of the target group and the expanding scope of the more and more precisely defined successful institutional interferences. The development of content is apparent from the historical overview and it shows those components of the educational context that we will be able to observe in the structure of a model in the upcoming chapters.

All this will be supplemented by the thoughts of a collection of studies that will present diverse life situations showing various kinds of inequality in different parts of the world. Some studies reveal present day examples of classic situations of inequality, others offer system-level or socio-philosophical analysis. New approaches are also presented, inequality is given a global interpretation in the context of relations between cultures, countries and continents. In addition to the descriptive parts, the studies also hint at solutions to the presented problems. This supplementary overview also intends to emphasize how widely the concept of inclusion could be used so as to tackle various cases of inequality.

The following chapter will further analyse the previously defined notion of inclusion as a theoretical framework. We will interpret the notion at process-level in order to make it suitable for an equality-based analysis and assessment of everyday actions. At the same time

it aims at facilitating the establishment of an inclusive environment with defining clear-cut requirements. The points of analysis are based on the inclusive models in education that are founded upon the theory of equality. It considers inclusion as a never-ending process of development and describes the structural parts of the process. It pinpoints the input criteria of implementing mutual acceptance and the necessary conditions of maintaining it. It defines what could be viewed as successful realization at different points of the process. The three points of input, process and output are suitable for supporting the quality control of inclusive developments. The system description provides the foundations for the further steps that will outline the structural requirements, content horizons and social actions that would be necessary for embedding inclusion.

The third part of the volume is a collection of relevant practical examples of inclusion. The selection will range from the appearance of legal and political regulation to those forms of successful implementation that proved to be scientifically recognized as well. However, situations of inequality due to the lack of inclusion will also be shown.

Firstly, we will be able to study the approaches of the Hungarian educational policy to the target group of socially disadvantaged children, then we will get acquainted with the problems of legal codification. Connected to this, there will be a presentation of macrostatistical data on the changing numbers of disadvantaged and multiply disadvantaged children. An analysis of the services provided for the examined group and the history of the educational policy in the past twenty years will complement the topic. Finally, we will show those measures of the Hungarian educational policy taken in the past ten years that aim at helping underprivileged and/or Roma/Gipsy children/learners. This study will list the currently existing programmes and services in the context of inclusion, showing this way the legal background towards implementation.

In the second part we will see the chances of equality and social inclusion of a less represented special group of children, the children living in state care. We will also consider their level of schooling. This is a hot issue, as all children living in state care came under the category of multiply disadvantaged children according to the new categorization introduced by the new Law on Public Education in 2013. The included study will not only present a view on the social services, but will also discuss what types of action are needed on the part of the

educational sector in order to provide the social inclusion of those brought up without families.

The next chapter will use the model of inclusion described in the second chapter as a lacmus paper. A complex study with focus on inclusion investigated the results of underprivileged and roma/gypsy learners of primary schools and the factors of learning environment. It has been proven that there is a direct correlation between the level of development of the inclusive environment and the learners' success. The educational institutions involved in the investigation and capable of showing learners' success are models, the practical examples of implementing inclusion. The results of the study also provide evidence for the fact that inclusion is not only a social idea appearing at the theoretical and strategical levels, but a concept with measurable results in its practical implementation.

The fourth part of this chapter will give a short summary of the socio-psychological approach of cooperation, which is a part of the theoretical background of inclusion and at the same time a practical tool of providing inclusive environment. I will emphasize that the inclusive environment based on cooperation implies many-sided mutual relations; it covers the whole community of teachers and learners. I will mention the results of a study that investigates the topic-related experience of teachers participating in a training program in the framework of higher education. This will prove that the approach of inclusion supported by methodical tools brings success both to learners and educators.

The final chapter investigates the topic of inclusion in the area of higher education. We will rely on the concept of Inclusive Excellence (this also started from a context of higher education). Based on the theoretical approach of other models of social acceptance we will analyse the Wlislöcki Henrik Student College of the University of Pécs and its underprivileged roma/gypsy members. According to the results of the first investigation the institution strengthened its characteristics of inclusivity during its existence of 15 years and aims at offering more and more inclusive systems of services for the 30 disadvantaged students with mostly roma/gypsy origin who are members of the institution at a time.

The second study provides a spectacular view on the ways of involvement in scientific research. Its results prove that with appropriate means it is possible to provide inclusion in the scientific segment as well.

The third study analyses the lifepath interviews of the examined college members using the psychological notion of resilience. In the light of the presented studies it is clearly seen how the resilience levels of the college members depend on the inclusive environment. This emphasizes how the implementation of inclusion contributes to the successful schooling.

The final part of this publication wishes to emphasize that revealing the theory and practice of inclusion may contribute to the work of other scientific disciplines as well. The investigation of the inclusive activities in the focus of this book may open new horizons for understanding the resilience strategies of different underprivileged groups in their social and educational contexts.

This volume, as an edited version of the publications in connection with the topic of inclusion, hopes to provide an extended overview of the topic for the dedicated readers.





## The interpretational framework of inclusion

In this chapter we will see that the unique explanation of the fable featuring the fox and the stork was not only an entertaining starting point for our topic. It is still a fable but now the moral is that the message and outcome of a story depends on the approach of the protagonists and the readers. The well-known fable according to the new interpretation is an example for inclusivity, which is based on, among other factors, the partnership characterized by openness. Before we proceed to the detailed description of the inclusive approach, we will go back to the topic of equal opportunities because the revelation about the necessity of the inclusive approach came from the need to provide equal opportunities. A precise definition of the notions in connection with equal opportunities will lead us to the understanding of inclusion from social and educational view points.

### **Equality – equity**

First we will have to face the problem of the professional – scientific discourse that the content of the notions used in everyday context is not appropriately clarified and leave room for misunderstandings.<sup>1</sup> In the background there are different approaches: we may interpret the notions from legal sociological political or pedagogical viewpoints. Moreover, different political systems and worldviews may have different connotations about the scope focus and content of equality. In the following we will make an attempt to define the most important notions in connection with equality and put them in a commonly accepted interpretational framework. We wish to carry out this task by surveying the different approaches of the relevant scientific discourse, collecting the main elements of content and showing everyday situations as examples.

The first notion is equality.<sup>2</sup> This is a basic requirement in democracies and without that we cannot talk about a state with the rule of law. From the legal viewpoint equality is a principle that is declared

by the constitution and legal document of higher levels. At the same time it is a guarantee that in the democratic societies the basic rights and human dignity are ensured for every citizen without discrimination. Guaranteeing the same rights creates equal legal status for everybody. It is important to note, however, that there may be basic differences between the legal status and the actual social position. Real social equality can only be provided if the law itself takes into consideration the existing inequalities and treats the differences accordingly. A legal formula or action can be regarded arbitrary if it treats people in equal position differently and people in inequalities in the same way. We may consider somebody as equal or unequal in a given situation based on different viewpoints. Apparently, the biggest inequality between people exists in the social sphere, which means unequal access to social goods and the inequalities on the ways of reaching for social goods. In the background of this there are reasons such as differences in capital ownership (including the symbolical – cultural, interpersonal and social capital). The different social reputation about gender, racial, ethnic, religious groups and disabled people also appears as a cause. Naturally, the democratic state disposes of means to abolish social inequalities. The establishment of equality at the level of society results in a duality from the viewpoint of liberty. On the one hand, it makes it necessary to interfere into liberty as limitless freedom would make equality impossible. On the other hand, we may only talk about social equality if liberty also prevails. In other words, a given society and legal system has to ensure the protection and assertion of human dignity for everybody, and at the same time the free self-accomplishment of the individual personality.

It is observable from the legal interpretation that the provision of equality calls for two approaches. These approaches appear at the notional level: we differentiate equality and equity.<sup>3</sup>

According to this equality means the provision of equal access, from different view equal treatment. The application of equal treatment will prevent that groups and individuals would be excluded from access to opportunities provided by the society. In other words equality means the democratic social minimum which ensures that nobody would be disadvantaged because of real or perceived individual features or belonging to a certain group

The law on equal treatment and the promotion of equality (2003/CXXV) aims at the provision of this. It is a legal guarantee for the pre-

vention of measures, actions, mechanisms that directly or latently could cause exclusion.<sup>5</sup>

In our interpretation equality means that different people and groups have the opportunity in the common space<sup>6</sup> and gain access to information, activities, services, equipment in the same way and proportion.

The study volume that summarizes the general principles and legal details of equality together with a review about the situation of the focus groups in Hungary refers to the target groups with special focus (defined by the law on equal treatment) in separate chapters (Varga editor 2013). It provides detailed information about citizens living in deep poverty, the Roma/Gipsy population, minors, the elderly, and also people living with disabilities. In addition to this, the publication assists local councils with institutional examples and guidelines in the preparation of local equality programs (in the following: HEP).

It is apparent from the legal interpretation of equality that the provision of equal chances demands diverse approaches and goes beyond the everyday interpretation of equal treatment. The anglo-saxon notion of equity emphasizes the difference compared to equality. It refers to the fact that the elimination of discrimination causing disadvantage is a necessary but not satisfactory condition of establishing real equality. In the process of establishing the satisfactory conditions, it is necessary to take into account the differences in the society and apply actions to compensate for these. The equal access and equal chances of each and every citizen are realized through supportive means and active actions. In other words, it is necessary to take action in order to make it possible for people in disadvantaged positions to take their share from the offered goods.

In the Hungarian useage the notion of equity is not appropriately differentiated from the notion of equality. This is the reason for the fact that as a Hungarian equivalent we use another word, „méltányosság”<sup>7</sup>. In the international professional discourse the use of equality is gradually falling into disuse and the notion of equity tends to refer to the actions and approaches for providing real access to everybody in the common space.

It is salient that equal treatment in itself cannot be considered an activity of providing equal chances, so it is necessary to make a difference between seeming and real access. All the activities carried out in order to offset inequalities are pulled under the notion of equity.

This notion expands into all segments of the society and all groups and individuals who are in an unequal situation from any respect.

We may interpret the basic notions and social mechanisms in connection with the lack of equal opportunities according to the forms of oppression. (Young 2014) In his study about this topic, Young separates the notion into two forms and talks about the rule of a group in power in its traditional sense, whereas in a structural approach he means a rule over an oppressed group where the actors and sufferers of oppression are easily identified. According to the current interpretation, structural oppression is less direct and spectacular, it occurs as a result of everyday life processes. In this way, structural oppression means social injustice suffered by the members of certain groups as a consequence of the fact that the economic, political and cultural institutions reproduce the inequality resulting from injustice. Structural oppression is a notion connected to groups as the individual is a victim of injustice due to belonging to a certain group. A social group is more than the gathering of people since it is not characterized by common features but a certain kind of identity and it is different from another group from cultural or other aspects. The lifestyle of the group members is similar. Owing to this, they build relationships within the group that are different from connections with outsiders. Overlapping and belonging to several groups at the same time make the issue of structural oppression very complicated. Groups are changing constantly, some of them disappear and new ones evolve.

Young defines five categories of oppression. He refers to the type of exploitation when the energies of the oppressed group are accumulated for the benefit of the oppressive group. The extent of class-level exploitation depends on the depth of the gap between the social classes, such as the exploitation of an ethnic group that can be interpreted by the notion of 'menial work'.<sup>8</sup> The discriminative mechanisms of the education system and the labour market also contribute to the continuity of this situation characterized by inequality.

Another example is gender exploitation, when the energy of women benefits men, often without notice and recognition, resulting in the fact that men may increase their status or the quality of their environment. 'Marginalization' occurs in connection with those people who have to face the inability or the unwillingness of the labour market to employ them. Young lists several groups endangered by marginalization, such as elderly, low-qualified, disabled or long-term unemployed

people, also single mothers, those with ethnic background or with a criminal record. The financial deprivation resulting from marginalization is especially unjust in those societies where others possess considerable wealth. Although welfare societies intend to compensate for this situation with providing different kinds of benefits, this help is controversial and may lead to further problems. The recipients of social benefits appear as scrounges in the social-political discourse. Moreover, benefits of this type may create new situations of inequality and further aggravate the situation by making these people dependent on them and decreasing their rights. This also means that they are not able to live in the life of the society to full extent, they cannot create values and their marginalization becomes permanent.

The third form is the 'deprivation of power', which refers to the difference between those having higher education and those who do not possess university degrees. The powerless have positions in the social hierarchy that prevent them from the development of their abilities. As a result, their social prestige and their self-esteem remain lower. Judging it from another viewpoint, we may say that the more educated people are, the more respect, attention and appreciation they receive from others.

This does not only depend on the levels of education, but it is also observable in connection with gender and ethnicity. 'Cultural imperialism' as a form of oppression considers the culture of the majority group in the society as a norm and regards all the others cultures of lower value. As a consequence, those cultural products spread that reflect the value system of the ruling group of the society. Other groups, either latently or in a stereotyped form, represent 'being different'. In this situation minority groups develop a 'dual consciousness'.

Injustice manifests itself in the fact that the social experiences of the oppressed group are not parts of the dominant culture that forces its experiences and ideals on the oppressed group. Last but not least, there is also evidence about the existence of 'system-level violence' that could occur in forms of physical attack, harassment, intimidation or humiliation. These violent acts are made acceptable by the social context. These people are not harassed because of their deeds, but due to the fact that they belong to a certain group in society. Explanation for this is manifold. It is not only rooted in the behaviour of power or the intimidation of the oppressed, but in the hatred, fear about different social groups or the manifestation of lust for power.

These five categories provide the opportunity to compare different types of oppressions, without narrowing the scope of their parallel appearance. This categorization enables us to observe the combinations of various types of oppression and the strength or intensity of oppression. It is salient that we do not talk about forms of oppression in connection with certain groups, but general phenomena that may create situations of inequality in various forms and about diverse groups in different countries. (Young 2014)

The question of equality and equity could be examined in the different strategies realized during the co-existence of social groups. (Kozma 1993) In the various social strategies, equality appears with different levels of emphasis. As we are advancing in time, democratic societies are developing towards inclusion, pushing into the background other approaches that are characterized by less inclusive theories and practices. One of the most widespread strategies that prevailed during centuries is assimilation. This strategy aims at forcing different groups into the system of the preferred values and norms of the society. This social strategy provides opportunities for those individuals and groups that possess the cultural and ideological features and approaches defined by the society. In the case of assimilation we cannot talk about provision of equal chances, as the implemented social actions are devoid of the rights striving for equity or the respect for unique individual and group features (according to the principles of equity). Assimilation results in exclusion and marginalization for those who are not capable of or not willing to follow the requirements of this assimilative drive. This approach inherently implies a realistic risk of marginalization and it clearly shows the lack of equality.

The strategy of segregation assumes that separation is the efficient way opposed to the assimilation of individual and group features. Segregation, the separation of certain groups or individuals based on certain features, means a situation of inequality in itself. The usual precedent of segregation is selection that also results in a similar situation due to implicit actions. This is particularly observable in the education system. From the viewpoint of equality, selection is equivalent to segregation, as separation created by selection results in a similar situation characterized by the deprivation of access to goods.

The integrative strategy evolved and identified itself against the selective mechanisms and segregative trends. It declared the co-

existence of individuals and groups characterized by different features without separation. From the viewpoint of equality, however, integration inherently means the existence of a dominant group into which the other individual or group 'integrates' into. This may easily lead towards assimilation, as the integrated individuals or groups will probably give up their specific characteristics or some parts of them.

There is a special type of integration when there is no attention to the needs of all groups in the common space. This occurs most often in connection with the demands of the integrated individual group, so the principles of equity clearly cannot be observed and implemented. This phenomenon is referred to as 'rigid integration'. It intensifies the disadvantages caused by the differences. (Réthy 2004). We have observed that at the level of the whole society it leads to marginalization when people in the common space lose their access to goods if there are no actions in order to provide equity. Among the social strategies, inclusion (mutual acceptance) is the one that offers efficient solutions relying on the approaches of equality and equity. Inclusion uses the prohibition of discrimination together with services providing real access (characterized by principles of equity) so that different groups and individuals could lead more successful lives with more opportunities.

The question of equality and the appearance of different social strategies has to be scrutinized in institutional education (kindergartens, schools) as well. Surveying the use of notions, it becomes apparent that in the Hungarian pedagogical usage the basic difference between equality and equity is still unclear in spite of the obvious differentiation in the professional discourse at the international level. In the report prepared by the OECD the notion was defined as follows: 'Equity refers to an educational environment where the individuals have the opportunity to consider making choices based on their abilities and talents, and make decisions without the influence of stereotypes expectations and discrimination. This educational environment opens economic and social horizons without consideration of gender, ethnicity and social status.' (Education and equity... 1997 id. Radó 2000a:345.)

Equality in the field of education in itself only shows that nobody is excluded from the scope of the available educational services. This primarily means that the opportunity or even the obligation of involvement in educational services is given for everybody. In Hungary

the discrimination-free access to educational services is guaranteed legally by the law of equal treatment and the law on national public education (2011/ CX). The law primarily intends to prevent direct segregation. However, it is also necessary to take into account the latent mechanisms observable in different fields of education if we do wish to provide equal opportunities.

The measures taken against segregation and selection, and the situation of the resulting situation of common education are called educational integration. In other words, integration from the viewpoint of equal chances means that the different groups and individuals have an opportunity to gain access to information, activities, services and equipment in the same way and proportion. This opportunity in itself does not lead to real access. In the situations of spontaneous or rigid integration education in the physically common space can not be successful, for example due to the lack of differentiated organization of learning.

Various types and forms of these situations are identifiable<sup>9</sup>. In the field of education there are actions that proclaim equality and happen in the common space, but cannot be characterized by services of equity. This is the way how educational equality remains an opportunity, without actual results. The consequence of missing equity and the resulting failure leads to decrease of the social support in connection with the integrative educational setting. The opportunity of providing equal opportunities for disadvantaged groups becomes questionable. These mechanisms have been examined by educational sociology and social psychology: describing it as a form of the reproduction of social inequality (Bourdieu 1978) or blaming the victim (Ryan 1974, el. Arató 2012).

The reasons in the background of educational inequality and the forms of their manifestation are discussed by the Hungarian and international literature of educational sociology. (Meleg (editor) 2003, Kozma 1997). The detailed presentation of this important area is not a goal of this volume, so I would like to limit my reference to those theories, social facts and their representations that deal with the topics in focus. From the viewpoint of the Hungarian appearance of the issue it is important to mention the irregular publication with the title 'Jelentés a magyar közoktatásról'<sup>10</sup> (Report on Hungarian Public Education'). These volumes treat the Hungarian features of 'students with special needs'. They deal with the notional changes of the



concept of equality and they sum up the data concerning equality in a given educational period. They make statements about the situation of the Hungarian public education placed in the international context. (Cs. Czachesz–Radó 2003, Keller–Mártonfi 2006, Györgyi–Kőpatakiné Mészáros 2010). The authors scrutinize the differences in the background of student performance. Furthermore, they present the efforts made in order to offset the inequalities together with their results and inefficiencies. In their analysis of the inequalities that cause differences in student performance, the authors discuss the influences of the family background, the differing learnership of schools, the differences according to regions and settlements, gender, language, culture and individual life paths. The points of analysis used by the authors are apparently identical to the set by the approaches of equality and equity.

In addition to the approach based on human rights, equity is becoming more and more emphasized as a criterion that reflects the success of education systems.<sup>11</sup> Equity in education can be measured in various ways and its significance also varies in different interpretational frameworks. Today it is an accepted view all over the world that a high-quality educational environment is characterized by efficiency, effectiveness and equity. (Lannert, 2004) Efficiency shows the educational investment and its profit, effectiveness reflects the measurable output, equity emphasizes the necessity of involving all students in the sphere of efficiency and effectiveness. We may interpret these three characteristics of a quality educational environment, with the added horizontal elements of cooperation, as the essential conditions of inclusive educational environment. The measurements of the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), which measured the educational systems in the past decade comprehensively, also continuously use this indicator defined by these three criteria.<sup>12</sup> The models are those education systems where social status does not have a determining influence on the differences in student performance, efficiency and effectiveness is measurable in connection with everybody (equity).<sup>13</sup>

An international project scrutinized the responsibility and the opportunities of school leaderships and discussed the issue in detail in several studies. This research draws attention to the necessity of providing equality and equity in the education system and complements the ideas that we have already discussed.<sup>14</sup> The authors present the

content of equality according to concepts of philosophy and educational policy. They outline the various models of school leaderships and detail the correlation between the level of providing equity and the different leader types. (Ward et al 2013, Schratz 2013). They highlight what kind of approaches the leadership may apply to promote equality.

According to the approach of redistribution, efforts should be made to achieve that people with lower levels of individual and social capital would also gain access to the sources necessary for their development. Recognition means that the leadership recognizes different cultures and special features as values and supports the elimination of their discrimination. Participation ensures that through their involvement in different processes children are prepared for social participation and they will be able to shape their future. (Lumby 2013)

The authors show practical examples where the three approaches are present at the same time. They dedicated a separate study to the practical implementation of equality, the appearance of inclusion in schools (Mac Ruairc 2013). In this work they briefly outline the content of the inclusive school model. This programme undertook the task of analyzing equity in the education system at the levels of the educational policy and the school leadership. Its significance is that it set the task of providing and maintaining the inclusive environment for the key figure of the process, the leader of the educational institution. It supports the view that the complex process of providing inclusion and equality can only be successful if they spread over the whole institution. The leading person is the guarantee for this, independently from the leadership style.<sup>15</sup>

The institutions that became open towards inclusive practices and successful in providing equity have to face yet another type of problem resulting in situations of inequality. The practice of integration in schools, even if it is successful, strengthens the latent social mechanisms of selection that are rooted in the social prejudices. Latent selection causes further situations of inequality that are more difficult to treat with its pre-selection between schools and school types. (Lannert 2003)

In Hungary characteristically there are institutions among the schools with regular curriculum preferred by families of higher social prestige, and the so-called 'Gypsy' schools. Inside the schools, education in classes with special curriculum and grouping according to

'level of skills' legitimize the latent selective mechanisms. According to research data there are significant social and cultural differences between the students of schools with regular or special curriculum.<sup>16</sup> (Havas–Liskó 2004)

The volume in the series 'Jelentés a magyar közoktatásról' (Report on the Hungarian Public Education) that dealt with the situation in 2006 (Halász–Lannert, editors, 2006) highlights the fact based on various Hungarian research projects (Havas–Liskó 2004, Kertesi–Kézdi 2005b, Neményi 2004) that segregation particularly affects a high proportion of Roma/Gypsy learners and separates them with direct and latent selective means. Hinting at other research projects (Radó 200b, Andor–Liskó 1999), the authors noted that in Hungary the selective mechanisms that had evolved after the change of political system had further intensified. As a result, the differences between schools increase the inequality measured in student performance. (Keller–Martonfi 2006)

The situation of decreasing inequalities has not improved since the mentioned inspections. Several studies have reported the strengthening of segregation<sup>17</sup>. (Kertesi–Kézdi 2009, Kertesi–Kézdi 2014, Varga J., editor 2015). It was not possible to make progress since the first PISA tests (2000) towards those countries in the international ranking that with the help of their education systems are capable of compensating and offsetting the shortcomings and inequalities of chances caused by the family background.<sup>18</sup>

We ought to return to the general approach and leave this analysis of the contemporary education system, as it was basically shown to present a practical example. It is important to note some other theories that described those mechanisms that should be compensated for during the process of striving for equality in education. These theories reflect the social expectations about the education system and the failure to live up to these expectations: the role that education plays in social mobility in addition to the functions of conveying knowledge and socialization. (Meleg, 1995)

One of the fundamental questions of the scrutinies carried out by educational researchers is whether the school is the means of recreating or counterweighting inequalities. The question originates from the fact that the place of the learners and their families in the social pyramid is absolutely diverse. The answers are mostly about the features of school life and the characteristics of school users and how

these two may be in accordance with each other in order to provide success and equality for the learners in schools.

One of the important theories claims that in the background of the latent selective mechanisms and the differences of learner performance we may find the basic difference between the investment of the possessed and preferred types of capital (money, symbolical: cultural, interpersonal). Owing to this the school becomes 'a legitimate means of reproducing social inequalities' (Bourdieu 1978:281), as the relationship of the socially different families with the school, as a form of cultural capital, determines the extent of investing financial or cultural capital into schooling.

If the demand of long-term schooling is strongly present in the norms and value systems of a family, then it is willing and capable of continuous investments during the whole schooling process. This appears at the point of choosing schools and continues during the given stage of schooling with the continuous attention of the parents to the results of their children and taking advantage of additional services inside and beside the education system. If schooling is not an important viewpoint in the history and the cultural capital of the family, these investments are not realized. This means that the family cannot avail of the broad scope of educational services and the free choice of schools, but would like to prepare the child for stepping out to the labour market as soon as possible. So the issue of long-term schooling is decided in the families based on their relationship and attitude to schools.

Bourdieu calls attention to this very fact. Equality in connection with schooling, the provision of equal chances is manifestly present in democratic societies. However, in a latent way the cultural capital of the family determines whether it wishes or knows to take advantage of this opportunity. Equality of chances makes it obvious that there are opportunities of getting and advancing in the education system, but the families starting with higher amounts of cultural capital gain more and more advantages in their investments. This leads to the situation in which the families that do not possess the capitals preferred by the education system gradually leave the sphere of education. Their choice is limited at the input, they do not use services in the process and leave the system in the shortest time possible.

In public opinion this mechanism is reflected according to the view of the families with higher social position, who believe that the opportunity of education is open for all families ('there are equal

chances') and those families are at fault who do not take advantage of this opportunity (blaming the victim). In other words, the latent mechanism of reproducing the social inequalities supports passing on the social positions and at the same time puts the blame on the group that cannot use the channels of mobility outside schools. Only the continuously implemented practice of equity could be effective against this latent mechanism. Equity assists the learners in disadvantaged position with extra investments. Equity is provided in schools by the everyday practice of inclusion that aims at providing successful education for everyone with its system of specific measures.<sup>19</sup>

In addition to those capital types crucially important in the educational process that we have defined above, it is vital to pay attention to the social capital as well. One of the opportunities of providing equality of chances for individuals is the high amount of social resources available in their families and social environment (Coleman, 1997). In other words, social capital reflects the relationships of the child and the adults playing different roles in the social environment. This means that the availability and access to the different capital types as resources (economic, cultural, social) around the child basically depend on the extent and strength of the relationships that the child makes with those in possession of the given capital types.

Social capital can be interpreted according to several different factors, such as the strong connection between the parental role and the development of the child, the system of values and norms that the adults and peers around the child consider important to convey, or the reliability of the social environment. The high amount of social capital, and its concentration is needed so that the individual could progress in its life path successfully. In the following we will observe through several practical examples that the lack of social capital (for example in the case of children growing up in the childcare system) or its provision (for example through the community of a student college) influences individual lifepaths considerably.

A separate study will elaborate on resilience.<sup>20</sup> It will be shown that the phenomenon of resilience is not independent from the existence or lack of the supporting people (as a form of social capital) in the eco-social environment. Realizing this leads us towards inclusion, as we should not stop at the interpretation of the different capital types and the revelation of the capital deficit problem. We should not be content with repeating the fact that the dysfunctional perfor-

mance of the school reproduces social inequality. Societies with democratic principles cannot maintain institutions that apparently serve the purpose of reproducing situations of inequality and are not capable of breaking the barriers. That is why it is particularly important to find that approach and practice that may help us achieve that the services providing equity really reach their goals and we may get closer to ensuring equal opportunities.

The system describing the so-called 'bicultural socialization' brought a new approach to the theories. This view was built on the experience gained in schools that eliminated segregation and faced situations of integration during the era of the civil rights movement in the USA in the sixties.<sup>21</sup> Its basic assumption is that for the examination of learners' performance in schools it is necessary to take into consideration the relationship between the socialization in the family and the school. We should add the interferences made in order to bring these two spaces closer to each other. All these cover the notion of bicultural socialization invented by Adler. (Forray–Hegedüs 1999).

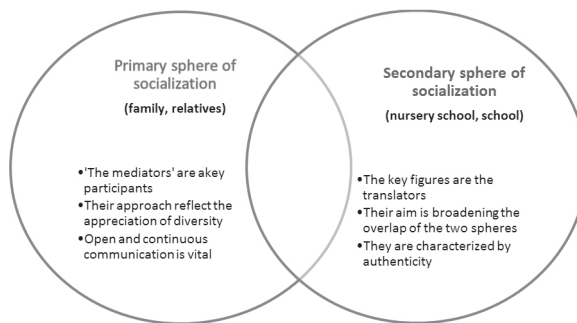
The novelty of the theory is that it draws attention to the parallel system of influences in the socialization in the family environment (primary) and in the institutional space (secondary) (Graph 1). According to this, school performance and the success of social integration depend on the overlap between the two spheres of socialization. The identicalities and the differences are determined by the cultural components of the primary and secondary spheres. In this case culture comprises the permanent and characteristic values, norms, rules and objects of the given space together with the social and linguistic forms of their transmittence and complemented by the system of rewards and punishment. One part of the dual process of bicultural socialization means that a member of a certain minority group is born into its original culture and learns its features through indirect socialization. The other side of the process commences with stepping into the education system (nursery school, school) or even starts before that due to the effects of mass communication when the culture of the majority also appears as a socializing ground for the member of a minority group member.

The theory of bicultural socialization unambiguously affirms that there are family socializations that in their cultural content show

little overlap with the cultural space of the school. However, according to this theory this should be considered as a situation in need of providing equal opportunities: it aims at widening the overlap of the two spheres. It is the common goal and task of the participants in the bicultural field to yield this result. In this process the 'mediator', who is responsible for giving services based on the principles of equity, plays a key role. This person is familiar with the school environment, may work there as a teacher for instance. The mediator should be able to familiarize with and bring elements from the primary sphere of socialization into the world of the school, thus broadening the overlap. The other important participant is the 'translator', who came from the primary environment but has already made progress and success in the secondary sphere and is able to convey cultural elements to its community from the institutional space. This may happen with direct transmission, due to authenticity, or indirectly, by being a role model.

Naturally, the double-directed process of bicultural socialization, the encounter and mutual overlap of different cultures cannot be imagined without conflicts. As a consequence, it is a vital part of the theory to emphasize that the guarantee for the success of bicultural socialization is the open and continuous communication. Moreover, cooperation is also crucially important, which shows the way to the approach of the inclusive social community.

**Graph 1.** *The theory of bicultural socialization outlined by Adler (Forray–Hegedüs 1999)*



It is salient that the issue of inequality in education is strongly connected to the observed phenomena of the socialization in the family and in the institutions, together with their interferences. The theories of Bourdieu and Coleman based on capital types and the theory on bicultural socialization outlined by Adler also recognized this. The difference between these theoretical approaches is whether they consider it possible to provide equal opportunities and offset the controversies of the functions that exist both openly and latently in schools.

Bourdieu clearly stated that the school system is a means of reproducing social inequalities and the processes in the background (described by him with the functioning of different capital types) make it unchangeable without interfering into them. The inventor of the theory on bicultural socialization and his followers offer practical solutions to counterweigh the latent mechanisms in schools and institutions. These could be regarded as means of providing equity. The theory of bicultural socialization, which urges actions for equity, leads to the inclusive approach, since both of them strive for making the eco-social environment mutually receptive. In this mutuality the family and the institutional spheres are getting closer to each other. The inclusive character of bicultural socialization is shown by the fact that it considers indispensable that all participants should be active participants in the common space. As a result of this, a new type of receptive culture is achieved instead of emphasizing the differences.

The theory of bicultural socialization was born at the same time with the movement of multiculturalism.<sup>22</sup> The new discourse that evolved as a result of the global movements meant a need for a new interpretation of social diversity. In the course of this re-evaluation the emphasis was on being different, with the central elements of culture, identity and the policies in connection with them. The basic interpretations of multiculturalism are basically defined by the ways they relate to the differences appearing in the society. As a result, we may talk about descriptive (factual), normative (urging the creation of new rules) and critical (creating a new, open and common culture) multiculturalism (Feischmidt 1997).

Multiculturalism emphasizes the necessity of the equality-based approach in the multicultural society and the legitimacy of intercultural pedagogy that aims at ensuring successful performance in schools for all learners. Owing to this, from the viewpoint of equality it is essential to highlight the theoretical approach and the prac-



tical experience of multiculturalism as the precedents, and later as elements of inclusion. The first ideas connected to multiculturalism identified the cultural differences in the spheres of socialization in relation with the different nationalities. They made suggestions about actions that strive for the appreciation of different cultures and the evolution of a common culture opposed to the practices of assimilation or separation and segregation. (Varga 2006) Later on the approach of multiculturalism also advanced and made a step from the initial approach based on the culture of nationalities, and by putting the differences in a broader context, it began to emphasize that in the society and also in schools many types of differences should be taken into consideration.

According to Banks, one of the most well-known researchers of the topic, the notion of multicultural education can be interpreted as an idea, as a reform movement or as a process. If we consider it an idea, then it means the notion of equal opportunities, with special focus on the students coming from different ethnic and social groups. This is developing in practice thanks to a reform movement that results in the changes of educational environment, involving the features of different cultures. The change can be imagined as a process that leads towards the ideal of multicultural education (Banks 1997).

We are in possession of a wide range of professional literature on the description of multicultural situations now. The attention that has been paid to this field for more than fifty years has enriched the variety of successful pedagogical practices (Torgyik editor 2008, Delpit 2007). As a result of this, it was possible to muster the components that are necessary for building an efficient system with the recognition and appreciation of the opportunities provided by the diverse environment.<sup>23</sup> Using these as a starting point for development may facilitate establishing the system of conditions for an inclusive environment.

The gradually widening range of experience provided by multiculturalism paves the way towards the inclusive approach. This retains the requirement of mutual acceptance in the common space, but does not reduce the differences to to the scope of cultural differences and the world of the school<sup>24</sup>. Inclusion takes into consideration all the features that may lead to inequality. It proposes actions for compensating (in order to offset social disadvantages) and strengthening (in order to assert cultural values) so as to ensure equal opportunities

in school life and in other spheres of social life as well. Besides, inclusion primarily focuses on the environment and not the individual. In its interpretation the conservation of the situations characterized by inequality are due to deficiencies of the environment. Owing to this, it aims at making conscious changes and continuous developments in the environment so that the equal chances of all participants would be provided with successful reactions to their features, needs and demands.

Apparently, diversity belongs to the key notions of social studies. It spreads beyond the issue of culture to the questions of ethnicity, genders, classes, religion, citizenship and age together with their interpretation in the intercultural and global interaction. In the latest professional literature we may read about the new forms of inequality and segregation, such as the selection in schools based on skin colour, the discrimination of immigrants or groups that are either historically identifiable or newly formed. These phenomena has elicited more scientific and political attention among a wider range of researchers, with the co-operation of different scientific disciplines and relying on their results, to the fields of global diversity, social justice and inclusion (Asuman–Nagel editor 2014). We agree with the affirmations of the experts on this field that these topics raise various issues and it is only possible to come up with answers offering solutions as well, if we interpret the questions of culture, ethnicity, social class, gender, disability, religion and immigration as a psycho-social and cultural system of connections in a global framework

It is important to observe that the subcategories describing situations of inequality may be blurred as they are strongly connected to each other. As a consequence, it is essential to examine and interpret these in a global context.<sup>25</sup>) The interpretation of a problem should not be restricted to a national level and should not stop at the country border. It is essential to compare the knowledge about social justice in other countries or between different nations.

Raising the question of equal chances to the global level is shown by the study that reveals what kind of components characterize the power of 'global North' as opposed to the 'global South'. The idea of global South was defined by activists whose purpose was to help the evolution of a collective political and economic identity for the 'South'. The former colonies in the tropical and subtropical sphere belong to the global South. According to this theory the influence of

the North is enormous over the South, but the identification of this is more difficult than other characteristics that may cause inequality, such as the discriminative actions.<sup>26</sup> The privileges of the Northern citizens caused by the global differences are observable in the spheres of lifestyle, work and values. It is important to note, however, that the elimination of inequalities is the interest of both sides since it is only possible to tackle global problems such as climate change, environmental pollution and armed conflicts with joining forces.

On the global agenda we can observe a situation of inequality between states if we examine the strategy that China puts into practice in order to gain the natural resources of African states. This strategy does not only imply economic, but political and cultural consequences as well. (Asumah 2014a). China gives loans for certain African states in exchange for raw materials. Emphasizing its 'political neutrality', it does not expect or require the respect of human rights, implementation of reforms, consideration of environmental interests. This causes severe harm. This process that took place in many other situations in various historical settings and different ways could be described as the so-called 'good-will cultural imperialism'. There are lots of potential dangers inherent in the phenomenon of this imperialism. This is a system based on exploitation since from the economic viewpoint the profit appears in China, whereas the poverty-stricken African states remain in instability and economic need. Besides, the Chinese cultural influences have an assimilative effect on the national and cultural values of these African countries. This relationship based on this 'politically neutral' Chinese approach means economic exploitation and acculturation, widens the gap between rich and poor countries and causes a situation of inequality.

In addition to the global approach, we were able to see that the question of equality should be put into interdisciplinary, multiperspective and intersectional<sup>27</sup> perspectives, thus opening new horizons and directions for 21st century interpretations and successful social actions.

### **Inclusion in society**

The provision of equality and equity together presupposes the existence of an inclusive social environment, which at the same time maintains this situation. The social actions against discrimination and for the provision of equal chances inherently carry the features of inclusion. Their efficiency and effectiveness is defined by the extent of inclusion.

What does inclusion mean? The notion was used with several meanings in the past two decades, so now we will review its content in the relevant professional literature. We will observe that the notion of inclusion as a social requirement needs refinement due to its widespread usage.<sup>28</sup> Precision is also necessary since the notion of inclusion has changed from several viewpoints since 2000.

If we examine the history of inclusion, it becomes apparent that the usage scope of this notion first appeared with a political content in the international context. It was restricted to the successful ways of institutional education provided for disabled children, taking into consideration the approach of social policy (Papp, 2012). This meant that only those integrative practices in nursery schools and schools were defined as inclusive where the environment adapted to the children and learners with special needs in a supportive way. Plenty of detailed scientific studies and summaries of practical experience were published about this form of inclusive education in the Hungarian professional literature as well, relying on the available international sources (Csányi–Zsoldos 1994, Csányi–Perlusz 2001, Kőpatakiné Mészáros 2004, Zászkaliczky editor 2012, Réthy 2013). This list can be expanded with many other works. They created the foundation for the widespread usage of the notion in Hungary, particularly in its earlier form of limited reference.

The expansion of this notional concept was further facilitated by scientists and professionals committed to the successful integration of disabled people, who were able to represent this modern concept at the level of decision-makers as well. The Declaration of Salamanca was an important milestone of this representation in the interest of equality. As a part of the 'Education for All' movement<sup>29</sup>, it mainly focused on learners with special needs, but it also referred to learner groups of other features<sup>30</sup>. In the relevant Hungarian professional literature many details of inclusion and inclusive education are appro-

privately analyzed. Similarly to this, various studies analyze this field in the international discourse and these also contribute to the better understanding of the equality issue concerning people living with disabilities.<sup>31</sup>

If we would like to review another target group or consider fields beyond education, we will have a much more limited variety of sources. That is why this volume only hints at the field of inclusivity in connection with disabled people.<sup>32</sup> However, it will examine in detail the social idea and approach that resulted in the expansion of inclusion into other fields. It is also advisable to analyze inclusion in a broader context due to the changes in the scientific and political approaches of the notion all over the world.

One of the changes that we have to highlight is the considerable expansion of the individuals and groups in the scope of inclusive actions, as it was foreseeable after the Declaration of Salamanca. The extension of the target groups is continuous. It was revealed during this process that without providing a tailor-made environment for the people in the target group there is a danger of exclusion not only for the group of individuals living with disabilities. As a result of this, the processes that support acceptance successfully (for example the prevention of school dropout or the elimination of barriers to access in different fields) are gradually expanding to all those groups and individuals who are excluded from education or any other segments of the society due to any reasons. The scientific research projects on the expansion of the target group revealed a gradually broadening scope of disadvantaged groups in connection with inclusion. (Potts 2002, Williams et al. 2005, UNESCO 2009a, Asumah–Nagel szerk. 2014).

Research results on inclusivity and relevant practical experience have clearly shown the absolute necessity of determining the large scope of groups endangered by exclusion and the ways of special attention. In the European Union The Treaty of European Rights (article 14) and the corresponding legal documents state the prohibition of discrimination, ensure equal treatment and define the protected traits.

The Law on Equal Treatment in Hungary that we have already mentioned in the previous chapter regulates in detail the principle of equality stated in the Alaptörvény. This identifies those groups that demand special attention in order to ensure their social inclusion and names 19 protected traits.<sup>33</sup> Besides, the law deals specifically with

those groups that are in need of targeted interventions since they are particularly affected by inequality. We may read the prejudices about these groups in the comprehensive volume on their present situation in Hungary (Bigazzi 2013) and their appearance in Hungarian legal documents and strategies (Orbán 2013a, 2013b). There are presentations based on statistical data about those five groups – people living in deep poverty or having Roma/Gypsy ethnicity (Cserti Csapó–Orsós 2013), children (Szemenyei–Végh 2013), women (Kokas–Lakatos 2013a), the elderly (Kokas–Lakatos 2013b), people living with disabilities (Horváth 2013) who are in the focus of inclusivity as well.

The legal documents and strategies referring to different areas define the groups endangered by exclusion based on the laws on equality. The research projects in connection with the topic of inclusion pay special attention to these groups so as to reveal their disadvantages and analyze the ways of their successful acceptance. The programs having the targets of preventing exclusion often redefine and broaden the scope of the groups that may fall into the scope of inclusion. An interesting example about this is the use of notions applied by the participants of the *siscatalist*<sup>34</sup> international project. This project created a new notion for the identification of the endangered target group (to connect to different supportive programs for the prevention of the social inclusion of young people). Local Defined Minorities (LDM) referred to individuals in minority who would be excluded from access to services and information enabling their successful advancement without support. We may experience the same process of broadening the scope of the target group in the articles of a recently published study volume which collects the groups endangered by exclusion due to the lack of inclusivity all over the world together with the concrete reasons for their exclusion. (Asumah–Nagel editor 2014).

In addition to the expansion of the target group, there is an additional change of stepping further from the educational environment and considering inclusion as an important approach at the level of the society (social inclusion). This replaces and complements the approach known as social integration (Percy-Smith editor 2000, Atkinson 2002, Kalocsainé Sánta–Varga 2005, Giambona–Vassallo 2013). In the background of this shift from integration to inclusion there is a gradual change of approach towards more democratization and an ideal of mutuality. We have already seen in our review on equal

opportunities that integration means a process where emphasis is on the person whose integration is assisted by the society. However, this integration is not supported by changing the conditions. It expects the target of integration to change itself. Opposed to this, the essence of the inclusive approach is that the focus of acceptance is on the environment. According to this view, if the environment can meet the needs of those living in it, then mutual acceptance will be successful.

The change of approach observable in the scientific discourse also appeared in the field of social politics. In the background there was a search for ways with which Europe intended to achieve successful cooperation of different groups and increase of economic growth based on this. In the European Union it was considered necessary to declare the importance of establishing an inclusive environment. The notion of social inclusion has been used in legal and strategic documents since the commencement of the Lisbon Strategy in 2000.<sup>35</sup> This further emphasized the broad interpretation of inclusion. Moreover, it contributed to the expansion of the use of this notion.

The volume that presents in detail the education system of Birmingham provides a practical example about the historical development of the notions of inclusion and exclusion (Potts 2002).<sup>36</sup> In this English town this inclusive approach expanded during a couple of years and it had appeared first in the education system. According to the research group that followed up this process of transformation, the narrow scope of interpretation about inclusion was connected to the education of disabled children as a target group. In other words, it referred to the education of children with special needs. At the same time, however, the notion of exclusion was also present. This was only used with the meaning of 'expulsion due to breaking rules of discipline'. It was also apparent that these notions were strongly in connection with daily practice at the time of their evolution. In the usage in Birmingham changes became salient from about 1995. On the one hand, the meaning content of exclusion expanded. Since then the notion has been used as social exclusion. This way it referred to the areas of social restriction in connection with access and participation in a much broader context. Owing to this, poverty or the problems of adolescence were put into the scope of the notion. In connection with the notion of exclusion, there was an even deeper transformation that resulted in not only an expansion, but a change of approach

as well. According to the new approach, inclusion deriving from integration is inherently restricted in a negative way if it only concentrates on some features of stereotypical learner identity (such as lack of ability, ethnicity). This restriction also implies an approach contrary to the values of acceptance, as the essence of inclusion is that people possess multiply and complex identities. There is a further problem if inclusion is connected to a depreciating label such as 'with special needs', 'underprivileged', 'roma', 'migrant', since this categorization appears as a strange contradiction. Mutual acceptance, as an elimination of contradiction, means no categorization. At the same time it provides the recognition, appreciation and praise of all aspects of diversity. In order to interpret inclusion more profoundly, as the researchers in Birmingham intended, it is vital to clarify the notion of culture in the examined context. In our case culture is identifiable with a lifestyle that can be considered stable. This culture divides people into groups, it contributes to the definition of identity and it is inherited from generation to generation. Culture is transmitted by languages. Its foundation is given by values and the rules that are explicitly and implicitly linked to it. Inclusive culture encourages the revelation that different lifestyles and identities may exist in the same place and at the same time, plus the communication between them will be enriching for everybody. Another notion strongly connected to inclusion is the concept of community, as a special variant of human relationships. Its bounds are beyond the family relationships. The basis of this is long lasting and common interest. Communities and cultures support each other mutually: the approach and practice of inclusion is particularly interested in the creation and support of a community that provides diversity.

It is possible to observe a notional change similar to the example in the approaches of other European countries as well. The common element in the examples of various countries is that at the beginning inclusion appeared as a more efficient way of integrative education for disabled children. In the course of time the usage of the term was expanded to other target groups and areas outside education. We will highlight those elements of these approaches that are important parts of the present day notion of inclusion and summarize its content. In our brief review we will not see a comprehensive and comparative analysis. Instead, we will be able to observe those components that lead us to inclusion as a new framework of approach.



In Germany the first scientific publications focused on the original target group, people living with disabilities. They interpreted the notion directly from the concept of social actions known as integration. They have been using the term since 2002 based on English literature. A milestone study of Andreas Hinz was published that year<sup>38</sup> (Hinz 2002). Hinz defined<sup>39</sup> integration as a broad notion: if something is good, progressive, or supportive, then it is integrative at the same time. Opposed to this, about the definition of inclusion he intends to be more concrete. He assumes that inclusion is not more than the expanded and optimized interpretation of integration. According to the author, the most important difference is that integration separates groups and classifies, whereas inclusion refers to big, heterogeneous groups. The essence of this heterogeneous community is successful co-existence with common assertion.

In Austria, the change of interpretation in Germany and the Declaration of Salamanca played important roles in the expansion of reference to the notion of inclusion.<sup>40</sup> Inclusion was presented as a high-quality means of providing integration, relying on the writings of Hinz and his colleagues. An important conclusion of the Austrian experts is that the key point of inclusion is to accept individuality in the unity. They also point out that inclusion is gradually replacing the notion of integration. The meaning of integration is the process that involves and integrates separated and discriminated groups and individuals into a bigger group or the society. From this viewpoint there are two groups of people, those living with a certain 'deficiency' and those living without it. In their opinion the acceptance of the group with a deficiency is integration. Inclusion, however, shares the view that these two groups do not exist, as all people have different abilities and different opportunities. Co-existence in the common space is an efficient and effective reaction to this diversity manifesting in the individuals.

French works interpret inclusion as a process and a goal at the same time. In this process the appreciation of being different is unquestionable<sup>41</sup>. They underline that difference can be defined by a universal, cultural or given context. Inclusion deals with the constantly changing society. It analyzes how the society adapts to the differences and how it fights against discrimination and separation. The French interpretation assumes that the discriminating society is the problem and not the individual excluded from social processes. It is an impor-

tant affirmation that for the realization of inclusion a dual approach is essential. On the one hand, it is important to concentrate on the society in order to eliminate the barriers excluding the individual, and ensure its inclusivity with appropriate actions. On the other hand, it is also necessary to pay attention to groups and individuals endangered by social expulsion and discrimination with assisting them in the activities aimed at their acceptance and involvement.

In Italy<sup>42</sup> the notion of inclusion is equivalent with the assistance given in order to provide equal treatment for each individual independently of their features and opportunities. All individuals should receive equal treatment and have free choice and opportunities of participation. They should not live and work in a segregated place. Considering the social viewpoint, inclusion is an action for the protection of the rights of people with different abilities. This action means that the different ability is not treated as an illness, but as a relationship between the environment and the characteristics of a person. Judging from the legislative and political viewpoint, it means that the political community becomes more receptive about citizens of different origins without the drive to assimilate these people into a supposed ethnocultural unity.

In Spain inclusion is interpreted as an acceptance and appreciation of difference that belongs to the scope of basic human rights.<sup>43</sup> From the viewpoint of inclusion, heterogeneity does not count as an extraordinary phenomenon, but as a natural feature of human communities and societies. The notion of inclusion is understood as social acceptance. According to this, we may talk about a process that ensures access to material goods and other opportunities for every individual. This makes sure that they can fully participate in economic, social and political life. From this point of view, inclusion is strongly connected to the notions of integration, cohesion and social justice.

In Canada the 'inclusion network' has been organised for more than a decade.<sup>44</sup> Researchers, civil organizations and institutions from several countries have joined the network that deals with the promotion of inclusive practices in the forms of counseling, organizing conferences and individual developments. According to their definition, inclusion is about everybody and it is for everybody. It establishes a community and educates to live and work together with different people. It does not strive for eliminating differences or disabilities but reveals the individual abilities and facilitates their development in a

community. This network and the institutions, professionals associated with it do not view difference as a disadvantage, but as a chance, a positive feature. In their opinion inclusion is a basic condition of healthy, happy and successful life.

In the United States the notions of inclusion and diversity have been intertwined. In the notional usage integration was the predecessor here as well, inclusion became widespread later.<sup>45</sup> Compared to the European examples in the USA the acceptance of aboriginal or migrant groups as a social issue appears with more.<sup>46</sup> This is why the multicultural approach is prevailing here in the scientific publications and the institutional actions as well (Banks 1997, Torgyik 2008, Kymlicka 2012). These days the notion of Inclusive excellence manifests the four pillars diversity, equity, acceptance and excellence. (Williams–Berger–McClendon 2005). We will read about this new notion in one the following chapters.

Returning to the question of equality, we may conclude that there are groups and individuals in situations characterized by inequality in all societies. The measures and actions aiming at real equality and equity are implemented in order to reveal and offset the inequalities. These social interferences can only be productive if the society itself is becoming more and more receptive. The mutuality of this process is shown by the fact that the actions for equality and positive influence the shift towards a tolerant receptive society. It is important to stress, however, that during the process of development inclusion views the system of inequality from the point of the whole society. It creates an interpretational framework in which the reflexes of separation and segregation in the society are eliminated.

These days social inclusion is gradually complementing and replacing the notion of equality in scientific and political discourse owing to its complex and modern approach. We have seen in the historical review that the starting point of social inclusion was a series of content-wise interferences aiming at equality, which spread under the name of integration in the past decades. This term had to be modified because during the process of integration the expelled groups and individuals had to be accepted into a bigger group, such as the society. In this context, integration classifies people and it focuses on the people with a certain handicap and concentrates on their social integration. The notion of inclusion has brought a new approach. Opposed to integration, it shares the view that this type of

classification about „deficient groups” does not exist. Inclusion talks about a heterogenous group, where the common assertion gains momentum. We have also been able to observe that in the background of the change that replaced integration with inclusion there is a more democratic approach. This emphasizes the relationship of different groups and individuals with the principle of mutuality. The focus of reception is on the environment itself instead of the integrative process that expects the adaptation of the integrated. According to the view of social acceptance, co-existence will be successful if the environment is able to meet the needs and demands of all individuals to the appropriate extent. In other words, inclusivity primarily strives for making the eco-social environment receptive, putting interferences that prevent segregation into the focus.

*Complementing this approach with the content of its implementation, we will reach an interpretational framework that we can call inclusion (mutual acceptance). Inclusion is a consciously run social system of effects that counterweights exclusion and is able to prevent the expulsion and discrimination of groups and individuals. At the same time, it ensures access to social goods and opportunities. Inclusion is based on a view that is free of categorization, where mutual acceptance is a never ending process, constant work for an ideal when discriminative forces disappear in the society.*

### **Inclusive pedagogical environment**

One of the most important area of the social assertion of inclusion is education. According to its approach, a receptive and tolerant society is an essential source of community education. Education itself is more than schooling, it is an action with the community, in the community, for the community.<sup>47</sup> Similarly to the notion of inclusion, the approach referring to inclusive pedagogy varies from country to country. In the examined countries it is observable that in recent years the differences in approach have decreased considerably. We may also see plenty of examples about the practical implementation of inclusion. A brief survey of some countries will help us familiarize with the content and special features of inclusive pedagogy.

We will start from England and scrutinize the appearance of inclusive education. The starting point can be connected to a treaty accepted by the United Nations.<sup>48</sup> This treaty declared the right for all children that they should not suffer from any disadvantageous discrimination. As a consequence, it provided the legal basis and the opportunity for the acceptance of learners with special needs.<sup>49</sup> As we have discussed it in the previous chapter, inclusion in schools leads us back to the successful education of children with disabilities. According to the first definition, inclusive education meant that all children have the right to learn in the majority class where teachers and learners strive for eliminating the boundaries and obstacles that hinder children with special needs. As a result of this, students coming into the system with special needs can develop their abilities as valuable learners and may become creative members.<sup>50</sup> This approach, even if it focused on children with special needs at its beginnings, is principally different from the previous idea of integration that concentrated on the disadvantage of the learners and strived for assimilating them into the majority class. The basic principle of inclusive education is that learners participate in education according to their abilities. It is the duty of the school to accept all learners this way. (Armstrong 2001) Inclusive education aims at eliminating segregation and discrimination. It expands its target groups and declares that everybody has equal rights for education without discrimination based on abilities, gender, language, income, disability, sexual orientation, skin color, religion or ethnicity. (Potts 2002) It emphasizes that learning must be made more direct and understandable, especially for people endangered by exclusion. The necessary measures of educational policy are considered as parts of the inclusive process, together with the transformation of the curriculum, the school customs and school culture. It supposes that these changes would result in an ambiance where the interests of learners with different abilities would meet.<sup>51</sup> English researchers have also pinpointed that real acceptance might be prevented if inclusion only appears at the level of educational organizations, but contentwise it remains assimilative. The manifestation of assimilation in schools is the subject material, or maybe even a teaching style if it requires an exclusive acceptance of the ruling culture. According to the cited research in Birmingham, it is necessary to transform the assimilative approach in order to provide successful participation and inclusive development.<sup>52</sup>

In Germany inclusive pedagogy, as a branch of pedagogy, puts the emphasis on the appreciation and acceptance of human differences in education.<sup>53</sup> Inclusive pedagogy as a phenomenon expanded slowly. This could be explained by the basically selective structure of the German education system. In their interpretation inclusive pedagogy takes it for granted that students are different. It considers this as a rewarding fact and does not view it as a difficulty. In their enumeration human differences may manifest themselves in various ways such as different physical and intellectual abilities and skills, social, cultural, linguistic and ethnic background, sexual interest and political and religious convictions. They believe that inclusive pedagogy demands tolerance. This is manifested in mutual acceptance and esteem. According to this, all students are equal members of the community. Inclusive pedagogy does not divide students into groups and does not classify them (opposed to integrative pedagogy). In the approach of inclusive pedagogy we cannot talk about people with or without disabilities or people with or without learning difficulties. In the inclusive school the heterogeneous learner group is in the focus, which takes into account the individual characteristics of all students belonging to this student community. The most important building block in German inclusive pedagogy is the phenomenon of synthesis. According to this, it is not necessary to make space for the 'different' in schools but schools should be made inclusive. This also means that learning together and learning individually should be put in the appropriate educational framework. (Frühauf 2008)

In Austria inclusive pedagogy appeared as a new branch of pedagogy. Its main principle is diversity in education.<sup>54</sup> The advocates of inclusive pedagogy take it for granted that diversity is a general and natural fact. Their main principle is that they do not consider the child 'different'. According to their opinion, the learning group is the unity of many different children who all need some kind of support in a given way. Their pedagogical viewpoint is that the teacher needs to possess appropriate competencies so as to be able to work with all children. The most important task of inclusive pedagogy is to connect the formerly separate pedagogical disciplines and special didactics to form a general pedagogical system. This serves the aim of providing a receptive school ambience where all children feel good. To put it in another way, in the Austrian approach inclusive pedagogy focuses on maximal attention to the individual demands of children all through

the educational process. In order to achieve this, it is indispensable to have high teachers' competence so as to involve all children into the learning process (Luciak-Biewer 2011).

In France the notion of the inclusive school is founded on the ethical principle that declares the right of all children to go to a regular school. (Plaisance et al. 2007). This guideline is valid for all students with any kind of individual, social and cultural features. It does not rank children but strives for accepting difference and diversity. That is why it stresses that the school ambiance must be free of discrimination. It stresses that the curriculum and the applied methods have to take into consideration the individual differences of the learners in order to ensure successful education. It also affirms that several conditions are necessary for the evolution of inclusive schools. There is a basic difference compared to integration as regards the levels of establishing these conditions. In the case of integration these conditions depend on the children, as they are accepted to adapt to the schools and individual assistance is only provided if they have difficulties with the subject material. Inclusive education, however, expects changes from the schools, the establishment of an institution and community that is capable of taking into account the differences of the learners successfully, thus contributing to successful inclusion and learning success.

In Spain inclusive pedagogy appeared in close connection with the Declaration of Salamanca in the nineties. The Spanish starting was identical to the basic principle of the declaration, according to which the education system had to be reformed in a way so that it would meet the demands of all participants independently from their physical, intellectual, psychological, social, linguistic, or any other condition (UNESCO, 1994). In the Spanish view, inclusion is an approach that regards difference as a value, thus enriching the process of learning and teaching. In inclusive schools all children receive treatment according to their needs and the school also plays attention to those children who do not have special needs. It emphasizes that the traditional approach is based on the diagnostization of development, where a 'specialist' is commissioned to help the learner. Nevertheless, this learner takes part in this individually tailor-made process alone. The inclusive pedagogical approach, however, puts the institution into the focus and relates the specialities of the students to this. It develops tailor-made strategies for educators, but educates

the learner with special needs together with all the others in classroom settings, without separation. It wishes to give the opportunity of development and improvement for the learner in the normal educational process and setting. Practical implementation has several important pillars: the qualification and preparation of the educators, the involvement and general commitment of the whole environment in the educational institution and the educational setting, constant communication in various channels between teachers, learners and parents. Between schools and parents both formal and informal ways of communication are necessary.<sup>55</sup>

At the end of our survey on the development of inclusive pedagogy in Europe, it is worth mentioning a research project that inspected how the principles of the European Union about social cohesion and acceptance are present in the schools of the member states (Rutkowski–Rutkowski–Engel 2014). The study intended to reveal whether inclusive pedagogy strengthens the trust of immigrant children in the receptive country and promotes their participation in the society.<sup>56</sup> This research that involved 24 countries drew some important conclusions on the effects of the inclusive institution as regards the investigated question, both concerning the educational institutions and the social environment. It is worth noting that those first generation immigrants who arrived in their receptive countries with low levels of education and weak financial positions tend to have a notably more positive attitude towards their receptive countries compared to the second generation immigrants with better financial positions. It was also salient that this relationship was considerably influenced by the teacher-student relationship. Those students who reported a positive teacher-student relationship, believed that they had an influence over the direction of their life paths and they felt that they were active participants of school life. Consequently, they had deeper trust in the other institutions of the state and the society as well. This study apparently emphasizes the key role of the teachers about making immigrant children feel that they are also participants of the community. If this community functions according to the principles of inclusion, teachers are authentic representatives of the norms and values of the society. At the same time, children may find their place in this society with their brought values and their active involvement.

In the United States we may talk about inclusive education in connection with the notion of diversity. Even in the seventies, after the



end of the segregated education of Afro-American children, attention was paid to the necessity of developing a new attitude and practice for teaching heterogeneous student groups. In a later chapter we will discuss in detail the cooperative organization of learning that was developed in order to solve the problems experienced in integrated learning environments. The movement that managed to treat the appearance of diversity in schools successfully is based on the approach of multicultural education. Its practice during several decades proved to be an essential contributing factor to the evolution of open and cooperative cultures and communities (Banks 1997, Boreczky 1999, Forray–Czachesz–Lesznyák 2001, Torgyik 2004).

This volume cannot review the literature of multiculturalism in the past four decades and its relevance in connection with inclusion, as it would be the topic of a separate study. It is important to affirm, however, that inclusive education undoubtedly relied on the widespread experience of interculturality and extended its set of tools (Varga 2006). The contemporary literature with the approach of Inclusive Excellence emphasizes the importance of shaping and running diverse learning environments (Hurtado et al. 2012). This approach does not view a heterogeneous group as a problem that has to be solved, but realizes the opportunities inherent in this group and aims at taking advantage of them. It wishes to obtain this with the complete transformation of the environment where diversity receives its value and place and develops all the participants. It does not doubt, however, that during the classroom discourse in heterogeneous groups a lot of difficulties may arise and teachers and students should possess the appropriate cultural sensitivity and social competences that will be useful for them during their life paths in the future as well.<sup>57</sup> (Young-Davis-Russel 2014).

As we have already hinted at it before, the Hungarian professional literature also offers a wide range of sources for understanding inclusive pedagogy, especially in connection with children living with disabilities. The comprehensive volume with the title 'Befogadás, méltányosság, az inkluzív pedagógia rendszere' ('Acceptance, equity, the system of inclusive pedagogy') (Réthy E. 2013) offers a detailed review of the relevant scientific and practical experience gathered in the past 20 years, sticking to the scope of the children and learners with special educational needs. The author did not expand its scope of examination consciously since she had already completed the de-

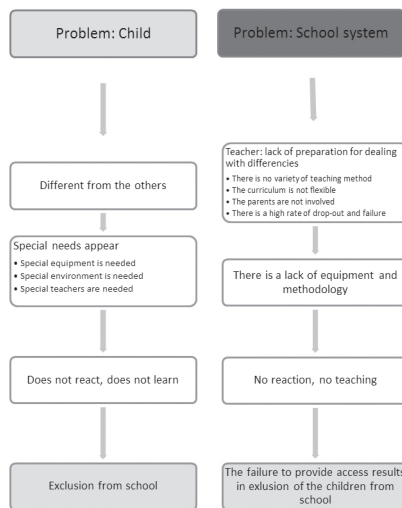
scription of the situation in the school environment for Roma/Gypsy children (Réthy 2004). In her presentation of the inclusive school education in 2004, the author suggested a change of paradigms in school strategies and practices from the previous way. This new theoretical approach, similarly to the English example in Birmingham and relying on examples of international experience, does not label and classify Roma/Gypsy students (with naming their differences and deficiencies), but proposes solutions to different educational demands with considering all the students as unique entities.

The basic assumption of the study is that the framework of organizing inclusive school services lies on the principle of heterogeneity. In its content there are key elements such as making a stand against expulsion. There must be an open and receptive ambience. Inclusive schools should offer all forms of co-operation (teacher-teacher, student-student, student-teacher, teacher-parent relations), activity-oriented educational forms (connected to children-centred and alternative pedagogical practices), differentiated education adjusted to individual demands, the application of various means of evaluation and the change in the traditional pedagogical roles (teacher, student, parental). The author also highlights that an inclusive school is a constantly developing system that could be described and evaluated from the viewpoint of quality by applying certain criteria. Among these criteria we should enumerate the extent of decentralization, the application of open institutional forms, a wide range of means in learning and teaching, the professionalism of the teaching staff and the school leadership, the inclusive interpretation of learner differences, constant quality improvement and the particularities of running the school (conditions, equipment, legal regulations, social environment). The study outlines the model of an inclusive school with an up-to-date, modern approach. Stressing the importance of asserting inclusion, it was the first study in Hungary to step further from the view that the first and most important target group of inclusive pedagogy should be the children living with disabilities.

In the next chapter we will see that in the period after the turn of the millennium the Hungarian educational policy started a system for the support of the co-education of learners with social disadvantages, the Integrative Pedagogical System. This showed a large overlap in its content and features with the criteria defined in connection with inclusive schools.

Before summing up the characteristics of the approaches to inclusive pedagogy in different countries, we should skim through an analyzing illustration (Graph 2), which presents two viewpoints reflecting the ideas of the professional community working for the UNESCO. In both cases, the unsuccessful student is in the focal point. According to the first, traditional approach, the problem originates from the learner. The second, modern approach draws attention to the deficiencies of the education system. The comparison reveals the difference between the two viewpoints saliently. The new viewpoint in the second column presents the approaches of acceptance and suggests a change of viewpoints through the focus of inclusion.

**Graph 2. Inclusion-centered approach of education**  
(forrás: UNESCO 2005:27.)



The graph was made in 2005, but the total breakthrough of the inclusive approach has not been realized up to our present days. A recent study discusses the approaches of inclusive pedagogy with the comparative analysis of the relevant basic works of the field and the results of a micro research project.<sup>58</sup> (Makoelle 2014a). The publication stresses that inclusive pedagogy does not have a commonly accepted

and extended interpretation of notions and this also has an effect on the practical implementation. This also means that some researches question the opportunity of providing 'complete inclusion', as the stable (accepted by consensus) theoretical and practical guidelines are still missing. The comparison below illustrates this situation based on two existing inclusive approaches and practices.

<b>The traditional strategy-oriented viewpoint of inclusive pedagogy</b>	<b>VIEWPOINT</b>	<b>The constructivist approach of inclusive pedagogy</b>
<p><b>Special demands:</b> The students receive personally tailored attention in the common school, just like in a special school</p>	<p><b>THEORETICAL APPROACH</b></p>	<p><b>Complete inclusion:</b> The teacher is able to react to each individual pedagogical need of each student</p>
<p><b>Strategy oriented:</b> The teacher has to know the strategies in connection with student with special needs</p>	<p><b>WELL-PREPARED TEACHERS</b></p>	<p><b>Creative and flexible education:</b> The teacher has to adapt to the changing context and take into account the demands of the students</p>
<p><b>Positivism-behaviorism:</b> A teacher who influences the behaviour of the students with appropriate strategies</p>	<p><b>FOCUS</b></p>	<p><b>Constructivism:</b> A student who advances through the individual learning process with active contribution</p>
<p>The problem is seen in the difference of the students and the solution is found in its correction</p>	<p><b>PROBLEMS</b></p>	<p>The problem is seen in the system and the solution is found in its transformation</p>
<p>Behaviorism influences the learner individually with the methods of differentiation but does not provide choice for the student. Passive-receptive learning memorizing student</p>	<p><b>METHODOLOGY</b></p>	<p>Application of a large variety of pedagogical methods (especially cooperative learning) that are embedded in the interactivity of the learners and result in involvement. Learning through discovery interpreting student.</p>

The author confirms that efficient inclusive pedagogy (or 'complete inclusion') means an approach with its corresponding means and activities that strive for participation in learning and total involvement, transforming the learning environment. Focus is shifted from the teacher who educates the child to the environment that is capable of reacting to the demands of the student successfully. This environment is shaped by the teacher and the student together with their inclusive approach and the applied methods. (Makoelle 2014a)

The guidelines of the UNESCO published in 2005 contributed to a shift towards a common approach and practice. These points summarized those professional, scientific and political ideas of the preceding period that were relevant in connection with inclusion and inclusive education. Among the cornerstones of the document it is evident that inclusion accepts diversity and it is not restricted to the reform of special education. Moreover, it does not only benefit the education of children with disabilities, but provides equal access to the process of education for everybody. Beyond the basic principles the document explains the essence of inclusive education in four points. It underlines that inclusion is a never-ending process that is capable of giving answers to the questions raised by diversity in the school environment. Inclusion also makes efforts to identify and eliminate the obstacles with gathering and evaluating information, planning new developments at the levels of everyday practice and professional politics. In the educational process inclusion brings presence (co-education), participation (successful learning experience) and performance (measurable results) for all learners. In its fourth dimension inclusion stresses that it pays special emphasis to children in danger of expulsion with ensuring their success in the education system (UNESCO 2005).

In order to continue with this development, the UNESCO published a collection of studies with a summary about a preceding conference series. The articles in this collection heavily relied on the guidelines elaborated in 2005. By updating them, they drew important conclusions that were necessary for further improvement. They declared their common suggestions<sup>59</sup> (UNESCO 2009) This proposal tells the member states to accept an educational policy containing a receptive approach (with appropriate planning, implementation, testing and evaluation) so as to accelerate the realization of the 'Education for All' programme and contribute to building a receptive society. They claim that the widening notion of inclusive education is the general concept for strengthening education in order to ensure sustainable development and equal access to lifelong learning. In their approach they state that the processes of inclusive education are directed towards providing quality education for everyone in a way that in the meantime they respect diversity and take into consideration the various needs and abilities. At the same time they incorporate the characteristics and learning requirements of the students and the

communities. Furthermore, they reject all forms of discrimination.

During this process they consider it a priority to make efforts against social injustice and poverty, as these make considerable obstacles in the realization of receptive strategies and educational policies. Solving these problems provide the framework for intersectional co-operations. Inclusive pedagogy has established 'child-friendly' school cultures and environments that promote efficient education and acceptance of all children. Moreover, these environments are healthy and protective. They take gender characteristics into consideration and encourage the active role and participation of students, their families and communities (UNESCO 2009:126). The recommendations give reference to practical tasks as well: they touch upon social politics, system-level interferences and connections, tasks of the students and the teachers, opportunities of international co-operation. It is apparent that there is a legitimate professional document that considers the necessity of inclusive education a fact and urges its implementation with guidelines and suggestions.

To conclude, it is important to pinpoint the common point of the previously outlined notional concepts, also considering the statements made by relevant documents of educational politics. According to this common focal point, mutual acceptance is not only a framework of educational organization, but is also a set of various interferences into the content of the learning environment (Corbett 2001, Ainscow 2004, Bárdossy 2006, Rutkowski–Rutkowski–Engel 2014).

*Due to this, inclusive pedagogy presupposes a system that starts with the recognition and appreciation of the differences between the students. It views the student as an independent personality in its complexity, among others with respect to social, cultural and individual features. The essence of inclusive pedagogy is the need and the ability to react successfully to the continuously changing demands and the originality evolving from the endless variations of personal features. The schools shaped according to this new concept continuously adapt to the learners in their daily practice with the transmitted subject material content and the applied teaching methods. At the same time, it relies on the identity, experience, knowledge, abilities of the students who attend it and involves the potential partners in the social environment. It is capable of continu-*

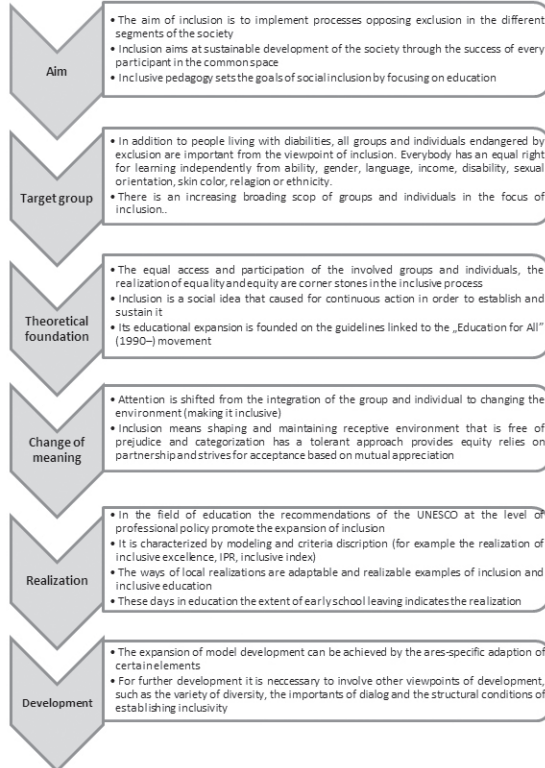
*ous renewal because it admits that without this it would be impossible to react to the changing demands.*

Based on the surveyed Hungarian and international literature it is obvious that the content of the notions connected to equal opportunities (equality, equity, inclusion, inclusive education) show increasing similarity in the inspected countries and international documents. This is due to the revelation that equal opportunities as a basic human right is a declared aim that demands a concrete system of means for its practical realization. In education this system of means could be summed up by the umbrella term 'inclusive pedagogy'. In the professional-pedagogical discourse it is unambiguously separated 'what' we would like to achieve (equal opportunities for everybody) and 'how' we intend to reach it (with tools of inclusive pedagogy).<sup>60</sup> At the same time, we may conclude that we agree with the definition created and declared by the 'Education for All' movement in 2005 and in the following we will accept this as the notion defining inclusion in the education system.

*„Inclusion is seen as a process of addressing and responding to the diversity of needs of all learners through increasing participation in learning, cultures and communities, and reducing exclusion within and from education. It involves changes and modifications in content, approaches, structures and strategies, with a common vision which covers all children of the appropriate age range and a conviction that it is the responsibility of the regular system to educate all children.” (UNESCO 2005:13.)*

As a summary of the chapter, Graph 3 summarizes the common statements of the surveyed viewpoints about inclusion and inclusive education.

**Graph 3. Inclusion these days**





## A research model of inclusivity<sup>61</sup>

In the following I will provide a process-level interpretation of inclusion, as a theoretical framework in order to make it adaptable for the analysis of practical everyday actions from the viewpoint of the equality of chances. Building on the foundation of the approach characterized by equal opportunities, and with the presentation of several educational models of inclusion I will summarize the input criteria of realizing mutual inclusion, the necessary conditions of maintaining inclusion and the features of successful realization at different points of the inclusive process. With this summary I would like to set the course for further steps that will tackle the issues of structural requirements for embedding inclusion, horizons of content and frameworks of society-level actions.

### **The interpretation of inclusion**

An essential evaluating factor of social activities is analyzing whether these activities serve the purpose of the mutual inclusion of the parties involved or they rather result in exclusion. The increasingly popular notion of inclusion as a social requirement needs refinement due to its widespread usage. As we have summarized it in several publications, this refinement is also overdue because the interpretation of inclusion has changed from several viewpoints in the past one and a half decades. (Forray–Varga 2011, Varga 2012, 2014a)

One salient change is that the scope of the individuals and groups in the focus of inclusive processes has expanded considerably. It is apparent that activities which implement inclusion successfully are expanding to each individual excluded from a certain segment of society owing to different reasons. (Hinz 2002, AACU 2005, UNESCO 2009) The groups threatened by exclusion are named by the documents that regulate a certain area and often define the methods of special attention as well.

In the European Union the Treaty of European Rights and the corresponding legal documents declare the prohibition of discrimi-

nation, provide equal treatment and determine the validity of the guidelines and the protected traits. (Handbook of the European Union 2011) The Law of Equal Treatment (Ebk tv)<sup>62</sup> as a fundamental legal document was created and accepted in Hungary following the principles of this document. The law defines in detail the basic criteria of providing the equal opportunities declared by the Constitution. It identifies those groups that must be paid special attention and names 19 protected traits. (Varga 2013)

Based on these laws the legal regulations and strategies concerning different areas identify the groups in danger of exclusion. The projects aimed at preventing and counterposing exclusion often redefine and expand the scope of the people and groups in the focus of inclusion. The participants of the SIS Catalyst international project use a wider interpretation. They created a new notion for identifying the target groups. The term LDM, Local Defined Minorities refers to the people belonging to minorities who could be excluded from local services and information.

The other change is that inclusion is interpreted not only as an educational policy but a policy on the level of the society (social inclusion), thus replacing the approach characterized by the notion of integration. (Percy–Smith 2000, Atkinson 2002, Kalocsainé–Varga 2005, Giambona–Vassallo 2012) This was further enhanced by the step that the European Union officially uses the term ‘social inclusion’ in its legal and strategic documents since the commencement of the Lisbon Strategy (2000).<sup>63</sup> In the background of the inclusive approach there is an increasingly democratic shift of mindset that might be best characterized by the notion of mutuality.

*To sum up the meaning of inclusion we may say that by inclusion we mean all those continuous and purposeful interferences that make the eco-social environment inclusive by preventing the exclusion of people in a given territory and providing them successful participation.*

### The model of inclusion

We agree with the scientific approach which defines inclusion as a never-ending process, a sequence of interferences made in the interest of mutual acceptance. Nevertheless, inclusion, as a social requirement is accessible at a given point by planned and purposeful actions. (Potts 2002) Due to these facts, it is essential to define those criteria of the separate periods in the system (input, process, output) that provide the basic conditions for inclusion.

Interpreting the set of criteria as a model is also capable of serving the purpose of examining the amount of inclusion, contributing to the processes of development.

**Graph 4.** *The system of inclusion*



### Input-criteria of equal opportunities and equity

We consider the policy of equal opportunities a basic requirement in democracies. The legal and social background and the inclusive approach of this condition have already been elaborated on in other publications (Varga 2013). As a summary we may claim that real social acceptance and inclusion could only be provided if the people living in the same setting of place and time realize and take into consideration the remaining inequality and handle them accordingly. It is apparent that unequal relation to those in position of equality would mean disadvantageous position for certain individuals and would result in their exclusion. It is also obvious that the most considerable differences between people exist in the socio-economic sphere, both in connection with the access to socio-economic goods and the ways

of gaining access to these socio-economic goods. Among the causes of this there are factors such as the differences in the ownership of capital (including symbolical capital as well), or the varying social reputation of gender, racial-ethnic groups or handicapped people.

A double approach may be revealed in connection with the input criteria of inclusion. The first one emphasizes the provision of equal access, in other words equal treatment as a social minimum. Equal treatment enables the prevention of outcasting certain people and groups from the access to opportunities available in the society. Equality in our context means an opportunity provided so that different individuals and groups together with other groups in the same space would obtain access to information, activities, services and resources in the same way and to the same extent.

The other approach underlines that the exclusion of disadvantageous discrimination is an essential, but not sufficient condition of the implementation of real equality. In the process of ensuring minimal conditions it is imprescindible to take into consideration the differences in the society and it is indispensable to take actions, measures that would establish access to all opportunities for everybody at the level of the whole society, including groups and individuals in disadvantaged position.

*To sum up, the input criterion of inclusion is accomplished if it can be proved that in the process of inclusion in the inspected area the criteria of equal opportunities and equity have been taken into consideration in connection with all individuals.*

### **The process-the system aiming at providing inclusion<sup>64</sup>**

In the United States the notion of inclusion referred to people belonging to groups of different culture and ethnicity in connection with diversity. Considering its approach, it resembled the European attempts at integration. (Williams et. al. 2005) However, relevant sources now interpret diversity in a more complex dimension. The scope has also been expanded to further groups threatened by exclusion. Individual differences such as social status, racial/ethnic belonging, gender/sexual orientation, gender identity or its expression, political or religious commitment also belong here.

Recently a new notion has appeared in the United States, with special reference to higher education. 'Inclusive Excellence', IE goes further than the notion of inclusion. The content of the notional development is similar to the difference between integration-inclusion, stressing that diversity and excellence cannot be separated. Regarding its content, this kind of institutional improvement is called excellent inclusion where in addition to the equal participation and access, the environment becomes 'friendly' as a result of conscious changes. As a consequence of this, the measurable success is valid for everyone and the transformation process brings about a quality change for the individual, the community and for the institution as well.

The Inclusive Excellence pools the knowledge gained through plenty of research projects and theories primarily in the field of education. This knowledge mainly concerns the mission and institutional practice of education. The novelty of IE is that it incorporates its four basic pillars, namely diversity, equity, inclusion and excellence into one notion. IE presumes that the excellence of a certain institution (quality indexes) basically depend on whether it is capable of reaching the active participation of all individuals and groups into the cooperative processes, relying on their knowledge and aiming at their excellent individual performance.

Another important feature of Inclusive Excellence is that it requires interferences based on various viewpoints in terms of content and structure as well. The details of these received publicity together with the creation of the notion. The system of the IE is summarized by a recommendation of the AACU (Association of American Colleges and Universities), containing the research results, theoretical models and strategic recommendations of the researchers dealing with this topic. (Milem et al. 2005, Williams et al. 2005, Bauman et al. 2005) The model of Inclusive Excellence has four basic elements.

1. The first one puts the emphasis on the development of the intellectual and social competences of the students. The best opportunity provided for implementing this during higher education is the variety of different courses. These courses ensure the individual improvement of the students with new content and methods together with the integration of diversity into the educational environment.
2. The second basic element is the purposeful development and uti-

lization of the organizational resources in order to enhance learning. A kind of environment has to be provided where reaching a high scientific level is an attainable challenge for all students. This way each and every student of the campus would contribute to the improvement of learning and knowledge.

3. According to the third point students with different cultural backgrounds have to bring in their educational experience, thus enhancing new ways of thinking. In order to achieve this, an open and tolerant ambience is essential where the approach of appreciating diversity ensure the value articulation and its integration into the institutional curriculum.
4. Finally, the last element is the provision of 'friendly' communities, where all types of diversity are included in the available services and organized learning forms. The educational environment has to be rearranged and staff members have to be continuously trained so as to achieve this goal. (Milem et al. 2005:7)

The proposed strategic model for higher education defines IE in the following way: Diversity is a key element of the comprehensive strategy that aims at achieving institutional excellence. One of the essential, but not exclusive conditions of this is the academic/scientific excellence of all students. All of those coordinated efforts that help students with various forms of improving intercultural skills in order to ensure successful inclusion in the multicultural society are indispensable. (AACU 2005)

According to the guidelines of the AACU recommendation in 2005, a large number of higher education institutions created their locally specific strategies of implementing Inclusive Excellence and launched projects for putting the theory into practice. The AACU stressed its commitment to Inclusive Excellence in 2013. (AACU 2013) The local strategies of IE are available for the public on the homepages of the universities. Their number has apparently increased in recent years. We may also read about projects on these webpages that reveal that elaborating on an IE strategy is not only a theoretical standpoint of the university, but also there are concrete steps taken for practical implementation.<sup>65</sup>

The inclusivity of higher education has come into focus in Europe in the past decade, aiming at those groups who are statistically underrepresented in this field. Women, ethnic minorities, groups of low

eco-social status, educationally underprivileged people or migrants were paid special attention. The European Access Network (EAN) coordinates all those initiatives in higher education that focus on the unity of access, equity, diversity and inclusion. (Cooper 2010) At the annual conferences of this organization the participants evaluate the model-based experience and results of development together with extension plans in the European countries. Initiatives from countries in other continents (Canada, Australia) are also presented. (Cooper 2010, 2011) They emphasize that these developments are in close connection with the principles of the Lisbon strategy of the Council of Europe and the educational aims declared by it. According to this document the European Union has to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy of the world. A key element of this strategy is the policy of equal opportunities and the prevention of social exclusion with a society becoming increasingly inclusive. (Lowery 2012)

The approval of the Lisbon Strategy in 2000 also encouraged the European countries to expand the notion of inclusion to a larger scope both in connection with the target groups and the areas of relevance. (Varga 2010, Réthyné 2013) England, among the first, started complex experiments aiming at inclusion with the transformation of the educational systems of a whole settlement with an additional action research. (Potts 2002) Also in this country, the proposal of a model was born based on the experience gained from the inclusive education of disabled learners. This model contains a description of the necessary conditions and steps for making an educational institution inclusive.<sup>66</sup> (Booth–Ainscow 2002)

1. In the first dimension there are two stages of forming the inclusive approach. The starting point is community building, the establishment and consensual acceptance of the inclusive values. It is important that this approach should not only appear within the institution, but it should have an influence on the social environment as well.
2. The next dimension aims at planning inclusive programmes. The first step is making a 'school for everybody'. It is essential that all the staff members and the learners of the school are involved in the common activities. All actions should be supported that help reacting to the individual needs in a diverse environment.

3. The third dimension is the organization of daily practice, the planning of the learning process and the mobilization of resources. The lessons and educational activities of the institution should require the usage of relevant methodology that may enable the educators to deal with the diverse individual needs of the learners. The model calls for support from educators, learners, parents and the local community in order to make the learning process more resourceful.

This model also introduces the notion of the 'Inclusive Index', which provides a self-evaluating support for the process of providing inclusion. This process is a continuous development that should be based on the analysis of the situation. The index depicts a view of the functioning of the institution in a way that it examines the three dimensions necessary for developing inclusion. All these three dimensions are about the institution: creating the approach, the elaboration of the projects and the organization of the everyday practice. (Booth–Ainscow 2002:16) From the detailed inspection criteria (indicators) given as parts of the dimensions it is easy to see what conditions are considered essential by the authors of the Index for the establishment and maintenance of inclusive environment. (Booth-Ainscow 2002:50-53) Though the model basically deals with the original target group of inclusion (handicapped people), its system is worth examining because it could be used for the development of other institutions having the objective of the successful inclusion of other groups. The Index does not refer to the measurement of the results of the students, it takes success for granted as a consequence of the establishment of inclusion.

The notion and practice of inclusion appeared in the context of handicapped school students in Hungary as well. (Pethő 2003, Réthyné 2004) The changes in the educational policy after the turn of the millennium expanded the focus of successful methods and pedagogical interferences into other groups. In 2003 the IPR, Integrative Pedagogical System commenced its activities so as to ensure the inclusivity of the environment of socially disadvantaged learners.<sup>67</sup> From the viewpoint of educational organization IPR is integrative ('learning together'), whereas content-wise its approach is inclusive. (Arató–Varga 2004)



1. In the case of its introduction the IPR requires the formation of heterogeneous student groups both within the school and between schools and the elimination of any possibly existing segregation. It also demands the establishment of a widespread partnership (including the families) so that the social environment of the institution would also contribute to the development of mutual acceptance, consequently, making the institution itself more inclusive.
2. In addition to the input criteria, the IPR determines a set of requirements about teaching and learning.<sup>68</sup> The pedagogical process defined by these criteria calls for an inclusive approach, the relevant professional skills and subject material content as requirements of successful inclusion. At the same time it stresses the importance of tailor-made learner-specific development processes and the horizontal cooperations between the learners, the families and the educators.
3. As an outcome it demands 'success data' from the institutions every year, indicators of the results based on the criteria of inclusion. IPR, similarly to the models mentioned before, considers its activity as a continuous process of institutional development that aims at changing the environment, thus facilitating the successful inclusion of the target group. These indicators measure direct results such as the level of inclusivity, or indirect indicators like the data about the results of the learners participating in the inclusive process. (Arató–Varga 2012)<sup>69</sup>

The introduction and widespread expansion of IPR was further facilitated by the application of the theoretical principles and the practical tools of cooperation within the institutions and at system-levels as well. This paved a way for a new opportunity of making the inclusive approach deeper and more lasting (Arató 2013). The study in connection with the theoretical background of IPR also deals with the basic principles of cooperation, which structurally facilitate the creating and running of an inclusive space providing equity<sup>70</sup>. In addition to this, the study refers to the three basic characteristics of quality education, effectiveness, efficiency and equity (inclusion), similarly to the theory of Inclusive Excellence. (Varga 2006)

*The list of the highlighted initiatives is not complete, it only serves the purpose of showing how the approach and practice of inclusion is becoming gradually more and more widespread. In the following we will use the approach and content of the Inclusive Excellence in order to give an overview of the criteria of establishing inclusive environment. Moreover, we will take into account several Hungarian and English experiments of creating inclusive school ambience. Relying on these examples and complementing them enabled us to define the necessary conditions for the successful treatment of diversity in a given environment. (Graph 5 )*

**Graph 5.** System-management conditions of inclusion



### **The process: system-management conditions aiming at inclusion**

In the following we will treat one by one the conditions that are considered indispensable for the successful realization of inclusion. In the listing we will elaborate on the general content of the conditions, concrete examples will not be mentioned. We will also highlight in which models and how the given condition appears. In addition to the general conditions we will set the course for actions increasing the amount of inclusion. We would like to emphasize that inclusion should be interpreted as a continuous series of actions aiming at in-

creasing the amount of mutual inclusion with its focus on developing specific elements of the environment.

***1. The space reflecting diversity: the material environment***

It manifestly and latently conveys a message to the participants about their position and opportunities. By 'friendly' ambience we mean whether the functionally designed environment is characterized by openness and acceptance. During the process of arranging the environment usually the demands of handicapped people are taken into consideration, following the principles of equal opportunities. This is an inescapable condition from the viewpoint of providing access to goods and services for certain groups. However, in connection with the inclusive environment another requirement should be highlighted. The given space should be inclusive and 'owned' by everybody. The function of the given space determines how the personal demands and openness, tolerance are reflected in its arrangement. It is possible that the managers of the space shape the environment in order to make it friendly for the users, recognizing their demands and necessities. Nonetheless, an environment becomes mutually inclusive if all the participants are given the opportunity to participate in arranging and running the communal space. Free, open, accessible areas and tools generating mutual cooperation are needed for inclusive environment. The participants shape the features of the environment and establish the rules of its management. The environment created based on these principles results in a touchable reality of multilingual and cultural diversity, explicitly featuring all the values and requirements of its creators.

This requirement does not appear as a separate element in the description of the examined inclusive models, it is only hinted at in connection with other elements.<sup>71</sup> In spite of this, we consider it important to include it in the framework of our model outlined here, as it is a practical experience that the material environment of inclusive environment also goes through a change.<sup>72</sup> In other words, inclusion can be measured through the material environment regardless of whether the given conditions were restructured consciously or the environment changed as a result of the sequence of inclusive actions.

## ***2. The appreciation of diversity: the inclusive approach***

The cornerstone of inclusion is accepting that variety is a value. This principle has to be caught up in the spirit of all participants at all levels. This approach is observable in the positive attitude of those in the common space, pushing the negative stereotypes into the background. The basic theoretical principle is that the values in diversity have an enriching effect on all the participants in the common space. Research has proven that the tolerant approach results in inclusive environment if it is accompanied by active actions with scheduled place and content in the given community. The inclusive attitude becomes inherent in the diverse environment if the environment shows a similar approach (values, norms, behavior). A conscious development is essential as well, evaluating individual experience together could be a possible form of it.

The inclusive approach appears in the examined models in different ways. Inclusive Excellence treats it as part of the institutional ambience, using the notion of 'psychological ambience' in reference to the attitude and approach of the individuals. It points out that the individual attitudes become embedded in the history and structure of the institution. Its quality strongly depends on the strength of the values and norms in a given institution. (Hurado et al. 1998)

One of the three corresponding dimensions of Inclusive Index is the establishment of an inclusive approach. The Index emphasizes that from the three dimensions the 'common inclusive values' as basis lead to the shaping of the other dimensions. Realizing the importance of this cannot be underestimated. This model suggests community development and the creation of inclusive values in order to form the approach. The IPR is slightly different from the other two models, as it is a system put into a legal framework and cannot contain explicitly the requirement of the problematically measurable approach. It is well-known, however, that the projects aiming at the implementation of IPR put considerable emphasis on the development of the attitudes of the educators. The relevant studies have also shown that there was a significant move towards the inclusive environment where the inclusive approach became manifest in the mission of the institution and it also had a positive effect on the attitude of the educators. (Varga 2014b)

### ***3. In interaction with diversity, the competence of the project makers***

Two types of competence should be distinguished. The area-specific competence of the creators of the inclusive space and its extent determines the level and quality of the services that the participants may receive. This type of competence takes into consideration the qualifications and experience gained for education in schools. The other type provides an overview about the possession of skills necessary for handling diversity. Without this the inclusive approach remains at the level of 'good intentions'. In addition to the knowledge of the tools at a high level, usage on a regular daily basis is an important viewpoint, as this might guarantee the successful treatment of diversity.

The examined models do not inspect the competence of the project makers directly. Instead, they mention it as a requirement of the planned actions, emphasizing primarily the competences in connection with handling diversity. This way, the model of Inclusive Excellence describes the pedagogical approach as part of the 'behavioral dimension' of the institutional context. The Inclusive Index refers to it in a similar way: its features contain the required pedagogical actions. It only hints at the necessary pedagogical competence with a general statement. The IPR does not go into detail about required qualifications and practical knowledge either, but requires concrete methods of teaching-learning (differentiation, project, cooperative learning, etc.) in the inclusive space. It should be stressed, however, that through the process of practical implementation the models are complemented by elements that serve the purpose of improving the competence of the implementors and making their practice more inclusive. The national expansion of IPR was supported by a complex service system for almost a decade. This coordinated the vertical and horizontal cooperation of the institutions through the personal inclusion of the participants in order to make the local developments successful and open to the public. (Arató 2003)

#### ***4. Understanding and facilitating the individual ways: taylor-made contents and actions***

The approach of the inclusive space appreciates and highlights the importance of diversity. Based on this, it should be taken for granted that for successful inclusion the environment has to take into account the individual characteristics, demands and requirements. During the process of inclusion diversity becomes involved in the contents, highlighting the differences of the participants in this process. The experience gathered in the area of interculturality could be extremely helpful in connection with this area. Besides the content, the actions will also be characterized by diversity. This will result in the presence of various, diverse forms of learning and behavioral patterns in the daily life of the institution. This will provide sweeping quality changes regarding the one-viewpoint approach of content and action. The institution will come closer and seem more accessible, 'friendly' to those who often used to be excluded owing to the unfamiliar contents and actions. At the same time it will enrich those who have managed to cope with the contents and actions in the institutional space, but were distant from the knowledge and actions offered by diversity.

The above mentioned behavioral dimension of Inclusive Excellence lists the potential opportunities of presenting diversity (interactions between different groups, diversity in the classroom and in the institution) that are basic requirements of the inclusive institutional ambience. In addition to this, it focuses on the presence of diversity in the formal and informal curriculum (courses and other university programmes). It stresses that the learning experience of the students in a diverse environment makes the participants sensitive to the appreciation of diversity. The 'programme' and 'practice' dimensions of the Inclusive Index contain those criteria that refer to the existence and quality of the individually taylor-made contents and actions. It is worth considering these criteria in detail. It is also advisable to adapt the measures developed for their evaluation because this is the particular strength of the model. The set of tools of learning-teaching used by the IPR touches upon the contents of subject material at one point: it requires the incorporation of intercultural contents into the school programmes. The other tools aim at the provision of individual treatment, organization of studies and wide-range development of competence.

### ***5. Providing inclusion through cooperation: net of partnership***

The viewpoint of partnership emphasizes the importance of cooperation between individuals, groups and institutions inside and outside the inclusive space. It refers to inclusion as a horizontal viewpoint that does not appear in isolation, but characterizes all the segments of the common space. The concrete role of the participants in the common space determines what type of individual responsibility falls upon each and every one of them during the implementation of inclusion. This individual responsibility sets the limits of the opportunities and at the same time outlines the scope of the people potentially involved in cooperation in order to provide service in the areas beyond the action sphere.

The Inclusive Excellence primarily describes the system of interior cooperation, presenting in detail the levels of individual (student, teacher, other employee) and institutional (department, faculty, leadership) activities. It emphasizes that inclusion should be present in all individuals and organizational levels. The Inclusive Index deals with the necessity of an interior and exterior partnership and lists these at the dimension of the inclusive approach. The community development segment of this dimension enumerates the types of this interior partnership (student-student, teacher-teacher, teacher-student) and external partnership (family, other schools and organizations). The IPR requires guarantees of the partnership at three points. A compulsory condition of introducing IPR is an external partnership declared in the framework of a treaty of cooperation. A regular workshop-based developing work of teachers is a part of the framework of the pedagogical tools. Certifying the partnership with the families is an inspected factor of the implementation of the programme.

### ***6. Understanding the messages of intercultural challenge: continuous innovation***

The possession of a strategy of development is a condition of creating an inclusive environment. This strategy has to be elaborated on based on the results of an analysis carried out according to the criteria of inclusion. This comprehensive plan has to cover all the segments. The local strategy has to be adjusted to the relevant strategies of field-politics as it describes its implementation at the local insti-

tutional level. An additional feature is that it is not interpreted as a one-time interference, but a continuous innovation accompanied by continuous measurement and evaluation with the mobilization of all the available resources. With the elaboration and implementation of these strategies the conscious and continuous purpose of creating and maintaining an inclusive environment is achievable.

All the three models lay great emphasis on the question of innovation. The Inclusive Excellence defines the strategy of development as part of the organizational, structural dimension and stresses the importance of the continuous progress. The goal of the creators of the Inclusion Index was the institutional development and the support of continuous innovation with the help of the criteria defined by the model. The legal regulating document of IPR contained a document called 'Roadmap of Introduction' for a long time. It mapped the route for the local introduction of the IPR setting the strategic and practical actions in two-year periods.

### **Output-evaluation criteria valid for all participants**

An inherent part of the inclusive process is the situation that we may observe about the extent of inclusion and the success of becoming inclusive at specific points of the development process.

In the European Union there is a continuous assessment of the extent and trends of social inclusion in connection with the strategic plans of the Union and their evaluation. These are fundamentally system-level measurements that are carried out with the assessment of certain criteria reflecting social inclusion (poverty, residential conditions, labour market, schooling data of the Eurostat) and weighed data plus calculations based on these about the situation of each and every member country. (Robila 2006, Giambona–Vassallo 2013)

Different criteria and methods of measurement should be used if we intend to focus on the results at the level of institutions and not at macro-levels. The starting point of the selected criteria and calculations must be the vision of the given institution. This vision is formed according to the function of the institution, and its goals are declared based on this. The results provide numerical information about the extent to which these goals are achieved. In the case of an institution on the way of becoming inclusive the investigation is



necessary at three points: input (taking into account the viewpoints of providing equal chances), the process (actions during the course of development) and the output (realization of the institutional function). The results of different areas reflect the viewpoint of inclusion only if the obtained data is valid for everybody in the inclusive space. Of course, this in itself would not mean the success of inclusion, the results should be compared to existing or required macro-level (national or international) data as well.

As a summary, we termed the appropriate principles of evaluating inclusivity and the results of the concrete measurements carried out based on these 'Inclusive Excellence Index', (IEI). The IEI provides a comprehensive view about the extent of individual success with reference to an institution. In addition to the outcome success rate it presents the relevant data at the point of admission and the data measured at various points of the process. These are not absolute values featuring in themselves, but comparative values in the context of macro-data. The IEI obtained this way is a comparative index that encourages the participants of the institution under scrutiny to analyse the background of the IEI value. If their IEI is low, they are supposed to reveal the causes that hinder inclusion and commence change. In the case of high IEI they should pay attention to the ways of maintaining the success. The Index could be used for comparing the inclusivity of institutions with the same profile.

All the three models discuss the data of success when having their purposes and target groups under scrutiny. The models aim at areas of education and use measurements at different points. They consider it an achievement if students with different backgrounds may enter the system with similar chances (input), their advancement in the learning processes is also successful and all of them finish with acceptable results and have the opportunity to step further and gain admission into institutions of higher levels (output). Some models also take into consideration the data of country average, and require that the indexes about student success exceed the national (country) average or at least should be near them. The models regard the extent of inclusion in the environment, stressing the difficulty of measuring these areas. Based on the measurement methods of the investigated models we sum up our proposal about the measurable features (using the IEI) of advancing towards inclusion in the specific slots of the system.

The index of the input provides data about gaining access to the given area, regardless of background. In the institutions of compulsory education it means that segregation does not appear in any form and participants learn in integrated settings. In connection with higher education the success of inclusive input means that there are access conditions and opportunities that support those that are underrepresented in higher education. There are various ways of this supportive practice in different countries. (Heagney 2012)

As for the evaluation of the process, the advancement of the target groups is under particular scrutiny. The process could be considered successful if the results of the participants in the common space reflect similarity regardless of individual background and show correlation with national and international target data. It is indispensable to carry out target group-based efficiency testing and evaluation of the process because during its course there is still room for correction and improvement, especially if lack of success is apparent from the obtained data. The process of inclusion should also be investigated from the viewpoint of the accepting environment. The measurement of the system management conditions may serve this purpose, as all three models have made attempts at this type of investigation.

Scrutinizing the output seems to be the most painless as all the three models use it for gathering data about success. In the case of educational institutions the notes of the students could be assessed, but we should also stress the importance of evaluating the data of advancement (moving to higher education, ability to find a position in the labour market).<sup>73</sup> In case of success there is little difference neither within the institution nor between the institutions in connection with the background of the students. It is problematic to measure, but inevitable to make an effort about gathering information about the extent to which the participants managed to interiorize diversity as a value. Putting acts of behaviour under scrutiny might be a viable method in this area.

*It is salient that the index of inclusive excellence referring to an institution is made up of several comparative indexes that describe the given institution according to the areas and viewpoints described above. The elements of the index are supposed to map the way for further action in the development of inclusion. The index is an appropriate tool for making comparisons about institutions with similar objectives.*

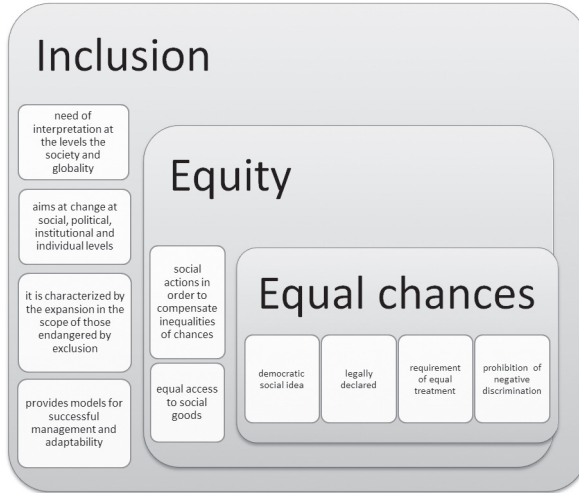
### **Summary of the model**

We made an attempt at presenting inclusion according to system-based principles, focusing on the area of education. For our presentation we made three models in practice. These particular models were dealt with and taken as examples from the wide-range of professional publications due to their different, but comprehensive approach to the investigated topic. A common and general framework of interpretation was created so that it would be appropriate for outlining a model of inclusion in the course of input, process and output. The parts of the framework of interpretation are the inclusive approach, the purposeful actions and the measurable results, and their development-oriented measurement and evaluation.

A recent volume of studies has shown the correlations between diversity, social justice and inclusive excellence based on the latest research data. It presents experience of different countries, highlighting global challenges and global issues of diversity. (Asumah–Nagel 2014) It is salient that the scope of questions in connection with inclusivity appears in more and more fields with the realization that mutual acceptance provides a successful solution in different segments of the society.

This effort of modelling served the purpose of providing a systematic, adaptable framework of the increasing experience in the field of education and the theoretical approaches in the background. One of the reasons for this is the fact that the scientific workshop operating adjacent to the teacher training programme of the University of Pécs considers inclusion as a key factor in its theoretical framework of interpretation. For this scientific community the model-based description of inclusive environment facilitates the description of further viewpoints. Among these the structural conditions of creating inclusion (subsidiarity, cooperativity), the many-sidedness of diversity (horizons of content) and the necessity of dialogue (forms of social action) are present. The detailed elaboration of these complements the described theory and practice of inclusion and only in connection with this the permanent, long-lasting success of inclusion could be guaranteed.

**Graph 6. System of inclusion**



## Inclusion in practice

In the following chapter we will show opportunities of providing inclusivity in five different areas.

The practical examples reflect the experience accumulated in my research work during the previous years. This selection of examples would like to encourage readers to find and present other areas where developing and maintaining inclusivity is essential from the viewpoint of successful co-existence.

First, we will review the list of Hungarian system-level measures that strive for providing equality of chances in education. By outlining these measures, we will be able to assess the offer of the education system for providing equality with the intention of affecting the target group in focus and the supportive institutions, both vertically and horizontally. The analysis of the actions that are carried out for providing equity and compensating for the deficiencies will show whether the offered system of services could be considered inclusive. This will be complemented by an analysis that will assess the situation of a chosen target group in Hungary from the viewpoint of equal chances by relying on the relevant statistical data and legal framework.

In the second example, a detailed research will take us to the field of child protection and state child care. Based on statistical data and the opinions of the leaders of the social sector, this study will show the disadvantages that children growing up without families may suffer from without the support of an inclusive system. It will inspect the practice of those counties that prove to be more successful than others with the methodical tools of regional researches.

This will be followed by a part that will analyze primary schools and present how the approach of inclusion is put into practice. We will see how it affected the progress of socially underprivileged, mostly Roma/Gypsy students. The presented study will conduct its analysis and make its proposals for development using the theoretical framework of the model of inclusion discussed in the previous chapter.

According to the results of the action research that will be outlined in the fourth part, the teacher training method characterized

by an inclusive approach and methodology manages to change the approach and methodology of practising teachers. The teachers who took part in this experience gained knowledge about methodical tools of pedagogy in order to implement inclusive education successfully.

Finally, we will move into the field of higher education so as to familiarize with an inclusive community with the analysis of a Roma student college and its features, together with the inclusive way of involving college students into scientific life. This will be supplemented by the comparison of the viewpoint system in resilience research and the criteria of inclusion.

### **Inclusion in educational policy**

This chapter will deal with situations of disadvantage and multiple disadvantage in connection with social position that appear in the field of education. It will highlight the currently discussed ideas about the legal approach of the notion, the current situation and the interventions of educational policy. Firstly, the scientific viewpoints about the research on the group of learners in focus will introduce the topic. After that, we will have an analysis about the changes of definitions in the legal framework in 2013. A short summary will be included about the professional dilemmas concerning these alterations in the legal setting (that occurred even before the modification of the legal basis).<sup>74</sup>

The statistical analysis of the following part will describe the educational situation of underprivileged learners by reviewing the relevant macro-statistical data about the period between 2000 and 2014, highlighting the apparently problematic areas. In connection with this, the measures of the educational policy will be presented as actions aiming at inclusion, hinting at the opportunities of further development. The primary target groups in our focus are children and learners with social underprivilege and in some cases learners coming from Roma/Gypsy families. The purpose of this summary on professional policy is to describe facts and correlations that are widely known, but viewing them together may provide a better basis for making proposals so as to achieve improvement.

### ***Approach to the target group***

In several recent publications on the role of the educational policy in providing equality we may read about the measures taken in connection with underprivileged people and/or the Roma/Gypsy minority (Forray–Pálmainé 2010, Forray 2011). These evaluations highlight the dilemma of the professional policy that has been a central issue of debate for decades: Who are the target groups of this supportive system? It is easy to see that a situation of social disadvantage calls for different, in some cases opposing services than that of belonging to an ethnic minority.

Whereas the social position primarily demands actions that compensate for disadvantage, belonging to an ethnic minority calls for services that strengthen the existing cultural and linguistic values and make them parts of the identity. It cannot be debated (and it also has been proven by scientific research) that appertaining to both groups at the same time cause social disadvantage that strengthen each other, as it has been pointed out by the theory of intersectionality (Vincze 2012, Neményi 2013). This is why it is crucially important to separate the two group features, as blurring them may easily lead to false conclusions and interventions.

The scientific research projects in connection with the Roma minority examine this definitive dilemma. A study has been published recently that analyses the approaches to the Roma/Gypsy minority from definitive and action-oriented viewpoints, surveying the framework treaty of the European Council on the protection of ethnic minorities.<sup>75</sup> The author highlights that he agrees with the proposal of the Parliamentary Assembly of the European Council that encourages member states to view the Roma/Gypsy minority as a 'national minority' having the rights declared by the framework treaty, and not only as a 'group with social disadvantage' (Medda–Windischer 2011).

This dual approach has been pinpointed by the study reviewing the European community development programmes from the viewpoint of the Roma/Gypsy minority. (Torgyik 2012) The publication that surveyed the policy in connection with the Roma minority in several European countries also affirms that the mixture of the two approaches in different proportions is observable in all the inspected countries and there is not any country where only one of the approaches would prevail exclusively. (Forray–Kozma 2010) This duality

also characterizes the 'Roma strategy' of the European Union where the Roma minority and poverty appear in the same set of questions, meaning 'that the problems of the Roma minority are actually the problems of poverty'. (Forray 2011:62). All of the cited studies note at the level of definitions that basically the category of underprivilege is used according to the legal criteria. However, they pay special attention to Roma/Gypsy learners, even if there is no legal basis for this and this categorization is essentially controversial.

This definitive duality has been assessed by a study that scrutinized the situation in nine countries. The aim of the researchers was to put those factors into spotlight that negatively affect the school progress of the so-called 'apparent minorities' such as immigrants or Romani (Neményi 2013:3). This research dealt with the disadvantages deriving from the social conditions of the group. At the same time, they discussed the discrimination resulting from belonging to an ethnic minority. As a summary, the research report states that the results confirmed previous research experience according to which 'there are significant inequalities between the educational conditions of the second generation immigrants and the Roma learners compared to the conditions of the learners belonging to the majority.' (Neményi 2013:5) The investigation lists the significant social, economic and cultural factors that intensify the existing practices of educational selection. This selection prevails according to the discriminative pursuits of the society and the responses that the minority group gives to these drives. The study also raises attention to the fact that the political will that intends to improve the conditions is often hindered by the practical manifestations of majority will in the society.

Similarly, an analysis in Hungary that surveyed the issue of equality in connection with people living in deep poverty or belonging to the Roma/Gypsy minority was conducted based on two group features. The reason for this approach is that the legal document that defines the target groups in connection with equality, the law on equal treatment, refers to these not completely overlapping groups together. The authors point out that 'this is blurring the ethnic and social dimensions and regarding all problems resulting from social exclusion as a 'Gypsy question'. It is not true that all people living in deep poverty belong to the Roma/Gypsy minority. However, it is plausible to state that the life of the Romani is considerably more difficult due to the assertion of latent and open dimensions of discrimina-



tion, regardless of the problem of deep poverty.’ (Cserti Csapó–Orsós 2013:99)

This duality revealed by research also manifests itself in policy-making and the public discourse as well. It is characteristic that socially underprivileged and Roma/Gypsy are used as synonyms in many contexts. Cultural identity and social disadvantage are blurred, as if poverty was a characteristic of all members of this culturally identifiable, complex and diverse group, the Roma/Gypsy minority. This approach was identifiable in education as well, even until the last decade. There has been no acceptable solution to this problem in spite of the legal definition in 2002. These days there are widespread services in order to improve the educational situation of underprivileged, disadvantaged groups. In case of the Gypsy minority, however, educational policy-making only focuses on cultural identity and leaves the disadvantages caused by discrimination out of consideration.

If we set about examining Roma/Gypsy identity, several other controversies occur. While a disadvantaged group is relatively easy to define and examine (only the objective factors causing the disadvantage need to be defined), in case of the Roma/Gypsy minority we have to face the question that has been articulated by the scientific sphere as well: ‘Who is Gypsy?’ (Ladányi–Szelényi 1997)

The two types of approaches in response to this question reflect different results both as regards of quantity and approach. The viewpoint that states that Gypsy is a person who is considered as such by the environment, is the prevailing definition of the Gypsy research projects of the Hungarian academic life. This point of view is represented by all the three countrywide Gypsy studies conducted by the research group of Ke-mény István and his colleagues (Kemény–Janky–Lengyel 2004).

The other approach, which became widespread after that the Law on the Rights of National Ethnic Minorities (1993/LXXVII) had come into effect in 1993, only accepts self-definition as an appropriate answer to this question.

The polls conducted according to these concepts show a census with different numbers. The research conducted based on the principle of external definition estimated the number of the Roma/Gypsy minority around 540 000 people, whereas the census based on self-definition in 2001 did not reach 200 000 (Cserti Csapó 2011). The data from 2011 is 315 000 people (based on self-definition). (Híves

2013). Apparently, it is not only a theoretical question of principles how to estimate the number of Gypsy/Roma citizens, but it results in a significant numerical difference as well. From the viewpoint of educational policy making, this means that besides the dilemmas of legislation (Who belong to the target group?), defining the quantities of services also poses considerable difficulties.

Despite the controversial situation in connection with the target groups in need of support due to social disadvantage (or because of them), we may find statements in the background of the decisions of educational policy that were founded upon scientific research projects and referred to both socially underprivileged groups (with low levels of education and income) and the Roma/Gypsy minority. We will observe that although the scope of supportive educational services primarily concerns the underprivileged groups, among the reasons listed for their implementation there are research results in connection with the Roma/Gypsy minority as well.

To conclude, we may affirm that the social disadvantages caused by the social conditions are intensified by the manyfold effects of discrimination and the apparent lack of school success is more complex than the reasons defined by legal, objective categories. This means that in the process of planification and implementation of actions and interferences of the educational policy we should take into consideration the research results and arguments besides the legal definitions.

### ***Underprivileged status according to the legal definition***

In Hungary the disadvantaged and multiply disadvantaged children and learners belong to the largest group in focus from the viewpoint of educational inequality. The definitive content of the notion of under-privilege was modified considerably in 2013, whereas in the preceding decade it had barely changed. Until September 2013 Paragraph 121 of the Law on Public Education (1993/LXXIX) was in effect, whereas presently Law 2013/XXVII,45 § defines the modification of Law 1997/XXXI, 67/A. With these changes the definition of disadvantaged position was taken from the law on public education to the law on child protection. This was not only a change in content, but also an expansion of the regulation into more spheres. The current legal regulation defines the scope of disadvantaged and multiply disadvantaged learners for the social and educational spheres (services) as well. At the same time, it

extends the relevant timespan between the age of 0-25. This legal harmonization may result in more efficient and target-oriented support. However, it is yet to be inspected whether all the people in need fall into the redefined category. Several studies were published about the change in the content of the legal definition of the two terms and the corresponding concerns at the time of the changes of the laws. (Varga 2013b, 2014a, Híves 2015). In the following we will highlight some views expressed in these studies, taking into consideration the events of the period since their publication.

The approaches of the two consecutive legal definitions are similar. They were founded on the principle of educational sociology which stated that one of the causes of the disadvantages that characterizes a child in school is the underprivileged social position with low educational levels and poverty. The legal shift most importantly concerns the validation of the causes of underprivilege, the corresponding detailed categorization and the scope of people involved in the different categories.

Until the autumn of 2013 the children growing up in families of low income were considered disadvantaged. The objective qualification was the certificate proving the eligibility for regular child protection benefit, which was issued by the notary of the competent local council.<sup>76</sup> Children who had parents without schooling counted as multiply disadvantaged children. Parents made a voluntary declaration in front of the notary about not having completed more than 8 classes. Besides, the legally defined 'long-term educated' living in state care also belonged to this category. They constitute the smallest group in the framework of child protection service with home provision (10 %, approximately 2000 people).

The present regulation requires the low financial position (proven by the RGYK) of the family and plus at least one additional feature of disadvantage to fall into the legal category of disadvantaged position. The law defines three areas where additional disadvantage occur: the low educational levels of the parents, their long-term unemployment, residence in segregated or derelict areas, inadequate residential conditions. In order to qualify for the category of multiply disadvantage two criteria should be met from the listed three in addition to the RGYK. There is yet another novelty, the new regulation classifies all children growing up in state care as multiply disadvantaged children.

Without doubt, this new categorization restricts the opportunity of getting into the category of disadvantaged position. According to the explanation of the legislators, the financial position of the family in itself is not a disadvantage, though it did not clarify how it came to this conclusion. The study based on the latest statistical data (Híves 2015) also proves that the number of children in disadvantaged position has decreased considerably. In addition to this, the increase of child poverty, also proven by statistical figures, contradicts the legal approach that does not consider poverty equivalent with disadvantaged position (Híves 2015).

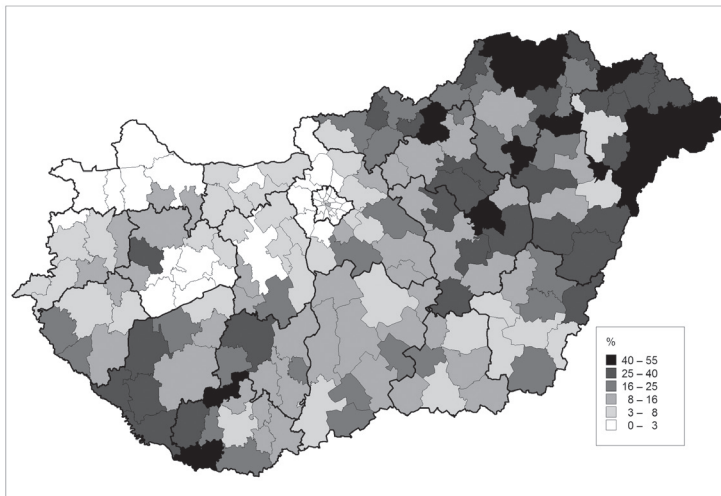
Experts predicted a decrease in the number of multiply disadvantaged children as well,<sup>77</sup> regardless of the broader system of criteria,<sup>78</sup> and the fact that now everybody living in state child care belongs to this category (this means approximately 10 000 learners). A part of those growing up in families have been left out due to the necessity of proving two more factors in addition to poverty. The decrease of the numbers in this category is also observable in the data collected in the system of public education (KIR STAT database, data collection in October 2013).

As a summary, we may conclude that the new regulation reacted sensitively to the problems of children living in state care and with this long-expected measure placed them in the category of multiply disadvantaged children (24 000 children) (Varga 2012c). Nevertheless, it is important to draw attention to the fact that in other points the new system of criteria made questionable steps in the re-classification. The involvement of all children living in state care into the multiply disadvantaged category raise the number by 24 000 (Varga 2012c). The new obligatory requirements make it more difficult to qualify for the category. Besides, they do not emphasize the viewpoint of uneducated family background and this way they restrict the access of underprivileged children to the benefits available due to the category. It is also observable that the new regulation does not apply consequently the scientific affirmation that the uneducatedness of the family is a decisive factor in connection with failure in schools, as it accepts a growing disadvantaged position as proven with the appearance of reasons in connection with poverty (unemployment, inadequate living conditions).

### ***Disadvantaged learners in public education***

By depicting the statistical data on the numbers and proportions of the disadvantaged and multiply disadvantaged learner groups on a map, we will gain an illustration. If we contemplate *Map 1*, we will see that disadvantaged learners appear manifold in the poverty-stricken, economically underdeveloped regions. The proportions and regional differences did not change considerably according to the latest statistical data featuring lower numbers.

**Map 1.** Proportions of multiple disadvantaged learners according to districts in 2012–2013 (source Híves 2013)



The geographical location of the disadvantaged children is similar to that of the multiply disadvantaged children shown in Map 1. It can be stated about both categories that the geographical distribution is not even. They appear in manifold proportions in economically disadvantaged regions. If we projected these maps into data of population census or demographical research data on the Roma/gypsy minority, then there would be a considerable overlap. This confirms that in more profound scrutinies it is not enough to examine a group based on the legal criteria of disadvantaged position.

The following charts will provide data on five school years based on the legal criteria until 2013. (*Charts 1 and 2*) We can see that the number of disadvantaged and multiply disadvantaged learners are basically the same with variations of 1-2 %. The first school year is a little bit different. The reason for this could be that the regulation of data provision was modified in that year and some children may have been left out of registration. The introduction of the IPR program supporting multiply disadvantaged children in kindergarden and matura-providing schools from 2009 might have affected registration as well, since financial support was delivered based on the number of children.

**Chart 1.** *Underprivileged learners in the different institutions of public education<sup>79</sup>*

	2008–2009. school year	2009–2010. school year	2010–2011. school year	2011–2012. school year	2012–2013. school year
Kindergarden	83975	95989	105240	104740	103016
Primary school	241739	256618	270745	266407	257129
Apprentice school	32431	37509	40330	40716	37486
Special apprentice school	3262	3096	3264	3322	2665
Grammar school	15192	16727	19386	20793	19611
Specialized grammar school	28490	32852	37768	38644	36388
<b>Total underprivileged</b>	<b>405 089</b>	<b>442 791</b>	<b>476 733</b>	<b>474 622</b>	<b>456 295</b>

**Chart 2.** *Multiple disadvantaged children at different stages*

	2008–2009 school year	2009–2010 school year	2010–2011 school year	2011–2012 school year	2012–2013 school year
Kindergarten	32 538	37081	37664	37780	36662
Primary school	100119	106232	105542	103951	98904
Apprentice school	11 114	13338	12679	13290	11838
Special apprentice school	1295	1384	1335	1414	1155
Grammar school	2505	2586	2865	3239	2701
Specialized grammar school	5548	6484	6524	6552	5816
<b>Total multiple disadvantaged</b>	<b>153 119</b>	<b>167 105</b>	<b>166 609</b>	<b>166 226</b>	<b>157 076</b>

The chronological comparison (*Chart 3*) reveals the same situation in connection with the proportions compared to all children and learners. The rate of disadvantaged children was between 22,6 and 26, 5 %, whereas multiply disadvantaged children were around 8,1 and 9 %.

**Chart 3. Proportions of disadvantaged and multiple disadvantaged learners (%)**

Type	2008–2009 school year		2009–2010 school year		2010–2011 school year		2011–2012 school year		2012–2013 school year	
	D	MD	D	MD	D	MD	D	MD	D	MD
Kindergarden	25,8	10,0	29,2	11,3	31,1	11,1	30,7	11,1	30,3	10,8
Primary school	30,7	12,7	33,2	13,7	35,8	14,0	35,6	13,9	34,6	13,3
Apprentice school	26,2	9,0	29,2	10,4	31,2	9,8	31,5	10,3	31,9	10,1
Special apprentice school	33,3	13,2	31,1	13,9	33,3	13,6	34,2	14,5	29,2	12,6
Grammar school	7,5	1,2	8,3	1,3	9,8	1,4	10,7	1,7	10,3	1,4
Specialized grammar school	12,0	2,3	13,6	2,7	15,7	2,7	16,6	2,8	16,2	2,6
Total underprivileged	22,6	8,1	24,1	8,9	26,1	8,8	26,5	9,0	25,4	8,5

A salient difference is observable in the detailed statistics of a given year between the proportions in primary schools and secondary education (*Chart 4*). We can observe that while in the primary schools the proportion of multiply disadvantaged children is 13,3%, that of the disadvantaged is 34,6 %, the corresponding data in secondary education is 3,9 % and 17,8 %. Chart 3 has shown that the time-sequenced proportion has not changed, so the proportions should have been the same in secondary education as well. However, the rate of disadvantaged children is reduced by 50 %, whereas the rate of multiply disadvantaged is only approximately 30 % compared to primary schools.

The proportions according to school types dither the image. The 12,6 % of multiply disadvantaged children in special apprentice schools is near the primary school rates, similarly to the 10, 1 % in apprentice schools, which reveals only 3 % difference. There is a spectacularly low percentage of multiply disadvantaged children in specialized secondary schools, 2,6 %, and an extremely low percentage

in secondary grammar schools (high schools), 1,4 %. It is clearly seen that even if disadvantaged and multiply disadvantaged learners reach secondary education, most probably they gain admission to apprentice schools and special apprentice schools. Their presence remains extremely low in those institutions that provide matura examinations. Supposedly, there is a registration problem in the background of the measured statistical data as well. There is plenty of practical evidence about situations when teachers help families in the registration process of disadvantaged and multiply disadvantaged positions despite the fact that the certificates about these positions are not issued by schools. This is usually characteristic of primary education, as the schools at that level are more interested in running their supportive projects than the institutions providing matura exams. However, the significant difference at the level of secondary education cannot be explained with this deficiency of data collection. It is certain that these extreme discrepancies in the proportions are indicators of the failure of disadvantaged and multiply disadvantaged children in secondary education and the high-rate dropout that characterizes them in primary schools as well.

This is confirmed by a research project that aimed at examining apprentice schools. According to its results, the rate of dropout is also extremely high in apprentice schools and it particularly affects disadvantaged and Roma/Gypsy learners. Among the causes of dropout the research highlights the learning paths marked by failures and the lack of preparation that characterizes the educational personnel in apprentice schools in connection with solving these problems. (Fehérvári editor 2008) Apparently, dropout statistics confirm the fact that the majority of disadvantaged and among them many Roma/Gypsy learners do not have the chance to advance to higher levels of social positions.



**Chart 4.** Proportions of disadvantaged and multiple disadvantaged children in the 2012–13 school year

2012–2013 school year	Child / Learner (number)			Child / Learner (%)		
	Total	D	MD	Total	D	MD
Kindergarden	340204	103016	36662	100,0	30,3	10,8
Primary school	742931	257129	98904	100,0	34,6	13,3
Apprentice school	117543	37486	11838	100,0	31,9	10,1
Special apprentice school	9134	2665	1155	100,0	29,2	12,6
Grammar school	189526	19611	2701	100,0	10,3	1,4
Specialized grammar school	224214	36388	5816	100,0	16,2	2,6
<b>Total disadvantaged</b>	<b>1623552</b>	<b>456295</b>	<b>157076</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>25,4</b>	<b>8,5</b>

As a summary, we may claim that the data on numbers examined in 5 consecutive years before 2013 showed a significant increase in the first two years (11-12 %). The regulation of data collection and the expansion of supportive programs account for this. During the three years before the legal change in 2013 the data did not vary considerably. However, the new regulation provoked the predicted decrease in the number of learners qualifying for disadvantaged or multiply disadvantaged status, as it is clearly shown numerically by *Chart 5*. According to this, there was a 15 % decrease, which means that not all families with low income (RGYK) managed to prove another underprivilege factor. There was a 10 % decrease of multiply disadvantaged children, in spite of the 10 % increase due to the involvement of children living in state care into this category. It is highly likely that there are huge numbers of children who were excluded from the system. The 2013/2014 school year was the period of the shift between the two ways of legal regulation, so data may change, but most probably there will be a further decrease.<sup>80</sup> One further reason that should be mentioned is that based on field experience, the large-scale public work in 2014 will also affect the status of disadvantage. It is worth paying special attention to this phenomenon. As

a result of public community work, the financial status of the family may have some low-scale and short-term increase, while at the same time the children of the family lose their entitlement for all types of support and benefits (regular child protection benefit, benefits due for disadvantaged status) for a complete school year.

The tendency of exclusion from the disadvantaged and multiply disadvantaged categories, which was predicted by the experts, calls for dealing with the problems resulting from the legal change.

**Chart 5.** Comparison of the proportions of disadvantaged and multiple disadvantaged learners in 2012/2013 and 2013/2014 school years

Type	Child / Learner – 2012–2013. school year (proportion according to the old regulation)					Child / Learner – 2013–2014. school year (proportion according to the new regulation)				
	Total	D	D (%)	MD	MD (%)	Total	D	D (%)	MD	MD (%)
Kindergarten	340204	103016	30,3	36662	10,8	330184	86932	26,3	32616	9,9
Primary school	742931	257129	34,6	98904	13,3	747746	220479	29,5	87701	11,7
Apprentice school	117543	37486	31,9	11838	10,1	105122	28437	27,1	9448	9,0
Special apprentice school	9134	2665	29,2	1155	12,6	8344	2001	24,0	1012	12,1
Grammar school	189526	19611	10,3	2701	1,4	185440	15675	8,5	2369	1,3
Specialized grammar school	224214	36388	16,2	5816	2,6	203515	26407	13,0	4521	2,2
Intermediate stage together	540417	96150	17,8	21510	4,0	502421	72520	14,4	17350	3,5
<b>Total</b>	<b>1623552</b>	<b>456295</b>	<b>28,1</b>	<b>157076</b>	<b>9,7</b>	<b>1580351</b>	<b>379931</b>	<b>24,0</b>	<b>137667</b>	<b>8,7</b>

If we examine the last two school years according to educational levels, then it will be visible that the changes are quite similar between the levels. It remains true that only one third of the disadvantaged primary school learners appear in secondary education, and one fifth of multiply disadvantaged learners gain admission to secondary education, though their rates ideally should be the same. Underprivileged

children are still overrepresented in apprentice schools and specialized apprentice schools, but they are barely present in schools providing matura exams. The observation has to be repeated: these extreme discrepancies are indicators of the educational failure of disadvantaged and multiply disadvantaged learners and their high-rate dropout all through the education system. This is further aggravated by the fact that the age limit of compulsory education was reduced to 16.

We may draw several important conclusions based on the outlined dilemmas of the changes in legal regulation, the analysis of the reviewed macro-statistical data. It is a positive change that children living in state care now belong to the multiply disadvantaged category.

It is still a question, however, whether the task distribution of the public education system and the social service will change with this decision, or learners growing up without families will only appear statistically and helping them will primarily remain the responsibility of the employees working in the social sector. It is yet to be seen whether the public education system is prepared enough to tackle the special problems of children living in state care.<sup>81</sup> It is not sure either whether the situation of the children excluded from the disadvantaged status really changed and improved. The increase of deep poverty (shown by statistical data) questions the argument that it is unnecessary to support those 75 000 disadvantaged and almost 20 000 multiply disadvantaged children who are left out from the system due to the new legal definition. It is probable that the rates of early school dropouts will further increase owing to this.

The macro-statistical data draw attention to those learners with social underprivilege, whose number decreased due to the legal change, but their failure is clearly observable in the contemporary system of Hungarian public education. The team inspecting early school leaving came to the same conclusions. (Helyzetelemzés 2013). In their analysis socio-cultural reasons are marked as decisive factors. It is also necessary to examine why the intention of the educational policy to support disadvantaged learners with special services at all levels did not bring a breakthrough in the improvement of the educational performance of disadvantaged and multiply disadvantaged learners.

### ***The Roma/Gypsy minority and educational policy***

The intention of the educational policy in connection with the Roma/gypsy minority that set the goal of supporting social integration dates back to more than 100 years ago. The decision makers aimed at achieving this goal by diverse measures based on social strategies founded upon different approaches.

At the end of the 19th century taking into state care was the means used to organize the education of Roma/Gypsy children. This measure reflecting the assimilative approach supposed that the child who was taken out from the family circle would be a type of citizen preferred by the state. This measure did not prove to be successful as its implementation was hindered by several obstacles. The families hid their children and the executive power at local levels was often not willing and resourceful enough to enforce this legislative intention (Varga 2012c). At the beginning of the 20th century this was replaced by the initiative that pursued the policy of segregation and hoped to increase the level of education among gypsy children by setting up gypsy schools and classes (Forray-Hegedűs 2003). This measure lasted for a short time and produced few results, but drew attention to the fact that it was only possible to reach out for social groups distant from the world of schooling with additional services.

After the second world war the Roma/Gypsy minority also became involved in the educational expansion. As a consequence of this, the educational levels of the Gypsy minority increased, but not at the rate of the overall population (Kemény and colleagues 2003). The assimilative approach founded upon internationalist principles, which was characteristic of the era, is the factor that caused this failure, as it intended to mould the cultural features of the Gypsy minority considering them social disadvantages.

In the seventies the creation of homogeneous 'Gypsy' classes gained support, which was initially supported by researchers as well with the belief that the service surplus provided in the segregated setting will increase the educational levels of the Gypsy minority. It turned out very soon, however, that the separated classes will inevitably result in lower levels of education.

Apparently, the task of lower prestige had a selective effect on the teachers and there was a lack of demand about ensuring excellent material conditions as well. In the homogeneous student com-

munities teachers could not rely on mutual learning with potentials of enhancing the learning process and improving quality. Observing this, professionals and researchers took a stand for the abolition of the 'Gypsy' classes. (Réger 1978)

These classes were in fact abolished, but the Roma/Gypsy minority could not catch up with the fast-paced advancement of educational levels characterizing the whole population due to the lack of the targeted educational services. Actually, the demands of the labour market during the socialist era were met by the situation where the majority of the Roma/Gypsy minority was involved in elementary education, about 75 % finished it and by the time of the change of the political system around 10 % obtained professional qualification.

There was little evidence about gaining higher qualifications (matura exam, higher education) among Gypsies during this period, but the 'unemployment inside the workplace' characteristic of the era provided workplaces for the basically uneducated masses of Romas, most importantly in the low-prestige and unprofitable economic branches. (Kemény and colleagues 2003)

From the eighties a gradually increasing attention has been paid to situation of people with wandering lifestyles, with the Gypsies among them as well. After the seminar of the European Council in 1983, several countries prepared reports on the situation and described the existing practices and experience. (Forray 1998a). Hungary, where the change of the political system in 1989 affected the Roma/Gypsy minority negatively on the one hand, but opened new horizons for educational initiatives on the other hand, also joined this trend.

During the transformation of the economy after the change of the political system, the issue of education for the Roma/Gypsy minority came into the focus of attention again. The reason for this was that the majority of the active worker Romas lost their workplaces with the bankruptcy of the state-owned companies. They did not have any chance of shifting positions at the labour market. At the same time, the segregational processes intensified: from the disadvantaged settlements and regions people with higher qualifications moved away to find workplaces elsewhere, whereas those low-qualified and unemployed people who were unable to find new workplaces flowed into the degraded territories.

In the 'ghetto' areas the Roma/Gypsy minority is overrepresented and this phenomenon also appeared in schools as well. The latent

selective mechanisms also became stronger. Even if people with different social positions lived in the same residential areas, the groups with employment and higher educational levels made their children commute so as not to attend the same school together with underprivileged or Gypsy children, hoping that they would gain better educational services. Owing to the legally free choice of schools there were more than 700 schools in Hungary where the majority of the learners belonged to the Roma/Gypsy minority. (Havas–Kemény–Liskó 2002). The latest research projects also point out that without complex actions educational integration of the underprivileged groups and the Roma/Gypsy minority cannot be implemented (Havas–Zolnay 2011, Varga 2015).

After 1990, the regulation of underprivilege (disadvantage) also appeared in the educational among the regulations of ethnic and minority education.<sup>82</sup> The social changes after the change of the political system had an effect on the approach of educational policy as well, even if this shift was not immediate and complete. The question of underprivilege became a focal point, which was basically connected to the 'uplifting' of the Gypsies.

Even the first regulations about normative support carried this explicit difference. Any nationality could ask for the given normative support to aid its institutions in preserving its language and culture, whereas the Roma/Gypsy community that belonged to the group of ethnic minority could receive 'differentiated, individual or group compensation' for this support. This shows a marked difference in the legal treatment of the Roma/Gypsy community and other nationalities. Although the Roma community was involved in the scope of educational services provided for nationalities even before the new legal regulation of the law on minorities that came into effect in 1993, this difference is still observable. All nationalities had the right of preserving their national identity in the education system, whereas the Roma/Gypsy community, identified as a group having homogeneous social disadvantage, received aiding services particularly in order to compensate for its social disadvantages. The ministerial modification in 1991 that involved the development of national identity in addition to the compensational activities in the case of Roma/Gypsy learners, kept a low profile in the everyday practical implementation (Forray 1993). The decree that made content-wise regulation with the title 'Gypsy Compensational Education' in 1998, detailed the

compulsory and optional services that could be chosen in the areas of disadvantage compensation and identity strengthening for Roma/Gypsy learners. Nonetheless, it still remained a problem that the education system intended to solve a social problem instead of providing national-ethnic rights. Thanks to the effect of the professional arguments, this regulation was modified in 2000 (its name became 'Gypsy national education'), but as its content barely changed, it continued to aim at compensation and 'uplifting'. Based on this regulation it was possible to offer school programmes as 'national education' for separated groups, which meant that even the institutions with more open approaches were forced to organize segregated activities.

Even though in the most important educational regulations (NAT: Nemzeti Alaptanterv, Basic National Curriculum) the opportunity of multicultural education in integrated groups did appear in this period, only a short-term and low-quantity material support was given for these activities. It is evident that the education system itself (with regulations and financing) shaped and maintained those segregated educational forms that proved to be of little avail in spite of the decentralized system.

If we inspect the content of the 'Gypsy compensational education' involved in the scope of national educational services, we may observe that it required elements that partly compensate disadvantages, partly strengthen Roma/Gypsy identity, meaning that the program treated the areas of social disadvantage and national identity at the same time. A survey conducted in 2002 proved that the majority of the schools educating Roma/Gypsy learners and disadvantaged children demanded this service, the indicators of their better results were identifiable as well. However, this supportive program should also be developed further. (OKÉV 2013).

The pedagogical innovations of the period after the change of the political system also appeared in the pedagogical practices of educating Roma/gypsy learners. One of the generators of this process was the Soros Foundation which supported the renewal of the Hungarian public education and the schooling of Romas from the end of the eighties during 15 years. The establishment of educational institutions to provide educational success for Roma/Gypsy children commenced in this period with the support of the Soros foundation. The organization of the world's first Roma/Gypsy secondary grammar school, the Gandhi High School was started in Pécs, in 1992. In Mánfa, a village near

Pécs, the Collegium Martineum, a talent-nurturing secondary school student college for Roma/Gypsy learners was founded in 1995. Both institutions wished to compensate for the backlog in the educational situation of the Roma/Gypsy community, especially the low rates of obtaining Matura examinations and gaining admission into higher education. The Soros Foundation also gave financial funding for country-wide programs that aimed at spreading innovative pedagogies. These could bring new theories and practices for public education institutions as well and encouraged their receptiveness. One of them was the 'Step by Step' (Lépésről lépésre) program founded upon American experience that led learners from their families to the school, assisting them in bridging the gap between the norms and requirements of the two, often completely different worlds. In the framework of the 'Hálószítés' (Building the Net) program more than 50 teachers dealing with Roma/Gypsy learners were given the opportunity to learn Freinet, Montessori and Waldorf pedagogies in model institutions. The Soros Foundation supported complementary services for Roma and underprivileged children, such as summer camps and preparatory activities. It also introduced a teacher-student patron (tutor) system all over the country. These activities started from extracurricular institutions run by civil organizations outside schools, such as the Amrita Association, the Study Hall of Józsefváros. Study halls and supporting civil organizations were founded and supported by the foundation all over the country (Khetanipe, Belső tűz, Faág Association and many others). The system of patrons and all the activities offered by the study halls (spiritual, educational, cultural, financial) assisted the underprivileged and Roma learners to obtain Matura exams and degrees of higher education.

The educational innovations in connection with underprivileged, mostly Roma/Gypsy learners in the decade following the change of the political systems, which were mostly run by civil organizations, later found their ways into the public education supported by funding from the national budget or the European Union. For instance, the support of Roma/Gypsy learners by state scholarships started from the late nineties, and this system was taken over by the public foundation for the Hungarian Roma/Gypsy minority (Magyarországi Cigányokért Közalapítvány). This form of support (scholarship) is known as the MACIKA scholarship.

The regular monthly support aided the education of Roma/Gypsy primary school pupils, secondary school learners and university stu-



dents. The tender applications provided by the pre-accession funds of the European Union also supported carrying on and spreading the civil experience in connection with the Roma/Gypsy community. The Roma Esély (Roma Chance, later Hegedűs T. András) Secondary School was founded in Szolnok in 1997 based on the model of the Gandhi High School relying on funding of the European Union. This institution still plays an important role in providing opportunities for Roma/Gypsy learners wishing to continue their studies at secondary and higher levels. The public education and the 'official' educational policy-making behind that allocated significant funding for supporting the Roma/Gypsy minority in the institutions of public education with the traditional means and methods. In addition to this, primarily with civil support and EU funding those innovative initiatives were beginning to exist that gave well-tested models for the measures of educational policy in the following decade.

One of the two important educational initiatives around 2000 was the department at the University of Pécs which targeted dealing with the discipline of Romology. In this unique phenomenon in higher education, it is possible to obtain degrees of Romology with teacher's qualification as well. Besides, the department plays an important role in scientific life as well, it conducts research projects, publishes books, organizes conferences about the Roma/Gypsy community and the discipline of Romology. The Wlislöcki Henrik Student College, the scientific circle of the students interested in the discipline of Romology, is directly linked to the department.<sup>83</sup> The other initiative worth mentioning is the Arany János Talent Nurturing Program. The program started five-year trainings providing Matura exams in each county in one of the well-reputed grammar schools and the corresponding student dormitories for disadvantaged, underprivileged learners. In the first year the content of underprivilege was exclusively residence in small settlements, but later there was a continuous shift towards groups with lower social status characterized by low income and low levels of education. (Fehérvári–Liskó 2006b)

After the millenium it became clear that the biggest loser of the social restructuring after the change of the political systems was the Roma/Gypsy community (Kertesi 2005, Kertesi–Kézdi 2005a). One of the key areas of breaking out from social disadvantage is education, but the educational situation of the roma/Gypsy community are characterized by spectacularly high disadvantages. Educational

researchers have shown that in the background of this we may find that Roma/Gypsy children were left out of nursery schools (kindergartens), in primary schools there was a high rate of dropout, early school leaving and failure. At secondary levels they chose professions with low values at the labour market. (Havas–Liskó 2002) Although their application to matura-providing institutions increased, their rate of obtaining degrees of secondary and higher education still remains low compared to the average of the population. (Liskó 2002). Consequently, Roma/Gypsy students remained underrepresented in higher education. The listed reasons and failure to step forward pointed out that it would be necessary to establish a system of educational services with a new approach and complex influence. Later it was revealed that even this was not satisfactory to reach the intended success in schools since the most up-to date educational approaches and methods are of little avail if they are not embedded into a broader sense of support system outweighing the social disadvantage in different spheres (labour market, social care and many others).

In 2002, the new educational policy started a series of measures different from the practice of the previous period. Firstly, they created decrees that distinguished regulations in connection with disadvantaged social positions and nationality (minority) education (OM decrees 57/2002, 58/2002)

The intention was to shape a compensating, inclusive pedagogical environment with the integrated education of children having parents with low income and low educational levels with the name Integrált Pedagógiai Rendszer (Integrated Pedagogical System, in the following: IPR). Besides, the Roma/Gypsy nationality education was commenced, which was available on parental demand with content strengthening national identity exclusively, though with lower requirements compared to other nationality educations). (Orsós 2012)

In the following years the educational policy expanded with further supportive elements, primarily targeting underprivileged learners. The IPR was gradually extended to the whole education system, the kindergartens and the secondary schools providing matura examinations. By 2008, virtually the totality of the education system was entitled to demand support that was aimed at the integrative preparation and talent-nurturing of underprivileged learners in kindergarden or school frameworks. From 2008 on dealing with disadvantaged learners also appeared in the salary bonuses of teachers

and the budgets of educational institutions. These developments were supported by EU development sources (HEFOP 2.1, TÁMOP 3.3)<sup>84</sup> that contributed with several million euros to the programs of institutions and teachers dealing with disadvantaged learners. It is also important to mention the Csányi Foundation that possessed a private starting capital of 1 000 000 000 forints, which support learners from the senior section of the primary school until their graduation at the university. The educational policy gave support for improving the social conditions of underprivileged children by decreasing the costs directly linked to schooling and complementing the funding. Children in kindergardens (nursery schools) received free food service, their parents obtained financial support for covering other kindergarden costs. Besides, it is obligatory to provide space in kindergardens for disadvantaged. Fees for canteen food in primary schools and secondary schools were also reduced for disadvantaged families and they were entitled to receive school books for free. Based on the experience gained in the patron project of the Soros Foundation, scholarship programs such as the 'Útravaló' were started in schools as well. The amount of financial resources was extended at secondary level as well: from 2004 the Arany János Program aiming at the support of disadvantaged secondary school learners was continuously expanded by two sub-programs. The underprivileged learners involved in the new projects were given accommodation in students dormitories together with complex pedagogical services. In the field of higher education measures of positive discrimination were introduced in 2003, which provoked plenty of debates. The admission of disadvantaged learners was supported by extra points, progress and staying in higher education was assisted by the system of mentor services. In addition to social and contentwise support, the expectation of providing equal chances expanded all over the public education system, especially after 2006. This was complemented by the legal regulation aimed at preventing segregation (law on public education, paragraph 66). The appearance of institutions providing help from spheres outside schools, such as the study halls run by civil initiatives, strengthening their network and experimenting with their involvement in the system of public education were further steps in this way.

These measures of the educational policy outlined above targeted disadvantaged learners, children of parents with low educational levels and small income. Although the majority of the Roma/gypsy

community appertains to the group of underprivileged citizens, these measures of the educational policy did not name the Roma/Gypsy community as their target group since they intended to react to the social disadvantage and did not wish to identify this social underprivilege with ethnicity or nationality.

We should also mention, however, the increase in the educational levels of the Roma/Gypsy community and the supportive measures for the evolution of Roma/Gypsy intellectuals. These include the pre-accession funds of the European Union (Phare) and the tenders of the Open Society Institute (OSI) and the EU funding for the financing of study halls and Roma student colleges.

We may affirm that after 2002 complex educational programs were launched to provide equal chances based on the determined intentions of the educational policy. However, the separation of the disadvantaged position and Roma/Gypsy identity, the various educational projects did not mean a complete and absolutely successful breakthrough in the increase of the educational levels among the Roma/Gypsy population. Relevant research results imply that in the background of this there could be factors such as the failure to achieve increased co-operation between different service systems for the solution of complex problems such as discrimination, lack of employment, unfavourable conditions of residence, the unstable or intermittent funding of the commenced developmental projects, the lack of professional assistance and many other disfunctions. However, improvement may take place on the long run as some of the developmental projects might bring their fruits in the future. (Arató–Pintér–Varga 2008, Havas–Zolnay 2011, Reszkető–Scharle–Váradi 2010)

### ***The present educational policy***

In this part we will have an overview on the measures of the educational policy targeting socially disadvantaged learners from 2002 by going through the different stages of education.<sup>85</sup> Primarily, our goal is to provide a comprehensive view of the present education system that relies on relevant studies about educational policy and their evaluations (Forray–Pálmainé 2010, Forray–Kozma 2010). It is important to stress that the majority of these measures explicitly target groups with social disadvantages and only to a small extent those belonging to the Roma/gypsy community. This statement is true

about the scope of the involved learners and the services as well. In the background of all measure there is the requirement of providing equality and equity.

The listed interventions vary according to their objectives. There are preventive measures that primarily focus on early age ('Biztos Kezdet' Program, IPR in kindergardens). Their results are reflected in the successful education of disadvantaged children and the prevention of early dropout. At the school stages of public education there are several interventions in order to provide assistance for the endangered target group, such as the IPR in schools, the network of study halls and the arany János Program. These are pedagogical services that imply the achievement of successful educational progress without dropout. There are measures with compensational purposes, for instance the Második Esély Program ('Second Chance Program'), which deal with the reintegration of early school leavers so as to provide them with qualifications.

The Biztos Kezdet Program (Safe Start Program) aimed at developing the youngest age group and commenced its activities in accordance with the 'Legyen jobb a gyerekeknek', 'Let's make a better world for children' National Strategy.<sup>86</sup> The precedent of this project aiming at early intervention was a complex experiment and developmental work carried out in the framework of the program against child poverty run by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (MTA Gyermekszegénység El- leni Program). In 2006 the Szécsényi Gyermekesély Program (The Child Opportunity Program of Szécsény) was started among the endeavours of this project in the four 'Biztos Kezdet' (Safe Start) Children's Houses. The SROP 5.22.2/08 made it possible to expand the network of these 'children homes' all over the country. 36 institutions of this network were opened in 2006 in disadvantaged areas or segregatums. The aim of the geographical restriction was to make this service for the early age target group (0-5 years of age) accessible for those families that do not have adequate conditions of socialization and where availability of institutional services is also scarce. The Biztos Kezdet Children's Homes<sup>87</sup> serve the purpose of early age development of children's abilities with the active involvement of the family and parental environment. Presently, the network works with state funding, with targeted support conditions.(19/2013. (III. 5.) EMMI decree).

The system provides several types of support for children in their kindergarden age.<sup>88</sup> The kindergarden starting support is a once-in-a-

year benefit, a yearly sum of money that serves the purpose of providing the financial means for socially underprivileged families to purchase the equipment necessary for starting the kindergarden years in September. The provision of free or subsidized meals in kindergardens for families in need also reduces the financial burden of nursery schooling (kindergarden attendance). The Biztos Kezdet Program and early nursery schooling both aim at giving aid for children growing up in inadequate social conditions. In order to achieve this, it was made obligatory to give admission to multiply disadvantaged children into kindergardens (in the case of over-application they were given preference). They are entitled to receive IPR services in their respective nursery schools (kindergardens).

In primary schools, the learners who receive regular child protection benefits (RGYK) are given 100 % of the canteen food fee as a normative benefit. This is complemented by the provision of free school books. The supportive development of multiply disadvantaged learners may be continued here within the IPR framework on condition that the institution takes the responsibility of carrying out this complex task for extra funding. The Gypsy nationality program explicitly serves the purpose of strengthening identity and preserving the language for the children of those families who claim to have a Gypsy identity. We have already seen that the separation of these two services (compensating disadvantaged position /strengthening identity) appeared in public education in 2003. According to the experience of the previous decade this distinction proved to be successful, there is a continuous expansion of schools running IPR and institutions providing Gypsy nationality education.

When discussing primary education, we should not forget about the study halls. These started from extracurricular institutions founded and run by civil organizations before 2000 and later generated the evolution of similar institutions. The network of more than 100 study halls has been favoured by several rounds of EU tender funding. It maintained its activities in the under-resourced period as well, proving its necessity in the system supporting the education system. The study hall is an institution that functions similarly to the nationality education where equity is asserted by the voluntary separation of the target group applying for the service. The study halls cannot be considered segregative institutions as this 'separation' is not forced by outside pressure or latent selective mechanisms. This is a decision

both from the side of the educational policy and the target group which serves the purpose of obtaining targeted complex pedagogical services in a given period (afternoon, weekend) in a voluntarily separated setting. We ought to bear in mind, however, that the effectiveness of the separation in the study halls, based on the principles of equity, cannot be imagined without the close connection to public education and the inclusive pedagogical toolset and methodology applied in these institutions. The complex scope of services (psychological, educational, cultural, material) accompanies learners during their primary school studies and also later on at the next educational stage in familiar settings. (Varga 1999, Fejes–Híves–Szűcs–Varga, 2012, Fejes 2014). It is important to stress the point that the tender calls define and require with documentation that the target group members are disadvantaged and multiply disadvantaged learners, and they further emphasize that 30 % of the involved children should be Roma/Gypsy. (Pályázati útmutató – TÁMOP 3.3.9A-12, / Application guidelines for TÁMOP 3.3.9A-12)

Primary schools and secondary schools are not only bridged by study halls, but scholarship offers for multiply disadvantaged learners as well. The 'Útravaló' scholarship system has been functioning since 2005. It relies on the experience gained in the teacher-student patron system promoted by the Soros Foundation in the nineties. The applying student and the chosen mentor teacher have to apply together and may win the scholarship together as well. Although support systems are continuously transforming and sources are getting scarcer, the 'Út a középiskolába' 'Út az érettségizéshez' and 'Út a szakmához' in the 2013/2014 school year supported 14 481 students with 2 164 083 638 HUF.<sup>89</sup>

In secondary schools disadvantaged learners continue to receive contributions to cover food and book costs. It is also possible to continue IPR at secondary level institutions. Characteristically, those institutions introduce IPR where there is a high rate of multiply disadvantaged children. Now this program is present at all levels of public education and provides personalized attention to 70 000 multiply disadvantaged children. Several studies have analysed the first 8 years of IPR and in spite of their critical remarks on deficiencies at certain points, they evaluated it as an important and efficient means of support. In the last 4 years the integrational centre, which was responsible for professional guidance and network building, ceased its activities and resources are also being reduced. This influences

the program negatively and may result in the failure of bringing the expected results.(Varga 2015).

The Arany János Talent Nurturing Program, the initiative of the turn of the milenia, started five-year long trainings providing matura examinations in one highly reputed secondary grammar school in each county and the corresponding student dormitories. Every year 3000 young learners receive complex support in the framwework of this program. The multiply disadvantaged learners were reached by the program in 2004 when it was gradually extended by two sub-programs (a student dormitory program and a student dormitory program for apprentice schools.)<sup>90</sup>. The new projects provide services that are similar to complex developmental pursuits of the AJTP. The preparatory year of the AJTP helps compensating for the deficiencies of the learners and making up for the possible backlogs in their knowledge and skills. It integrates the students into matura-providing institutions and and offers extra student dormitory support.<sup>91</sup> In the program for apprentice school students the learners receive support as well in the period after school when they are trained to obtain professions. Presently, there are around 1500 multiply disadvantaged learners who are preparing for matura exams and professions in secondary level educational institutions and the corresponding student dormitories all over the country. The program does not name Roma/Gypsy learners as a specific target groups, but there are lots of roma/Gypsy learners among the participants of these programs. (Fehérvári–Liskó 2006b, Fehérvári 2008, Expanzió 2009, Fehérvári 2015).

Institutions of the 'second chance' type are also popular. These aim at improving the conditions of socially underprivileged (often living in endangered life conditions) young people at the labour market through their reintegration into schools. This type of institutions already functioned before 2000, particularly in Budapest (Belvárosi Tanoda, Burattino School). They appeared in the past ten years in segregated areas as well, where they assisted socially underprivileged and Roma youth to learn professions and obtain matura exams with individually-taylorred trainings. For instance the Kis Tigris Gimnázium (Little Tiger Grammar School) in Alsószentmártonban<sup>92</sup> and the Doctor Ámbédkár School in Sajókaza<sup>93</sup> should be mentioned here. There sources of the SROP projects also allocate funding for these types of institutions at present, naming multiply disadvantaged, among them Roma youth as the target group. (SROP 3.3.9.B-12.).



We should also draw attention to some institutions that declaredly provide nationality education at the secondary level. The Gandhi High School (secondary grammar school) in Pécs is a Roma/Gypsy high school that defined the objective of raising the low levels of the Roma/Gypsy minority in obtaining matura exams and gaining admission into higher education when it was founded around 20 years ago. In 1997, the Roma Esély (today named after Hegedűs T. András)<sup>94</sup> Secondary School opened its doors following and developing the concept of the Gandhi High School. This school also invites Roma/Gypsy and multiply disadvantaged youth, principally from the Northeastern region. The Kalyi Jag Roma Nationality Apprentice school and specialized Grammar School determined the same objectives.<sup>95</sup>

The opportunity of receiving due extra points in the admission process into higher education is still in effect up to present day. However, the imprescindibile contentwise assistance, the system of mentors was neglected in the past few years, principally due to financial reasons.

Last but not least, the activities of the Roma Student colleges in the context of higher education deserve mentioning and analysis. These institutions have been spreading for two years with the active support of the Christian churches. Their legal legitimization was confirmed in the law on higher education in 2011 (2011/CCIV). Their financial support commenced in the same year (SROP 4.1.1.D /12 from 2013). In the preceding period the Romaversitas, maintained by a foundation, and Wlislócki Henrik Szakkollégium, the Wlislócki Henrik Student college at the University of Pécs were the large and long-standing institutions that aimed at supporting Roma/Gypsy students learning in higher education (Forray 2012). These two institutions keep on carrying out their activities.

### ***Research projects on the results of the educational policy***

The problem concerning the education of children and learners with social disadvantages is constantly present on the agenda of the Hungarian scientific life as well in connection with educational equality. (Cs. Czachesz–Radó 2003, Keller–Mártonfi 2006, Györgyi–Kőpatakiné Mészáros 2010). There have been several research projects on the efficiency of the educational programs targeting disadvantaged learners (such as the integrational program of the past decade), the

functioning of the study hall network, the Arany János Programs and the initiatives in higher education. A common feature of the examined programs is that they take into consideration the reasons for lack of success in schools, and strive for compensating this by providing a supportive environment where they aim at giving pedagogical development relying on the individual features. At the same time they focus on the cultural differences of the family background. They build on belonging to the Roma/Gypsy community as a value. This approach is in accordance with the characteristics described in the chapter on inclusive pedagogy.

The analysis on early intervention highlights, relying on Hungarian and international experience, that it is important to have an institutional network for supporting early age development. It states about early health care service that there are significant regional discrepancies and the negative differences particularly affect the underprivileged and Roma/gypsy population. About nursery schooling (kindergartens) it states that it is not only important to increase the length, but providing quality pedagogical influence. Judging from statistical data, it remarks that Roma/Gypsy participation is low in these institutions of early childhood. In many cases segregation is observable and the transition from kindergartens to schools also bring about problematic situations. It treats the Biztos Házak children's Home network in a separate chapter, presenting their pedagogical practice and geographical coverage. Among the challenges and problems they point out inadequate funding, the lack of branch representatives, the lack of professional personnel in areas inhabited by Roma/gypsy population, the inadequate distribution of services, missing care types and the problems of information flow. The proposals of the study stress that more efficient development at early age and increased support of the Roma/Gypsy community would significantly decrease the number of problems occurring in school life. (Lannert 2014)

The IPR program with the number of 70 000 supported multiply disadvantaged children received special attention. Different research projects found that the level of inclusivity is in strong correlation with the school success of disadvantaged learners and the supportive ambience of the prejudice-free environment. (Németh–Papp 2006, Liskó–Fehérvári 2008, Arató 2014, Rayman 2015, Varga 2015). Other researches pinpointed the importance of taking measures in order to prevent the segregation of Roma/gypsy children, increasing the

funding instead of decreasing it, establishing a quality-control service to reveal and correct the discrepancies in the quality of the service. However, it should be stressed again that the implementors of the research considered the IPR an essential, crucially important element among the Hungarian services providing equity despite its weaknesses and deficiencies. (Arató–Varga 2004, Kézdi–Surányi 2008, Havas–Zolnay 2011, Reszkető–Scharle–Váradi 2010, Teller 2012).

The examinations on the EU-supported study hall network made similar conclusions. This extracurricular institution supports learners in primary schools and at the following educational stage as well. Researchers underline that study hall services did not cease in periods of inadequate funding either and they played an important role in compensating for fallbacks and deficiencies that promotes more successful progress in the studies of disadvantaged and roma/gypsy learners. (Németh 2009, Fejes–Híves–Szűcs–Varga 2012, Polyacskó 2013, Fejes 2014).

The Arany János Programs, which could rely on the highest amount of funding, were scrutinized by several effect study projects. According to the conclusions and the proposals of these studies, the programs generally achieved their aims and could have a significant effect on the mobility of the involved groups. (Fehérvári 2013, Fehérvári 2015).

The research projects surveying the Roma student colleges in the framework of higher education do not doubt the necessity of these supportive institutions, but analyse their evolution and treat the indicators of the efficiency, attitude and future advancement of the participants. (Forray 2012, Varga 2014b).

In 2014 the Institute of Educational Research and Development co-ordinated several research projects that scrutinized educational interventions, particularly from the viewpoint of early school leaving. They carried out macro-level evaluations in the topic and conducted countrywide surveys of the state-financed pursuits. (Fehérvári–Széll 2014, Fehérvári–Tomasz szerk. 2015). These draw attention to the revealed results and the disfunctions of the system at the same time and make proposals for the development of the system.

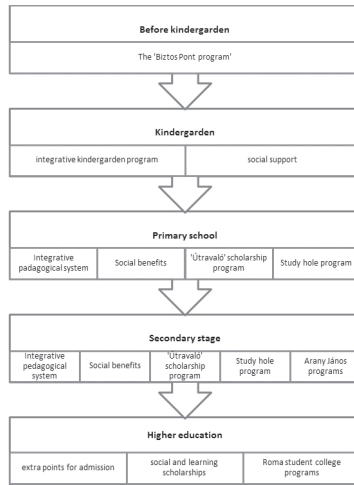
### **Summary**

In the Hungarian social and educational policies, from the birth of the child until the end of the school system (Graph 7), there are measures that aim at compensating disadvantages of children coming from underprivileged socio-cultural background and supporting the realization of inclusive environments in order to provide equal chances. Besides, educational services for the reinforcement of Roma/Gypsy identity are also available. If we compare the accessible system of services built through the whole scale of the education system to the situation of lagging behind that is reflected by statistical data as well, then we have to face a problematic situation. On the one hand, we have to search for the causes of the problems in the practical enforcement and implementation of the legal regulations, as highlighted by the studies listed and detailed above. It is necessary to examine the possible causes in the background of the functions and disfunctions. This scope of investigations should include the expansion of support, the conditions of funding, the continuous or intermittent availability of resources, the situation of the continuous quality provision and improvement, the evolvement or elimination of segregative forms, the extent of selection, the co-operation both vertically and horizontally between actors within and outside the sector, the measures supportive or counterproductive in connection with the educational policy, the assertion of discriminate forms and many other factors. This inevitably sets a huge amount of tasks for educational policy making. On the other hand, inclusive pedagogical interventions could only achieve their aims if they are embedded into an inclusive social environment. It is probable that the lack of large-scale social support is also identifiable as one of the reasons for lack of success. It is essential to expect the supportive compensation of disadvantages from other sectors as well (reinforcement of the social sector, elimination of segregation, provision of opportunities at the labour market).

The timespan of the relevant developments (more than 10 years) makes it possible to carry out a broad-scale evaluation of the processes and based on this, with the improvement of the regulations and the enforcement, mobilizing other sectors, achieve more impressive results. At the same time, however, it has to be taken into account that the increasing number of children who are excluded from the status of being disadvantaged or multiply disadvantaged and the

relevant social benefits due to the legal modification will make the situation more difficult to handle.

**Graph 7.** The system of supportive educational policy in Hungary



### Inclusivity and child protection

In this chapter we will deal with the equal opportunities and the chances of social inclusion of a group with special life situation, children living in state care child protection. Currently this is a hot issue, as due to the legal changes the children living in the framework of the child protection service were involved in the group of multiply disadvantaged children. The target group constitutes of children in temporary, provisional, permanent care and post-care according to the law on child protection (1997/XXXI), who are either placed in families of foster parents or in state children homes. According to the statistical data provision in the child protection system the total number of the population is approximately 22 000, a figure that did not vary considerably in the previous years. (Statistical Information on Child Protection 2010).

In the focus of our scrutiny we will inspect the educational situation of children living in state child care. This is an area that has

been investigated and evaluated by few research projects. Apart from some investigations, we do not possess data derived from comprehensive research projects. This could be explained by the fact that the reasons behind getting into this care system usually involve severe, most importantly psychological problems. These are in the foreground of state child care and set the main tasks of further child safety work, while questions of education usually remain in the background (Forray–Hegedűs 1998, Cameron–Maginn 2008). However, this does not only mean that the resources of child care are concentrated primarily on treating the traumas that these children suffered from. It should be stressed as well that the ways of treatment have an effect on the chances of advancement in school education. If a child does not receive appropriate help and emotional security in the special child care system, then will not be able to learn successfully as the emotional deprivation prevents attention, concentration and motivation. (Veressné Gönczi 2004).

It is also observable that the educational success of children living in state care basically depend on those resilience factors that support progress in school life with the lack or presence of various social relationships (Homoki 2014). Yet another reason for the scarcity of research on the relationship between state child care and education could have been the fact that the social and educational services are under the direction and supervision of two completely separate branches (Kravalik 2004). This is clearly proven by the fact that there is no detailed data on educational levels and results in the statistical data collection system of the state child care support service. Moreover, the law on public education pays minimal attention to the solution of the special problems that concern the children living in state care (Varga 2012a, 2012c).

This urges us to treat the question of state child care and education in a separate part and refer to those opportunities that may result in the increase of equality. The analysis that will be presented in detail here is founded on a research data base made in 2009 during a one-round data collection. This contains information on the levels of education about all young people living in the state child care system (in 2009).<sup>96</sup> Based on this database it is possible to carry out general (national) or regional, county-level evaluations, pointing out and searching for the causes of the differences of educational indicators in the state care system characterized by considerably high

levels of autonomy at the level of the counties. While revealing the causes, the analysis focuses on the intentions and opportunities of the state child care, in correlation with the local educational services. The professional work of the county-level state child care service is strongly determined by the quality of the schools in the settlement of the child and the availability and variety of the supportive school services (Varga 2012a).

This analysis may help us gain a dithered image of the state child care system and point at successful solutions that may contribute to the increase of educational levels and social inclusion opportunities of children living in state care.<sup>97</sup> The analysis of statistical data and responses given in questionnaires outlines the situation at the national level and the differences between the counties as well. Based on this it is possible to examine what kind of social and professional differences can be found in the background of these disparities between counties in levels of education (Híves-Varga 2012). This analysis does not only offer a view of the social service system, but defines the tasks for the educational sector to support the inclusion of those children that grow up without families. The peremptory question is whether the education and child care systems, separately or together, are able to provide services of equity that result in the accumulation of real capital (such as qualifications valuable at the labour market) for those young people who are forced to start an individual life without a supportive family background.

### ***The conditions of research***

The presumption of the research was that with its present tools and resources the system is not appropriately capable of compensating for the backlog that accumulates before getting into the child care system and to a large extent determines progress in the education system. It is also a remarkable starting point that the regional and county-level evaluations dither the country-level image and there are measurable differences between the different counties in the examined field.

The tool of the research was the questionnaire that the leaders of 19 county and 1 capital state child care services filled out in autumn, 2009. In the first part of this questionnaire the leaders and their colleagues gave responses to questions about the education of children

living in state care. In the second part the leaders were asked to collect types of data that were not available in the database of the child care service, so they had to look for them in the documentation of the children. All leaders filled out the questionnaire. The first part was filled out completely in all cases with shorter or longer answers. As for the the second part, we obtained data about 90 % of those living in state care (19921 people). Only 2% of the data proved to be false, but unfortunately not in sporadic cases, but in concentration about a county and a question area. Nonetheless, taking this into consideration as well, we may affirm that the research was carried out an almost completely countrywide sample.

The questionnaires were processed by the simple addition of statistical data and the usage of SPSS in a charts of 2 or 3 indicators. This was followed by the contentwise analysis of the charts and their edition into graphs and maps. The national evaluation of the statistical data was followed by the analysis of the textual answers.

The analysis included the reports of the county leaders. These evaluations with the length of 6-8 pages contained a description of the situation and professional suggestions. they were written according to a question list that pried into the causes of the educational failures of children living in state care and the opportunities of the state child care service and the education system. Besides, it asked for the leaders to make suggestions about the actions and interferences in order to improve the situation. These texts were analysed and assessed together with the statistical data. The research focus was constantly on identifying the deficiencies that the target group members accumulated, plus outlining the opportunities in the state care system for compensation, with the identification of the potential obstacles of compensation. To sum up, we intended to see whether the service system possesses the means that characterize the inclusive ambience.

### ***The countrywide results of the research***

Around four fifths of those living in state child care (approximately 22 000 people) are in the education system, a further 10 % is of kindergarten age and there is an approximately 10 % of those in the system in form of post-care who do not go to school. This data shows that support of the educational progress for children living in state care is



essential. That is why it is interesting to inspect whether the care service is well-prepared enough and how the education system can take up some of the tasks and responsibilities. The forms of co-operation between the two systems should also be investigated. The viewpoints of scrutiny overlap with the criteria of inclusive environment, so answers could be analyzed from the viewpoints of inclusion as well.

Assessment of the statistical data shows that one third of the 20 000 children in the sample spend less than 3 years in the system, one third a period between 3 and 8 years, another one third more than 8 years. The countrywide average is 5, 2 years. It is observable from the data that there are two probable ways of the further life path for the child: either getting back to the family after a relatively short time, or staying in the system for an apparently long period of time. Consequently, the argument that the short timespan that children usually spend in state care prevents efficient development supporting education, however, is only valid for a small proportion of children in state care. It is possible to carry out long-term development for the majority of these children. Although the comparison of the education levels of children with short or long periods in state care tends to prove that longer timespans in the state care system result in a bit higher levels of education, in relation with the macro-social data we may still talk about manifold backlog.

The types of placing the children in state care shows the transformation of the system, indicated by a more than 50 % proportion of placement at foster parents. This placement provides a better opportunity for the replacement of the missing family background. However, the scrutiny of the correlations between school types and the types of placement clearly reveals that there is no higher percentage of children attending matura-providing secondary schools among those who live in homes of foster parents. Unfortunately, research cannot confirm that living with foster parents may lead to higher educational levels. It is apparent that without the external assistance of the child protection service and the educational system it is impossible for the foster parent network (especially taking into consideration the low average of educational levels characterizing its members) to enable the children living in their care to reach higher educational levels.

The analysis of the diversity based on school types clarifies that there is a considerable overrepresentation in the school types with lower level outputs (apprentice school, schools with modified curric-

ulum). There is a low rate of children who appear in higher levels and schools where Matura levels are obtainable. It seems that these days the professional care service basically expects the education system, the schools, to assist these children growing up in state care to make progress in schools with higher indicators of success. In severe cases separation is advised.

The first topic of the open questions of the questionnaires asked for responses about the preparation of the implementors and the features of partnership. The responders reflected on the deficiencies of state child care with highlighting their demand about having training and retraining schemes and common professional development workshops. Besides, the need for more concentrated attention to the participants is also mentioned. The proposals in connection with the improvement of the services of the education system point out the necessity of changing the attitudes of teachers and improving their qualifications together with changing the methodology and the content of the classes. All responses underline the importance of establishing closer connections between the education system and the child protection service. The establishment of partnership, more frequent meetings, common evaluations, mutually assisting and strengthening activities are recommended in the answers.

The questions about the challenges concerning the learning process wish to improve the service system of the inclusive space. the suggestions coming from the child protection sector intend to strengthen the competence-based education and underline the importance of supplementing the fallback rapidly and efficiently. The proposals expect the involvement of assisting personnel (developing pedagogues) and co-operation that is reflected in the results of the young learners. it is important to note the positive feature that the respondents do not consider the situation of the school results as something unchangeable. They believe in the possibility of improvement and make constructive suggestions and elaborate ways of solutions. the positive attitude of the responders may constitute the appropriate foundation of the establishment of inclusive services.

Responses about motivation in schools expressed the view that an inclusive school environment based on individually-taylored development would significantly improve the school performance of learners whose school paths are marked by failure and repeating school years. However, each and every suggestion for treating problems of

discipline and behavioral disorders mentions the services of special (separated) homes and does not give solutions that would deal with these issues preventively and in integrated settings. They do not hint at the chances of partnerships that may bring in services to schools from beyond the competences of the implementors in the inclusive space. The suggestions about shifting schools and the corresponding loss of time also refer to the educational institutions: children get into special care irrelevant of the school year, though flexibility would be needed to prevent problems corresponding to going to another school. The other important proposal was made on the activities of the basic services (including family assistance and child welfare) in order to prevent that children would get into special services with irreparable, enormous backlog.

### ***Regional analyses***

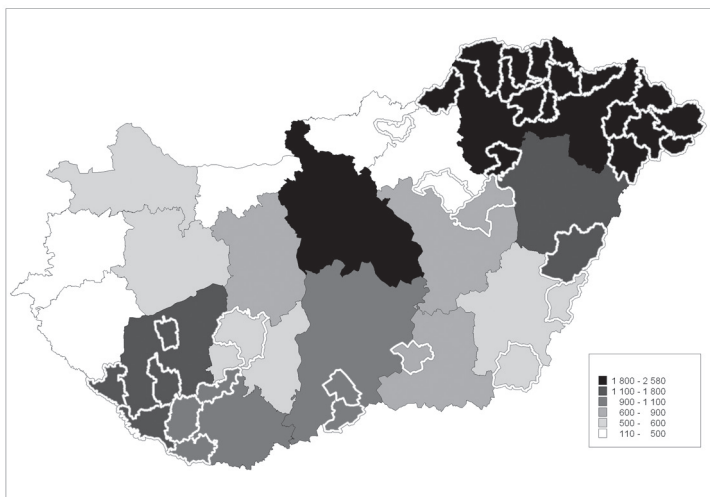
The affirmations made based on countrywide data outline a general view on the child protection service. However, the comparative analysis of the smaller units is also necessary. The data collection of the research makes it possible to conduct evaluations at county levels as well. It is a viable method to carry out an analysis and make conclusions focusing on counties, as they possess a significant level of autonomy. Besides, the determination of the socio-geographical conditions, the location of the given county, its geographical advantages and drawbacks are analysable from the statistical data of the Central statistical service (KSH).

The geographical analysis of the child protection service according to counties is assisted by maps.<sup>98</sup> The scrutiny surveys general data: distribution of children looked after by the service according to counties, the proportions of time spent in the system and the differences of placement types. The data was provided on request in questionnaires by the directors of the child protection service in the specific counties.

*Map 2* helps viewing the regional distribution of children living in child protection. It is salient that the regional distribution is not even. Most children in state care live in Budapest, Pest and Somogy counties. The high number in the central part of the country is explained by the fact that 30 % of the total population of the country resides here.

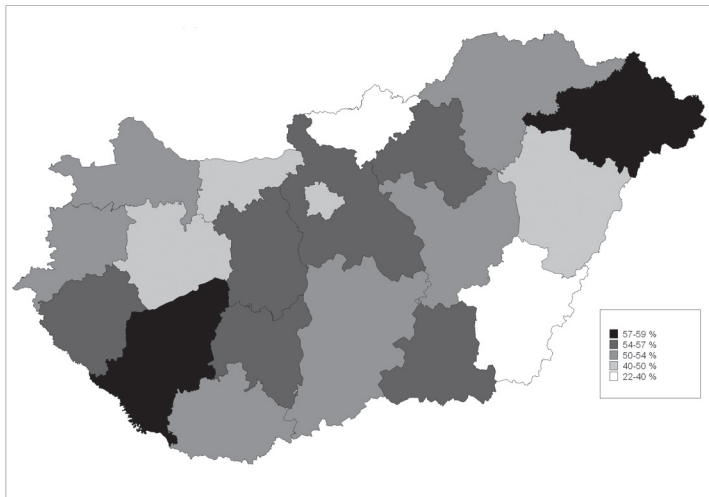
White surrounding lines show the most disadvantaged small regions of the country. Apparently, in most of these regions the proportion of children in state care is tremendously high, whereas in the developed counties of Eastern and Central Transdanubia there are considerably less children in child protection. In the background of this we may find the principle of the service according to which the child must be placed in the proximity of the family. The majority of the children in child protection are taken out from underprivileged families. This also results in an additional geographical disadvantage as the examined learners most probably live in regions where the disadvantaged position of the settlement further aggravates the negative difference of chances. This also manifests itself in the difficulties of gaining access to the necessary supportive (educational, developmental) services.

**Map 2.** *The number of children living in state care and the most disadvantaged small regions*  
(Source: National research on child protection 2009)



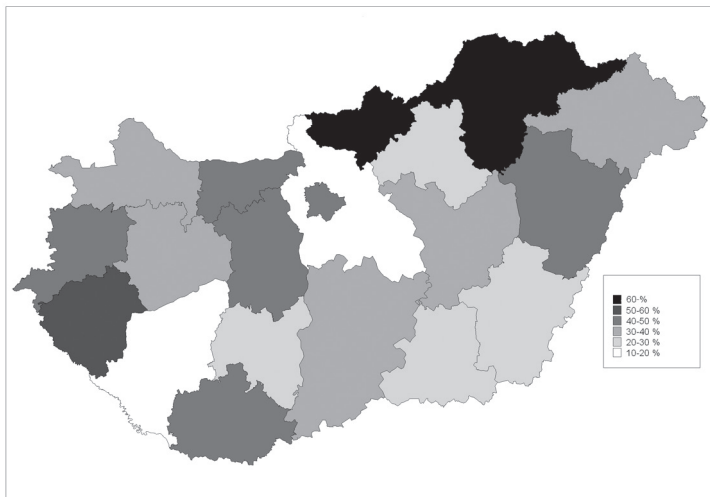
*Map 3* depicts at county levels the timespan (the percentage of life) that the children living in state care spent in this child protection service. The regional differences are significant. Calculating with children over the age of 1 year, the countrywide average is more than 50 %, meaning that the children in the child protection system spent more than half of their life in this care service. Békés county with its 40% is significantly under the rates of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg and Somogy counties with their approximate 60%. In these three counties there were between 500 and 2000 people taken into account from the point of this indicator. There is a considerable difference between counties with similar conditions. (Csongrád – Békés, Baranya – Somogy, Hajdú-Bihar – Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg). It would be useful to inspect the efficiency of the basic care services here, as it is possible to assume that children spend less time in state care / state child protection owing to the successful preventive work done by the service personnel of the local family assistance and child welfare services. It would also be worth surveying the sphere local civil (NGO) activity and the participation of the churches in those services that prevent children from getting into state care and assist families in the reintegration of their children.

**Map 3.** *Time spent in child protection (% of lifespan) child care (Source: National research on child protection 2009)*



The county-wise distribution of the services differs considerably: in the central parts of the country, in Pest and Bács-Kiskun counties foster parents dominate in the preferred placement settings of children in state care (70-80%), whereas in the Northwestern region, Komárom-Esztergom, Győr-Moson-Sopron and Vas counties the majority lives in childrens' homes (60-75%). It is interesting to remark, that in the regions characterized by higher levels of development foster parent placement is less frequent. Presumably, this is in connection with the fact that foster parental care is 'cheaper', so the county councils of financially underprivileged areas probably strived for providing this type of placements.<sup>99</sup> It is also a plausible explanation that in areas characterized by a narrow range of opportunities at the labour market, foster parenting may mean a an accessible form of long-term employment.

**Map 4.** Rates of children in child protection aged 15-17 who still learn in primary schools  
(Source: National research on child protection 2009)



The following scrutinies will focus on the levels of education (*Map 4*). The indicator of dropout and early school leaving is the overage at a certain stage of schooling. There is a countrywide high proportion of children living in state care who are at the age of secondary schooling

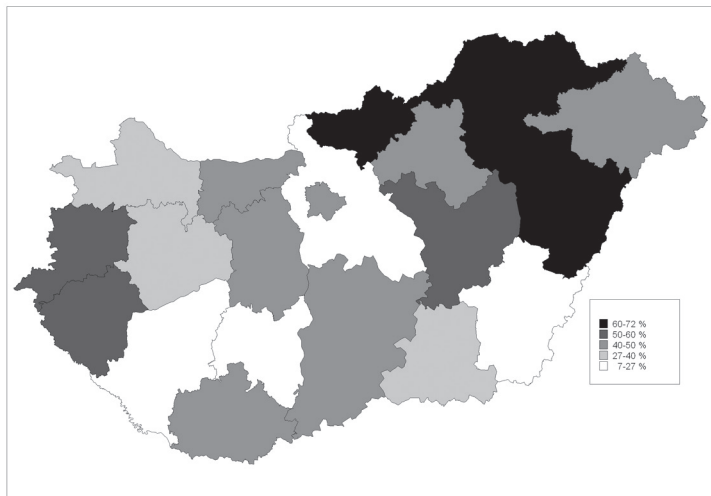
(15-17), but still learn in primary schools despite this. The country average of the whole peer group is 6 %, whereas among children in state care it is six times more, 36 %. This data indicates the extent of their educational fallback compared to the peer groups.

It is also observable that there are huge regional differences. According to the county rates shown by *Map 4*, in Borsod-Abaúj county approximately 60 % of them did not finish primary school in due time, in eight years. The most favorable situations are observable in Pest and Somogy counties. Nevertheless, even here the rate of learners aged 15-17 is the double (10-12 %) of the country average. We can see relatively positive data in two counties of South-Plain (Békés, Csongrád), and in Heves and Tolna counties. There is a spectacularly enormous difference between Borsod-Abaúj Zemplén and Hajdú-Bihar counties. Although the social and economic situation in the two regions is relatively similar, there is a big difference between the rates of over-age learners. In Hajdú-Bihar county this rate is 31 %, in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén it is 62 %, the highest rate in the country. There is a similar, but lower discrepancy between two neighboring countries in the South Transdanubia, Somogy and Baranya. The situation seems to be considerably better in Somogy. These differences do not reflect the quality of the different county services, although this explanation might also be given a second thought. Data might be distorted by several factors, however, such as the huge number of children with basic school problems appearing in the care system.

Maps 5 and 6 depicts the proportions of secondary school age children who still attend primary schools compared to the timespans spent in state child protection. Map 5 shows the rate of those who spent there less than 2 years, whereas Map 6 depicts those who spent there more than 8 years. It is observable regionally and nationally as well, that in the latter case the situation is more favorable, though the regional differences are high here as well. As it was expected, the worst conditions are measured in the disadvantaged Northeastern part of the country. Nonetheless, it is salient that the situation is considerably better in Szabolcs-Szatmár and Somogy counties. The best situations are observed in the 4 counties depicted in white colour, where the maximum of 25 % of the children aged 15-17 are overage primary school learners. On Map 6 these trends changed a little bit. In Borsod-Abaúj county there was a slight improvement, but the situation continued to be worst in the country.

It is worth noting the trends visible by comparing the maps. The highest rates of improvement (decrease in the rates of overage) are observable in Hajdú-Bihar, Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok and Bács-Kiskun counties. In these counties the timespan spent in state care counted most, whereas it played the least significant roles in Zala, Baranya and Békés counties. Somogy, Tolna and Pest counties kept their favorable conditions.

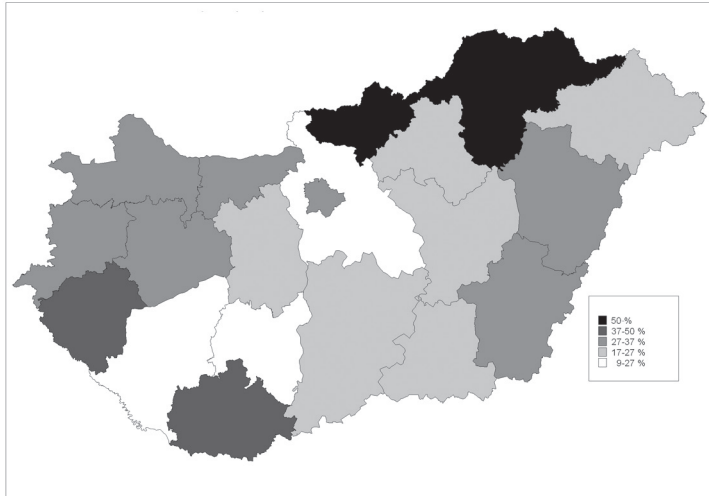
**Map 5.** Proportion of children aged 15-17 still in primary school who spent less than 2 years in child protection  
(Source: National research on child protection 2009)





**Map 6.** Rates of children still at primary school aged 15-17 who spent more than 8 years in child protection

(Source: National research on child protection 2009)



A very low number of children living in state care aged 15-17 attend secondary schools providing matura examinations. Their proportion is 15 %, whereas the average of the overall 15-17 aged population is 71 % (Halász–Lannert editor 2006). Budapest shows the highest rate of state care children in educations providing matura exams (22%). On the other end of the scale, we find Borsod-Abaúj county with the lowest figure, 6 %. The majority of state care children learns in apprentice schools at the secondary level, their rates are highest in Békés and Somogy counties ( so here in these two counties there are highest numbers of learners who finished primary schooling on time and continued their studies in apprentice schools, whereas in Budapest and in Pest county, where the rates of secondary schooling are also higher than average, more learners choose schools that provide matura examination). In Budapest and its surroundings probably it is the wider range of educational offer that makes it more attractive to choose matura exams. In Borsod-Abaúj Zemplén county there is a fallback in the field of education. It is worth stressing, however, that

around 60 % of children aged 15-17 in state care are primary school students in this county, which signals the danger of early dropout.

The statistical data tends to confirm that the longer time children spend in the state child protection system, the higher chances they will have to obtain higher levels of education. For instance, the learners aged 15-17 who spent less than two years in the child protection system have a rate of overage primary school attendance of 41, 5 % and a rate of schooling in matura-providing institutions as low as 11 %. On the contrary, every fifth child who spent more than 8 years in the system attends an institution where obtaining the matura is available. Only 29 % of them are primary school students. However, it is also worth taking into consideration that plenty of children who spent less than two years in the child protection system were placed there due to problems of discipline and studies. This was confirmed by the textual answers in the questionnaire. The respondents claimed that making up for their backlog was extremely difficult owing to the unsuccessful school performance before getting into state care. Furthermore, we should also remember that even those children who spent more than 8 years in child protection have multiple fallbacks compared to their peer groups.

### **Summary**

At the time of our scrutiny the statistical data of the child protection system, which is maintained by the counties and possesses considerably strong autonomy at the county levels, revealed significant differences concerning the educational levels of the children in the given area. These differences could be connected to the regional features or the quality of the basic and specialized care system. It is a general view that the time spent in the service system may help and promote further education and may decrease the possibility of dropout. However, based on deeper analysis this correlation is not obvious and true for all the counties. Those secondary school age (usually still in primary schools) children who were placed in state care for a short time or a short time ago, apparently struggle with more problems of learning and discipline. However, we cannot claim that long-term developments in the child protection system were absolutely successful from the viewpoint of increasing educational levels because statistical data clearly reflects that even the schooling data of children with the lon-

gest timespans spent in child care have much worse schooling results than the averages of the population. If we inspect the data according to counties, it will become clear that there are huge discrepancies between the counties. It is also observable that the form of placement does not have a direct impact on educational success and levels of schooling. Placements in the structure of foster parent care do not seem to have a significant positive influence on schooling levels, although it could be expected that the better opportunities of socialization in this form should lead to better school performance. This is a crucially important observation and clearly highlights that there is a lot to be done to improve the selection and the qualifications of foster parents and to expand the scope and the availability of supportive services (psychologists, pedagogical assistants) in order to obtain the required and presupposed benefits of the foster parent system.

The maps of counties reveal significant discrepancies. Beyond the traditional gap between traditionally poor and rich regions, there are considerable differences between neighboring and socially similar counties. This is particularly observable in the case of Borsod-Abaúj Zemplén and Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg counties. In Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg the system is far more successful and significantly more children gain higher qualifications and the rate of dropout is also spectacularly lower. The relative successes and relative failures in the given counties call for learning about these cases. Moreover, for lifting the low educational levels and decreasing the rates of overage and dropout it would be essential to establish close relationships with the educational sector. Increasing the responsibility and the professional preparation of the educational sector would also be also indispensable in order to assist children in state care with solving their educational problems.

These statements pinpoint that the approximately 20 000 children living in state care have considerable disadvantages compared to their peers growing up in families in connection with their schooling opportunities as well. For them it is especially important that the specialized care service and the education system both should be inclusive and able to react to their financial needs with appropriate services.

## **Dropout or inclusion?**

In this chapter the results of the 'Dropout and Compensation of disadvantages' research project will be presented.<sup>100</sup> This analysis will provide a review about the disadvantage<sup>101</sup> and Roma/Gypsies learner performance and the features of learning environment in primary schools that introduced the IPR (Integrated Pedagogical System, Integrációs Pedagógiai Rendszer). This analysis was conducted based on guidelines of inclusion, highlighting those components of inclusion that may lead to success for people in a given space.<sup>102</sup>

We have seen from the previously presented statistical data that in Hungary primarily the children of uneducated and low-income parents are those who go through a characteristically unsuccessful school path and are endangered by early school leaving. Several publications have revealed the Hungarian and European situation and necessary interventions (Varga 2014a, Imre 2014, Mártonfi 2014, Híves 2015). In addition to the social disadvantages, belonging to a cultural minority group reinforces these social mechanisms. According to an international research the migrant children are particularly affected by this in several places, whereas in Hungary the Roma/Gypsy community has to face this situation<sup>103</sup> (Neményi 2013, Messing 2013).

In the previous chapters we could familiarize with the notion of inclusion and within this the content of Inclusive Excellence and Inclusive Index. These were the indicators of transforming environment into 'friendly'. The changes in the educational policy after year 2000 were also treated. These were eager to provide pedagogical interventions in order to ensure successful integrated education. We have evaluated the IPR as an inclusive model. We will be able to analyse this model in its practical implementation.

### ***Viewpoints of analysis***

The second chapter introduced us to a detailed description about the criteria system shaped by the application of the approach of Inclusive Excellence, Inclusive Index and the institutional development model of the IPR. We observed that there were six components.

A detailed description was provided about the set of criteria based on the theoretical approach of Inclusive Excellence, the Inclusive Index and the institutional development model of the Integrative

Pedagogical System (IPR) in the second chapter of this book. It was observed that there were six elements of the criteria system for handling diversity appearing in school settings. We will recall these now in order to help the analysis of the features presented in the following research.

1. The inclusive space and the material environment reflects a salient system of values, it reflects openness and diversity, showing the values and expectations of all the creators.
2. The approach of appreciating diversity is one of the cornerstones of inclusion that has to characterize all the levels and participants of the inclusive process. This approach is observable through the positive approach of those present in the common space, pushing the negative stereotypes into the background.
3. The appropriate preparation of the implementors ensure that the activities indispensable for putting the inclusive theory into practice become successful. The daily application of the abundance of pedagogical methods may guarantee the successful handling of diversity.
4. Understanding and assisting the individual pedagogical paths, individually tailored contents and actions belong to the scope of the institutional pedagogical services. A complex pedagogical system may succeed in reacting efficiently to the differences between the members of the common space.
5. The viewpoints of co-operation and partnership emphasize the importance of the common actions of groups and institutions inside and outside the inclusive space.
6. A continuous innovation is a condition of shaping a receptive environment. It does not consider inclusion as separate interventions, but as a renewal accompanied by continuous evaluation.

The comprehensive analysis of the institutions in the scope of are scrutiny was conducted based on these criteria. The analysis revealed the correlations between the extent of the specific viewpoints of inclusion and the successful performance of the learners. We inspected the relevance of the given viewpoints in the institutions proving different types of learner success. The examination of the institutions was not carried out one by one, but according to groups of institutions. Since the extend of learners 'success' was compared to inclu-

sive criteria, those institutions constituted a group where the students had similar results. We had to create a Student Success Index (SSI) which indicated the success of the progress of the students in that institution. The SSI of institutions participating in this research<sup>104</sup> was made based on a complex equation.<sup>105</sup>

First, we surveyed the progress and admission into higher education by making an observable difference between institutions providing matura exams and the lower level education in apprentice schools. By the additions of the data about three school years we gained a student number that provided analyzable data. The next step was to analyse the averages of going to higher education. We compared the institutional macrodata of the learners with the country wide averages,<sup>106</sup> then the inspection of the differences in the further education data of the learners with diverse socio-cultural backgrounds.<sup>107</sup> Those institutions are successful that have data approximating or exceeding the country average, and there is a little difference between the data of the total learner average and the data on learners with different socio-cultural background (disadvantaged and multiply disadvantaged learners). An institution is less successful if there is a higher extent of fallback from the national average of going into a higher education or/and there is a wider gap between the institutional average and the data of disadvantaged learners. All the institutions received an SSI based on these criteria, which were also complemented by the data of repeated years. After the calculations the categorization of the examined schools was carried out according to the SSI. This was followed by categorization. There were four categories based on the principle of graduality. Data on higher education, year repeating rates, comparisons of the indicators to the average of all learners and disadvantaged learners were taken into consideration. Based on the scales of institutional figures gained by the calculations and their concentration, four categories were formed: 'successful', 'advancing', 'lagging' and 'unsuccessful'. These sets of data were complemented by comments about results and failures in the interviews with the leaders of the institutions. These also helped the interpretation of the data processed through statistical analysis.

– 'Successful' SSI category: those 10 institutions with the highest rates where the data on going on to higher education approximate the country average or exceed it. There is not any significant

difference between learners with different backgrounds in connection with the viewpoint of higher education. Rates of repeating years remain under the country average.

- ‘Advancing’ are those 17 institutions where rates of going on to higher education are a bit lower and except for two cases repeated years are under country average. It is a characteristic of this category that these institutions show lower output data, but repeating school years do not characterize them either

- ‘Lagging’ SSI characterizes 23 institutions where data on going into higher education are under the country average, especially in connection with disadvantaged learners, in 25 % of the cases rates of repeating years exceed the country average. There is no about the SSI indicating progress into higher education, but it is observable in connection with the figures about repeated years. this shows that some institutions may provide the same output if a certain percentage of their learners repeat years, whereas others may achieve the same output without repeated years.

- The common feature of the 22 institutions belonging to the ‘unsuccessful’ category is the spectacular fallback from the countrywide average of going into higher education. In one third of them exceeds the national levels of repeated years as well. There are similar figures in connection with going on to higher education and huge differences about the number of repeated years between the institutions.

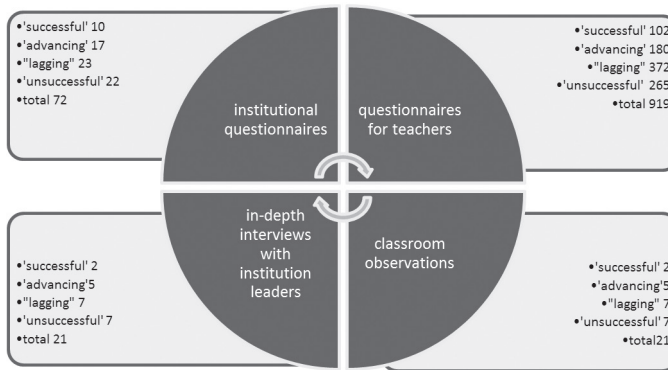
### **Data sources**

The research sample consisted of 147 primary schools that deal with the education of underprivileged Roma/Gypsy learners. The research team of the OFI conducted the effect study of the further trainings of teachers organized in the framework of the Integrative Program run by the Sulinova company (Liskó–Fehérvári 2008). The institutions in the scope of this research had been favoured by an EU funding source. They are located in various points of the country, but they are overrepresented in socially disadvantaged areas of the country. This research was conducted in order to conduct a follow-up in the institutions that had received the EU support in 2007.

The tools of research were on-line questionnaires filled out by institution leaders and teachers. Institution leaders provided statisti-

cal data as well, whereas teachers could express their personal opinions. In 33 institutions interviews and classroom observations were made. Those questionnaires submitted by institutional leaders were assessed that included enough responses for analysis (72). The teachers working in the same institutions also handed in questionnaires valuable for evaluation (919), which were complemented by data of field research work (deep interviews of institution leaders – 21, classroom observations – 21) *Graph 8*.

**Graph 8.** *The sample of research – numbers of institutions*



**General institutional view (Context)**

The 50% of the institutions of the sample submitted questionnaires that were filled out by the institution leaders, enabling an SSI calculation and the corresponding scrutiny of inclusivity. The institutions involved in the analysis are illustrated according to their SSI<sup>108</sup> (*Map 7*).

21 % of the examined institutions is situated in small settlements with a number of inhabitants lower than 1000, 50 % in communes with more than 1000 inhabitants, 11 % in towns with less than 10 000 inhabitants and 6 % in towns with more than 10 000 inhabitants. 4 % is located in cities with county status and there is an institution in the capital as well. There is an apparent overrepresentation of settlements with a low number of inhabitants. 25% of the examined institutions function in bigger settlements. Surveying the SSI categories, the most successful institutions are found in all settlement types. The



'advancing' and the 'lagging' institutions are concentrated in small settlements, although we may find the representation in big cities as well. The unsuccessful institutions are without exceptions in communes. This confirms that the disadvantage connected to the settlement type has a strong negative influence on progress in the studies and student performance.<sup>109</sup>

**Map 7.** The geographical location of the examined institutions with their SSI categorization



If we inspect the distribution according to counties, then we will see that there are no outstanding regions judging from the viewpoint of success. We may find institutions belonging to different SSI categories in the same settlements and in the same regions. We find plenty of the most unsuccessful institutions in disadvantaged areas. This indicates that the regional and settlement-wise differences cannot be left out of consideration. However, the differences between institutions in the same areas or settlements should also be observed and evaluated.

If we conduct our scrutiny about the number of learners, we will see that in the 'successful' category there are bigger schools. There is a lower number of students in the advancing and deteriorating cat-

egories. 'Lack of success' is typical of small schools. The affirmations are about the averages of student numbers. Nonetheless, within all SSI categories, a considerable distribution and extent are identifiable, which means diverse institutional size (varying numbers of students). It seems that the total number of students in an institution does not have a direct correlation with the success of the groups in focus (Chart 6).

Data proves the generally assumed view that the lower rate of disadvantaged and multiple disadvantaged learners means higher success. In other words, the proportion of disadvantaged and multiple disadvantaged learners increases towards the less successful categories. However, the scrutiny of separate categories considerably dithers the image. Statistical analysis of the data (average, distribution) will reveal this.

**Chart 6.** Total number of students in institutions according to their SSI categories [Source: questionnaire for institution leaders (N:72)]

SSI category	Number of schools	Total number of students	Not disadvantaged	Disadvantaged	Multiply disadvantaged	Students with special needs	Not disadvantaged (%)	Disadvantaged (%)	Multiply disadvantaged (%)	Students with special needs (%)
Successful	10	3081	2026	1055	394	166	60	40	16	6
Advancing	17	3827	1807	2020	1031	190	48	52	29	6
Lagging	23	5801	2073	3728	2383	430	36	64	42	8
Unsuccessful	22	3306	1008	2298	1615	243	30	70	49	8
Total	72	16015	6914	9101	5423	1029	44	56	34	7

### **Analyses with focus on inclusion**

The conditions of the school buildings are better maintained than the average level in the average of all the examined schools. The availability of classrooms is also acceptable. There are occasional problems due to the lack of gyms. Concerning technical equipment, on average the institutions reported small-scale deficiencies. The responses about missing resources were considerably similar. According to these answers, the funding of the basic services is stable, but there is a lack of funds for complementary services. The observations of field researchers on site confirm the statements of the institutional

leaders on the institutional environment. School yards are well kept, regardless of being paved or grassy. Arrangement and furniture of the classrooms show more differences. In the institutions of the successful category, we find classrooms with plenty of furniture and plants. As we go towards the less successful institutions, the number of well-furnished and well-arranged, tastefully decorated classrooms decreases. The same can be said about the products of the students and their appearance in the school space.

To conclude, we can state that the infrastructural conditions are similar in the examined institutions. Among the reasons for successful student performance, better infrastructural conditions are not identifiable. The difference is observable in the extent of taking advantage of the opportunities and the demand of ensuring the material conditions of inclusivity.

The inclusive institutional approach, which manifests itself in the attitude of the teachers, is the corner stone of inclusivity<sup>97</sup>. This mutually receptive approach, which is free of prejudice and stereotypes, succeeds in reacting to real demands and features efficiently. This is why we will examine the reputation of the examined target groups from many angles and in different topic areas. During our reasearch we relied on the responses given by teachers in questionnaires and, which were complemented by the details of the deep interview of the institution leaders.

The first set of questions examined general human and children rights such as free choice of schools, education with the same standard quality, integrated education. The institutions with different SSI categories judge these topics in very similar ways, the answers show political correctness characteristic of democracies, though desire to comply with expectations may have played a role in this as well. There was a basic agreement about the fact that all students deserve education with the same quality, possibly in integrated settings. The following questions listed reasons for the learning problems of disadvantaged children. The reasons were categorized according to family-related or school-related. There are not any significant differences between opinions of teachers in different SSI categories. They admit deficiencies of schools, do not try find reasons elsewhere. This is also true about their opinions on methods of compensation.

The topics examining the attitudes of the teachers also involve the education of Roma/Gypsy learners. Based on the SSI categorization of

the answers, we may observe a gradual difference. In institutions with lower levels of success the teaching personnel seem to agree with the stereotypes about the Roma/Gypsy community. This is true about almost all these stereotypical ideas, including poor environment, impressive dancing talent, parental negligence, unhealthy lifestyle. However, in the more successful schools teachers and institutional leaders expressed with significantly higher frequency that the reasons for the lack of success are due to institutional factors as well. To sum up, the teachers of the more successful institutions (with better SSI indicators) do not blame the students or their family backgrounds, or their Roma/gypsy ethnicity for their failure, but also see the failure factors in connection with the education system and their schools.

The evaluation viewpoint about the teachers refers to the research results of different projects that highlight the importance of the high professional qualifications of teachers and their key role in providing learner success. (for example Barber–Mourshed 2007).

The proportion of teachers with higher qualifications (university diplomas) increase as we advance towards the categories of more successful institutions. The most successful institutions are outstanding in this respect, then the difference decreases gradually with lower proportions. According to the data provided by the institution leaders, around 115 teachers are missing from the 72 scrutinized institutions. It is salient that from the 'successful' institutions only 1 employee, whereas the rest is distributed evenly in the other categories. Teachers who teach a subject without adequate qualifications show a similar picture in their SSI distribution. We observe here the common problem of missing professionals in small schools, which particularly affects underprivileged learners, increasing their disadvantages.

All teachers without exceptions participated in further trainings in the past five years, in all SSI categories. Therefore the question is whether the professional application of the acquired knowledge really became useful in the educational institutions. Among these trainings the professional exam in pedagogy and other diploma-providing trainings are particularly salient. The more 'successful' an institution is, the higher rates of participants engage in these training forms, especially in the most successful institutions.

Teachers also expressed their opinions about the knowledge necessary for teaching Roma/Gypsy learners. Judging from the responses, it may be concluded that even though many training programs

swept over all the schools during the past couple of years, teachers found little help for dealing with their practical everyday problems. This is particularly true about less successful schools where problems accumulate and the situations cry for solutions. It is apparent that the practical parts did not receive enough emphasis during the trainings and successful application of the methods is scarce.

Among the institutional pedagogical services we inspected the individual development during the classes first. The institutions of the 'successful' category applied individually tailored developments in more frequent cases than the number of their multiply disadvantaged learners, whereas other schools make use of these forms of individual trainings less frequently than the number of their multiply disadvantaged learners. This fundamental differences shows an important deficiency as it is impossible to compensate for the fallback of learners with diverse disadvantages and many types of backlog by taking advantage of consciously planned individual development.

We examined further pedagogical services organized or provided by the schools, such as art education, day care, nationality education, workshops, study circles, summer camps and forest schools. Almost all institutions provide some types of services, most frequently day care facilities and various types of study circles. This is followed by basic level art education and summer camps, which are among the services in more than half of the schools involved in our scrutiny. Nationality programs are run by fewer schools. 25 % of the institutions offer activities in forest schools. Except for the art education, in all institutions in all activities there is a higher representation of disadvantaged children than the school average. The overview of the SSI categories reveals that the day care and study circles that ensure influence on a daily basis are present in all schools of the 'successful' and 'advancing' categories only. Approximately 75 % of the 'successful' institutions take their children to summer camps, whereas this rate is around 50 % in the other categories. The high proportion of disadvantaged and multiply disadvantaged children indicates that all institutions make efforts to run complementary pedagogical services and involve more and more disadvantaged children. In the institutions characterized by higher success rates there is a higher proportion of regular sessions, which probably promotes efficient progress in the studies of the learners. Nevertheless, in order to evaluate the real efficiency of these services, it would be necessary to inspect the content of them as well.

There is another opportunity of complementary services through involvement in the various national support projects. The IPR, which focuses on disadvantaged learners, functions in 80 % of the institutions, although there is a tendency of dropback, especially in the higher SSI categories. It would be worth examining this process, as the IPR succeeded in achieving spectacular results among disadvantaged learners in spite of the criticisms concerning its implementation. This is confirmed by research results and interviews with institution leaders as well. (Kézdi–Surányi 2008, Havas–Zolnay 2011).

The Útravaló and Macika scholarship offers seemed less attractive for those schools who had higher rates of underprivileged learners, as statistical data shows their low-profile involvement in these countrywide programs. The schools in the 'successful' category had a high proportion of participation in the work of eco-schools and talent points (30 %), the other categories show different levels of interest. The intention of taking advantage of external opportunities is present in virtually all schools. However, 'successful' schools tend to have more activities that are not only aimed at disadvantaged children, but all the learners. This may result in a larger variety of more many-sided development.

Approximately 50 % of the schools in the sample may say that there is a worker responsible for child protection within the school, regardless of the SSI category. Judging from the interviews, this service is particularly useful for the school if the appropriate person and the pedagogical service are available. We claim that there would be a higher demand for this service considering the high number of underprivileged learners. This service is spectacularly missing from several 'advancing' and 'unsuccessful' institutions. Unfortunately, the child protection service suffers from lack of personnel, especially in small settlements. As a consequence, there is little chance of filling this gap with partnership. This may become an obstacle hindering successful advancement and may result in unsolved problems.

We analyzed the forms of the cooperation network and partnership based on the criteria given in the questionnaire for institution LEADERS. We evaluated the frequency and the effectiveness of the partnerships. We asked about partners who could assist students' advancement with complementary services. In general we may conclude that the more successful an institution is, the more effective it appears to be in all areas of partnership. In the case of an under-

privileged student group it is crucially important to involve the supportive work of the family and child welfare service, especially if we barely mind the long number of the child welfare employees working in schools. It is interesting to note that the institutions belonging to the „successful” category, where the proportion of the multiple disadvantage learners considerably lower, take advantage of the child welfare service more often. These institutions consider this partnership more effective than the „unsuccessful” institutions.

The reason for this could be that the underprivileged regions or in small settlements the child welfare services have low capacities due to the overload and tasks in other settlement. They have limited resources and abilities to find solutions to the veriest problems due to the lack of resources and capacities.

We were only able to inspect the relationship with Roma Minority Councils and Civil Organizations (NGO) where these organizations exist and function actively. Apparently there is a relationship on amountly or even less regular basis. This form of partnership was generally considered fruitful by the schools. It would be worth investigating how this form of support could be strenghtened in the institutions even with targeted tenders.

The services offered by pedagogical professional services count as a p- plus for the students that they do not always receiving school as the necessary resources and professional knowledge are not always rented. These extra services would be especially helpful for underprivileged student groups however, observing the data of SSI category averages we may see that as we are approaching lower multiple disadvantage proportions, we observ more frequent and successful partnership. It would be worth expecting regularly whether the services in cities and county seats are available ans possess the capacity with up-to-date knowledge and the devices to cater for all service demands. It would be essential to improve these services according to the information gained from these data collections.

The most sallient factor is the difference between the evaluation of the partnership with secondary schools. „Successful” institutions have spectacularly more frequent instenses of partnership. In addition, the rate of effectiveness is increasing towards the more successful institutions. The expansion and successful management of this partnership is a key factor in the interest of students’ advancement.

There is a study hole in one third of the examined settlements.

Co-operation with them does not regularly exceed the monthly basis. The evaluation of effectiveness also varies considerably it would be useful to lay more emphasis on this expending extracurricular means of support in the partnership networks of school, not only making it obligatory for study holes to cooperate with schools.

All in all, we may observe that although the partnership network is not outstanding, the cooperations are basically successful according to the institution leaders. It is also apparent that the „more successful” institutions are able to take advantage of the support offered by different forms of partnership more often and with better results. Due to this fact it would be necessary to reveal what factors prevent a large profile presence of supportive activities in the less successful SSI categories. Moreover, it should be investigated how partners could be involved more actively into school life.

The other side of partnership network is the personal contact with parents and learners. We asked the teachers about the varied forms of this partnership. All teachers performed almost each and every service that we listed on a daily basis. The interviews with the institution leaders reveal more about the partnership with Roma/Gipsy parents. Basically, it is salient that teachers and institutions search for ways of partnership with the families and with suitable means they manage to obtain success. So the question is not the frequency of contact but the content and quality.

All institutions are characterized by the need of continuous innovation and the development, as they were involved in the scrutiny sample because they had participated in development projects supported by tender sources (HEFOP 2.1) before 2007, most of which consisted of teacher trainings. It is apparent that tender application activity has remained high after the HEFOP tender of the last resource period. 71% of the institutions in the SSI category was favoured by some kind of TAMOP development. The highest activity is observable in the „successful” category (80%), this is followed by the 'unsuccessful' category with a small margin. It is also apparent that two-thirds of the institutions gained tender funding for methodical development and one-third for infrastructural development as well.

Of course, this high application activity is a positive phenomenon. Nevertheless, it would be important to assess the level of profit as well. Probably, there are institutions that have become advocates of continuous development owing to gaining funds in the consecutive



tenders of HEFOP and TAMOP and experiencing their advantages. However, there must be institutions that can only rely on these financial sources in the under-resources system of public education. We consider it important to provide the continuous development of constitutions, which cannot be imagined without granting the necessary resources. During the analysis of profit, it is important to inspect whether the given resource supported the advancement of under-privileged learners and how it managed to do it (extent form).

As a summary, we may make conclusions about all the institutions together or we may refer separately to the SSI categories indicating student success with development-oriented evaluations.

As a general statement we may affirm that there is a direct correlation between the level of development of the examined indications of inclusive environment and the success of the learners. This is especially true about the institutions that belong to the 'successful' category. These schools are very different but all of them were able to establish inclusive environments adjusted to their individual feature and funding principles. Based on the presented research it is apparent that there is a marked difference between the 'successful' group the three other groups that are increasingly falling behind.

The successful institutions are models, the practical examples of implementing inclusive environment. They prove that inclusion is not only a social idea appearing at theoretical and strategic levels. Further research may shed more light on the special situation when the excellence of inclusion is shown by the advancement of all students in the institutions. In addition to these viewpoints, it is important to take into account the external conditions around the institutions and the social geographical context that form the background of the institution. According to the present study one of the salient features of successful institutions is an appropriate evaluation of their situation and the ability to find the correct answers to their problems. It is also remarkable that in these institutions there are often committed workers who are able to assert the interests of the learner groups in focus at institution levels as well.

The levels of their professional qualifications and the demand of continuous development are high. They are characterized by a partner-oriented approach. The leader of an institution mentioned the individual development plans and individual treatment as the key factors accounting for their success. The components essential for a high level

of inclusion are present at different levels in the successful institutions. There is a higher level of inclusion in institutions set in regions with bigger disadvantages well so as to achieve better student performance. Nonetheless, it is important to point out that however successful an institution is at a given moment, in order to sustain inclusion it is indispensable to provide continuous innovation and the necessary resources. The amount of these resources is determined by the effort necessary to offset the inequalities of the student and the institution itself.

For disadvantaged groups it is particularly important to provide high quality work of the family assistance and child welfare service, especially, if we take into consideration the low number of child protection representatives in schools. It is interesting to note that the institutions that belong to the 'successful' category and have significantly lower rates of disadvantaged children, ask for the services of the child protection more frequently and consider the partnership more successful than the 'unsuccessful' schools. The reason behind this fact could be that in disadvantaged regions or small settlements the child protection services are overloaded or do not have enough personnel. Due to lack of capacity and resources they are less successful in finding solutions to the multitude of problems.

We were able to inspect the relationship with Roma minority councils and civil organizations (NGOs) where these organizations exist and function actively. Apparently, there is a relationship on a monthly or even less regular basis. This form of partnership was generally considered fruitful by the schools. It would be worth examining how this form of support could be strengthened in the institutions, even with targeted tenders.

The assistance offered by pedagogical professional services mean extra pedagogical assets for the students that they do not always receive in schools, as the necessary resources and professional knowledge are not always granted. These extra services would be especially helpful for underprivileged student groups. However, observation of the SSI category averages reveals that as we approach lower multiply disadvantage rates, we see more frequent and successful partnership. It would be worth inspecting regularly whether the service in cities and county seats are available and are in possession of the capacity and up-to-date knowledge or devices to cater for all service demands. It would be essential to improve these services based on the information gained from these data collections.

The most salient factor is the difference between the evaluation of the partnership with secondary schools. 'Successful' institutions have spectacularly more frequent instances of partnership. In addition, the rate of the effectiveness is increasing towards the more successful institutions. The expansion and efficient management of this partnership is a key factor in the interest of students' progress.

There is a study hall in approximately 30 % of the surveyed settlements. Co-operation with them is not more frequent than a monthly basis. The evaluation of effectiveness also varies considerably. It would be useful to lay more emphasis on this expanding extracurricular means of support in the partnership networks of schools, not only making it obligatory for study halls to co-operate with schools.

To conclude, we may claim that although the partnership network is not outstanding, the co-operations are basically successful according to the institution leaders. It is also apparent that the 'more successful' institutions are able to take advantage of the support offered by various types of partnership more often and with better results. Owing to this fact it would be necessary to reveal what factors prevent a large-profile provision of supportive activities in the less successful SSI categories. Moreover, it should be inspected how partners could be involved more actively into school life.

The other side of partnership is the personal contact with parents and learners. We asked the teachers about various forms of this partnership. all teachers perform on a daily basis almost each and every service that we listed. the interviews with the institution leaders reveal more about the partnership with Roma/Gypsy parents. Basically, it is salient that the teachers and institutions search for ways of partnership with the families and with appropriate means they manage to obtain success. Therefore the question is not the frequency of contacts, but their content and quality.

All institutions are characterized by the need of continuous innovation and development, as they had participated in developmental projects supported by tender sources (HEFOP 2.1) before 2007, which also consisted of teacher trainings. it is salient that tender application activity has remained high since the HEFOP tender of the last research period. 71 % of the institutions in the SSI categorization participated in some kind of SROP development. The highest activity is observable in the 'successful' category (80 %), this is followed by the 'unsuccessful' category with a small margin. It is also

observable that two-thirds of the institutions gained tender sources for methodical development, another third for infrastructural development as well. Of course, this high application activity is a positive phenomenon. Nevertheless, it would be important to examine the assets. Probably, there are institutions which have been advocates of continuous development after gaining the consecutive tenders of HEFOP and TÁMOP, experiencing their advantages. However, there must be institutions that can only rely on these sources in the under-resourced system of public education. We consider it important to provide the continuous development of institutions and this cannot be imagined without granting the necessary resources. During the analysis of profit, it is important to examine whether the given resource supported the advancement of underprivileged learners as well, and if yes, how it achieved its results.

### **Summary**

As a summary, we may make observations about all the institutions together, or we may refer separately to the SSI categories indicating student success with development-oriented evaluations.

As a general statement, we may affirm that there is a direct correlation between the level of development of the examined indicators of the inclusive environment and the success of the learners. This is especially true about the institutions that belong to the 'successful' category. These schools are very different, but all of them were able to establish inclusive environments adapted to their individual features and founding pillars. Based on the presented research, it is apparent that from the viewpoint of inclusion there is a marked difference between the 'successful' group and the three other groups that are increasingly falling behind.

The successful institutions are models, the practical examples of implementing inclusive environment. They prove that inclusion is not only a social idea appearing at theoretical and strategic levels. Further research may put that special situation into the spotlight when the excellence of inclusion is shown by the advancement of all students in the institution. It is important to take into consideration the external conditions and the socio-geographical context that the institution is embedded into. According to this study, one of the salient features of successful institutions is the appropriate evaluation

of their situation and the ability to come up with suitable answers to their problems. It is also remarkable that in these institutions we often find committed members of the staff who are able to represent the interests of the learner groups in focus at institutional levels as well. The level of their professional qualifications and the demand for continuous development is high. They are characterized by a partner-oriented approach. According to one of the institution leaders the two most important key factors are the pedagogically planned, conscious individual development programs and individual treatment.<sup>110</sup>

The components essential for a high level of inclusion are present at different levels in the successful institutions depending on their geographical conditions. There is a higher level of inclusion in institutions set in regions with higher levels of disadvantages so as to achieve better student performance. Nonetheless, it is important to point out that however successful an institution is in a given moment, in order to sustain inclusion it is indispensable to provide continuous innovation and the appropriate resources.

The study made observations in connection with the other end of the scale as well. It is obvious that it is impossible to leave the regional and settlement-based disadvantages out of consideration. It is only possible to expect the institutions in disadvantaged socio-geographical context to build and sustain inclusive environment if there are complex interventions that are not restricted to the school level. Without these, the school developments will be sporadic and will not be able to produce the desired impact on the long run due to the counterproductive effects. This is apparent in cases of those 'unsuccessful' institutions where there are no considerable fallbacks from the viewpoint of inclusion, but despite this they cannot produce considerable improvement at the output level of their learner groups. Since the analysis made conclusions based on institutional averages and did not measure institutions separately, in these cases it is advisable to make institutional evaluations and plan development based on this. It is worth examining whether the methods acquired for implementing inclusion are built into the everyday practices.<sup>111</sup> We may read about the connection between methodology and everyday practice in the interviews with the institution leaders as well.<sup>112</sup>

To conclude, it is worth stressing that it is indispensable to provide inclusive environment in order to provide progress in the studies of students with different backgrounds. In the Hungarian context

the application of IPR paves the way for this. Inclusion-focused institutional assessments should be carried out and individual developmental programs should be implemented with the provision of the corresponding financial resources.

Besides, with the necessary professional expertise the horizontal and vertical supportive measures that accompany the development of the receptive environment may be added to the scope of the presently existing pedagogical services.

It could be an advantage of the high extent of state financing in public education that it would be possible to carry out a concentrated and co-ordinated monitoring of the institutions based on criteria of inclusivity. Of course, the commitment and active support of the educational policy making would also be required in order to follow this pursuit. Besides, it is inescapable to define measurable criteria at different points of the developmental process and their control. This would provide feedback on the positive advancement of student performance, in addition to information about the positive transition towards higher levels of inclusivity. This complex intervention would be planned, organized and controlled by the state educational policy. The direct implementors are the teachers, but families and the institutional partners are also present as active participants as they express their needs, supporting the progress towards inclusion. During this process mutual acceptance and its realization becomes the common interest and responsibility of the given community with relying on the knowledge and resources of everybody.

### **Inclusion in teacher training**

In the spring of 2013, at the first conference of 'Autonómia és Felelősség' (Autonomy and Responsibility)<sup>113</sup> a lecture was delivered that put the notion of inclusive pedagogy into a broader social interpretational practice besides daily practice.<sup>114</sup> The conference in Pécs was intended to establish a tradition. It managed to bring this topic into focus, as in the deeply changing public education system it remained the personal responsibility of the teachers to provide the inclusive learning environment that provides equal opportunities. Of course, this responsibility cannot be imagined taken out of the school context where legal regulations, expectations, class numbers and other

factors have to be taken into consideration. It is important to pay attention to the required attitude in the environment, the theoretical knowledge and the practical tools that the teachers have to possess in order to be able to fulfill the requirements of equity that appears among the objectives of the law on public education.<sup>115</sup> It is not debated any more that in the processes of social co-existence an environment with inclusive approach is needed. The question is how the process of mutual acceptance is shaped in practice. The answer lies in the various individual situations where teachers make efforts to build inclusive environment reflectively and adaptably.

The role of the teachers and the relevant competences are in the spotlight in 21st century schools. (Falus 2012) The courses of the teacher training programs in higher education aim at the development of these competences. The would-be teachers report on improving skills after their group or individual teaching practise. Postgraduate teachers also reflect on a fruitful experience in their teaching portfolios. In public education the practicing teachers prepare portfolios as well during the processor the planification and follow-up of their pedagogical lifepath. This proves the variety of their competences.

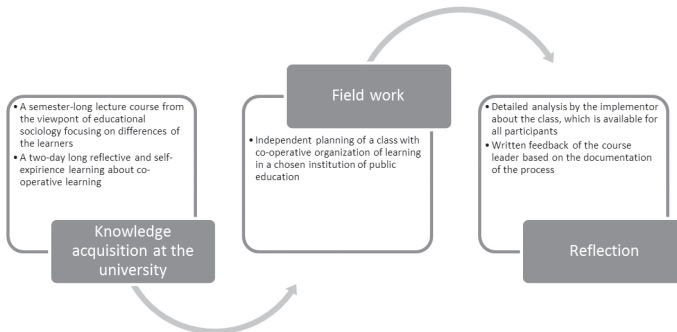
The following example was taken from higher education. We will be able to observe how teachers acquire and put into practice a pedagogical tool that supports inclusion, the co-operative organization of learning.<sup>116</sup>

The teacher training program at the University of Pécs has been striving for the provision of training forms offering a large variety of methods that develop teachers' competences by complementing the profound scientific foundations with practical applications (Varga 2011). During the postgraduate training under our present scrutiny (two-year-long postgraduate training that provided a teacher) two interdependant courses were delivered. These were later evaluated by questionnaires. The first course dealt with the basics of educational sociology in the framework of lectures. It focused on reasons for the differences between students, the necessary knowledge for their successful integrated education, the explanation of equality and equity, and the theory of inclusion.

This was followed by a course aiming at the acquisition of practical knowledge in connection with the co-operative organization of learning in reflective and self-reflective ways. This was comple-

mented by individual field experience collection and personal reflection. During these process all participants planned and tried co-operative arrangement of learning in learning groups and subjects of their choice. After this, they prepared a detailed reflection referring to the previously acquired knowledge. The complete documentation of the process was available for all participants of the course in the common public virtual surface of the course (PTE CooSpace). This documentation included the lesson plans, the applied materials, photos about implementation and the reflection of the teachers. The CooSpace web page enabled the mutual and horizontal learning of the course members. In addition, the documentation was evaluated by the course teacher as well, who gave personal feedback for the implementor. This complex learning process managed to have a many-sided and at the same time personally-taylored influence on each participant (*graph 9*).

**Graph 9.** The steps of the examined process in higher education



The aim of the course series is that teachers trained in Pécs would accept the approach of inclusion and possess the practical tools of co-operation. It often happens that familiarizing with the theory and practise of co-operation, a significant improvement of the competences is observable. As a consequence, teachers become competent in giving successful reflections to the everyday challenges of modern pedagogy. It means that with the help of developing the necessary attitude of inclusion and co-operation, together with the acquisition of the practical tools (knowledge of methods), the teacher is capable of



relying on the individual features and needs of all students in the planification of the learning process and organize structurally the interactions of the learning community in the phase of implementation (application). The students achieve measurable results at both individual and group levels. Ideally, teachers do not 'progress with the subject material' only, but give the opportunity to each and every student to develop according to their abilities in a supportive environment.

### ***The pillars of co-operation***

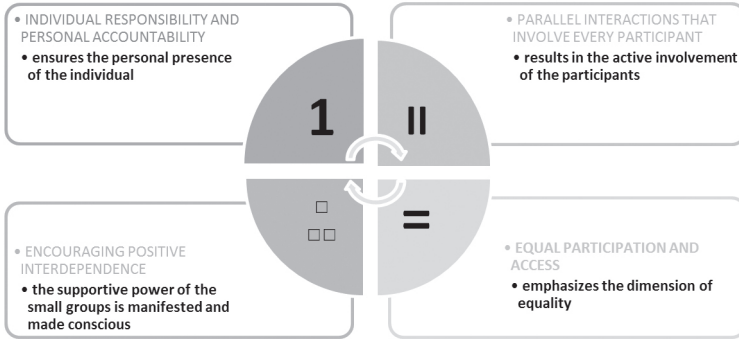
The appearance of co-operation dates back to the sixties and the seventies, to the era of the civil rights movement in the USA when separation in schools based on ethnicity was abolished. Teachers suddenly had to face the situation that their methods were no longer appropriate to organize the learning process of the new, heterogeneous groups. The following example took place in Austin, Texas, where thanks to desegregation white, Afro-American and Latino students were sitting in the same classrooms for the first time. (Aronson–Patnoe 2011). In some weeks, the constant suspicion, fear and lack of trust between the different ethnic groups poisoned the ambience of the school and established an overall bad atmosphere. Fights started in the school yards all over the town. The locally responsible educational leader invited Elliot Aronson social psychologist who investigated with his disciples what should be done so that students would get on with each other. The researchers made observations in the classrooms and described classes as follows:

The teacher is standing in the middle of the classroom, asks his questions in connection with the topic and expects that students signal that they would like to speak. Generally, 6-10 students raise their hands, lean forward in their desks and try to draw the teacher's attention to themselves. In the meantime, the other students are sitting silently, avoid eye-contact and hope that they would not be asked to answer. If the teacher asks a student wishing to speak, disappointment is clearly seen on the faces of the other students. If the response of the asked student is good, the teacher smiles, praises the student and asks the next question. Meanwhile, all the other students who do not know the answer, give a sigh of relief. They are saved. The researchers of the university in Texas drew their conclusions after some weeks of field observations in the classrooms. (Aronson–Pat-

noe 2011). Their most important conclusion is that the cause of the adversities between the groups outside the classroom are caused by competing in the classroom. In all classrooms students were working individually, provided that they worked at all, and competed for better marks against each other. Aronson and his team proposed to do away with the competing ambience and strive for shaping a friendly and co-operative community instead in order to improve learning motivation. In this pursuit, they developed the 'jigsaw puzzle' technique,<sup>117</sup> which has become one of the most popular and still widely used technique of co-operative learning. To sum up, they suggested transforming and rearranging education with establishing a positive, mutual interdependence that results in an experience-based, co-operative, competition-free learning process and enhanced levels of motivation.

Nowadays, all the scientific workshops describing the theory and practice of inclusion agree that it is a form of learning organization that is completely different from the traditional group work. The practice of inclusion is defined by several basic principles. The co-operative arrangement also uses the small-group working method but it does that consciously, strictly following its principles. An additional feature is that it does not only define the requirements of its practice, but also applies co-operative structures and roles while putting the theory into practice. In other words, in the co-operative work we observe a well-organized group activity, with the extremely conscious organizing activity of the teacher. What kind of mechanisms are identifiable during the co-operation of the students organized by the teacher? The founding pillars of the co-operative approach are the implementations of the basic principles based on socio-psychological experience. There are several different versions about the number and content of these basic principles in the professional literature of co-operative learning.<sup>118</sup> but the theories are based on the same approach. (Johnson–Johnson 1999, 2009, Kagan 2001, 2011, Arató–Varga 2012a). *Graph 10* sums up these basic principles,<sup>119</sup> highlighting the corresponding content.

**Graph 10.** Basic principles of co-operation



First, we will see the principle of personal responsibility and accountability. With the help of these the teacher ensures that the individual, in this case the child, the learner, would participate in the learning process with means of monitoring and personal commitment. The individual aspect of frontal teaching enables the teacher to monitor students' performance individually, but the capacity of the teacher is too restricted to take into consideration the progress and the demands of all learners in the classroom at the same time. traditional groupwork may make students more active, but the tasks delegated to group levels do not make enough room for the evaluation of individual progress and results. Co-operative learning keeps the system of tasks and responsibilities delegated to individual levels, but broadens the opportunities of follow-up and monitoring with the help of the supportive group linked to the learning task. Participation and motivation are strongly influenced by the extent of the learners' responsibility for the activities of the self and the group. The situations of taking individual responsibility in the framework of co-operation the learners have the chance to take up clear and well-defined tasks individually, tailored to their personalities. The most simple tools of arranging these situations are the conscious applications of the co-operative methods and structures that define the co-operative roles and working steps. However, the situation of evaluation and development should not be forgotten either. Opposed to the traditional methods, in most cases this situation is not directed or implemented by the teacher. The co-operative means of evaluation, which main-

tains personal responsibility and accountability, is the publicity of the small group. In practice, this means that the learners continuously refer to the group about their progress in carrying out their tasks, as these are in positive, mutual interdependence with the tasks of the others. This type of evaluation is different from the traditional assessment carried out by the teacher in several ways. It is continuous, unlike the intermittent evaluations done by the teacher, it is motivating and not frustrating. The publicity of the co-operative small group ensures that students would receive immediate feedback from their peers, fellow group members, about advancement in carrying out their tasks, which significantly increases their sense of responsibility and involvement.

The next basic principle is the parallel interaction that involves everybody in active work with the technique of small-group arrangement. The basic point is that the teacher applies a learning framework, where it is not only an opportunity, but a necessity to participate actively in the work of the group and co-operate with the others so that the whole group would be able to carry out the assigned tasks. The small groups, working parallelly at the same time, multiply the occasions of commenting, speaking, contributing for the students, which makes learning more profoundly embedded than passive reception. The small group is the basic unit of co-operation which can be arranged by forming heterogeneous small groups in the big group. Small groups are independent units, but they are in co-operation with other groups as well. The system of small groups implements the basic principle of interaction between all group members. The small groups are working parallelly and there are interactions within the small groups as well at a given moment of time. The personal interactions of the group are guarantees of the personal involvement of the learners and maintaining their motivation.

The third basic principle is the constructive and encouraging inter-dependability, reinforcing the supportive power of the small group. The teacher follows this principle and structures work in a way that it is only possible to progress with the active participation of all the members. The teacher distributes the interdependent tasks according to the individual needs, demands, abilities of the learners (either content-wise or task-wise). With this differentiation the teacher ensures that each and every member would be able to perform the assigned task and the contribution of each learner would have the

same value, regardless of the type of the task. The teacher establishes a supportive ambience where the students appreciate and support the individual work of their peers. At the same time the experience of mutual and positive interdependence encourages them and boosts their performance, opposed to the 'winner-loser' competing situation. If arrangement of the learning process takes into consideration the interdependability of the tasks, positive co-operation will be encouraged instead of competing. If this does not only occur at formal level, but also contentwise with the necessity of every member's knowledge and work for implementing the learning process successfully, then mutual interdependability is realized. The determined types of co-operation influence the implementation of the tasks in an encouraging, motivating way. As we have seen in the case of Aronson's jigsaw, we can only talk about real results, if the activities of all participants end successfully.<sup>120</sup> During the sequence of actions planned this way, all participants continuously feel their place, role and importance, just like in the mosaic. There is not any element that could form a unity without all the others.

The fourth principle emphasizes equal participation and access, the dimension of equal chances. frontal work and the traditional group both provide opportunity for equal participation, if the student is able and willing to progress together with the teacher and the fellow group members. However, we can only claim that this opportunity is characterized by equity, if we guarantee real access to knowledge. Co-operation offers solutions to this from many angles. The consciously arranged, developed and organized work setting in small groups forms inclusive (receptive) student communities that also provide personal support. At the same time, it establishes the publicity of the learning process in order to give and receive immediate feedback about advancement. With the tasks assigned using the principle of differentiation, everybody can activate the best of their knowledge, could follow the individual pace and feel as a full-value member of the community. The principles of equal access to knowledge and equal participation in the learning process constitutes the other side of mutual and fruitful interdependence. The basic principle of equal participation is an opportunity provided by structural means so that the participant would join the learning process and make use of the best of her/his knowledge. Differentiation in the sorting out of tasks, defying activities with taking into account the individual needs,

demands, abilities of the learners asserts the principle of equal access. Personally-tailored tasks have motivating effects, their completion gives success, the feeling of self-accomplishment. They are suitable for providing involvement and equal access.

Co-operative learning as a method provides a tool for the assertion of inclusive education. This is confirmed by the comparison based on the characteristics of quality educational environment. Co-operative learning, compared to the traditional methods:

- It is more efficient, because during the same timespan it guarantees the participation of more learners in the learning process. Efficiency is enhanced by the fact that participation is not restricted to the opportunity of passive listening, but also active and interactive. It focuses on the efficient use of the given, previously acquired knowledge of the learners through the principles and means of co-operative learning
- It is more effective since it provides a deeper and more long-lasting knowledge due to various means of knowledge acquisition. At the same time, it paves the way for talent nurturing. The participants of this co-operative learning view their tasks with strategic problem-solving skills. They build personal and social/interpersonal skills as well, linked to the learning abilities. The manifestations of the results become natural in many ways: in the publicity of the small/big group, self-evaluation, group evaluation and the reflection of the teacher.
- Provides more equity, because with its basic principles, attitudes, ability models, small-group structures, co-operative roles and means it is truly able to provide the basic democratic right of equal access to knowledge. It does not only create the framework of equality with bringing education for all with the elimination of segregation, in a heterogeneous environment, but creates truly equal chances in the system with the paradigmatic transformation of the system where the assertion of the multicultural approach is carried out by the tools of co-operation in environments that are gradually becoming inclusive

All in all, the basic features of the group work based on co-operative principles are the involvement in the learning process, the teacher's role in arranging and maintaining the learning setting and the pro-

cess, the multitude of interactivity, individually-taylored distribution of tasks, publicity of the small groups for evaluation, all performed so as to strengthen self-experience based learning

We have to bear in mind that for the commencement of the learning process, the external means of social influence (power, emotional identification) should be applicable, the preparatory work of the teacher is of crucial importance (Kelman 1997:225–233). However, after the professionally prepared start and the appropriate application of the basic principles, the strongest form of social influence prevails and knowledge will be internalized and the learner will feel responsible for the learning process.

### ***The practice of co-operation***

In the following we will observe that co-operative roles and methods are available for practical implementation. The teacher, relying on the co-operative approach, selects these methods consciously during the supervised learning process. Students gain personal success with the help of their co-operative roles and methods and experience the supportive power of the co-operative group.

A concrete case will be presented in order to familiarize with ways of practical implementation. In spring 2013, 96 practicing teachers learnt about the features of a heterogeneous learner community and acquired the basics of co-operative organization through self-experience learning. After this training, they tried the organization of co-operative classes in their respective schools. They evaluated the practical realization with scientific analysis. In the last phase, they filled out a questionnaire where they had to answer questions that intended to reveal their progress towards co-operative theory and practice.<sup>121</sup> 90 % of the participants of the course filled out this questionnaire which was assessed by the course leader (84 teachers, 17 men, 70 women). Based on the content of these questionnaires, it is possible to examine the impact of a training in higher education in order to provide innovation for the teaching profession. By innovation we mean the development of the inclusive approach and the teachers' ability to use adequate tools for the practical realization of inclusion.

It is worth surveying the group in our focus. This is not a large team, although we managed to obtain the required responses in the questionnaires from 90 % of the participants. The basic question is

whether the group represents the total population of teachers. The members came from a wide range of places, both geographically and professionally. Half of them reside in Baranya county, the others came from 6 other counties. The other indicators of diversity are the taught subjects and the age group of their students. 11 % of them are kindergarden pedagogues, 10 % special education teachers, 9 % primary school junior section teachers, 35 % teachers in senior sections of primary schools, 35 % secondary school teachers. The majority of the latter two categories have 2 or 3 majors. Surveying the majors, we can see that there is an almost equal proportion of humanities (22 %), languages (23 %), real sciences (25 %), informatics (17 %). Others teach physical education, special physical education, arts and professional subjects. All of them are practicing teachers, most of them have been in the field of education for several decades. Two-thirds of them have been teaching for more than 15 years, 40 % even more than 20 years. Only some of them count as beginners with less than 5 years of experience. Their application for the course was principally motivated by the desire to expand their practical experience with new knowledge elements. This means that we are talking about a receptive community that is open to the new pedagogical knowledge. It is possible to conclude that in spite of the relatively low number of the participants (84 members), they represent the total veritum of public education, only with a little over-representation of teachers with a long experience.

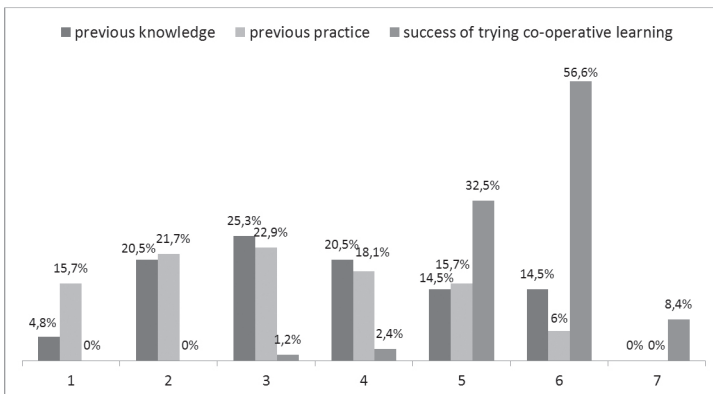
The other important information must be the data of the learner groups where the co-operative set of tools was used to make the learning environment more inclusive. These groups are also very different. The average number of the learners was 17 (ideal for co-operative work), although in some cases the class number was much lower (especially developmental groups). In 10 % of the cases there were groups with more than 25 members. As it was mentioned in the teachers' reflections made after the lessons, the teachers intended to have ideal group numbers to make the experiment easier to carry out. Half of the co-operative sessions were conducted in schools with regular curriculum, one-third in special section or nationality classes and around one-fifth in kindergardens, developmental groups or special teaching groups. Viewing the educational stages, teachers experimented in institutions from the kindergarden level until the end of the secondary stage. Various subjects were included. Almost 30 % of



them were classes of real sciences, which seems to contradict the assumption often expressed by public opinion that these methods are not easily applicable for real sciences and are less likely to produce results. Co-operativity also appeared in sport, arts, and professional subjects as well. All in all, it is salient that the experience described in the questionnaires was accumulated from a wide scope, either judging them from the viewpoint of the teachers, or the students and the sessions.

Data on *Graph 11* can show the teachers' connection to the co-operative organization of learning. The previous experiences had varying levels, but it is important to note that almost half of the participants had already taken part in a course of the same theme before. Responders evaluated their previous knowledge on a scale between 1 and 7, where 1 meant 'no previous knowledge or experience at all', 7 meant 'complete knowledge'. The average score was 3,5 about the theory of co-operation and 3,0 about their practical experience (huge dispersion, similar values at the end points). If we examine the proportions of theoretical and practical knowledge, we see that theoretical knowledge has a bit higher rate, implying that there are teachers who for some reason do not consider the method worth applying.

**Graph 11.** Comparison of previous experience about co-operative learning and the success of intended realization (%) (N:84)



The respondents were also requested to evaluate the success of the co-operated lesson on a similar scale, between grades of 1 and 7. The average score was 5,6 with low dispersion. This can be considered a high value, especially compared to the scores of previous knowledge and experience (3,5 and 3,0). Nobody gave 1 or 2, which is an indicator of success. The highest possible grade, 7, was given by 8,4 % of the responders.

In addition to the numerical evaluation, it is also exciting to read the textual answers about the method. The responses, which had to explain why the implementors found the method useful, provide ground for analysis in connection with the extent of inclusive approach. Most of the responders highlighted the realization of equal participation and access during the lesson. The most spectacular experience for the teachers was that the less motivated learners who typically distanced themselves from learning, also became involved in the learning process during the co-operative class. If we view the assessed learning environment from the viewpoint of inclusivity, then this viewpoint is the most important. The exclusion of the students has to be prevented and their involvement has to be encouraged into the learning processes. Apparently, the acquired new pedagogical tool contributed to inclusion to a high extent.

The mutuality of the inclusive approach also appears in the analysis. Half of the answers hint at the fact that productive interdependability was continuously present during the examined classes. They emphasized that involvement was not random, but with the conscious building of productive and encouraging interdependability the teacher continuously ensures involvement of all learners, maintaining inclusivity (mutual acceptance and support) among the members.

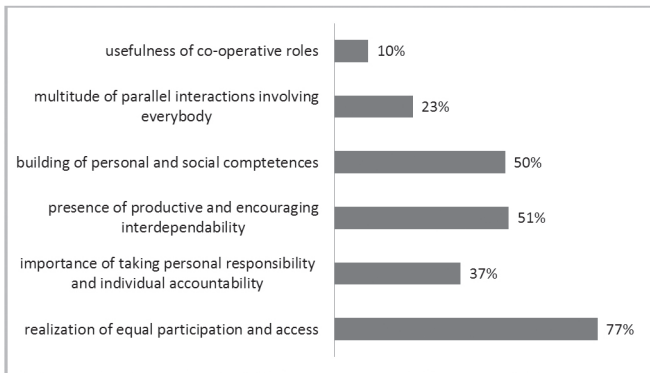
50 % of the responses pointed out the opportunity of developing the personal and social competences of the learners with the help of co-operation. They perceived that they gained a tool that has a strong positive effect on the development of students' competences besides their progress in the acquisition of the subject material.

It is worth mentioning the value of taking personal responsibility (37 %) that characterized the learners. Teachers observed mechanisms of mutuality here as well. Students carried out the individually tailored tasks with the support and feedback of the publicity in the small group, which ensured involvement and enhanced motivation.

During the presented and evaluated classes the conscious organi-

zation of the learning process by the teachers, who were striving for inclusion, involved the students into work with a gradually increasing extent. In the meantime, students experienced that they could only be successful if their peers also get involved into learning to the highest possible extent. Negative interdependence (loser-winner situation), which strengthens exclusion, was transformed into positive interdependence, a winner-winner situation with mutually receptive environment. This is the foundation of implementing inclusion in schools.

**Graph 12.** *the most important experience about co-operative learning based on the implemented session (given lesson)*

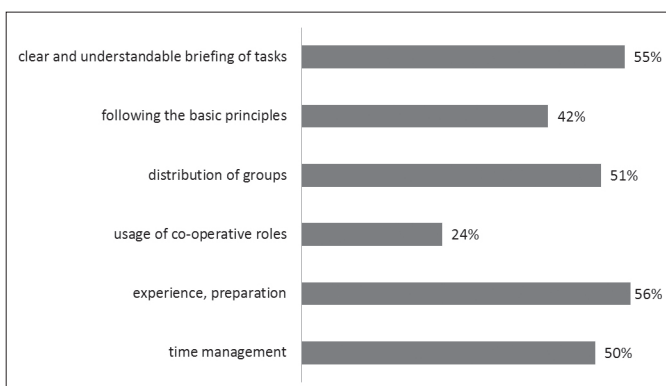


We asked teachers what they thought the most important factors for successful organization. More than half of the respondents highlighted that the teacher needed practice and preparation. It was confirmed for most of the participants that the novelty and complexity of this working form needed various types of knowledge and experience on the part of the teacher. The importance of clear and precise instructions was pinpointed with the same frequency. The change in the communication of the teacher is also essential in the process of implementing co-operative classes. Instead of long explanations with little required feedback, short and unambiguous provision of information is necessary. The teaching role and the teacher-student relationship change here and this is reflected in the situations of communication as well. The teacher receives immediate feedback about

communicative competence by seeing whether the students can set out to do their tasks without problems or expect further assistance. Moreover, the individual and group work of the students also show whether their tasks are suitable for them and they also 'advance with the subject material' together with the teacher.

Half of the answers in the questionnaires mention that during the co-operative work the teacher has to monitor the assertion of co-operative principles continuously. The distribution of the groups should be well-grounded and also time management has to be taken special care of. Teachers realized that organizing and conducting a co-operative class only seems easy from a superficial outsider viewpoint, whereas in reality plenty of viewpoints have to be taken into account during implementation. 24 % pointed out the importance of using co-operative roles continuously. It is important to note this, because in practice it usually happens that this is the first feature which is skipped in process. However, using the co-operative roles is a key concept in the interests of equal participation, individual responsibility and the controlled functioning of the group, promoting higher levels of motivation. This survey shows that the teachers managed to obtain enough theoretical knowledge and practical experience to be able judge which are those areas where they need further development in order to make co-operative learning a part of their professional expertise.

**Graph 13.** *What did the teacher have to pay attention to in the co-operative class? (N:84)*



The personal opinions of the implementors are illustrated by the following examples taken from the reflections made after the co-operative classes. The first one expresses the feeling that the new method is a challenge both for the students and the teachers, the new working method, the 'shift' is implemented gradually.

*'The first class was slow and laboured. The second one was better and we truly enjoyed the third one! K. J. language teacher, junior section, primary school*

The next opinion states that there was no opportunity during the university training of the teacher to get acquainted with the co-operative methods. The practicing teacher had to make considerable efforts to transform his traditional methods in order to change his work.

*'I really regret that I did not hear about the co-operative techniques during my university studies. Presently, even if I don't feel overall confident in the field of co-operative teaching, I do feel curious. I will try them by all means, because I could experience personally that they really work well.'* F. N. primary school teacher

One respondent started his reflection with describing the process emotionally, then proceeded with listing the steps of the process. He refers to the key problem of the organization of learning, which is a key factor mentioned by other respondents as well. The changing role of the teacher is also a crucially important issue here, it reflects the shift of focus from the teacher to the learners.

*'In general, I can say I felt good during the class. I was encouraged to organize co-operative classes on a regular basis as well. Children co-operated well, it was identifiable that communication between them has improved and the intention to help each other was spectacular about all of them. Although I did a huge amount of preparation for this class, I assume that preparation time could be shortened as I gain more experience or expertise and this method will be common and regular for the students as well. It was a pleasant experience that after this large-scale preparation my teacher's role remained in the*

*background during the class. I did not regret this. M.L. primary school teacher*

We highlighted the opinion of a teacher who works in an institution of special education and had tried this technique there. The present training improved and strengthened his experience. This reflects that the frequently applied method is truly successful.

*'If I had to compare co-operative learning to the traditional, frontal way of learning, I would say that this method is more attractive to the learners. Children learn to work together, listen to each other. They strive for getting good solution and experience success and achievement. They are fond of these classes and they are looking forward to them. They work through the classes actively and (nobody has time to laze around and contemplate) and acquire more knowledge about a certain topic as they participate in it actively.'* B. T. teacher in special education

It is also remarkable how experts specialised in treating individual fall-backs or deficiencies, such as speech therapists, who have been applying differentiation for a long time, manage to include the knowledge acquired about co-operative learning into their everyday practice.

*Co-operative learning is really effective in the case of disabled children as well. However, the range of techniques is not wide enough and demands large-scale modifications and considerations.'* K. A. speech therapist

We may read two other opinions which appeared in plenty of reflections. It expressed that personal experience that co-operative learning is suitable for achieving personal success in heterogeneous groups. Maybe it is a more common understanding that students who are more difficult to involve also participate in the classroom activities. This is the most often emphasized argument by the advocates of co-operative learning. However, sceptics debate this, saying that better performing students might not be successful in this work setting. However, several opinions have confirmed that based on the principles of co-operation, all participants could progress according

to their pace and demands if the principles are correctly put into practice. Differentiation in various work settings and the provision of activity based on the principles are guarantees of the successful participation of every group member.

*'Children were more active during the application of the method. Those with weaker abilities also had the opportunity to equal participation, they were active like all the others.'* I. E. kindergarden pedagogue

*'Based on my experience I do believe that not only the children with special needs should be taught with methods that take into consideration the individual differences. it would help develop further the abilities of those students as well who perform better than the average.'* Sz. A. developmental teacher

In connection with teacher training, the most exciting question was how and to what extent the respondents intended to use co-operative learning in their everyday practice in the future. the average score was 5 points from 7, which could be considered an obvious success compared to the input value of 3. It is worth noting that 10 % gave lower values than the input data on experience of application, 20 % gave the same score (mostly those who gave high input points). 70 % would like to realize higher extents of co-operative activity. There is a progress towards higher frequency with 2-3 points. There were respondents who had not used the toolset of co-operative practice at all before the training, but in their answers they expressed that they would use it frequently in the future. It seems that teachers consider it important to provide inclusive space, even if it requires more work and preparation.

Graph 14 compares the respondents according to their previous experience. Previous knowledge was rated 3,5 on average, previous experience 3, intention of future application 5 in the 7-grade scale. Those teachers who had known about co-operative learning emphasized that providing the theoretical foundations put their knowledge into context and they became more conscious and courageous in practical implementation. As for the teachers who experienced co-operative learning for the first time, results of the questionnaire show that it was possible to achieve a change of approach by getting them acquainted with this method.

**Graph 14.** responses in the questionnaire about co-operative learning (N:84)



### **Summary**

We may make several observations about the shaping of inclusive school environment based on the described teacher training example. In the successful pedagogical environment one of the key characters is the teacher (Barber-Mourshed 2007). Teachers acquire their professional knowledge through a complex learning process, similarly to the students. The formal educational space is a part of that. If we strive for self-experiences, reflective and co-operative learning, we may acquire more embedded knowledge here. The learning methods that complement formal education, in our example trying the method in the classroom, support routine and interiorization. The success of practice enhances motivation and supports the development of positive attitude. This is the way how the teacher who goes through this process will be gradually more and more competent from the viewpoint of inclusion, as it was shown in the results of the previous survey.

The protagonist of the inclusive educational space are the students who become successful if they get involved in the learning process of their own and teachers, peers prevent their exclusion. We could observe this process in the co-operative classes that we learnt about from the questionnaires. Through the conscious organization of learning carried out by the teacher, the students took personal responsibility for the equal participation of their own and their peers in a mutually supportive environment. It is important to highlight that the presented micro-research inspected the extent of shifting towards inclusion at a certain point. In order to sustain this, it is necessary to



realize conscious community activities where teachers and learners continuously and reflectively strive for inclusivity, mutual acceptance.

### **Inclusivity in the Student College Program**

In the following we will return to the topic of inclusivity by analyzing the tools which may contribute to its successful practical implementation. In order to do this, we will observe the current support program of the previously presented student college from the aspect of inclusivity.

To a given community, the “tangible” reality of inclusivity means the fields of activities which have to reflect mutual involvement. Areas run by rules which have been shaped and defined by one group of the community (‘the selected ones’) inevitably suggest that the role of the other group (‘the included ones’) role in this hierarchical relationship is to fit in (integration), leaving them few opportunities to shape their physical environment and its rules as a community – for mutual integration. However, it is essential to involve everybody in the shaping and the management of the inclusive environment in order to help every member express their needs and requirements regarding equipment or the creation of common rules – as seen in the chapter discussing the inclusive model. The Wlislöcki Henrik Student College in the building of the Romology Department has its own community area built and developed with the effective support of college students. The community area is available to everybody at all times, provided that the university is open, even in the absence of an educator from the department who is responsible for the community area. Inside we may find the chat corner, study desks, bookshelves, a terrace, ICT tools and a kitchen – according to the requirements of the students. The other areas of the department (library, lecture rooms, study rooms) are used according to the regulations, although students could come up with their recommendations during the process of deciding on the regulations.

In addition to physical conditions, an environment is considered inclusive if it is able to function as a co-operative community and adjust to the needs of every member. Adjustment to personal needs is defined by continuous personal monitoring, from the identification of needs and requirements to the process of development and ad-

vancement. The aim of services shaped by various needs is to ensure continuous personal growth, with the additional support of a co-operative community. Our student college assesses general needs and requirements upon entrance (student college admission), based on the information requested on the application for membership, as well as measuring tools and personal discussions.

Admitted students are obliged to and are immediately given the chance to choose a tutor from their educators to help them in their academic advancement. Tutors and students arrange weekly meetings. As a result, they have the opportunity to build a relationship which is a means of real support and constant monitoring. Due to the fact that every student has a tutor, and each tutor is only allowed to coach two students, the student-tutor relationships are really personal.

Another element in the personal support system is the mentor. A mentor is an experienced university student who helps the community by fulfilling a personal task as a peer counselor. Some of them lead foreign language talk clubs, others promote student researches, help students fill out applications, assist administrative work or organize cultural or community events. Apart from their assigned tasks, mentors join college students in everyday activities and build friendly relationships. In this community, peer counseling is not overseen (by assigning concrete mentoring tasks), but shaped spontaneously based on the needs of community members.

The personalized student college services are fit into the community: foreign language courses, learning methods and ICT trainings, mental hygiene, identity-strengthening trainings and many others. The services are available to students in the community areas on weekdays, or during the monthly organized 3-day-long in-stay weekends.

Of course, students may look for other activities which serve their advancement – related to the student college. To support their progress, students realize micro-researches, organize mini-conferences, and publish the results.<sup>122</sup> So as to assume social responsibility, students volunteer at organizations of their own choosing all over the country.<sup>123</sup>

It is evident that college students are surrounded by a diverse line of services and several opportunities under the support system. However, real inclusivity is guaranteed by the conscious participation of those involved in their own progress. As a first step, students write down their commitments at the beginning of the semester, having previously discussed it with their tutor – which is linked to their aca-

ademic advancement, student college work, and indirectly to career plans. They record and list their achievements in their personal portfolio throughout the semester. At the end of the semester, they reflect on the results in a presented summary. This way, the portfolio becomes an objective tool to check the fulfillment of student college commitments, and make college students more conscious regarding life, career and decision-making.

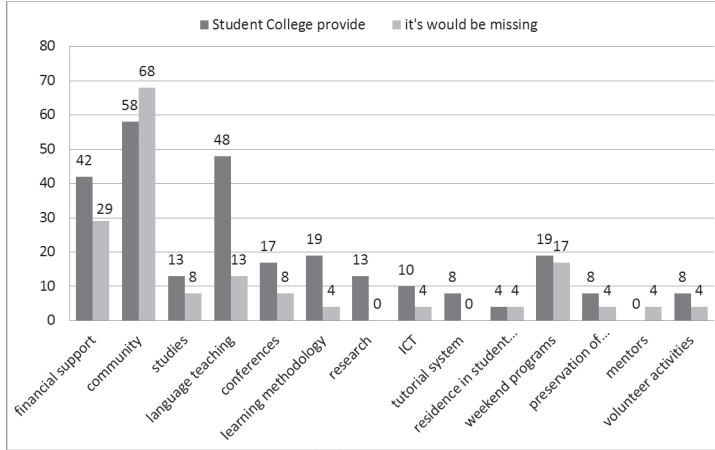
### ***Inclusivity according to college students***

In the following, we will present the results of a brief questionnaire survey, which gives a “snapshot” of student college life – from the aspect of inclusivity. The survey was filled out by college students in November 2013, with 32 participants: 16 male, 16 female. The subjects of the survey are all socially disadvantaged (many of them had multiple disadvantages) young people. The majority belongs to a Romani/Gipsy group. One-sixth of them entered higher vocational education, another sixth pursues Master’s level studies, and the largest group (70%) pursues Bachelor studies at the University of Pécs. They chose various majors: legal or social assistance, arts, pedagogy majors, natural and health science, or vocational training. The questionnaires were filled out by students on the spot and handed out by the leader of the community area. The survey barely took 15 minutes. The data was recorded by the leader of the community area and processed by the department demonstrator.<sup>124</sup>

Following the registration of the basic data, the first question asked about the Student College’s ability to contribute to students’ success at university, which had to be indicated on a scale from 1 to 7. The 5.1 average indicates a “positive contribution”, which is an important feedback for the creators of the program, though it does not elaborate on the actual form of the support.

The next questions focused on the applied methods of the student college to promote students’ success. This question allowed students to list and rank five items voluntarily. The next closing question asked the respondents what they would miss about the student college if it did not exist. The respondents could list and rank five, voluntarily given items. In the analysis, the answers to these questions – which concern a detailed content –, are arranged and compared according to topic.

**Graph 15.** What services does the Student College offer and what would the students miss in its absence? (N:32)



It is evident that financial support and community stand out against other student college services. This does not come as a surprise, given that all college students are disadvantaged young adults, the majority of whom would be unable or struggling to pursue higher education without the scholarship-support of the program. There are a few of them who are employed on a casual basis outside the framework of university and college activities, as they provide the sole income for their families. Despite the above, community still ranks higher than financial support on the list of college services according to student preference. If we look at the question asking what students would miss in the absence of the college, the crucial role of community becomes even more outstanding. This indicates the first and most important step towards inclusivity, or in other words, presence of an inclusive environment which is valued above everything else by the college students, a place where they feel safe and supported. It is clear that an inclusive community has a paramount significance for young adults who are on a multi-stage path having entered higher education, socially distancing themselves from the safety of the family nest. In many cases, the university habits and customs are very different from the social norms learned at home, which situation is

aggravated by the real or assumed negative discrimination faced by the Romani. Young adults coming from similar backgrounds pursuing higher education without the presence of a supportive community are especially prone to exclusion. According to experience and exclusion-related data, the inclusive community of the student college alone has a definite retaining force in such situations. The further analysis of the table shows that the broad range of student college services appeared less frequently in students' responses than the importance of community. Of course, this does not mean that these services do not contribute to the inclusivity work of the personal support system, and indirectly, to academic success. It rather indicates that students are not yet able to assess and appreciate the role of the said services concerning personal advancement. Thus it is essential to increase their awareness regarding personal growth supported by the portfolio and their tutor. This is the step-by-step process of building an inclusive support system, in which students with a newly formed, safe community background will make more conscious decisions, and get involved in services providing equal opportunities.

### ***Summary***

The aim of this presentation based on the example of a student college was to draw attention to means of implementing inclusion, a process for social integration, and putting it into practice – e.g. in higher education. The analysis of the student college proves that communities with appropriate approaches and practical methods can offer real opportunities to individuals and communities who would be prone to exclusion without a supportive – inclusive – environment. We need to present and spread models for further environments which – similarly to the student college – can contribute to the formation and the management of inclusive communities, and promote the inclusion process of many children, young people and adults.

### **Inclusive community in academic life**

The appearance of the inclusive approach in everyday life can – and has to be – studied in order to observe activities and the functioning of the inclusive environment. Inclusion means not only equal

opportunities for everybody to get integrated into a given environment, but the special attention towards those who are generally left out of bonding activities. In many cases, the lack of the appropriate conditions for strengthening inclusion significantly contribute to the exclusion of the socially disadvantaged and the reproduction of this phenomenon across generations. For people coming from socially disadvantaged groups or facing negative discrimination, attaining higher education is not an easy task. Thus, inclusivity of the academic environment is a crucially important issue. It is able to offer effective, personalized opportunities to meet diverse needs by offering support (fair) services, and initiate every student into the world of science apart from granting a certificate.

In the following, we will analyze the practical methods of a university student college – based on a study conducted among the students of the previously presented Wlislöcki Henrik Student College of the University of Pécs. Our focus is to see how the implemented practices affect the active inclusion of participants, and the means which ensure their inclusion into scientific life. Concerning the analyzed group, academic advancement has a special place in the supporting activities of the Romani student college, which is linked with successful academic inclusion. The study used a questionnaire and focus group research methods in order to find out what may help college students achieving these goals. We see that the programs of the student college focusing on scientific inclusion (conferences and studies) provide broad opportunities for active student participation, which represents a successful development when combined with personalized support according to personal needs (tutor, mentor, development programs). The results also indicated that in order to achieve scientific involvement, students' inner drive is important in addition to opportunities and support. The main reason behind this is that students were able to experience personal success through a safe environment provided by the student college, and by reflecting on their situation with scientific methods. We may conclude that the continuous maintenance of the inspected complex supporting activities enables the creation of a more inclusive academic life.

We have seen in the previous chapter that the college students of the study (the students of WHSC) are all socially disadvantaged Romani students. The main attribution of the students who come from different scientific fields is that they all take part in the complex

inclusivity strengthening program provided by the Wislocki Henrik Student College. In the previous section we have seen the inclusivity enhancing factors that were interiorized by college students. Unsurprisingly, the importance of the student college community was very highly represented in students' answers, ranked higher than all other services. This indicates that the main prerequisite of inclusivity – referred to as the concept of “friendly environment” in scientific literature – is present, serving as the foundation of further factors. In the following we will discuss the concrete measures which the student college takes to support the scientific involvement of the students in the study, and how all of this influences the students themselves.

### ***Activities aimed at scientific inclusion***

First and foremost, we will give a detailed illustration of the activities which aim at encouraging the active participation of students in academic life. The remaining services at hand which only have an indirect effect on students' involvement are included on a list.

In the internal system of the student college the members may submit their individual or group research proposals. In the event of a successful application, applicants are granted professional and financial support in order to help conducting the research. In any event – from preparation until closing – students are granted personalized and continuous support. Personalization is guaranteed by the tutor (chosen university educator) and the mentor (senior university student), and continuous assistance is given by experts who are consulted on research methodology and offer professional advice during “monitoring”. The mentioned activities are linked to opportunities to reach a wider audience: “student college conferences” during and after research so as to publish results, an opportunity to publish in the *Romology* journal<sup>125</sup> or individually. So far, we have closed two completed rounds of research proposal applications. Students are currently preparing for the third one.

The student college also promotes the participation on scientific conferences by concrete supporting activities. The national and international conferences of the Department of Romology, the “Education and Society” Doctorate School and the WHSC are the primary opportunities for college students to prove themselves as participants, organizers or lecturers. The line of opportunities is significantly

broadened by conferences organized in the framework of the WHSC partnership system. In any case, promoting students' involvement includes a thoughtfully planned preparation process for the science-related tasks combined with information, whatever the chosen task is. Prior to conferences – in addition to the support of tutors and mentors – students hold preparatory group sessions in the university community spaces or on the monthly weekend gatherings.

When planning activities which aim at students' active involvement into academic life, we pay special attention to ensure that students are able to choose opportunities according to their requirements and needs. Moreover, further student college activities and opportunities are included: forming a community for a confident appearance, competency trainings to improve scientific communication, student portfolio for conscious growth, tutor-mentor relationships for personal support.

### **Resilience and inclusion**

Sociology of education has always interpreted school-related issues from a multidisciplinary point of view; therefore, it is not surprising that nowadays we encounter the psychological term “resilience” more and more frequently in connection with the topic of schooling.<sup>126</sup> It seems that the approach of sociology of education also covers the term “inclusion,” which derives from the world of practical pedagogy and widely pervades social policies. We believe that the successful fighting ability of an individual, their ‘emotional flexibility’ (resilience) and their acts realized during the process of mutual acceptance in the community (inclusion) influence each other and form an inseparable unity – especially in the world of education. In order to prove this, a brief description of both theories is provided here, emphasizing those points where they connect. This provided a basis for a research, where inclusivity serves as a kind of theoretical framework for the respective aspects of resilience. The research presented primarily illustrates how the shared segments of the scientific approaches to resilience and inclusion are outlined. Utilizing the interviews concerning the lives of university students from different backgrounds, the research presents the analysis of those (external) factors that can be understood as the meeting points of the theory of



resilience and inclusion. Half of the interviewees are part of two disadvantaged groups at the same time: the Roma/Gypsy minority, and people of low social status. Additional 16 students were interviewed, composing the control group. Interpreting the attitude and behavior of the school and the family, based on both aspects mentioned in the title, we will be able to understand the psychological and sociological explanation for the educational success of young people from disadvantaged groups. In the case of the interviews of those university students that are considered resilient, the research also examines whether there is a connection that could account for successful educational careers with the external factors of resilience and the typical characteristics of an inclusive environment simultaneously. This would justify the place of the theoretical system of inclusion in the analytical context of resilience. This research achieved its fundamental goal, since it was able to prove – although based on a small sample – that the practical implementations of the theoretical model of inclusion outlined by us have a strong influence on the fulfillment of resilience. There are clearly some areas, where the inclusive approach can have a breakthrough and appear in such a proportion that allows for it to influence the lives of disadvantaged people. This also justifies the need for and the value of an inclusive educational environment.

### ***Embedding the terms utilized***

The research area of resilience has an almost five-decade-long past in the international scientific discourse. During this period, several different approaches and definitions have come to light, aiming at the comprehension of this complex phenomenon (Masten, 2008). The goal of this study is not to explore the integrity of these different approaches, but to bring into focus those kinds of perceptions of resilience that in turn can be connected to the theoretical framework of inclusion. In compliance with this, while unfolding and presenting the phenomenon of resilience below, some of its aspects that are relevant to inclusion will be highlighted.

The research area of resilience within the field psychology – primarily developmental psychology – is based on those phenomena where in spite of the negative impacts threatening adaptation and development, a positive outcome was realized in the life of an individual or a whole group. In other words, the central topic of the

psychological analysis of resilience is composed of the research of different phenomena, where a successful struggle and adjustment took place in the life of the individual, in spite of the chronic stress-generating and traumatizing circumstances and hardships (Masten 2001, 2008, Luthar, Cicchetti and Becker 2000; Zautra, Hall and Murray 2010). Researchers that deal with the topic aim at revealing those underlying mechanisms that contribute to the successful fulfillment of the “emotional flexibility and resistance”<sup>127</sup> of an individual or a group. The mapping of those factors that have a key role in resilience leads to the possibility of the development of measures and strategies – maybe even on a social level – which could promote the appearance and development of resilience in different situations beset by difficulties (Masten 2001, Masten and Wright 2010).

Resilience is a complex phenomenon, and its explanations can be revealed with the employment of different research aspects. The primary question of researchers is whether resilience is the result of a process generated by inner qualities (e. g., personality, genes, IQ) or dynamic external effects (e. g., socio-economic status, cultural environment, system of personal relations) (Luthar, Cicchetti and Becker 2000, Zautra, Hall and Murray 2010). One part of the research unfolds around the individual explanation of resilience, which is mainly concerned with the inner factors of the individual in the process of revealing the reasons for resilience.<sup>128</sup> As opposed to this, the other part of the research is based on the emphasis of the priority of external factors, explaining the relationship between the individual and resilience with contextual roots (Sameroff, 2005; Masten 2001, 2008; Masten and Wright, 2010). It seems that the majority of the research concerned with resilience represents an integrative point of view, describing resilience as a multidimensional phenomenon and the results of an interaction between internal (individual) and external (social and contextual) factors. The theoretical dissimilarities derive from the fact that different emphasis is put on internal and external factors. In the case of both approaches – regardless of whether the focus is on internal or external factors – resilience seems to have two poles. One pole is the so-called protective/promotive one, while the other one is called the pole of risk factors (Masten 2001, Masten 2008, Sameroff 2005). Risk factors include every element that can be identified as a predictor of a negative and unwanted consequence. Protective/promotive factors are capable of compensating for risk factors,

helping to fight against them as well as promoting successful adaptation (Masten 2001, 2008, Masten and Wright 2010).

The system of personal relations is the most important component of both external risk factors and external protective factors. Research analyzing the diverse environmental impacts identifies the different spaces of socialization – family,<sup>129</sup> school, identical age group, and neighborhood – as the fundamental factors of resilience. These environments and the attitudes or acts involved might be regarded as risk factors when they are dysfunctional, meaning that their negative impacts prevail. Their protective nature can be perceived when they are supportive, accessible, and present in the life of the individual with a positive connotation. Hence, external protective factors, focusing on successful educational advancement, include for instance a nurturing family environment, mentoring teachers, and the inclusive community of the same age group. Decisive personal relationships that can be linked to deviance<sup>130</sup> or result in rejection can be identified as external risk factors. These include the discriminative/prejudiced behavior of communities relevant in the life of the individual (identical age group, school, neighborhood). Furthermore, the lack of necessary human relations and the support provided by them can also be considered a risk factor. In addition to the system of human relations, external risk factors also include for instance low socio-economic status, poverty, and traumatic events (Perez 2009, Sameroff 2005, Masten 2001, 2008, Masten and Wright 2010).

External risk factors and external protective factors are those segments of resilience that this study would like to integrate into the theoretical system of inclusivity.<sup>131</sup> It is crucial to pay special attention to external factors, because resilience is the results of complex interactions and processes that go beyond the individual. Processes that go beyond internal factors and play a significant role in the development of resilience can be identified in connection with close human relationships and social support (Rutter 2007 in Masten and Wright 2010). Furthermore, focusing on external factors seems to be a more productive strategy during the development of resilience, since a more extended and greater intervention can be realized through actions concentrating on contextual elements, as opposed to those approaches that only support and develop individual competences (Sameroff 2005). In addition, emphasizing the internal factors may lead to a dangerous perspective that would result in a victim-blaming

strategy,<sup>132</sup> due to the favored position of the individual. In light of the above, we can conclude that although the analysis of internal factors is an important aspect of resilience, focusing on the external factors seems to be more beneficial in terms of development and the avoidance of the victim-blaming strategy. Finally, the consistent improvement of the external factors (e.g., the creation of an inclusive space) allows for the development and successful implementation of interventions on the individual level, such as that of competences promoting resilience and facilitating the fulfillment of the internal protective factors. In the case of this dual point of view, the theory of inclusivity may serve as the framework of resilience. The external factors described by resilience and the elements that can be identified in the model of inclusion can be understood as meeting points and shared perspectives. The possibility of the integration of these two theories is supported by the fact that these two research areas use similar target groups in their analyses and share a final objective.<sup>133</sup>

Moving forward to the topic of inclusion, in the previous chapters we could observe that the continuous expansion of the groups in the focus of inclusion and the areas in the scope of inclusivity draw our attention to the importance of examining the ways of shaping and maintaining receptive environments. The successful practical experience of inclusion and their adaptations may ensure the prevention of exclusions. From the viewpoint of our topic, it is worth recalling the inclusive approach that replaced integration and shifted focus from the group and individual to the given social environment. With its continuous transformation, this environment is able to react successfully to the needs of the groups and individuals in it. We have seen that the principal objective of this approach is to make the eco-social environment receptive with putting those activities into the focus that prevent the exclusion of groups and individuals. The complex components, models and some practical manifestations were treated in detail in the previous chapters.

Based on the evocation of the approach and practice of inclusion, the components of the inclusive space, we may recognize those features that we identified as 'external factors' in the topic of resilience. It is apparent that all the models developed to put inclusion into practice contain those components that involve the imprescindible characteristics of successful external support. Positive and sensitive attitude of the people present in the receptive space, the professional

excellence of the supporting personnel that is manifested in individually tailored actions and contents, the expansion of partnership with other supporters are highlighted in these models. The presence of all the features makes the receptive environment 'friendly'. The more elements are identifiable, the higher probability of acceptance occurs. The description of the elements of the inclusive model reveals the protective, compensating factors of resilience as well. It reinforces and implements the statement that in order to increase resilience it is important to have externally influencing factors in the common space that have a strong effect on the successful path of resilience.

*Based on the above, we can see that both resilience and inclusion focus on the social environment of an individual or a group, considering it to be a fundamental factor in personal fulfillment and in the process of solving different problems. The mutually accepting attitude and behavior of people in the social space, preparedness to react to individual demands, and the existence of a wide-ranging network of cooperation are all regarded as supportive factors by both theories. In addition, it was evident during the examination that both theories pay special attention to those individuals and groups who are disadvantaged in some way, and consequently are threatened by exclusion. Furthermore, both fields are motivated by their mutual aim to help people, groups, and communities to succeed, develop, fight, and adapt through various improvement activities, developed based on research results.*

### ***The focus of research***

Analyzing the interviews of those university students who are considered resilient, the research examines whether there is a connection that could account for successful educational careers with the external factors of resilience and the typical characteristics of an inclusive environment simultaneously. And if there is such a connection, what is the nature of this connection? Furthermore, another aim is to reveal the differences between the lives of students from the resilient and control group, based on the aspects that examine the mutual segments of the theory of resilience and inclusion.

In this research the resilient test group was composed of university students who are members of the Włislocki Henrik College

(*WHSZ, Wlisslocki Henrik Szakkollégium*) at the University of Pécs.<sup>134</sup> In the case of these students, educational success emerged in an environment full of multiple risk factors, since these students are part of two disadvantaged groups at the same time: Roma/Gypsy minority and people of low social status.<sup>135</sup> In light of the above, it can be said that the educational careers of the examined members of the special college show an atypical example, as opposed to the usually unsuccessful educational advancement of students from disadvantaged social groups.<sup>136</sup> As a result, they can be labeled resilient.<sup>137</sup> Besides resilient students, a control group was included in the research in order to satisfy a comparative analysis and to ensure the validity of the research. In order to assure reliability, the control group is composed of students that have similar proportions to the student of the special college in terms of gender, age, major and residence of parents. Therefore, the difference between the two analyzed groups is reflected in the distinctive qualifications and/or professions of the parents<sup>138</sup> (socio-economic status) and in ethnic origins (belonging to the minority/majority).

The hypothesis of the research is that in the case of resilient students, the successful educational career can be explained by external factors of resilience as well as the characteristics of inclusive environment that unfolds these factors. We can assume a connection, implying that the characteristics of the inclusive institutional environment can be identified in the life of resilient people to a great extent, as external compensatory/protective factors of the risk factors. This justifies the place of the theoretical system of inclusion in the analytical context of resilience. A further hypothesis is that the lives of university students regarded as resilient and the lives of the members of the control group are going to differ in terms of the amount and quality of the external risk factors and external protective factors. In the case of the resilient students, there will be more risk factors and more protective factors as well. The latter explains the successful educational career, emerging in spite of disadvantages, with the characteristics of inclusive institutional environment. As opposed to this, in the case of the control group, presumably there will be fewer risk factors, and it will be the protective factors of the family that compensate for them, instead of the characteristics of the inclusive institutional environment.

### ***The circumstances of the research***

Altogether 32 university students<sup>139</sup> were interviewed,<sup>140</sup> and these interviews were analyzed in order to illustrate the connections between the theories of resilience and inclusivity, and to answer the questions of researchers. Other researchers in the country have already analyzed people from similar backgrounds, utilizing similar research tools in their analyses concerning resilience and the sociology of education. There are studies revealing the internal and external factors of resilience, similarly to the classical approaches (Ceglédi 2012), and a recent study examines the topics of resilience and identity<sup>141</sup> (Máté 2015). There are several studies that analyze the lives<sup>142</sup> of Roma/Gypsy university students and special colleges, serving as their backgrounds – we have already mentioned these in the previous chapters (Forray 2012, 2014, Varga 2013, 2014a, 2014b). This study – similarly to the mentioned studies in the country – analyzes the interviews given by university students, but it goes beyond the discourse of psychological resilience, utilizing the experiences of the approach and practice of inclusion in its analytical framework.

This research includes altogether 32 students, 16 of whom belong to the resilient group, while the other 16 students belong to the control group.

The analysis of the interviews given by the members of the resilient and control groups was helped by ATLAS-ti, a program that performs narrative content analysis. A code system was developed for the process of content analysis, which helped to reveal the connections between resilience, inclusivity and educational success. All of these were determined by the external factors, playing a role in the educational careers of the students. Regarding inclusion, the environment surrounding the student can be understood as an external factor, which can result in inclusion or exclusion, depending on its components (the existence or the lack of inclusivity factors) (Varga, 2014b). Regarding the analytical approach to resilience, the underlying factors of “inclusion” or “exclusion” can be regarded as external protective or external risk factors (Masten and Wright, 2010). Regardless of which theoretical approach we choose to consider the external factors, there seems to be a positive and a negative pole in both cases, which can promote or hinder the educational advancement of a student.

Based on this train of thought, the external supporting (protective) and hindering (risk) factors have become the main analytical categories in the narrative code system. Within the external factors, the emphasis was on those participants<sup>143</sup>, whose appearance influenced the educational advancement of the interviewees somehow, either negatively (hindering it) or positively (supporting it). The analysis of these participants served as a system of criteria, which is included both in the theory of resilience and inclusion, and which can be regarded as a common segment of the two approaches.<sup>144</sup> Participants who have an external supporting or hindering role have been classified into the following four sub-categories: family, identical age group, school, and external people or organizations.<sup>145</sup>

### **Results**

The data<sup>146</sup> was collected with the help of ATLAS-ti from interviews of the two analyzed groups, and its evaluation was conducted by the SPSS independent-samples t-test analysis. The student category – meaning the membership of either the resilient or the control group – was the classifying variable in the analysis. Altogether eight variables were established, meaning the relative frequency of code words characterizing four participants of supportive and four participants of hindering nature. The analysis based on these eight variables showed significant differences between the two groups in the case of six of these variables (Table 7). This means that in spite of the small sample, the difference between these two groups is obvious in relation to the focus of our research, namely the theory of resilience and inclusion.



**Table 7.** The significant results of a comparative analysis conducted by the SPSS independent-samples t-test (N:32)

Individuals of hindering nature		
<b>FAMILY</b>	t(30)=-4,101, p<,01	M(resi)= 5,25 (SE=1,263) M(control)=,06 (SE=0,63)
<b>SCHOOL</b>	t(30)=-5,27, p<,01	M(resi)= 4,56 (SE=1,446) M(control)=,81 (SE=,332)
<b>SAME AGE GROUP</b>	t(30)=-2,392, p<,01	M(resi)= 2,44 (SE=0,866) M(control)=, 31 (SE=,198)
<b>EXTERNAL people/organizations</b>	t(30)=-1,983, p<,01	M(resi)= 2,44 (SE=1,025) M(control)=, 38 (SE=,18)
Individuals of supportive nature		
<b>SCHOOL</b>	t(30)=-4,342, p<,01	M(resi)= 17,63 (SE=2,895) M(control)=4,63 (SE=,763)
<b>EXTERNAL people/organizations</b>	t(30)=-3,911 p<,01	M(resi)= 8,00 (SE=1,821) M(control)=,81 (SE=,245)

If we analyze the results in detail, we can see that there are significantly more individuals with a hindering role in the lives of resilient students, for all of the 4 sub-categories. In other words, the presence of those individuals who are likely to hinder educational advancement was much more prominent in the life of resilient students, in the case of every social environment – family, identical age group, school, other institutions – surrounding resilient people. This suggests that resilient university students had to overcome much more obstacles in the course of their educational careers than their fellow students, who have a higher social status. Moreover, they had to do it in the case of every social environment. It might be assumed that success goes hand in hand with the development of some kind of ‘topic sensitivity’, which helps the verbalization of the issue as well as the search for solutions in many cases.<sup>147</sup> The other significantly higher proportion also characterizes the resilient group. It appears for the protective and supportive participants, in the sub-category of school or external organizations/individuals. This result suggests that during the reminiscence of their personal history, resilient students felt that people accessible at school or belonging to other organizations were

the ones who made every effort to support them and compensate for disadvantages in connection with their education.

These two statements – based on the significant differences – together suggest that if the family background is unable to support the educational career of students, and it is an unchangeable condition, than during the educational advancement students realize this problem and try to find somebody to rely on in their social environment. In this case, the lack of institutional support (or the support of a teacher, another adult or someone of the same age group) is a disadvantage in itself, which is aggravated even further by negative attitudes (discrimination). The lack of these two factors – the recognition and acceptance of the unchangeable condition of the family background and the support expected from the institution and people of the same age group – appeared to a significant extent in the interviews given by resilient students, who also reported acts of negative discrimination. The great amount of supportive/positive experiences coming from the institutional sphere shows the necessity of these supportive participants in the development of resilience. Presumably their role was so significant in the lives of resilient students that these students were able to overcome the obstacles that were present in every environment to a great extent. Their importance is also indicated in the interviews by the fact they were memorable, as resilient students recognized their determinative role in their educational career.

The results of the independent-sample t-test thus confirm the hypothesis related to the question of our research, which claims that there are more risk factors – hindering participants – in the lives of resilient students than in the lives of the members of control group. One part of the risk factors derive from the disadvantaged backgrounds of resilient students, which has been discussed in detail by the literature of the sociology of education in the past fifty years. Family conditions related to the disadvantaged socio-economic status were illustrated in graphic detail, moving on a wide scale. Furthermore, the active and passive activities of hindering participants connected to the family were also identifiable in the case of the resilient group. Analyzed from a different aspect, hindering appeared due to the acts of participants belonging to the family, through no fault of their own. This involved the lack of the expected financial or emotional support, or even deviant behavior within the family or family traumas. The theory of inclusion established its educational model precisely in or-

der to compensate for the presumed disadvantages and deficiencies of the family background, which is emphasized in this study as well. In this model, family appears as a partner that helps the protective institutional environment to recognize those features of students that derive from the primary environment, in order to achieve some results based on these features and the family.

In the hindering categories of the school, identical age group, and the external participants, disadvantages deriving from the minority background were more prominent. It is important to emphasize that cultural diversity is a positive factor in an inclusive environment, having great potential. In contrast, belonging to a minority group means a disadvantage when the majority has a hostile attitude towards the group. This could be identified in the case of individuals from all of the three subcategories (family, identical age group, external), whose behavior was characterized by prejudice, discrimination and exclusion, according to the recollections of the interviewees. This phenomenon can be understood as an external risk factor of resilience and as the lack of inclusion. The positive attitude of the participants in the common environment is essential for the realization of inclusion, and it also requires the acceptance of diversity, and considering it as valuable. The results of the research also suggest that the lack of these conditions is an important risk factor in relation to the success of educational advancement.

In the case of resilient students, besides the risk factors, we could identify much more protective factors – supportive participants – than in the case of the control group. The activities of the supportive participants appearing in the sub-category of school and external organizations were realized according to the conditions of the inclusive environment. In other words, there appeared some teachers who had supportive attitude and who were prepared to employ methods that could compensate for the disadvantages of students. Similarly, there were some organizations and individuals, which acted as the partners of families or schools and offered some services missing from the lives of resilient people.

The various hypotheses in connection with the control group have also been confirmed during the analysis. In the case of the members of the control group, fewer risk factors were identified. Besides, those compensatory factors were emphasized in their lives that were connected to the family, instead of the characteristics of the inclu-

sive institutional environment. Furthermore, based on the qualitative analysis of the interviewees given by the control group, it can be said that the family influenced the appearance of other protective factors, such as the supportive participants of the same age group or the school. All of this can be connected to the choice of a certain school. Families with higher socio-economic status deliberately sent their children to institutions that had the ability to create an environment promoting the idea of further education, involving the teachers as well as the students in this process. Masten (2008) has already described this, claiming that the protective role of the family involves creating a harmonious atmosphere at home, providing emotional support and extending to the choice of school.

The proportional difference of participants in the lives of the two groups can be clearly identified based on the significant values. In the case of the control group, there were very few or no risk factors and the hindering factors were related to participants outside the family. As for the protective factors, there were no significant differences between resilient and non-resilient people regarding the family, although there were still more supportive participants from the family in the case of the control group, based on the data ( $M(\text{kontroll})=6.06$   $SE=1.055$ ;  $M(\text{rezi})=4.63$   $SE=1.114$ ). This is a result worth of mentioning, since regarding resilient people, there are multiple risk factors and fewer protective and supportive family factors, while regarding the control group, the amount of risk factors is minimal, but the compensatory role of the family is still more significant.

After revealing and combining the scientific discourses of resilience and inclusion, our hypothesis was that an empirical research would also confirm the strong connection between these two fields. The results showed that a successful educational career can be explained by the external factors of resilience as well as the characteristics of the inclusive environment. Already at the beginning of the research – i.e., during the process of coding – the characteristics of the inclusive institutional environment could be identified to a great extent in the lives of resilient students. These protective factors belong to the category of supportive participants and compensate for the external risk factors. This served as *prima facie* evidence for the validity of the fundamental concept of this research. Proceeding with the analysis, the comparison of the two analyzed groups confirmed the assumption that the protective participants and compensatory

factors of disadvantaged students can be found primarily within the inclusive institutional environment. As a result, we can conclude that the supportive school and external organizations, which are both significantly outstanding factors, had determinative roles in the development of the successful educational careers of resilient students. In addition to comparable data, in the third step we examined the possible differences between the proportions of the risk factors and the protective segments with significant values and relating to the lives of resilient students, with the use of the SPSS paired-samples t-test. Based on the results of the paired-samples t-test, the dominance of the compensatory factors was identified. In other words, there were much more protective factors in the sub-category of the school and external organizations together ( $M=25.6$   $SE=3.27$ ) than in the sub-categories providing the risk factors ( $M=14.68$   $SE=2.65$ ;  $t(15)=-2.371$ ,  $p<0.05$ ). This proportion suggests that the prominent existence of inclusive institutional environment can compensate for multiple risk factors.<sup>148</sup> The recognition of this is significant, since it means that the model of inclusion can offer practical tools for the constant development of resilience.

We cannot disregard the fact that hindering factors were in the focus of every sub-category in the life of resilient students. This means that in many cases, the environment surrounding them lacked inclusivity. According to the qualitative analysis of the interviews given by the resilient group, both the incompleteness of inclusivity and the presence of the key participants compensating for it can be perceived. A typical situation that appeared in the interviews was when the behavior of the same age group was characterized by discrimination and prejudice. In contrast, there were some teachers, whose positive impact was decisive in the lives of the interviewees because most probably they compensated for problems deriving from the discriminating attitude of people from the same age group. Therefore, we can conclude that the emergence of complete inclusion, on the social and educational level as well, has probably a great impact on the development of resilience. Incomplete inclusion, however, can still overcome disadvantages deriving from social inequalities, based on its key elements and most significant participants.<sup>149</sup>

### **Summary**

On the whole, looking at the aspect of successful educational career, we can conclude that in the case of the control group members, who were raised in an environment of higher social status and had only a few risk factors in their lives, the main protective factor was the family. In contrast, in the case of resilient students, the numerous risk factors were primarily compensated by the school and external organizations. Although there were several hindering factors in the framework of the institution as well, the presence of numerous (or decisive) protective participants overrode their impact, compensating for the disadvantages. This was supported by the fact that there are several areas where inclusion can have a breakthrough and appear in such a proportion that allows for it to change the lives of disadvantaged people and promote their resilience.<sup>150</sup>

This is why it is so important that those students, who are at a disadvantage during their educational career, are surrounded by an inclusive institutional environment that is as established as possible. Without that, resilience might develop only accidentally or not at all. The topic of resilience, stepping out of the world of psychology, draws attention to the fact that it is possible – on the level of the individual or groups – to break the “projected” barriers; nevertheless, the development of the internal fighting ability clearly needs external support. Inclusivity, whose nature has been revealed, along with its practical models, provides a complex system of tools for this. The question is whether the different social scenes – including educational policies, the ones who execute them and schools as well – are willing to act in order to develop and maintain resilience. This decision unquestionably involves a great responsibility, since we could see that resilience is accessible and sustainable with the help of an inclusive social environment that is characterized by mutual acceptance.

## Conclusion

The volume started with a new interpretation of a fable in order to draw attention to the approach of inclusion that requires creating new methods and eliminating prejudices. The striving for mutual acceptance, as I will briefly define inclusion, is a way that the society and its members have to go through so that successful inclusion would be realized. Starting from these thoughts I dedicated the beginning chapters of the book to survey the elements, historical context, system evolution and increasing areas of practical appearance of this approach, which is indispensable for the implementation of inclusion. This way I intended to promote the change of viewpoints that is necessary for commencing our common actions. In the following I presented some concrete examples taken from very different contexts where applying the approach of inclusion would be necessary or inclusion has already been successfully implemented. These cases serve as proof of the importance of inclusion and reveal the consequences of the lack or the existence of inclusive actions in the life of the individual and the community. So the volume aimed at presenting practical examples of inclusion set in the framework based on the approach of providing equal opportunities. In the summary I pinpoint some of the current tendencies of development that strengthen the need for the application of inclusive approaches and enrich its variety.

We consider the policy of equal opportunities a basic idea set into the framework of legal documents. It declares the requirement of equal treatment and the prohibition of negative discrimination of groups and individuals based on any of their real or perceived characteristics. Its appearance and components are observable in international and Hungarian legal and strategic documents. Another notion in strong relation with equality is equity. This achieves that those in disadvantaged position receive support for counterbalancing their disadvantaged position through planned and purposeful social actions, thus enabling them to gain access to the social-cultural goods avail-

able in the society. We have been able to observe examples of equity mostly taken from educational contexts, but we have reflected upon supportive activities of other areas as well.

The theory and practice of inclusion pave the way for the realization of equality and equity in everyday life contexts, opposed to the social strategies of assimilation and segregation, and going beyond the approach of integration. I presented evidence of this in connection with the notional development. Talking about social inclusion we mean a community free of categorization that is characterized by the acceptance and appreciation of diversity and the provision of prosperity for groups and individuals through mutual and supportive cooperation. This requires both a new approach and a new practice, which have been discussed in this publication with several examples.

The exclusion of disadvantageous discrimination is an essential, but not in itself sufficient condition of the implementation of inclusion. In order to establish and maintain an inclusive society, it is essential to provide efficient and continuous social actions reacting to the ever changing situations of inequality and diversity. In order to contribute to the inclusive society, many social institutions offer assistance with their practical solutions in different areas of activities. This is how the fundamental ideas of equality and equity are connected to the theory and practice of inclusion. Here equality describes the 'what', whereas inclusion describes the 'how' with showing the tools of providing equality and equity.

One of the most important institutions is the school. As a first step on the way towards inclusion, it provides the opportunities of mutual acceptance through arranging the educational conditions with eliminating segregative and selective mechanisms. The crucially important point of the inclusive approach is that it views heterogeneity in the common school space as an opportunity and not a problem. The inclusive school is characterized by an attitude that appreciates diversity. It possesses a set of pedagogical tools that is capable of making every participant a successful member of the fruitfully cooperative community. This is assumed by the professionals who invented the Inclusive Index and Integrative Pedagogical System. The inclusive school is not only the venue of the successful learning process of each student. The learners also acquire competences that will characterize their attitude and behavior and this will result in the spreading of inclusion in other segments of the society as well. The system-based



approaches of 'Diverse Learning Environments' and 'Inclusive Excellence' also aim at this.

The presently accepted understanding of equality, equity, inclusion and inclusive pedagogy is the result of a development that has lasted for 20 years. The necessity and continuity of improvement is apparent in several areas, as we have seen it in several studies. Considering the society-level interpretation still very important, a global level also appeared. The extension of inclusion to an international context is demanded based on revealing the situations of inequality between societies, groups of nations, cultures and religions. The appearance of this level was put into the spotlight through the scrutiny of an example of the 'global north-global south', the influence of China in resource-rich African countries and the involvement of Islamic states in the process of globalization. This highlights that there is an increasing demand of the interpretation of equal opportunities at global levels and this may result in an implementation of locally successful inclusive actions in a global context and a relevant expansion of the scope of the inclusive approaches.

A further step in the development of inclusion is the revelation that even at the level of a certain society or social institution a coherent, multiple-level interference is needed for successful implementation. As far as the levels are concerned, a political commitment and its reflection in the legal framework is necessary. We were able to observe this in our scrutiny of the Hungarian educational policy.

The next level of actions is the institutional level. Shaping the approach and preparing the strategy provide the basis for these actions, as the authors of the Inclusive Index elaborated on this in detail. Historical experience cannot be neglected at any level, improvement towards inclusion is only possible by heavily relying on the social experience rooted in the historical context. The advocates of the Inclusive Excellence theory emphasize this with reference to the American society rooted in multiculturalism and sensibility to diversity, also with traditions of the melting pot (combining cultural differences) and measures of positive discrimination.

In case of the European examples, where thinking in the framework of nation-states is more prevailing, multiculturalism also appears. Nonetheless, here the complex support of underprivileged individuals is more salient, as we could observe it in the case of the roma college. In addition to the levels of society and institutions, it is

essential that all individuals and groups should be encouraged to act together. Without this the success of mutual acceptance is doubtful. The involvement and contribution of all participants in the commonly shared space are needed, as all the three examples have pointed out. It is also important to note, however, that the levels of inclusion are not steps one after the other in time, but paralelly running, continuous, and connected parts of the implementation of inclusion. We have seen that a fruitful institutional initiative may generate a decision at the level of educational policy, and also a complex political interference may bring about only partial success owing to the failure of appropriate actions at the institutional level.

The third form of the expansion of inclusion is the increasing scope of the identified groups and individuals that are threatened by exclusion in a given space and time context. The new definition of the Local Defined Minorities (LDM) and showing different situations of inequality around the world served as relevant examples. While the previous examples concretely define groups in danger of exclusion (handicapped people, migrants, women, religious-cultural minorities), the new notion, LDM points out that everybody may come to a situation of exclusion in a certain time and place, so emphasis should be put on the arrangement of spaces with mutual acceptance and flexible adaptability. The expansion of the range of the potentially excluded is also due to the revelation of the effects of intersectionality, the multiplication of individual or group-specific features that cause disprivilege. This means that there are increasingly more and more professionals researching the effects of added factors of disprivilege (the schooling of roma children with social difficulties, the situation of Afro-American women in the labour market). As a consequence, we may claim that it is imprescindible to arrange social and institutional spaces arranged following the principles of mutual acceptance and flexible adaptability, as only these are capable of counterbalancing disprivilege.

The process of inclusion presented from various angles requires continuing the implementation of the inclusive models presented at school levels. This may ensure that equality will not only remain a theoretical principle or an interference with dubious consequences, but we should possess systems that are capable of putting the theory into practice successfully. At the point of input the model of inclusion requires the mapping of situations of inequality and providing the

requisite contents of equality and equity so as to provide the input criteria. Through the process it establishes the attitudes of mutual acceptance and applies tools, measures, actions to facilitate the involvement of all members of the process. At the output it measures the effectiveness in connection with all participants and obtains feedback about the level of inclusion. The model-development intends to expand inclusion into other areas by area-specific adaptations of the model. Further steps are needed to reveal the variety and many-sidedness of diversity (content horizons), raise awareness about the importance of social dialogue (framework of social actions) and clarify the structural requirements of building inclusion (cooperativity, subsidiarity). Cooperativity facilitates that the inclusive actions should be implemented continuously and paralelly at all levels with the involvement of each and every participant. The system of activities must be encouraging, inclusion ought to become the responsibility of each participant with individually tailored tasks and responsibilities and further enforced by the publicity of the community. The conscious and long-lasting embedding of inclusion is obtainable with relying on these principles of cooperativity.

The adaptations of these models may bring about changes between nations and social institutions and spaces that may provide real assistance for the resilience of disadvantaged nations, groups and individuals through the theory and practice of inclusion.

### Endnotes

- 1 The study in connection with the topic (Varga 2013d) was originally published in the volume "Equal opportunities in contemporary Hungary" (Varga editor 2013).
- 2 The notion of equality involves equality of opportunities and equal treatment as two different approaches of the same phenomenon.
- 3 We will see that based on the principles of equality the focus will be on social justice and the compensation for social inequalities.
- 4 The study with the title „Beyond the Pale” presents the situation of inequality in the American society with this symbolism (NAGEL 2014b). The notion refers to the distancing of people who differ from the general social norms and value system. The author enumerates several groups that suffer from this distancing and pays special attention to afro-american people. Its state that „color consciousness” still charac-

- terizes the society of the USA and it involves the descendant of slaves and the African immigrants as well. Manyfold research and statistical data gives evidence about their discrimination. It affirms that Afro-Americans possess rights of liberty but further steps should be taken for achieving their equality (Nagel 2014b).
- 5 A study about same sex marriage as an equal right proves that a legal decision may play an important role in the change of social approach (Latimer 2014). The author mentions a legal case in 2003 which provote conflicts about civil rights and had an effect on the society. The change of paradigms from the religious-moral approach to the legal dilemma clearly influenced public opinion.
  - 6 We refer to “common space” as the place of the physical access that is not restricted in any way.
  - 7 We may read about the dilemmas of translating equity into Hungarian in a study by Keller and Mártonfi (Keller-Mártonfi 2006:383).
  - 8 Its meaning is that the members of the group considered having lower value serve the members of groups considered having higher value.
  - 9 Integration was classified into three levels in the period of its introduction. ‘Local’ integration meant placement in the same building but in different classes, with no connection between different learners. ‘Social’ integration meant that the development in class was separated, but outside classes there were consciously planned extracurricular activities. ‘Functional’ integration meant that the students were together in classes as well. There were ‘partial’ and ‘complete’ types of integrations according to the amount of time spent together (Csányi 2001 el. Koczor–Németh 2010).
  - 10 The ‘Report on the Hungarian Public Education’ is a study volume published every four years by the Institute of Educational Research and development.
  - 11 We will discuss this in detail in the following chapters.
  - 12 All information on PISA tests is available on <http://www.oecd.org/pisa/> (date of downloading: 2015. 02. 03.), plus there have been plenty of publications on PISA testing.
  - 13 During the period of writing this volume, a short analysis was written about the appearance of the viewpoints of efficiency, effectiveness and equity and their connection, pointing out relevant issues in education (Craw 2015).
  - 14 The details of the project and studies on the topic may be read on [www.schoolleadership.eu](http://www.schoolleadership.eu) (date of downloading: 2015. 02. 03.).
  - 15 The short studies and the cited literature may contribute to the understanding of this interesting and innovative approach. The following publications were used for the content of this paragraph: Wardet al. 2013, Mac Ruairc 2013, Schratz 2013.

- 16 The presently used name of the institutions dealing with the education of slightly mentally handicapped learners is institution of special education.
- 17 The volume analysing the situation of the Hungarian public education according to different indicators was published recently (Varga J. editor 2015) Among the indicators we may find indexes of segregation calculated based on disadvantaged and multiply disadvantaged learners in 1-8 grades of primary schools' Segregation means educating children of different family backgrounds in different types of schools. The segregational index presented here shows the percentage of potential contacts between children of different family backgrounds that are not realized due to segregated settings in the education system. The higher rates indicate more extensive levels of segregation. The national segregative index slightly increased between 2010 and 2013. The Index about disadvantaged children increased from from 27,2 to 32,9 in the examined four years, whereas the index calculated about multiply disadvantaged learners increased from 29,2 to 34. In Budapest and towns not having county status both indexes increased between 2010 and 2013. In cities with county status, the Index on disadvantaged children slightly increased, whereas the Index on multiply disadvantaged children slightly decreased. (Varga J. editor 2015, 130.)
- 18 Radó Péter published a remarkable analysis on the results of the latest PISA tests, its equality-related dimensions, the deteriorating tendencies and their causes on the following blog: (<http://oktpolcafe.hu/a-pisa-eredmenyek-2012-es-romlasanak-okairol-valami-megroggyant-2313/> Date of downloading: 2015. 02. 07.)
- 19 The chapter presenting the inclusive model in detail will discuss this topic.
- 20 Ability to cope with difficulties successfully.
- 21 The socio-psychological school research of Aronson dates back to the same period. It described the 'mosaic' method and laid the foundations for the successful pedagogical practice of a heterogeneous school community. It also marked the beginning of co-operative learning. (Aronson–Patnoe 2011) This topic will be dealt with in one of the following chapters.
- 22 Globalization, changing systems of communication and information technology, migration, tourism are all among the reasons for the prevalence of multiculturalism. This results in a situation where social and national controversies increasingly appear as controversies of cultures. The meaning of multiculturalism is best summarized as the co-existence of different cultures (Kiss 1997).
- 23 Content-wise integration means that the content elements about minorities appear in the subject material of the different subjects. The

methods of knowledge acquisition applied at home should appear in the learning process of the groups with different cultural background according to the principle of taking into consideration the different constructions of knowledge. Reducing the number of prejudices is a factor that influences the relationship between majority and minority. The aim is to improve the social competences of co-operation and the elimination of stereotypes. The pedagogy of equality ensures the school progress and success of children regardless of their cultural identity. The development of the culture and organization of the school as a receptive ambience is indispensable for the implementation of acceptance in classrooms.

- 24 Although diversity appears in the focus of inclusion, partly due to the increasing number of migrants, researchers do not only urge intercultural education, but emphasize the importance of the establishment of inclusive schools that react successfully to any kind of special group or individual features (Rutkowski et al. 2014).
- 25 In connection with democracy, we may read an interesting study about muslim states that provide for their citizens based on the revenues from selling resources such as oil, and consequently they depend on the affects of globalization. (Asumah 2014b).
- 26 The author experienced being a second-rate citizen when she moved from India to the United States, from her family belonging to the highest cast and in the States found herself in a position of lower social prestige (coloured). So as a member of two different worlds, she could experience the invisible privileges.
- 27 Principally, the researches dealing with the topic of gender illustrate that belonging to several groups may intensify the disadvantages. It was examined in the American society how ethnical prejudices affect the situations of female inequality. They drew attention to the fact that feminism asserts the viewpoint of ethnic approach to a small extent, so it cannot examine appropriately the strengthened disadvantages of this duality (Nagel 2004a). The notion and analyzing tool of intersectionality appears here, which enables us to scrutinize the different types of social inequalities (ethnic, gender, class) and the oppressions and discriminations in connection with them. Scientific publications claim that analysis of many diverse factors is essential. A recent Hungarian study on the situation of Roma women on the labour market is an intersectional study presenting analysis based on the viewpoints of inequality (Vincze 2012).
- 28 In the past few years I elaborated on the notion of inclusion in several studies based on the most up-to-date literature (Varga 2012b, 2014e). This chapter is the summary of the ideas that I expressed about inclusion so far.

- 29 The starting point of the movement was the 'Jomtien' declaration, the World Declaration on Education for All (<http://www.unesco.org/new/en/education/themes/leading-the-international-agenda/education-for-all/the-efa-movement/jomtien-1990/> data of downloading: 2015. 03. 20) The declaration was the final document of the conference organized with the participation of 155 countries. It contains those fundamental principles that other guidelines developed further in order to realize inclusion. (Declaration of Salamanca 2004, UNESCO 2005, 2009a)
- 30 In the global conference organized in Salamanca the representatives of 92 governments and 25 international organizations accepted the 47-page-long document of the UNESCO on educational integration. The document declared the basic principles of educating children with special needs, the necessary educational policy and the steps for practical implementation. According to this declaration it is desirable to establish receptive schools that are capable of educating all children in an integrated setting (including handicapped, talented, socially underprivileged, minority children and many others) (Horváth 2009).
- 31 They complement the categories of oppression given by Young with the categories 'stigmatization', a 'questioned personality' and 'social inability to work'(Purcell 2014). They make the observation about mentally handicapped people that they are especially affected by the stigmatization of good will and they face different forms of oppression at different levels of the society (Gooding–Cox 2014). Another writing introduces the notion of 'invisible disability', where a neutral change of the body, 'impairment' is given a corresponding negative content of meaning with using the notion of disability. According to this approach with using 'disability', difference appears with social punishment. The author identifies different types of 'invisible disability' (Hirschmann 2014). The international survey of the situation of people living with disabilities led to the observation that this group is the largest minority in the world and special emphasis should be put on their inclusion in public education, health care, labour market and other spheres. (Duncan 2014)
- 32 The shift of focus is mentioned in this book together with the recognition of the pioneer role of Hungarian researches, which was a determining factor in making the educational environment of handicapped children inclusive.
- 33 Protected traits: the real or perceived gender, race, skin colour, nationality, national or ethnic belonging, mother tongue, disability, health state, religious convictional, political or other different kind of belief, family status, pregnancy, motherhood, fatherhood, sexual orientation, gender identity, age, social position, wealth, form of permanent or temporary employment, belonging to an interest representational body,

- trade union, other different situation, trait or feature' Law on equal treatment and the promotion of equal opportunities (2003/CXXV 8.§).
- 34 [www.siscatalyst.eu](http://www.siscatalyst.eu) (Date of downloading: 2015. 02. 03)
- 35 Presidency Conclusions – LISBON EUROPEAN COUNCIL, 23 and 24 March 2000. ([http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms\\_data/docs/press-data/en/ec/00100-r1.en0.htm](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/press-data/en/ec/00100-r1.en0.htm) time of downloading: 2014.10.19.)
- 36 The recension of the volume was published in Hungarian in 1995 (Kalocsainé Sánta–Varga 2005). Based on the content in the volume an analysis with intercultural approach has already been made about the changing notion of inclusion (Varga 2006). We can read extracts of this analysis in this volume as well.
- 37 We know from the publications of Papp that although Great-Britain was a pioneer in spreading the notion of inclusion, the content of integration/inclusion are often blurred here as well in different scientific and professional publications, whereas legal documents continue to use the notions of mainstreaming and mainstreaming school (Papp 2012).
- 38 From integration to inclusion- game about terminology or conceptual development?
- 39 Later on, Hinz complemented the literature of inclusion with other publications and he still has a leading role in research on this scientific discipline.
- 40 The studies of the online journal in connection with the topic give detailed information about the transformation process in the country (<http://www.inklusion-online.net/>, additional information is found on the home pages of the institutions dealing with inclusion(<http://www.lebenshilfe-wien.at/Von-Integration-und-Inklusion.363.0.html>).
- 41 The details of the approach are available on <http://www.make-development-inclusive.org/inclusivedevelopment.php?wid=800&spk=fr>, more studies and practic experiece for teachers: <http://eduscol.education.fr> (date of downloading: 2015. 02. 01.)
- 42 Details are available here: [www.radicinelfiume.it/equosolidale.php/p-12x47x219/inclusionone-sociale.htm](http://www.radicinelfiume.it/equosolidale.php/p-12x47x219/inclusionone-sociale.htm) és [www.dorinopiras.it/component/content/353?task=view](http://www.dorinopiras.it/component/content/353?task=view)
- 43 More on this topic can be found here: <http://www.luisvivesces.org/buscador/search.srv?q=inclusion> (date of downloading: 2015. 01. 20.)
- 44 The workshops organized by the network and recommend reading are available on <http://www.inclusion.com/inclusion.html> oldalon (date of downloading: 2015. 02. 02.).
- 45 In his study on the evaluation about the notion of inclusion Papp highlights that in the legislation of the USA integration and inclusion do not appear and integration is used to refer to the learning and teaching of disabled people in the same peer group, which could be organized in special groups (Papp 2012.).



- 46 It is worth reading the study on the analysis of the immigrational policy of the United States that surveys the different decrees and legal documents about the migrant flowing to the USA. These legal documents encouraged or intended to prevent immigration in accordance with the social interest in the given era. The current situation is that the highest amount of migrants arrive from third world countries and Mexico, mostly illegally. The foundation of the successful immigration policy of Canada is that the multicultural law in 1985 had a modern approach to the process of multiculturalism in Canada. The authors view this example as a model, proposing an appropriate immigration policy and the assertion of various viewpoints in addition to the economic interest. (Asumah–Bradley 2014)
- 47 This volume gives an exciting approach to the socio-philosophical approach of inclusion and its practical implementation. Its concept is supported by the ideas of Derrida and Foucault. It claims that inclusion is not only an opportunity for the teachers, but an essential condition of the learners' success. It stresses that there are no given recipes for shaping the inclusive environment, it is carried out everywhere differently according to the needs of the participants with their active contribution. Teachers play a crucially important role in this process. (Allan 2008)
- 48 UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989).
- 49 The socio-political importance of the topic is shown by the fact that in England a volume was published (intending to send a message to educational policy makers) that gives proposals for research and interventions for the educational policy. It emphasizes that inclusion is the social interest of the whole society that is founded on scientific research, the educational policy supports the practical implementation. This process and new researches improve social politics. (Armstrong 2003)
- 50 <http://www.ltscotland.org.uk/inclusionandequality/ictandinclusion/index.asp>(date of downloading: 2015. 02. 01.)
- 51 One of the leading institutions of scientific work in connection with inclusion is CSIE (Centre for Studies on Inclusive Education), information on its work is accessible on <http://www.inclusion.org.uk/> This institution created the 'Inclusive Index' also known in Hungary (it will be treated in the next chapter).
- 52 These days The British Psychological Society also deals with the definition of inclusive pedagogy. In Great-Britain inclusion has surpassed the framework of education and it has become an issue of social politics. Several organizations have joined the process of the widespread extension of inclusivity and its practical implementation. They believe that it is for the good of the whole society. (The British Psychological Society: Statement on Inclusive Education <http://www.bps.org.uk/>date of downloading: 2015. 02. 02.)

- 53 Andreas Hinz and Ines Boban (teachers of Martin-Luther-Universität, Halle-Wittenberg) deal with this topic in detail ([www.inklusionspaedagogik.de](http://www.inklusionspaedagogik.de) date of downloading: 2015. 01. 01.)
- 54 The Department of Education – Special Needs and Inclusive Education has been dealing for this topic for more than a decade. Its scientists have a modern approach to inclusivity and the expansion of its focus (<http://bildungswissenschaft.univie.ac.at/en/inklusive-paedagogik/research-unit/> date of downloading: 2015. 02. 02.)
- 55 <http://inclusion.udea.edu.co> (date of downloading: 2012. 02. 20.)
- 56 The authors of the article define as 'ideal citizens' those people who trust the political system and the political processes and the civil organizations, not only with servility, but with active integrational pursuits (Rutkowski–Rutkowski–Engel 2014:271.)
- 57 The study of David and Russell describes a pedagogical solution. We may read about the notion of cultural competence at the level of the individual and the system as well. (Young–Davis–Russel 2014)
- 58 The author claims that teachers understand the concept of inclusion according to the interpretations of their own, and this principally determines their approach and the applied methods. That is why he considers it important to redefine inclusion.
- 59 These conclusions and proposals were written down during Session 48 of the International Conference on Education (ICE) (UNESCO in Geneva, November 25–28, 2008) The final document was made by representatives of 153 member states, 20 intergovernmental organizations and 25 civil organizations (UNESCO 2009b:125.).
- 60 Recommendation of the European Council (2011)
- 61 A shorter description of the inclusive model was published in the *Autonómia és felelősség* journal in 2014. (Varga 2014e)
- 62 Law on equal treatment and the prohibition of discrimination (2003/CXXI)
- 63 Presidency Conclusions – LISBON EUROPEAN COUNCIL, 23 and 24 March 2000. [http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms\\_data/docs/press-data/en/ec/00100-r1.en0.htm](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/press-data/en/ec/00100-r1.en0.htm) Time of downloading: 2014. 10. 19. )
- 64 The surveyed models have been selected from the huge amount of relevant literature to show various different examples with providing an overview as well.
- 65 <https://www.aacu.org>
- 66 The Hungarian translation of the original work was done by Hungarian professionals dealing with the inclusion of handicapped people with the permission of the publisher. The publication in Hungarian can be downloaded in full version. [http://www.eenet.org.uk/resources/docs/Index\\_Hungarian.pdf](http://www.eenet.org.uk/resources/docs/Index_Hungarian.pdf) Time of downloading: 2014. 10. 19.
- 67 In the same period several other programs aiming at the provision of

- equity started their activities due to the availability of EU funding. We will refer to these programs (such as HEFOP) several times.
- 68 Among these a wide range of competence building, classroom methodology (differentiation, co-operative learning, projects, drama pedagogy) extracurricular activities, multicultural content, requirement of individual development, forms of partnership, advance planning of innovation.
- 69 Data collection is about figures on disadvantaged and multiply disadvantaged learners, criteria involve advancement without repeated years, the extra assets deriving from individual development, going on to higher education.
- 70 Based on a contemporary action research conducted in South-America we should stress the importance of the commitment of the school leadership (the management) as well (Makoelle 2014b).
- 71 The requirement of obstacle-free access among the indicators of the second dimension of the index signals the feature of the index that it focuses on handicapped children during the implementation of the model.
- 72 In a later chapter we will observe that the same material facilities were used in different ways in more inclusive schools (more open spaces, community areas).
- 73 The authors of Model for Diverse Learning Environments treat this topic extensively especially in connection with universities (Hurtado et al. 2012), summarize the relevant literature of the past 10 years and offer a system-level model.
- 74 This version is a synthesis of the parts that have already been published in different scientific publications (Varga 2013a, 2013b, 2013c, 2014a).
- 75 Medda-Windischer 2011.
- 76 The purpose of determining the eligibility (entitlement) for regular child protection benefit (rendszeres gyermekvédelmi kedvezmény, RGYK) is to prove that the child is legally entitled to receive normative benefits of canteen food service, fringe benefits and free school books. The parents may turn to the notary of the competent local council to state legal entitlement for a period of 1 year. With few exceptions those citizens are eligible who live in families where the per capita income does not exceed 130% of the minimum old age pension (in 2014 37050).
- 77 <http://www.kormany.hu/hu/emberi-eroforrasok-miniszteriuma/hirek/eszmeccsere-a-civil-szervezetekkel-az-antiszegregacios-kerekasztalon> (date of downloading: 2013. 10. 28.)
- 78 According to the justification given by the decision makers 'the reinterpretation of the notion will result in more detailed knowledge, more sensitivity about the problems and will enable more precise targeting of the existing services and support both regarding people and areas' (on the modification of law T/1047 47).

- 79 The data shown in Charts 1–5 were collected by Híves Tamás (OFI) from the KIRSTAT database.
- 80 According to the latest data (data provision in October 2014) a further significant drop is observable in both categories. the proportion of disadvantaged learners have dropped by almost 50 % compared to data measured two years ago (when categorization was done according to the old previous regulations) The drop of multiply disadvantaged learners is 20 % despite the fact that state care children all belong to the category (data collected by Híves Tamás from the KIRSTAT database).
- 81 The following chapter on child protection will draw attention to this question.
- 82 Based on Law 1990/CIV
- 83 The present activities of the student college will be shown in the next chapter.
- 84 Humánerőforrás-fejlesztési Operatív Program 2.1 measure Hátrányos helyzetű tanulók esélyegyenlőségének biztosítása az oktatásban (Providing equal rights for multiply disadvantaged learners in education) Társadalmi Megújulás Operatív Program 3.3 measure A halmozottan hátrányos helyzetű tanulók iskolai lemorzsolódását csökkentő intézkedések támogatása (support of measures for decreasing dropout of multiply disadvantaged learners).
- 85 It is indispensable to examine the practical implementation in addition to the intention of the educational policy. However, this short chapter does not provide enough space for this. Further recommended reading is available here in this source.
- 86 We may read a detailed description of the project embedded into the overview of the Hungarian and national practices of other supportive opportunities (Lannert 2014).
- 87 [http://www.emet.gov.hu/eredmenyek/biztos\\_kezdet\\_gyerekhazak/](http://www.emet.gov.hu/eredmenyek/biztos_kezdet_gyerekhazak/) (date of downloading: 2015. 02. 02.)
- 88 The prevention of early school leaving has become an issue of utmost importance. The Hungarian and the EU policy making both strive for the prevention of educational paths finished without qualifications. In Hungary, a government decree has allocated resources, and professional preparation has already been carried out to develop a program in public education to prevent early dropout. More details are available on the work of the Tempus Foundation (one of the workshops involved in the preparation) and its project about the measurement, prevention and follow-up of early school leaving. (QALL (Qualification for All) <http://ok.proa.hu/kutatas> (date of downloading: 2015. 04. 20.)
- 89 Source: [www.emet.gov.hu](http://www.emet.gov.hu) (date of downloading: 2015. 02. 08.)
- 90 [www.ajp.hu](http://www.ajp.hu)

- 91 AJKP relied on the professional experience of the Collegium Martineum founded in 1996.
- 92 <http://www.kistigrisgimi.extra.hu/>
- 93 <http://www.ambedkar.hu/>
- 94 <http://htszakiskola.hu/>
- 95 <http://www.kalyi-jag.hu/>
- 96 This research was commissioned by the Department of Equal Chances of the Educatio KHT. The results of the research are available in various publications (Varga 2009, Varga 2012a).
- 97 A study made in the course of a project aiming at the elimination of early school leaving also examined the schooling of children in state care and came to conclusions similar to our study (Herczog 2013).
- 98 Source of the data Oktatás-statisztikai évkönyv 2009/2010 (Yearbook of educational statistics 2009/2010)
- 99 This correlation was a relevant observation at the time of the research. The change of ownership (state) has probably made the situation different.
- 100 The Institute of the Educational research and Development commissioned the research group of the University of Pécs as a part of the SROP 3.1.1-11/1-2012-0001 project to conduct a countrywide research in the first part of 2014. The research intended to find out which are those schools where the disadvantaged, Roma/Gypsy or migrant learners are more successful and which are those identifiable factors that have a considerable influence on their success in schools. It also intended to reveal causes of dropout and early school leaving are identifiable. The research intended to have an view on the necessary professional and financial aid and knowledge that the teachers need for successful educational work among disadvantaged and Roma/Gypsy learners. Besides, the survey inspected the infrastructural conditions of the examined institutions.
- 101 In the following research we accept the status of disadvantaged position as defined by the currently applicable law on child protection.
- 102 This part of the research presented here was published in the study volume published by the OFI (Varga 2015).
- 103 In our presentation about the Hungarian situation we did not deal with the problem of migrants in Hungary due their low number, although we admit that at the international level their social and educational inclusion is an issue in focus. We mention that several works of analysis have been published in Hungary about their situation in Hungary, focusing on the services given by the school. These show various disfunctions according to the studies. (Végh 2014)
- 104 SSI is not considered a universal value. It is appropriate for analyzing the institutions in the sample in categories.

- 105 The calculations were based on the data provided by the leaders of institutions in the questionnaires.
- 106 We categorized the learners into two groups, those who continued their studies in institutions providing matura exams and those who chose other types of institution. we defined the proportions of the two groups (%) and compared the differences between the two types of trainings. We did the same with the countrywide proportions as well. After this, we compared the two relevant figures about the examined school and the country. This way we received a general indicator about the institution which shows the rate of going on to higher education compared to the national (countrywide) average. A figure lower than '1' reflects fallback from the country average, whereas higher than '1' indicates exceeding the national average.
- 107 We examined separately the learner groups of multiply disadvantaged, disadvantaged and not disadvantaged students. We divided them into learners in trainings with or without obtaining matura exams in percentages.
- 108 SSI questionnaires that were left out analysis due to insufficient data did not show considerable difference based on the background indicators.
- 109 This finding is confirmed by the study that illustrates the currently observable components of settlement-based disadvantage and the strategies applied by the inhabitants of small settlements (Feischmidt 2012).
- 110 'We do not have overage learners, neither in junior, nor in the senior section. We strive for doing everything in their interest. The developmental classes remained, we received these, teachers can handle them very well. We have a portfolio about each and every student, all classes, activities, results of measurements are documented. This is real follow-up and monitoring. It is not only important in connection with the multiply disadvantaged children to know where they started from and what they reached. If students don't reach the desired levels, the teachers have to prepare an individual development plan that has to be implemented and evaluated. (Source: interviews with institution leaders 1, successful SSI)
- 111 We are principally dissatisfied. What we see is that the parents in these families are at home because they are unemployed or have other problems. in spite of this, on average their children are less frequently in schools than children who are not multiply disadvantaged. That is why one of the most important aims of the 3.8 tender was to involve parents and study halls. This is our most difficult pursuit, winning the support of the parents and establishing partnership with them. we invited them to several events, programs. The traditional consulting ours do not seem to work any more. we need a different approach.' (Source: interviews with institution leaders 20. – 'Unsuccessful' SSI)

- 112 Trainings were here right on site, for example the efficient and professional training on understanding students. Those younger colleagues who came later took part in trainings in Budapest, for example drama training if I remember well. We usually come together, organize a brainstorming session on methodology and share our ideas and opinions about these methods. Also we surf on the net for new ideas. However, now, as teachers are becoming more and more overloaded, we have much less time for all these. (Source: interview with institution leaders 6 – ‘advancing’ SSI)
- 113 The Institute of Teacher Training at the University of Pécs started this yearly conference with the aim of establishing a tradition. ([www.kompetenspedagogus.hu](http://www.kompetenspedagogus.hu) date of downloading: 2015. 02. 06.)
- 114 Varga Aranka: *Hogyan legyek inkluzív pedagógus?*, the lecture of Varga Aranka with the title: How to be an inclusive teacher?
- 115 The content of this chapter was published in the volume ‘*Horizontok és dimenziók*’ in Hungarian (Varga 2014c).
- 116 The co-operative organization of learning was discussed by those authors who dealt with the theory of co-operation and its practical implementation (Sapon-Shevin–Ayres–Duncan 1994) In their writings they surveyed the principles and methods of co-operation from the viewpoint of inclusion, elaborating on the potential help that co-operation provides for the involvement of all the learners in a heterogenous environment. The study principally aimed at supporting the reform concerning the education of students with special needs and involves the importance of the co-operation of the teaching personnel in addition to the classroom interactions and co-operations.
- 117 Aronson and colleagues summarized the steps of the MOZAIK method as follows in the seventies:  
 We group the students of the students of the class into small groups of 5-6 members. The groups should be heterogenous according to ability, gender and ethnicity. The tasks of the class are divided into as many parts as the number of the students in the class. All group members receive a part of the distributed tasks. The members start working individually at the beginning. the parts are interdependent and differentiated in content and amount so that students could work according to their varying abilities and educational needs. After the individual work, we make students sit together around a table to form an ‘expert group’, a group of students who worked on the same task. After preparing together, all students go back to their original groups where only they know the topic area discussed in the expert groups. We ask students to elaborate on their tasks while the others ask questions and take notes. In the meantime, the teacher goes from group to group and supervises and assists the implementation of the tasks. When all the students have

performed, we carry out an evaluation that involves the whole subject material. This way, students become aware that their success cannot be imagined without the contribution of the others. They will also see that although work was done in an informal setting, it was efficient (www.jigsaw.org).

- 118 The Johnson brothers and the members of their research team wrote 5 fundamental principles: Positive Interdependence, Face-to-Face Promotive Interaction, Individual Accountability, Interpersonal And Small Group Skills, Group Processing. (Johnson–Johnson–Holubec 1991) Kagan, a prominent researcher, defined 4 basic principles: Positive Interdependence, Individual Accountability, Equal Participation, Simultaneous Interaction. (Kagan 2001) The Hungarian equivalents of the basic principles used by Kagan, such as interdependence, individual accountability, equal participation and parallel interactions became widespread in the Hungarian literature and professional terminology as well, thanks to the work of the translation activities of the Hungarian followers and implementors of the theory. Arató and Varga deal with 8 basic principles that build on the activities of the previous two groups of authors with further development (Arató–Varga 2012a).
- 119 From the basic principles we will elaborate on four that are usually involved in the publications of most researchers. We use the terminology as defined by Arató and Varga.
- 120 The teachers who tried to apply the jigsaw technique in Austin came to the conclusion that it was easy to use the technique and enjoyed working with it. Besides, the jigsaw technique is applicable together with other teaching strategies. It also works if it is used in a limited number of classes. Aronson and his colleagues thought that the usage of the jigsaw puzzle technique has an impact in two areas. It teaches young people to control their impulses and educates them about co-operating with others in order to solve their conflicts in a friendly way. It provides students with a classroom experience that is based on co-operation instead of competition. It motivates students to respect each other with paying attention and take care of each other so that they all of them would be successful during the process of learning (Aronson–Patnoe 2011).
- 121 We interpreted this as action research. The detailed results of this research were presented in a study (Varga 2013e).
- 122 The scientific framework is provided by published conference volumes and the Romology journal, which is issued quarterly with the help of the SROP plan, the supporter of the Student College.
- 123 Faág Baráti Kör Association, Gandhi High School, Khetanipe Association, Számá da noj Association, Szent Márton Caritas Foundation.
- 124 We take this opportunity to thank János Schaffer, the leader of the community space and Anita Olah demonstrator for their support.



- 125 [www.romologiafolyoirat.pte.hu](http://www.romologiafolyoirat.pte.hu).
- 126 Simultaneously with this volume, the thematic issue (2015/1) of the specialized journal called Transylvanian Society (*Erdélyi Társadalom*) was published, which contains studies concerned with the topic of resilience, discussing it mainly from a sociological point of view. Hereinafter references to the content of certain articles may appear, adjusted to the analytical focus of this text.
- 127 The illustrative expression of emotional resistance or flexibility is a frequently used synonym of resilience, indicating the ability of an individual, a group or a community to prevent, reduce or overcome difficulties and their harmful consequences (Grotberg, 1996 in Ceglédi, 2012).
- 128 Research focusing on the inner quality of the individual does not necessarily exclude the dynamic impact of external factors to resilience, only emphasizes individual characteristics as the starting point and central topic of analysis. Such theories include the psychobiological approach to resilience (Feder et al., 2010), the approach focusing on genes and environment (Lemery-Chalfant, 2010), and the cognitive, affective, and behavioral approach to resilience (Mayer and Faber, 2010; Skodol, 2010; Rafaeli and Hiller, 2010).
- 129 There is a brief description about the role of the family environment, which discusses those family impacts that result in or prevent the resilient and adaptive behavior of the individual (Fekete 2015:163). The author mentions the mother-child relationship, then the impact of the father, and finally the impact of social movements.
- 130 The literature highlights the following deviances: psychiatric problems or addictions of the parents, domestic violence, and criminality.
- 131 This study does not include the description of the internal risk factors and protective factors due to its nature. These factors are discussed for instance in the study of Rutter (1987), Benard (1995), and Sugland et al. (1993).
- 132 Blaming the victims means a strategy where the individuals or groups are blamed and held responsible for their own situation, not taking into consideration any contextual reasons, such as socio-economic reasons (Ryan, 1974 in Arató, 2012).
- 133 The relationship between inclusive pedagogy and the theory of resilience was analyzed in the study of Makoelle és Malindi (2015) in South Africa. As opposed to the perspective of this study, the South African authors analyzed the diversified impact of the inclusive pedagogic system on disadvantaged students, examining the differences between the internal and external factors of resilience. So the starting point of the study was resilience, and it based the success of the inclusive pedagogic system on the features of resilience. In contrast, this study regards inclusivity – on a social and educational level – as a milestone in

the development of resilience. In other words, the themes of resilience and inclusion were integrated into the work of Makoelle and Malindi (2015); nevertheless, their study suggests that the resilience factors of different individuals are going to determine the success of inclusivity, concentrating mainly on the internal factors (Makoelle and Malindi 2015). This study examines these two themes from an opposite point of view and in the case of more than one person, claiming that the successful development of inclusivity is an essential condition for the fulfilment of resilience.

- 134 Students of the special college, belonging to the resilient group, all come from socially disadvantaged groups, mostly belonging to the Roma/Gypsy community. The common feature of students studying different subjects at different faculties is that they all participate in the complex program of WHSZ that strengthens inclusivity (Varga 2014a).
- 135 Several researchers drew attention to the fact that social disadvantages can be aggravated if an individual belongs to a minority group, due to the negative social stereotypes associated with these groups (Cserti and Orsós 2013, Neményi 2013). These disadvantages were described, among others, by Perez et al. (2009) in the context of the examination of resilience, claiming that the main risk factors threatening the educational career are low socio-economic status and being a member of a minority group. This is precisely what is emphasized by the field of „intersectionality,” which uses this theory to examine the relationship between different social inequalities (due to ethnicity, gender, or class) and the related oppression and discrimination (Nagel and Asumah 2014).
- 136 A study was conducted concurrently with this research, which considers resilience as the „criteria for social survival” in the case of Roma people (Gyórbiró et al. 2015: 119). The study examines the Roma special college with the precondition that this type of institution has the ability to educate a group of Roma intellectuals, who can in turn change the disadvantaged characteristics of their community. The text is also interesting because it applies the topic of resilience to the level of the group instead of the individual, explaining why it is so important to promote resilience in the case of people with permanent disadvantages, especially the Roma community. According to the answers of the eight Roma students who were interviewed, the services of the special college contribute to the successful educational careers of students and promote their sensitivity to social issues.
- 137 A student is resilient if he or she has to suffer disadvantages, which would indicate an unsuccessful educational path, but in spite of this, he or she achieves successful educational advancement (Perez et al., 2009; Masten, 2008).

- 138 Eight members of the control group have high socio-economic status, while eight other members have average socio-economic status, based on the qualifications, professions and incomes of their parents.
- 139 The university students are between 21 and 31 years of age, and attend undergraduate, postgraduate or Ph.D. programs at the university or participate in undivided trainings that offer a master's degree.
- 140 The interview included a brief introduction, the presentation of the family background and the description of the events that lead to the current educational status of the students.
- 141 The author examines how the members of the test group, i.e., Roma graduates managed to take advantage of mobility, in spite of the often selective or discriminative influence of educational institutions. The author wishes to answer the various questions by analyzing the lives of resilient individuals. The paper primarily takes into account the impediments to the educational advancement of the test group, and states that resilient people have certain competences in common. Among these competences, risk-taking and the ability to search for solutions in case of a failed attempt are emphasized. The goal of these solutions is always to progress on the road of mobility that is recognized by the students. The study mentions the relationship between the family and the school, analyzing the stages of identity consolidation, which also characterizes the development of resilience (Dezsó 2015).
- 142 Here we would like to thank Katalin R. Forray, who provided us with her interviews, which she conducted with the resilient group of our research. We utilized these interviews in a secondary research.
- 143 The system of criteria accepted in the narrative content analysis means the evaluation of participants appearing in the descriptions of life stories, since we can conclude their psychological functions (e.g., safety) from the functions of their activities (in this case the supporting or hindering nature of their deeds) (László 2005, Péley 2002).
- 144 In the case of inclusivity, the inclusive or exclusive environment is characterized by the behavior of its members and their responses to the environment itself. The external factors defined by the field of resilience include groups or individuals who can be both risk or compensatory factors in the life of the interviewee.
- 145 While specifying the eight codes, we tried to ensure that they all fit into the theoretical system of resilience as well as inclusivity. Therefore, we divided the categories of participants with a hindering role according to the relevant elements of these two approaches. Furthermore, participants of the sub-categories have been assigned different functions, according to their activities and psychological influence, which represent the nature of external factors in both theories.
- 146 We calculated the relative frequency of code words in the ATLAS-ti pro-

- gram, based on the results of the coding process along the eight super codes (family/identical age group/school/external organizations, all characterized by both hindering and supportive nature).
- 147 This advanced and diverse competence („fighting ability”), which aims at mobility, is discussed in an already mentioned study that analyzes the connection between resilience and inclusion. (Máté 2015)
- 148 Masten’s study emphasized that protective factors can compensate for risk factors. Based on this research, the school was considered as one of the most important scenes of protective factors (Masten 2008).
- 149 It has come up during the analysis that it might be beneficial to examine another control group, which would be composed of young people coming from a similar social background to that of the resilient students in this research, but having an unsuccessful education career (meaning that they are non-resilient). Their case could show how the lack or incompleteness of inclusion hinders the development of resilience. The presented research has not included the analysis of this non-resilient group, primarily because it focuses on university students, and it is a characteristic of the non-resilient group that its members do not go to university. In connection with this, it was impossible to solve the dilemma that the analysis of the interviews was conducted focusing on education, while it is exactly this aspect (school) that disappears from the lives of non-resilient students. Therefore, in the case of the non-resilient group, a different research tool should be used.
- 150 In the case of the examined resilient students, the special college is the core of their protective environment, which provides them with complex support embedded into the community. Hence, the presented research not only reveals the connections between resilience and inclusion, but also proves that the special college in Pécs, which was analyzed from several points of view, is truly characterized by the features of inclusion.

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