SNAPSHOT OF HUNGARIAN EDUCATION
2014

The overarching goals of Social Renewal Operational Programme 3.1.1 priority project *21ˢᵗ Century School Education (Development and Coordination), Phase 2* are development of public education, its professional and ICT support, quality management and monitoring.

Snapshot of Hungarian Education 2014

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Contents

FOREWORD

One of the main tasks of the Hungarian Institute for Educational Research and Development is to undertake research, mainly applied, supporting educational policy making and to assess the impact of earlier policy decisions. Hungary has introduced major changes in educational policy since 2010. Behind these changes stand, on the one hand, the social policy goal of strengthening the middle class, and on the other hand, the work-based economic policy that came out of Hungary's unique way of managing the impact of the 2008 global economic crisis through such means as the bank levy and state support for production capacities. The direction and depth of these changes have been greatly influenced by the fact that Hungary's school age population has been steadily declining for two decades, and the rate of disadvantaged children within the student population has been increasing.

The first step towards the changes was the transformation of the educational administration. The autonomous Ministry of Education/Culture was replaced by the multi-branch Ministry of National Resources, later renamed the Ministry of Human Capacities with a state minister responsible for the educational branch. In harmony with processes started in previous government cycles, vocational education and training has been increasingly separated from public education and was ultimately delegated to the labour administration. The legislative foundation for the transformation of the public education system was laid down in the 2011 Act on National Public Education, which formulated the programme of value-based educative schools. It stipulated that public education is a public service requiring the state's greater involvement in the maintenance of educational institutions and in the control and supervision of teachers' professional work. To achieve these goals, it transformed the system of operation and financing, modified the regulation of the content of education, introduced the school inspection system and the teacher career model which offers promotion and higher remuneration based on professional criteria. The Act's educational policy concept broke with the decentralisation-based regulation of the previous almost twenty years and embraced the principle of centralisation linked to increased state involvement, seen as a safeguard of the implementation of efficient and equitable education. The Act set short deadlines for the far-reaching structural, financing and content changes, so the changes formulated in the Act were mostly implemented or at least started in the 2012-14 period.

After the promulgation of the Public Education Act, in the spring of 2012 the government modified the National Core Curriculum (NCC), the most important tool of regulating the contents of education. The concept of the educational administration was that state involvement should be extended to content to ensure a public service guarantee of high-quality education and equal opportunity. Two major goals were determined in the course of the modification: on the one hand, the mission of the educational system was redrafted as the task of transferring values; on the other hand, the core curriculum was supplemented with general cultural content. As a result, the new NCC includes the transversal key competencies promoted by the European Union as well as the cultural domains built upon national traditions.

The NCC has determined the task of public education to be the transfer of culture, the concomitant development of skills, competencies, knowledge and attitudes necessary for learning and work, and strengthening social cohesion.

After the enactment of the new NCC, centrally developed and published framework curricula appeared at the end of 2012. The framework curricula constitute a regulatory level between the NCC and local curricula with the main function to ensure the systemic operation of national public education, the uniformity of its content and the implementation of educational goals, as well as to promote uniformity of the distribution of study time among the various areas of content, and to regulate school-level management of curriculum planning and organisation of learning. The pedagogical principles and goals, developmental tasks and key competences determined in the NCC are made adaptable to practice by the framework curricula and they promote the implementation of cultural contents at the various stages of education. The framework curricula validate the areas of development, educational goals and development of key competencies embedded in educational contents for the whole of the public education system in a differentiated fashion. They also convey the developmental requirements and contents in the particular areas of knowledge and general culture. Furthermore, they define the general educational goals, the structure of subjects, mandatory and common requirements and related numbers of contact hours by educational stages (grades 1–4., 5–8, and 9–12) and by school types (primary, general secondary, vocational secondary, and vocational training school). They determine the minimum number of hours for subjects in each grade and the common requirements to be met. Schools' local curricula designate the framework curriculum chosen from among those published by the minister of state and lay down the utilisation of ten percent of the time frame of obligatory and non-obligatory classes determined in the framework curriculum. This regulation is more direct and centralised compared to the earlier system.

As an extension of state involvement, the 2011 National Public Education Act stipulates the government's obligation to provide free textbooks to primary school students, starting in 2013 and gradually phasing in from grade 1. As a result of this change the government embarked upon a public textbook development programme (new generation textbooks), narrowed the choice of textbooks and, also bought out publishing companies. Along with the textbook development process the government also intends to create a high-speed easily accessible digital portal (National Public Education Portal) which will not only function as a digital storage of knowledge but will also share knowledge and will create a transition from paper-based textbooks to digital teaching materials.

A key component of educational legislation is the increasing role of the state in planning, organisation and supervision of education. Control levels have been revamped and 198 school districts were set up together with the Klebelsberg Institution Maintenance Centre controlling them. Schools, the great majority of which used to be operated by local governments are now maintained by this new public institution, which also oversees teachers. As a result, from January 2013 approximately two-thirds of schools and teachers became state-run and state-employed, respectively. Aimed at providing uniform conditions and upholding the quality of, and equity in, public education, the change was more positive in schools in small villages, where scarcity of

income made it increasingly difficult for local governments to tackle the consequences of student headcount-based support steadily shrinking from 2005. For schools in cities and more affluent areas, the changes presented less opportunity for progress as local governments could often provide better or even much better-than-average conditions. This, inter alia, could also contribute to the widening gap between school performance, a cardinal feature of the Hungarian educational system for decades.

The intent to promote the social integration of deprived and disadvantaged groups coupled with the state's effort to create jobs called for major transformations in the Hungarian vocational education and training system. The Hungarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry has been given an important role in respect of long-term goals and specific measures. As a results, the former 2+2 years vocational training school system was reduced to three years and dual skilled worker training has been widely promoted by VET policy. Concurrently, catching-up programmes have been offered to disadvantaged and unskilled adults to acquire basic learning competencies.

In an effort to improve the effectiveness of the education system a teacher's career model was introduced in 2013. It provides clearly delineated tools to support, develop and assess the continuing professional development of teachers working in public education. One of the tools is regular external professional inspection and evaluation based on uniform and public criteria and a teacher qualification system which allows promotion along the teaching career path. Wages are adjusted to the different stages of the career model, and a professional service system has been created to promote teachers' development and career progress.

The main functions of the educational service system include professional and subject-related consulting, assessment of teachers, providing educational information, educational administration, assisting with teachers' initial and continuing training and self-training, organisation and coordination of study, sport and talent competitions, and operation of a student information and guidance service. A key feature of the renewed professional consultancy system is that it supports teachers' professional development and career progress on the basis of the teachers' competency system set out in the law.

The operation of a school inspection system is prescribed by Act CXC of 2011 on National Public Education. Under the Act, every public education institution must be inspected at least once in every five years, irrespective of its type and maintainer. The aim of inspection is to promote the professional development of educational institutions by assessing teachers, administrators and the institution itself. Accordingly, inspection is carried out in three main areas: teachers, heads and institutions along standardised rules of procedure and relying on set tools.

The aim of the qualification procedure and examination is to determine the level of professional preparation of residents and teachers in the various stages of their career on the basis of the statutory competencies referred to above. The procedure is based on a portfolio compiled by the resident/teacher and the findings of class/session inspections by the school inspector.

The changes introduced in the public education system also brought along the partial adjustment of the Bologna type teacher training. Single-tier and dual (5+1 years university and 4+1 years college level) training has been reinstated. The contents and credit values of the first three years of training in both training paths (college and

university) have remained identical, and educational-didactic preparation is also uniform. Practical training has been increased from one semester to one year.

As indicated by this summary, in recent years the Hungarian educational system has undergone comprehensive changes which concerned structure, funding and content alike. The first stage of transformation has been completed, obviously not without difficulties and accompanied by heated professional debates. Naturally, teachers, the group most affected by the changes have sometimes voiced concerns and uncertainties. It is important for policy makers and those controlling the process of change to be aware of this because ongoing learning and cooperation of stakeholders is indispensable for the successful management of change. This book is not intended as a full-fledged analysis of the changes outlined above – at this stage lack of perspective would not allow such an analysis yet. Rather it presents some features, interesting aspects and important phenomena, and strives to identify and address the main processes and interrelationships visible at this state of play. At the same time, by mapping practices, exploring and highlighting experiences the book aims to contribute to supporting evidence-based educational policy decisions in the future.

József Kaposi
Director General

INTRODUCTION

The papers in this volume are a selection from the findings of the empirical research conducted by the Hungarian Institute for Educational Research and Development. One of the main tasks of our research institute is to conduct applied research supporting educational policy and to assess the impacts of previous educational policy interventions. Since 2010 the educational system has been subject to major interventions which have resulted in fundamental changes in the functioning of public education in Hungary. The structure of control has been changed: the formerly independent Ministry of Education has become part of a larger organisation (the Ministry of Human Competencies) and education is undertaken by the state secretariat headed by the minister of state for education. The maintenance structure of schools has equally changed. Schools formerly operated by local governments are now operated by the State under the auspices of a single central institution. The change in maintenance also involved a change in funding – in fact, this was the main reason for centralisation. The structure of education has also changed to some extent. The most conspicuous new feature appears in vocational training (in vocational training schools) where the earlier 2+2 years system was reduced to three years. In addition, there has been a change in the direction of post-primary education: the new educational policy is striving to shift enrolment towards vocational education and training, in particular towards the three-year vocational training programmes from the programmes offering a certificate of secondary school leaving examination (mainly general secondary schools). Another modification concerning students was the reinstatement of compulsory schooling age. The short-lived age limit of 18 years was again reduced to 16. Another modification is that while in the 2000s vocational training was supervised by the educational administration in its entirety together with public education, it was gradually transferred to the economic administration, so that from 2015 this ministry is responsible for the maintenance of vocational schools. Substantial transformations took place in teacher training and in the system supporting teachers' professional development: teachers' initial training now takes place in a single long cycle framework and the contents of training has also been revamped. In addition, the system of professional services supporting teachers has also been transformed, a new teaching supervision system has been set up, and the teaching career model has been introduced together with a new assessment system. Last but not least, the content of education has also changed. A new National Core Curriculum and framework curricula have been introduced, which involved the publication of new textbooks; the school textbooks market has been nationalised and condensed within a single publishing house.

This book has not been intended to provide a full-fledged analysis of all these changes. The papers offer snapshots of processes and relationships of particular issues. The first chapter comprises papers about school socialization, the composition of the student population, and the controlling environment.

The topic of the paper written by Balázs Török is (school) socialization. The author reviews the most important theories related to the topic, putting Archer's theory into focus. He concludes that theories have become increasingly complex laying greater emphasis on individual action and reflexivity.

One of the main challenges of the Hungarian education system is compensation for disadvantages. This topic is addressed by several papers from different aspects. The paper of Tamás Híves provides a comprehensive picture of the changes in the numbers and rates of disadvantaged and multiply disadvantaged students and the impact of legislative changes on rates. The paper also highlights regional disparity and offers a detailed analysis of district level social and educational differences, with special emphasis on the typical data learning disadvantages.

The third paper is an overview of past fifteen years of the school maintenance system, its problems and recent transformation. Zoltán Györgyi presents the interventions by successive governments since the change of regime, each driven by a different vision of society when leaving its mark on the education system. The result is a trenchant change of paradigm in educational control after 2010. The author analyses the first experiences of the recently centralised education control based on regional qualitative research.

The main chapter of the book reports on school and student effectiveness studies. Péter Nikitscher's paper investigates the criteria characterising a good teacher in the eyes of students, the teachers themselves, and parents (i.e. the general public). The data of the surveys presented indicate that there is uniformity of opinion in one respect: all stakeholder groups as well as the public consider professional knowledge paramount; at the same time, stakeholders' opinion differs as to the other competencies that are crucial for teachers.

The next paper tries to find an answer not to the question why but how. Matild Sági explores the shifts in careers triggered by the new teaching career path model introduced with a view to enhance the quality of teaching. The author analyses teachers' opinions and identifies types of career paths emerging in the wake of the new model. The paper also highlights the fact that teachers' general attitudes to the career model are not necessarily related to their strategies of action.

The paper of Krisztián Széll is also related to teachers' competencies. He investigates the relationship between teachers' attitudes and school effectiveness. In Hungary the disparity in student performance in different schools is significant, and family background has a demonstrably high impact on performance. Therefore it makes sense to find out which schools are able to achieve better results with disadvantaged students against the odds. In international literature this is the topic of resilience. The paper attempts to capture the specific traits primarily of teachers' attitudes characterising resilient and vulnerable schools.

Marianna Szemerszki's paper leads the reader from teacher to student. The author explores the factors affecting student effectiveness in which, naturally, teachers play a crucial role. The paper provides a separate and complex analysis of objective and subjective factors that have an impact on secondary school students' performance. The data indicate that attitudes to learning have a significant impact on effectiveness.

The paper written by Anna Imre also addresses the topic of student effectiveness. The author analyses which social group of children benefit most from extended school time in improving performance. The analysis of extracurricular sessions, the time spent with learning and the tools supporting learning indicates that extended school time offers better access opportunities mainly to children from families with an unfavourable social status.

Student effectiveness and progress, as well as disadvantage feature in the topics addressed by the papers in the third chapter, which is about learning opportunities. Gabriella Kállai's paper presents an evaluation of a bursary programme currently in progress. The programme promotes the education of groups with different social statuses by grant payment as well as individualised learning support. Not only do the students involved in the programme receive assistance with their cognitive knowledge and school performance, their self-image also changes in a positive way.

This paper touches upon the topic of vocational training because one branch of the bursary programme helps students acquire vocational skills. The last two papers are concerned solely with vocational training. Eszter Berényi approaches the topic from the angle of the institutional system. Analysing interviews conducted with heads of institutions, the author presents their perceptions of attrition and early school leaving. The author classifies school heads' opinions along different logics of action and points out possible measures applied by some of the vocational training institutions to successfully manage attrition.

Anikó Fehérvári's paper investigates the students in vocational training. More specifically, she investigates the paths of students graduating from training based on the data of a longitudinal study. The study tracked skilled worker youths with and without secondary school leaving certificate for a period of four years. The pathways of the two groups after graduation are markedly different. Young skilled workers holding a secondary school leaving certificate stand a better chance on the labour market compared to non-holders, and they also show greater activity in further studies. On the other hand, it is also conspicuous that for most youths the transition from school to work takes longer, and parallelism is not infrequent.

This volume of papers is recommended to readers who are interested in the social relations of education, whether they wish to have a cursory glance at, or a deeper insight into the Hungarian education system.

<div align="right">(The editor)</div>

Chapter 1
Educational Environment

BALÁZS TÖRÖK: CHANGING CONCEPTS OF SOCIALISATION

INTRODUCTION

Educational systems seem to be highly dissimilar in the light of the PISA studies; but they equally differ in terms of the extent to which they motivate students to master the skill of self-management. This is a significant question because if lifelong learning becomes the paradigm of educational administration in our age it is necessary to lay its foundations also in the individual's self-management capacity. Burdened by multifarious expectations on the part of society and educational policy, education systems are facing a new challenge: they are also responsible for students' strategic thinking and self-management skills. Education systems that for centuries have been organically aligned with the capitalist system of production (for example in the Anglo-Saxon countries) these challenges are more usual than in more centralised systems rich in collectivist traditions (for instance, in the East European societies). Of course the effect of modernity transgresses geographical regions, thus the self-dependence of the individual, and in this sense, his "abandonment" is a momentous phenomenon – one that sooner or later calls for answers in all education systems. It is perhaps even more necessary in the East European region, because the presumption that the education process plays a part in not only students' scholastic achievement but also to some extent its intra-psychic changes does not have such solid foundations. Due to pedagogical traditions, putting students' independent lifestyle and strategic thinking into focus is a much slower process here. The vision that "the teacher's task is to become superfluous" has so far appeared unusual. Superfluous not in his role of conveying knowledge, naturally, but in generating and strengthening students' independence while providing options to engage the emerging individual freedom. The teacher can only become "superfluous" if his students have laid in themselves the individual foundations of lifelong learning: they control themselves driven by their internal need to achieve, make autonomous decisions and act independently in the course of their learning life project[1], and are able to establish their long-term goals in a self-reflexive fashion. Based on this, socialising for lifelong learning may appear as a new kind of idealism, but it is determined more from the aspect of the functioning of societies than from the aspect of progressive ideals. In functionally differentiated societies the individual is "doomed" to have freedom of decision. To what extent he becomes an active agent in choosing his learning pathway and career path emerges in many respects in the course of education and depends on his self-reflexive capacities.

The individual interpretation of lifelong learning raises difficult questions. This is also influenced by the fact that in most countries education policy is shaped along macro level interrelations therefore the educational administration is less sensitive to micro level pedagogical processes. At this stage it is unclear whether the theories at the basis of education policies are able to consider the individual in a more complex

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1 The concept of life project is used by Archer. She sees life projects as individual enterprises identified by series of individual decisions and actions (e.g. learning to swim or studying for a degree). See Archer (2007). In this paper we also refer to the life project as life itself. In this sense the owner of the life project is the self, which holds together the multitude of subprojects.

fashion than at present, or whether they continue to operate with the reduced, statistical, concepts of human resource theories. This overview tries to draw attention to the need for further expanding the concept of student, determined by his environment, i.e. his socio-cultural background. Education policies should preferably rely on an extended paradigm that envisions students and teachers as individuals with a personal force capable of autonomous decisions and of forming life projects. This change puts the idea of responsibility in the foreground in a new context, but this is probably inevitable if the concept of lifelong learning is to be interpreted also at an individual level and not only at the level of the education system. This is why this paper addresses the theoretical basis that may be utilised in the development of student/teacher self-reflection and responsibility in the school.

With the expansion of social sciences a wealth of socialisation theories have emerged. Accordingly, various social theory approaches and research use the term "socialisation" differently. "Many sociologists and educationalists deal with the scenes and stages of socialisation, yet no comprehensive interpretation based on common properties of the area outside the family and the school has been proposed to date." (Nagy 2010) Although some sociologists working with comparative analyses would consider it important to develop widely accepted socialisation models suitable for comparison,[2] at present socialisation is described in different conceptual frameworks (Cogswell 1968). This phenomenon is partially explained by the fact that societal changes also bring about the need to update from time to time the theoretical framework that model the structure and functioning of society.

The purpose of this paper is to present some achievements from a selection of sociological theories that help capture the autonomous self-reflexive individual's active and constructive role in respect of socialisation. In keeping with its objective, the paper foregoes the theoretical frameworks visualising man solely as a factor derived from society, and determine man through, for instance, his socio-cultural status, de-personalising his social position. Our selectivity is justified by our intent to give a glimpse into socialisation concepts and ideas that can serve as guidance in teachers' work. As education is interactive most of the teachers' tasks can be realised with the involvement of students. We therefore selected concepts that link socialisation to the individual's activity.

SOCIALISATION AND VALUES

Social sciences typically call socialisation the process as a result of which the individual becomes a member of society. As most social scientists have some kind of ideal picture of a well-functioning society they use the term socialisation together with qualifiers: for example they distinguish *successful* and *unsuccessful* socialisation. On the basis of adaptation to social standards some are regarded as undersocialised, others are seen as well socialised. Thus theoreticians applying the concept of sociali-

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2 Clarification of the concept of socialisation will be necessary particularly if international educational assessments such as OECD's PISA are expanded in future to students' intra-psychic factors (Meyer–Benavot 2013).

sation often analyse phenomena linked to the legitimate social morale or to educational values. For them socialisation means not only the individual becoming a member of society but a *useful* member *that meets the ideals*. On the other hand, socialisation can be used as a neutral term of analysis technique. In this case the concept of socialisation only denotes that the individual processes stimuli coming from the social environment and responds in accordance with his earlier experiences and his own current state of being, and at the same time also has an impact on them. In this form, the concept of socialisation is free of values. It contains no reference to whether the individual's conformity with, or opposition to, society should be interpreted as correct/successful. Many historical examples can be quoted for what in a given era was considered to be unsuccessful socialisation was, looking back from a future point, was reassessed as an appropriate counterstrategy, a socialisational opposition. At the same time it is understandable that in educational literature and school practice the term socialisation is generally coupled with values, and no effort is made to create a technical concept of socialisation free of values.

TYPOLOGY OF SOCIALISATION THEORIES

Each of the different concepts of socialisation is focused on the individual and his (human) environment. In sociology it can be seen as distinguishing the "agent" (the individual) and the "structure" (social conditions/environment). Socialisation theories significantly differ in terms of which side they take as a starting point in their analyses and in which direction causal efficacy lies in the relation between agency and structure. According to Margaret Archer, three types of social theory should be distinguished: "upwards conflation," "downwards conflation," and "central" or "conconstructive conflation." (Archer 1995)

1. In "upwards conflation" theories causal efficacy is granted to agency, i.e. the person having autonomous will; structural features of society are seen as mere phenomena without autonomy. Max Weber (1864-1920) derived the emergence and functioning of society from the human agent, thereby strengthening the views that underscored the importance of the individual with a personal drive from the background and interpretation of social phenomena. (Collins 1986)

2. "Downwards conflation" theories consider the actions of the individual determined by social structures. Autonomy is denied to agency; in the socialisation process the individual is influenced externally, by society. Exploring the basic principles of social integration Émile Durkheim (1858-1917), for instance, attributed education the social function of making new generations accept social roles, norms and standards. According to his postulate, it is education that makes it possible for the original human selfishness and antisocial behaviour to change and be controlled by values, norms, ideologies and social roles (Vermeer 2010). It is to be noted that Durkheim's theory of socialisation responds to personal – individual – development and applied the notions of *adaptation* and *internalisation*. Nevertheless, his theory granted causality to social factors.

3. "Central conflation" theories grant primacy to neither agency nor structure. The two are inseparable; they should be handled and investigated together. In his theory of structuration Anthony Giddens, for example, maintains that our actions are influenced by the structural characteristics of the society in which we grew up and live, and at the same time our actions recreate (and to a certain extent modify) these structural characteristics (Giddens 2003). Giddens' theory means that agency and structure cannot be clearly separated when socialisation processes are explored (Loyal 2003). As agent and structure generate and shape each other the effect of structure on the individual and the individual's reaction to the structures experienced cannot be determined with accuracy. Individual actions Structures are apparent in individual actions, and individual actions are apparent in structures (Lipscomb 2006).

In the context of the typology of theories Margaret Archer's proposal regarding a novel theoretical approach to agency, structure and social causality. Archer argues that "conflation theories" deprive sociology of important analytical opportunities if they force us to give up the well-articulated terms of structure and agency. "Upwards conflation" and "downwards conflation" theories are equally imbalanced: the former neglect structural effects, while the latter ignore the importance of the personal force of the agent. Archer proposes what she terms "realist social theory." In her theory she maintains the real separation of structures and agents – hence the term realist. Every person is born to an antecedently structured world[3]. In social interaction the individual experiences the world's social structures (standards), but as a result of his freedom (right and wrong decisions) he does not recreate these structures in their original forms. This is why social structures are seen to change. In Archer's theory the research of socialisation means the investigation of the mutual effect of stable/changing structures and expected/possible individual actions, always bearing in mind their cultural context (Archer 1995). When exploring the concept of reflexivity we will present how Archer rendered the relation between the agent and social structure open to analysis through her research on inner speech.

CHANGING SOCIALISATION THEORIES

It is expedient to review the trends that affected socialisation theories from a historical perspective. The concept of socialisation originally referred to the transfer and internalisation of social values and norms. After World War II researchers focused mainly on social conditions and environmental impacts at the basis of human actions, and the effect of this approach was also conspicuous in concepts related to socialisation. Up until the 1960s sociological research "had the prevalent concept that social structures have a dominant influence on the individual's behaviour and thinking" (Andorka 2006). Consequently the individual's scholastic achievement and subsequent career

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3 Archer distinguishes three structured orders which are apparent in the individual's experience: natural order, objective order and social order.

path were primarily explained by his provenance and social status, pointing out the determinations of life stemming from social processes and structural characteristics[4]. This approach was criticised by some researchers of the period because of its over-socialised conception of man (Darity 2008; Wrong 1961). The somewhat unilateral nature of theories was pointed out as if the individual is considered as a product of social structures his individual – personal – force is disregarded in the models laying the foundation of research (Archer 2007).

After the 1960s the situation somewhat changed and theories putting the individual in the centre gained ground. That is the time when rational choice theories in economics became widely known and accepted. The common feature of these theories is that they trace back the functioning of society to the choices and action of individuals following their own interests. Economists developing their models hypothesised that individuals seek the choice most advantageous for them in any given situation on some rational ground, for example cost-benefit analysis (Scott 2006). The theory of choice, or decision theory, was a major conceptual change as it considered social structure only as an external factor (phenomenon) in trying to understand the learned behaviour of the individual agent. Decision theorists put the individual in the centre of investigation as their starting point is that individual decisions are always based on the agent's assessment[5] rather than being determined by the environment (structure) (Homans 1961). Thus one of the impacts if the spread of rational choice theories was that the explicative force of individual decisions strengthened in sociology research; moreover, former structuralism in some cases turned into individualism (Andorka 2006). It is worth noting that rational choice theories were criticised for their rather reduced and mechanistic consideration of the individual in their models. By the analytical retracing of every phenomenon to the individual's rational choice not only did society disappear from the models but in a certain sense the concept of the object of study, the individual, was also reduced. In "homo economicus" economic rationality assimilated human normativity and emotianality (Archer 2000).

STRENGTHENING CRITICISM OF TRANSMISSION THEORIES

Initiatives that questioned traditional socialisation theories – the so-called transmission theories – had a similar effect. The common feature of transmission theories is that they see socialisation as unidirectional: society transmits its norms to new entrant generations. Transmission theories do not presuppose activity or response on the part of new entrant generations. In their model new entrants, the "beginners" simply adapt to social expectations. Mounting criticism over time highlighted the need to revise transmission theories. New models had to be developed that reckoned with the *individual as an active shaper* of his own socialisation process. The reasoning was similar: as individual activity, responsibility and decision could play an increasingly important role in socialisation processes earlier models that saw and analysed the

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4 These are the "downwards conflation" theories referred to above.
5 Obviously the outcome of decisions depends on how informed the individual is.

outcome of socialisation as determined unilaterally by the impacts of social structure had to be revamped (Cogswell 1968). Organisation researchers also recognised that albeit structures have a strong bearing on the process of socialisation they do not determine it. Subjects of socialisation choose from among alternatives and make individual decisions, which also indicated the need to expand the former socialisation models built on structural determinism (Cogswell 1968). Critics emphasized the role of the individual and pointed out that participants in institutional socialisation can be activated in different ways depending on the reasons for entry/participation. The fact that joining an organisation is voluntary, mandatory or semi-mandatory (i.e. mandatory with a choice of organisation) is crucial for the individual in, for instance, the relationship between him and the organisation (Cogswell 1968). This observation arises in education at the level of educational involvement: it would appear advantageous if schooling were based on voluntary assumption of responsibility rather than being compulsory. The social processes triggering changes in the socialisation concept can be captured in some societies where choosing and changing formerly highly stabilised gender roles are increasingly becoming the individual's competence. According to Niklas Luhmann's diagnosis, in the modern world from the angle of the individual's action and perception it no longer suffices to identify himself as a separate body with a name of his own, and being determined by general social categories such as age, sex, social status and occupation. The individual should be separated from his environment at the level of his own *personality system*. At the same time, society and the opportunities in the world created by it become a lot more complicated. (Luhmann 1997)

SOCIALISATION AND LIFELONG LEARNING

Parallel with human resource theories spreading from the 1960s socialisation has been increasingly interpreted as a lifelong process. Although in sociology and psychology the essential importance of socialisation is in childhood it alone is no longer seen as enough preparation for adulthood. Socialisation appears more and more frequently in educational and sociological literature and development strategies as a "lifelong" process (Cogswell 1968). The concept of lifelong learning was reinforced by definition finding efforts that essentially traced socialisation back to learning. "Socialisation as a theoretical construction is the learning process in the course of which the individual masters the standards, values and customs relating to conduct, lifestyle and world view of a particular society with all the system of symbols and interpretations in the background" (Grusec–Davidov 2007, cited by Tóth–Kasik 2010). Linking the concept of socialisation to learning has opened a wide vista to develop the goals of lifelong learning. The updated socialisation concept highlighted the importance of adult learning, stressing that workers must be flexible and adapt to the expectations of the labour market. (However, the option of the labour market adapting to the worker is conspicuously absent from the theory.) By mastering new social roles, transforming old ones or integrating differing roles the worker evolves whilst constantly exposed to socialisation constraints (Ferrante-Wallace 2011). While lifelong learning is an integrative concept with the primary goal of influencing the functioning of education systems, its effect are keenly felt in thoughts about the individual, in the view of man.

Schooling, vocational training, on-the-job training and in-service courses relegated the responsibility of continuous adaptation to the individual, thus augmenting the importance of self-management, self-consciousness and strategic consideration in the individual's plans of life. (The appreciation of self-management is indicated by the fact that institutionalised therapies can be developed for those whose socialisation in the sense of self-management has deficits by the judgment of society. In many cases social support schemes are conceived specifically to ease socialisation deficits (Cogswell 1968).

In summary, through the concept of lifelong learning emerged the ideological framework which makes it accepted that the various social subsystems such as training, production and consumption, increasingly engage the individual as a human resource indispensable for their operation. As the complexity of society has been continuously increasing the individual is simultaneously engaged by several different social subsystems to maintain their functioning. Accordingly, integration into society, i.e. the socialisation process, is a less of an entry into a comprehensible (transparent) and cosy world than before (Luhmann 1997).

INDIVIDUATION

Putting the agent into the foreground had an impact on socialisation concepts and also became apparent through the introduction of ideas such as individuation. Individuation is the process full of tensions when the individual works at the same time towards having an individual personality distinctly different from others and towards integrating into social systems (Klaassen 1993 cited by Vermeer 2010). Amidst the conditions of individual freedom developing the individual personality takes place in the course of continuous lifestyle choices and modifications, which in the long run may appear as a special "pressure" of decision. As the reference frameworks of earlier societies such as, for instance, orders, class system, relationship structures, religious differences are not or only little available in modern societies for individuals when shaping their social positions it is up to the individuals to work out and maintain their social profile. Individuation denotes the individual's need for permanent self-construction in order to stay an active player in society. Therefore it seems convenient to replace the concept of adaptation to structures, which suggests passivity and a unilateral effect, by the concept of individuation (cf. Klaassen 1993, cited by Vermeer 2010). Individuation does not preclude the earlier processes of learning values, norms and social identities but includes the unique process of developing the personal identity which is indispensable for an authentic social existence. The concept highlights that the drive to become individual necessarily shifts students' responses to school socialisation towards plurality. Personal autonomy has increased in today's society; people are typically motivated by the personal goals of self-actualisation and fulfilment, and many strive to display the uniqueness of their personality. All these processes are occurring amidst tumultuous changes in society. Social roles are less foreseeable and set, standards are volatile or outright contradictory, individuals shape things according to their own choice in many respects, consequently it is difficult to determine what exactly should be internalised (Ven, J. A. van der 1994). Some researchers argue that with the advent

of postmodern and individualistic values the risk of "saying no to school" (dropping out) has also increased. In Raf Vanderstaeten's views students still face the expectation to align with parents' or teachers' guidance, but it should be taken into consideration that in a society with ever weakening cultural integration students cannot be easily required to internalise the culture of past generations. Moreover, Niklas Luhmann argues that the dynamics of processes is determined by the need for the individual to be separated from his environment at the level of his own *personality system* (Luhmann 1997). It is reasonable to suppose that an increasing number of students will seek some extravagant "opt out" strategy as a behaviour differing from the expected yields the best opportunity to for the individual to show its autonomy. Admittedly, students can react to school challenges with unexpectedly good achievements but they can equally base their individual self-actuation on carelessness, cynicism, rejection, indifference or adherence to deviant trends or youth subcultures in response to the school's evaluation criteria. Although the socialisation pressure of educational institutions still tries to force students to adapt, the inevitable openness of educational interaction and the degree of freedom of the individual will always allow for a departure from expectations. If we want to find out how students' compliance with the school's expectation and motivation to learning can be developed and strengthened in the context of educational interaction it seems expedient to focus research on students' individual decisions and self-reflection. Classroom education cannot reach its goals without the commitment of students, who come to school with a more and more autonomy, and it is increasingly difficult to elicit commitment without interaction, referring merely to traditions or applying the organisationally established means of socialisation (Vanderstraeten 2001).

It is to be noted that school sociology and cultural research have for decades addressed the issue of resistance to school. In England, Birmingham University researched subcultures built on resistance. Paul Willis, for instance, in his analysis of young people's resistance to school pointed out that by their specific working class anti-school subculture young people in fact "select themselves out" of the education system[6] (Willis 1977). However, an important difference is that anti-school attitudes diagnosed in England in the 1970s was linked to a group characterised by a specific cultural identity belonging to a particular social stratum. Anti-school culture was embraced by working class youths: "Rather than passively accept the socialisation messages embedded in the school, the "lads" actively differentiate themselves from the 'ear'oles' (so named because they simply sit and listen) and school meanings in general, categorising both as effeminate and unrelated to the 'real' masculine world of work..." (Weis 2010) Another change is that today rebelliousness cannot be traced back to cultural identity or subculture alone. With the strengthening of individualism essentially all students must find their own answers to the question why, for what purpose and how they build school-based learning in their individual lives (Colombo 2011). If we accept that "the most important changes in society is the individualisation of situations and life" then research of school-based socialisation must be even more closely connected to researching students' self-reflection (Markó 2008).

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6 This opposition occurred at a time when it was easier to find a job even without much schooling.

REFLEXIVITY

In unison with the "discovery" of individuation an important concomitant phenomenon of societal development is the strengthening of individual reflexivity.[7] "In the process of reflexive modernisation structural changes force the individual agents to (...) make the structural constraints of creating a personal identity self-reflexive." (Markó 2008). Margaret Archer argues that action based on reflexive thinking will increasingly replace routine action. Reflexivity promotes individuals' successful adaptation to ambivalent and volatile social structures, and enables them to create their unique lifestyle and realise their "enterprises" (life projects) serving their personal goals (Archer 2007; Colombo 2011). In Archer's opinion, the individual's reflexive capacities have appreciated because of the accelerated social changes and transformations triggered, *inter alia*, by the capitalist production system, increasing global interconnectivity and the spreading culture of technological control. As pointed out by other scholars, "functional differentiation makes it impossible for the individuals to accommodate only one subsystem; socially speaking, they should be regarded as 'homeless.'" (Luhmann 1997) Simultaneously with the changes, the universal sources of normative authority have ceased to exist; in other words, there are no clearly set values in the value system regulating society. The central regulatory function of the churches, families or national communities has disappeared and individuals are increasingly left to their own devices. Naturally, the problems stemming from the contradictory nature of the socialising environment penetrate the world of the school. What the teacher perceives as aggression the parent sees as appropriate assertion of interests. In the wake of parents' divorce and new marriages or a succession of partnerships people embracing different values become key actors in the lives of the young. Youngsters receive contradictory messages from socialisational actors and it is difficult to put the impacts into a uniform structure particularly if there is no consensus with regard to family values. A lot seems to depend on the individual's self-reflexivity and self-management. Socialisation appears less and less of a passive process resulting in the internalisation of norms – rather it is an active process comprising individual decisions, mistakes, choices of values and initiatives, and the strategies holding them together. Archer clearly points out that not everybody succeeds in adapting to the increasingly complex and changing environment. Continuously expanding vistas of opportunities can be confusing. There are numerous examples in higher education institutions that some students who previously had clear goals and who were capable of self-management all of a sudden become passive in the face of expanding opportunities. They become uncertain about their earlier goals and just drift and let things happen. The old accustomedto, homogeneous socialisation environments are becoming heterogeneous – this can be seen as an expansion of individual opportunities but it may also have as passivising effect on individuals who used to be self-reliant.

Studying reflexivity and self-reflexivity Archer came to the conclusion that the interface between the social structure (e.g. school) and the individual is a so-called "inner

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7 Reflection means thinking through one's activities (actions, experiences and events). Self-reflexivity means the individual also observes himself. It includes being perceived by others as an individual and this experience is called upon in the process of the individual perceiving himself as a person.

speech." The active individual processes the structural and cultural terms of reference in the course of inner speech, also termed internal conversation or dialogue.[8] Consideration of structural and cultural factors and processing their impacts determines the course of the individual's life project. Thus the agent does not respond directly and automatically to the conditions put forth by social structures and culture, but reacts to his social experience on the basis of his subjective and reflexive judgment. All this also means that society's structural and cultural factors do not have an indirect causal effect on individuals, only enable them to develop their own life projects making use of the structures and cultural contexts available (Archer 2000). The significance of inner speech is all the greater as through it individuals are capable of monitoring *themselves, society* and *the relation* emerging between them and society (Archer 2003).

Although internal conversation is available for everybody, as without it we would exist as beings without self-control, people largely differ in terms of their reflexive capacities and performance. Investigating internal conversation Archer singled out four types of agents in her research, each having different reflexive capacities.

- ● *Autonomous reflexives* are less determined by structures. Through their internal speech they are led directly to action, and they relate to themselves and society while sustaining their strategic goals. Their life project is characterised by more frequent than average change of position and place as they strive to find the setting and conditions that suit them best. Their reflexivity (a certain distance from themselves) enables them to find transitional solutions in certain stages of life in order to fulfil their long-term goals, accepting temporary structures as they are and not abandoning their activity taking them towards their original goals.
- ● *Communicative reflexives* give up the intimacy of their inner conversation and externalise it. They invite confirmation and completion by others while shaping their goals, moving to action and solving their problems. Their life project changes whilst consulting and communicating with others but this does not cause them misgivings because in relating to their environment they reckon with the possibility that things seldom turn out as planned. Their communicative partners are often members of their extended family, therefore family traditions have a strong effect on the way they develop their life project. This too is related to their general success in preserving a formerly acquired social status and they are characterised by a great deal of mobility.
- ● *Meta-reflexives* relate to their environment as active agents but their internal conversation is characterised by strong self-monitoring. As a result they often question their own position, motivation and actions. They are excessively idealistic in their relation to society and self, which makes them critical. Their idealism also affects their life project: carrying out their goals does not readily fall in line with their ideas and as they do not tend to give up their goals despite the difficulties they are characterised by dissatisfaction.

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8 To quote an example from school, all students present in class can hear the task assigned by the teacher but they decide in the course of their inner speech (dialogue) what they will do with the assignment.

- **_Fractured reflexives_** are those who do not promote purposefully the events that are important for their lives; rather they just let them happen. While those belonging to the other three types are active agents, fractured reflexives are characterised by passive "action" accompanied by a certain degree of disorientation. In the background of their passivity is their undeveloped, fractured internal speech. (On the other hand, the notion of "fractured" also indicates that this is not necessarily a final state of affairs.) A detailed analysis reveals that this type does not really distinguish themselves from the world around them in their thought process, thus they could even be considered "pathological cases" if sociology's task were to diagnose and offer treatment (Archer 2003; Colombo 2011).

The differences between these four types are not of equal weight. There is a major difference between fractured reflexivity and the other three types (autonomous, communicative and meta-). Fractured reflexivity indicates that the psychic system does not have adequate self-management capacity; consequently, the life project is not an evolving process. In the other three types the individual's reflexivity-based control is realised, albeit leading to different outcomes depending on the type.

As has been mentioned, the typology of reflexivity is all the more relevant to educational concept as the various types are related to the mobility of lives. Autonomous reflexives are generally _upwardly mobile_. Communicative reflexives tend to _preserve_ or reconstruct social status in living out their life project. Meta-reflexive persons run a strong risk of _downward mobility_: in the course of their life project they may end up in a less favourable social position than their initial social status. Thus reflexivity is a sociological factor that helps us understand how social structure affects the individual. "The self is seen as a reflexive project, for which individuals are responsible. We are, not what we are, but what we make of ourselves" (Giddens 1991, cited by King 2010) Reflexivity is cardinal, because without inner dialogue the individual life project cannot be developed and kept on track. Reflexivity is the foundation for the interpretation of the individual's structural and cultural environment, and for the monitoring of the individual's position in relation to the environment. All this relies on the inner psychic strength that lays the basis of the capacity to act, and which, once exhausted, can stop the process of life project. At this juncture it is to be noted that reflexivity takes its course in the temporalized process of inner speech and can be characterised by a time demand. In case of an information overload or in the absence of the time necessary for processing the resources that are crucial for keeping the life project on track may ebb (Geyer 2002).

It is worth mentioning that as is the case with all typologies, the categories the above typology relies on are not exclusive. Belonging to a particular type means which of the individual's characteristics are stronger than others. Communicative reflexives may make decisions nurtured on their internal speech, and autonomous reflexives may avail themselves with the option of communicative decision making. There are no pure types, and this is particularly true for fractured reflexives: the life project is a long process and reflexivity also changes. It is enough to think about turns such as religious conversion which often overwrite earlier structures of inner speech and involve an external transcendent observer. No matter how fractured a person's

reflexivity, it may happen that he finds an entirely new basis for it and thus extends his self-management capacity.

Archer raised important questions when discussing the equalising function of education. How can the continuously increasing complexity and differentiation in society be compatible with social integration through education?[9] Or from the angle of the theory of reflexivity, how do "passive subjects" who have never been socialised to control their own lives grow up to be adults? The answer to this question could mean a rethinking of the socialising function of educational systems. Enough to quote the educational initiatives familiar from Asian countries that induce students to develop "metacognition" thereby enhancing their control over their own learning processes (Ma et al. 2013).

CONCLUSIONS

Through a conceptual review of socialisation we demonstrated that by increasingly emphasising the importance of the individual theories have become suitable to capture socialisation as a more and more complex phenomenon (Vermeer 2010). Reactions of individual actions to existing structures have come in the forefront. From the angle of education, one of the lessons of the changes is that school-based institutional socialisation should preferably be approached from the platform of an interaction model that takes into consideration the mutual involvement of both sides: the student and the teacher. While teachers holding the power of control organise the education process they necessarily rely on students as their partners in interaction. Students' position as interactive partners by definition gives an opportunity to socialise their teachers and to shape local structures to some extent. Watching a teacher who aims at captivating his students in the course of their interaction could bring the observer to the conclusion that in some cases "it is the supervised that is the supervisor" (Vanderstraeten 2001).

A mainstay of the socialisation model related to schooling is that students can be seen less and less as uniform subjects of socialisation. Teachers with the intent to educate should be prepared for managing heterogeneity and complexity stemming from students' individual characteristics and growing claims. The success of the socialisation process is increasingly determined by the extent to which is supports young people's internal self-reflexivity, which at the end of the day can turn them into lifelong learners. Accordingly, an indicator of the success of institutional socialisation in the long term could be if the independent development of students' life projects is sustained and "fractured reflexivity" can be avoided.

It is an important recognition that that in the current phase of modernity enhancement of students' self-reflexive capacities is not only an option but an urgent need, whether we like it or not. The accelerated change of social structures has created a "fluid" environment for members of the growing generations that forces individuals to improve their orientation – in other words, their self-management capacities

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9 Durkheim already pointed out that functional differentiation which goes hand in hand with individualisation curbs social solidarity.

based on self-reflexivity. Answers must be found within the education system to the question how "passive subjects" who have never been socialised to control their lives grow up to become adults (Ma et al. 2013). Can the situation be shaped on the basis of reflexive considerations that refer to the school system? It is very true that we see only as much of education as made accessible by our concepts. Can descriptive paradigms be expanded to make students visible who are very different in terms of their reflexive capacities, who "are looking for something where they can be useful as individuals and can be somebody" (Maresch 1993).

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TAMÁS HÍVES: REGIONAL ASPECTS OF DISADVANTAGE

INTRODUCTION

The school success or failure of disadvantaged students is one of the major social processes followed by special attention. Large numbers of early school leavers come from among disadvantaged students and particularly those with multiple disadvantages.[1] Hungary achieved better early school leaving figures than the European average but while other member states are rapidly improving their educational attainment indicator in Hungary early school leaving has been deteriorating (Mártonfi 2014). Equal opportunities and the related fight against early school leaving are priority issues in the European Union. This paper attempts to analyse data of disadvantage and school failure based on institutional statistics (KIR-STAT October 2013/2014 data base, census data, unemployment and employment data) at the level of districts.

Over the past decades regional differences have significantly increased. Backward regions were clearly delineated with far worse social and economic indicators than those of richer and more fortunate regions. The decline of the economy in the 1990s also triggered new regional processes which put the lags of municipalities in the foreground. Dropping production resulted in major structural changes. The economic recession (accompanied by dwindling capital expenditure) and its consequences: unemployment, impoverishment, loss of value of real estate rose above the average in entire districts and led to the emergence of crisis regions. Some of these districts used to belong to Hungary's industrially developed areas due to their erstwhile heavy industry. But it was the same regions that had been hit hardest by unemployment and pauperisation even before the recession. All elements of former employment shrank, investment projects petered out (Forray–Híves 2003). The situation that emerged in the nineties has not improved; in fact, according to Ecostat's research the gap between regions has widened (Perger 2009). According to our research findings, the increase in consumption, incomes and the GDP was biggest in the Central Hungary region, so Budapest and Pest County further increased their advantage over the rest of the country. The standard of living in the two developed Transdanubian regions is above the national average, yet the rate of economic growth in the two regions was barely above the national rate (modest by all accounts) despite the fact that it was the highest after Central Hungary. The situation of the two southern regions has deteriorated: the growth of consumption has been slowest in South Transdanubia, and other indicators of living standards have likewise grown to a very small extent. Notably, economic growth was slowest in the South Great Plain and South Transdanubia; today the per capita GDP is barely above the level of the north-eastern regions whereas ten years ago the South had a substantial advantage over them (Rózsa 2009). Since the turn of the millennium regional differences regarding per capita FDI have mounted considerably. Over the past ten years unemployment has risen in the three most developed

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1 There are several approaches to the definition of early school leavers. In this paper the definition of the Hungarian Central Statistical Office is applied, whereby an early school leaver is a person between 18–24 years of age who left the educational or training system without qualification or with low (no higher than primary) qualification and is not involved in any other form of education or training (CSO 2013).

regions and stagnated or slightly decreased in the economically more backward regions primarily as a result of the expansion of the government's public work scheme (KSH 2013).

Surrounded by prejudice, having the lowest educational attainment and looked down upon by the majority, the Roma are generally overrepresented in the population of backward regions. Although they contribute a considerable proportion of children and youths to post-primary education, they are the group secondary education can count on the least because the level of education of many of them is insufficient (Forray–Híves 2003). Schooling programmes, from literacy to primary school education to adults, which could go a long way in curbing the isolation and downhill slide of this community are either missing or only reach a few people, and the compensatory (remedial) programmes are inefficient due mainly to a lack of continuous funding, changing concepts, absence of quality assurance, brief programme periods, and identity crisis following programme closure.

In this research we conducted a cartographic analysis to highlight the significant regional differences both visually and by means of the statistical data supporting the maps. The areas with the largest numbers of disadvantaged students and where the risk of failure and early school leaving is greatest are clearly identifiable.

QUESTIONS AND METHODS

The basic question of this research was what regional characteristics could be identified in the regional distribution of disadvantaged students, and what regional inequalities could be detected through a statistical analysis of their progress. Our previous regional studies led to the assumption that the geographic and social structure has a fundamental impact on the distribution of disadvantaged students and that there has been no significant change in the distribution over the past decades. The principal goal of the analysis was to plot an up-to-date map of the disadvantaged status at school and compare it to the previous situation; and also to identify the risk areas where school failure and attrition can be expected. This goal was approached by means of statistical analysis, investigating the indicators of disadvantage and school failure on the basis of district (school district[2]) institutional statistics and maps. The study comprised all levels of education but we mainly relied on primary school data. It is data from the primary level of education that reveal most clearly the geographical distribution of at-risk regions and vulnerable students (they are the ones who either cannot make it to secondary school or drop out in the first couple of years without acquiring qualification). Another advantage of regional analysis is that there are far more primary schools than secondary schools and their nationwide penetration is complete: every district has a primary school but there is no vocational training school, for instance.

The analysis relied primarily on the public education data base of educational administration (KIR-STAT). The data are supplied mandatorily in October every year

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2 In the case of primary schools the educational district coincide with the administrative district (járás in Hungarian).

by every public education institution. We used those data from the nationwide data collection that indicated students' disadvantage and lack of success at school, as well as those that increase their chance of failure at school. The following indicators were included in the analysis: disadvantaged students; students with multiple disadvantages; students with over 30 hours of unjustified absence; repeaters; at least 2 years over-aged – maps of these indicators were also prepared. Besides educational indicators social indicators were also analysed. Other data sources included the 2011 census and regional employment data of the CSO. From the census data base data pertaining to the population's educational attainment and the size of the Roma population were retrieved, and the CSO data base provided unemployment and employment figures. These data enabled us to delineate the regions with the highest rate of the poorest and most disadvantaged population, and where early school leaving can be expected to be the highest.

We use the concept of "disadvantaged" student and student with "multiple disadvantages" (or multiply disadvantaged student as the context allows) as defined in the Hungarian Child Protection Act. Some of the data were involved in accordance with a previous piece of legislation, specifically Section 121 of the 1993 Act on Public Education.[3] Both statutory provisions essentially take into consideration the family's sociocultural disadvantage, therefore we also considered these dimensions in our regional analyses, not only in conjunction with the school but in a broader social context.

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF DISADVANTAGE

The past six years brought a slow but steady increase in the rate of subtends with a disadvantage and with multiple disadvantages. The trend reversed in 2013 followed by a downturn in the wake of a change in statutory provisions[4] (see *Table 1*). At the same time, rising child poverty indicators suggest the number of children living with disadvantages is still growing. Between 2009 and 2013 the at-risk-of-poverty rate (AROP)[5] among the under-18 population was up from 19% to 23% – see EUROSTAT's 2013 data base.[6]

Under the legal regulation in force until the autumn of 2013 children growing up in low-income – in other words, poor – families were classified disadvantaged.[7] Within

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3 Section 121 of Act LXXIX of 1993 on Public Education was effective until September 1 of 2013. Pursuant to Section 45 of Act XXVII of 2013, the provisions of Section 67/A of Act XXXI of 1997 on the Protection of Children and on Guardianship Administration are effective as amended.

4 In 2003 the concept of disadvantage was regulated by decree, then the 2006 amendment of the Public Education Act defined the disadvantaged student and the multiply disadvantaged student population (Act LXXIX of 1993 on Public Education), and from 2007 registration and record keeping on the disadvantaged status was delegated to the scope of competence of municipal clerks. The two dimensions, i.e. low income and low educational attainment appear at the level of legal regulation in effect until the 2013 amendment as follows: children whose families are eligible for regular child protection benefit are considered disadvantaged, and within this group, students whose parents have educational attainment no higher than primary school are multiply disadvantaged.

5 AROP is the rate of people whose income is below the poverty line. The poverty line is 60% of the national median equalised disposable income (including social benefits).

6 Eurostat static tables: http://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/eurostat_tablak/tabl/tsdsc230.html

7 The objective proof of this classification was the clerk's certificate entitling the family to regular child protection benefit issued by the clerk on the basis of the family's social status.

this category multiply disadvantaged were the children whose parents had the lowest educational attainment.[8] Children living under child protection whose legal status is "in permanent state care"[9] are also in this category.

Under the current legal regulation, to be classified disadvantaged requires at least one more criterion increasing disadvantage in addition to regular child protection benefit awarded because of the family's low income.[10] Similarly, the multiple disadvantages category also requires more than before: two additional criteria must be met in addition to the regular child protection benefit indicating the family's poverty. Another change is that under the new regulations every child growing up under child protection is automatically considered multiply disadvantaged (Varga 2013, 2014).

Table 1: Changes in the rates of disadvantaged and multiply disadvantaged students by type of institution, 2008/2009–2013/2014 (%)

TYPE OF INSTITUTION	2008/2009		2009/2010		2010/2011		2011/2012		2012/2013		2013/2014	
	D	MD	D	MD	D	MD	D	MD	D	MD	D	MD
Pre-school	25.8	10.0	29.2	11.3	31.1	11.1	30.7	11.1	30.3	10.8	26.3	9.9
Primary school	30.7	12.7	33.2	13.7	35.8	14.0	35.6	13.9	34.6	13.3	29.5	11.7
Vocational training school	26.2	9.0	29.2	10.4	31.2	9.8	31.5	10.3	31.9	10.1	27.1	9.0
Special VT school	33.3	13.2	31.1	13.9	33.3	13.6	34.2	14.5	29.2	12.6	24.0	12.1
General secondary school	7.5	1.2	8.3	1.3	9.8	1.4	10.7	1.7	10.3	1.4	8.5	1.3
Vocational secondary school	12.0	2.3	13.6	2.7	15.7	2.7	16.6	2.8	16.2	2.6	13.0	2.2
Total	22.6	8.1	24.1	8.9	26.1	8.8	26.5	9.0	28.1	9.7	24.0	8.7

Source: Public education statistical data collection, 2013/2014

The following table presents the uneven distribution of the analysed disadvantaged and multiply disadvantaged students highlighting the 2013/2014 school year (see *Table 2*). It is conspicuous that while almost 30% of primary school students are disadvantaged (D), in secondary education their rate drops by half, and the rate of students with multiple disadvantages (MD) is down to one-third, supposedly some of them drop out of the school system.[11] Disparity between the various types of secondary educational institutions is considerable: most students learn in vocational training schools and few make it to an institution where they graduate with a secondary school leaving certificate. The rate of MD students in vocational training schools

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8 Certification of multiple disadvantages was based on the parents' declaration before the clerk that they had no higher education than 8 grades of primary school.
9 Children in permanent state or institutional care constitute the smallest group under child protection (10%); there number is approximately 2,000.
10 The law determines three areas that increase disadvantage: the parents' low educational attainment, lont-term unemployment, and inadequate housing conditions.
11 The drop may have other reasons, e.g. in primary education students receive additional benefits (free books and school meals) so it is in their interest to belong to the D and MD categories. In secondary education there is considerably less support and its amount is also reduced. However, this cannot be demonstrated from these data by statistical methods; deep field research would be necessary for determining attrition rates with greater accuracy.

TYPE OF INSTITUTION	CHILD/STUDENT (CAPITA)			CHILD/STUDENT (%)	
	TOTAL	D	MD	D	MD
Pre-school	330,184	86,932	32,616	26.3	9.9
Primary school	747,746	220,479	87,701	29.5	11.7
Vocational training school	105,122	28,437	9,448	27.1	9.0
Special VT school	8,344	2,001	1,012	24.0	12.1
General secondary school	185,440	15,675	2,369	8.5	1.3
Vocational secondary school	203,515	26,407	4,521	13.0	2.2
Secondary combined	502,421	72,520	17,350	14.4	3.5
Total	1,580,351	379,931	137,667	24.0	8.7

Table 2: Disadvantaged and multiply disadvantaged children/students by type of institution, 2013 (capita and %)

Source: Public education statistical data collection, 2013/2014

is seven times that of general secondary schools (grammar schools). Tables 1 and 2 reflect the segmentation and hierarchy in Hungarian public education, particularly in secondary education.

The territorial distribution of disadvantaged students is very uneven (see *Map 1*), there is an almost 44-fold difference between districts in terms of rates of underprivileged students. The regional distribution highlights the fact that it is in the poorer,

Map 1: Rates of disadvantaged students in primary schools by district, 2013/2014 (%)
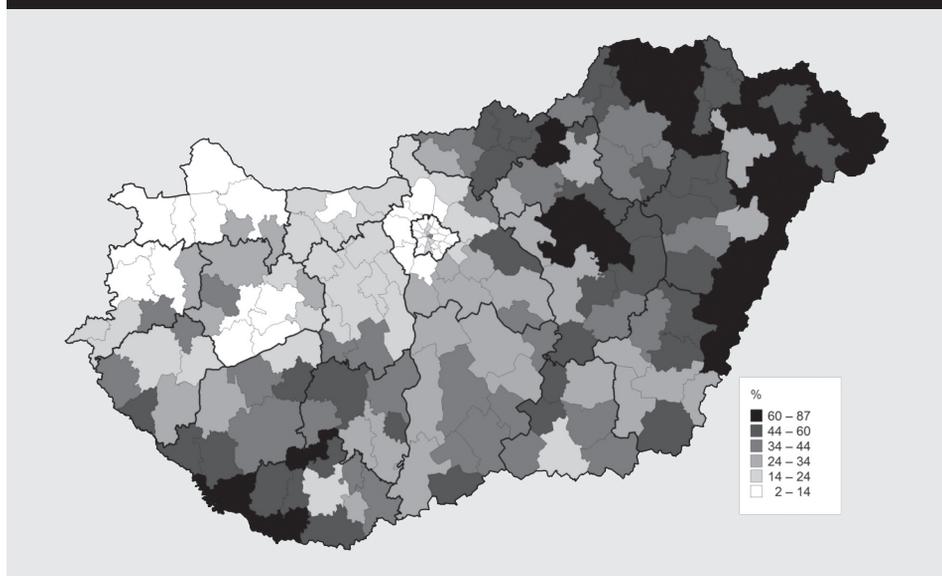
Source: Ministry of Human Capacities, Department of Statistics; Edited by Tamás Híves, HIERD (2014)

backward and marginalized regions that D student rates are high. These are the northeast, east, Central Tisza and southwest Dráva districts commonly known to be disadvantaged. Most of these regions have an extremely poor social and economic status, previously they featured in statistics as "most disadvantaged" micro-regions, and these districts have the highest concentration of Roma families (Híves 2013).

The situation is best in Budapest and in the districts in the agglomeration, in the North Transdanubia districts, and the Balaton Uplands.

The map showing the distribution of students with multiple disadvantages is similar to the first map, with even greater differences between districts (see *Map 2*). While some of the Budapest districts, as well as Budakeszi, Tapolca and Balatonfüred Districts practically have no students with multiple disadvantages, in several of the districts of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén and Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg Counties (e.g. Encs, Edelény) more than half of the primary school population fall into this category. The difference between the two extremes is 55-fold, which draws attention to a very serious segregation problem. Apparently segregation does not stop at education but shows a strong territorial pattern related the region's economic status and the distribution of the Roma population.
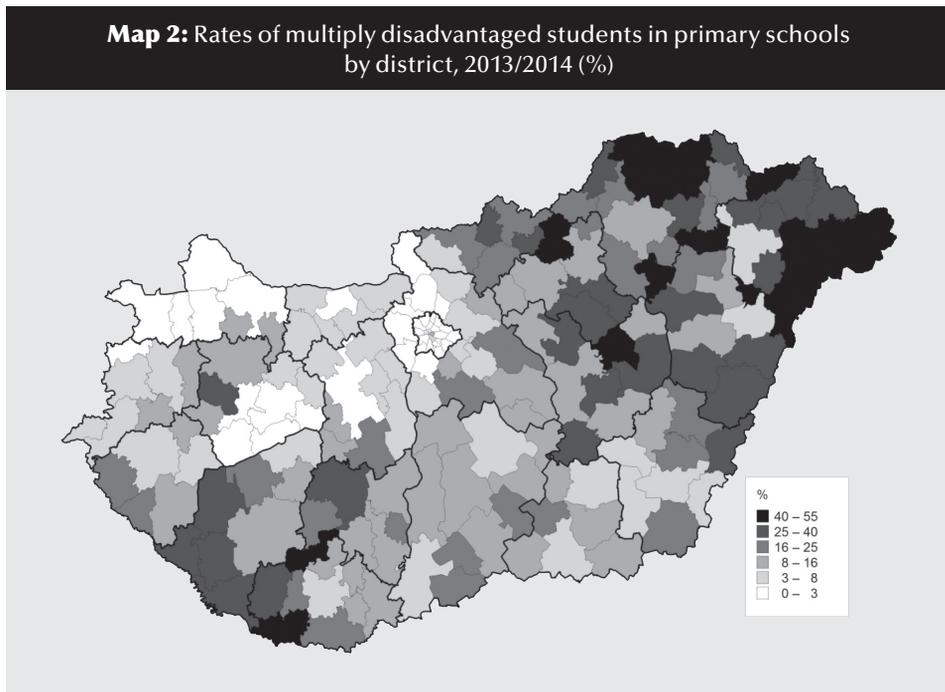
Map 2: Rates of multiply disadvantaged students in primary schools by district, 2013/2014 (%)

%
| 40 – 55
| 25 – 40
| 16 – 25
| 8 – 16
| 3 – 8
| 0 – 3

Source: Ministry of Human Capacities, Department of Statistics; Edited by Tamás Híves, HIERD (2014)

The comparative rates of disadvantaged and multiply disadvantaged students were also examined (see *Map 3*). The territorial distribution is similar to what is seen in the two previous maps with yet greater differences between districts. The reason is that in some districts mentioned above (e.g. Budakeszi) there are no MD students,

Map 3: Rates of disadvantaged/multiply disadvantaged students in primary schools by district, 2013/2014 (%)
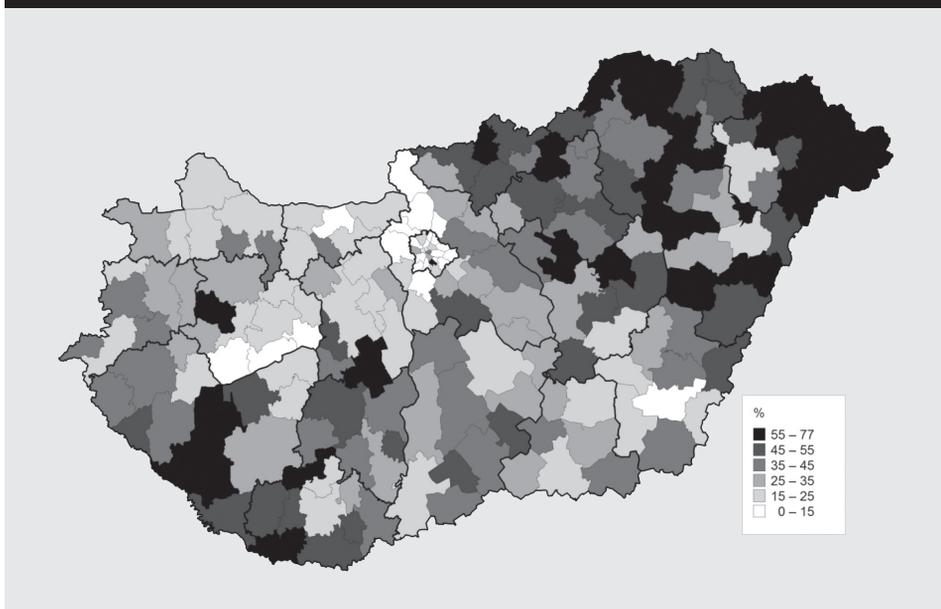
Source: Ministry of Human Capacities, Department of Statistics; Edited by Tamás Híves, HIERD (2014)

while in others, for instance Mátészalka, Marcali, Sásd, Szécsény over 70% of students have multiple disadvantages, which highlights very serious social problems. The differences between the two extremes are over 70-fold. Territorial differences within counties are also conspicuous, particularly in Veszprém, Somogy and Fejér Counties, where the districts around Lake Balaton have a more favourable position as opposed to Devecser, Marcali and Sárbogárd Districts, where the rate is several times higher than in the former. Because of the relatively short geographic distances such vast differences indicate territorial segregation within the county.

Due to the modification of definition by law the numbers and rates of disadvantaged and multiply disadvantaged students formally decreased (see *Table 3*). It is to be noted, however, that this analysis relies purely on statistics and the decrease should be investigated by other methods too, as the data only indicate a large number of students dropping out of the two categories analysed but it is not known who they are and what the consequences of losing them is; nor is it revealed whether other students were included in the D and MD categories (for example the considerable number of children growing up under child protection). In our field research experience, in the autumn of 2013 several schools reported their students according to the old regulations, thus the precise change will not be visible until the publication of the next statistics, expected in the spring or summer of 2015.

The rates unquestionably show that while the total number of students in public education dropped by 43 thousand over a year, the number of disadvantaged students shrank by over 76 thousand and that of multiply disadvantaged student by 19 thou-

sand. The precise figures are in the last three columns of the table. It is striking that while the number of primary school students increased by approximately five thousand, the number of D and MD students drastically decreased (by 36,600 and 11,200 respectively). The rates are shown in the first four columns next to the type of institution. When calculating the change in rates, the 2012 rate was regarded as 100% and the 2013 rates were compared to this reference value. For example, the rate of D children in preschool in 2012 was 30.3%. This was set to be 100%. Compared to this, the 2013 rate of D children is only 26.3%, which is 86.8% of the reference figure.

On the whole, the change seems to be bigger in the disadvantaged student population: their rates declined by an average of about 15%, and the decrease was particularly strong in vocational secondary schools (20%). The reason is that the new regulations require an additional criterion for being classified in the D category. The drop in the rates of students with multiple disadvantages was less (10%), and here too the biggest decline is in vocational secondary schools. It is likely that this is the school type with the largest number of students whose living conditions are not the worst and therefore they were the most affected by the change in regulation. The least affected type of institution is preschools, not considering grammar schools, where MD students are few and far between. The decrease was also minor in special vocational training schools; these institutions offer special training to small numbers of students with special educational needs (SEN). The table thus shows the decrease in rates in percentage.

TYPE OF INSTITUTION	2012/2013		2013/2014		CHANGE IN RATE 2012/13=100		CHANGE IN NUMBER OF STUDENTS		
	D (%)	MD (%)	D (%)	MD (%)	D (%)	MD (%)	TOTAL (CAPITA)	D (CAPITA)	MD (CAPITA)
Pre-school	30.3	10.8	26.3	9.9	86.8	91.7	−10,020	−16,084	−4,046
Primary school	34.6	13.3	29.5	11.7	85.3	88.0	4,815	−36,650	−11,203
Vocational training school	31.9	10.1	27.1	9.0	85.0	89.1	−12,421	−9,049	−2,390
Special VT school	29.2	12.6	24.0	12.1	82.2	96.0	−790	−664	−143
General secondary school	10.3	1.4	8.5	1.3	82.5	92.9	−4,086	−3,936	−332
Vocational secondary school	16.2	2.6	13.0	2.2	80.2	84.6	−20,699	−9,981	−1,295
Total	28.1	9.7	24.0	8.7	85.5	90.0	−43,201	−76,364	−19,409

Table 3: Change in the rates of disadvantaged and multiply disadvantaged students by type of institution, between the 2012/2013 and 2013/2014 school years (% and capita)

Source: Public education statistical data collection, 2012/13 and 2013/2014

The district map prepared from the table above presents the changes in the percentage of disadvantaged primary school students (see *Map 4*). While the rate seems to have grown in some districts there is no regional relationship, and the decrease was stronger primarily in Central and West Transdanubia, and even more in the Budapest area. The decrease was greatest in districts XIX, XX and XXII of Budapest, as well as in Tapolca. Conversely, it would be interesting to conduct field research in Ózd, com-

Map 4: Changes in the rates of disadvantaged students by district between 2012 and 2013, (%) 2012=100
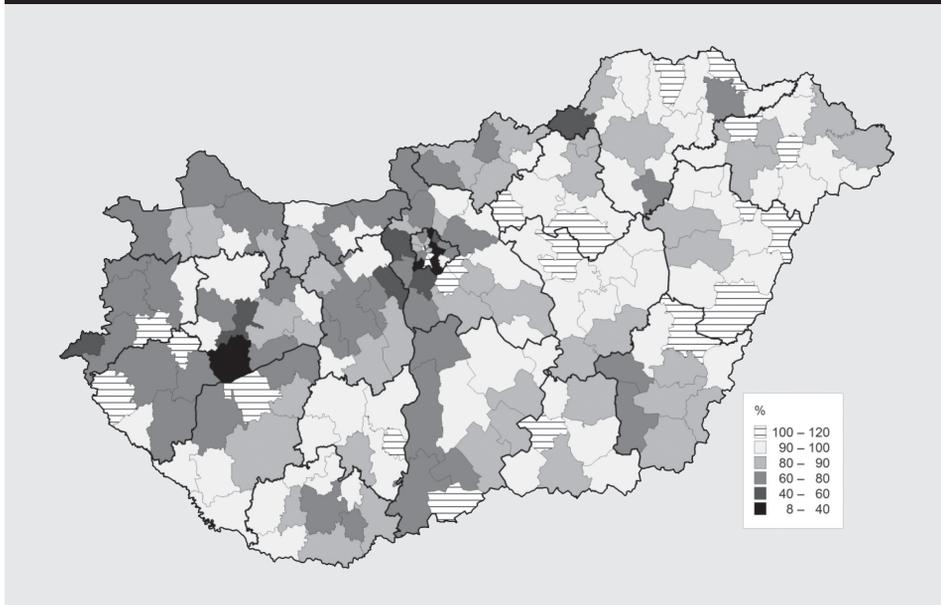
%
100 – 120
90 – 100
80 – 90
60 – 80
40 – 60
8 – 40

Source: Ministry of Human Capacities, Department of Statistics; Edited by Tamás Híves, HIERD (2014)

monly known to be one of the most disadvantaged towns in Hungary, where neverthe-less the rate of D and MD students dropped by half.

Examining the changes in the rates of multiply disadvantaged students using the same method the territorial trends are similar but smaller and less region-specific. In this population too it is surprising to see a 50% reduction in Ózd and 70% in Szob dis-tricts. There was an opposite movement in several districts, where the MD rate went up (by 10–30%), for instance in Zirc and Kőszeg. There was a significant rearrangement in the Budapest districts: while the rate of the MD population significantly increased in some of the outer districts (X, XVII, XVIII) and poorer inner districts (VI, VII, VIII), the same dropped considerably in other districts. Again, the reasons should be explored in the context of field research.

GRADE REPETITION, OVERAGE AND OTHER RISK FACTORS

The institutional statistical data collected in the autumn of every year by the Ministry of Human Competencies (MoHC) comprise a few other indicators that give an idea of possible attrition. Their distribution provides information about vulnerable districts where student dropout is expected to be higher. In what follows some of these indica-tors are presented.

Grade repetition needs no special explanation. Failure and consequent repetition of a grade in primary school can be a critical factor in attrition. The district map (see

Map 5) illustrates regional distribution, which is to some extent similar to the previous maps. The highest rate of grade repetition in primary schools is in North Hungary: Ózd (7%), Edelény (6%) and several districts in the area have a rate of over 5%. Some districts in Nógrád County and along the Tisza River, as well as in the Sellye district in Baranya County the rate is around 4–5%. There are significant disparities in Budapest, where major differences between nearby district are indicative of segregation of social groups in the capital. While grade repetition in districts I and V is only 0.3% (4–5 students), in District VIII it is 5.2% (163 students). The values are particularly low in the South Great Plain districts. This map shows best the northeast-southwest axis which has been observed by several researchers in earlier studies (Forray–Kozma 1992), where indicators are particularly unfavourable. The axis stretches from Borsod and Szabolcs districts through the Central Tisza region, South Pest and South Fejér Counties to the districts along the Dráva River in Somogy and Baranya Counties. The other axis of development is less evident but still recognisable. Its direction is northwest to southeast, from the Austrian border with gaps through Budapest (where the socioeconomic indicators in the most developed regions of the country, the western and northern agglomeration) to end in several districts of the South Great Plain. It is not a contiguous band but the light colours denote favourable indicators.

Map 5: Rates of grade repeaters in primary schools by district, 2013/2014 (%)
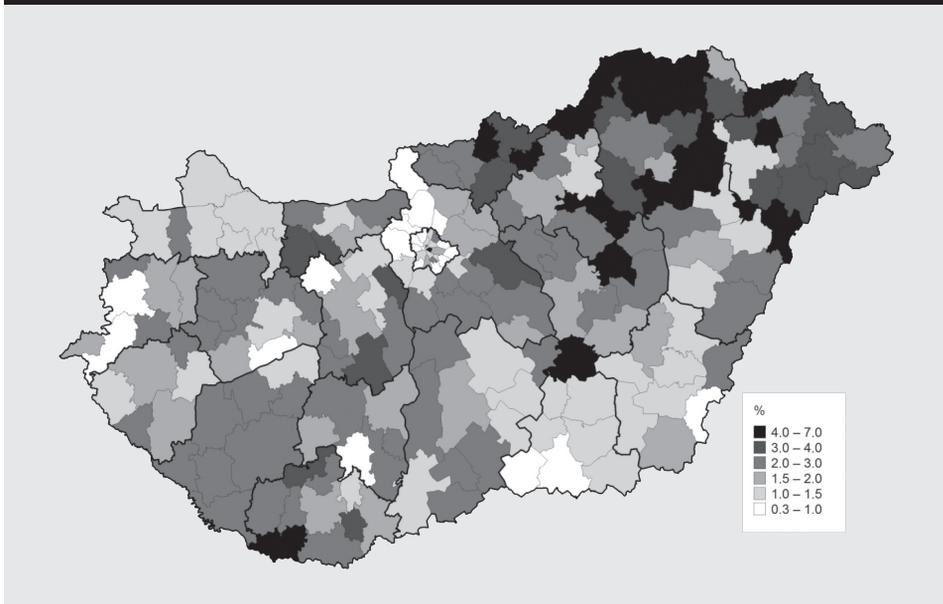
Source: Ministry of Human Capacities, Department of Statistics; Edited by Tamás Híves, HIERD (2014)

In the statistical data collected in October of a given year (KIR-STAT) a student aged 16 or older means the student turns 16 by 31 December of the year of data supply. They are the ones who are two years over age and reach the limit of compulsory school-

ing set by law, and as they are to finish primary school in the given school year there is a strong likelihood that they would drop out either immediately after primary school or they start secondary school but will not finish it. The following map shows attrition rates by district (see *Map 6*).

The statistics do not reveal the reasons behind "overage" but numerous studies addressed this issue over the past few years (Kende 2009; Szalai 2013).

There are some important differences compared to the previous maps. Here too the largest proportions of overage students live in the northeast and South Transdanubian districts. Nógrád County with its uniformly high rates performed especially poorly regarding this indicator. The districts along the Tisza River in Heves County and most districts in Tolna County also had unfavourably high rates. It is noteworthy that Tapolca District, where the D and MD rates were low has many overage students, whereas Devecser District, an extremely poor performer in terms of the other indicators, has fewer overage students. The rates are low in the South Great Plain with the exception of some districts in Bács-Kiskun County, and lowest in the western and northern agglomeration of Budapest. The Baranya County districts also have better overage rates than their D and MD rates.
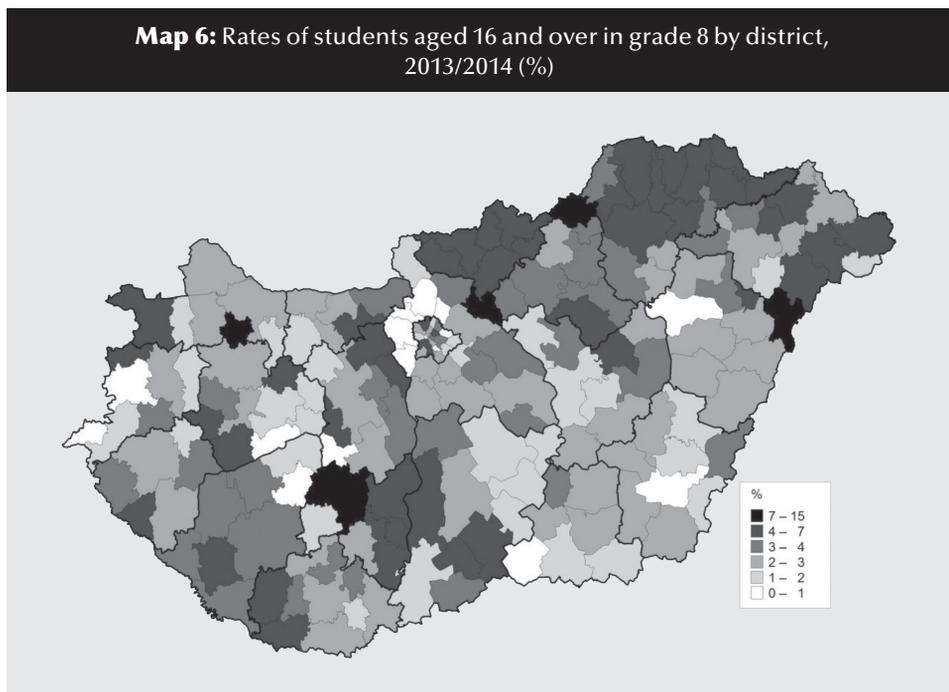
Map 6: Rates of students aged 16 and over in grade 8 by district, 2013/2014 (%)

Source: Ministry of Human Capacities, Department of Statistics; Edited by Tamás Híves, HIERD (2014)

The high number of unjustified absences is a serious problem for every student. Despite rigorous punishment many students collect quite a few during the school year. The following map depicts the rates of unjustified absences in primary schools (see *Map 7*). The map differs from the previous ones, although the northeast region has

outstandingly high rates. Compared to the D and MD data, the main difference is that here South Transdanubia has much more favourable rates, around the national average. The more positive values of the last two indicators suggest that the institutions in South Transdanubia (and particularly in Baranya County) are more successful in keeping students in the school system. This is true despite the very high rates of disadvantaged students in Baranya too, mainly in the districts along the Dráva River. The opposite trend is found in the northeast districts of the country, primarily in Borsod County. Baranya and Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén Counties have largely different social structures. The main reason probably is that Baranya County has always been ethnically and nationally heterogeneous over the course of history with different peoples coexisting side by side. Borsod has been a lot more homogeneous and it was not until the age of extensive industrialisation that significant numbers of people moved there, mainly Roma belonging to various linguistic and cultural groups who intermingled and lost their roots. Due to the forced industrialisation society in Borsod is highly stratified; this is not the case in Baranya, where society is less structured and solidarity with both the unemployed and the poor is strong among the people (Messing–Molnár 2011). Added to this are the institutions and NGOs of Baranya County whose efforts are a major contribution to the successful schooling of disadvantaged students (Cserti Csapó 2011).

The worst rate of this indicator (approximately 7%) was found in Encs, Szikszó and Kunhegyes Districts but the rate is high in several districts of Nógrád County, Sárbogárd and in District VIII of Budapest. On the other hand, the rates of above 30 absent
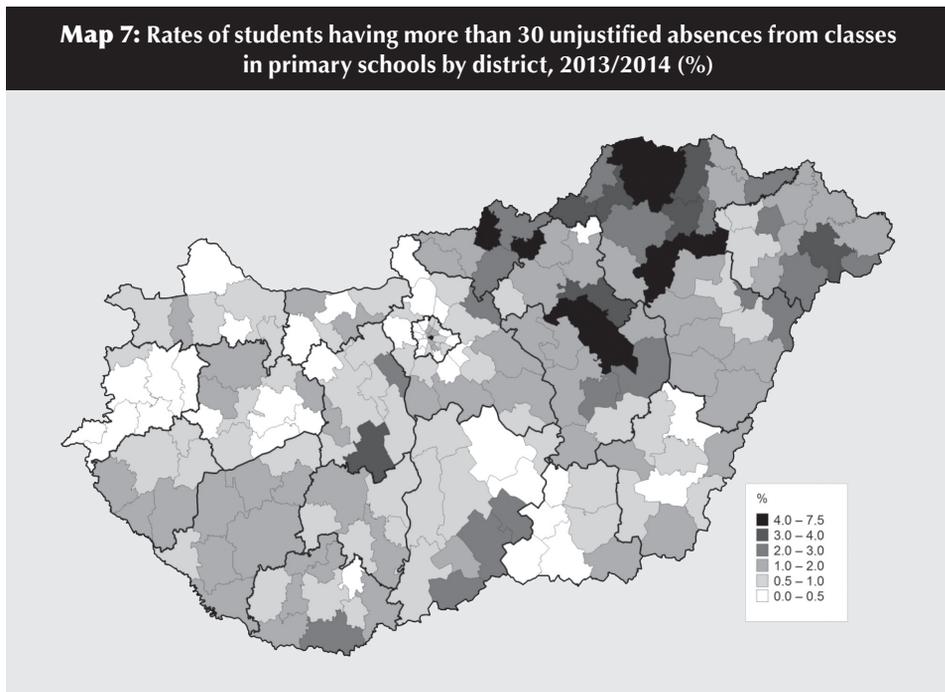
Map 7: Rates of students having more than 30 unjustified absences from classes in primary schools by district, 2013/2014 (%)

%
4.0 – 7.5
3.0 – 4.0
2.0 – 3.0
1.0 – 2.0
0.5 – 1.0
0.0 – 0.5

Source: Ministry of Human Capacities, Department of Statistics; Edited by Tamás Híves, HIERD (2014)

classes was especially good in Vas County, Veszprém District and vicinity, the eastern areas of the Balaton Uplands, in some districts of the Budapest agglomeration (e.g. Dunakeszi), and in some South Great Plains districts, particularly in Csongrád County.

DISADVANTAGED STUDENTS IN GRADES 8–10

As seen in Table 2 almost 30% of primary school students are disadvantaged, and this rate drops by half, and the rate of students with multiple disadvantages to one-third in secondary education. It seems reasonable to explore in which grades these students disappear from the education system and in what proportions. The nationwide data indicate when disadvantaged and multiply disadvantaged students drop out of public education (see *Table 4*).

In grade 8 there are still approximately ten thousand students with multiple disadvantages or 11% of the student population. In grade 9 their rate is less than half and their number is two-thirds of the grade 8 figures. The two grades are difficult to compare because grade 9 comprises all non-numbered grades including the language preparation year (popularly called zero grade) and compensatory grades (Bridge programmes, Arany János Talented and Gifted Programme), so students attending these programmes feature in grade 9 for two years, when in the next school year they effectively pass to grade 9. The fact that it is in grade 9 that the rate of repeaters is highest should not be neglected either (the rate in vocational training schools for instance is 20.4%). It is presumed that repeater rates are even higher among D and MD students, though in the absence of nationwide data there is no evidence supporting this hypothesis. Taking all this into account, the shrinkage of the analysed groups is considerable; in other words, attrition is high, particularly among students with multiple disadvantages.

Grade 10 offers a clearer picture. The significant attrition rates are conspicuous, particularly as regards multiply disadvantaged students. Although the data refer to one year it can be supposed (based on Table 1) that there was no major change between school types and the regulatory change equally concerns all levels of education. Compared to grade 8 the number and proportion of students with multiple disadvantages in grade 10 slumped well below half. The decrease among disadvantaged students was less radical but their number and rate is down to two-thirds of the grade 8 levels. So it is clear that attrition is greatest in the first grade of secondary education and continues in grade 10. Obviously these statistical data must be verified by other methods, for example by a targeted survey exploring the rates of D and MD students among repeaters and dropouts. The combined rates by types of institutions in Table 2 show that the decrease does not stop at grade 10. For example in vocational training schools the combined rate of MD students is 9%, which is only possible if there are a lot fewer of them in the grades higher than grade 10 as their rate in grade 9 was 11.5% and in grade 10 10.6%. It is typical particularly in vocational secondary schools that disadvantaged students drop out or transfer to vocational training schools; their rates are steadily and significantly dropping year by year: the combined rate of disadvantaged students in the four grades (9-12) is 13% whereas in grade 10 it is still 18%.

Comparing the rates across school types it is worth noting that grade 8 of 6- and 8-grade general secondary schools (grammar schools) have practically no students

with multiple disadvantages: their number nationwide is only 19 and their rate is one-sixtieth of the same grade of primary school. The biggest loss of students in the groups analysed between grade 9 and grade 10 occurs in grammar schools. This is partly because there are far more of them in grammar school compensatory classes. Another possible reason is that higher rates of them drop out and more of them transfer to less prestigious institutions.

Table 4: Changes in the numbers and rates of disadvantaged and multiply disadvantaged students by type of institution in grades 8–10, 2013 (capita and %)

GRADE 8			
	PRIMARY SCHOOL	**GENERAL SECONDARY SCHOOL**	**PRIMARY ED.**
D (capita)	23 726	525	**24 251**
MD (capita)	9 873	19	**9 892**
D (%)	*28.8*	*6.1*	**26.7**
MD (%)	*12.0*	*0.2*	**10.9**

GRADE 9					
	VT SCHOOL	**SPEC. VT SCHOOL**	**VS SCHOOL**	**GS SCHOOL**	**SEC. ED. GRADE 9**
D (capita)	12 144	724	7 762	4 478	**25 108**
MD (capita)	4 020	369	1 256	802	**6 447**
D (%)	*34.7*	*31.2*	*18.6*	*10.8*	**20.8**
MD (%)	*11.5*	*15.9*	*3.0*	*1.9*	**5.3**

GRADE 10					
	VT SCHOOL	**SPEC. VT SCHOOL**	**VS SCHOOL**	**GS SCHOOL**	**SEC. ED. GRADE 10**
D (capita)	6 773	533	5 630	2 970	**15 906**
MD (capita)	2 311	269	1 050	477	**4 107**
D (%)	*31.0*	*29.4*	*17.8*	*8.8*	**17.9**
MD (%)	*10.6*	*14.8*	*3.3*	*1.4*	**4.6**

Source: Public education statistical data collection, 2013/2014

AT-RISK DISTRICTS AT RISK

This paper has illustrated the extreme lag of some districts and larger regions behind the national average with a range of statistical variables. Summarizing the outcomes of international and Hungarian research relying on similar means we found that the social and educational institutional problems of straggling are similar.

Using the indicators examined we selected districts where attrition is greatest according to the statistics, and named them at-risk districts. This, of course, is still a statistical approach to the problem rather than high-resolution analysis. As a second

step those social background indicators and student data were analysed that are risk factors and that are reliably available on a nationwide and district basis.

Indicators analysed:

1. Rate of grade repeaters
2. Rate of students with multiple disadvantages
3. Rate of 8th graders two years overage (16–x year-olds)
4. Rate of students having over 30 classes of unjustified absence
5. Rate of population with an educational attainment of less than 8 grades
6. Rate of unemployment
7. Rate of employment
8. Rate of Roma population

Of the 198 districts the 50 worst values of each indicator were selected (about a quarter of the districts) – in other words, the districts where the rate of at-risk population is highest. In the case of most indicators this means the highest value, for example rate of repeaters and unemployment rate, but employment rate naturally had to be the lowest 50 selected. On the basis of the above eight indicators a data base of 5×50 districts was created, and from this a map was generated which showed the distribution of frequency of the selected districts (see *Map 8*). What was examined in this way was how frequently a district featured in the selected 50.

Special mention should be made of why districts with the highest Roma population feature among the at-risk areas. The census data highlight the extremely low educational attainment of the Roma population and particularly the scarce number of degree holders. It is a fact that a large portion of the population self-admitting to be Roma is poorly educated. Despite the efforts of the past decade the educational gap between the Roma and the majority population has widened (Forray–Híves 2013). Many past research projects confirmed that because of the attrition among the poorly educated Roma with a poor social status is high due to school failures (Havas–Kemény–Liskó 2002; Kertesi–Kézdi 2014). The end-of-year academic result of Roma students gradually deteriorates in the course of schooling, not because of their competencies but as a consequence of their family and socialization disadvantages for which the school is unable to adequately compensate. A sociological study listed the same causes for deteriorating academic achievement as the causes hindering children's integration in school (Liskó 2002). Other researchers underscore the insufficiency of compensatory programmes and the bias against the Roma population (Liskó–Fehérvári 2008; Havas–Zolnay 2011; Neményi 2013). Based on all this, it is justified to consider the districts with a high rate of Roma population at risk of school attrition. The size of Roma population can be estimated on the basis of the census data. Although the precise figures are a matter of debate, these are the only official data comprising every settlement that provides a realistic picture of their regional distribution.

Map 8 highlights the districts that feature among the 50 worst values of at least three of the indicators. With a few exceptions they are located along the northern and eastern borders, and the Central Tisza area. They are typically situated in blocks. South Transdanubia, a region with high rates of disadvantaged students only has a few districts on the at-risk map. Three districts (Tiszavasvári, Jászapáti, Tamási) feature most frequently among the worst 50, each with five or six indicators. Tamási in Tolna County

Map 8: Regions at risk of attrition by district, 2014 (occurrence)

Occurrence
■ 5 – 6
■ 4
□ 3
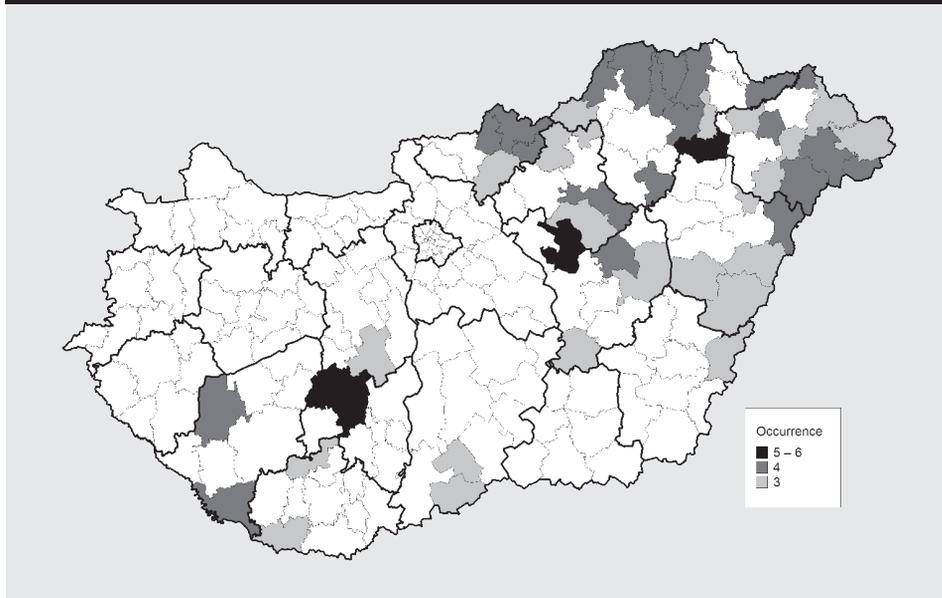
Source: Ministry of Human Capacities, Department of Statistics and CSO; Edited by Tamás Híves, HIERD (2014)

is interesting as it is surrounded by regions with much more favourable indicators. Another interesting area is the Jászság whose two districts behave very differently. The three most unfavourable districts are underdeveloped rural regions. The map shows the areas where more investigation or targeted intervention would be necessary.

SUMMARY

The maps in this study are a clear illustration of the essential influence of geographic and social configuration has on the distribution of disadvantaged students. However, in the disadvantaged regions of South Transdanubia there are fewer students with a high rate absenteeism, fewer repeaters and overage students than in the northeast regions. This seems to indicate that in South Transdanubia education of disadvantaged primary school students is probably more efficient and local society is more inclusive.

With the help of a variety of educational and social background indicators the research identified areas where the risk of early school leaving is greatest. Plotting the areas on the map is an illustrative way of showing the at-risk zones. The status explored by the analysis is a more accurate identification of possible regions for intervention in order to attenuate attrition and regional inequalities. To eradicate the specific social problems of districts would require earmarked support and targeted programmes as they are generally situated in industrial crisis regions, agricultural-rural or border regions (Kozma–Forray 1999).

The time series data of nationwide statistics reveal that last year the rate of multiply disadvantaged and disadvantaged students dropped by 10% and 15% respectively due to a change in the regulatory framework, and the decrease was most keenly felt in vocational secondary schools. Analysing the numbers of disadvantaged and multiply disadvantaged students by grades it is clear that in grade 10 their numbers and rates are drastically reduced compared to grade 8: the rate of students with multiple disadvantages is less than half (6,000 students less) than the reference figure, which means that they are likely to drop out of school.

Most of the backward or lagging micro-regions are situated in blocks, so most of them have regions with similar social and economic status in their immediate vicinity. This exacerbates the situation because it is possible that the population's only option to close the gap is by significant mobility, by migration to other regions. However, this would result in local societies losing their most aspiring members who are able to change their situation, with the inevitable consequence that the downslide will be irreversible or, at best, very difficult to curb (Forray–Híves 2003).

Development of the education of disadvantaged students is envisioned in the context of multilevel cooperation in which education policy, local and district level efforts, institutional innovation and civil society equally have a role to play.

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ZOLTÁN GYÖRGYI: INITIAL EXPERIENCES ON THE INTRODUCTION OF CENTRALISED EDUCATION MANAGEMENT

CONTEXT

The Hungarian educational system is of the so-called continental type (Kozma 2006), and therefore, national education policy has always had a powerful effect on its functioning. Centralised education policy was especially powerful before the fall of communism in 1990. In education, as in many areas, few decisions could be made locally; therefore, it was a natural reaction after the fall of communism to empower local parties to make local decisions on what were considered local issues. Setting up a varied school system that meets local (settlement-level) needs seemed to be an obvious goal. Education became a local public service, and many decisions regarding the operation of the education system were made at the settlement or school level. As the public administration system was fragmented[1] and towns of a few thousand people rarely had the financial resources to employ well-trained professionals to run their schools, decisions on schools were often made on political, not policy grounds.

The policy standards laid down in the 1993 laws on education were aimed at keeping education together as one unit: technical requirements were imposed on schools (National Core Curriculum, framework curricula), minimum infrastructure requirements were introduced and teacher qualifications were mandated. The financing of the system was based on the principle of the division of responsibility: state funding had to be supplemented by local funds, almost as a warning to the local governments (municipalities, or, in the case of some secondary schools, county governments) that were the maintainers of most schools that their policy decisions can have financial consequences.

On the one hand, this served the purpose of adapting to local needs. On the other hand, the operation of schools was heavily influenced by the financial status of the settlement they were located in, which led to rather significant differences in the quality of the educational infrastructure and education itself (Halász 2001a).

As a result of all these factors, the system of educational decision-making remained unstable for two decades after 1990: there was no widespread consensus on how to distribute decision-making powers between the local, regional and national levels in order to establish a well-functioning education system that operates at a high professional standard and meets the demands of society as a whole, as well as various individual layers of society. Stabilizing the system was made even more difficult by the fact that demographic processes such as falling birth rates and migration from numerous areas, especially peripheral geographic areas and economically disadvantaged ones required constant intervention in the education system. Maintaining schools with fewer and fewer students became difficult: state funding awarded based on the number of students covered less and less of the actual costs, and the migration hit the most economically disadvantaged regions the hardest, making it increasingly difficult

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1 For a population of ten million, Hungary has 3000 local governments, 55% of which operate in a village with less than 1000 inhabitants. Although most of these villages do not have a school, somewhat larger towns with a few thousand inhabitants do.

for them to plug the holes in their budgets. At the same time, there was a strong political motivation for keeping the local schools: one of the few possible political successes for local political leaders was keeping the local school open (Györgyi 2011).

Central education policy decision-makers, for various reasons, felt that there was too much local power in education, and tried to curb it by various means. The methods included strict legal requirements (e.g. interference in student enrolment, regulating student composition, dictating terms for ISCED 2 education), interference while permitting certain alternative solutions (framework curriculum recommendations), offering financial benefits as incentives (municipal associations maintaining the schools of various settlements) and applying financial pressure (mandating class sizes). The one unifying trait of these interventions was that, in principle, they never questioned the right of local communities to control their own educational institutions, not even when they infringed those interests and attempted to take important powers away from the local governments that represent the local communities in this regard. The measures taken also had one other thing in common: local governments had options, even in the case of binding requirements. They had the possibility to find solutions that made compliance with government schemes a formality, and they often took advantage of this possibility. This was an especially attractive option for them because, as the national political landscape changed, the requirements would change in a few years anyway.

Attempts at strengthening centralised decision-making were in part aimed at resolving real problems arising from a not very well-constructed decentralised management system that hadn't really taken roots in the Hungarian educational system. The other reason for these measures was a politically motivated insistence on traditional centralised control models. Conservative and socialist-liberal governments generally took turns every four years, introducing their own preferences and instruments, but they all attempted to limit the decision-making autonomy of local governments as school maintainers and the schools themselves.

Left-wing and right-wing governments used somewhat different methods, but this only partly reflected their different views on society; often, the different methods were simply employed because of the difference in objectives.

We do not wish to discuss all the important education policy measures of the last decades in this paper, but we would like to highlight a few to illustrate the above points. The right-wing government that was in power between 1998 and 2002 felt that it was especially important to standardise the content taught in schools and the relevant regulations. Therefore, it replaced the National Core Curriculum and its loose approach to content regulation with the National Framework Curriculum, containing much more detailed instructions on the material to be taught. By contrast, the socialist-liberal governments that preceded and succeeded the right-wing government in question focused less on unifying the content: they were more concerned with reducing differences in the infrastructural and staffing conditions of schools, hoping that this would improve the effectiveness of education. As these governments were not able (or perhaps willing) to commit significant budgetary resources to this goal, they tried to utilise the system's internal reserves. Initially, they offered financial incentives to encourage local decisions that fit into their plans, then later they threatened punishment if such decisions were not taken (Fehérvári 2011). One example is the operation

of smaller schools by associations of local governments (partnerships between school maintainers) in the 1994-1998 period, another is the guiding of the school system towards what were seen as optimal school and class sizes between 2002 and 2010. In the same period, between 2002 and 2010, the left-wing/liberal government took measures to fight segregation in schools. These were essentially legal interventions, and they curbed what had been seen as basic rights: they re-interpreted the right of school choice, and limited schools' decision-making powers.

It should be noted that unification does not necessarily require centralisation (Halász 2001b); that is, the interventions listed above were not necessarily indispensable for achieving the declared goals, at least not in every case.

As despite taking the measures listed above no government questioned the basic right of school maintainers to make decisions regarding the operation of their schools (a right established at the time of the fall of communism),[2] local governments always had some amount of room for manoeuvre. As a result, the decisions taken by local governments often only followed governmental expectations in form, not content, which sometimes led to absurd results. For instance, establishing partnerships between school maintainers did not result in larger schools, and instead of taking joint decisions, local governments still got to make their own separate decisions about the operation of their own small schools. The constant changing of the state funding provided to schools after 2000 resulted in the school maintainers taking decisions based on short-term financial interests, and generated institutional collaborations and institutional structures that had no discernible professional or social purpose. At the same time, the main factors affecting education remained essentially unchanged: the same teachers taught the same students the same things, using broadly the same infrastructure. Government interventions were successful only in cases where, and to the extent that, they did not go against maintainers' interests. Research carried out by the Institute for Education Research and Development in 2010 in seven regions indicated that local governments that maintained schools definitely felt pressure from education policy, especially through financial channels. However, they felt that the needs of the most important groups of the local community were at least as important: when the two were in conflict, they went against the government's expectations (Györgyi 2011).

Education has been a highly valued part of local politics, and local governments had entirely different goals and priorities than those set by national education policy. For instance, national education policy had strong expectations regarding the quality of education and equal opportunity of access, but these issues were not prioritised locally; at the local level, interest was focused on the existence of schools and their operating conditions.

In small towns, conserving the school (the only local school) at any cost was the yardstick by which the success or failure of local education policy (and local politics) was measured. Naturally, local education policies were diverse, with different goals, priorities and solutions. One common trait is that despite the Government's intentions and actions, local governments did not enter into close cooperation with each other

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2 The new Act on Public Education was adopted quite recently, in 2012; until then, the old law was left largely unchanged.

anywhere in the country. There has been some progress, with self-interest motivating numerous local governments to engage in formal cooperation, but in the background, each local government tried to maintain its ability to control its own school. Considering the fact that the lack of cooperation and the mistrust that causes it have deep historical roots, even this minor progress can be seen as a positive sign, but there is no doubt that it only made a minimal contribution to quality, efficiency and social justice in education.

In larger localities,[3] the situation was somewhat different: in addition to the demands of local groups, the need for economical operation also motivated local governments. These goals coincided with the government's objectives, which were thus partially achieved: schools were merged, redundancies were eliminated and changes were made to employment structures in order to increase efficiency and improve professional standards.

Despite the not insignificant problems discussed above, the system had one large, systemic advantage: it successfully mobilised local resources. Schools had an interest in obtaining their own revenues by selling services (mostly renting out their infrastructure), the maintainers usually supplied the necessary own resources for obtaining funding through applications, and vocational schools received funds for development from the economic entities of a broader region. However, these resources were distributed unevenly due to the different local economic situations: some schools had good infrastructure and offered a wide variety of programmes for students, while others were fighting for survival. Part of the reason for this was the waste caused by the lack of close cooperation between local governments, the fundamental local political importance of conserving local schools at any cost, and, most importantly, the fact that, due to the major issues in local government financing,[4] local governments had only a very limited amount of money that they could use freely as they wished.

This system put school maintainers at the mercy of the national government, as their only option was to request extraordinary government funding to fill the gaps, and such funding was, *inter alia,* conditional on meeting certain requirements regarding the operation of schools. This arrangement also put the schools of the affected local governments in a difficult situation: their operation was threatened by the financial difficulties of their maintainers. Having a grasp of all of this is vital for understanding the phenomena that are discussed below.

CHANGES

In a break with the previous approach favouring a decentralised education system, the education policy in place after 2010 took schools out of the hands of local governments and placed them under state stewardship. It made the professional control of

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3 When discussing the research findings, „larger settlements" are understood to mean settlements that have more than one school.

4 In 2011, when the previous system of local government financing was still in place, 1216 of 3177 local governments were admittedly underfunded according to national statistics – i.e. in 1216 local governments, the lack of funds was not due to any local mismanagement. This clearly shows that underfunding was a defining characteristic of the whole system.

schools the exclusive right of the state, and it put the local governments at a crossroads regarding the operation of educational infrastructure and services not directly related to education (e.g. school meals): they had to either take on these tasks or hand them over to the newly created state school maintainer (the Institution Maintenance Centre), in which case towns of more than 3000 inhabitants have to pay a flat-rate fee to the state maintainer.[5]

The legal background is of course more complex than described here, but the implementation is worth discussing: as required by the law, the ministry responsible for education set up a state school maintainer, the Klebelsberg Institution Maintenance Centre (KLIK), the operation of which is not regulated by public legal acts. The law only stipulates that certain powers are moved to the state; the actual organisation exercising these powers was set up by a government decree. Its operation, which includes the direction of about 3,000 institutions and the employment of the teachers, and in some cases, other staff, working in the institutions, follows internal regulations. The Government decree set up 196 educational districts, but the relationship between educational districts and the centre is difficult for outsiders to understand.[6]

It is difficult to assess the considerations and objectives that led to the transformation of the maintenance and financing of schools, as the process is based on several tiers of legislation, and the legal acts only contain the provisions themselves, without discussing the rationale behind them. Therefore, we can only presume that the changes, among other goals, were aimed at solving the above described problems related to financial wastefulness, the distribution of resources between schools, operational differences and differences in quality standards, achieving an overall quality increase through solving these problems and making high-quality educational services available to all students. Statements made to the press and subsequent financial measures point in the same direction. At the same time, it should be noted that this centralisation process fits in with the similar centralisation efforts carried out in other areas.

Our research, carried out in the first half of 2014, is aimed at studying this reform process, focusing on two main themes: what steps were taken to alleviate existing operational anomalies, and how the changes were received. The experiences of the first two decades indicate that, when interests clash, the government's efforts are often derailed by the local decision-makers. Naturally, the two time periods cannot be

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5 We will not discuss the details of the changes in the system of school maintenance here; a description of the system is available on the European Commission's website (Eurypedia, the European Encyclopaedia on National Education systems. https://webgate.ec.europa.eu/fpfis/mwikis/eurydice/index.php/Main_Page)

6 Government Decree No. 202/2012. (27 July) on the Klebelsberg Institution Maintenance Centre (http://net.jogtar.hu/jr/gen/hjegy_doc.cgi?docid=A1200202.KOR) only contains general rules on the operation of the KLIK (structure, general rights of control over institutions), but it does not contain regulations or powers regarding the details of its operation, such as the limits of the professional autonomy of schools, which they continue to enjoy according to the law. The organizational and operational regulations of KLIK were adopted more than six months after the state took over Hungarian schools (text in Hungarian: http://klik.gov.hu/download/3/64/b0000/KLIK_SZMSZ.pdf). This document describes the organisational structure of KLIK in more detail than the Government decree, but it does not discuss the decision-making powers of schools at all, and only mentions the powers of the territorial bodies of KLIK (the educational districts) in passing.

directly compared, as a significant portion of educational decision-making has been taken away from local governments, and schools are finding it harder to assert their interests in new situations where working relationships have not been established yet.

THE RESEARCH

The research covered the same geographical areas as the 2010 research carried out by the Hungarian Institute for Education Research and Development.[7] At that time, the goal was to describe and analyse the responses given by local education policy to negative demographic changes, and that determined the sample selection. Therefore, most of the areas studied were areas with very poor demographic indicators; at the same time, an effort was made to cover all of Hungary and to include locations with differing settlement structures.

As part of this research project, we had to decide whether to use the same samples, which were chosen based on the special considerations associated with the previous research project and were thus in some sense unbalanced, but allowed us to build on previously acquired information, or to choose a new sample that represents micro-regions better, and uncover the historical background of local educational processes in detail. Due to physical constraints (time, resources) we chose the first option, making plans to add two more to the previously studied seven areas. However, due to the lack of willingness to participate (and this to a certain extent illustrates the operation of the system) we were only able to carry out the work in five micro-regions. In the international territorial classification, micro-regions correspond to the LAU1 category. In many regards, the districts set up as part of the new Hungarian system of public administration in 2013 are the successors of micro-regions.[8]

In the authors' opinion, the somewhat haphazard nature of the sample had only a minimal effect on the authenticity of the research, as the processes under study are only minimally affected by the level of economic development or demographic processes, especially over a short time period. Our experiences confirmed our prior expectations: the processes, the interests that motivate them and the decisions that were made were not dependent on the level of development of the settlement or micro-region in question. However, it is not possible to fully eliminate the possibility that somewhat different processes may take place in areas with more economic power or a different local society.

The research was more hindered by the already mentioned lack of the willingness to participate, due to the totally centralised operation of the state institution maintainer (KLIK), in which most of the relevant decisions are made in the Budapest centre, not in the educational districts. Institutions don't have their own budget, and neither do educational districts. The system is virtually inaccessible to researchers without the knowledge and permission of the central management. This led to a reduction of the extent of field work: the president's permission for the research was obtained, but

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7 The effects of demographic changes on local education policy. Head researcher: Zoltán Györgyi.
8 Out of the five micro-regions studied, four coincide almost entirely with a district, and the remaining one was divided into two districts.

some educational districts were, for whatever reason, reluctant to cooperate, and cited the lack of the president's permission. The internal structure, and thus the decision-making structure, is not visible to outsiders, which made it impossible to clarify the situation. The issue of the centralisation of decision-making arose regarding educational districts, as well: school directors were unwilling to discuss anything without the permission of the president of the educational district.

This interfered with the effectiveness of the research in multiple ways. First of all, the number of educational district case studies decreased, and they became less comprehensive. Furthermore, this phenomenon is presumably not random, and therefore it is likely to have affected the results. Additionally, it is more difficult to collect comprehensive information in a system that is not open to the outside observer (in this case, the researcher).

Due to the lower number of completed case studies, the sample was not as comprehensive as designed with regard to settlement types and coverage of the major geographical areas of Hungary. The research covered three areas with small villages,[9] and there was one micro-region with somewhat larger towns and one with a large central city, but there were no micro-regions with medium-sized cities (with a population of 30 to 40 thousand), and there were no data from Budapest.[10] With regard to regions, the more developed parts of the country were not covered.

THE PROCESS OF CHANGE

As mentioned above, our 2010 research indicated that local education policy plays an especially important role. Local educational decisions were more about politics than policy, but their importance indicated that education was one of the benchmarks by which the performance of local governments that maintained schools was judged. Considering this situation, it might come as something of a surprise that a significant number of maintainers chose to relinquish their right to operate their schools.[11]

The collected information indicates that this is due to the financing problems present in the previous system, as well as the general plan and specific implementation details of the reform of the system of school maintenance. Local governments had been artificially pushed into poverty, and the new arrangement stripped them of the decision-making powers that had made holding on to educational institutions politically important to them: in small settlements, the chance to keep the school, in larger ones, the decisions about the structure of training, enrolment, financial decision-making and maintaining teacher employment. The issue of who runs the infrastructure that schools use does not affect these issues. It does affect the quality of the education,

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9 Although there is no consensus as to the definition of small villages, the term is generally used to mean villages of less than 1,000 inhabitants. Such villages rarely have their own institutions: public administration, education, health and social services are generally provided by jointly maintained institutions.

10 In accordance with the territorial structure of public administration, the capital has 23 educational districts.

11 No statistics on this are available; this statement is based on reports published in the press at the time of the changes. Information collected during field trips confirms this.

but that was never really a central issue. All this means that, if they kept control of their schools, local governments would have to spend their limited resources on something that is not of primary importance to them. A lot of the local governments were unable or unwilling to do so, especially because they did not know the size of the budget they would have to work with in the future.[12] The decision was complicated by the fact that many of them did not know exactly how much they had been spending on education-related expenditure,[13] and even more by the fact that they were only informed of the amount of the contribution they would have to pay to KLIK if they relinquished school maintenance a few days before the decision had to be made.[14] Local governments were forced to make decisions in a situation of great uncertainty, and the uncertainty led to a wide variety of responses. Our research did not uncover any identifiable trends in the decisions made by local governments; it appears that using various arguments local representatives chose the option that most politically acceptable to them at that moment in time. The decision was quite obvious for small towns and villages (less than 3000 inhabitants); in the areas we visited, there was only one that took on the task of school maintenance.

The decision was tough on schools as well: there was a major upheaval in the established good or bad school-maintainer relationship, introducing unpredictability and uncertainty as to how schools might be able to protect their interests. Even so, schools were generally optimistic about the changes, due to the previous uncertainties in their operation: sometimes, wages were not paid on time or schools ran out of heating fuel. These were not everyday occurrences, but they were not rare, either, especially in the poorest villages.

CHANGES TO THE SYSTEM

THE STRUCTURE OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

The transformation of the school maintenance system was a natural opportunity to rationalise the fragmented institutional system made up of many small schools – a sensitive issue that could be problematic for local governments, whose previous „education policy" was based around avoiding such changes, and one that could affect the interests of the local population, determine the fate of towns and villages and provoke emotional reactions.[15] Possible changes include:

1. Closing a school and moving students to a different school; in small villages, this means closing the only school in the village, requiring students to commute;

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12 The money in the budget of Hungarian local governments comes from the state, or from sources subject to state decisions, therefore these budgets are subject to the annual Budget Acts. At the time when the system of school maintenance was transformed, there were other major changes in the tasks assigned to local governments as well, so the state changed multiple aspects of their funding, making it impossible for local governments to predict how much money they would have for education.
13 Some of the expenditures were not included in school budgets.
14 Settlements with less than 3000 inhabitants do not have to pay this contribution.
15 The survival or closing of their school has been a central issue for decades in villages that are afraid that the school will be closed, which is often equated with the death of the village itself.

2. Closing a grade, moving students to a different school (town);
3. Ending a school's autonomy, placing it under the control of another school;
4. Merging schools, placing them under joint management.

Fears about school closures were mitigated during the reform of the school maintenance system, to a large extent because of the declaration made by the Government in 2010 that primary school grades 1-4 would not be closed, and previously closed schools would in fact be reopened if at least eight parents requested it. Still, the trust was not complete, and some local governments chose to transfer their schools to a Church. The information collected indicates that these transfers were usually not initiated by the Church but the local government, or, in some cases, the school itself. There was at least one local government that handed its school over to a Church that did not even have a congregation in the settlement in question; the goal was to retain at least informal control over the school, and the local government did not expect to be able to do so if maintenance was transferred to the state.[16]

After the state took control of schools, the structure of the school system barely underwent any modification. No conscious decision regarding this can be discerned, but in any case, major modifications would not have been justified unless a whole new organisational approach was introduced, as the number of students did not change drastically in twelve to eighteen months. No new approach was drawn up, partly because the central school maintainer has been busy trying to solve its own operational issues: feedback indicates that it is struggling to manage the high number of institutions under its care and the associated information reporting and financing requirements, which place a massive burden on all parties (employees of the educational districts and school directors).

Structural interventions, including the closing of schools and grades will eventually become unavoidable, irrespective of what education management model is chosen. Many of our interview subjects noted this fact: student numbers are falling even without taking migration into account, and of course economically depressed areas are affected by migration as well.

Softer structural interventions (options 3 and 4) were not applied, either. The reason for this is to be sought in the nature of the maintainer switch: schools lost their autonomy, and are unable to make fully independent decisions even regarding important issues (see below), which means that whether a school has its own management or is managed by another school is of less importance.

Larger towns and cities have more leeway, and experience less political sensitivity regarding school reorganisations. In such towns and cities, the previous school maintainers had already taken major decisions affecting school structures, primarily for financial reasons. The findings of the research indicate that the new maintainers

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16 Our research did not explore the issue of why Churches are interested in taking over schools. Smaller Churches are likely to have political motivations: they wish to become more important actors in education. For larger Churches that already have many schools across the country, this motivation is less strong, and we have been told about multiple instances when such Churches turned down an opportunity to take over a school. Such Churches often took over schools as a result of local initiatives, essentially doing a favour to the local government or the school's director who wished to avoid state maintenance.

are primarily motivated by the goal of financial rationalisation as well, but there are no significant reserves in this part of the system any more.

REDRAWING CATCHMENT AREA BOUNDARIES

Over the last several decades, parents' free school choice has been seen as a basic right. Still, primary school catchment areas are important. It is difficult for children outside of the catchment area to get into a popular school, and catchment areas largely determine the composition of a school's student body, which also affects students' and parents' interests.

One of the criticisms of the previous school maintenance system was the creation of segregated schools. The segregation of the Roma by place of residence (by settlement or district) lends especially great weight to the issue. So far, no politically and professionally acceptable solution has been found for the first case, but there are existing, working solutions for reducing school segregation in situations where there is segregation within the settlement.[17]

In many cases, school segregation is not caused purely by segregation by place of residence within the settlement: it is reinforced by the arrangement of catchment areas.[18] This is a sensitive issue, but school segregation is a real problem in the areas visited in the course of the research, and no progress was made during the short research period. Identifying the causes is not easy, but it appears that no local party has any interest in taking action, and there are no central expectations regarding the issue. In the current system, responsibility for fighting segregation is not clearly assigned.

PEDAGOGICAL PROGRAMMES

Segregation is only one of the reasons for inequalities in the access to education; differences in the programmes offered by schools also play a role. Schools have so-called pedagogical programmes, which describe what the school offers in addition to the basics required by the National Core Curriculum: special training courses, services, special pedagogical methods used etc. Pedagogical programmes are drawn up by the schools and approved by the school maintainer; this was already the case in the old system. The different attitudes and financial situations of maintainers had a significant effect on what each school could offer. The selection of programmes and methods on offer has indirect importance beyond itself: it affects parental choices and thus the composition of the school's student body.

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17 The best-known example is that of Hódmezővásárhely, where such measures were taken at the time when schools were maintained by the local government (Szűcs 2013).
18 The current system includes the right of free school choice, but generally only parents who feel the greatest responsibility for their children's education exercise the right to choose a different school than the one they are in the catchment area of. Thus, there is a significant chance for the separation of different layers of society even if, as has been the case for years, schools have to follow certain rules regarding accepting students from outside their catchment area.

The school maintenance system introduced in 2013 allowed pedagogical programmes to become more similar, thus reducing the (parental) segregation pressure on the system. When a new system is introduced, one can hardly expect such a politically sensitive issue to be tackled immediately, but pedagogical programmes were reviewed in the summer of 2013, i.e. there was some intervention in this regard. The cause for the review was not necessarily the introduction of the new school maintenance system, but rather the new National Core Curriculum[19] and the national framework curricula built on it. The findings of the research indicate that this intervention was superficial: naturally, schools had no interest in changing their own existing programmes, and no outside pressure was placed on them to do so. Therefore, at the institutions we visited, any changes were minor.

It is not easy to assess the effects of the lack of changes. On the one hand, the different characteristics of schools can be interpreted as an adaptation to local demands – a position espoused by those in charge of public education, who cited it in comments made to the press as something they intend to conserve. On the other hand, they can be seen to strengthen segregation by influencing the student body composition. In some cases, the two are almost impossible to tell apart. The lack of change in this area is best interpreted as a signal that until there is social consensus on the limits between adapting to local peculiarities and needs and contributing to segregation to a socially unacceptable extent, the existing system cannot be modified without causing major political tensions. Those in charge of education have been unwilling to take on such political tensions – and it should be added that local governments were only marginally more willing to do so.

EXTERNAL RESOURCES IN THE FINANCING AND OPERATION OF THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

This is an area that could not be fully researched even in the old system, but interviews made as part of our prior research project indicated that schools were trying to obtain their own revenues, and maintainers did not take these revenues away from the schools, which provided an incentive to keep seeking such revenue sources. It appears that there were large differences with regard to the amount of funding obtained through application of projects on how actively each school sought such funds, to what extent the maintainer supported applications and how successful the applications ended up being. For schools, certain activities of local governments that were not built into the school's budget were also considered external resources.

The new school maintenance system transformed these revenue sources. Most local governments still try to support their schools even if they are now not responsible for operating their infrastructure, although many do so to a lesser extent, arguing that this is now the maintainer's job. However, the maintainer is not able to take care of every problem in every school it manages. It does not have established procedures,

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19 Government Decree No. 110/2012 (4 June) on the issuance, introduction and application of the National Core Curriculum. (http://www.budapestedu.hu/data/cms149320/MK_12_66_NAT.pdf).

resources or adequate staff for this. This causes some tensions, but such problems are generally resolved eventually.

As a result of the elimination of school budgets, schools cannot obtain their own revenues now. Or, more precisely, if revenue is generated at the school, it is transferred to the educational district. This has caused schools to reduce their revenue-generating activities, or at least to reduce their efforts in this regard. The situation varies by school: in some, established revenue-generating practices are left in place even though the school cannot keep the money, in others, such activities have fallen by the wayside. The current, centralised school maintenance system appears to be incapable of channelling revenues generated by the schools in full or in part back to those who secured them. One might say that this ensures a fairer use of these funds, but it is questionable whether any such benefit is worth a reduction in external revenues.

In any case, the biggest problem is that the financial situation of schools and its changes are currently unclear not only to researchers: there are no classified official records, either. Educational districts do not keep separate records on schools, only the districts themselves, and even if a school's infrastructure is managed by the local government, the local government may not keep separate records on the money spent on the school. Therefore, perhaps it will be possible to assess the financial viability of the system overall, but uncovering any internal imbalances will surely not be possible.

The use of resources acquired by application for funding varies heavily between educational districts. The implementation of previous projects continues, but educational districts display varying attitudes to newly submitted applications. Some support them, but in others, the schools do not even put the idea to the educational district, seeing it as hopeless. The central call for applications published by KLIK could improve the situation, contributing to a real reduction in the infrastructural and staffing differences between schools. To what extent the applications can serve these goals is yet to be seen; we do not know if the criteria and the decisions based on the criteria will help reduce pre-existing inequalities – and it will be difficult to tell if the amount of money spent on each school cannot be tracked.

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE OPERATION OF THE SYSTEM

The introduction of a new system is never without hiccups, even if the changes are not very drastic. The transformation of the management of the Hungarian public education system has been a radical change, and for many parties, it brought alien tasks. The relevant actors are still looking for their place, their roles, their relationships in the new system. Many things are not working, not working well or not working well enough, but that does not necessarily mean that the general approach is faulty.

There have been major uncertainties in this process of transformation, but some local parties supported, or at least accepted, the new arrangement. This support was mostly due to the fact that the previous financing system that was in place up to 2012 put institutions and teachers in difficult situations from time to time, generating hopes of a more stable system. Although it is not the subject of this study, some stability has arrived: wages and predictable operational costs are appropriately funded. In other re-

gards, the system is very unwieldy and inflexible, and, according to many, underfunded. An underfunded system cannot eliminate or even mitigate internal inequalities.

Returning to the main theme of this study: we examined the ways in which the new school maintenance system attempts to solve preexisting problems. As the above discussion shows, no such solutions are visible. They are not being implemented, and no plans can be discerned. No policy guidelines are available to inform our expectations of coming measures, even for the short term. It is unclear how the system will react to demographic changes, specifically the falling student numbers. What attempts will be made to reduce segregation is also unclear, if an attempt will even be made to solve the problem. It is possible that such plans are available to policy-makers, but there is no mechanism for transmitting any such decisions to the lower levels. The single state institution maintainer operates in a centralised fashion almost entirely without normative regulations. If a message is transmitted from above (which does not appear to be happening), then its implementation will by necessity be distorted, as the centre cannot dictate what should happen in each and every one of the three thousand institutions under its direction. Case studies indicate that any significant intervention in the areas mentioned would have too great a political risk. The conditions are not in place to allow these issues to be delegated to the educational districts. Educational districts as they are currently set up are implementing organs; they may be unable to make meaningful decisions with political risks. They will implement decisions if required – mechanically, either shifting responsibility to higher-level decision-makers, or only meeting requirements formally.

It is unclear how the current, over-centralised system could even be modified, and with what consequences. The risk of centralised systems is that the single decision-maker is responsible for every decision that compromises the interests of any party, which entails great political risks. Twelve to eighteen months is not sufficient time to arrive at a reliable assessment of a system, but the closed and mistrustful nature of the current system indicates that it is not interested in dialogue with public education stakeholders, and that approach can hardly be expected to achieve significant changes. Its operation also indicates that it will resist public accountability. One could cite the impossibility of obtaining data on institutional financing and thus the financial differences between institutions, or the almost complete lack of statistical data; all these indicate that the current system may have been intended to solve the real problems of the previous one, but the organisational structure and system of interests that have emerged so far do not enable it to do so.

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Chapter 2
Efficiency: Teachers, Students, School

PÉTER NIKITSCHER: WHAT MAKES A GOOD TEACHER? – DEMANDS, ROLES AND COMPETENCIES IN THE LIGHT OF EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

Demands on various professions and those placing them are not constant (Nagy 2009; Formádi 2011). This also applies to the teaching profession: society's demands regarding the role, duties, function, expected behavioural patterns and competences of teachers are also changing. Numerous studies have addressed the changing role of, and demands on, teachers. This paper is not aimed at tracking the history of the changing role of teachers – it has been done exhaustively by other researchers. But light should be shed on the fact that long gone are the days when the position of the teacher, the classical conveyor of knowledge and shaper of thinking and attitudes, qualified and erudite, evoked unanimous legitimacy, respect and social recognition. Today's teacher is no longer the sole depository and disseminator of knowledge; on the contrary, he has to continuously master new knowledge and information contents that are evident and commonly used by students in order to be able to maintain with them (e.g. in IT). It happens increasingly frequently that a student becomes an expert in a particular topic partly with the teacher's help and partly self-taught, and will end up knowing far more than the teacher (Zrinszky 1994; Trencsényi 1988; Varga 1998).

Changes in teachers' roles and the social reasons triggering them can be summarised as follows. Post-industrial or postmodern social transformation brought a pluralisation and coexistence of values and lifestyles. The levels and directions of traditional institutional hierarchy have changed. They no longer serve as clear points of orientation and give a structure to social processes and communication less and less. Accordingly, social ideas and demands concerning the school and the principals and practice of school-based education have also been polarised. Demands on teachers have been formulated by students, parents, society and the educational system and policy increasingly strongly and in a sophisticated fashion. Consequently, education policy documents and literature published in recent years have drawn attention to the need for teachers to master the skills and knowledge required by working in the new situation surrounding them (OH; Falus 2011; Kotschy 2011). A teacher is a writer of projects applications, a manager, an organiser of leisure activities, a mediator, a therapist, a communications expert as the case may be, and due to the lack of professionals so often felt in Hungary, also a self-appointed psychologist, or has to undertake social work tasks (Ferenczi 1998; Varga 1998; Schüttle–Szekszárdi 2001; Sallai 2004; Kraiciné 2004; Hargreaves–Fullan 2012).

Directions and changes in public thinking about teaching immediately have their ramifications in the educational system and naturally also appear in the demands on teachers. Different educational concepts of what a good teacher should be like, or have differing roles or at least differing preferences within the role of a good teacher. This paper explores what students, parents, the public and the corps of teachers think makes a good teacher.

Society's demands regarding the teacher's roles and duties are expressed in terms of the competencies required of a teacher, laid down in a variety of documents at an international as well as a national level.

Published in 1998, the OECD's Education Policy Analysis describes the expectations "tomorrow's teachers" are facing as follows: expertise, pedagogical knowledge,

technological competence, organisational and cooperative skills, flexibility and openness.

Demands on the teaching profession in Hungary have, on the one hand, been in the focus of educational discourse and research, and on the other hand, been drawn up at the level of legislative amendments, in the teacher career path model, i.e. in teachers' promotion system[1] describing eight competency areas (Falus 2011; Kotschy 2011; HEA):

1. Professional duties, knowledge of the particular science, discipline and curricula
2. Planning educational processes and activities and self-reflection required for their implementation
3. Providing learning support
4. Developing students' personality, individual treatment, preparation for the integration and successful teaching of disadvantaged students, students with special educational needs or with learning, adaptive and/or behavioural difficulties
5. Promoting and developing student groups and communities, creating opportunities, openness to social and cultural diversity, integrative activities, form teacher's activities
6. Ongoing evaluation and analysis of educational processes and the development of students' personality
7. Communication and professional cooperation, problem solving
8. Commitment to and responsibility for professional development

The purpose of this analysis is to offer an insight into the expectations of students, society and heads of institutions regarding the roles of teachers, and to explore what teachers themselves consider to be the most important in their work, the areas where they encounter problems most frequently, the challenges, the areas where they need professional development and support most.

This paper describes and compares the findings of four surveys. First the relevant findings of a nationwide questionnaire-based large-scale survey of secondary school students will be analysed. The survey took place in the spring of 2014. The resulting data base comprises the answers of 13,826 9th- and 11th-grade students in 103 institutions.[2]

Then the results of a nationwide survey on the demands on a good teacher are presented. The survey was conducted in November 2014 with the participation of 1,026 respondents.[3]

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1 Government Decree No. 326/2013 (30 August) on the career path of teachers and on the implementation in public education institutions of Act XXXIII of 1992 on the legal status of public employees.
2 The survey was conducted in the context of the topic on the quality and effectiveness of public education of subproject of SROP 3.1.1, priority project 4.
3 The data were collected by Psyma. The multistage sampling was based on the census data of the Hungarian Central Statistical Office (CSO). Based on the demographic data the sample is representative of the adult population.

As an international outlook the findings of the 2008 TALIS international survey will also be touched upon. The findings were analysed by the Hungarian Institute for Educational Research and Development.

The views of heads of institutions will be analysed on the basis of another large-scale survey conducted in 2014[4] involving 6,006 primary and secondary school teachers and 470 heads of 474 institutions.

As the four surveys took place at different times and with different purposes there is no perfect correspondence between the answers. Nevertheless the analysis of data highlights the weight of the above competencies on the scale of preferences of the respondent groups and thus the differences and similarities can be captured.

OPINION OF SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH THEIR TEACHERS

Students are the largest group of stakeholders in education. They are the ones in direct daily contact with teachers and the biggest part of teachers' work is directed at them. For a long time the general attitude was that students were passive subjects in the education process but by today it has become clear that not only are students active participants, they also shape the process (Kozma 1990). Getting to know their demands and opinions about teachers is therefore crucial because failure to meet these demands will create a gap between teachers and students and will inevitably hinder effective education.

One of the questions asked in the survey of secondary school students was what attributes and sets of behaviours should a good teacher have. First the respondents had to rate the importance of attributes presented to them on a scale of 1 to 4, then they could present additional opinion in an open-end question. In a second question they were asked to what extent the attributes characterised the teachers teaching them. This essentially was a kind of satisfaction measurement, but more importantly it cast light on the differences between the students' demands and their perceived reality, which could be useful in developing teachers' competencies.

ATTRIBUTES OF A GOOD TEACHER ACCORDING TO STUDENTS' OPINION

The first step was to examine the respondent students' rating of the attributes of a good teacher, then the answers were analysed along different background variables (grade, type of school).

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4 The survey was conducted in the context of the topic on teachers' in-service training of subproject of SROP 3.1.1, priority project 5.

Figure 1: Attributes of the "good teacher" – rates of "rather important" and "very important" replies (%)

Rather important   Very important

Attribute	Rather important	Very important
S/he teaches well, his/her classes are fun, his/her explataions are interesting	17	80
S/he has a high standard of knowledge of his/her subject	23	74
S/he is fair in his/her evaluations	22	74
I can always go to him/her with a study problem	33	61
S/he can maintain discipline	33	61
S/he likes students	35	55
S/he not only gives a mark but always gives a verbal feedback on performance	41	42
S/he is someone I can look up to	37	43
I can always go to him/her with a personal problem	31	35

%   0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

Source: compiled by the author

Combining the rates of very important and rather important answers, out of the nine attributes four was awarded an importance of 95% or higher, therefore there is no point in handling them separately. In the students' unanimous opinion the most important attributes are teaching style and high standard of knowledge of the given discipline. In order to meet these criteria teachers primarily need specialist knowledge of their subject and the subject related methodology. Fair evaluation was also rated high (getting a verbal feedback does not seem to be so important for students), and to be able to freely go to the teacher with study problems. Maintaining up discipline is necessary for ensuring the quality and efficiency of the teaching-learning process. Ten percent of the respondents think liking the students is rather unimportant or entirely unimportant. Verbal feedback in addition to the marks is (or would be) important for 82% of students. According to 80% the teacher should be a person to look up to. Two-thirds also think it is important that they can approach their teachers with personal problems. On the whole, it can be stated that students find attributes and competencies related to the teaching activity to be most important; pedagogical competencies come next.

Figure 2: And how typical are these attributes of your teachers? %

The majority of teachers are like that ■ Most teachers are like that

Attribute	The majority of teachers are like that	Most teachers are like that
S/he has a high standard of knowledge of his/her subject	52	36
I can always go to him/her with a study problem	48	27
S/he is fair in his/her evaluations	49	21
S/he likes students	49	15
S/he not only gives a mark but always gives a verbal feedback on performance	42	21
S/he can maintain discipline	46	13
S/he teaches well, his/her classes are fun, his/her explataions are interesting	41	12
S/he is someone I can look up to	35	12
I can always go to him/her with a personal problem	29	13

% 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

Source: compiled by the author

After this, the researchers examined the difference between students' above pref-erences and the reality they perceived, in other words, how they saw their teachers and how big a difference there is between students' demands and experience (Figures 2 and 3).

Perhaps the main thing that transpires from the figure above is that in the respond-ents' opinion the criteria are true for the majority of their teachers with the exception of two attributes, which still scored not much below 50%. On the other hand, the at-tributes hold for the majority but not most teachers. It can be nevertheless stated that on the whole, the respondent students have a positive opinion of their teachers.

Figure 3: How important and how typical of their teachers are these attributes? (%)
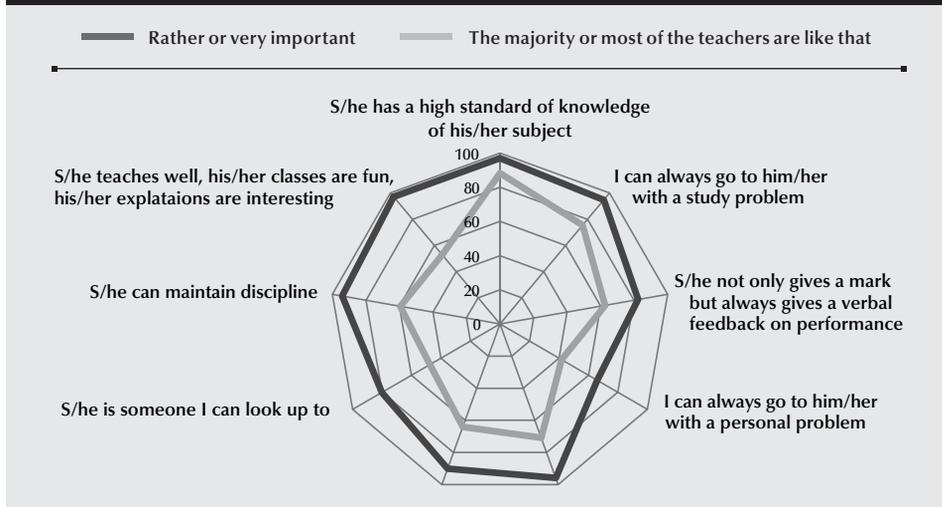
Source: compiled by the author

Looking at the chart the difference between the students' preference scale and their experience in every domain but the two lines tend to be parallel with the exception of giving fun and interesting classes. The smallest difference is barely nine percentage points as regards teachers' professional knowledge. The difference is bigger, over 19 percentage points, regarding teachers' availability to help with study related problems and the importance and perception of verbal feedback in addition to marking. The difference regarding hearing personal problems, fair evaluation and liking students is around 25 percentage points. Of the three areas fair evaluation is crucial in the relationship that determines teacher-student cooperation. The importance of fair evaluation was also confirmed by the researchers' experience gleaned from interviews:[5] if students encounter real or perceived injustice they easily give up on the teacher and on the subject he or she teaches; not only does their trust in their teacher diminish but so does their general motivation. In our view, these differences can be smoothed out effectively if the teacher applies appropriate communication strategies.

While 80% of the students think it would be important to be able to look up to their teachers in reality only about 47% feel this is the case. It would be of cardinal importance for the students (94%) that their teachers should be able to maintain discipline but barely 60% can actually say this about their teachers. The biggest difference appears in respect of the criterion which is most important for the students: enjoyable, interesting and captivating teaching. The difference between demand and reality is 44 percentage points.

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5 Findings of an interview-based survey conducted in the context of an SROP 3.1.1 priority project. Approximately seventy students were interviewed individually and in focus groups.

However, it would be hasty to conclude that our teachers today are not equipped with adequate methodological tools or presentation skills to captivate their students even if the students feel this way. Although some researchers have found that a large number of Hungarian teachers still prefer frontal teaching forms, this may be due to several factors which should be explored in greater depths in the context of targeted research. There seems to be an increasingly wide gap between the syllabus to be mastered and the tools necessary or available for teaching it, and students' everyday interests and the media world serving it with extremely intensive sensory enrichment and visual inputs of small packages of information – a world with which the teacher can hardly compete to win. Yet it makes sense to break up the question into its components: what is the main thing that makes a class interesting for students? Is it a question of methodological tools and education technology? Is it the material or the subject itself? How big is the role of the above mentioned cultural gap and of the teacher's personality? To find answers to these questions in order to better support teachers and provide them with more efficient tools could be the subject of further research.

DIFFERENCES BY GRADE

Essentially there is no difference between students' order of priority of a good teacher's attributes, the preferences of 9th and 11th graders virtually coincide with 11th graders having higher values in most criteria (Figure 4).

Figure 4: How important is it that a teacher… rather important and very important replies combined (grades 9 and 11; %)
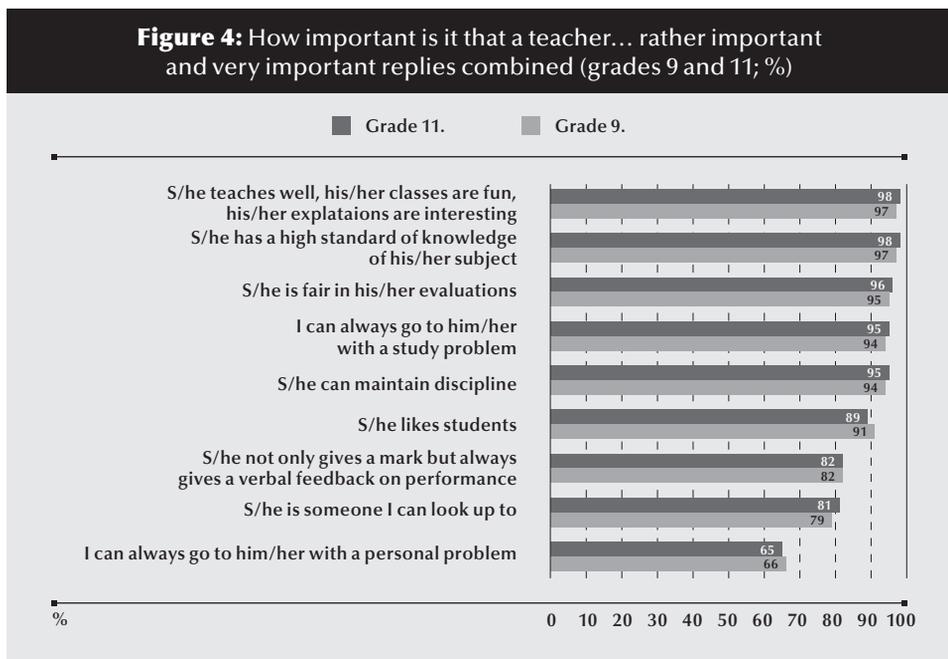
Source: compiled by the author

Conversely, plotting the discrepancy between preference and perception high-lights marked differences between the two grades. The findings suggest that 11th grad-ers are a lot more critical of their teachers and perceive a much greater distance be-tween the traits they consider ideal and the reality they experience (Figures 4 and 5).

Figure 5: The majority or most teachers are like that (grades 9 and 11; %)
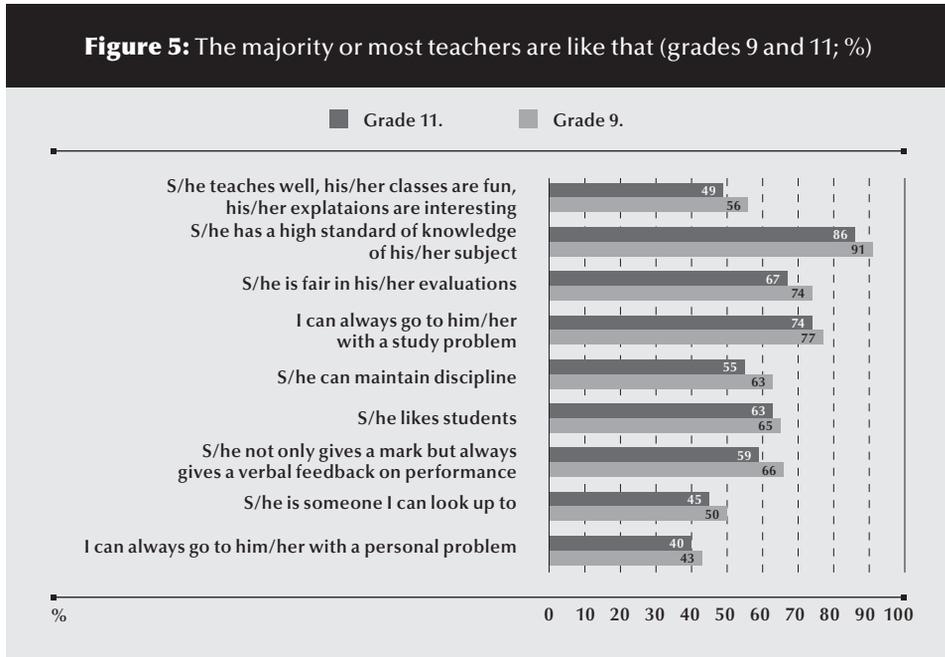
Source: compiled by the author

This can have several reasons. Students in grade 9 are more loyal to their teachers; they do not consider the teachers' minor deficiencies and fallacies so serious and are more indulgent. Typical of adolescents, grade 11 students are a lot more critical; they have known their teachers longer and have a clearer idea of "what they are like." Their opinion has been shaped over a longer period of working together. Another point of explanation worth considering is that while the priority of importance of grade 11 students is no different from grade 9 their demand in respect of meeting the particu-lar attributes increase with age. So if a teacher "performs at the same level" from grade 9 he or she will come up to the students' growing expectations less and less.

Examining the attributes where the differences are biggest (Figure 5) it is conspic-uous that adolescents' critical attitude is mostly directed at maintaining discipline and enjoyable classes. These are the areas that call for the application of the most complex and consistent pedagogical strategies and their assessment is rather subjective. As re-gards the difference about discipline, there may be school generation related features in the background: to discipline adolescents who have adapted to school life and are more critical of environment, in particular of hierarchic systems and are generally more rebellious in their attitude requires more effort and different tools from teachers. The attitude to fair evaluation and looking up to the teacher also changes quite a lot.

On the one hand, students in grade 11 have higher demands; on the other hand, their intention to continue their studies after secondary school and the concurrent drive to acquire as high a score as possible for admission make them want more effective teaching and work conditions.

Figure 6: Differences between demands and perceived reality...
(grades 9 and 11, percentage points)
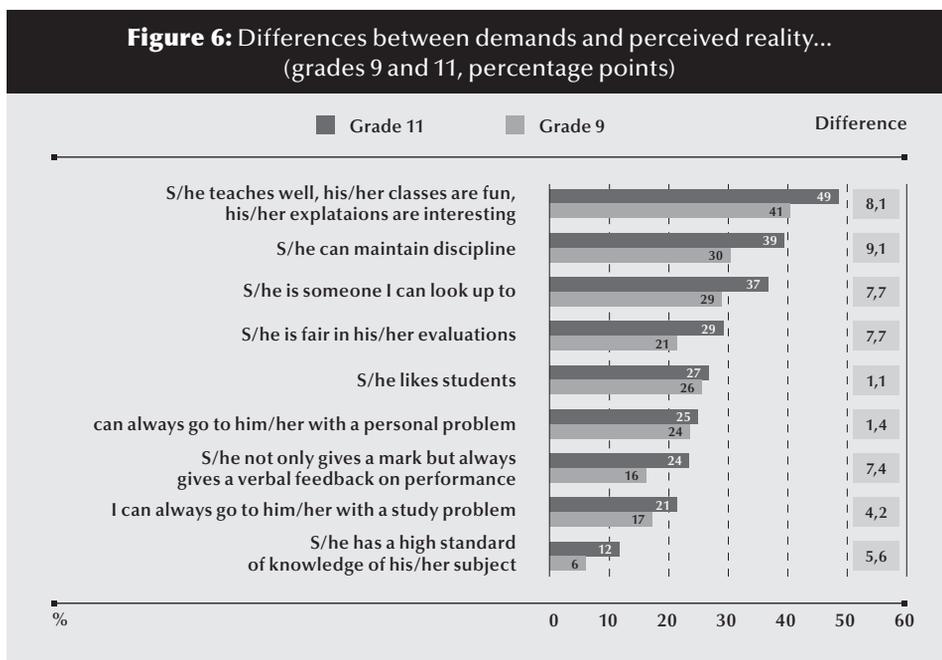
Source: compiled by the author

The attribute changing least over the years is further down the list of preference of students, i.e. readiness to help with personal problems is not a teaching but rather a pedagogical competency. The criterion of teachers liking students also barely changes in the rating.

DIFFERENCES BY SCHOOL TYPE

Pointing out the differences in the preference scale of students involved in different types of programmes, could be helpful in exploring the diversity of challenges teachers face in different school types (Figure 7).

Figure 7: How important is it that a teacher… rather important and very important replies combined (by school type, %)

	Grammar school	VS school	VT school

S/he teaches well, his/her classes are fun, his/her explataions are interesting — 99, 88, 93

S/he has a high standard of knowledge of his/her subject — 98, 98, 94

S/he is fair in his/her evaluations — 98, 97, 91

I can always go to him/her with a study problem — 97, 96, 90

S/he can maintain discipline — 97, 94, 89

S/he likes students — 92, 91, 86

S/he not only gives a mark but always gives a verbal feedback on performance — 82, 81, 84

S/he is someone I can look up to — 82, 79, 78

I can always go to him/her with a personal problem — 61, 66, 75

There is very little difference in the preferences of students of the three school types, i.e. general secondary school (grammar school), vocational secondary school (VS school) and vocational training school (VT school). Vocational training school students seem to find most traits somewhat less important, which indicates that they are perhaps less conscious in the learning process and their demands are somewhat lower. But there is a dimension where the expectations of vocational training school differ significantly and in a positive way from that of vocational secondary school and grammar school students: to be able to turn to their teachers with a persona problem. This phenomenon coincides with the findings of other research addressing vocational training school students. There are far more students in vocational training schools who are disadvantaged or live in single-parent households or in an unsuitable family environment; consequently, they need to rely more on their teachers in solving their personal problems too.

Looking at the way students in the three school types see their teachers, the trends of grammar school and vocational secondary school students are similar with the values of grammar school students being somewhat higher. Slightly more vocational training school students think their teachers give good classes and their teaching is

Figure 8: The majority or most teachers are like that
(by type of school; %)

Grammar school   VS school   VT school

	Grammar school	VS school	VT school
S/he has a high standard of knowledge of his/her subject	91	88	84
I can always go to him/her with a study problem	80	73	71
S/he is fair in his/her evaluations	74	69	68
S/he likes students	68	60	63
S/he not only gives a mark but always gives a verbal feedback on performance	62	62	65
S/he can maintain discipline	64	56	58
S/he teaches well, his/her classes are fun, his/her explataions are interesting	51	49	61
S/he is someone I can look up to	48	43	53
I can always go to him/her with a personal problem	38	39	52

Source: compiled by the author

fun, and, as noted above, due to their needs they can turn to their teachers with personal problems, and the rate of those who think they can look up to their teachers is also higher (Figure 8).

Examining the differences between demands and perceived reality (Figure 9) it is conspicuous that vocational secondary school students are the most disappointed in their expectations and the values of grammar school and vocational training school students were similar. This means that grammar school students' higher demands were met by higher performance by teachers, and the somewhat lower expectation of VT students were likewise met, while there is a greater discrepancy between demands and perception of VS students. The reasons can hardly be explored in depth on the basis of this questionnaire survey; it would require targeted qualitative research tools.

Figure 9: Differences between demands and perceived reality...
(by school type, percentage points)

Grammar school   VS school   VT school

S/he teaches well, his/her classes are fun, his/her explataions are interesting: 47, 49, 32

S/he can maintain discipline: 33, 39, 32

S/he is someone I can look up to: 34, 36, 24

S/he likes students: 23, 30, 24

S/he is fair in his/her evaluations: 23, 28, 23

I can always go to him/her with a personal problem: 23, 27, 22

I can always go to him/her with a study problem: 17, 22, 19

S/he not only gives a mark but always gives a verbal feedback on performance: 20, 20, 19

S/he has a high standard of knowledge of his/her subject: 7, 9, 10

%   0   10   20   30   40   50

Source: compiled by the author

When investigating students' demands on good teachers we should not lose sight of the fact that ideas, expectations but even perceptions emerge within an institution where the community and communication of students and teachers can have a strong influence of concepts as well as perceptions. A detailed analysis of this consideration goes beyond the limitations of this study. However, the institution related analyses in this study seem to indicate that the difference between institutions is smallest in terms of students' demands. The difference is considerably more marked with respect to the reality perceived by the students and also regarding the discrepancy between demands and reality. This points to the significance of institutional impacts.

PUBLIC OPINION

According to the old saying, *"everybody knows all about education"* or even if they don't, they at least have an opinion; and as almost everybody went to school they have memories and experiences about school. In the opinion survey described in the introduction the researchers asked the respondents to rate on a five-grade scale the impor-

tance of the attributes of teachers and some areas of teachers' work from the point of view of *"what makes a teacher a good teacher."* In this analysis grades 4 and 5 of the scale have been combined. The percentages represent the proportion of responses within the group of respondents who gave a valid answer to the particular question:

Figure 10: What do you think is needed for a teacher to be a good teacher? Should he/she… ? Important and very important mentions combined (%)

	%
have a high standard of professional knowledge?	93,0
like children?	92,7
like his/her work?	92,6
be able to manage conflicts?	92,5
be able to maintain discipline?	92,1
have a broad education?	91,4
make an effort to continuously develop professionally?	90,3
have no prejudices?	89,4
receive social recognition of his/her work?	88,9
teach in a staff where the atmosphere is good?	85,1
be interested in the life, habits and culture of youths?	83,9
be aware of individual and social problems?	83,2
have a sense of humour?	78,0
take an interest in the students' circumstances at home?	75,3
live in appropriate financial conditions?	74,2
be presentable?	66,1
have children of his/her own?	58,8

Source: compiled by the author

Similarly to the student respondents, "the man in the street" also considers professional knowledge the most important. It is interesting to note that this is followed by four criteria that are ranked less than one percent behind professional knowledge. According to public opinion teachers perform well if they like their job and like

children.[6] Conflict management scored rather high, approximately 93% similarly to maintaining discipline. These pedagogical competences are similar, and both are related to installing and maintaining some dimension of order. For democratically minded teachers the two are particularly close to each other as they achieve discipline through fairness, promotion the convergence of positions and appropriate handling of teacher-student conflicts.

In public thinking, these competencies are followed by broad education, continuous self-development and freedom from prejudices. These attributes also appear among the demands in the qualification system (HEA).

Other responses to be highlighted include an interest in students' culture and life, and in their home circumstances. These attributes feature in the third and fourth quarter of the scale respectively. A sense of humour is considered important by nearly 80% of the respondents. This attribute was not listed in the student questionnaire but in the open questions it was frequently mentioned. Moreover, in the student interviews described earlier it also appeared as a highly important factor in everyday teacher-student communication.

In the general public survey the least mentioned demands related to teachers' family status and living standard. Just over half of the respondents consider it important that teachers should have children of their own. It is to be highlighted that the relationship between good performance and teachers' adequate financial conditions in one of the last items on the preference scale of the public. Teachers' opinion is very likely to be radically different on this point.

Fourteen of the above criteria correspond to the questions of a representative survey conducted in 1999. Comparing the findings, there is no significant change in the public's expectations of teachers in terms of the order of priority and the relative weight of the criteria.

In summary, translating the preference scale emerging from the public opinion survey to competencies, professional knowledge, as well as the competencies needed for planning the learning process and developing student groups are dominant, and the past 15 years have brought no material change in these demands.

THE OPINION OF TEACHERS

Before analysing the preferences of Hungarian teachers a brief international outlook is in place, to invoke the findings of the 2008 TALIS teacher research organised by the OECD[7]. Conducted in 23 countries, the questionnaire survey focused on the assessment of teachers' work, their professional development, continuing training, attitudes to school and teaching, and the specific features of school management.[8] The

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6 This consideration was one of the least important criteria on the secondary school students' scale of preference.
7 As Hungary did not participate in the 2013 TALIS study unfortunately we have to rely on the 2008, rather old, findings.
8 The findings of the 2008 TALIS study were summarised in a publication of the Hungarian Institute for Educational Research and Development titled *Teachers as the key stakeholders of education. Summary report of the first findings of the OECD's TALIS research.*

Criterion	%
Good relationship with the students	85
Professional knowledge	80
Conducting classes	80
Discipline and attitude of students	78
Methodological knowledge	78
How good the cooperation is with the principal and colleagues	78
Direct evaluation of classes	74
Feedback from students	73
Use of innovative teaching methods and technologies	71
Feedback from parents	69
Students' other achievements related to studies	68
Students performance measured by tests	65
Participation in countinuing professional training	65
Extracurricular activities with students	62
Education of SEN students	57
Fail/pass rates of students	56
Teaching in a multicultural environment	45
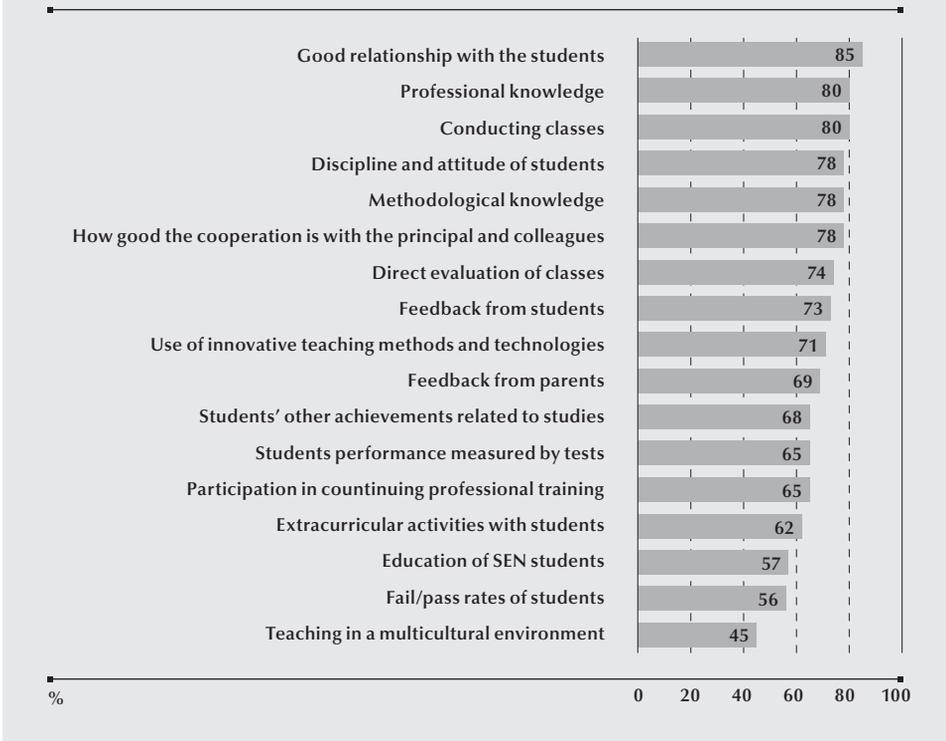
Source: Teachers as the key stakeholders of education. Summary report of the first findings of the OECD's TALIS research. HIEDR 2009

researchers asked teachers how important they rated certain aspects of their work. The opinion of the Hungarian teachers involved in the research did not differ from the international average (Hermann et al. 2009).

The figure shows that the teachers see the assessment of their relationship with students to be paramount. Several dimensions may lie in the background related primarily to pedagogical competencies. True enough, a teacher-student cooperation that is successful from an educational aspect is inconceivable without good relationship. The next two dimensions were also priority for the student respondents: a high standard of professional knowledge and class conducting. These two competencies are at the core of the teaching process; they can be mastered and are backed by professional and methodological knowledge. The next criterion is discipline, also considered important by the students and the general public. Methodological knowledge and communication and cooperation with the colleagues and the school heads were also mentioned in this category of importance. These two dimensions deserve attention. Knowledge of subject-related methodology is a stockpile of educational methods and technologies known and applied by the teacher. However, it is not enough to be

familiar with a variety of methods; their applicability depends to a large extent on the students' attitude, willingness to cooperate, openness and learning culture. It transpires from the interview-based research mentioned above that in some cases students have to be taught specifically to embrace the various methods. In an environment where students are not motivated to learning and knowing more and there is a constant need to maintain discipline group work to master the study material will hardly be effective but can still contribute to the development of other social competencies. The interviews indicated that some students or entire forms prefer frontal teaching because, as they put it, that is when they feel they have learnt something in class.

Cooperation skills within the school staff also appeas in the qualification system and their importance is self-evident. Nevertheless some points should be made specifically. First, close cooperation of teachers is the basis for problem management within the organisation and also with students. Secondly, as will be seen in more detail in the context of the large-sample teacher survey, teachers' problem solving strategies and channels point to cooperation with, asking for assistance and advice from each other.

In the international survey approximately three-quarters of the teachers find student and parent feedback important. The Hungarian study also underscored the importance of these two stakeholder groups: when asking to whom teachers felt they owed the greatest responsibility 98% indicated the students and 91% also included the parents.

Internationally, teachers seem to think the evaluation of their work is least affected by whether or not they teach in a multicultural environment, fail/pass rate and the teaching of students with special educational needs (SEN).

The 2008 and 2013 TALIS research differed in terms of participating countries as well as questions; however, we have made an effort to compare the two sets of relevant findings inasmuch as possible. It appears that there was no significant change in priorities or in the relative weight of the dimensions. In the five years between the studies there was no change in the preference scale of teachers regarding their own work.

CHALLENGES AND PREFERENCES OF HUNGARIAN TEACHERS

In the large-sample survey of teachers introduced briefly in this paper the researchers did not investigate the preference scale of teacher competencies; instead they wanted to explore to what extent teachers today are faced with problems and difficulties in certain areas. The questionnaire was designed to cover or touch the competency areas described in the introduction.

For the sake of completeness the figure below contains all of the areas in the questionnaire (these too are not without interest) but the analysis is focused on the dimensions discussed in connection with the other surveys.

In the self-administered questionnaire the teachers were first asked if it occurred in the course of their work that they encounter problems in specified areas; then they had to grade the problem. The answers show that class planning, the level of their own professional knowledge, cooperation within the teaching staff, and evaluation of students pose the least problem for teachers. Differentiated, individualised education presents a higher level of problem and its components have a greater spread.

In this context working with gifted students is the least problem; conversely, teaching students with diverse social backgrounds and in particular, the integrated teaching of SEN students is a greater challenge. The two components of discipline, a criterion considered crucial by students, class conducting and managing students is a more substantial challenge for only 10% of teachers, on the other hand, situations where aggression and conflict management is needed constitute a problem for approximately a third (31%) of teachers.

The biggest problem for teachers is to meet the criteria of the newly introduced teacher career path model. Because of the novelty of the model it would be hasty to draw any conclusions. It is interesting to note that more than a quarter (28%) of teachers see the lack of foreign language knowledge as an impediment to professional

Figure 12: How big a problem is for you….(%)
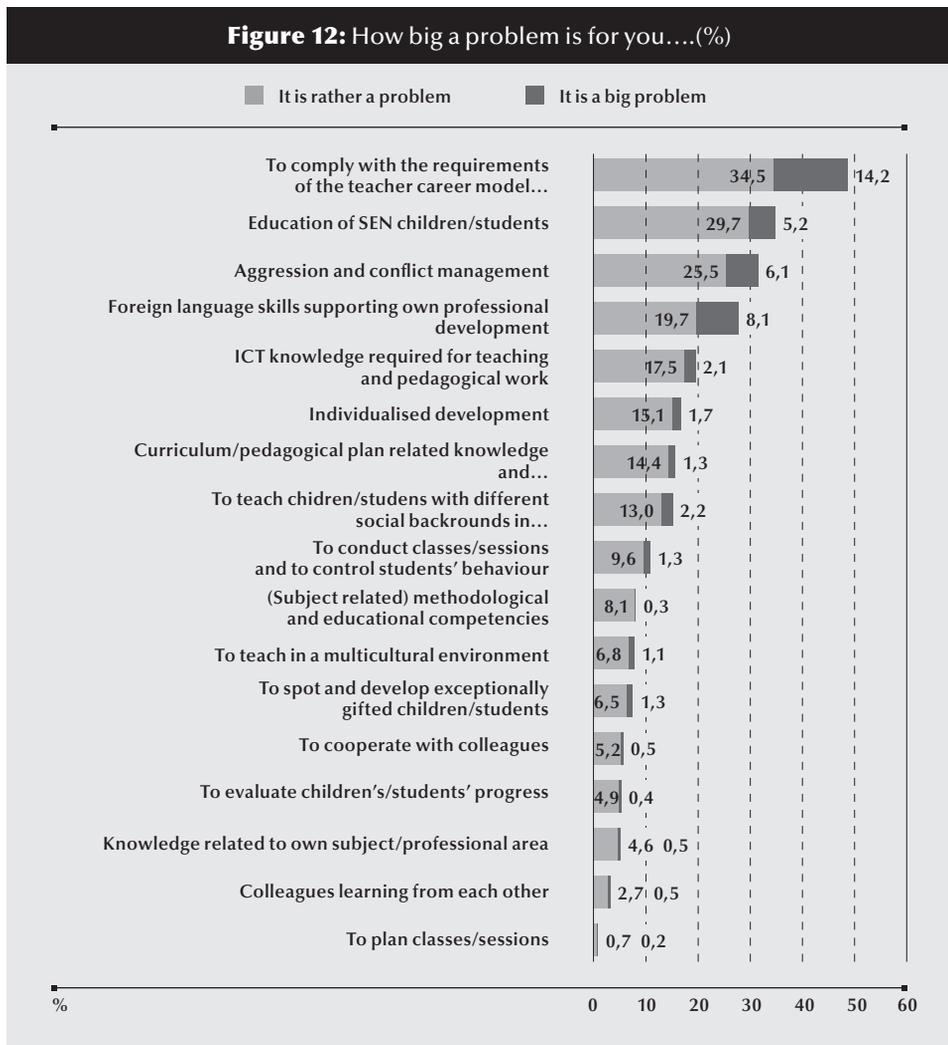
Source: compiled by the author

development, and one-fifth of the respondents consider the lack of ICT competencies, marked by the OECS as special priorities, a serious problem.

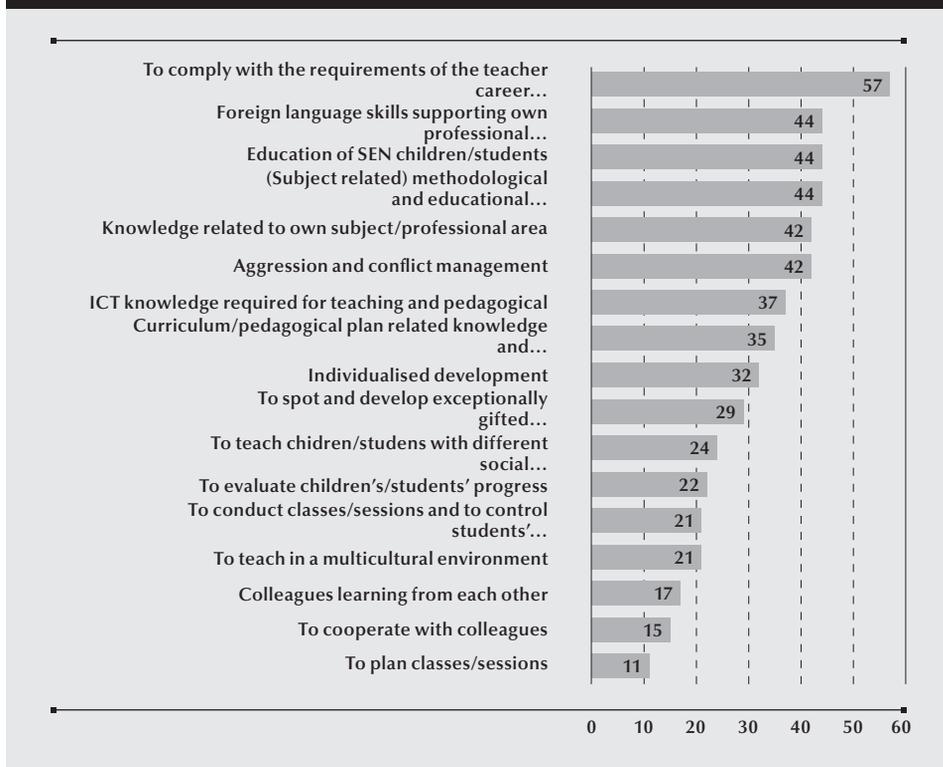Reflectivity directed to situations related to students and to the teacher's own work is another competency required of teachers (Szabó 1999; Szivák 2010; Loughran 2010; Hunya 2014). A possibility of assessing reflectivity is connected to the question discussed above: do teachers realise their shortcomings on a competency necessary for the teaching profession? The analysis of our data base reveals that only 9% of the teachers did not indicate any problem area. Focusing on the questions pertaining to teachers' professional development and continuing training needs makes it possible to further explore reflectivity. Only 1% of the respondent teachers said they would need no further training in any of the listed areas for their professional development. Probing deeper into the question it transpires that 88% of the teachers said they would rather need or badly need further training in at least one of the areas listed. These results suggest that Hungarian teachers level of reflectivity is high and they are keen to develop professionally.

Let us return briefly to the list of areas and analyse in more detail how the problem areas identified relate to specific training needs.

Figure 13: The respondent would somewhat need or badly need further training in this area (%)

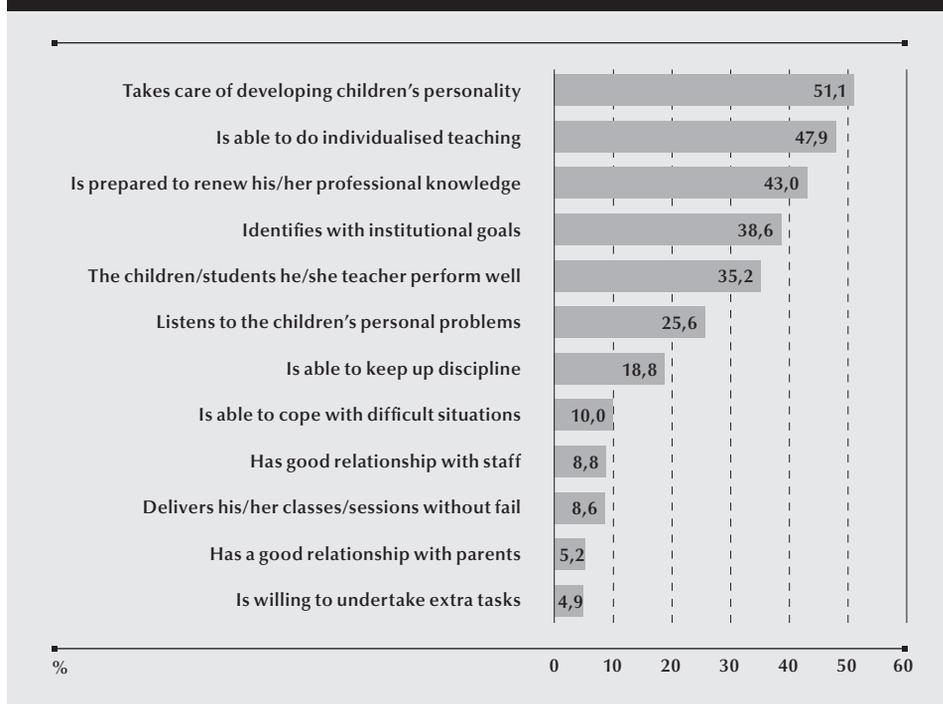| Area	%
To comply with the requirements of the teacher career…	57
Foreign language skills supporting own professional…	44
Education of SEN children/students	44
(Subject related) methodological and educational…	44
Knowledge related to own subject/professional area	42
Aggression and conflict management	42
ICT knowledge required for teaching and pedagogical	37
Curriculum/pedagogical plan related knowledge and…	35
Individualised development	32
To spot and develop exceptionally gifted…	29
To teach chidren/studens with different social…	24
To evaluate children's/students' progress	22
To conduct classes/sessions and to control students'…	21
To teach in a multicultural environment	21
Colleagues learning from each other	17
To cooperate with colleagues	15
To plan classes/sessions	11

Source: compiled by the author

Not surprisingly, the order of continuing training needs largely reflects the order of gravity of problem areas. However, there are some differences that should be noted. One is training to enhance professional knowledge, which is 5th on the training needs list whereas teachers indicated it as one of the least problematic areas. His indicates that high professional standards are on top of the preference list of not only students and the public but also of teachers. The distance between methodology and educational competencies is somewhat less but still quite big. It is ranked about halfway down the list of problems but definitely among the less problematic areas, but on the training scale it is ranked fourth. This clearly shows the teachers' effort to lead better and more enjoyable classes with their students – and this is the very area where students see their teachers failing. Foreign language skills, educating SEN children and aggression and conflict management are ranked quite high in both the problems and the training needs list. Lack of foreign language skills would be relatively easy to remedy by language courses organised specifically for teachers, and this deficiency probably has less impact on the daily teaching activity than the other two issues.

DEMANDS OF HEADS OF INSTITUTIONS

So far the demands of students and public opinion on teachers were analysed, and the competencies of teachers put forth by international and Hungarian recommendations and requirements were reviewed. Based on the findings of an international teacher research teachers' own order of importance in the evaluation of their work was explored; and the findings of a Hungarian study were presented to highlight the competency areas that are the biggest challenge for Hungarian teachers. In conjunction with the latter survey heads of institutions were also invited to answer our questionnaire. They were asked to select three criteria from the list provided by the researchers that are the most pertinent to their satisfaction with the teachers in their institutions. Some of the questions cover or touch the various competencies but the list also included other criteria.

It appears from the results that the highest priority for school heads is that teachers should pay attention to the development of children's/students' personality, so they consider the teacher's role as an educator or pedagogue to be most important. This is followed by differentiated teaching, a concept explored earlier, which is naturally closely linked to the top priority as in individualised education it is not only the differing cognitive skills of students that matter but also their personality traits. The third most important criterion is the ability of professional renewal also formulated by the OECD. Not only does it comprise ongoing development in the teacher's special area and its specific methodology and in general methodology, but also meeting new challenges, mastery of new knowledge contents, skills and competencies. The fourth most important point for heads of institutions is somewhat getting away from education: identification with the goals of the school, an indispensable factor for the smooth operation of the school's organisation and culture. This is followed by two educational criteria: student performance – after all, this is an indicator of the teacher's efficiency, and another criterion closely related to pedagogical competencies: paying attention to students' personal problems. This has a bearing on progress at school and

Figure 14: When are you satisfied with a teacher? When he/she… (%)

Takes care of developing children's personality	51,1
Is able to do individualised teaching	47,9
Is prepared to renew his/her professional knowledge	43,0
Identifies with institutional goals	38,6
The children/students he/she teacher perform well	35,2
Listens to the children's personal problems	25,6
Is able to keep up discipline	18,8
Is able to cope with difficult situations	10,0
Has good relationship with staff	8,8
Delivers his/her classes/sessions without fail	8,6
Has a good relationship with parents	5,2
Is willing to undertake extra tasks	4,9

%   0   10   20   30   40   50   60

Source: compiled by the author

has to date been a priority issue in the school system. Less than 20% of school heads chose maintenance of discipline in the top three priorities. When interpreting this rate which is considerably lower than the ratings of the students and the general public the difference in the survey technique should be kept in mind: while students and the general public indicated the importance of the particular competencies and areas on a scale, the heads had to choose the three most important ones.

The tail end of school heads' preference scale includes criteria such as teacher-parent and staff relations, as well as accuracy and coping with difficult situations.

It was possible to compare the answers of institutional heads to the findings of previous research.[9] The past ten years have brought no significant change in school heads' scale of satisfaction criteria concerning their teachers.

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9 A representative survey conducted in 2005 with the participation of approximately a thousand primary and secondary school heads.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Demands regarding the role and competencies of teachers are imprints of society's intentions and ideas about the goals of education. These demands also appear in the education policy analyses and recommendations of international organisations (OECD) and are also conspicuous in the evaluation criteria of the teacher qualification system recently introduced in Hungary (HEA).

Secondary school students seem to give preference to teaching performance. In their opinion the best teachers are the ones who give good and fun classes, have a vast professional knowledge, are fair in their evaluations, and are helpful with study related problems. Pedagogical dimensions come only on their scale of importance next. One of the most important of these is the ability to maintain discipline – a criterion also related to education, to undisrupted teaching. Being able to approach teachers with personal problems is the least important for students. It is to be noted, however, that there are certain differences between the students in different types of programme: for instance vocational training school students consider their teachers' human and pedagogical attributes more important than grammar school students. This is probably due to the fact that there are higher numbers of students in vocational training schools with unfavourable social and family backgrounds and need their teachers to make up for these deficiencies. The biggest discrepancy between students' preference scale of attributes of a good teacher and their perception of their teachers is regarding enjoyable, good classes and the teacher as a role model. As regards the former, as has been mentioned, notwithstanding teachers' possible shortcomings it would be worthwhile to analyse in greater depths the mediatised and technicised world of the 21st century in which students live and its connections to the school, the learning culture, the teaching/learning material, and the system of requirements. As to the teacher as a role model, this sheds light on the current social status of the teaching career rather than on the fallacies of teachers.

Besides high standards of professional knowledge public opinion also expects teachers to like students and their job, and maintaining discipline is also an important consideration. The ability to maintain discipline requires that the teacher should be able to earn respect and control students. Knowing adolescents' critical stand and their tendency to reject hierarchy, teachers who are able to maintain discipline by earning their students' respect through their professional expertise and pedagogical competence will also be able to develop a cooperative teacher-student relationship. This, of course, is a more complex issue and was not the object of this research. When interpreting the data of the opinion survey it is worth remembering that there were no significant differences in rating the importance of the areas of teachers' competencies.

Teachers' opinions were examined from two approaches. One used the relevant findings of the 2008 international TALIS study, and the other was the set of data from a 2014 nationwide representative large-sample survey. In the international study teachers ranked the importance of the possible criteria of assessment and evaluation of their work. The result reveals that teachers consider a good teacher-student relationship to be the most important criterion for successful educational work, followed by a high standard of professional knowledge and class conduction. Discipline is im-

portant for teachers too, but they find cooperation and knowledge of subject related methodology equally important.

In the Hungarian research teachers were invited to specify the areas where they most frequently encounter problems in the course of their work, and those areas where they felt they would need professional development supported by continuing training. One of the biggest challenges for teachers is a topical issue of the transformation of the Hungarian education system, the teacher career path model and the teacher qualification system. Besides these, teaching SEN children and aggression and conflict management, as well as ITC and foreign language skills are the main problem areas. The least problems arise in the fields of professional knowledge, cooperation with colleagues, and evaluation. On the professional development and training side, in some cases the needs somewhat differ from the above, which probably reflects the importance of the particular areas. Our findings confirm that teachers consider professional knowledge a priority and make continuous efforts to expand their methodological and pedagogical knowledge and skills.

Last but not least an overview was provided of what makes school heads satisfied with their teachers, i.e. of the criteria school heads consider most important in teachers' work. Institutional heads priority is the development of students' personality, i.e. pedagogical tasks, and their preference scale is somewhat different from the scales of the other respondent groups. They also rate differentiated instruction, continuing professional development, loyalty to the institution and students' performance as important.

Reviewing these statements it can be concluded that the preferences and demands of the educational stakeholders involved in the study show similar trends but there are also differences between the demands and ideas of the various groups. Student respondents primarily seek highly qualified teachers who are fair in their evaluations, with some variations according to social groups. The general public and teachers themselves lay a greater emphasis on pedagogical aspects, and heads of educational institutions also attribute great importance to student performance and teachers' institutional and organisational loyalty.

Further and deeper analysis of these differences could contribute to enhancing the effectiveness and efficiency of education, and to developing the pedagogical and communication tools and strategies which deepen the understanding and cooperation among various stakeholder groups.

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MATILD SÁGI: TEACHING CAREER PATTERNS

INTRODUCTION

It is a commonly known fact that from among the factors educational administration can influence it is the quality of teachers' work that has the greatest impact in the effectiveness and efficiency of education. Thus in developed educational systems quality enhancement educational policy interventions are mainly aimed at developing the teaching profession (OECD 2005, 2010; Barber–Mourshed 2007; Mourshed–Chijioke–Barber 2010; EC 2009, 2012; Darling–Hammond 1999, 2005; Rockoff, J. E. 2004; Széll–Sági 2014).

According to the OECD's background analysis (*OECD 2011*) prepared for the first International Summit on the Teaching Profession[1] reforms in four areas of the profession result in the reinforcement of the entire system of education:

1. Recruitment and initial preparation of teachers and the quality of initial teacher education;
2. Teacher development and support;
3. Teacher evaluation and compensation; feedback; connection of career path with quality assessment; and
4. Teacher engagement in education reform.

Aware of this, an increasing number of countries develop a quality assurance and assessment model that envisions enhancing the quality of education through supporting the individual professional development of teachers. The quality assurance systems developed are not static; in most countries there is an ongoing measurement of the impact the quality assurance system on student (and teacher) performance, and the system is improved in the light of the results (Falus 2011).

The recent development related transformations in Hungarian public education are also part and parcel of this process. The introduction of the teaching career path model (also known as teachers' career model) was aimed at strengthening the teaching profession, making its renewal more efficient, and providing a predictable and sufficiently motivating career path. Prior to the introduction of the model, from the discontinuation of the school inspection system in 1985, assessing the quality of teachers' work was the duty of the school head. There was no external control, and the assessment of teaching work was highly diverse. The load on teachers in Hungary vastly differed from school to school and also within the school; yet pecuniary and non-pecuniary means for recognising work of superior quality were scarce. Unlike many

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1 Staged in New York on 16-17 May 2011, the International Summit on the Teaching Profession was attended by the ministers and secretaries of education, education leaders and representatives of the education trade unions of the most developed and the fastest developing countries, as well as researchers and professionals of international organisations. The purpose of the Summit was to review how best to efficiently improve the quality of teachers' work, teaching and in general, of education. The Summit was hosted by the United States Department of Education together with the Organisation for Economic Cooperation OECD), the largest international umbrella organisation for education trade unions Education International (EI), in close collaboration with major American and Asian organisations such as National Education Association (NEA) and American Federation of Teachers (AFT), Council of Chief State School Officers (CCSSO), and Asia Society.

developed societies, there is no shortage of teachers in Hungary in absolute terms but there has been a significant negative self-selection when choosing a career, and it has been increasingly difficult to attract the best suited and most highly motivated youths to train for teachers, and equally difficult to retain the best teachers in their teaching career. While until the late 1990s the teaching career was the most stable position on the labour market in Hungary with no danger of layoff, after that, teachers started to feel less secure. Career starters were in a particularly vulnerable position as many of them were employed with short-term contracts. Once in an educational institution, career starters were often faced with their colleagues seeing no career opportunities, therefore they too felt that their professional and human development came to a standstill. Career starters' burnout became a frequent experience (Nagy 1998; Varga 2007, 2008, 2012; Sági–Varga 2011; Lannert–Sinka 2009; Pedagógus 2010 2010; Jancsák 2011; Ercsei 2011; Sági–Ercsei 2014).

Introduced on the 1st of September 2113, the goal of the teacher career path system was to make the teaching profession attractive, to keep the best teachers in the job, to reward high-quality work in financial and non-financial terms, to motivate teachers, to develop predictability and a uniform nationwide system of evaluating teaching work, to promote the prestige of teaching, and ultimately to improve the quality of the public education system by strengthening the teaching profession (Act CXC of 2011; Government Decree No. 326/2013 (30 August); HEA 2013).

The career path model has the following stages:

1. **Trainee**
   Induction program is mandatory for every beginner and is supported by a mentor. It is concluded by compulsory assessment. Traineeships is for a two-year period and can be extended by a maximum of two more years. The trainee who passes the examination will be appointed teacher and takes a step upwards on the career ladder to the stage of teacher I.

2. **Teacher I**
   After a successful assessment the resident enters to the Teacher I grade. Teachers holding a Teacher I position can be form teachers and examiners. A Teacher I will pass the next assessment after the sixth year but no later than during year 9 in this position, after which the teacher proceeds to Teacher II grade.

3. **Teacher II**
   The precondition for reaching this grade is at least eight years of professional experience and a successful assessment to pass from Teacher I. The precondition for staying a teacher is to acquire the Teacher II grade, However, it is not mandatory to proceed, a teacher can stay Teacher II until the end of their career.

4. **Master teacher**
   It is not mandatory to proceed to the grade of master teacher but there are jobs (e.g. expert, consultant, lead teacher, mentor or head of institution) where the master teacher grade is mandated by law. The minimum professional experience required is 14 years, and the additional requirements are a successful specialist teacher examination and second assessment.

5. **Teacher-researcher**
   A teacher who acquires a scientific degree and publishes on a regular basis can secure the teacher-researcher grade. It also requires at least 14 years of profes-

sional experience and acquisition of the second assessment. In the procedure documents evidencing research work and the utilisation of findings are particularly important.

Residents are assessed by a panel of three assessors. The chair is a public education expert master teacher delegated by the Government Office who works in the field of professional supervision (school inspection) or teacher qualification, and participated in the special training required by law. One of the members is a faculty of a teacher training higher education institution, and the other is the head of the public education institution employing the resident.

The assessment to advance from Teacher I to a higher grade (and also the optional second assessment procedure) also takes place before a panel of three. The chair and one member are public education experts delegated by the Government Office who work in the field of professional supervision (school inspection) or teacher qualification, and participated in the special training required by law. The other member is the head of the public education institution employing the teacher. The chair must be at least a master teacher and the members must hold a grade higher than the teacher to be assessed.

In the teacher assessment process self-evaluation, evaluation by external, objective indicators, and assessment by the institutional heads are equally important. Continuing education and training, and performance appear in it simultaneously. Given the topic of this study, it is particularly important that purposeful further education and training are the precondition for reaching the higher echelons of professional career.

The recent transformation processes of Hungarian public education meant challenges and at the same time career advancement opportunities for teachers. The new advancement system (the teaching career model) that entered into effect on 1st September 2013 and the quality assessment system linked to it, together with the professional support system could have a significant impact on teachers' medium and long term career strategies. This analysis attempts to present an overview of teachers' reactions to the change and of the individual career paths to which they have taken the first steps.

DATA AND METHODS

This analysis relied on the data of the overarching teacher panel study conducted in the context of Phase 2 of the SROP 21st Century School Education (Development and Coordination) programme's priority project 3.1.1-11/1–2012-0001. At the beginning of the study in October 2013 (virtually at the moment the teaching career model was introduced and the initial stage of the development of the professional support system) a large-scale representative online survey of teachers and institutional heads at all levels of public education was launched. A year later the researchers approached the same teachers and school heads with a questionnaire. The data of the two surveys were linked at the level of respondents, thus the resulting data not only reveal the average reaction of the teachers to the transformation processes but also offer a glimpse into individual strategies and factual changes. Distortions resulting from differing

willingness to answer and from panel erosion were adjusted by weights. The linked (panel) weighted data base comprises the answers of 5,201 teachers given to partially identical questions at two survey points, in October 2013 and 2014.

ATTITUDES TO THE TEACHING CAREER PATH MODEL

When the teaching career path model was introduced in the autumn of 2013 there was hardly a teacher who had not heard of the new advancement system but every second respondent felt they were rather uninformed as to its details, and only 4% said they were fully informed. One year later the rate of those fully informed about the teaching career model doubled but approximately one-third of the respondents still claimed they were not familiar with the details (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Teachers' familiarity with the career path model, %
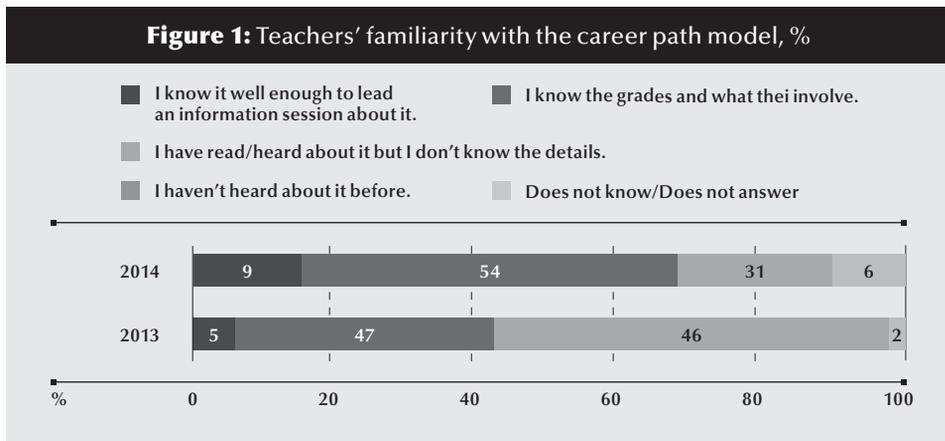
At the time of the model's introduction preschool teachers and vocational teachers familiarity with it was less than average, but the information gap was closed in a year. There are minor differences by region and type of locality: teachers in South Transdanubia and in villages claimed to be informed less than average, but they also seem to be catching up.

Although teacher training institutions prepare students for the career model this knowledge does not yet appear at the level of career starters.

Our data indicate that there is a reverse U-shaped correlation between familiarity with the career model and length of professional experience or age: the youngest and the oldest are less informed about the details of the career model than the middle-aged – something that is typical of other age relations. The model is best known by teachers who have spent 15-32 years teaching: one and a half times more of them professed to be relatively informed in detail in the autumn of both 2013 and 2014 than their youngest and oldest colleagues (Figure 2).

According to the stated intention of the decision-makers, a priority goal of the Hungarian teacher career progression system is, apart from the financial recognition, to enable teachers whose performance is of a superior quality to take up duties having

Figure 2: Teachers' familiarity with the career path model in the autumn of 2013 and 2014 by length of professional experience
Combined distribution of the answers "I know it well enough to lead an information session about it" and "I know the grades and what they involve," %
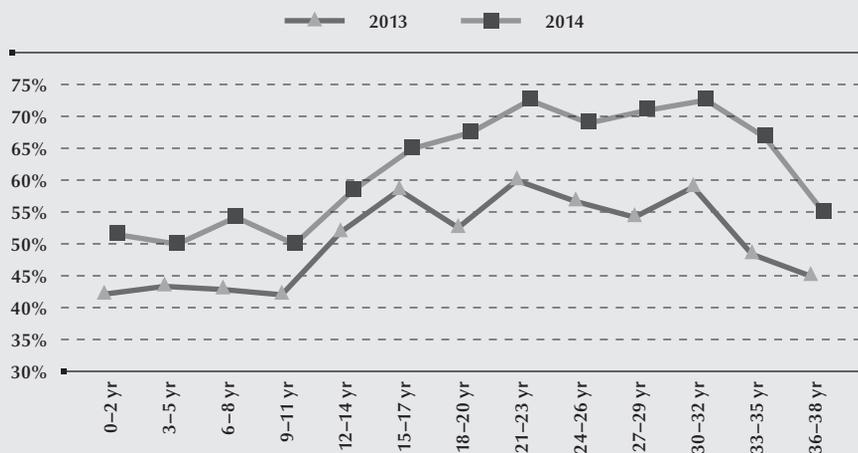
a higher prestige and/or leading to greater professional self-fulfilment. The goal is to provide developmental evaluation for all teachers which will result in rewarding quality work as well as motivating and supporting professional development, and will have a positive impact of the individual, the institutional community, and will ultimately contribute to the improvement of the overall quality of public education.

"The cardinal element of the Hungarian teacher advancement system is now the professional development of teachers and the recognition of high-quality work. In the course of assessment the quality of teachers' professional work and professional performance going beyond the basic duties are recognised by classifying teachers into different quality categories with the salary increase the higher categories involve and eligibility to carry out more prestigious professional tasks. (…)

Goals of the assessment system:

6. Motivation of teachers to improve their performance.
5. Incentive to further professional development.
4. Recognition and rewarding of quality.
3. Promotion of educational effectiveness.
2. Creation of a uniform nationwide system for the evaluation of educational work.
1. Improvement of the effectiveness of the public education system."

Source: HEA 2013: "Guide…": 12-13. The order of the list was reversed by the author.

Contrary to the stated intentions the vast majority of teachers (75%-80%) do not consider the teaching career path model primarily as a tool for advancement or professional support opportunity but as external supervision and pressure, even a year after its introduction. A possible reason is that scepticism and passive resistance to educational reforms is a general and stable attitude among teachers who want to preserve their relative autonomy (Nagy 1998). Another reason could be that teachers do not yet seem to feel a need for individual careers (or not any more).

One in two teachers agreed that the teacher assessment system was for professional evaluation and feedback, as well as professional support and an opportunity for continuing training. Fewer of them (35-45% in both years of survey) indicated that that the career model motivates them personally to higher performance; they saw it as an opportunity for advancement in the professional hierarchy, financial and non-financial recognition of high-quality work and an improvement/restoration of the social recognition (prestige) of the teaching profession. Two-thirds are of the opinion that the salary increase is also a very important element of the career model, although in their view it involves additional workload (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Teachers' attitudes to the career model
The rate of teachers who fully agree or rather agree with the attitudinal statements, %
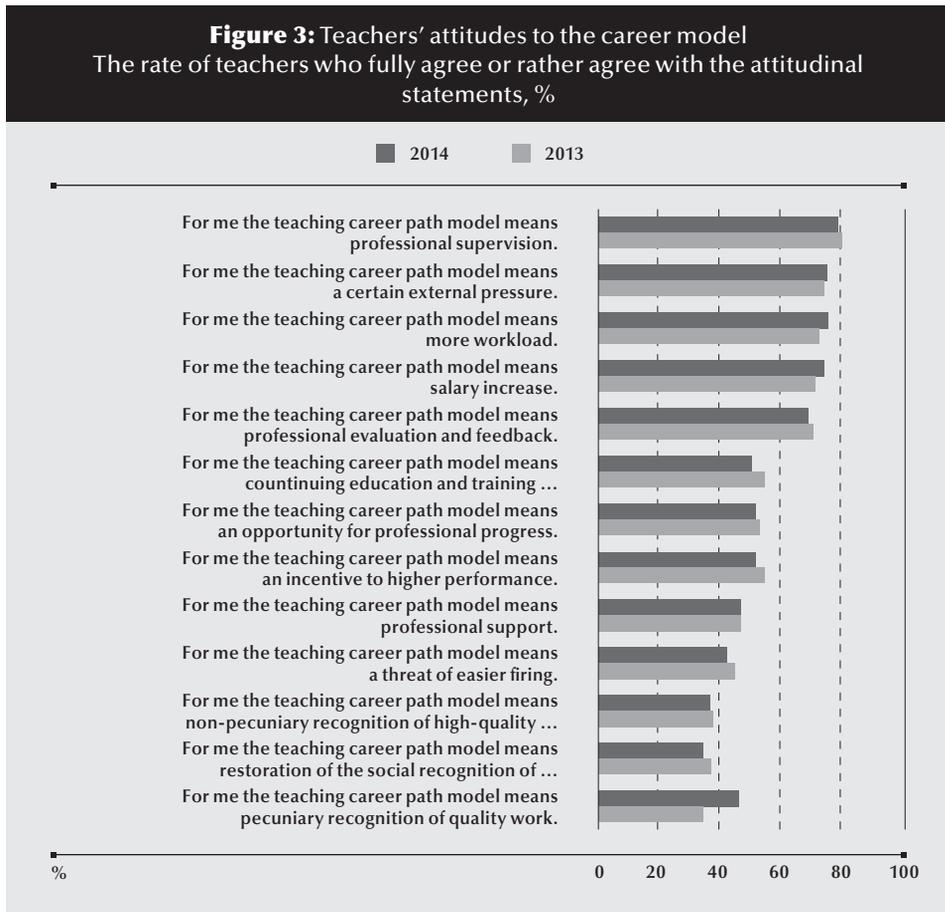
The order of agreement with the attitudes is approximately the same at the various levels of education (pre-primary, primary school lower and upper grades teachers, secondary school teachers, vocational teachers, vocational instructors, special education teachers, dormitory teachers and "others"), however, there is a significant difference in terms of the percentage of agreeing teachers. Far fewer vocational instructors agreed with all but one of the attitudes examined than teachers in other walks of educations. The exception was social prestige: more than the average rate of vocational instructors felt that the newly introduced teaching career path model enhanced the social recognition of their work, albeit even among them less than 50% are of the opinion that the introduction of the career model restores the social prestige of the teaching profession.

The level of education (or type of institution) where they work is strongly related to teachers' general attitude to the career model. The younger the children the teacher works with the higher the number of those who agree with a particular attitude. Pre-school teachers' attitudes are not quite so widely spread compared to the other groups: almost two-thirds of them (more than average) agree that the career model means professional support, evaluation and feedback; it motivates them to higher performance, and gives them an opportunity to advance, and it increases the pecuniary and non-pecuniary recognition and the social prestige of their profession. At the same time less than the average rate of them think the career model increases their workload or imposes a greater risk of being fired. Somewhat more than the average rate of primary lower-grade (ISCED 1) teachers agree with almost every attitudinal statements listed; primary upper-grade (ISCED 2) teachers represent the average, and secondary school teachers are more critical than the average. Age/duration of professional experience seem to be barely related to attitudes, nor do region and locality of work.

PREPARATION OF ADVANCEMENT: NEW TRAINING

While in the short term teachers' attitudes to the career path model seem to be quite stable, the past year bought considerable shifts in their lives. In the period between October 2013 and October 2014 2.5% changed school, and 12.4% added new qualifications (educational qualification, teacher certification examination, specialist examinations, professional expert or consultant qualification, etc.), and one in four (24.5%) teachers different subjects or in a different school type or undertake additional educational activities, or their employment contract was changed.

From the point of view of this research specialist examination as well as professional expert and consultant qualifications are particularly important as these are preconditions for undertaking educational expert and consultant duties, as well as for advancing to the grade of master teacher and teacher-researcher.

According to our data teachers in various levels of education have greatly different strategies regarding continuing professional education that provides an additional qualification. In the first year after the introduction of the teaching career path model it was vocational teachers and instructors who participated in greatest proportion (16%) in in-service training that had an impact on their level of qualification, and teachers of the youngest children (pre-primary and lower grades primary school teachers) were

Figure 4: The rate of teachers whose qualifications changed between October 2013 and October 2014, by initial training

Initial training	%
Dormitory teacher	8
Special education teacher,…	14
Vocational school teacher, instructor,…	16
Secondary school teacher	14
Primary school teacher	14
Primary school teacher (ISCED 1)	10
Pre-primary teacher	10
Other	12
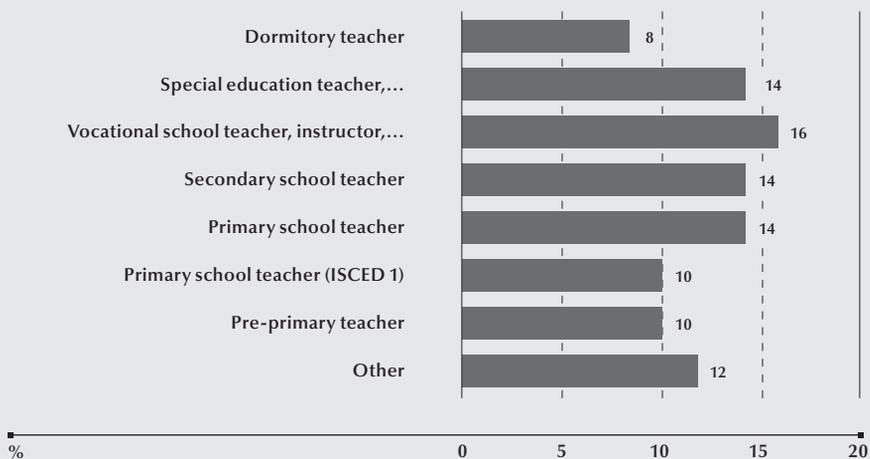
the least keen, as were dormitory teachers, but even in these groups the professional qualifications of approximately one in ten teachers changed over a year (Figure 4).

Looking at it from the angle of duration of experience, it is clear that the initial momentum of young teachers is somewhat halted when they start a family and have young children, but after that they launch themselves into their career with renewed energy. The declining trend of in-service training becomes stronger only after at least 24 years of experience – the well-known "line of divide" around 50 years of age and conspicuous in other professions also appears in the teaching profession (Figure 5).

Figure 5: The rate of teachers whose qualifications changed between October 2013 and October 2014, by length of professional experience

Length of professional experience	%
0–2 yr	17
3–5 yr	16
6–8 yr	16
9–11 yr	13
12–14 yr	12
15–17 yr	12
18–20 yr	15
21–23 yr	14
24–26 yr	11
27–29 yr	10
30–32 yr	8
33–35 yr	7
36–38 yr	6
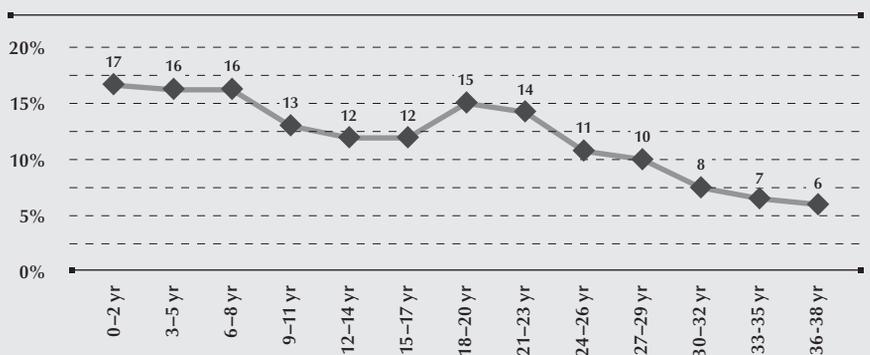
POLARISATION BY PROFESSIONAL QUALIFICATION

Change in the level of professional qualification meant acquisition of formal higher education qualification only for very few of the teachers in the sample (1.5%): several unqualified teachers acquired a college degree and one teacher in the sample acquired a PhD.

The 12% change in qualifications essentially comprises specialist examinations or equivalent qualifications acquired in a year. However, the relatively big change in qualifications did not result in a significant increase in the numbers of teachers with a specialist examination or equivalent qualification (Table 1).

Table 1: Changes in the rates of teachers with different specialist examinations between 2013 and 2014, %			
	2013	2014	PERCENTAGE OF HOLDERS OF THIS QUALIFICATION IN OCTOBER 2014 WHO HAD SOME CHANGE IN QUALIFICATION IN THE PERIOD BETWEEN OCTOBER 2013 – OCTOBER 2014
Specialist examination in public education management	12	13	23.2
Professional expert examination/ qualification	2.6	2.8	26.7
Consultant examination/ qualification	0.3	0.7	70.3
Mentor teacher specialist examination	1.1	1.4	29.2
Other education specialist examination	13.7	14.1	19.9

Typically it is not teachers who had not previously taken the specialist examination who acquired their first specialist certificate or examination but those who already held some qualification acquired an additional certificate or updated their existing ones. This foreshadows a polarisation by qualification in the new system of advancement mandating qualification as a prerequisite: a group of highly qualified teachers who had also been active so far now acquired additional (special) qualifications in accordance with the new conditions in the first year after the introduction of the teaching career path model, and the rest do not show any particular activity.

CHANGES IN JOBS: ROTATION

Every fourth (24.5%) teachers experienced a change in their jobs or employment between October 2013 and October 2014 most of which meant changes in duties or the subjects taught. Only for 3.2% of the respondents did the change involve teaching mainly (i.e. in the highest number of classes) at a different level of education. The changes were typically upward mobility (from preschool teacher to primary school low-grades teacher, from low-grades teacher to primary school teacher, from primary school teacher to secondary school teacher), and relatively many teachers in "other" positions moved towards classroom jobs (teaching as low-grade or primary school teachers). The contract of 4.1% of the respondents changed: with one exception a fixed

term contract was replaced by an indefinite term contract. The work time of 1% of teachers changed: some teachers decided to work part-time instead of full-time, and about the same number did the reverse. Nine percent changed subjects taught, and 15.4% changed the scope of additional educational tasks undertaken.

The number of teachers in various positions essentially did not change in the course of the survey period, the 15% change is typically the "rotation" of the persons in the various positions, and may be because some teachers were positioning themselves in preparation for a later stage of their career path. Among the heads of institutions (heads of schools or of member schools of a school centre) in October 2014 19% had not held the position of head in the previous school year and one in ten deputy heads were also new in their position in the autumn of 2014. In the current school year 7.5% of form teachers, 10.3% of student group leaders, 7.9% of heads of professional teams, 17.9% of teacher trainee mentors and 12.6% of student mentors started their activities as a new task in the autumn of 2014. Similarly, 38% of teacher assessment experts and 30% of consultants were new on the job, and 19% of the community service coordinators are teachers who did not perform the same services in the autumn of 2013. Approximately the same rate of teachers discontinued these duties (Table 2).

Table 2: Changes in the rates of teachers performing particular educational tasks between 2013 and 2014, %			
	2013	2014	PERCENTAGE OF TEACHERS UNDERTAKING THIS TASK IN OCTOBER 2014 WHO DID NOT PERFORM THE SAME TASK IN OCTOBER 2013
Head of institution or member institution	2.8	3.2	19.0
Deputy head of institution or member institution	10.1	10.5	9.9
Form teacher	43.2	43.7	7.5
Dormitory group/student group leader	2.5	2.3	10.3
Professional team head	17.5	17.6	7.9
Teacher trainee mentor	7.7	8	17.9
Student mentor	9.1	8.3	12.6
Professional supervision assessment expert	0.5	0.6	37.9
Consultant	0.8	1	30.2
Community service coordinator teacher	1.9	1.9	19.0
Other	15.9	15.7	12.6

CAREER TYPES

The introduction of the career model mobilised masses of teachers: many have acquired new qualification, changed the structure of their professional activities, reshuffled emphases in preparation for the changes or indeed have taken the first steps to change. The researchers applied exploratory factor analysis to uncover the types of

shift. It was presumed that the changes in qualification, typical level of teaching and "additional" educational duties undertaken in 2014 can be distinguished by the different types of qualification and examinations but can also be classified by the general attitude to the career model, therefore attitudes as a dummy variable was also included in our model (with values 0/1). As a result seven typical reactions emerged before the researchers in the year following the introduction of the teaching career path model (Appendix Tables F1 and F2).

The positive and negative attitudes to the career model appear as clearly delineated conglomerates, distinctly separate from each other and from the other attitudes. These two factors have the highest eigenvalue and contribute the most to the explained dispersion.

Those with a positive general attitude reason that the career model is an opportunity for them for professional advancement. It means professional support, evaluation and feedback, in-service training opportunities, an incentive to higher performance, financial recognition of work of superior quality, and ultimately enhances the social prestige of the teaching profession. The younger the teacher the more likely he or she is to have a positive attitude to the career model. Moreover, pre-primary teachers and dormitory teachers are also likely to belong in this category.

Conversely, **those with a negative general attitude** see the career model as a kind of external pressure that involves an additional workload, closer professional supervision, and with the inherent danger of easier layoffs. This attitude is mildly related to age (younger middle-aged teachers tend to adopt this attitude), and also to primary school position, both ISCED 1 and ISCED 2.

It should be emphasized that the factors emerging from the factor analysis are not correlated. It may be the case that the same person shows at the same time a very positive and a very negative (dissonant) attitude to the career model.

Of the non-attitudinal career types the **hierarchic career** has the strongest attributes. Teachers embracing this pattern are characterised by changes in their professional qualifications over the past year: the changes concern the educational level where they typically teach (in the largest number of hours), the structure of their non-classroom pedagogical activities (e.g. they dropped their form teacher duties and assumed mentor teacher activities); they have some special professional examination or equivalent qualification that gives them an advantage in their advancement on the career path (public education manager, expert or consultant). Respondents in this category are typically secondary school teachers or non-classroom teachers (performing other duties) in their forties in big cities.

The **old, entrenched career** is also a clear-cut type. Its representatives are equipped with the requisite professional qualifications for advancement but they are entrenched in their current position and do not make changes in their structure of tasks or area of education. Typically they are teachers in their forties living in county seats.

The non-traditional career type is characterised by special qualification in another area of education. Teachers of this type mostly work in special education and have no public education management examination.

The **preparer** type generally consists of secondary school or dormitory teachers in their thirties living in big cities. They did not make many changes over the past year

and they have public education expert or mentor teacher qualifications but they have no public education manager qualification.

Lastly, there is the vaguely emerging type of **the non-involved**: their only characteristic feature is that their attitude to the teaching career path model is determined by financial considerations (Appendix Tables F1 and F2).

It should be reiterated that the components of the factor analysis are not correlated. There is no positive or negative correlation between the general attitude to the career model and belonging to one or the other career types described above. A teacher with a highly negative general attitude could still pursue a strongly hierarchic career path.

SUMMARY

This analysis explored the reaction of teachers to the newly introduced career model and the steps they have taken to promote their own career using large-scale questionnaire-based panel data.

In the first year of the assessment system the teacher population seems to be polarised. Highly qualified teachers who have been active and motivated before embarked on the task of securing the qualifications necessary for advancement under the new system, and have converged to educational tasks rewarded by the career model. At the opposite end are the inactive, who have remained passive onlookers.

Even after a year there are relatively clearly delineated career types teachers are targeting. A small group of teachers have already started on the new career path; some of the younger teachers have also made preparations; and a relatively large group are passive bystanders who only see the model as an opportunity to have a higher salary with the constraint of external control. There is no correlation between the general (positive or negative) attitude to the career model and the career types adopted – it is not infrequent that teachers with a highly negative general attitude still pursue strongly hierarchic career strategy.

In the short time since the introduction of the career model it is possible that not all types have surfaced yet, and some of the now emerged types will be merged. The typical paths developing in the context of the teaching career model will be ready for a full-fledged analysis after a longer interval.

Table F1: Typical shifts in teacher careers following the introduction of the career model Factor analysis components matrix

	FACTOR						
	POSITIVE GENERAL ATTITUDE	NEGATIVE GENERAL ATTITUDE	HIERARCHIC CAREER	OLD (ENTRENCHED) CAREER	NON-TRADITIONAL CAREER	PREPARERS	NON-INVOLVED
Eigenvalue of factor	4.371	2.027	1.400	1.195	1.080	1.026	1.010
Variance accounted for by the factor, %	20.814	9.653	6.666	5.691	5.144	4.886	4.809
Change in qualification (educational attainment, teacher qualification, special professional examinations etc.) since last year (October 2013)	0.047	−0.048	0.675	0.161	0.185	−0.054	0.020
Changed typical educational level	−0.009	−0.033	0.525	−0.565	0.007	−0.005	−0.010
Changed tasks	−0.027	−0.005	0.533	−0.509	−0.089	0.140	0.074
Public education management examination	0.038	−0.093	0.349	0.355	−0.543	−0.278	0.022
Professional expert examination/qualification	0.000	−0.055	0.275	0.403	−0.163	0.393	0.063
Consultant examination/qualification	0.021	−0.012	0.390	0.460	0.148	−0.309	−0.115
Mentor teacher examination	−0.020	0.079	0.121	0.239	0.152	0.794	0.016
Other educational special examination/qualification	0.033	−0.034	0.102	0.109	0.813	−0.177	0.014
Attitudes to career model:							
...opportunity for professional progress.	0.750	−0.021	0.018	0.026	0.002	−0.008	0.024
...salary increase.	0.586	0.163	−0.021	0.029	−0.006	−0.053	0.406
...more workload.	−0.159	0.741	0.021	0.043	−0.010	−0.047	0.157
...professional support.	0.782	−0.014	−0.003	−0.021	0.011	0.017	−0.153
...continuing education and training opportunities.	0.700	0.103	−0.016	−0.080	−.010	0.053	−0.166
...professional evaluation and feedback.	0.720	0.193	0.022	0.038	−.029	0.012	−0.106
...professional supervision.	0.401	0.511	0.045	0.061	−0.055	−0.040	−0.027
...a certain external pressure.	−0.219	0.782	0.042	−0.002	−0.012	−0.041	0.153
...pecuniary recognition of high-quality work.	0.727	−0.042	−0.016	−0.017	0.033	0.005	0.328
...non-pecuniary recognition of high-quality work.	0.163	0.349	0.034	−0.030	−0.017	0.039	−0.771
...restoration of the social prestige of the teaching profession.	0.690	−0.179	−0.049	−0.011	0.036	0.038	0.041
...a threat of easier firing.	−0.215	0.592	0.012	−0.039	0.058	0.008	0.071
...an incentive to higher performance.	0.726	0.052	−0.002	−0.055	−0.016	−0.018	0.002

Table F2: Mean values of the factors by age group, typical job and locality of site of work (The significance levels of variance analyses in italics)

	POSITIVE GENERAL ATTITUDE	NEGATIVE GENERAL ATTITUDE	HIERARCHIC CAREER	OLD (ENTRENCHED) CAREER	NON-TRADITIONAL CAREER	PREPARERS	NON-INVOLVED
Age group							
1 below 30	**0.1800239**	−0.0121805	−0.0376311	−0.3074699	−0.0519804	0.0345760	−0.0700757
2 30–39	−0.0383581	**0.0574702**	0.0096834	−0.1458822	−0.0437324	**0.0166497**	−0.0371491
3 40–49	−0.0076022	**0.0386030**	0.0423066	**0.0430618**	**0.0836662**	−0.0452070	**0.0330043**
4 50 or older	−0.0014657	−0.0697783	−0.0387113	**0.1067946**	−0.0412485	0.0254834	**0.0051537**
Sig	*0.005*	*0.001*	*ns*	*0.000*	*0.000*	*ns*	*ns*
Job in the autumn of 2013							
1 Preschool teacher	**0.3272542**	−0.0666813	−0.2218564	0.0790009	0.2505989	−0.1266094	0.0125593
2 Primary lower-grades teacher (ISCED 1)	−0.0051512	0.1334342	−0.1195536	−0.0419188	0.0104950	−0.0129928	−0.0041833
3 Primary school teacher	−0.0545179	0.0567925	0.0268240	−0.0177758	−0.2173401	−0.0427221	−0.0013129
4 Secondary school teacher	−0.2103329	−0.0356180	**0.1411023**	0.0731994	−0.0269436	**0.1326314**	−0.0477958
5 Vocational teacher, instructor	−0.1296853	−0.3579102	**0.1369204**	−0.0743949	−0.1358683	**0.2777155**	−0.0350140
6 Special education teacher, developmental teacher	0.0246844	0.0185021	**0.1845825**	−0.0288848	**0.3132579**	−0.0093078	0.1180980
7 Dormitory teacher	**0.1447692**	0.0054014	−0.1618948	0.0575832	−0.1098177	**0.1051053**	0.0367211
8 Other, specifically:	−0.0464268	−0.0618028	**0.4136648**	−0.2387915	0.0034264	−0.1643457	0.0806131
Sig	*0.000*	*0.000*	*0.000*	*0.000*	*0.000*	*0.000*	*ns*
Locality of site of work							
Capital city	−0.1259488	−0.0085704	**0.1169224**	0.0560682	0.0482037	**0.0776408**	0.0135777
County seat	−0.0035704	0.0138129	**0.1746479**	**0.1213445**	0.0439851	**0.1434565**	−0.0433365
City with county status	−0.2264754	−0.0500802	−0.0188086	−0.0284693	−0.2392022	−0.0018059	−0.0404021
Town	−0.0255718	−0.0128860	−0.0301867	−0.0132722	0.0084948	−0.0320202	0.0013885
Large village	0.2303775	0.0500076	0.0923147	−0.0154012	0.0147621	−0.0904150	0.0226897
Village	0.1470959	0.0220951	−0.1522849	−0.0808631	−0.0218916	−0.0695963	0.0184011
Sig	*0.000*	*ns*	*0.000*	*0.001*	*0.001*	*0.000*	*ns*

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KRISZTIÁN SZÉLL: SCHOOLS' EFFECTIVENESS AND TEACHERS' ATTITUDES

In educational effectiveness studies – especially in Anglo-Saxon areas – the quality of teachers' work and the performance of schools is usually measured based on students' academic achievements and their test results, while noting that the success of schools can also be measured in numerous other ways, using various other indicators (e.g. further education and school leaving indicators, future wages). There is almost universal agreement in the literature that the measurement of teachers' and schools' success cannot be limited to measuring student performance, especially if the results of such measurements have concrete consequences (see for instance: Darling-Hammond 1999; Kane–Staiger 2002; Lannert–Nagy 2006; OECD 2013a). There is also widespread consensus behind the idea that using student results for evaluation is much more relevant with regard to evaluating the operaten of the school as a whole than with regard to individual teacher evaluation (OECD 2013a). At the same time, we are confident that student performance measurement can serve as an indicator, allowing researchers to learn about many aspects of the complex issues associated with teachers' work and the effectiveness of education, contributing to the understanding of numerous important educational policy issues.

Such research must also keep in mind the fact that the quality and level of effectiveness of education are closely linked to reducing students' disadvantages and to the socio-economic background of students and schools. This also means that students' family and school background has a very powerful impact on their achievement level and the effectiveness of schools and thus the entire school system. It should be noted that the average social background of students in the school has a more powerful impact on students' performance than their individual family or social background – and this is especially true in the Hungarian educational system.[1] Therefore, ensuring conditions that have a positive impact on school success is becoming more and more important in schools that teach children of low socio-economic status, i.e. schools where children with a disadvantaged economic and social background are in the majority.[2]

Based on the above, a fundamental research question arises: what differences may be identified between schools or teachers that operate in similarly disadvantaged economic and social environments, but perform differently? Ever since the publication of the much-debated Coleman Report (Coleman et al. 1966), numerous research projects have proven that school performance is heavily context-dependent, i.e. the performance of students is affected – in addition to students' family and social background – by the atmosphere, the studying environment that the school provides (Dronkers–Róbert 2003; Fényes–Pusztai 2004; Lannert 2006; Pusztai 2009). The flexibility and adaptability of teachers and schools depends much more on the overall intellectual, social and organisational environment of the schools than on teachers' individual character traits (Day–Gu 2014). According to our hypothesis, the school atmosphere and the quality and performance of the teaching and learning environment

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1 See a discussion of these issues e.g. in Balázsi et al. (2013), Fehérvári–Széll (2014) and OECD (2013b).
2 Regarding the factors determining schooling effectiveness and the quality of teachers' work, see Széll (2013a, 2013b).

is clearly linked to the teachers working in the school and to their attitudes towards teaching, education and especially towards children. Therefore, the goal of the present study is to identify the school and teacher traits and teacher attitudes that make the difference between schools with socially disadvantaged students that succeed (resilient schools) and those that don't (vulnerable schools).

ANALYSIS FRAMEWORK

Our analysis is largely based on two data sources. The assessment of schools' effectiveness and social status and the analysis of other, related characteristics was carried out based on the *data bases of the National Assessment of Basic Competencies* (NABC).[3] Teachers' opinions and attitudes were assessed based on the first round of the online questionnaire survey called *„Factors affecting the quality of teachers' work"*, carried out between November and December 2013.[4] Teacher research was carried out at all levels of education from pre-school to secondary school on a district-based (50 districts) sample that was compiled taking into account the region, county and resident population.

This survey focuses exclusively on primary schools (school sites) and their teachers, ignoring general secondary schools with 6- and 8-year programmemes that overlap with the primary schools in terms of the age of their students. Studying schools at the level of school sites is justified by the fact that due to the large number of school mergers that took place within the Hungarian education system over the last several decades there are numerous institutions that include multiple school sites at different, often distant, locations, with their own separate staff and infrastructure. The present study considers such distinct sites as separate schools.

In order to obtain information about each school and their teachers, the data base of the teacher survey and the pre-processed data base of the National Assessment of Basic Competencies were joined up. This joint data base allowed us to examine the effectiveness of schools with economically and socially disadvantaged students, group them based on their effectiveness and identify the characteristics of schools and teachers in each group of schools.

MEASURING SCHOOL EFFECTIVENESS

School effectiveness was measured based on the site-level research data base of the 2010-2013 National Assessment of Basic Competencies. The analysis was based on the school-level average of the mathematics and text comprehension scores of 8th grade students in the year in question and the relevant information from the site-level background questionnaires regarding social and school-specific factors affecting perfor-

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3 We would like to express our gratitude to the Hungarian Educational Authority for making their data files available to us for this research. We are also grateful to László Ostorics, the acting head of the Public Education Survey and Evaluation Department for supplying to us a manuscript that includes the technical description of the National Assessment of Basic Competencies.
4 The online survey-based data collection was carried out within the framework of SROP priority project *21st Century School Education (Development and Coordination), Phase 2* (SROP 3.1.1-11/1–2012-0001).

mance.[5] Naturally, the authors realise that test results only serve as one indicator of the complex phenomenon of school performance; at the same time, we also have to stress that well-designed assessments can provide important insights into effectiveness (see Nahalka 2015).

The performance of schools was calculated using an added value approximation, as using absolute test results would obfuscate the differences between schools due to numerous confounding factors (e.g. the family and social background of students etc.). There are various possible means of defining schools' added value and calculating specific added value indicators. Most added value models control for two major factors: (1) Students' family background and the composition of the institution's student body, and (2) previous test results. The literature contains discussions of various methods for creating added value models and the explanatory variables used in such models.[6]

For the present analysis, schools' added value was calculated using a linear regression model based on the ordinary least squares (OLS) method for each year between 2010 and 2013. First, an expected average performance was calculated for each school based on the composition of the student body and the previous mathematics and text comprehension scores, then the differences between the expected performance and the measured values – the so-called unstandardized residuals – were calculated. Thus, the educational added value of schools is the performance increase identified after taking into account the average student composition of the school – in order to eliminate artefacts arising from the effects of the family and the environment outside of the school – and the differences between average student performance at the two points in time – in order to eliminate artefacts arising from prior knowledge, native abilities and prior environmental factors.[7]

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5 Here, we would only like to note that the National Assessment of Basic Competencies is based on tests of applied general knowledge, much like the PISA studies; however, it is grade-based and it is carried out each year with full coverage. The tests are based on a carefully established content framework that follows Hungarian and international assessment and evaluation trends. The National Assessment of Basic Competencies and the associated background questionnaires regarding students, school sites and institutions are described in Balázsi et al. (2014) and OH (2015). The national reports and the reports on maintainers, schools and school sites (FIT-jelentés) and other important information and background documents are available at https://www.kir.hu/okmfit/.
6 For detailed discussions of added value indicators and models, see the following: Gyökös (2014); Horn (2010, 2015); Kertesi–Kézdi (2004); OECD (2008); Kim–Lalancette (2013); Recommendations of… (2011).
7 The significant explanatory power of linear models (the percentage that shows to what extent they explain the variance of test results) varies between 45-60 percent in mathematics and 60-75 percent in text comprehension over the years studied.

Thus, the average economic background of students[8] was used when calculating each school's educational added value, not the average family background index[9]. There were four main reasons for this decision:

1. The two indexes represent similar factors.
2. The data on the composition of schools' student bodies is significantly more complete than the family background index data (˜10% missing each year vs. ˜40% missing each year).
3. There is a very strong positive correlation between the two indexes.[10]
4. The educational added values and the school rankings calculated based on the values are very similar.[11]

The previous average scores of each school were calculated based on the average scores of the students of the school two years before, irrespective of whether the specific students tested had been going to the same school two years prior. Therefore, the scores indicate how much the students of the school improved over the course of two years (EA, 2015).

The educational added value that the school grouping is based on was determined by averaging the annual educational added values of grade 8 for each area under study. The 2013 data and two valid results from the 2010-2012 period were used; thus, the final average is the average of three or four years. The authors felt that it was important to use the results of multiple years because different classes of the same school may perform rather differently. Grade 8 was chosen because the test scores of the last grade may show the impact the school is having more clearly, and also because previous scores (measured two years prior) are available for 8th grade students. The school site level educational added value is considered to be the school's collective result.

Multi-year averages were ranked separately for mathematics and text comprehension, and the two rankings thus obtained were added together and the schools were re-ranked. Thus, the final ranking shows the combined performance in the two subjects studied; the top schools are those that showed especially high added value in both areas, while the bottom of the list contains the schools that showed very low educational added value.[12]

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8 *The index generated based on the composition of the student body of the school site* is calculated based on the number of students with above average economic means, those with very poor economic means, those who receive regular child welfare benefits, those who are vulnerable, those who receive free or discounted meals at school, those who receive free textbooks, childcare benefits or social benefits, those whose parents are unemployed and those whose parents have a higher education diploma. Negative index values represent poorer conditions, while positive values correspond to better conditions. The index is compiled based on data from the school site's background questionnaire, filled in by the director of the school site. On the calculation of the index, see EA (2013a, 2015).

9 The *family background index* is calculated based on the following information: the number of books in the home, the educational attainment of the parents, whether the family owns at least one computer, and whether the student owns any books. From 2013, the index also contains information on whether the student is considered multiply disadvantaged. Negative index values represent poorer conditions, while positive values correspond to better conditions. The index is compiled based on data from the student background questionnaire, filled in by the students at home with their parents. Regarding the calculation of the index and aggregation at the school site level, see EA (2013a, 2015).

10 The Pearson correlation coefficient is around 0.8 for each year (p<0.001).

11 The Pearson correlation coefficient and the Spearman's rho (rank correlation) values were above 0.9 in every year in both subjects assessed (p<0.001).

12 The schools where the educational added value of the two subjects assessed diverges sharply deserve specific analysis. This study does not undertake that analysis due to space constraints.

SCHOOL GROUPING

In accordance with the goals of the study, two distinct groups of schools were identified. Based on the methodology of the PISA assessments,[13] one of the groups contains resilient schools,[14] that is, the schools that achieve high scores despite students having to struggle with a disadvantaged socio-economic background. Our analysis diverges somewhat from the methodology of the PISA assessments, as schools were not divided into quarters but thirds – with the primary aim of ensuring the availability of the largest possible amount of teacher data from the teacher surveys. Additionally, similarly to the analysis of Papp Z. (2013), our aim was to identify resilient schools, not students. The other group included schools that fell into the lower third of the ranking by average economic and social student composition and by educational added value. This vulnerable group therefore contains schools with the lowest social and economic status and the lowest added value.

As with added value indicating school performance, averages were calculated based on the values of three (or four) years with regard to the index of disadvantaged economic and social background: 2013 and at least two of the previous three years.

Thus the analysis focuses on two groups of schools and the characteristics and attitudes of their teachers:

1. schools with a low (bottom third) educational added value and low (bottom third) social status (vulnerable schools) and their teachers, and
2. schools with a high (top third) educational added value and low (bottom third) social status (resilient schools) and their teachers.

This categorisation can be considered to be an indicator of the chance of further progression within the school system, as it indicates the amount to which the school can add to the performance level predicted based on the social background of the family and the prior knowledge level of the student.[15]

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SCHOOL GROUPS

Before examining the opinions and attitudes of teachers, we should examine the environment in which the teachers work. The 2013 National Assessment of Basic Competencies contains data on 2,586 eight-grade primary schools. The educational added

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13 When analysing PISA results, disadvantaged students are considered resilient if they are in the bottom quarter within their country in terms of their family background index (ESCS), and they are in the top quarter in terms of added value calculated while filtering out the effects of family background.

14 The concept of resilience has been appearing in an increasing number of sciences; it is used to mean an – individual, organisation-level or otherwise systemic – ability to show flexibility and resist or adapt to external conditions, allowing certain groups to be successful despite various types of disadvantages. (See a more detailed discussion of the concept e.g. in Békési 2002; Reid–Botterrill 2013).

15 Naturally, we should not forget that any school effects identified are only relevant to grades 6 to 8. We should also note that – as discussed later – the „social bottom third" group of schools is not entirely homogenous; therefore, the groups of thirds only allow us to draw indicative conclusions. Deeper causal relationships could only be identified based on more homogenous sets of schools, which the size of the joint data set used for this analysis did not make possible.

value of 1,512 could be calculated using the methodology described above.[16] In what follows we will focus only on resilient and vulnerable schools, i.e. those that are in the bottom third in terms of the economic and social background of their students, and are in either the top third or the bottom third in terms of effectiveness. Both of these groups contain slightly more than one tenth of the schools with an educational added value indicator. The two groups of schools are similar in terms of their student composition; however, there are greater differences between resilient schools in terms of educational added value. *(Table 1)*

Table 1: The distribution of resilient and vulnerable schools, their educational added value and the total number of teachers*			
	RESILIENT SCHOOL	VULNERABLE SCHOOL	ALL SCHOOLS WITH EAV
N	169	194	1.512
As a percentage of all schools (%)	11.2	12.8	100.0
Mathematics EAV (average score)**	47.6 (38.3)	−40.1 (27.5)	0.97 (40.6)
Text comprehension EAV (average score)**	37.1 (33.4)	−32.3 (27.1)	0.47 (31.2)
Student composition index (−18.9 / +16.1)**	−6.0 (3.4)	−6.0 (3.4)	−0.07 (5.2)
Total number of teachers at school site	4.169	4.634	46.776

Data source: NABC data bases.
**The standard deviation is indicated in parenthesis.*

The school site questionnaires accompanying the NABC provide numerous types of extra information on schools and school groups. Among other things, they provide some insight into schools' financial resources, infrastructure, size, location, further studies and entry criteria, the composition of the teaching staff, in-service training and teacher assessment practices, the teaching methods and programmes used in the school, the composition of the school's student body, the estimated rate of Roma students, the school's relationship with parents, the learning atmosphere, the level of motivation of students and the behaviours they engage in.[17]

2013 school site information[18] shows that resilient schools have better characteristics in almost every regard, although the difference is not significant in all cases.[19] The results show that parents who live near a resilient school are much less likely to take their primary school age children to a more distant school than if the nearby school is not resilient (rarely or very rarely response: 81 vs. 68.1%). There is also a difference in the condition of the school building: resilient schools operate in better buildings

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16 Irrespective of the methodology used, we can generally state that, due to the lack of data, indicators that measure educational added value are not suitable for studying the most socially disadvantaged and the worst performing schools or groups of schools.

17 It should be mentioned that school site questionnaires are filled in by the head of the school (school site) in question, which inevitably leads to some distortion of the estimation of the characteristics of the school.

18 In case of categorical variables, based on chi squared tests (p<0.05), in case of continuous variables, based on independent two-sample t-tests and Welch's t-tests (p<0.05).

19 At the same time, if schools are grouped not by thirds but by quarters, certain differences become more acute, while others are reduced. Again, using thirds was dictated by the need to use as much data as possible from the teacher surveys.

(good or excellent response: 57.4 vs. 45.3%).[20] Geographically, resilient schools are overrepresented in the Southern Great Plain region, especially Békés County, and in Budapest, while vulnerable schools are overrepresented in North Hungary, especially Nógrád County, and occur in lower numbers in Budapest.

It is significant that the teaching staff of resilient schools is more likely to contain at least one teacher who is a member of a non-governmental organisation or an association of some kind (78.7% vs. 69.6%), and resilient schools more often employ some type of non-class-based talent support programme, covering more students (78% vs. 67% of schools and 20% vs. 16% of students). In resilient schools, the percentage of teachers who participated in some type of in-service training related to their subject of specialization in the last 5 years is higher[21] (7.1% vs. 4.1%). In vulnerable schools, the rate of teaching staff without a teacher diploma (including day care staff) is much higher (13% vs. 6.5%).

Teacher turnover is an important indicator of a school's atmosphere, as one of the effects of greater turnover is that it hinders the creation of a unified staff atmosphere, and the repeated redistribution of tasks and regular „breaking in" periods may further undermine the effectiveness of the school's educational work and its ability to make up for disadvantages.[22] The turnover indicator used in this paper is a percentage value of annual staff changes (teachers leaving the school plus teachers arriving at the school) per one teacher.[23] The turnover per 100 teachers is 8 in resilient schools and 10 in vulnerable schools. It should be added that the difference between the two groups is largely due to the difference in the number of teachers leaving the school. According to our data, this also means that vulnerable schools face shortages of science and IT teachers more frequently – although the difference is not statistically significant.

The students of resilient schools are more motivated[24] and more disciplined, and show problem behaviours less frequently[25]. With regard to further studies, the data shows that a greater portion of students in resilient schools go on to general secondary schools than in vulnerable schools (24% vs. 21%). This is significant because general secondary schools offer easier access to higher education. This difference clearly

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20 This may derive from local government support and the school's participation (and success) in tenders – for instance, numerous EU tenders are aimed at the infrastructure development of schools in disadvantaged regions in which the majority of students are disadvantaged (e.g. replacing doors and windows or upgrading the heating system). However, no data is available on how often each school participates in tenders.
21 This may also be related to schools' tendering activity and success, as numerous tenders require teaching staff to participate in subject-specific or methodological in-service training.
22 One of our previous papers noted that high teacher turnover and a high rate of teachers leaving the school significantly damage performance (Széll 2014).
23 The formula for calculating annual turnover is the following: ((number of teachers who join+number of teachers who leave)/2)/number of teachers in the year in question)˙100. The division by two is because the school site questionnaires ask for data on the last two years.
24 The *motivation index is based on the following characteristics of schools (school sites): (1)* student motivation, (2) the level to which students value knowledge and academic success, (3) student absences and truancy, (4) student discipline, (5) parents' help and support of studying at home. The index values range from –5 to +5, with higher values corresponding to greater motivation. On the calculation of the index, see EA (2013a, 2015).
25 The discipline index covers the following behaviours: (1) regular absences, (2) disorderly behaviour in class, (3) damaging school property, (4) physically bullying other children, (5) verbal aggression, shouting, (6) aggressive behaviour towards school staff, (7) smoking, (8) alcohol consumption, (9) drug use, (10) gaming addiction and (11) theft. The index values range from –5 to +6, with higher values corresponding to less discipline. On the calculation of the index, see OH (2013a, 2015).

correlates with the rate of students continuing their studies in a vocational training school: in the more successful schools, this rate is 38 percent on average, while it is more than 5 percentage points higher in vulnerable schools.

It should be stressed that the rate of Roma students is much lower in resilient schools than in vulnerable schools (29% vs. 37%). This poses the following question: does the rate of Roma students inversely correlate with performance? In other words: does the higher rate of Roma students cause poorer performance? To answer the question, logistic regression was used to determine which of the previously discussed statistically significant factors increase or reduce the likelihood of a school falling within the vulnerable group. Our results indicate that apart from region, settlement type, the presence of teachers who are members of an NGO, the frequency of children going to another nearby school and discipline, no other factor significantly increases or decreases the likelihood of a school falling within the vulnerable group – therefore, the rate of Roma students does not affect it, either.[26]

Subsequently, the correspondence between the rate of Roma students and school performance within each school group was examined. There is a clear negative correlation between the rate of Roma students and the school's absolute test scores, but the (negative) correlation with educational added value indicators is weak, and only present in vulnerable schools, and only with regard to text comprehension. Therefore, it is clear that it is not the rate of Roma students that determines poor performance.[27] *(Table 2)*

Table 2: Correlation of the rate of Roma students and performance in resilient (N=167) and vulnerable (N=192) schools (Pearson correlation coefficients)[*]		
	RESILIENT SCHOOLS (ROMA STUDENTS: 29%)	**VULNERABLE SCHOOLS (ROMA STUDENTS: 37%)**
Mathematics (school site average)	−0.404[**]	−0.469[**]
Text comprehension (school site average)	−0.337[**]	−0.572[**]
Mathematics EAV (school site average)	0.094	−0.039
Text comprehension EAV (school site average)	0.133	−0.224[**]

*Data source: NABC data bases
**Significant correlation (p<0.001).

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26 Region: North Hungary: p<0.05, Exp(B)=2.779, Northern Great Plain: p<0.05, Exp(B)=2.607, ref.cat: Southern Great Plain). Settlement type: Budapest: p<0.01, Exp(B)=0.045, ref. cat: village. NGO members on the teaching staff: yes/no, p<0.01, Exp(B)=0.471). Frequency of sending children to another school (scale of five: 1: excellent, 5: very poor): p<0.05, Exp(B)=1.367. Discipline (scale −5 to +6): p<0.01, Exp(B)=0.806). The model is significant at p<0.001, Nagelkerke pseudo R²=0.23, Cox & Snell R²=0.172, hit rate: 68.2%, and the Hosmer-Lemeshow test p>0.05 (0.834) shows adequate model fitment. The regression process was carried out while entering all explanatory variables at the same time (METHOD=ENTER) Odds rate (Exp(B)) values above one indicate a higher chance of entry than the reference group, while values below one indicate a lower chance.

27 Follow-up calculations confirm this finding in a more general context: the apparent correlation between the rate of Roma students and test results disappears if the model set up to explain the test results includes the school's average student composition and average family background index. On the correspondence of the rate of Roma students and school competence scores, see also Papp Z. (2011, 2013).

So, why is there a negative correlation between the rate of Roma students and educational added value in vulnerable schools? The first reason is that the bottom third drawn up based on socio-economic indicators is not an entirely homogenous group of schools: the family background of the students of schools with a higher rate of Roma students is more unfavourable, and the distorting effects of this difference were not successfully filtered out of the results in all cases.[28] Second, there are two forms of education (teaching programme) that deserve attention, as their existence – or the rate of participating students – strongly correlates with the rate of Roma students in the school, in both groups of schools. These are (1) integration and skills development programmes, and (2) Roma minority programmes.

In resilient schools that have a Roma minority programme, the average rate of Roma students is more than double that of schools with no such programmes (50.3% vs. 21.7%).[29] The same applies to vulnerable schools, where these rates are 55 and 28 percent, respectively.[30] The difference – and the rate of Roma students – is much lower in schools with integration and skills development programmes. In resilient schools with such programmes, the average rate of Roma students is 30%, and in those without such programmes, it is 27%. In vulnerable schools, these rates are 39 and 34 percent, respectively.

Table 3 shows that, according to 2013 data, neither socially-based integration and skills development programmes nor minority programmes aimed at preserving Roma culture and traditions and strengthening students' Roma identity contribute in any meaningful way to improving students' performance. What is more, vulnerable schools perform more poorly if they run such programmes, although the difference is not significant. Naturally, examining the real effects of such programmes requires a deeper analysis (contextual effects may be present in many cases), but it is striking that in schools that run such programmes, the school's effectiveness, i.e. its added value, does not increase. The fact that such programmes are eligible for supplementary funding may help interpret the results: schools often start such programmes in order to get more funds.

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28 This is partly due to the fact that we examined the school site's student composition, not the family background index, and there are school sites where the student composition index is not available, but the family background index is. Overall, this does not cause any issues, as the EAV is primarily used for establishing groups of schools, and we feel that it fulfils this role adequately.
29 Welch's t-test (p<0.001).
30 Welch's t-test (p<0.001).

	2013 EDUCATIONAL ADDED VALUE (SCORE AVERAGE)					
	RESILIENT SCHOOLS			**VULNERABLE SCHOOLS**		
	N	**MATHEMATICS**	**TEXT COMPREHENSION**	**N**	**MATHEMATICS**	**TEXT COMPREHENSION**
No RMP, no IDP	46	44.0	48.4	58	−44.1	−33.7
No RMP, with IDP	77	52.4	42.3	71	−51.4	−42.5
With RMP, no IDP	8	−11.8	17.9	13	−49.5	−67.6
With RMP and IDP	37	56.2	60.6	52	−61.3	−40.2
Total	*168*	*47.9*	*47.7*	*194*	*−51.8*	*−46.9*

Table 3: Educational added value in resilient and vulnerable schools as a function of the presence of integration and skills development programmes (IDP) and Roma minority programmes (RMP) in 2013 [*]/[**]

*Data source: NABC data bases
**In some cases, the differences within a group of schools are large, but not significant.

All of the above leads to the conclusion that the correlation between the high rate of Roma students and poor added value in vulnerable schools indicates that these schools and their teachers are unable to cope with the characteristics of Roma students, which often differ quite significantly from the knowledge and traits expected by the school (e.g. different communication customs, different culture, values, norms) even if they operate a minority programme with this specific aim. The data shows that this phenomenon is quite widespread[31], but is stronger in vulnerable schools.

One may think that the attitudes shown by teachers working in vulnerable schools may differ from those of teachers working in resilient schools. Therefore, the next chapter compares the opinions and attitudes of teachers of resilient and vulnerable schools regarding effectiveness and disadvantage compensation. It should be stressed that the objective is to identify any differences in attitudes between teachers of the different groups of schools, not to pass judgment on teachers' work or identify causal relationships – especially because in education, reliably ascertaining causation is a very difficult, often impossible task and the groups of schools set up for the study are (by necessity) not entirely homogenous.

TEACHERS' OPINIONS AND ATTITUDES IN THE STUDIED SCHOOL GROUPS

Before discussing teacher attitudes, we examine how the schools covered by the joint data set of the NABC and the teacher survey compare to the above discussed

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31 It should be noted, however, that the form and content of competency assessment tasks which serve as the basis of assessing school performance in this study is not always drawn up with the different characteristics of socially disadvantaged and/or Roma students in mind; that is, the tasks and questions often rely on prior knowledge that Roma and/or multiply disadvantaged students do not have.

schools the educational added value of which was calculated based on the NABC. *Table 4* shows that the joint data set contains a somewhat larger proportion of resilient schools, but the difference is not statistically significant even if the rate of resilient schools to vulnerable schools is compared directly in the two data sets. In the joint data set, systematic distortion can only be detected regarding the regional distribution of vulnerable schools based on the 2013 KIR-STAT data base and the school site questionnaires of the NABC. This is primarily due to the fact that the schools of the Central Hungary region are overrepresented, and not to any lack of cases in West and South Transdanubia in the joint data set.[32]

Table 4: The distribution of resilient and vulnerable schools and some of their characteristics; schools with educational added value in the National Assessment of Basic Competencies and the joint data set[*/**]

	N	AS A PERCEN-TAGE OF ALL SCHOOLS	RATE COMPARED TO EACH OTHER	MATHEMATICS EAV (AVERAGE)	TEXT COMPRE-HENSION EAV (AVERAGE)	TOTAL NUMBER OF TEACHERS AT SCHOOL SITE
NABC data base						
Resilient schools	169	11.2%	46.6%	47.6	37.1	4,169
Vulnerable schools	194	12.8%	53.4%	−40.1	−32.3	4,634
Total	*363*	*24.0%*	*100.0%*	*0.69*	*−0.03*	*8.803*
Joint data set						
Resilient schools	33	13.3%	40.7%	46.2	36.3	766
Vulnerable schools	48	19.3%	59.3%	−39.0	−32.2	1,130
Total	*81*	*32.6%*	*100.0%*	*−4.26*	*−4.27*	*1,896*

[*]*Data source: National Assessment of Basic Competencies data bases, NABC – 2013 teacher survey joint data set.*
[**]*No significant differences were found.*

The total sample size of teachers working in resilient and vulnerable schools in the joint data set is 758; this means that data is available on four-tenths of all the teachers of the schools involved. *(Table 5)*

Table 5: Number of teachers in resilient and vulnerable schools[*]

	TOTAL NUMBER OF TEACHERS	NUMBER OF TEACHERS REACHED BY THE TEACHER SURVEY[**]
Resilient schools (n=33)	766	327
Vulnerable schools (n=48)	1,130	431
Total (N=81)	*1,896*	*758*

[*]*Data source: NABC – 2013 teacher survey joint data set.*

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32 Chi squared: 16.443; df: 6; p<0.05.

According to the available data on the teachers of the resilient and vulnerable schools in the joint data set (all full-time teachers or the teachers reached by the teacher survey), the teachers in the two samples match closely in terms of sex and age. *(Table 6)*

	NUMBER OF TEACHERS	% OF FEMALE TEACHERS[*]	UNDER 30[**]	AGED 30–39[**]	AGED 40–49[**]	50 OR OLDER[**]
Table 6: The age and sex distribution of full-time teachers of resilient and vulnerable schools; all teachers in the schools covered by the joint data set, and teachers reached by the teacher survey [*]						
All teachers of the schools in the joint data set[***]						
Resilient schools (n=33)	766	84.7%	8.9%	27.1%	27.9%	36.1%
Vulnerable schools (n=48)	1,130	83.0%	8.3%	23.7%	30.3%	37.7%
Total (N=81)	*1,896*	*83.7%*	*8.5%*	*25.1%*	*29.3%*	*37.0%*
Teachers in the joint data set[****]						
Resilient schools (n=33)	427 people	85.9%	9.8%	24.5%	29.4%	36.4%
Vulnerable schools (n=48)	324 people	84.2%	8.8%	24.8%	33.9%	32.5%
Total (N=81)	*751 people*	*85.0%*	*9.2%*	*24.7%*	*31.9%*	*34.2%*

[**]*Binomial test: among resilient schools: sign: 0.090 (p>0.05); among vulnerable schools: sign: 0.279 (p<0.05). (p>0.05)*
[**]*Chi squared test: among resilient schools: Chi squared: 1.413, df: 3, sign.: 0.703 (p>0.05); among vulnerable schools: Chi squared: 5.577, df: 3, sign.: 0.134 (p>0.05).*
[***]*Data source: KIR-STAT 2013 data base It should be noted that there were two schools for which no KIR-STAT data was found.*
[****]*Data source: NABC – 2013 teacher survey joint data set.*

The data from the teacher survey shows that there are no major differences between teachers working in resilient versus vulnerable schools covered by the joint data set with regard to basic characteristics such as age, professional experience, educational attainment, position, employment status, work hours or language skills.

Analysing our chosen topic also requires an examination of what teachers think about disadvantage compensation and its effectiveness. Among pedagogical activities aimed at cooperating with the families and improving children's chances of success, teachers gave a clear preference to personalised, differentiated development; however, their opinions on its implementation and quality at their school were not the most flattering. The teachers in both groups of schools also felt that cooperation between all parties involved in education was important. Teachers' opinions on the success of establishing a partnership with parents were similar to their views on the success of personalised development, but they felt that cooperation between teachers was particularly good. Teachers were most satisfied with community-building events, even though they felt that these were the least important. The results indicate that, much like in other areas, the teachers of resilient schools have the best opinion on the quality level of the educational work in their school, especially with regard to keeping contact with families and parents, cultivating successful cooperation between teachers and setting up student groups with a varied mix of abilities. *(Figure 1)*

Figure 1: To what extent do pedagogical activities aimed at improving children's chances of success, providing personalized attention and cooperating with the families of students take place at the school?
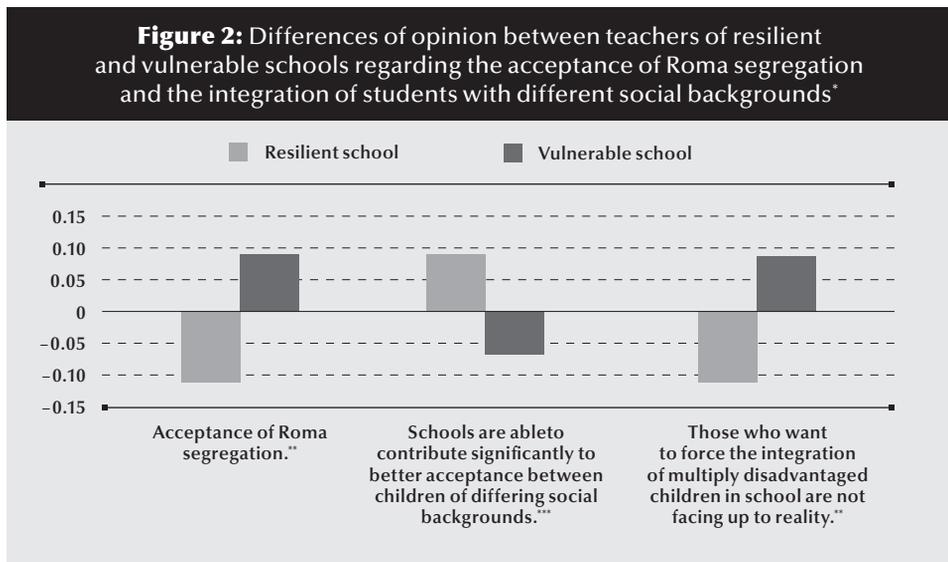*(Average of a scale of 1 to 5, 1: not at all, 5: entirely)*

Reziliens iskola — Vulnerable school

Activity	Reziliens iskola	Vulnerable school
Strengthening institutional communities trough various events* (11)	4,02 (0,69)	3,85 (0,77)
Cooperation of teachers in solving problems* (2)	4,01 (0,71)	3,87 (0,81)
Taking into account individual cultural and social traits (R:5, V:6)	3,80 (0,65)	3,73 (0,69)
Taking over socialisation tasks from families in the children's interest (12)	3,80 (0,71)	3,69 (0,75)
Assisting families with problem solving (R:9, V:8)	3,78 (0,74)	3,67 (0,74)
Familiarisation with students' living conditions and customs (R:6, V:5)	3,78 (0,70)	3,69 (0,74)
Partnership with parents in educating the students* (3)	3,78 (0,75)	3,65 (0,85)
Setting up groups with a varied mix of abilities* (10)	3,77 (0,66)	3,61 (0,77)
Personalised and differentiated development of individual skills (1)	3,73 (0,68)	3,63 (0,67)
Early spotting of different talents and their efficient promotion (4)	3,63 (0,66)	3,56 (0,76)
Building bridges between the families' and the institution's values and culture* (7)	3,58 (0,74)	3,45 (0,80)
Sorting students into homogenous groups by abilities (R:8, V:9)	3,10 (1,10)	3,12 (1,03)

There are significant differences between the two groups of schools (independent two-sample t-test, p<0.05). The numbers in parenthesis indicate the ranking of the activities by importance according to teachers; R: resilient schools, V: vulnerable schools.

At the same time, as *Figure 1* shows, teachers do not consider setting up heterogeneous groups to be particularly important, and this is reflected by their opinions on inclusive education. If asked by a friend about what primary school to choose, one quarter of the teachers of both groups of schools would suggest a school with students of the same ability level, and one third would suggest a class made up of students of the same ability level. At the same, the number of teachers recommending a very heterogeneous school or class is only around 10%, and the number of uncertain respondents ("don't know") is close to 30%. In this regard, there is no meaningful difference between the two groups of schools examined.

The issues of the segregation of Roma students[33] and the integration of disadvantaged children[34] are closely linked to inclusive education. Comparing teachers' positions on these issues clearly shows that the teachers of resilient schools are much less likely to accept the segregation of the Roma in schools, and they are less likely to feel that integration and inclusive education do not work. Furthermore, they are more convinced that part of the task of the school is to promote acceptance, understanding and tolerance. The atmosphere of vulnerable schools is the opposite, and the support of segregation and doubts in the role of the school and the teachers in making up for disadvantages, probably strengthened by the lack of resources and ongoing failures and frustrations, certainly contribute to impairing performance. *(Figure 2)*

Figure 2: Differences of opinion between teachers of resilient and vulnerable schools regarding the acceptance of Roma segregation and the integration of students with different social backgrounds*

*Positive values indicate acceptance of the statement in question, negative values indicate rejection.
**Significant differences (independent two-sample t-test, p<0.01).
***Significant difference (independent two-sample t-test, p<0.05).

Finally, we present teachers' opinions on the possibilities of compensating for disadvantages and the factors affecting disadvantage compensation. Our general conclusion is that in both of the groups of schools studied teachers feel that pre-school institutions have a stronger role in compensating for disadvantages than schools

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33 Items of the principal component on Roma segregation (original scale of 1 to 4: 1 - do not agree at all, 4 - fully agree): (1) Every Roma child has the right to study in a class with non-Roma children. (2) It is better for Roma children to study in a separate class. (3) It is better for non-Roma children if there are no Roma children in their class. The principal component conserved 69% of the information embodied by the variables involved (heterogeneity), and the Cronbach's alpha value calculated for testing the reliability of the index is 0.773.

34 Two standardized variables with an average of 0 and a standard deviation of 1 (original scale of 1 to 4: 1 - do not agree at all, 4 - fully agree): (1) Schools are able to contribute significantly to better acceptance between children of differing social backgrounds. (2) Those who want to force the integration of multiply disadvantaged children in school are not facing up to reality.

(3.3 vs. 3.0 on a scale of one to five[35]). There is no significant difference between the teachers of the two groups of schools with regard to their assessment of the extent of the compensation: teachers of both resilient and vulnerable schools think that pre-school institutions and schools can only compensate for the socialization disadvantages of multiply disadvantaged children to a limited extent.

Teachers were also asked about what factors may affect the extent to which a school can compensate for lacking socialization. Teachers unanimously ranked children's diligence and attitudes towards learning and their family environment as the top factors, and felt that the characteristics of the school and the pedagogical factors had less impact on compensating for disadvantages. It should be noted that the teachers of resilient schools stress the importance of patience much more as a factor that can help fight disadvantages and ensure the successful education of socially disadvantaged children. *(Table 7)*

Table 7: In your opinion, to what extent do the following factors affect the effectiveness of compensation? *(Average of a scale of 1 to 5, 1: not at all, 5: entirely)*						
	RESILIENT SCHOOLS			**VULNERABLE SCHOOLS**		
	N	**AVERAGE**	**STANDARD DEVIATION**	**N**	**AVERAGE**	**STANDARD DEVIATION**
Child						
Diligence, attitude	309	4.42	0.556	409	4.34	0.605
Family						
Parents' attitude	308	4.55	0.566	410	4.54	0.576
Family lifestyle	310	4.36	0.632	407	4.34	0.661
Family culture	309	4.28	0.683	405	4.26	0.715
Social circumstances	309	3.89	0.833	407	3.92	0.828
School-family relationship						
School-family relationship	299	4.21	0.653	396	4.21	0.620
School, teacher						
Teacher patience*	303	4.10	0.750	406	3.94	0.763
Pedagogical methods used in the school	306	3.99	0.715	402	3.90	0.720
Social composition of the school, group or class	304	3.70	0.761	399	3.72	0.819
Equipment available at the school	304	3.40	0.810	404	3.44	0.870
Content of teacher training	290	3.45	0.930	389	3.37	0.948

There is a significant difference between the two groups of schools (independent two-sample t-test, p<0.01).

The better overall attitudes of the teachers of resilient schools are demonstrated clearly by the fact that they have a more positive view on their career and their work

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35 1 - cannot compensate at all, 5 - can fully compensate.

than their colleagues working in vulnerable schools. Specifically, more of the teachers of successful schools agree fully with the statement that being a teacher has more advantages than disadvantages (19.1% vs. 10.2%)

FINAL THOUGHTS

This study examines schools with a large number of socio-economically disadvantaged students, focusing on two groups of schools within this category: those that are successful (resilient schools) and those that are less so (vulnerable schools). The results show that resilient schools are doing better and are more similar to each other than vulnerable schools in almost all respects. It should be noted that in most cases the differences between these groups of schools are most clearly defined with regard to factors that are primarily related to the school's atmosphere, such as teacher turnover, pedagogical practices aimed at developing students' skills and personalities, teachers' attitudes regarding segregation and disadvantage compensation, teachers' satisfaction with their career choice, teacher cooperation and teacher-student and school-family relationships.

A general negative correlation was found between the rate of Roma students and the school's absolute test scores, but a (weak) significant correlation with educational added value indicators was only found in vulnerable schools, and only with regard to text comprehension. Based on previous and ongoing research, the authors are confident that the rate of Roma students does not cause poor school performance; that is, non-Roma students have similar problems to their Roma peers. The data also appears to indicate that disadvantaged and/or Roma students arrive at the school with a completely different set of needs, interests, motivations and problems than others, and therefore traditional pedagogical practices may not be successful with them. It is not a coincidence that in schools with socially disadvantaged students, sparking and maintaining interest and motivation in students is one of teachers' most difficult tasks.

Generally, our findings indicate that the success and effectiveness of teachers' work is greatly influenced by human factors that have to do with basic human nature, and can only be developed over the long term, but are indispensable in a teacher's day-to-day work. Patience, a trait that is especially important in resilient schools, is a good example: it is vital for understanding and successfully teaching children with a disadvantaged background.[36]

Our analysis also shows that when comparing resilient and vulnerable schools, an effort should be made to draw up more socially homogenous groups of schools, and at a later stage, an analysis should be carried out with a method of assessing student composition that allows for even greater homogeneity. The authors are confident that

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36 Our prior research, carried out within the framework of priority project SROP 4.2.4.A/2-11-1-2012-0001 entitled „National Excellence Program – Creating and operating a Hungarian student and researcher personal support system", indicated that in schools with many socially disadvantaged students, the role of love, attention, a direct partnership with students (with appropriate boundaries), a constant sense of responsibility for the children, social sensitivity, acceptance and empathy are all crucial elements of teachers' work – in addition to a varied set of methodological tools and a general attitude of placing the child in the centre.

the results of the present analysis are valid, if preliminary. Identifying causal relationships – which is always a difficult task in education – will require finding a way to select more homogenous groups of schools.

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MARIANNA SZEMERSZKI: DIMENSIONS AND BACKGROUND FACTORS OF STUDENT EFFECTIVENESS[1]

INTRODUCTION

Educational effectiveness and its background factors have recently been much researched internationally as well as in Hungary. International assessments that present not only the achievement of a country's education system and students with the background factors behind it but also offer an insight into the differences between countries and trends over time provide an excellent opportunity for investigation. For a long time international assessments were of interest only for a limited professional audience. The breakthrough came around 2000 with the PISA study launched by the OECD whose findings caused quite a stir in several countries.

The findings of international comparative studies indicate that students' achievement is strongly determined by individual factors, primarily by the cultural capital of the family. In addition, institutional characteristics and, in an international comparison, systemic factors also have an impact. The quality of the school matters in students' achievement but not necessarily in the traditional sense (i.e. not through class size or educational expenditure, for instance) but much more through the quality of teachers and the specificities of the institutional system (Hanushek-Woessmann 2014).

While in student effectiveness surveys a sociological approach mainly explores the individual traits of students and the effects of their family background (e.g. the impact of socio-economic status, ethnicity, sex, social background), and probe into intra-school processes and influencing factors, psychologists with an interest in education tend to analyse the willingness to learn and motivation, and the impact of the institutional atmosphere and classroom learning process on achievement. Another important goal is to identify teaching practices and elements of teachers' attitudes having a beneficial effect on student achievements (Creemers et al. 2010).

Hungary has participated in both the IEA's and the OECD's international surveys. Moreover, in 2001 a domestic assessment system was introduced. While international studies provide a systemic feedback on education and allow the comparison of countries, the principal goal of national assessment tools such as the National Assessment of Basic Competencies of Hungary (NABC) is to provide in-depth information of the effectiveness of the school (in mathematical literacy and reading comprehension) compared to other schools. The assessment comprises all students in grades 8 and 10 and also contains a detailed background questionnaire to address the dimension of equitability. The results have lent themselves to numerous analyses finding that there are great differences in the achievement of the Hungarian schools and the gap widens with the appearance of different types of programmes in secondary education (from 25-30% to 45-47%). It is also clear and is in harmony with international findings that there is a strong and long-term correlation between students' family background and school performance. These two phenomena probably reinforce each other, that

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is, choosing a secondary school and admission to it are important factors in students' learning effectiveness and subsequent career opportunities (Balázsi–Horváth 2011).

Effectiveness research relies to a large extent on the findings of student assessments outlined above. At the same time researchers are divided as to how complex and reliable indicators the measured and measurable achievements of students are of school and student effectiveness. A growing number of researchers draw attention to the necessity to monitor the development of non-cognitive skills, *inter alia.* It is a notable shortcoming of international student assessments that they almost exclusively focus on mathematical literacy and reading comprehension, which means researchers are unable to measure the performance of students in other areas; nor can they have a picture of how new educational goals such as the development of metacognitive skills are met. It is perhaps for this reason that over the past twenty years several attempts have been made at assessing other areas too; studies addressed affective outcomes (Knuver–Brandsma 1993; Opdenakker–Van Damme 2006), and other disciplines (Kyriakides–Tsangaridou 2008). In the Hungarian context mention should be made of the stop-gap research conducted by the Institute of Education of the University of Szeged. The measurements carried out by Csapó et al. not only take stock of the segments of study areas that provide data in the wake of regular assessments involving large populations but also those that have not been explored in this fashion (foreign languages, history and social studies, civic competencies, information technology, visual culture and music, health and health maintenance). The most recent works of the research team also address the possibilities of assessing metacognitive, social and affective areas (socialization, social behaviour, development of the personality, affective factors of learning, thinking skills and competencies) (Csapó 2012; Molnár–Korom 2013).

All these research projects are important because many scientific arguments support the view that cognitive and affective skills and competencies have a synergic effect. Findings have demonstrated that schools that successfully develop students' cognitive skills also enhance their affective output by strengthening positive attitudes to schooling (Knuver–Brandsma 1993; Kyriakides 2005). No study has so far found a negative correlation between learning, social and affective outcomes (Creemers et al. 2010).

The comparative time series analysis of motivation to learning and learning strategies and the PISA results in mathematics in five countries reveals that learning effectiveness is not related to going to school per se (low rate of absences and tardiness) but rather to motivation and efficient learning strategies. The analysis also underscores that a positive self-image of students, primarily the conviction that they are able to solve a mathematical problem, as well as the low degree of anxiety are also in close correlation with mathematical achievement (Csullog–D. Molnár–Lannert 2014).

This paper attempts to explore students' individual intra- and extra-school factors that contribute to success by analysing a survey of students in secondary educational institutions, always bearing in mind the complex concept of effectiveness and the diversity of sometimes interrelated factors. In this research two dimensions of student effectiveness and their background factors were examined: scholastic achievement on one hand, and subjective effectiveness on the other hand, which in this case mainly means commitment to learning and perseverance in pursuing goals. The latter is important to examine because in the researchers' opinion while the main function

of the school is to develop children's cognitive skills, realization of the importance of learning and a sense of achievement can be just as important in laying the basis of future life. The objective was to identify background factors that have a positive effect on these two types of indicators of student effectiveness, and to find the factors in and out of school that can to some extent compensate for the effect of parental cultural capital, which is outstandingly high in Hungary, similarly to some other countries. In the researchers' hypothesis, supportive family attitudes and some school related factors including students' well-being in the school may have such compensatory effect.

The research was commissioned by the Institute for Educational Research and Development. The respondents were grade 9 and 11 students in secondary education in the spring of 2014.[2] When selecting these two cohorts the intent was to assess students at the beginning and towards the end of their secondary studies; in this way the sample population gives an insight into student effectiveness at two prominent periods of secondary education, making it also possible to compare grades. When selecting the population regional distribution was taken into consideration and the resulting sample encompassed students studying in the two grades in all types of training in the particular institutions with the exception of special vocational training schools. A total of over 14 thousand students in 103 schools were surveyed. After the necessary steps of data cleaning and weighting[3] this paper analyses the data of 13,826 respondents. Data of the two grades were analysed together, with the differences by grade indicated where necessary.

THE SELECTIVE EFFECT OF FAMILY BACKGROUND

International research and the National Assessment of Basic Competencies findings indicate that students' achievement is strongly determined by their family background, primarily the family's cultural capital. The value of the ESCS index applied in the PISA studies[4] and the average mathematical literacy and reading comprehension of students show a strong correlation in all countries. Hungary shows one of the highest variance of the ESCS index. This means that Hungary is among the countries where results below or around the OECD average are coupled with an above-the-average impact of the family background. Looking at the differences between student achievement within the school and between schools it is also conspicuous that in Hungary the achievement is affected more by differences between schools than within the school, which is related to the fact that the 15-year-old population study in an already highly selective institutional system. Moreover, while intra-school differences are barely affected by the family background index, the explanatory power of the ESCS index is strong when it comes to the differences between schools (PISA 2012). The NABC data also reveal the strong impact of family background but also highlight the strong selective effect of the system of secondary educational institutions (OKM 2012).

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2 The questionnaire-based survey was conducted by Medián Kft.
3 Weighting was done by respondents' sex, type of school and locality of the school.
4 The PISA index of economic, social and cultural status (ESCS) combines the main parameters of the family's socio-cultural background in a single variable.

Consequently the choice of secondary school can be considered as a selective step of crucial importance. While the choice of secondary school type is not independent from the student's abilities the data also indicate a strong correlation between choice of school and family background. Comparing the two grades in this respect is all the more interesting as in grade 11 the rate of vocational training students with parents whose educational attainment is no more than 8 grades of primary school is considerably lower than in grade 9, which indicates in this school type an above-the-average dropout rate among children of parents with lower educational attainment.

The social selection is also shown by the finding that while in grade 9 the average proportion of students whose father is Roma is 7%,[5] in grade 11 it is only 4%, and in vocational training schools students of Roma fathers are overrepresented in both grades (17% in grade 9 and 10% in grade 11). The trend is the same in the case of mothers.

Figure 1: Educational attainment of parents by school type (grade 9, N=7,334)
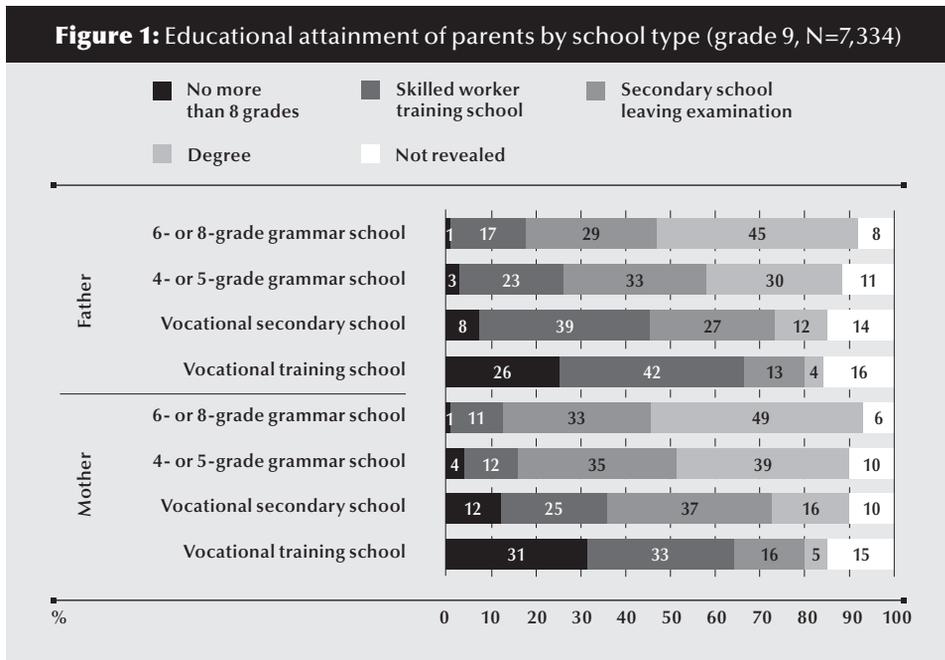
Inequality in terms of the family's cultural capital is revealed by the number of books in the family. Here too vocational training school students are clearly at a disadvantage: 52% live in families where the number of books is no more than 50 and in the case of 23%, no more than 10. Students' subjective assessment of their financial status is not unrelated to the cultural indicators but as it is about subjective perception and the reference group is obviously everybody's immediate environment primarily, the differences by type of school are somewhat smaller.

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5 In the questionnaire students could indicate their parents' ethnicity with multiple answers. This figure shows the percentage of respondents who chose the category Roma in the case of their father.

Figure 2: Educational attainment of parents by school type (grade 11, N=6,492)

Legend:
- No more than 8 grades
- Skilled worker training school
- Secondary school leaving examination
- Degree
- Not revealed

Father

6- or 8-grade grammar school	1	14	35	46	4
4- or 5-grade grammar school	3	23	36	30	8
Vocational secondary school	7	40	30	15	8
Vocational training school	20	49	16	5	10

Mother

6- or 8-grade grammar school	2	8	37	49	4
4- or 5-grade grammar school	4	13	41	40	2
Vocational secondary school	10	26	38	20	6
Vocational training school	27	39	20	6	8

% 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

POSSIBLE INDICATORS OF STUDENT EFFECTIVENESS

Discussing student efficiency, it seems expedient to link effectiveness to learning achievement, although research has shown that the relationship between school marks and achievement is sometimes questionable (Csapó 1988; Sáska 2011). However, in a questionnaire-based study there is no opportunity for a more accurate exploration of knowledge and achievement in particular subjects, so while the researchers are aware that school marks provide only a limited picture of students' achievement in the various school subjects, in this study, similarly to other studies, marks still represent one of the indicators of student effectiveness. As has been stated, marks were completed by other data, and in this way two effectiveness indicators were created: one that is essentially based on scholastic achievement, taking into consideration marks and other achievements, and one that measures dedication to learning. This indicator is designed to offset the dominance of achievement in school subjects and points at perseverance in pursuing study goals, a perception of importance and usefulness of studies, and plans and goals once finishing school.

SCHOLASTIC EFFECTIVENESS INDEX

The scholastic effectiveness index includes the end-of-semester average result, marks in some priority subjects, results achieved at study and arts competitions, language proficiency examination, and in a negative sense, secondary school failure. These in-

dicators are considered to provide, on the whole, an approximate picture of the scholastic achievement of a young person in secondary education.

We found a significant difference in average results by both grade and school type. In grade 11 marks are somewhat higher than in grade 9, particularly in the case of students in vocational training schools. This is due to some extent to the fact that this stage of training is more dominated by subjects related to the specific trade or chosen in accordance with the student's interest, which results in students often achieving better-than-average marks. On the other hand, 11th grade average results are probably driven up also because by then some of the poorest achievers are no longer within the system.

Besides marks, achievements at competitions have also been taken into consideration in the scholastic effectiveness index. While the proportion of students participating in competitions somewhat increases with the progression of studies there is little difference between the answers of the two grades, which indicates that competitions typically mobilize a certain group of students and this group emerges early on. Achievement at competitions seems to be just as uneven as participation: general secondary school (grammar school) students and in particular students of 6- and 8-grade secondary schools scored unequivocally higher in terms of both participation and results achieved.

We also included successful or intended language proficiency examinations as an indicator. This can be considered as an effectiveness indicator not only because there are obvious advantages attached to a certificate of language proficiency in higher education and in the labour market but also because it indicates an extra investment into learning.

Repeating a grade or failure in one or more subjects can also be an indicator of secondary school success or rather failure. Almost one-tenth of students fall in the category of repeaters, another 6% had to sit for a retake examination for failure at the end of the school year, and 18% failed in one or more subjects at the end of the autumn semester. Here again students in vocational training schools are the most vulnerable. The proportion of repeating is very high at the end of grade 9; less in more advanced grades because supposedly fewer repeaters reach grade 11.

From the variables outlined above a complex scholastic effectiveness index with a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1 was created based on the average values of the standardized variables described above.[6] The continuous variable was divided into quarters in both grade 9 and grade 11 and the researchers looked at the students who ended up in each of the quarters. As expected, the highest quarter of scholastic success included general secondary school students and particularly students of 6- and 8-grade secondary schools in highest numbers, and vocational school students in both grades had considerable less-than-average chance to make it into the highest quarter.

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6 When developing the index standardized variables were used. The steps of creating the variables and the background analyses of the components of the index are described in detail in the longer Hungarian paper written about the same topic.

Figure 3: The distribution of students in the individual quarters of the scholastic effectiveness index by school type
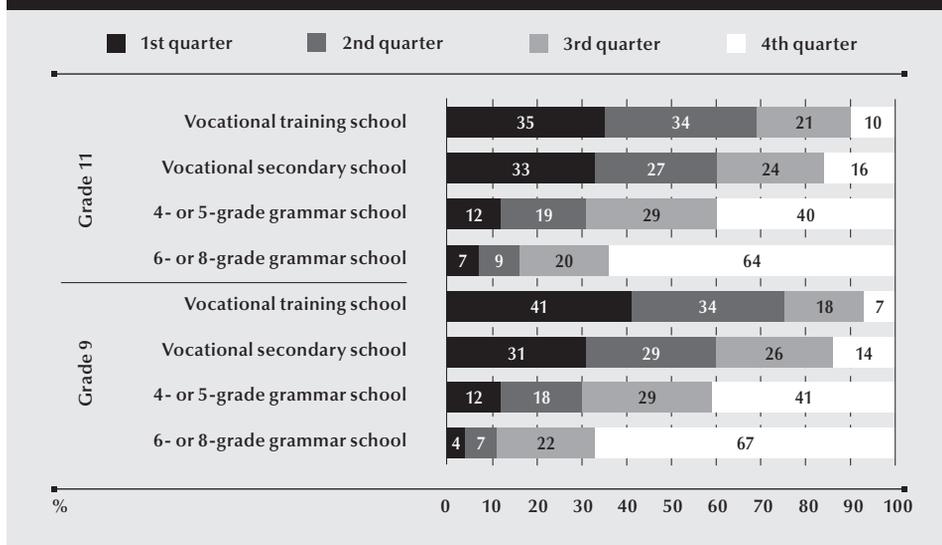
p<0.001

By controlling the type of school, the relationship of the index to some of the background variables was examined. It was found that in the same school type the index value of girls was significantly higher than boys, and the same applies for differences by parents' educational attainment and the family's financial status: the higher the family status the higher the mean index even within the same school type. It seems that daily commuting also has a negative bearing on the scholastic achievement index; conversely, dormitories have a positive influence on the index in all school types, particularly in grade 9. Not surprisingly, the primary school record has a major impact on the secondary school record, and the fact that a student started his or her studies in a primary school other than the one closes to his or her residence has some bearing. This, however, is likely to be related to the parents' educational attainment and as such, also shows the effect of parental ambitions: in all secondary school types a lot more students with better educated parents tended to start grade 1 in a primary school outside their school district.

THE COMPLEX SUBJECTIVE EFFECTIVENESS INDEX

The other effectiveness index developed expresses the relationship to learning and going to school, and also depicts effectiveness of schooling, although from a different approach. It is in harmony with the school and education policy goals which are targeted *inter alia* to prevent early school leaving. The complex index summarizes the indicators of perseverance in studies, the recognition of the importance and usefulness of studies, the willingness to go on to further education, and ideas about the future. In

the researchers' opinion these are also important dimensions of studying effectiveness as they reflect to what extent students have internalized the values related to the usefulness of learning and whether they are likely to be able to employ the knowledge acquired at school – on the whole, to what extent does the time spent so far at school supports successful preparation for adult life. Motivation to learning plays a prime role in educational achievement. The learning environment including the school can make an important contribution to motivation, particularly in the case of youths with a less favourable socio-economic background (Pásku 2013).

The idea of leaving the school never occurred to two-thirds of students. Conversely, more than one-tenth seriously considered it at least once, and the idea occurred to another one-fifth although not as a definite intention. While this variable shows a significant correlation with the school record and the type of secondary educational institution failures in studies or poor achievement are not the only reasons for quitting school. The general atmosphere of the school (relations with teachers and classmates), dissatisfaction with the school or the trade also has a significant part in young people contemplating early leaving. In this respect the period of grade 9 is critical than the later school years, indicated by the fact that 28% of 9th grader respondents admitted that the idea of leaving school had occurred to them. The same idea occurred to not many more of the 11th grader respondents (32%).

Twenty-seven percent of students have a definite idea of the sort of job they would like to have as adults, and every second respondents have some idea. About one-fifth are uncertain. Having some or not having any idea does not seem to depend on the school record, and is only related to school type in that the rate of vocational training school students having a definite idea is above the average, and this holds even more for those of them whose school record is good. Looking at it from the perspective of grades, two more years seems to mean a lot for grammar school students: by grade 11 more of them have definite ideas.

Almost three-quarters of students aspire to a higher educational attainment in the course of their lives than the level at which they currently study. The influence of several factors can be detected in this respect. Examining the aspiration to a higher educational attainment and the factors influencing in the framework of logistic regression (logit model) pointed at school average and parents' educational attainment as well as the type of school as the most important factors but supportive family and friends also enhance the chance of further studies.

Attitudes related to learning are an important dimension of effectiveness. Not only can attitudes affect the school record, they also stay with the young person over a longer period in their life. Belief in the usefulness of learning despite all the hardships learning involves conspicuously improves opportunities, as seen for example among the students involved in the Arany János Programme (Fehérvári 2015). Analysts also point out that the institutional system's and the particular institution's ability to create a system of values and norms that supports learning also makes a difference in terms of effectiveness (Dronkers−Róbert 2005; Pusztai 2009). Of course scholastic achievement and motivation, the attitude to learning are not unrelated to each other; numerous surveys highlight poor motivation to learning as a possible underlying cause of failure of certain groups of students. Motivation to learning, therefore, has an effect on school marks but the effect also works vice versa: marks also influence students' motivation (Józsa 2002; Fejes 2005).

Attitudes to learning were assessed through two types of questions; one explored how students assessed the learning process, and the other approached from the direction of learning outcome. Typically, respondents are of the opinion that learning is difficult, boring and unpleasant but nevertheless more useful than unnecessary. With minor variations this is the general attitude in both grades in all school types. Correlation is strongest with the school record: those who have a higher average result consider learning a lot more useful and also a more pleasant, easier and more interesting activity.

Several statements were used to assess attitudes to learning and school, then factor analysis was applied to sort the replies into various dimensions. Factor analysis generated a structure of five factors which encompassed 42% of the 16 variables involved (see Appendix, Table 1). From among them, the factor values of belief in the usefulness of learning/school, and result orientation attitude were used in the subjective effectiveness index as factors having a positive content from the point of view of effectiveness.

Our index assessing the attitude and dedication to learning is a continuous variable with a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1 based on the mean value of four standardized variables and two factor variables.[7] Dividing the continuous variable into quarters there is some difference compared to the scholastic effectiveness index: while here too it is mainly grammar school students that appear in the highest quarter, the subjective effectiveness index is less selective than the scholastic effectiveness index. Obviously there is a mild correlation (0.394) between the two indexes and the subjective index also correlates with the end-of-semester result, though to a much lesser extent than the scholastic effectiveness index (0.379).

Figure 4: The distribution of students in the individual quarters of the subjective effectiveness index by school type
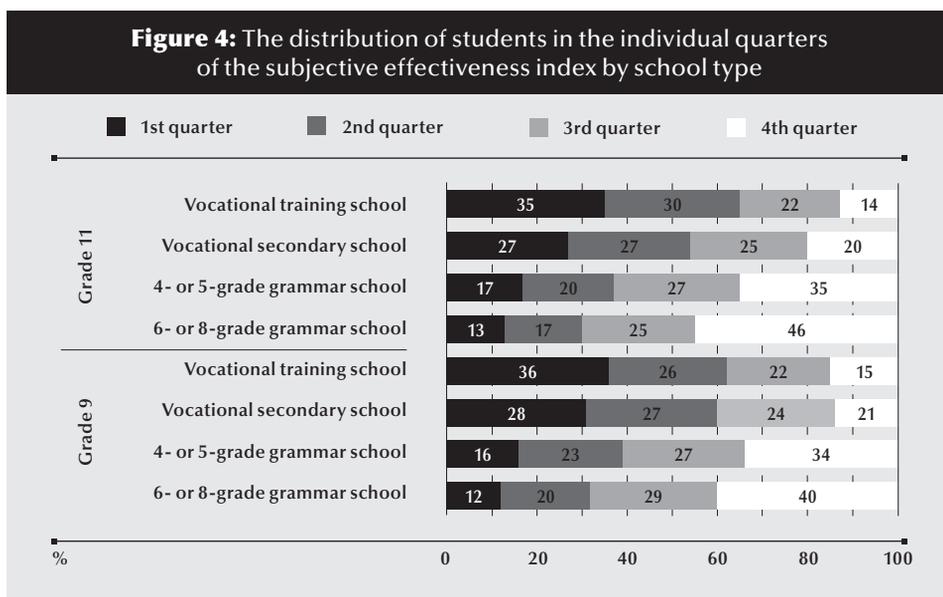
p<0.001

7 The steps of creating the index and background analyses of the components of the index are described in detail in the longer Hungarian paper written about the same topic.

Because of the differences by school type here again the mean values of the index were compared in several dimensions. Although all of the differences were significant, the explanatory power of some variables (e.g. parents' educational attainment, previous school record) was less than in the case of the scholastic index. Conversely, satisfaction with the school is a background factor that very strongly correlates to the value of the subjective index, which suggests that dedication to learning may be influenced by various characteristics of the school background. The impact of the family does not disappear in the subjective effectiveness index either but is conspicuous through the supportive family background rather than through educational attainment; in other words, the index shows a strong correlation to how frequently the parents talk about the school with their child and whether they follow the child's school achievement. These findings support the research outcome of Pusztai (2009), who demonstrated the positive effect of the family's social capital on school effectiveness among students in Church schools.

FACTORS HAVING AN IMPACT ON EFFECTIVENESS: THE ROLE OF THE FAMILY AND THE SCHOOL

In what follows an attempt is made to analyse what factors have an impact on which of the two effectiveness indexes, and how the particular factors affect student success, also taking the impact of other factors into consideration – all condense in a single model. As has been demonstrated above, numerous factors have a bearing on effectiveness: to mention a few, from the family side, the financial status of the family, the cultural capital the student brings from home, a supportive family environment; from the school side, primary school results, learning opportunities in primary school, and of course the current secondary school is also crucial with its professional work, values and supportive atmosphere. Naturally not all of the factors can be considered; to do so would go far beyond the time and other limits of a questionnaire-based survey. The researchers must also reckon with the uncertainties in general inherent in the nature of research employing questionnaires, such as lack of answers and the truthfulness of answers. The two types of effectiveness indexes described above were subjected to linear regression analysis in an effort to find factors that affect one or both of the indexes. Because of the exploratory nature of the task, stepwise regression was applied and attention was paid to only include variables in the model that do not cause multicollinearity, therefore in some cases complex variables or factors comprising multiple variables were used.

FAMILY BACKGROUND

From among the factors related to family background the parents' educational attainment and the number of books in the home were incorporated in the combined cultural capital indicator; the family's and the respondent's infrastructure equipment, financial status and assessment of the subjective financial status were combined in the family's financial background indicator; and the supportive environment indicator

contained the standardized values of variables that showed to what extent the parents meant a solid supportive background for their child's studies.[8] Whether the student had a Roma parent was entered as a dummy variable.

These four factor groups have a joint explanatory power of 20% in the case of the scholastic achievement index and approximately 17% in the model of the factors affecting the attitude to learning index. The magnitude of impacts is different in the two effectiveness indexes: the parents' educational attainment has a significant impact on the scholastic effectiveness index, and the family's supportive attitude to learning and the school is somewhat less significant. It is the reverse in the case of the other effectiveness indicator: a supportive attitude seems to be more important for the indicator measuring the attitude to learning. Besides the above, Roma provenance seems to have a mild negative effect on both effectiveness indexes. The impact of the family's financial status is negligible or insignificant in both cases.

Table 1: Impact of family factors				
	SCHOLASTIC EFFECTIVENESS		SUBJECTIVE EFFECTIVENESS	
	STANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENT	P	STANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENT	P
Cultural capital	0.366	0.000	0.158	0.000
Supportive parents	0.195	0.000	0.341	0.000
Roma parent	−0.035	0.000	−0.026	0.002
Family's financial status	−0.039	0.000	0.002	NS
Constant (B)	0.026	0.000	−0.004	NS
Adjusted R²	0.202		0.168	

PREVIOUS STUDIES

Primary school results evidently had a substantial effect on the secondary school record as the school record generally significantly correlates with the student's skills and competencies. Successful further studies were also included as an indicator.[9] Of the primary school effects, the competence development and compensatory (remedial)

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8 In the latter case the following variables were used: how often do the parents go to teacher-parents meetings; how often do they talk about the school with the child; how regularly do they monitor the child's results; to what extent do they support the child's learning; did they help their child in choosing the secondary school. The latter was a dichotomous variable, the others were standardized as values on a four-level scale (1- almost never, 4 -regularly, or 1 – don't support at all, 4 - totally support).
9 The respondent was awarded 1 if he or she studied in the secondary school type and trade his or her original preference, and 0 if not.

services used by the student in primary school (day care/study hall, extracurricular activities) were taken into account.[10]

As expected, success at the previous school level has a massive impact particularly on the scholastic achievement index but also on the other one. Successful further studies rather seem to affect the attitude to learning index, which highlights the importance of having the training and studying in the type of school originally chosen by the student with a view of dedication to studies and learning. The positive impact of participation in competence development sessions was also detectable.

Table 2: Impact of the primary school				
	SCHOLASTIC EFFECTIVENESS		**SUBJECTIVE EFFECTIVENESS**	
	STANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENT	**P**	**STANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENT**	**P**
End-of-year result in grade 8	0.592	0.000	0.287	0.000
Successful further studies	0.036	0.000	0.108	0.000
Competence development sessions	0.083	0.000	0.056	0.000
Compensatory sessions	−0.101	0.000	−.014	NS
Private lessons	0.091	0.000	0.064	0.000
Constant (B)	−1.993	0.000	−0.885	0.000
Adjusted R^2	0.429		0.126	

It is important to note that parental cultural capital has a very strong effect starting in primary school: it has an 18% impact on the end-of-year results in grade 8, therefore the impact of the primary school record also includes the impact of family background. Of the two parents the mother's educational attainment seems to have a greater impact in the case of both girls and boys. However, effectiveness in primary school plays a prime role in how well students are able to cope with secondary school irrespective of the family background.

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10 Thirty-nine percent of the respondents learnt a foreign language in the upper grades of primary school in an extracurricular context; 22% joined extracurricular mathematics club and the same proportion some other competence development club; 29% joined art club. Compensatory teaching was attended by 34% in mathematics and 18% by another subject. The competence development sessions and compensatory sessions were examined separately (disregarding whether they took place in or outside the school). Only non-participation and participation were sought and the value of the answers was 0 or 1. A variable was also set up that measured students' recourse to extracurricular activities in and outside the school (in other words, private lessons). In the higher grades of primary school 51% were involved in activities offered in the school and 37% outside the school. None of the indicators contained extracurricular sports, and involvement in extracurricular arts was recognized as competence development. Attending day care and study hall featured in a separate indicator; one-third of the students had recourse to one or the other in grades 5-8.

SECONDARY STUDIES

We analysed the impact of various parameters of current studies and school on effectiveness through assessing participation in extracurricular studies (a factor also surveyed in conjunction with primary school), motivation to learning at the level of the individual and the class, the attitude to learning, and through teaching, teachers and the school atmosphere as seen by the students.

The latter category contained a principal component that condensed eight variables of students' assessment of teachers of their school showing to what extent students consider the teachers of their school to be "good teachers."[11] The principal component encompassing eight variables condenses 51.8% of the information contents with all eight variables having approximately equal weight.[12] Somewhat higher values were found in grade 9 students and mostly in 6- and 8-grade grammar school students; and the values in vocational training school students were higher than in the case of vocational secondary school students. It is also conspicuous that the principal component has the highest average value for students studying in Church institutions.

Peer pressure and school atmosphere are eminently important for the secondary school age group. When investigating effectiveness, school atmosphere could be an important factor in terms of whether the young person likes going to school and has a good time there.[13]

Factors related to the secondary school in this survey explain approximately the same proportion of the scholastic effectiveness index and the subjective effectiveness index but the impact of the individual factors is of differing strength. While one of the dominant impacts on both effectiveness indexes is exerted by the current learning effort, in other words, how much the respondent actually studies, the impact of extracurricular competence development sessions on scholastic effectiveness is also outstanding. This is probably related to the fact that the effectiveness index developed by the researchers also includes study and other competitions and language proficiency examinations – preparation for these events obviously requires a great deal of extracurricular effort. The order of strength of the various impacts on the subjective effectiveness index is not so evident but intra-school "subjective" perceptions have a conspicuously greater effect, for instance if students have a good time in school, if they think they have good teachers, and also if they feel learning is considered as

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11 According to the survey all of the students find professional criteria such as knowledge of the subject, interesting classes, fair evaluation, keeping up discipline, a positive attitude to students of cardinal importance. In addition to these, a group of students also find positive human attributes also extremely important ("a person I can look up to," "I can go to my teacher any time with a personal problem").

12 The components had the following weight in developing the variable: He/She is a good teacher, I enjoy his/her classes, his/her explanations are interesting (0,770); He/She is a person I can look up to (0,757); He/She likes the students (0,748); I can go to him/her with a learning or school problem any time (0,719); He/She is fair in his/her evaluations (0,715); I can go to him/her with a personal problem any time (0,698); He/She can keep up discipline (0,695); His/Her standard of knowledge of his/her subject is high (0,651).

13 Peer attitude to learning was measured by the degree of acceptance of the following statement: "My classmates appreciate it if someone does well at school," and friends' attitude by degree of acceptance of the statement "My friends support learning." Both variables had values on a four-level scale (1-4). School atmosphere was mapped through a principal component consisting of the following three variables: I have a good time in school (0,845), I find it easy to make friends in school (0,751), I feel I am an outsider and a loner in school (0,584). The principal component condenses 54% of the information contents of the variables.

a value in the class, and friends are supportive of learning. All this highlights the fact that if the school's role is not limited to merely developing cognitive functions, then by improving these factors the school system can go a long way towards shaping students' positive image of the school and learning, which is ultimately favourable for scholastic effectiveness. Furthermore, the results underscore the research findings pointing out that class level processes are just as crucial as school level processes in effectiveness studies.

Table 3: Impact of current studies				
	SCHOLASTIC EFFECTIVENESS		SUBJECTIVE EFFECTIVENESS	
	STANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENT	P	STANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENT	P
Motivation, current learning effort (learns a lot)	0.270	0.000	0.148	0.000
Competence development sessions	0.287	0.000	0.128	0.000
Compensatory sessions	−0.108	0.000	−0.027	0.001
Classmates recognize learning as a value	0.028	0.002	0.112	0.000
Friends support learning	0.077	0.000	0.157	0.000
Good teachers at school (principal component values)	0.038	0.000	0.145	0.000
Good atmosphere in school (principal component values)	0.067	0.000	0.156	0.000
Constant (B)	−0.660	0.000	−0.615	0.000
Adjusted R^2	0.205		0.216	

Summarizing the above, success in primary school appears to be a very good predictor of scholastic effectiveness; at the same time it is not necessarily the strongest impact on dedication to studies. A supportive family environment and intra-school supportive effects such as good teachers and a reinforcing and supportive school environment can play an equally important part in the development of positive attitudes to learning. Again attention should be drawn to the research exploring the positive impact of school and class level social capital on the school record of Church school students (Pusztai 2009). It is possibly not apparent in the short term, in direct cognitive outcomes, but it may contribute to a positive long term outcome in the young person's life and future success.

Although looking at the variables separately there seems to be correlations with the respondent's sex, the type of school and the school operator, as well as with the student commuting or living in a dormitory, in the complex model only the type of school has a significant impact though not in the way expected, when taking into consideration the impact of all the other factors. In the pure model, i.e. when the impact of only the type of school is considered, the general secondary school (grammar school) had an evident and very strong positive effect, while the impact of the vocational training school was negative (the explanatory power of the model was 17.2% in the case of the scholastic in-

dex and 6% in the case of the other index). Conversely, in the complex model, where the impact of other factors is also taken into consideration, the impact of grammar school education diminishes, and the impact of the vocational training school changes from negative to positive. This indicates that the effect of school type is superseded by other factors, *inter alia* by primary school result, and family cultural capital.

Table 4: Combined impact of the various factors				
	SCHOLASTIC EFFECTIVENESS		SUBJECTIVE EFFECTIVENESS	
	STANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENT	P	STANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENT	P
Family cultural capital	0.160	0.000	0.095	0.000
Supportive parents	0.038	0.000	0.190	0.000
End-of-year result (average) in grade 8	0.491	0.000	0.142	0.000
Successful further studies	0.019	0.003	0.037	0.000
Competence development sessions in primary school	0.053	0.000	0.031	0.001
Compensatory sessions in primary school	−0.061	0.000	0.013	NS
Competence development sessions in secondary school	0.117	0.000	0.051	0.000
Compensatory sessions in secondary school	−0.062	0.000	−0.028	0.001
Current learning effort (learns a lot)	0.168	0.000	0.091	0.000
Classmates recognize learning as a value	0.008	NS	0.098	0.000
Friends support learning	0.007	NS	0.091	0.000
Good teachers at school (principal component values)	0.060	0.000	0.139	0.000
Good atmosphere in school (principal component values)	0.008	NS	0.095	0.000
General secondary school	0.095	0.000	0.029	0.002
Vocational training school	0.130	0.000	0.035	0.000
Constant (B)	−1.988	0.000	−0.826	0.000
Adjusted R^2	0.522		0.301	

Analysing the regression model separately by each of the two grades (see Tables 2 and 3 in the Annex) it appears that by grade 11 the impact of primary school achievement on the scholastic effectiveness index somewhat diminishes, and effects related to secondary studies come into the foreground. This is partly an actual impact of the school but is partly imputed to a somewhat more selective composition of students which is indicated by the higher value of the impact of cultural capital.

SUMMARY

This paper attempted to explore the effectiveness of students of secondary educational institution from various approaches. One of the two effectiveness indicators devised specifically measures scholastic success, and the other indicator encompasses attitudes to learning. The various student groups are characterised by differing effectiveness index values: while the type of school has a dominant effect on the scholastic effectiveness index, the other index measuring attitudes to learning seems to be more "democratic" about school types. Because of the approach the weights of the factors affecting the two types of indexes are different: the scholastic effectiveness index is more affected by the family's cultural capital either directly or through the primary school achievement; the subjective effectiveness index is positively influenced by supportive parents and a supportive school environment. The investigation of this complex interplay is considered to be important because while a favourable effectiveness indicator measuring dedication to learning is not necessarily captured in terms of immediately measurable results, it can have a positive effect on the young person's life in multiple ways, and by strengthening the belief in a result oriented future and in the usefulness of education it may indirectly enhance scholastic effectiveness too. The research data suggest that while result orientation and motivation are capacities developed earlier to some extent and carried over, the school can also hone them – not necessarily only at secondary level; rather at the preceding levels because primary school record is a strong predictor of subsequent scholastic achievement.

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Table 1: Relation to learning and school (rotated factor matrix)					
	SATISFAC-TION WITH THE CHOSEN SCHOOL	A FEELING THAT SCHOOL/ LEARNING IS USELESS	ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTED OPINION	BELIEF IN THE USEFULNESS OF SCHOOL/ LEARNING	SOCIAL DI-MENSION OF SCHOOL LIFE
I am proud of being able to go to this school.	**0.726**	−0.145	0.164	0.075	0.060
My school gives all the assistance that I may need to achieve good results in my studies.	**0.674**	−0.146	0.107	0.199	0.001
I have a good time in school.	**0.541**	−0.043	0.129	0.121	**0.383**
My classmates appreciate it if someone does well at school.	**0.453**	−0.002	0.247	0.120	0.051
I have no problem with my current teachers.	**0.441**	−0.098	0.193	0.177	0.075
School doesn't really help me prepare for later life.	−0.155	**0.680**	−0.017	−0.128	−0.048
Most of the things we learn at school are useless knowledge.	−0.085	**0.630**	−0.100	−0.119	−0.016
Going to school is a waste of time.	−0.052	**0.613**	−0.146	−0.116	−0.135
It is important for me to do well at school.	0.180	−0.140	**0.645**	0.253	0.060
I regularly do my home assignments.	0.229	−0.060	**0.478**	0.097	−0.081
I am more inclined to work harder if my teachers, class-mates and parents appreciate my efforts.	0.136	−0.071	**0.474**	0.149	0.061
I can do better in life if I study.	0.138	−0.140	0.259	**0.571**	0.005
School teaches thing that will be useful later on.	0.239	−0.283	0.211	**0.498**	0.013
My school record primarily depends on me.	0.158	−0.092	0.122	**0.486**	0.117
I find it easy to make friends in school.	0.290	0.051	0.070	0.131	**0.688**
I feel I am an outsider and a loner in school.	0.056	0.286	0.055	0.009	**−0.511**

Maximum Likelihood method, varimax rotation, KMO: 0.846, significance: 0.000

	GRADE 9		GRADE 11	
	STANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENT	P	STANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENT	P
Table 2: Factors affecting scholastic effectiveness by grade				
End-of year result (average) in grade 8	0.532	0.000	0.427	0.000
Current learning effort (learns a lot)	0.120	0.000	0.149	0.000
Family cultural capital	0.151	0.000	0.166	0.000
Supportive parents	0.033	0.000	0.008	NS
Good teachers at school (principal component values)	0.054	0.000	0.047	0.000
Competence development sessions on secondary school	0.069	0.000	0.146	0.000
Compensatory sessions in secondary school	−0.053	0.000	−0.069	0.000
Result orientation (factor values)	0.062	0.000	0.136	0.000
Competence development sessions on primary school	−0.061	0.000	−0.059	0.000
Compensatory sessions in primary school	0.047	0.000	0.059	0.001
Successful further studies	0.029	0.002	0.015	NS
Vocational training school	0.129	0.000	0.124	0.000
General secondary school	0.092	0.000	0.105	0.000
Constant (B)	−1.805	0.000	−1.873	0.000
R^2	0.543		0.522	

	GRADE 9		GRADE 11	
Table 3: Factors affecting subjective effectiveness by grade				
	STANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENT	P	STANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENT	P
Average result of last semester	0.205	0.000	0.211	0.000
Supportive parents	0.197	0.000	0.167	0.000
Classmates recognize learning as a value	0.105	0.000	0.096	0.000
Friends support learning	0.073	0.000	0.112	0.000
Good teachers at school (principal component values)	0.143	0.000	0.110	0.000
Cultural capital	0.072	0.000	0.105	0.000
Good atmosphere in school (principal component values)	0.093	0.000	0.096	0.000
Current learning effort (learns a lot)	0.048	0.000	0.061	0.000
Successful further studies	0.029	0.007	0.034	0.002
Competence development sessions on secondary school	0.034	0.000	0.054	0.000
Competence development sessions on primary school	0.031	0.009	0.023	NS
Compensatory sessions in primary school	0.030	0.012	0.014	NS
Compensatory sessions in secondary school	−0.038	0.001	−0.004NS	NS
Constant (B)	−0.360	0.000	−0.468	0.000
R²	0.315		0.317	

ANNA IMRE: AFTERNOON EDUCATION IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS

Over the past couple of decades several countries have endeavoured extending school time one way or another in order to expand the functions of the system: for instance to strengthen socialization, to lay the foundations of lifelong learning, and to improve the effectiveness and equity of the education system (e.g. Darvas–Kende 2010; Patall et al. 2010; Andrews 2001). Similar or related education policy issues and their implementation have been investigated from a sociological angle, also in connection with recent changes in England and the United States (e.g. Dyson–Raffo 2007; Honig et al. 2001; Osborn et al. 2001). In Hungary the regulation mandating primary schools in Hungary to provide school-based activities until 4 p.m. entered into effect in the 2013/2014 school year. Essentially this meant the introduction of all-day education at least for schools, as the regulation allows parents to request exemption for their children.

This was not the first time the issue of the all-day school was raised in Hungary; it was already contemplated in the very early 2000s. There are several considerations and recognition of needs in the background. For a large number of families, for example single-parent families (their rate in 2011 was 19.8% according to Central Statistical Office data), or for the integration into the labour market of women with young children (as they are barred by the lack of flexible employment in Hungary). It may also be important as an opportunity to extend educational time, which is very short in international comparison, as well as from the point of view of teenagers' socialization in a phase when there is a multitude of changes in the life of youths (e.g. Jancsák 2013; Gábor 2012); and last but not least from the angle of compensating for the inequality of social opportunities – in this respect extended school time can, to some extent, offset extracurricular services and family support.

In the wake of the statutory change the rate of children staying in school in the afternoon has somewhat increased and the choice of afternoon activities has also changed to a lesser extent. In our research[1] we attempted to explore the related processes in the primary schools of three districts of different situation,[2] and to highlight some of their consequences conspicuous in the short term.[3] Institutions' response to the new regulation was analysed separately, as were the ways of implementation, and the roles of the teachers, school heads and, based on the district samples, different contexts were analysed.[4] The analysis also included the impact of the regulation on students and student paths. This paper is focused on a section of the findings related to students.

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1 The research relies on data from 35 primary schools. Answers of 34 school principals, 548 teachers, as well as 403 grade 3, 850 grade 5 and 818 grade 8 students were analysed. Answers of the parents of 5th graders and 8th graders were also incorporated in the analysis.
2 The districts were selected on the basis of several social indicators, primarily taking into consideration the 2013/2014 rate of underprivileged primary school students. One of the districts is a territorial unit in a somewhat more favourable position than the national average (34.6%) (a Budapest district with a disadvantaged student population of 8.9%); another is close to the national average (District J, where the same rate was 32.8%); and the third district was worse than average (District M with 43.8%).
3 In the course of the research we were assisted primarily by Nóra Imre and Eszter Berényi. We thank the institutions participating in the survey for their support of our work.
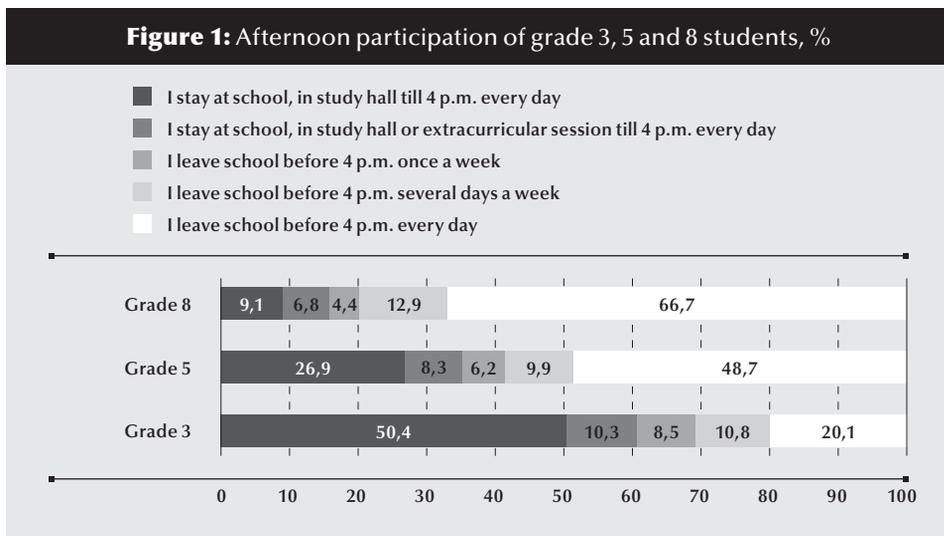4 Their detailed exploration goes beyond the limitations of this paper.

PARTICIPATION IN AFTERNOON ACTIVITIES

The most essential question about afternoon school is what proportion of students use this opportunity, and to what extent it improves access to learning for upper grade (ISCED 2) students. Participation is only one side of the question of access, though undoubtedly the most obvious and conspicuous part. Access to learning was measured by the rate of students staying in school for the afternoon activities in the first step; then by the amount of time spent learning in the second step; and by access to learning related support in the third step, compared to parental support. Within the afternoon school activities our analysis paid special attention to the institution of study room as in the upper grades of Hungarian primary schools this institution is one of the most important forms of direct school support, and the recently introduced regulation resulted in the expansion of study room.

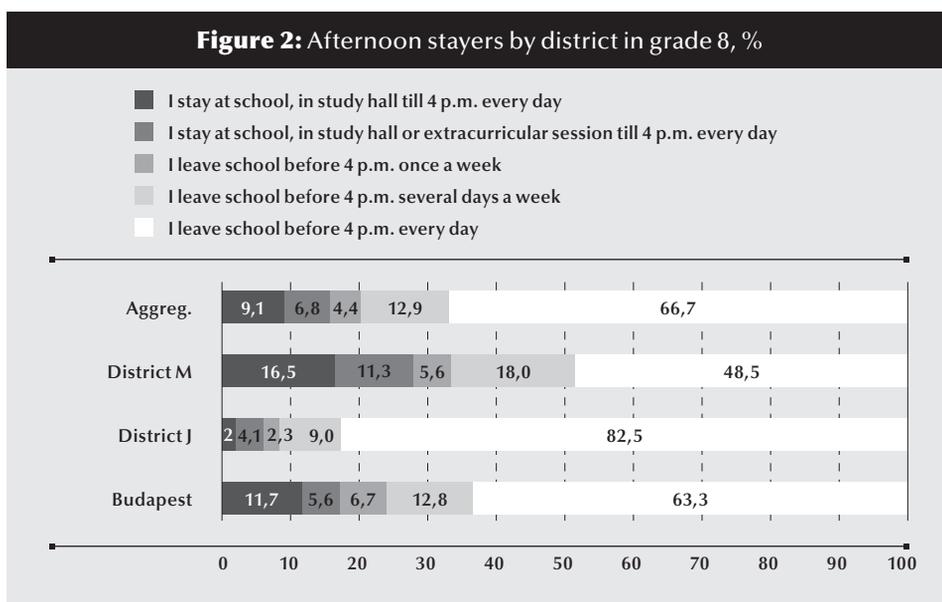### EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES – PARTICIPATION

Participation in extracurricular activities was construed as a matter of access to learning. We wanted to find out to what extent school-based learning had changed and whether it can be interpreted as an improvement in access to learning. Therefore we analysed the question from the side of staying in school and time spent in three primary school grades. Detailed analysis was conducted for the upper grades only.

As expected, the proportions of students involved in afternoon school in the three grades were vastly different. Spending a long time at school is natural in the lower grades: 80% of 3rd graders spend mornings and afternoons at school and only 20% go home at midday. In grade 5 the rate of stayers and home goers is quite balanced (51% and 49% respectively). In grade 8 school-based learning outside classes is no longer

Figure 1: Afternoon participation of grade 3, 5 and 8 students, %

I stay at school, in study hall till 4 p.m. every day
I stay at school, in study hall or extracurricular session till 4 p.m. every day
I leave school before 4 p.m. once a week
I leave school before 4 p.m. several days a week
I leave school before 4 p.m. every day

Grade 8	9,1	6,8 4,4	12,9	66,7
Grade 5	26,9	8,3 6,2	9,9	48,7
Grade 3	50,4	10,3 8,5	10,8	20,1

0   10   20   30   40   50   60   70   80   90   100

significant: only 16% of students stay in school every day and two-thirds (67%-a) never stay (see Figure 1).

The students' answers reveal massive disparities between the districts in terms of staying in school. In grade 3 the difference is not yet significant: the distribution is around the average with the exception of District M, where a higher proportion of young students are taken home for the afternoon. This is probably related to the family structure, settlement pattern, and a more traditional lifestyle where more educational tasks are naturally undertaken by the family. In grade 5 the approximately fifty-fifty distribution reveals extremely great variation by district. While the overwhelming majority of students in the Budapest district (82%) stay in school in the afternoon, in District M "only" about three-quarters, and in District J only over one-tenth (13%). In grade 8 the difference is not too significant: the largest proportion of students, one-third, stay in school in the afternoon in District M. The lowest proportion of stayers is in District J, and stayers in Budapest are around the average of one-fifth.

Figure 2: Afternoon stayers by district in grade 8, %

■ I stay at school, in study hall till 4 p.m. every day
■ I stay at school, in study hall or extracurricular session till 4 p.m. every day
■ I leave school before 4 p.m. once a week
■ I leave school before 4 p.m. several days a week
□ I leave school before 4 p.m. every day

	I stay at school, in study hall till 4 p.m. every day	I stay at school, in study hall or extracurricular session till 4 p.m. every day	I leave school before 4 p.m. once a week	I leave school before 4 p.m. several days a week	I leave school before 4 p.m. every day
Aggreg.	9,1	6,8	4,4	12,9	66,7
District M	16,5	11,3	5,6	18,0	48,5
District J	2	4,1	2,3	9,0	82,5
Budapest	11,7	5,6	6,7	12,8	63,3

Question asked: Which statement is closest to the truth in your case?

Looking at the pattern of staying in school taking students' background into consideration, there are considerable disparities, again as expected. Two main groups seem to emerge in terms of parental background. More than the average rate of children of mothers whose educational attainment is secondary school final examination or higher stay away from the school in the afternoon, and even the stayers do not stay in school every afternoon. The other group comprises children whose mothers have vocational training school or lower educational attainment: a quarter of them spend the afternoon in school. The divergences are even greater in the case of students staying for study hall: the largest proportion (20%) are children of mothers whose educational attainment is no higher than primary school (see Figure 3).

Again as expected the pattern of afternoon stay is highly diverse when taking students' social background into account. Looking at it by grades and from the angle of the mother's educational attainment, while in grade 5 the largest proportion of stayers, and particularly study hall students, are those whose mothers have the lowest educational attainment and the rate of stayers whose mother holds a degree is also more than average, by grade 8 children of parents with higher educational attainment peter out, and only students whose parents finished vocational training school or primary school stay often in school in larger numbers. Children of parents with the lowest educational attainment are among the stayers in high proportions in both grades: in grade 5 more than 50%, and in grade 8 one-third of them stay in school.
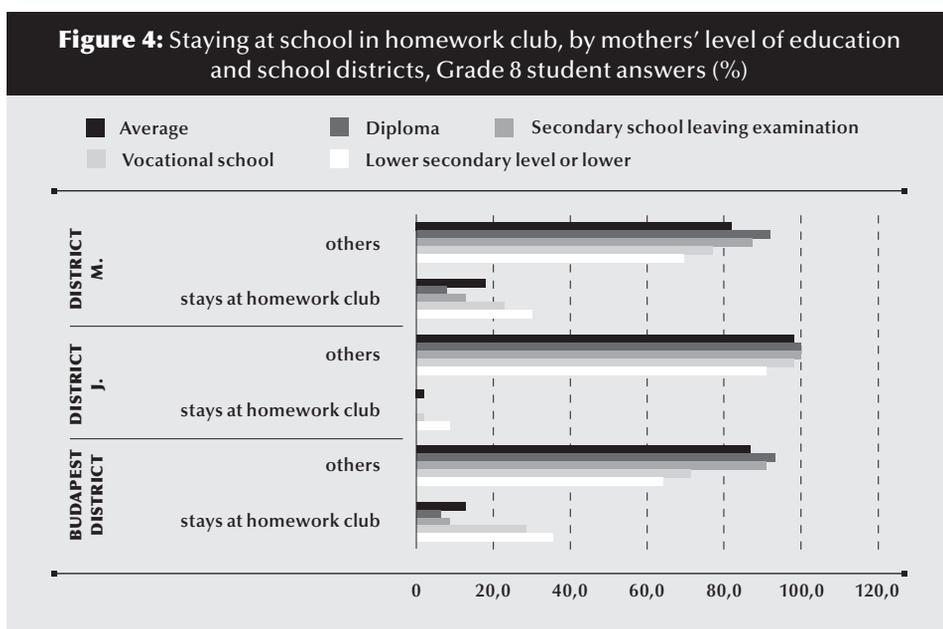

Figure 3: Afternoon stayers by the mother's educational attainment, grades 5 and 8, %
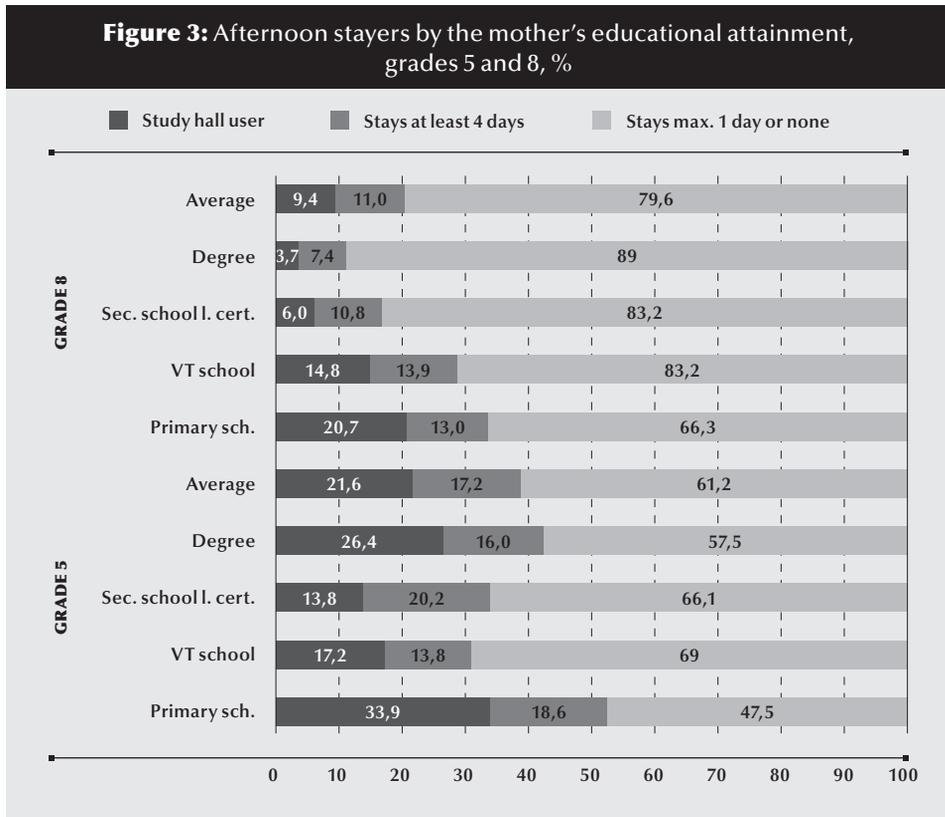
p=0.000 p=0.033

As staying in school in the afternoon means predominantly staying for *study hall*, this is what we primarily focused on in the next part of the research. Study hall has been a long-established supportive framework in primary schools. Its purpose is to help those students with their homework and studies who need support or who stay in school in the afternoon for family reasons. Staying on for study hall is therefore related to students' record and scholastic achievement: those who stay for study hall have an end-of-year average result of 3.3 compared to 4.1, which is the average of those

not using study hall. The new regulation expanded this framework, which justifies a closer investigation.

The composition of the 8th grader study hall user population varies by district. In Districts M and B the groups are quite similar: highly heterogeneous and contains all subgroups by the mother's educational attainment but the rate of mothers with lower educational attainments is higher among study hall users than non-study hall users. In District J the pattern is different: the overwhelming majority of the few study hall users are children of mothers with the lowest educational attainment, so they constitute a much more homogeneous group.

Looking at the rates of study hall users among children of mothers with the lowest educational attainment also shows substantial differences: their rate is 30% in District M, 36% in District B, and only 9% in District J (see Figure 4).

Figure 4: Staying at school in homework club, by mothers' level of education and school districts, Grade 8 student answers (%)

TIME SPENT STUDYING

As studying is not only possible at school but also at home and outside the school, as a second step in addition to afternoon stay we also assessed the study activities deployed in different study environments and the time spent on them.

We also tried to capture the time frame a student population spends studying on a typical day at school and also the time spent on studying outside the school or at home. In their own assessment, 8th graders spend on the average 9.3 hours studying in total, including an average of 6.9 hours at school and 2.4 hours outside the school or at home (see Table 1). Analysing the data along the categories of afternoon staying it is conspicuous that the time frame of studying outside classes in the afternoon is

over an hour and a half in the case of the most concerned group, i.e. study hall users. This, however, is not so much of compensating for extracurricular studies but rather balancing the average time the various student groups spend at school. The significant differences between the groups are apparent. The differences in the time spent studying outside the school add another hour. On the whole, even taking into consideration the time frame for extracurricular studies, the increase in the time study hall users spend studying still lags far behind the time frame the other groups spend studying. Thus, while access to learning has improved in terms of expanded time the difference still remains significant. Greater progress could possibly be achieved if the efficiency of studying in the expanded time frame likewise improved, i.e. if in this time frame schools efficiently supported learning with the available opportunities.

Table 1: Time spent learning in grade 8 as estimate by students (hours, averages)							
	SITES OF LEARNING				COMBINED	AT SCHOOL	OUTSIDE SCHOOL
	CLASSES AT SCHOOL	EXTRACUR-RICULAR LEARNING AT SCHOOL	EXTRA LESSONS OUTSIDE SCHOOL	LEARNING, DOING HOMEWORK AT HOME			
Study hall	5.3	**1.7**	0.3	1.1	**8.5**	7	1.5
Stays at least 4 days	5.6	1.6	0.9	1.6	**9.7**	7.2	2.5
Stays max. 1 day or does not stay	5.8	0.9	0.7	1.8	**9.3**	6.8	2.5
Average	5.8	1.1	0.7	1.7	**9.3**	6.9	2.4

p=0.001

Summing it up, afternoon school seems to have somewhat improved access to learning measured in terms of participation for students who stay at school most of the week. However, taking time into consideration there appear big differences even between the afternoon stayers: the difference in access to learning of study hall users and students who stay at school in the afternoon several days a week is highly varied. Although study hall users' time spent learning has increased by the extension of study hall, they are still far from the extra time frame spent learning in other environments (in class, outside school and at home). All this underscores the fact that the population of afternoon stayers also consists of stratified groups with differing opportunities – another reason why they should not be lumped together.


FACTORS SUPPORTING LEARNING

SCHOOL SUPPORT

In the third step of the analysis we explored the question whether the student receives any support during the time spent in the school and the home learning environment. Whether the time spent at school is actually effective depends to a large extent on what is happening to the student whilst at school. As afternoon stayers tend to have a more

disadvantaged social status in their case the question arises that spending the afternoon in school per se does not necessarily contribute to a better school record or does not necessarily compensates for the disparities of opportunities unless it has a positive impact on learning. Afternoon stay can have a bearing on students and learning in two ways: directly and indirectly. Direct influence is that the persons who support learning are directly available in the study hall or competence development or remedial session related to the morning's class (e.g. help with the home assignment). Indirect influence is that during the afternoon sessions students have more interaction among themselves and with the teachers; in this way the teacher-student relationship becomes multifaceted and more personal, which may have an indirect positive effect on school work, albeit the impact can also be negative.

Direct support: needs and access

Direct forms of support can be important with a view to learning. Needs and demands of support may of course be different for students with differing backgrounds. To explore this our questionnaire included questions about support relating to diverse study and non-study problems to have an idea of the extent to which students can rely on expert help in the course of their school life, and in what questions. There seems to be a more general need of support in connection with learning issues: 15-20% of students often need help in learning or preparing homework, and the majority of students need help sometimes. Understanding what they have learnt appears to be more problematic than preparing the homework: in grade 5 fewer students needed assistance with their written homework. In grade 8 there is a significant drop in homework related needs but the need for support still remains considerable (see Figure 5).

Figure 5: Need for studies and non-studies related support, %
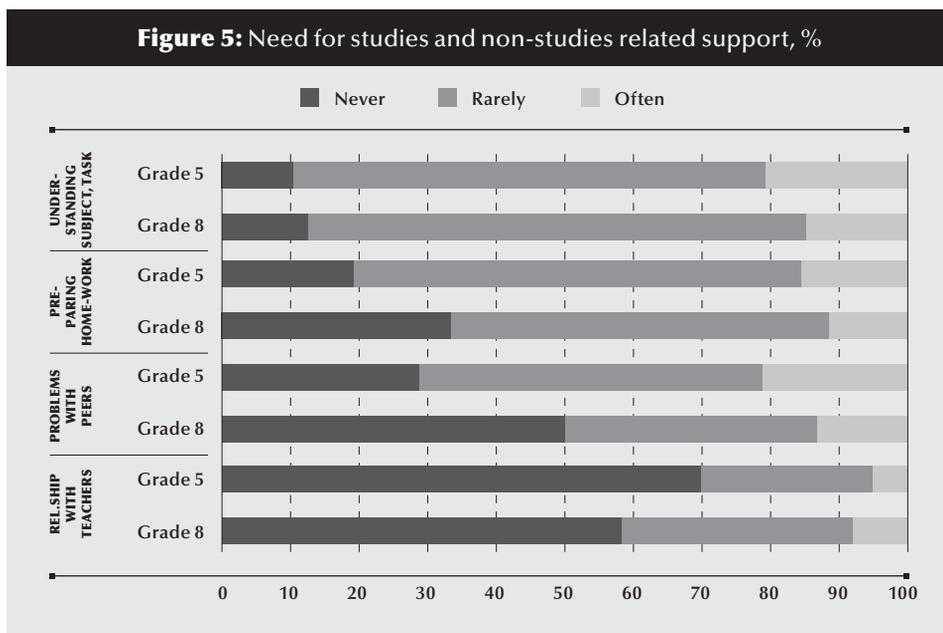
Question asked: How often does it happen that you need help in the following areas?

Help with studies and homework is more readily available in the school but students can rely less on other type of help if they have problems with other students or particularly with teachers. There is a difference even in help to understand the subject and preparing the homework: as regards the latter, students, particularly 8th graders are often left to their own devices. Help with non-study issues is needed less frequently and it is more difficult to find the right person who could help them with such problems (see Figure 6).

Figure 6: Need for studies and non-studies related support, %
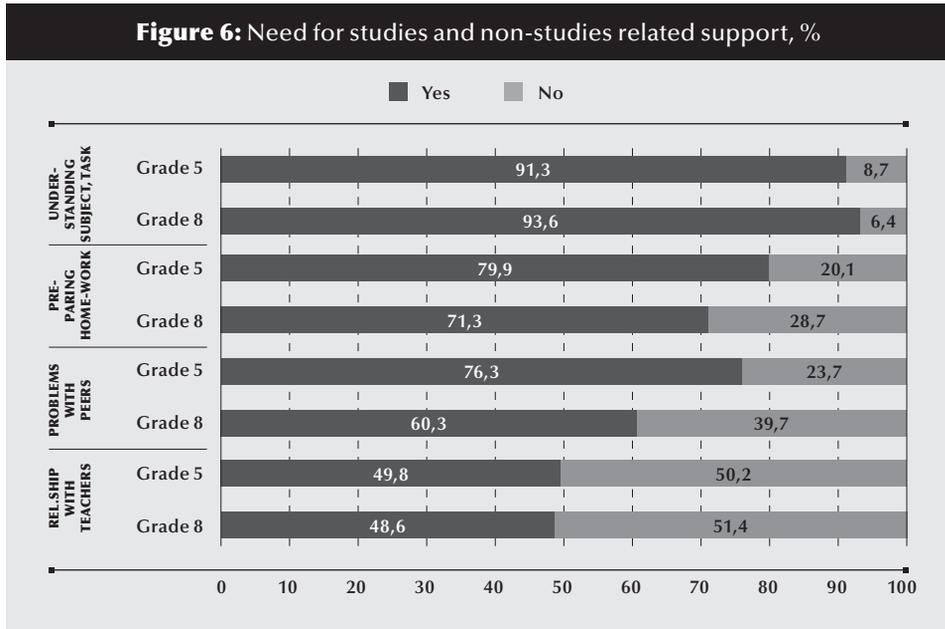
Question asked: Do you have a teacher you could ask for help?

Needs for support seems to differ considerably depending on the social background. Taking the mother's educational attainment into consideration as an indicator of social background we find that with the exception of children of degree holder parents approximately one-fifth of students often need help with grade 5 subjects and not infrequently, about 13-15% also need help with the homework (see Figure 6). In this grade it is the children of mothers with the lowest educational attainment who need most help. In grade 8 parents' educational attainment can be detected.[5] The great majority of students do get help, in grade 5 in particularly large proportions; only 1.5% of students replied they had no one to help them with study related problems and 4.5% said they could not find help with their homework.

Also taking into account afternoon stay our data reveal that in grade 5 mainly those students stay for study hall in the afternoon who think they often need help with their school subjects (43%) or with their homework (23%). In grade 8 less help seems to be

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5 Need for subject related help only is significantly weaker but need for help with homework is strong.
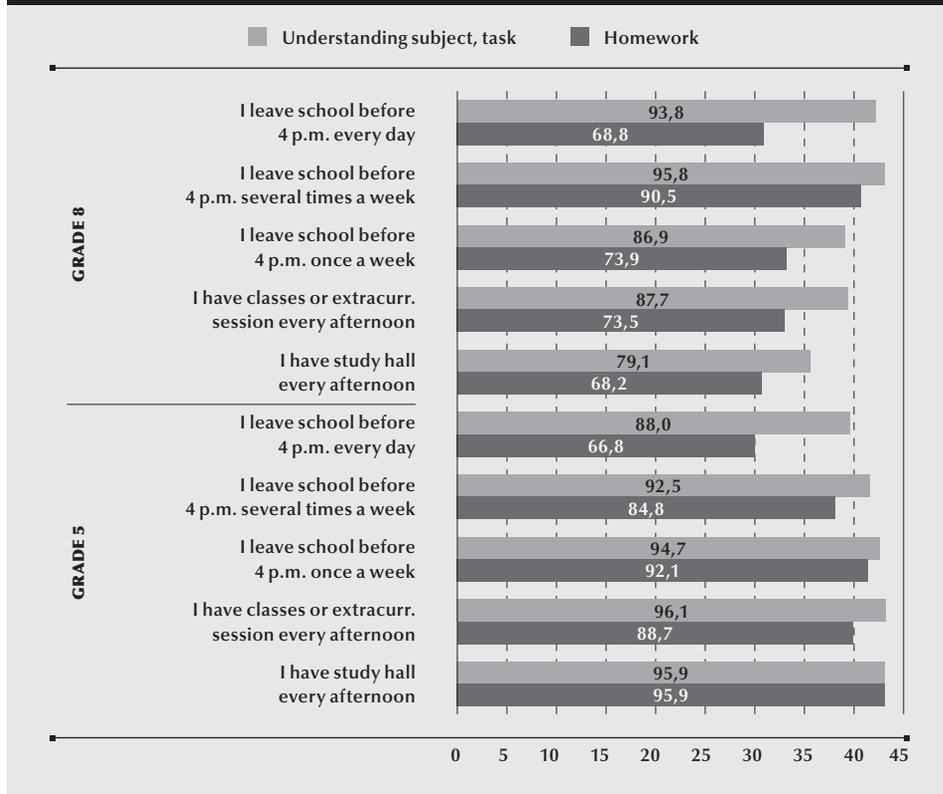
needed (12% and 10% respectively); moreover, they fall behind the support needs of other students, which means that the advantages attached to staying in school in the afternoon probably fade away (see Figure 7).

Figure 7: Need for studies related support at school by afternoon stay. 'Often' answers, grades 5 and 8, %
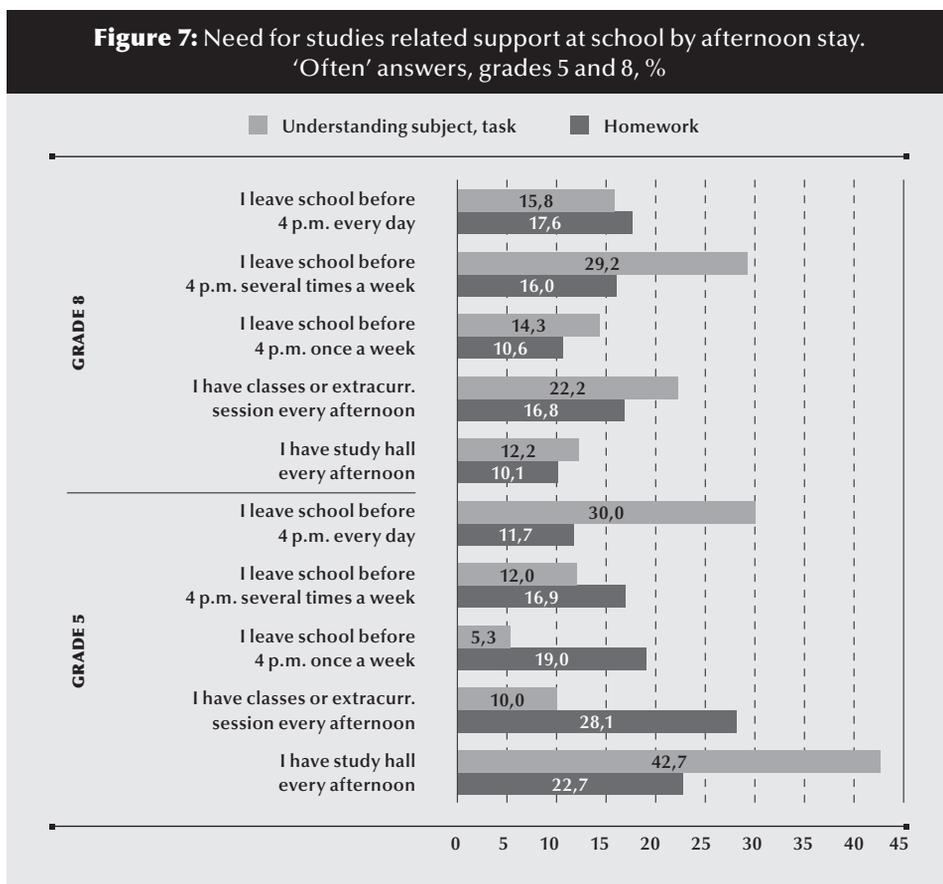
Question asked: How often does it happen that you need help with the following school related things?

Taking afternoon stay also into consideration access to support in the school seems to be general and well-balanced in both areas in grade 5. There is only a minor difference between study hall users and other students in terms of support, and this too shows the advantage for study hall users. This possibly means that the afternoon sessions meet their goals: they support students in their homework and relevant studies. In grade 8 the overall support study hall users received in grade 5 diminishes; moreover, its extent is below that of other subpopulations. In grade 8 those who do not stay in school seem to receive greater support. In grade 8 help needed for understanding the subject and for preparing the homework is more clearly separated (see Figure 8).

Figure 8: Distribution of students who are able to find help in school by grades and afternoon stay, grades 5 and 8, %

Legend: Understanding subject, task — Homework

GRADE 8

I leave school before 4 p.m. every day: 93,8 / 68,8
I leave school before 4 p.m. several times a week: 95,8 / 90,5
I leave school before 4 p.m. once a week: 86,9 / 73,9
I have classes or extracurr. session every afternoon: 87,7 / 73,5
I have study hall every afternoon: 79,1 / 68,2

GRADE 5

I leave school before 4 p.m. every day: 88,0 / 66,8
I leave school before 4 p.m. several times a week: 92,5 / 84,8
I leave school before 4 p.m. once a week: 94,7 / 92,1
I have classes or extracurr. session every afternoon: 96,1 / 88,7
I have study hall every afternoon: 95,9 / 95,9

Question asked: Do you have some teachers whose help you can seek if you have this kind of problem?

Based on the above afternoon stay is often supported by students' needs, particularly in grade 5. In this grade afternoon school and support together can really contribute to extending access to learning. In grade 8 this need in significantly diminished and is there mainly in the case of children whose parents have low educational attainment.

Indirect support

As the next step factors regarded as forms of indirect support were analysed. When determining direct and indirect support to learning we followed a research partially relevant to education (Amaral et al. 2013). Indirect support are factors that make services beyond teachers possible, contribute to the school and learning environment, are inspirational and confirmative, and as such, can be seen as a protective factor in the case of vulnerable students. Such factors include first and foremost good peer relationships and positive teacher-student relationships. Positive teacher-student relationships are a source of the school's social capital as it promotes acceptance and imperceptible internalisation of the common activity and common standards approaching the

school's norms, and could be expressly inspirational to learning without any direct support (Pusztai 2009). Our premise was that given the extended school time, there was more opportunity for positive teacher-student relationships to develop, which would indirectly support afternoon stayers.

Two forms of indirect support were examined more closely: students' relationships to teachers and parents' supportive attitudes. As regards teacher relationships, it can be a support but in less fortunate cases it can also constitute a barrier to learning. The great majority of students have problem-free relationships with their teachers: on the average, only 14% have problems, although in the case of disadvantaged students as many as 23% replied they could have problems because of negative relationships with one or more teachers.

In the course of our analysis we found encouraging and less encouraging connections pointing to teacher-student relationships. An example to the former is that daily afternoon stayers student-teacher relationships were better than average: 92.3% of afternoon stayer students of parents with low educational attainment said they had teachers whom they were particularly fond of, as opposed to students with the same background who never stay on in the afternoon or do not stay every day (86% and. 79% respectively).

As the person of teachers is crucial for both direct and indirect forms of school support we examined how teachers were rated in some areas that are important in terms of relationships and learning, and compared the average opinions of students as a whole group with study hall users as the group most concerned by afternoon school. According to the average student opinion, a good teacher is one who likes children, who can always be sought out to help with subject related or personal problems, who likes his/her subject, whose explanations are interesting, and who listens to students' opinions. Being a model is not part of the ideal teacher's picture. Naturally, teachers only partially meet these demands in actuality, although it is interesting to see mainly in what way they meet and where they fall short of the ideal. The two traits where teachers meet the average student expectations are: liking their subjects, and interesting explanations. In other, no less important, respects, they fail to meet students' expectations, most notably they pay much less attention to students' opinions and like children a lot less that the students would like them to. The opinion of study hall users is largely similar with the difference that fewer of them expect their teachers to like the subjects they teach but more of them want their teachers to like children, to explain in an interesting fashion, and to listen to students' opinions. This latter expectation is where the difference is biggest compared to perception (see Table 2).

Table 2: Rating of teachers, opinion of 8th graders, %						
	ALL STUDENTS, GRADE 8			STUDY HALL USERS, GRADE 8		
	WHAT IS A GOOD TEACHER LIKE?	AND WHAT ARE MOST TEACHERS IN THIS SCHOOL LIKE?	DIFFER-ENCE	WHAT IS A GOOD TEACHER LIKE?	AND WHAT ARE MOST TEACHERS IN THIS SCHOOL LIKE?	DIFFER-ENCE
S/he likes children	55.4	32	**23.4**	59.7	37.5	**22.2**
I can always go to him/her with subject related or personal problems	44.3	30	14.3	41.7	31.9	9.8
S/he likes the subject s/he teaches	41.9	48.3	−6.4	34.7	48.6	−13.9
S/he listens to students' opinions	37.5	16.6	**20.9**	41.7	11.1	30.6
His/her explanations are interesting	34.4	25.7	8.7	36.1	16.7	**19.4**
S/he is respected; s/he is a model to follow	18.9	12.3	6.6	16.7	15.3	1.4

Question asked: In your opinion, what is a good teacher like? And which of these attributes do you think are typical for the majority of the teachers of this school who teach you?

We also tried to see the same from the teachers' side in the teachers' questionnaire. For example, it transpired from the answers of teachers who often teach study hall that they prefer to be involved in activities where they have an opportunity to individually tutor talented children than leading differentiated activities with students of mixed competencies (the former was rated 4.6 on a 5-grade scale, and the latter was rated 3.7). This is perhaps also related to the poor support from professional helpers study hall teachers receive compared to their colleagues who do not teach study hall.

PARENTAL SUPPORT

In our research we tried to obtain an idea about the indirect or direct support to learning extended by the family and particularly the parents. Here again we considered as direct support all specific help, typically with the homework. A supportive family atmosphere was considered as indirect support, its most conspicuous manifestation being if the parents regularly talk about school with their children; this effect can be described with the concept of social capital (e.g. Pusztai 2009). In our research it seems to be a characteristic feature of parental support in both respects that the analysis taking social background into consideration did not find linear and significant variance between the children of the different educational attainment groups. We included questions about help with learning and the homework In order to find out about the role of direct support forms. An average of 15% of the respondent parents claimed they always helped their child with his/her studies, 26% generally helped, 42% sometimes, and 16% never. While it seems to be true that parents who never help their children

tend to have lower educational attainment, it is parents with the highest level of education who feature least among those who often help their children.

Indirect parental support: showing an interest paying attention seems to be more important that direct support. The majority of 5th graders regularly discuss what happened at school with their parents (50% always or almost always, and 30% generally); on the whole, 80% can be said to talk about school with their parents. We examined the frequency of discussion in the light of the student's school achievement (average result) at the end of the previous school year: there is a significant correlation between the frequency of family talks and scholastic achievement. Parental interest has the biggest impact in the case of children of parents having the lowest educational attainment or secondary school leaving certificate. Of our 8th grade respondent 43% always or almost always discuss school with their parents, one-third generally do so, and only somewhat over a quarter never talk about school with their parents. In grade 5 talking about the school with the parents has a significant and positive correlation with the students' end-of-year average in all student groups.

Figure 9: Last end-of-year achievement and discussing school with the parents by the mother's educational attainment, grade 5 (end-of-year averages)
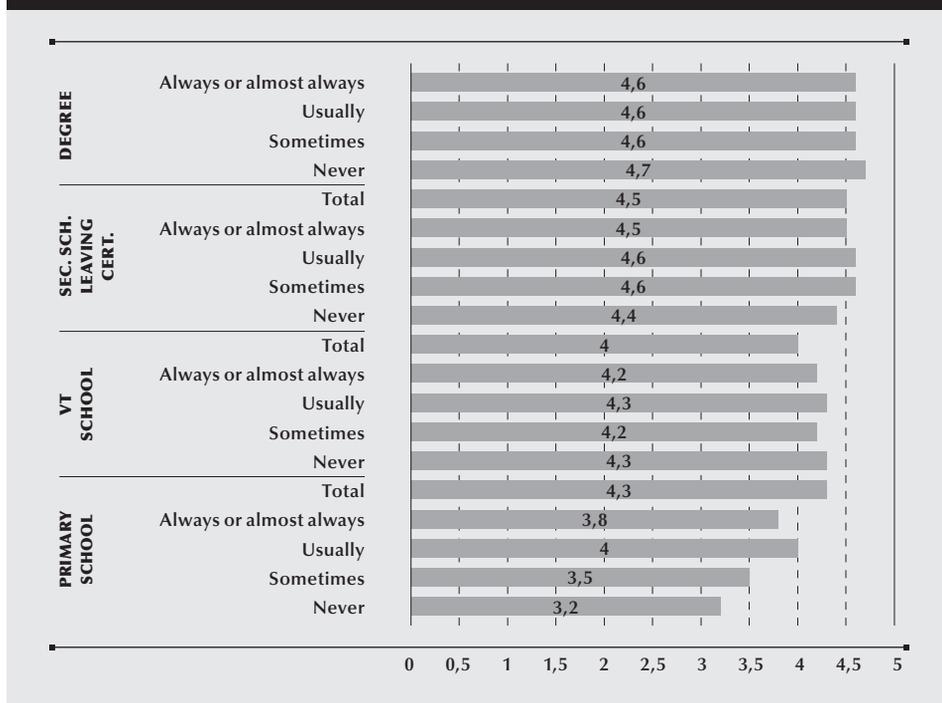
Question asked: I discuss what happened at school with my parents

p=0.000

SOME FINDINGS

Findings relating to students' academic achievement are generally contradictory and difficult to capture (e.g. Patall 2010; Cummings et al.; 2007; Dyson-Raffo 2007). Therefore we expected no major differences in student effectiveness but instead we were hoping to see benefits in conjunction with specific support such as preparation of homework and motivation to learning. Study hall users' are significantly more likely to prepare their homework: in grade 5, 72%, and in grade 8, 64% of the students completed their homework whilst in school (in grade 5 the average is 37%, in grade 8, 19%). At the same time a significant correlation was found between the last end-of-year achievement, afternoon stay in the groups belonging to the same category by parental educational attainment, and the same correlation was found with motivation. These issues require further analysis.

Figure 10: Last end-of-year achievement and afternoon staying by the parents' educational attainment, grade 5 (end-of-year averages)
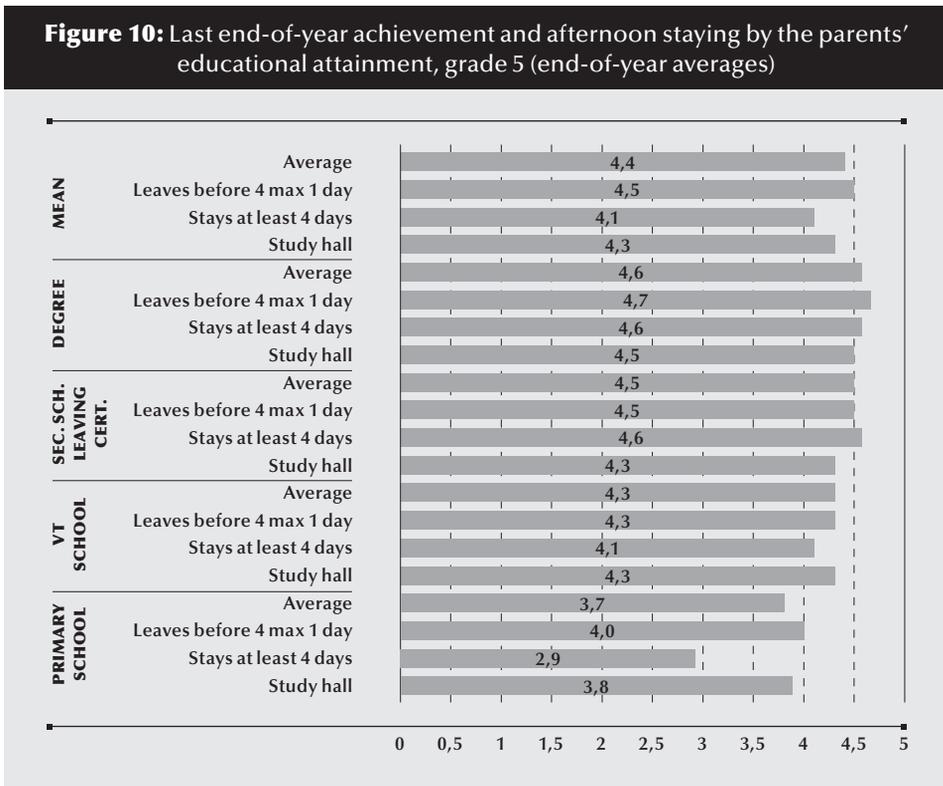
p=0.000

SUMMARY

Based on the findings related to the extended time spent at school it appears that the expansion of afternoon learning opportunities may put disadvantaged students in a more favourable position and, with luck, can create a better socialization environment and better access to learning opportunities. Exploration in somewhat greater depth of the latter shows, however, that improvement of access is not unequivocal from all aspects.

Analysing the question from the angle of changes in the time frame available for learning and availability of various forms of support besides participation, it seems that with the exception of participation and access to direct help afternoon school cannot yet be claimed to provide obvious support to students. Afternoon stayers have general access to direct support in academic matters but the same does not apply to other problems – this is particularly true for the most concerned group, i.e. study hall users. While more time at school could give more opportunities for closer peer-to-peer and particularly student-teacher relationships to develop, this does not seem to be automatically guaranteed. Regarded as an indirect form of support, positive teacher-student relationships are hard to assess with certainty, so the picture in this regard is contradictory and disconcerting. Developing positive relationships with teachers is probably hampered by the huge discrepancy between students' concept of a good teacher and their experience with their own teachers in terms of the most important attributes.

As regards parental support, the situation is the reverse of school support: indirect support coming from parents' showing an interest and engaging in conversation is more general than concrete help.

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Chapter 3
Learning Opportunities in Vocational Training

GABRIELLA KÁLLAI: AN EVALUATION
OF THE ÚTRAVALÓ BURSARY PROGRAMME

INTRODUCTION

In the last 30 years of the 20th century, with the evolution of the knowledge-based so-
ciety and the growing emphasis on knowledge – and as an important element of it –,
there has been an international trend of a growing amount of research on talent and
talent development. At the same time, more and more development programmes have
been launched in educational institutions and in out-of-school talent development
workshops. As a result of the fast development of technological development, a major
driving force of a country's (or company's) competitiveness and economic growth is
the attraction and retaining of highly qualified workforce and skilled, talented per-
sons. This objective represents major tasks for the system of education as well. On the
one hand, it is important to ensure the availability of a large mass of skilled workforce
(which means that the support of disadvantaged and excluded social groups is an ob-
jective to be achieved), and, on the other hand, there is a need to include as many social
groups as possible to ensure talent discovery.

A factor that increases demand for talent is that of the challenges posed by the
market: the acceleration of technological development, the widening of the field of
research and the decline of routine work processes. By contrast, the primary factors
that decrease talent supply include ageing societies, longer study periods, a rigid edu-
cational system that does not adapt to individual needs and the insufficiency of gov-
ernment strategies and financial resources. Another major problem is the risk of the
loss of the potential talents of those individuals who live among unfavourable socio-
economic circumstances. In addition, the general atmosphere of a society that hinders
talent development (e.g. non-merit-based selection) may also have negative effects. As
a result of the reshuffling of the labour market, currently there is an oversupply of low-
skilled labour force and an excess demand for high-skilled people. According to inter-
national academic literature, this results in a "war for talent", that is, a fight to attract
talented people, in the course of which there is a flow of growing intensity towards
the centres of world economy. In this context , the competitiveness of a given country
depends on its ability to attract talented people, and the gap between countries lead-
ing the way and those following behind is continuously growing (Hámori–Szabó 2012,
2013). According to the theory of human capital , the role and productivity of the la-
bour force is basically determined by human knowledge, which means that education
can be regarded as an investment aimed at increasing the individual's productivity
(Ecostat 2012). This approach, on the one hand, defines the key task of talent develop-
ment at a macro-level (in terms of economic competitiveness) and, on the other hand,
calls attention to the importance of the individual level (as higher-level qualification
entails likelier success on the labour market). At the same time, it prioritises lucrative
talent fields (or, possibly, excludes all other fields), regarding talent as an available-for-
sale good. Still, it conveys an important message: the emphasis is shifted from talent
discovery to the creation of (great) creators (Eyre 2011). Although many feel that this
approach is linked to elitism and the creation or strengthening of elite education, it is
important to stress that it is the improvement of the general quality of public education

that ensures a better development of the talent of those students who are at the greatest risk of their abilities not being discovered.

The concept of talent is difficult to grab; as it is a manifold notion, it has no extensive definition. The social construct of talent may be regarded as a result of the social requirements, demands and individual abilities (Csíkszentmihályi–Robinson 1986). With regard to the way children are selected into talent development programmes, it is to be noted that the act of the selection itself reflects a notion of talent generally accepted by the society (Freeman 2005). Moreover, talent are defined – and thus those to be involved in talent development programmes are selected – along the values of educational policy and values and interests of social policy (Borland 2005). Taking these points into consideration makes it possible for us to accept the diverse activity of talent development and the diversity of programmes.

In the field of talent development, members of groups that are disadvantaged due to their ethnic origin, social status, cultural differences, sex, etc. constitute a segment that requires independent and special attention (Wallace–Eriksson 2006). It is important to deal with this issue all the more so as activities aimed at the enhancement of knowledge are often organised with market-based instruments, as training courses or private classes with the objective of talent development. As a rule, the users of this "shadow education" are highly performing middle-class students who – due to their parents' status – represent effective demand. The objective of such education is to obtain and secure a favourable social status (Gordon Győri 2008); social groups of less favourable status are excluded from it. For the latter, various types of formal and non-formal support are needed to develop the full potential of their abilities. Such types of support may include bursaries, mentoring or the development of more complex programmes (Mönks–Pflüger 2005).

This study intends to shed light on a national complex programme which combines bursaries and mentoring. It discusses to what extent the programme reaches its target group and the intended or unintended effects it may have on the participants.

The analysis relies on empirical data collection and on other data bases; the Ministry of Human Capacities provided the data of those persons who applied for the programme in 2013 and who received bursaries in academic year 2013/14. Certain questions that facilitate comparison derive from the survey that included a representative group of 9th and 11th graders conducted by the Institute for Education Research and Development in the second semester of academic year 2013/2014.[1]

THE ÚTRAVALÓ BURSARY PROGRAMME

The practice of mentoring was introduced in Hungary in the late 1990s, primarily as a tool to counterbalance disadvantages. Initially, mentoring was applied in programmes implemented as civil society initiatives (Budapest Public Education Development Foundation and Soros Foundation) with the participation of Roma students.

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1 The survey was taken within the framework of priority project SROP 3.1.1. "Research on the Quality and Effectiveness of Public Education".

Later, it was included in certain programmes maintained by the state (Útravaló, Arany János Programme). The method, implemented in Hungary as well, has been in use in public education for almost 10 years, combined with financial incentives. The declared objective of the Útravaló Bursary Programme – launched in 2005, financed from the central budget and operating at the national level – is not talent development but the promotion of equal opportunities of disadvantaged students[2], the reform of the bursary system available to them and the talent development of students interested in natural sciences[3]. The key points of the programme are the individual development of students (implemented in the form of mentoring) and the linking of financial incentives (bursaries). The programme offers financial support for the successful applicants for one academic year (10 months); at the same time, individual support is given to each of them. Another important element of the programme is that financial support is offered not only to students but to mentors as well; the motivation of teachers is based on the assumption that good performance at school does not depend only on the student's will or diligence but on the school environment and the teachers' attitude (Messing–Molnár 2008). In case of proper study performance, students and their mentors may participate in the programme for more than one year .

To define the rate of multiply disadvantaged students – the target group – reached by the programme, the number of multiply disadvantaged participants of the programme and the number of all participants need to be compared. The KIRSTAT data base of national-level data (Híves 2015) evidences that in academic year 2013/14, 8.7% of the students fell into this category, and, in terms of school types, their rates are the lowest in general secondary schools (grammar schools) and vocational secondary schools. If the relevant data on the total number of students participating in the programme and the total number of multiply disadvantaged students are taken into consideration, it can be concluded that – provided that all grant holders are categorised as multiply disadvantaged students – 36% of the target group are reached by the programme. As no exact data are available on the ratio of multiply disadvantaged students in the group of all grant holders (the data base used for the purpose of research contains such data exclusively on grant holders who entered the system in 2013, and does include those who participate in the programme for more than one year), estimations are made, according to which if 90% of grant holders are multiply disadvantaged, then the programme reaches 32% of students. If the group of disadvantaged students are taken into consideration and all participants are regarded as disadvantaged, then the programme reaches 10% of those affected. The programme is most helpful for students in grammar schools and vocational secondary schools, where it reaches 13.1% of the students; 10.5% of students of vocational training schools and 9.5% of 7th and 8th graders have access to the bursary.

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2 For the purpose of evaluation the following criteria are taken into consideration: the multiply disadvantaged status of the student; the student's eligibility to orphans' allowances; the disadvantaged/ multiply disadvantages status of the settlement/micro-region where the student lives; the family's per capita income and the number of members in the household).

3 Mainstreaming parts of the programme: Road to Secondary School (Hungarian: Út a középiskolába), Road to Secondary School Leaving Certificate (Út az érettségihez),This certificate entitles one to enter higher education, Road to Learning a Trade (Út a szakmához), Road to Higher Education (Út a felsőoktatásba) and Road to Degree (Út a diplomához). Talent development part of the programme: Road to Science (Út a tudományhoz).

The programme is well known in the target group: in 2013, more than 11,000 students submitted their applications for the bursary. At the same time, only slightly more than 60% were successful, and the number of new entrants is decreasing year on year.[4]

AN EVALUATION OF THE ÚTRAVALÓ BURSARY PROGRAMME[5]

The objective of our analysis is to offer a summary overview on the basis of the data obtained. It is to be noted that due to the predefined conditions of the research it was not possible to carry out an effective impact assessment with assumptions made contrary to fact with either probability-proportional-to-size sampling or with data on non-participant students and teachers and statistic models. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, programme evaluation is interpreted as the descriptive presentation of certain pieces of information obtained from the observed populations and the examination of some of their interrelations. When studying the interrelations, our major objective is to differentiate that part within the values measured in factors considered adequate for the measurement of impacts which is a consequence of a factor independent of the programme from that which may be seen as the result of the programme. During the research, questionnaires and interviews were used to obtain data.

The section of this study which gives account of the data presents mentored students and mentors, and the analysis contrasts the answers given by each group. As a preliminary point it must be highlighted that both parties have financial interests in the programme, which is certainly a fact to be considered when analysing their answers.

QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY

In the course of the research, two self-completed questionnaire surveys were conducted: one of them with students participating in the Útravaló Programme and the other with their mentors. The objective of the questionnaire surveys was to come up with quantifiable results that may be generalised for the whole programme.

When creating the sample, we made an effort to cover all of Hungary; however, we also had to consider the fact that the participants of the observed programme are in-

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4 Further major changes in the programme: the legal background of the programme's operation was established by Government Decree 152/2005, amended several times. From 2010 to May 2011, the State Secretariat for Social Inclusion – the bursary manager – was transferred from the authority of the Ministry of Education and Culture to that of the Ministry of Public Administration and Justice and then back to the Ministry of Human Capacities, yet to a different state secretariat. The management of applications, contracting and disbursement has been performed through a bursary management institution since the beginning of the programme. Since then, several institutions have operated in this field. Another major change is that the disbursed grants have considerably increased in academic year 2013/14. In the case of subprogramme Road to Secondary School, the bursary is given to students with satisfactory school performance or better; the amount is HUF 5,000–14,000. Subprogramme Road to Secondary School Leaving Certificate offers bursary for students with low study performance or better; the amount is HUF 8,000–15,000. Subprogramme Road to Learning a Trade does not specify a minimum level of study performance as a requirement. The amount available, similarly to those of the other subprogrammes, was increased; currently, it is HUF 7,000–13,000 per month.
5 The research was performed by Field for Research Kft.

dividual students and their mentors; to reach them, we were given information about the number of students and mentors involved in the programme in each institution of public education. Taking the above into consideration, we decided to employ institutional data collection. The sample was created to include those institutions where a relatively large number of students and mentors are available, as otherwise the factors of uncertainty would have jeopardised the success of the data collection itself. 1,707 mentored students and 802 mentors filled in the questionnaire in a total of 47 institutions (59 school sites . After the data were collection, the distortion of the sample selection was corrected with weighting. During the weighting, the geographical location (region) of the institution of education and the subprogramme type were taken into consideration. For the student sample, a two-dimensional weight was introduced on the basis of these two factors. However, it is to be noted that as a result of the special nature of the sampling process, no data were collected in combinations where the occurrence rate was the lowest.

The table below indicates the region–programme combinations where data were collected and gives information about the ratios of the samples (Table 1.)

Table 1: The ratio of students participating in the programme, broken down by subprogramme and region (the abbreviation n.d. marks combinations where no data were collected)					
	RATIO OF PROGRAMME TYPE (%)			RATIO OF IMPLEMENTED SAMPLE (%)		
	ROAD TO SECONDARY SCHOOL	ROAD TO SECONDARY SCHOOL LEAVING CERTIFICATION	ROAD TO TRADE	ROAD TO SECONDARY SCHOOL	ROAD TO SECONDARY SCHOOL LEAVING CERTIFICATION	ROAD TO TRADE
North Hungary	9.6%	11.9%	6.4%	8.4%	17.6%	8.2%
Northern Great Plain	13.5%	19.0%	9.6%	13.4%	29.3%	10.2%
Southern Great Plain	3.4%	5.7%	2.9%	0.4%	2.9%	4.5%
Central Hungary	0.5%	0.9%	0.3%	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
Central Transdanubia	0.9%	0.6%	0.1%	1.2%	n.d.	n.d.
West Transdanubia	0.7%	0.7%	0.9%	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
South Transdanubia	4.5%	5.6%	2.2%	3.0%	0.6%	0.3%

N=1,707

As indicated by the Table, no data were collected in the regions where the ratio of participating students was 1% or lower in all subprogrammes. As an exception and in order to counterbalance distorting effects, one combination of a prevalence rate of 0.9% was included in the sample.

QUALITATIVE STUDY

In the course of the research, interviews were conducted with two groups of teachers involved in the programme: school directors and mentors. The objective of the qualitative analysis, above all, is to describe the operation of the programme and to identify related strengths and weaknesses. In this research phase a total of 30 interviews were conducted in 15 institutions.

A DESCRIPTION OF STUDENTS PARTICIPATING IN THE PROGRAMME

One-third of the sample is made up by primary school students (7th or 8th graders) who participate in programme Road to Secondary School. The participants of programme Road to Trade (targeting vocational training schools) and participants of programme Road to Secondary School Leaving Certificate (which targets those preparing for the secondary school leaving examination) make up 22% and 44%, respectively.

	ROAD TO SECONDARY SCHOOL	ROAD TO SECONDARY SCHOOL LEAVING CERTIFICATION		ROAD TO TRADE
	PRIMARY SCHOOL	GENERAL SECONDARY SCHOOL (GRAMMAR SCHOOL)	VOCATIONAL SECONDARY SCHOOL	VOCATIONAL TRAINING SCHOOL
Grade 7	21.3%			
Grade 8	78.7%	4.1%		
Grade 9		17.9%	23.3%	21.9%
Grade 10		23.6%	30.0%	29.4%
Grade 11		30.9%	33.2%	35.7%
Grade 12		17.5%	13.3%	13.0%
Grade 13		6.1%	??2%	
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 2: The distribution of students in the sample by school type and grade

N=1,707

In the groups of 9th and, above all, 12th graders, the rates of respondents are relatively low, which – in the case of the latter group – is probably due to the fact that the data had been collected shortly before the secondary school leaving examination period started. The reason for the relatively low number of respondents among 9th graders is the fact that the majority of students did not participate in the programme during their primary school studies, had access to information on the opportunities offered by the programme only after enrolment and can choose a mentor from the teachers only after getting to know them.

Only one-third of the participants were new entrants. 37.8% are in their second year of the mentoring programme; 30% have been participating in the programme for 3 or more years (Table 3). By the time of the data collection, participants had spent an

average 2.1 years[6] in the programme. Among secondary school students, the average period is 6 months longer [7] for students preparing for the secondary school leaving examination than for participants of the subprogramme Road to Trade[8].

NUMBER OF YEARS	FREQUENCY	%
Table 3: Number of years spent in programme Útravaló		
1	551	33
2	631	37.8
3	273	16.4
4	124	7.4
5 or more	88	5.3
Total	1,669	100

With regard to gender differences, it is established that the majority of respondents are females (60.5%). As evidenced by national-level statistic data (data of Hungary's Central Statistical Office), girls are overrepresented in grammar schools (57%), while in vocational secondary schools less than half of the students are female. The gender distribution of the respondents is balanced in the subprogramme Road to Trade (half of the respondents are male), while overrepresentation of females is the highest in the subprogramme Road to Secondary School Leaving Certificate: the rate of girls is 70% among grant holders in secondary vocational training schools and 67.6% among grant holders in grammar schools. Both figures indicate strong overrepresentation, which show a stronger intention for intergenerational mobility on the part of female students.

The families of the students participating in the programme live in households that are considerably bigger than the Hungarian average. The median number of household members is 5, but a large number of households is bigger; almost one-fifth (17.2%) of the respondents live in households of 7 or more persons. It is particularly important to take this fact into account, as in today's Hungary one of the key indicators of the risk of poverty is the size of the household (the other two being the parents' qualification and their activity on the labour market). As a rule, respondents have many siblings or half-siblings; their average number is 2. At the same time, it is assumed that the size of the family and the number of siblings affect studies: respondents who are preparing for the secondary school leaving examination have significantly less siblings than those studying in vocational training schools do. The same holds true for the number of household members. The majority of students preparing for the secondary school leaving examination live in households of 4 or 5, while those studying in vocational training schools live in bigger households. With regard to family relations, the results show that the parents of 61% of the respondents live in the same household; the par-

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6 variance 1.17, N=1,658
7 average: 2.58, variance: 1.39; N=729
8 average: 2.05, variance: 1.12; N=365

ents of 30% of the respondents are divorced; while 6% of the respondents lost one of their parents. The rate of students eligible for orphans' allowances is the highest in grammar schools (above 10%). More than one-tenth (11.7%) of the households are multigenerational; distant relatives rarely live in the household.

Data on the students' permanent place of residence indicate that more than 60% of them live in small settlements, and one-third in small towns. The rate of students living in Budapest or in county seats is lower than 5% among the respondents. Therefore, it is by no means surprising that mostly primary school students attend schools in their place of residence, although even in this category, more than one-third report that they attend school in a settlement other than their place of residence. The rate is markedly higher among secondary school students. More than three-fourths of them are commuters and 7% live in dormitories. Above all, vocational secondary school students and vocational training school students live far from their families.

The examination of the families' living conditions reveals that three-fourths of the families live in dwellings where the space is too small in relation the family's size. Most flats consist of two or three rooms. Access to ICT is relatively good, albeit its level is lower than that of the average household: nearly nine-tenths of the families have a computer and three-fourths of them have Internet access. Almost 90% of the students have a mobile phone of their own, while more than one-third (35.3%) of them do not have a writing desk of their own.

Grammar school students are in the most favourable position in terms of access to material assets and the conditions necessary for studying; primary school students and vocational training school students are in the least favourable position in this regard.

A key objective of the programme is to include as many Roma students as possible. In this regard, the composition of the sample is illustrated by the fact that 29% of the respondents said that both of their parents are Roma, and another 12.5% indicated that one of their parents is Roma (Figure 1). A separate analysis of the ethnic composition of the three subprogrammes reveals that the rate of Roma students in the programme is the highest among primary school participants: more than 40% of the students responded that both of their parents are Roma, and more than 10% indicated that one of their parents is Roma. Among vocational training school students, the rate of those who answered so is 48.8% for both options. In the subprogramme Road to Secondary School Leaving Certificate, less than 35% of the students said that one or both of their parents are of Roma origin. At this point, it is to be noted that there is a major difference in terms of training type. One-fourth of grammar school students indicated that one or both of their parents are of Roma origin, while this rate is nearly 40% in vocational secondary schools. This evidences the fact that those Roma young people who intend to pass the secondary school leaving examination mostly study in vocational secondary schools. It appears that the requirement of ethnic quotas in the subprogrammes are met: in two programmes, the 50%-level participation of students of Roma origin is achieved. At the same time, data on the subprogramme that supports the acquisition of the secondary school leaving certificate show that there is still much to do, as the rate of young people of Roma origin is lower, especially in grammar schools.

Figure 1: Distribution of Roma parents by school type
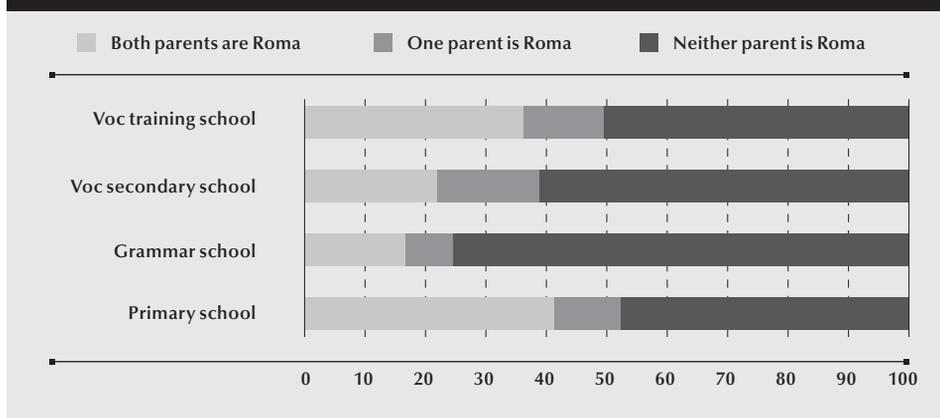
N=1,607

In the light of the programme description it is by no means surprising that the parents' educational attainment is lower than the Hungarian average: 92% of them do not have a secondary school leaving certificate; of these, 58% of the fathers and 68.8% of the mothers do not have a vocational qualification, and 7.7% of the men and 11% of the women did not complete primary school. Only 8% of the fathers and 8% of the mothers have secondary school leaving certificate or higher qualification. This is a marked contrast, as two-thirds of the parents of 11th grader secondary school students have at least a secondary school leaving certificate, one-fourth of them have a vocational training school certificate and only 6% have primary school or lower-level qualification (Szemerszki 2015).

In most cases (85.9%), only one parent works in a family. The rate of families where both parents have a permanent job is almost as low (16.7%) as that of the families where neither of the parents works (14.1%). The responses indicate that the fathers are more active on the labour market. Slightly more than one-fifth of them are inactive (21.6%); this rate is double for women (44.2%). Yet the rate of those with a permanent job is considerably low; among the fathers, this rate is only 40%, and it is still lower for the mothers (26%). The parents of students participating in the subprogramme of preparation for Road to Secondary School Leaving Certificate – more specifically, of grammar school students – are the most likely to have a permanent job. In terms of employment, the parents of vocational training school students are in the least favourable position. This means that the parents' cultural capital defines not only their own economic position but their children's choice of school as well. Those parents who work mainly perform unskilled or semi-skilled work (men: 51 %, women: 56 %). A significantly lower rate work as skilled workers (men: 38 %, women: 20 %) or as workers performing other work than blue collar work (men: 4 %, women: 17 %). The rate of those working in white-collar jobs or entrepreneurs is very low.

All in all, in terms of the parents' educational attainment and labour market status and the households' access to material assets, and although grant holders in general are in a less favourable position than the average, two groups are highly exposed

to risks: vocational training school students and primary school students. Primary school students are less likely to engage in gainful work than secondary school students are. A basic difference is that almost half of the students who participate in the subprogramme Road to Secondary School Leaving Certificate perform gainful work during the holidays and one-tenth of them do so during the academic year. Among vocational training school students these rates are approximately 30% and one-fourth, respectively. Interviews with the mentors evidence that such work contributes to the maintenance of the students' families yet, at the same time, increases the risk of early school-leaving. The programme intends to counterbalance this effect.

THE MENTORS

The observed institutions do not employ external mentors (i.e. mentors who are not employees of the given institution of education) or mentors who are not teachers. Of the respondents, 47.4% participate in the subprogramme Road to Secondary Education, 63% in the subprogramme Road to Secondary School Leaving Certificate, and 32.9% in the subprogramme Road to Trade. As the majority of institutions of secondary education offer more than one type of training and teachers may be active in various types of training, several mentors work with secondary school students and vocational training school students alike. The programme does not specify any limitation in this respect. On the average, the mentors have 4 years of experience[9]. One-third of the respondents have only 1-2 years of mentoring experience; only 15% of them have been active in the field of mentoring for 7 or more years. A reason for this is that for the purposes of acceptance into the programme, only the student's characteristics are taken into consideration, while the person, the professional experience or the achievements of the mentor do not influence the decision.

The majority of the mentors are women (67.6%). The rate of men is the lowest among primary school mentors (15.3%), yet it is significantly higher in institutions of secondary education, especially in grammar schools and vocational training schools (36%). The composition of the respondents reflects the gender distribution of Hungary's teachers at each level (OECD 2014; Sági–Kerényi 2012). Their highest qualification is university degree (51.6%) or college degree (47.8%), the two rates being very close to each other. Whether a teacher works as a mentor does not depend on his or her subjects taught: among mentors who are specialised teachers, the rate of those teaching Hungarian language and literature or mathematics is the same (21%), while the rate of foreign language teachers is slightly higher (25%). In vocational secondary schools and vocational training schools teachers of vocational subjects also perform mentoring tasks.

Only 16% of the respondents participated in professional in-service training on mentoring. As evidenced by the answers, the most frequently used way of preparation is participation in former/ongoing development-oriented programmes of the institutions that offer useful in-service training on mentoring. With regard to such

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9 N=737, variance: 2.34

preparation, during the interviews respondents emphasized the importance of methodology of teaching disadvantaged children or children who have learning difficulties, activity-centred pedagogical methods and cooperative methodologies. Some of those mentors who have been active for a long time indicated that when the Útravaló programme started they participated in a in-service training programme offered by Útravaló, yet they highlighted that this had failed to become a general practice and even ceased to exist, as such a human resources development was conducted only in the very first period. This means that the majority of the mentors prepared for the task independently and that in the teaching staff they can essentially rely on each other should they need help.
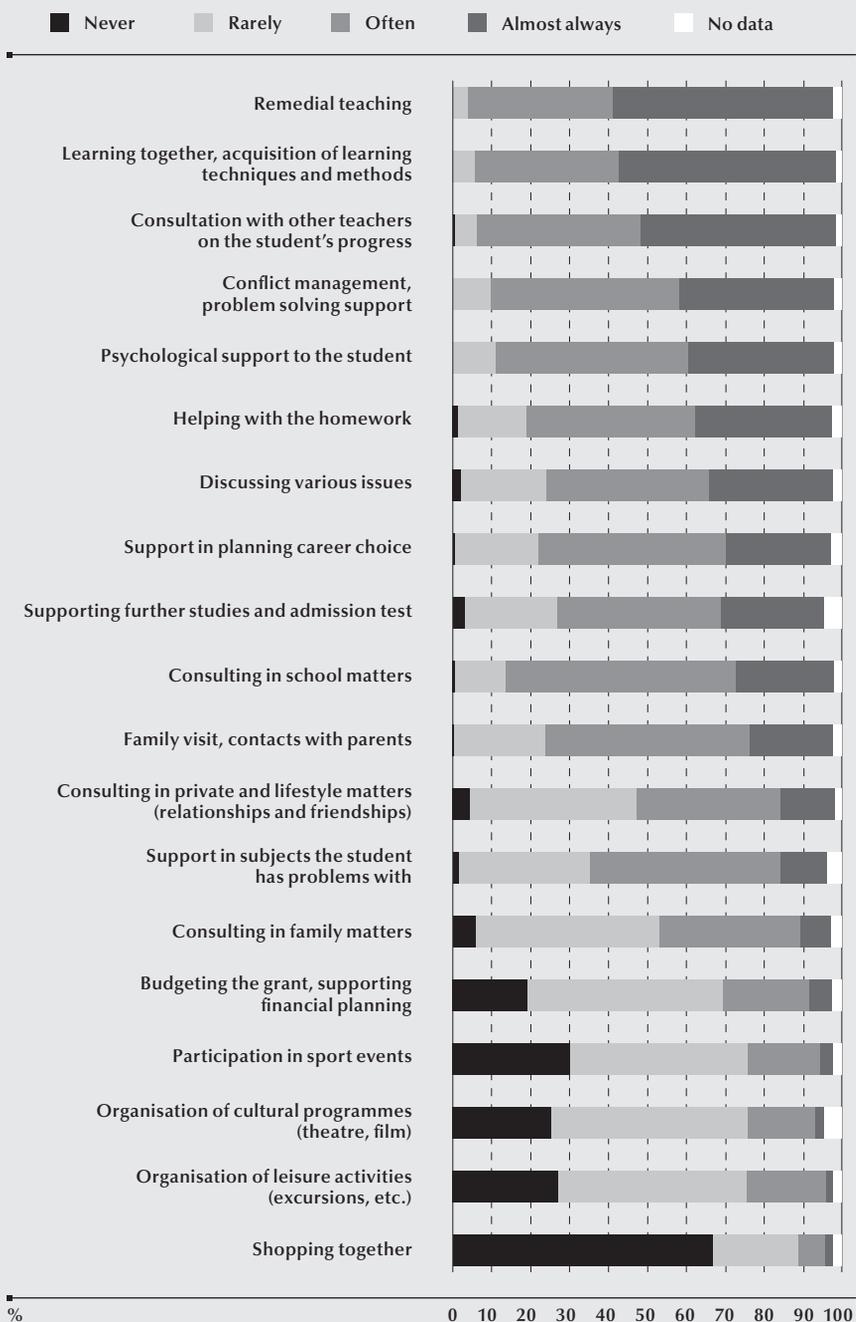
One-third of the respondent mentors works with 1-2 students, 42% with 3-4 students, and less than one-fourth of them (22.9%) with 5 students; although the latters indicated that theirs is a very demanding task.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MENTORS AND MENTORED STUDENTS

Within the framework of the programme, students are free to select a mentor from a defined group of teachers, ISCED 1 teachers, youth workers, SEN teachers or graduates of the study field of pedagogy, which means that it is not a requirement to choose a mentor in the school where the students study or even a teacher who actually teaches them. An analysis of the relationship of mentors and mentored students reveals that students tend to select teachers who teach them: only 27% of the mentors indicated that they mentor students who are not in their classes. According to the students, the two most frequent ways of forming a mentor–mentored relationship are as follows: (1) a student chooses one of his or her teachers, normally on the basis of the teacher's character traits, or (2) the future mentor contacts the student and calls his or her attention to the opportunity. Less than 10% of the students choose a mentor who is not their teacher. It is very rare for students not to change mentors when changing schools, as otherwise the cooperation would be cumbersome. Only one-tenth of the students reported that they had changed mentors (e.g. because of retirement, having a child, other life events or problems). This equally holds true for the three subprogrammes; no major differences are detected either in the formation of the mentor–mentored relationship or in the frequency of changing mentors.

However, as reported by the mentors and the mentored students, mentoring time is mainly (albeit not exclusively) dedicated to study-related activities (Figure 2). These activities include, *inter alia*, remedial teaching or the organisation of such support in subjects the given student has problems with, the acquisition of learning techniques and methods, support with homework, or consultation with other teachers on the student's progress. Another, equally important, issue is the support of students' psychological and mental development: helping them to cope with and discussing conflicts at school, in personal life or in the family, looking for possible solutions, and the conscious planning of career choice and further studies.
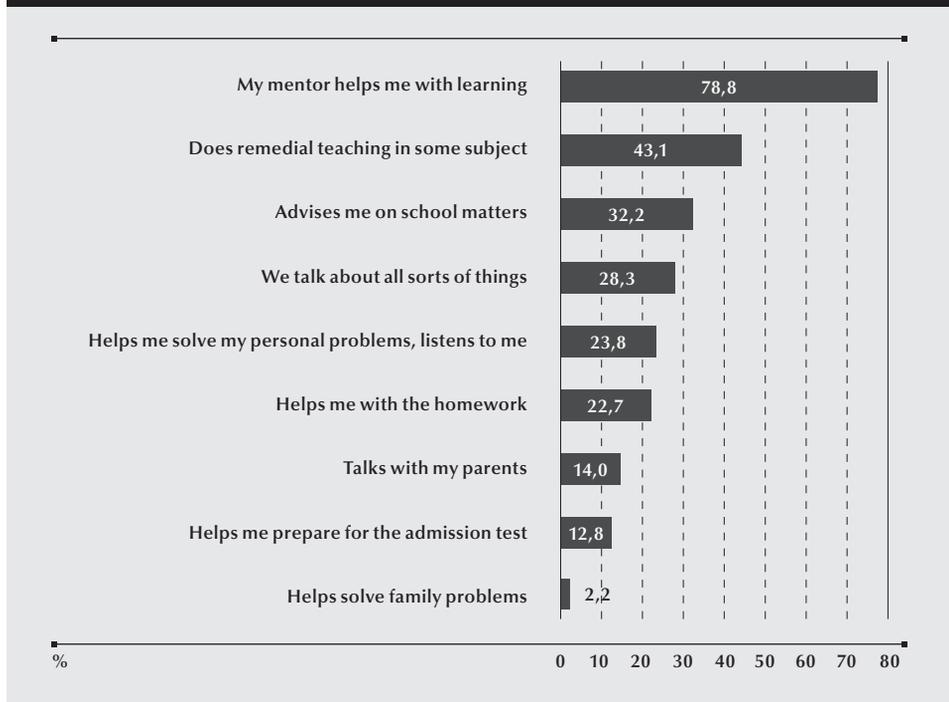
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Figure 2: Frequency of mentoring activities (Please indicate how frequently you perform the below activities during mentoring)

Legend: Never, Rarely, Often, Almost always, No data

Remedial teaching

Learning together, acquisition of learning techniques and methods

Consultation with other teachers on the student's progress

Conflict management, problem solving support

Psychological support to the student

Helping with the homework

Discussing various issues

Support in planning career choice

Supporting further studies and admission test

Consulting in school matters

Family visit, contacts with parents

Consulting in private and lifestyle matters (relationships and friendships)

Support in subjects the student has problems with

Consulting in family matters

Budgeting the grant, supporting financial planning

Participation in sport events

Organisation of cultural programmes (theatre, film)

Organisation of leisure activities (excursions, etc.)

Shopping together

%   0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

N=801

Accordingly, data gathered from mentored students (Figure 3) evidence that mentoring basically means study-related activities, but studying together or preparing homework together do not qualify as remedial teaching. Mentors confirm this statement as they pay special attention to getting acquainted with subjects their mentored students are interested in. Besides supporting the learning process, mentors provide students with important assistance in coping with problematic situations at school or in personal life and in creating a positive relationship between the students and their parents.

Figure 3: The most frequent activities as reported by mentored students (Normally what do you do during mentoring time? Indicate the three most frequent activities.)

Activity	%
My mentor helps me with learning	78,8
Does remedial teaching in some subject	43,1
Advises me on school matters	32,2
We talk about all sorts of things	28,3
Helps me solve my personal problems, listens to me	23,8
Helps me with the homework	22,7
Talks with my parents	14,0
Helps me prepare for the admission test	12,8
Helps solve family problems	2,2

N=1,596

THE STUDY PERFORMANCE AND
STUDY BACKGROUND OF STUDENTS

Although almost 15% of the students failed to give information about their study performances, the available data evidence that their average grade was 3.53 at the end of the previous academic year[10]. There is a significant difference between the programme types and training types. Grammar schools students in the subprogramme Road to Secondary School Leaving Certificate were the best performers, their average mark being 3.699[11]. The other groups of students (in decreasing order of study performance) are as follows: primary school students, vocational secondary school students and vocational training school students. For reasons of availability, data are comparable only at the level of secondary education. On the basis of these data it can be concluded that the average mark of participants of the programme is slightly lower than that of all secondary school students (Szemerszki, 2015). The performance is influenced by study time: students who participate in the programme spend an average 2 hours studying every day. At the secondary level, there are major differences in study time; for grammar school students, the average study time is 2 hours 20 minutes per day, and for vocational training school students it is slightly more than 1.5 hours. This is more than the study time of those who do not participate in the programme. However, it is to be noted that the programme involves obligatory mentoring for a pre-defined number of hours per week, a part of which serves learning, depending on the student's needs. Yet it must not be forgotten that there is considerable variance, and individual differences may be significant. In our view, in the case of grant holders the longer study time counterbalances socio-cultural disadvantages.

As for the location of studying, most students (86%) also study the material at home. One-fourth of the grant holders study at school (in study hall or day care on a regular basis; the majority of the primary school students attend extra-school facilities.

Mentors play a crucial role in learning: 65% of the respondents said that they receive help from their mentors on a regular basis. Approximately one-fifth of the students reported that receive help from other teachers. At home, students are more likely to receive assistance in their studies from their mother (25.3%) than from their father (10.4%); brothers and sisters are also an important source of help (15.5%). One-fourth (25.3%) of the respondents prepare for school independently and do not require any help. The majority of them are grammar school students. Primary school students receive most help; apparently, much effort is made to ensure that these students can develop their abilities. In this regard, parents (especially mothers) play a crucial role (Figure 4).

There are no available data – either from a national data base or on grant holders – about how the performance of each student changes in the light of the marks given at the end of the first and the second semester. Consequently, it was not possible to perform such a comparison. However, changes in the study performance of grant holders were examined on the basis of data collected at two different times. According to the

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10 variance: 0.73; N=1,411
11 variance: 0.697; N=178

Figure 4: Who helps you with studying? (%)
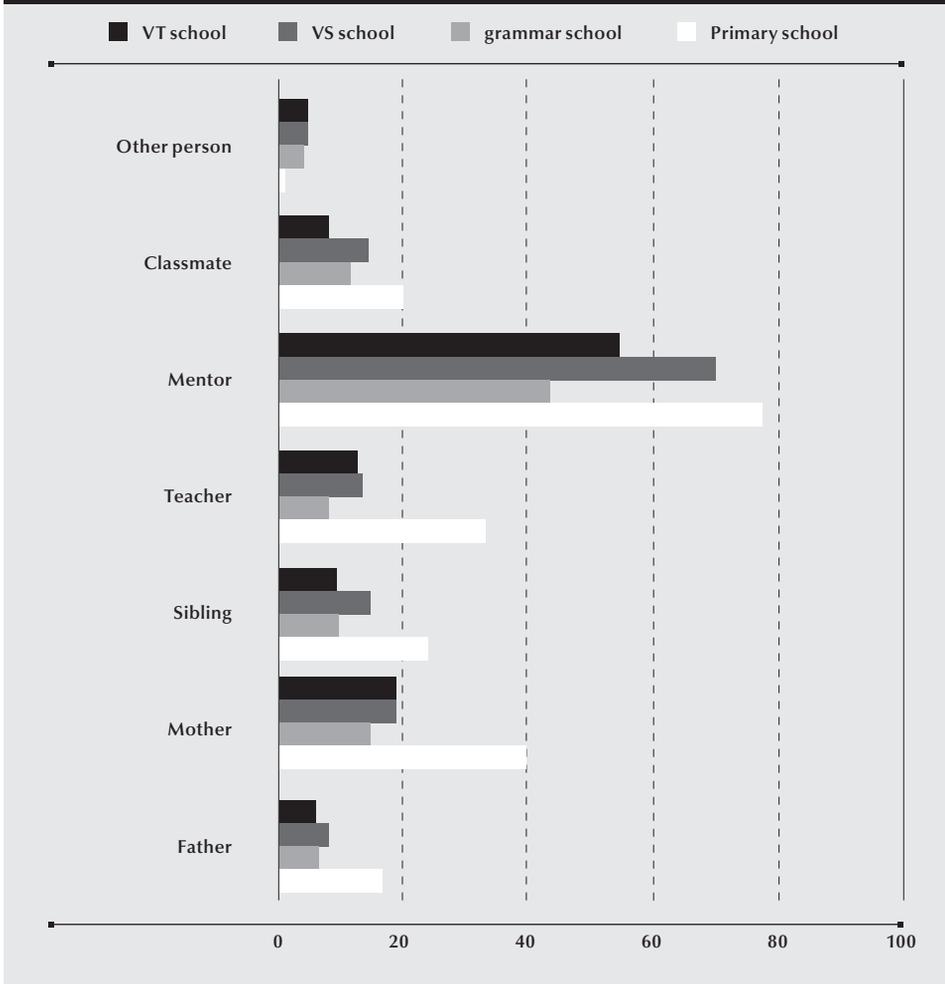
N=1,677

results, in all programme types and school types study performance in mathematics – if compared to the end of the previous academic year – indicated a general deterioration, while study performance in physics, Hungarian language and literature and foreign languages either stagnated or slightly deteriorated. The performance of students preparing for the secondary school leaving examination slightly deteriorated in all subjects, while that of primary school students and vocational training school students improved. It is to be noted, however, that – given that the subjects and curricula may differ considerably by grade – the deteriorated of the average mark does not

necessarily indicate the failure of the programme[12]. It is assumed that the deterioration of study performance of the observed students is smaller than that of students who do not participate in the programme. The mentors' reports evidence the efforts made to ensure the successful progress of the individual students.

CHANGES IN ATTITUDE

It is assumed that mentoring affects not only study performance but the students' attitude as well. All the more so, as mentoring as an activity is far more extensive than after-school learning support or the organisation of such support; as indicated previously, the mentoring activity performed in the pre-defined time frame is an opportunity for a relatively complex personality development as well. To ensure the identification of the possible changes, the questionnaire contained a relatively long section that measured the potential effects of the programme on the basis of the students' self-evaluation. It was presumed that the positive effects of mentoring as a form of personal assistance include changes in the attitude towards learning, the development of communication skills and abilities, the improvement of social competences, a more constructive use of time, general openness, the empowerment of students, a positive attitude towards the future, setting realistic objectives and the ability for objective self-assessment.
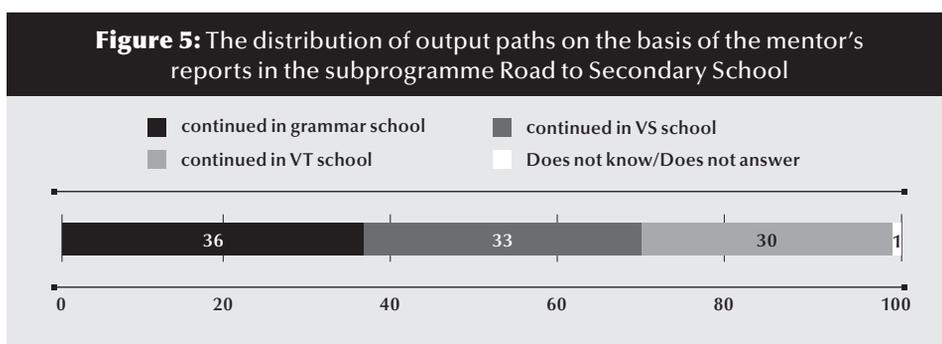
As indicated by the answers, a major positive effect of the programme is self-confidence and a more positive vision of one's future; more than 90% of the students reported such a change. Positive developments were identified in the field of student behaviour at school, more specifically, of the verbal and nonverbal communication with teachers and peers. The majority of students who reported such changes were primary schools and vocational training school students. A related fact is that students perceive a considerable change in their communicative abilities. The development is evidenced, among others, by the fact that they think that they can express their thoughts and emotions more efficiently than before their mentoring started. The interviews with mentors confirm this finding; in some cases, they indicate that as a result of the acquisition of adequate communicative methods, the number of the conflicts students are involved in is decreasing. In addition, a positive development is detected in the field of study-related activities (preparation for classes, interest taken in the material, improving intensity and efficiency of learning). Although a comparison of marks given at the end of the first and second semester reveals a deteriorating trend, more than 40% of the students feel that they are doing better at school and that adequate learning may result in better academic achievement. Mentoring has the weakest effect on persons and activities not related to school. It exercises insignificant influence on family relations, friendships or recreational activities, albeit primary school students and vocational training school students do show certain signs of openness .

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12 In our opinion, the evaluation of the issue calls for a research on the trends of students' performance (grades).

STUDENT PROGRESS

Mentors also report about the progress of their mentored students after the end of the programme. During the research, we reconstructed the path of 4,220 grant holders. Figure 5 shows the output paths of the subprogramme Road to Secondary School. The mentors could supply information about their students' future paths in 1898 cases. Only a fraction (1%) of the students decided not to study further. Only 30% of the students entered vocational training schools; the vast majority studied further in institutions that offer education leading to a secondary school-leaving certificate. However, no specific information is available as to their success in institutions of secondary education, the number of students who acquired a secondary school leaving certificate or a certificate of a trade or studied further. As reported by the mentors, the programme meets its objective successfully, as the rate of students who after primary school do not go on to secondary education is very low, while the rate of students admitted to institution types where they can acquire a secondary school leaving certificate is high.
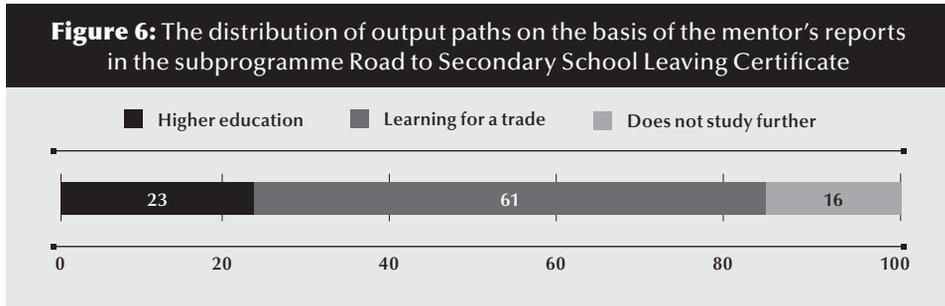

Figure 5: The distribution of output paths on the basis of the mentor's reports in the subprogramme Road to Secondary School

■ continued in grammar school   ■ continued in VS school
■ continued in VT school   □ Does not know/Does not answer

| 36 | 33 | 30 | 1 |

N=1,898

In general, grant holders who are currently studying in primary schools are uncertain about their plans of further studies: 13% of them do not know which school type to choose. At the time of the data collection, 34% and 35% of the students were planning to enter vocational training schools and vocational secondary schools, respectively. These rates are almost identical with those indicated by the data that derive from the cases reconstructed by primary school mentors and reflect the fact that the majority of the boys intend to study in order to learn a trade. Still, the rate of students planning to study in grammar schools is below 18%. Apparently, for capable students this is a most difficult decision; this is the point where students and families need support most and where their visions for the future are the most uncertain.

The progression of the subprogrammes is illustrated by the fact that almost half of mentors of institutions of secondary education work with students who were grant holders in primary school. The heads of institutions highlighted during the interviews that one of the factors which the families take into account when selecting a school is whether an institution has experience in the field of mentoring.
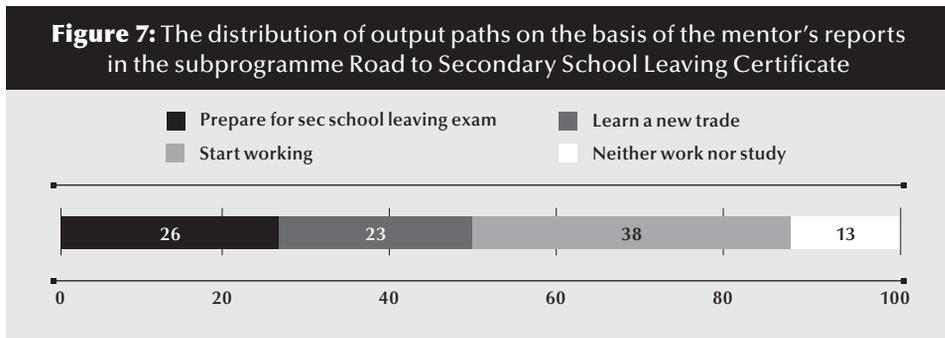
Students who finished the subprogramme Road to Secondary School Leaving Examination successfully continued their studies. Almost one-fourth of them entered

a college or a university (as a rule, college education offers an opportunity for mobility for them); 60% of them decided to learn a trade after the acquisition of the secondary school leaving certificate and thus improve their labour market opportunities. Only 16% of those finishing the programme decided not to continue their studies (Figure 6).

Figure 6: The distribution of output paths on the basis of the mentor's reports in the subprogramme Road to Secondary School Leaving Certificate

■ Higher education   ■ Learning for a trade   ■ Does not study further

| 23 | 61 | 16 |

0   20   40   60   80   100

N=1,573

In the subprogramme Road to Trade, data provided by the mentors highlight that almost half of the students who finished the programme decided to study further: one-fourth of them intends to acquire the secondary school leaving certificate and another one-fourth started to learn a new trade (Figure 7). However, this subprogramme appears to be less successful than the other two: as reported by the mentors, 13% of the students completing the programme are inactive (that is, neither work nor study). This issue requires further research to establish the reasons for inactivity which can be, among others, forming a family, having a child and many others.

Figure 7: The distribution of output paths on the basis of the mentor's reports in the subprogramme Road to Secondary School Leaving Certificate

■ Prepare for sec school leaving exam   ■ Learn a new trade
■ Start working   □ Neither work nor study

| 26 | 23 | 38 | 13 |

0   20   40   60   80   100

N=749

The plans of mentored students for the period after finishing the programme correlate with the mentors' experience. Vocational training school students are the most likely to consider immediate entry to the labour market; half of them would like to find employment directly after the acquisition of the skilled workers' certificate. One-fourth of vocational secondary school students have similar plans; among grammar school students, this rate is only 16%. It is certainly promising – and may be assessed as

a positive effect of the programme – that one-fourth of the vocational training school students intend to attend courses that prepare them for the secondary school leaving examination, and some of them say that they may consider entering higher education. 40% of vocational secondary school students want to concentrate on learning a trade after the acquisition of the secondary school leaving certificate, and only one-fifth of them plan to pursue their further studies at a college or a university. By contrast, grammar school students prefer higher education. 37% of them want to study further at a college or university, while one-third reported that they intend to enter higher education vocational training or to start learning a trade at the secondary level. A basic difference between the plans of male and female students is that the latters are more likely to intend to pursue further studies, while the formers generally and traditionally want to learn a trade and find employment. This difference is detectable as early as in the primary schools, and affects, among others, progress at school.

Overall, it is a definite success of the programme that the majority of secondary school students and vocational training school students are nor satisfied with the acquisition of a secondary school leaving certificate or a skilled workers' certificate but is looking for opportunities for progress through learning. However, 40% of the mentors indicated that some of their students left the programme early. According to the mentors, these students were mainly attracted by the financial advantage offered by the bursary and did consider cooperation or work with the mentors to be important. In half of the cases, students who left the programme early also left the school without acquiring the final certificate; no data are available on their subsequent career path.

CONCLUSION

An advantage of the programme is that the bursary – aimed at offering financial support to counterbalance students' socio-cultural disadvantages resulting from their family background – is linked with a service of personal assistance: mentoring activity. Within the programme, mentoring is a complex activity. It is not limited to after-school learning support in specific subjects, and – although is focussed on learning – the networking and the variety of activities offer an opportunity not only for receiving methodological or career orientation support but for the development of self-knowledge and self-consciousness too. The programme includes a large number of students, although the chance to enter the programme have diminished as the grant amounts were increased but the financial allocation remained unchanged. The programme reaches its target group yet despite its extensiveness it fails to reach all the stakeholders. The data under analysis evidence that the national programme reaches its target group; however, it reaches only 10% of the disadvantaged students of the relevant age group (the coverage is greater in the group of multiply disadvantaged students). Students who take part in the programme live among very difficult conditions: in most cases, the parents have low educational attainment and the per capita income is low, while the number of family members is higher than the average. The conditions of studying are not necessarily available for students; in some cases, the family needs the extra income from the students' gainful activity, which means that they work during

their studies. The programme and the mentors need to be flexible to handle such life situations.

Data collected from interviews with the mentors highlight that it is undoubtedly a positive step to establish connection with the parents. Generally, the parents are willing to cooperate with the mentors and are looking for opportunities for their children. Quite frequently, the parents demand more from their children in terms of study performance as a result of participating in the programme. Yet another success of mentoring is that it urges the students to acquire another qualification after the acquisition of the certificate.

Nevertheless, the mentors report that the disbursement of the bursary amount in every semester has little incentive effect on the students. This is reflected by the fact that more than one-third of the students indicated the wrong bursary amount. The longer a student has to wait for the bursary amount, the harder to motivate them. A related fact is that the manager of the bursary application is continuously changing, and the repeated modifications of the call for and conditions of applications results in unpredictability. Due to administrative problems and unpredictable disbursement, the confidence in the programme is diminishing. It is the mentors' practically unanimous opinion that the conditions for admission into the programme have become stricter in recent years; it is more difficult for students to be admitted and it is easier to drop out than it was some years ago.

The mentors' answers call attention to the fact that the programme fails to place emphasis on elements of human resources development. Most of those involved prepare for this specific task independently, by self-directed learning, and very few participated in training or in-service training (albeit in the initial period such opportunities were available). Still, the task is a complex one and is not limited to after-school learning support or the organisation of such support. It goes beyond traditional pedagogical work and requires a holistic approach. In this context, there is a need to introduce training courses for mentors, to distribute publications on mentoring and to create fora for mentors (consultation opportunities, newsletters, conferences, etc.) that would promote professional development, the dissemination of best practice and the maintenance of motivation.

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ESZTER BERÉNYI: HANDLING FAILURE AND SEEKING SOLUTIONS: PROBLEM NARRATIVES IN VOCATIONAL TRAINING

INTRODUCTION

In the Hungarian public education system, there is a strong differentiation when students enter secondary education after completing primary school. Some students continue their studies in a general secondary school, others go to a vocational secondary school. The students of both school types take a secondary school leaving examination at the age of 18 or 19. Another significant portion of students go on to a vocational school at the age of 14. When completing vocational school, students receive vocational qualifications, but they do not take a secondary school leaving examination, which is required for entry into higher education and for many jobs.

The results of numerous research projects indicate that, as a result of the above-mentioned selection, many of the students of vocational schools have disadvantaged family backgrounds, and (partly as a result of this) vocational school graduates have few opportunities in the labour market. Low educational qualifications are a serious disadvantage in the labour market.

Therefore, in the Hungarian public education system, going to a vocational school instead of a different type of secondary school saddles students with a massive competitive disadvantage. Testing shows that vocational school students achieve much poorer results than those in the same age group who study in a school that offers secondary school leaving examinations. (Balázsi et al. 2014)

This also indicates that the worst-performing, least academic students end up in vocational schools. Vocational schools are not able to close this gap – in fact, dropping out is more prevalent in vocational schools than other secondary schools (Liskó 2007; Fehérvári 2008). Possessing vocational school qualifications do not guarantee an advantageous position in the labour market, but those who drop out of school before obtaining even these qualifications generally end up in an even more hopeless situation. The term „dropping out" (*lemorzsolódás* in Hungarian), expressive as it is, is not a precisely defined concept. The issues around the definition of terms are discussed by Mártonfi (2008). Dropping out (unlike the concept of early school leaving) does not lend itself to statistical recording, and its use is not entirely consistent between authors (on the comparison of the two concepts, see Mártonfi 2014). Dropouts are an important phenomenon in vocational schools, but – due to the lack of a precise definition – local observations and interpretations play a major role in their study.

19 vocational schools were visited as part of this research project, and interviews were made with the principals.

We sought out schools where the dropout rate is high and there is reason to believe that more than average attention is being paid to the problem. Data obtained from KIR-STAT (the data base containing the data that public education institutions are required to send to the ministry) confirms that vocational schools suffer the greatest dropout problem. This data also confirms that the ratio of disadvantaged students is highest in the two regions that are disadvantaged in almost all other respects as well (Northern Hungary and the Northern Great Plain area). Therefore, we included a larger number of schools from these regions in our sample.

We wanted to know how the school principals ranked dropouts among the problems affecting their schools, how serious they felt it was, what reasons they felt were behind it and what typical paths dropouts tend to take at their institution. We also asked them for their opinion on how dropouts may be prevented. This study is mainly aimed at recording the detected problems and pointing out the general problems and what appear to be generally accepted potential solutions. It also makes an attempt at describing the obvious differences between various schools' practices and identifying the causes of these differences.

PROBLEMS IN VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS

What is life in a vocational school like? Well, the term „problem" seems to be a central one when it comes to vocational schools. Principals reported numerous problems affecting their school's operation, both related to the situation vocational schools themselves are in and with regard to the majority of the students; overall, almost every single subject reported that their institution is in a difficult situation. Hereinafter, we will discuss the reported problems.

LOW PRESTIGE AND UNFAVOURABLE
COMPOSITION OF THE STUDENT BODY

Respondents feel that the studying/teaching difficulties arising in vocational schools are primarily due to *social and systemic reasons* associated with vocational training. Among these, the most often cited reason is the *low prestige* of vocational training. Principals tend to accept this, as it appears that there are children who „belong in vocational training" – what is more, they tend to feel that the problem is that even some of these students would like to avoid vocational training and go to a school with greater prestige. Some believe that this phenomenon is causing some of the problems deriving from the traditionally poor situation of vocational schools to ‚spill over' into some lower-prestige vocational secondary schools.

Students who are believed to belong in vocational schools are universally seen to possess a very low level of skills and knowledge; principals often blame the *primary schools* for these issues. They primarily blame the practice of declaring students *home schooled*. According to reports from vocational schools, primary schools tend to try and get rid of hard-to-manage students, who often end up home-schooled, and later on, move on to a vocational school.

Blaming primary schools for problems can be seen as a way of saying that vocational school teachers meet these students too late: so many bad things happen to the students before they get to the school, and they are in such a poor position that the vocational school staff is basically powerless. This sense of powerlessness is reinforced by the conviction that students' family background is also responsible for a large, perhaps even greater portion of their problems.

FAMILY BACKGROUND

Due to the above mentioned systemic reasons related to the nature of the Hungarian school system, students who go to vocational schools generally have a poor *family background*. There are schools where the percentage of multiply disadvantaged children is estimated to be 80%, and even in schools where the numbers are not this high, principals reported higher percentages than the average of the age group. This is treated as a given in most schools. One of the reported problems is that few children come from a family that meets the „classic" family model, and it is felt that this is why students arrive at the school with a level of education and mental health below what the teachers would ideally like. Children from single-parent families or socially disadvantaged backgrounds, children with unemployed parents and even children who have many siblings are seen to have a disadvantage when it comes to their families.

Principals' descriptions are often nostalgic, imbued with a sense that everything used to be better: parents used to show more interest and participate in parent-teacher conferences, but now they are indifferent and neglectful. Various principals complained that parents do not stay in contact or visit the school. However, they also noted that they understand this behaviour due to poor financial conditions: parents cannot afford tutoring for their children who are struggling at school, and they cannot even afford to travel to the school for parent-teacher conferences from nearby towns. Therefore, in most schools, losing contact with students' families is considered normal, and only a few institutions appeared to make an effort to reach out to parents instead of awaiting them passively (here we mean efforts made directly by the school, not through official channels via the family assistance service).

According to most interview subjects, the above circumstances make it more difficult to manage and teach students. Students' *lack of motivation* is often brought up. In fact, the majority of institutions mentioned it as a factor that makes teachers' day-to-day work more difficult, and several cited it as a possible reason for dropouts. The lack of motivation, the lack of a vision and the resulting truancy are mostly seen as a consequence of the family issues noted above; for instance, it is not assumed that students may be unmotivated because they are aware of the systemic issues of vocational training and the characteristics that cause it to be referred to as a „dead-end programme" in the literature. Additionally, most of these students are used to not meeting their school's expectations, as they got to the vocational school after an unsuccessful time in primary school. As compared to the role and impact of the family, interview subjects feel that the role of teachers and the school is minor, and feel that their work is an uphill struggle:

> "You know, colleagues often find, they are used to, like, building something from Monday to Friday, and... it's torn down over the weekend, and they have to start over the next Monday. So that's how everything is. Learning, manners, you know, everything, everything, personal hygiene, you know, everything. It is difficult." *(school principal, small town)*

In addition to the lack of motivation, the frequent occurrence of *aggression* is also often mentioned. The cause of aggression is that students have poor conflict management skills – which is also due to poor models acquired in the family. (For a more detailed discussion of the issues around school conflict management and alternative conflict management methods, see: Györgyi–Nikitscher, ed. 2008) There are also institutions where students are causing public nuisance or committing various criminal acts, and police presence is common.

CHANGES IN THE LEGISLATIVE ENVIRONMENT

In addition to family background issues and the entrenched low prestige of vocational training, two more problems were mentioned as hindering teaching. The new structure of vocational training was mentioned by more than one respondent. This does not contradict the fact that – as the previous system was also seen as broken in many ways – the changes were welcomed. In any case, as the research found criticisms that were shared by multiple respondents, we feel that the problems cited with regard to the new system merit discussion. One of the criticisms voiced by multiple respondents regarding the *new system of vocational training* was that – unlike the previous 2+2 system – it does not allow students to switch trades mid-way if the reason for their poor school performance and truancy is that they don't like the trade they chose. It appears that allowing flexibility in study paths would contribute significantly to reducing the number of students who drop out of school; several interview subjects stressed that more flexibility could help keep more students in the system.

Inflexibility is not the only problem with the current education system: it also fails to take into account the above mentioned characteristics of vocational schools, namely that due to the selection of students entering secondary education, vocational schools generally get students who performed poorly in primary school, many of whom lack even basic skills and abilities. Therefore, there is a great need for helping students catch up in these areas in vocational schools, but vocational schools do not have the means to do so.

Another commonly mentioned problem is the *shortage of non-teaching staff* or the shortage of paid non-teaching positions. The lack of on-site child protection service positions is seen as the biggest problem; some go so far as stating that not being allowed to hire a child protection professional is absurd.

Many schools do not have specialised staff for handling problems of this sort. Schools that have had support staff of this type generally report positive experiences: they feel that it lightens the load for others at the school. Most institutions only get to use various types of support services if they participate (or used to participate) in a programme of some sort (Dobbantó, KOMP, Social Renewal Operational Programme etc.). Programmes are generally seen as positive, especially those in which teachers are given time and opportunities to develop children's basic competencies.

Another important factor deserves discussion here: lowering the compulsory schooling age to 16 years. The interviews showed that opinions are mixed regarding this change. The general opinion is that it does not affect students' attitudes, but it

seems clear that it puts the school in an easier position with regard to students who are seen as very difficult cases – at least administratively.

SCHOOL DROPOUTS AND CAUSES OF DROPPING OUT

This research project was focused on issues related to those students who drop out of school. The interviews showed that every school under study experiences this phenomenon to some degree. It should be noted, however, that in the day-to-day operation of the school, the dropping out of students is often not seen as a problem. The usual „choreography" that certain students stop going to school right away at the start of the school year. Several institutions indicated that students generally drop out in grade 9, or sometimes in grade 10. Those who survive this initial period generally go on to complete their studies. It should be noted that while the representatives of most institutions indicated the falling number of students in vocational schools as a problem, this is usually seen as related to the low number of applicants, and not to any mass abandonment of studies.

Most school principals treat dropouts as a given, which is caused by the above discussed systemic problems (the low prestige of vocational education, the poor family background of students). They feel that primary schools bear some (minor) responsibility in this regard, and neglectful parents bear even more. Because of these factors, they feel that dropouts are an unavoidable phenomenon in vocational schools – in fact, multiple respondents mentioned that this phenomenon is already being seen in vocational secondary schools as well.

Most schools could only supply data (even approximate data) on dropouts on request, after doing some ad hoc calculations, as – and this was stressed by multiple respondents – the statistical data that schools are required to record does not include dropout statistics. Most schools experience a lot of student movement, both entries and exits. As a result, precise data is hard to come by; institutions struggle to track even their graduates, and if a student abandons his or her studies, the school is left in the dark. They can only presume that some of these students move on to another school while others abandon their studies altogether. Therefore, dropouts are partly a matter of perception for schools.

TRUANCY

The main and most frequent reason of dropping out of school is truancy, in which case there is no real school career to speak of: the school does not really get to know the student in question and there is no real relationship with the student because the student fails to show up to class. Schools agree that solving the problem of extremely high absence rates requires a lot of time and effort, and it is important for the school to try and contact the family of the affected students. At the same time, while in some schools it is felt that the school staff does not have the energy, human resources or means to contact notorious truants or their families, i.e. the school has to simply give up on such students, in other schools, reaching out to truant students is seen as a central part of

the school's activity. Schools that are active in this regard and take responsibility for keeping students in the school tend to use teamwork in this respect: even if there is no formalised plan for it, multiple staff members (form teacher, principal) are involved in reaching out to problem students.

Reports diverge on how effective the withdrawal of family allowance is in getting children to go to school. Some schools reported that this is the most effective method, but others do not feel that it is a strong enough deterrent – similarly, opinions vary regarding the effectiveness of grants associated with professions in short supply.

TARDINESS, ABSENCES

In theory, tardiness and absences can also lead to dropping out of school, but most schools deny that lateness in itself can have such consequences in practice.

However, lateness may have varying consequences as schools handle the issue differently.

The handling of tardyness by schools is regulated by Decree 20/2012 (VIII. 31.) EMMI. The provisions of the decree provide a clear mechanism for calculating tardyness, but they do not clarify whether the time a student is late is to be considered justified or unjustified absence.

Our interviews showed that even very meticulously worded laws and regulations may be interpreted and applied differently at the local level, and specific school practices depend heavily on the school's general (permissive or strict) attitude.

ACADEMIC CAUSES

Statistics indicate that vocational education has by far the greatest number of students who have to repeat a grade (see for instance: Fehérvári 2008), which might lead one to believe that students drop out of vocational school for academic reasons. In many schools, half of the dropouts are considered to be caused by academic issues and failing classes. However, interviews also showed that very few students actually drop out of school for purely study-related reasons; often, absences are a much more important factor. On the one hand, there are institutions where it is clearly felt that students with poorer abilities miss more classes, and dropping out is a result of the absences, not the lower ability or knowledge. On the other hand, in some schools, it was stressed that poorer abilities are never a reason for dropping out.

It appears that when it comes to dropping out of school for academic reasons, a lot depends on the school's attitude. Again, there are some schools where this is seen as an unchangeable feature:

"unfortunately, where there are few applicants to choose from, the dropout rate will be high" *(school principal, small town)*

At the same time, other institutions show that a lot depends on the school's philosophy when it comes to poor academic results and failing classes:

> *"There aren't many failures, because I think our job is to teach children, not to fail them. Our job is not to fail them, and if a child can't learn something, we have to put them on a different track, because this is a vocational education institution, and our job is to give them a profession so that they can make a living and integrate into society, and not to teach them things they cannot or do not want to learn." (county seat, school principal?)*

DIFFERENT APPROACHES TO THE SAME PROBLEMS

The above shows that schools see different things as problems, experience them in different ways and respond to them in different ways.

The most salient differences were found with regard to behavioural issues and the handling of absences. Even in the case of lateness, which is regulated rather precisely, institutions have quite a lot of freedom in how they handle the issue administratively, which means that the consequences of lateness also vary. There is even more variation between institutions in the handling of other phenomena related to dropping out that are usually seen as problems. Some principals say that whatever they do, there are some students who will be absent from a lot of classes and entire school days without justification, in which case the school does what it is required to do by law: notify the district clerk and pedagogical assistance services – and that is all it can do. In the schools contacted for this research, this is the dominant attitude.

However, some principals have a different view on the matter:

> *"This person, who was absent from an awful lot of classes, because of the divorce of his parents, we could have... And I think that most institutions would, understandably, just expel him, but I think we can integrate him back by, although of course we won't be able to grade him at the end of the year, but we want to keep him in the institution, we want to save him." (denominational school, small town, principal)*

There is an even greater contrast when it comes to the management of behavioural problems, presumably because these are subject to much fewer legal regulations, allowing institutions much more freedom to decide how to respond to behavioural issues and how much weight to attribute to them.

In some schools, it is felt that students have difficulties controlling their temper, and this poses a serious challenge for the school.

In another school, we received the following response to a question on the management of behavioural problems:

> *"Actually, we do not see this as a problem." (school principal, small town)*

Thus, such problems are perceived differently in different schools, and the differences in their management are even greater. Schools' opinions tend to diverge the most on how much latitude they actually have. As previously mentioned, school principals often feel powerless due to the generally poor conditions the school has to operate in.

> *"when we try to teach or educate, we often bump into walls, because they just don't yet understand"*
> *(school principal, small town)*

This sense of powerlessness seems to go hand in hand with students' lack of motivation – at least, the two occur together in many cases. In many schools, teachers do not feel competent to handle the problems. Generally, they meet their statutory obligations and respond to problems according to an established routine learned over the years, but they themselves feel that these methods are insufficient and ineffective. In many cases, though, this does not lead to a determination to change the established practice: it only strengthens the sense of resignation.

The sense of powerlessness, of being poorly equipped is accompanied by a sense that there is little chance of getting help from internal or external pedagogical assistance services, even though it is clear from the results that the presence of such specialised staff can often help resolve tensions.

At the same time, there are innovative institutions that use different methods. They are often not state-run institutions, and that may be the reason why they have better access to assistance providers; in any case, they use assistance providers in a more conscious and planned manner. Instead of contacting them only in case of trouble, they consult them and discuss specific cases with them as an organic part of the school's work. In at least one institution, there is ongoing mentoring as part of the Dobbantó Programme; in another, the staff regularly discusses difficulties together as a team.

In this latter institution, the school's management reported various good practices: for instance, the operation of the school's conflict management method (learned from a well-reputed vocational training institution that specialises in students with a disadvantaged background). This also shows that the methods the school uses to manage conflicts between the school and a student or among students, and the general approach to conflict management can have great importance. The importance of the role of mentors also emerges in these discussions:

> "We call this method restorative conflict management [...] The child does not feel threatened, because we create a very safe environment in these situations, so the child is not alone with the ‚enemy', but rather we have the child, and the child can name somebody they trust, and say they want that person

> to sit with them to support them, this is usually a mentor or a friend. Parents... perhaps there was one case where the child wanted a parent, so parents are not really the people who really look after the child." *(principal, city with county status)*

This puts a frequently voiced complaint in a new context: in many vocational schools, it is felt that parents are passive and the school is unable to take over their role – this quote, however, indicates that this, a replacement of their family, is actually what children really need, and it appears that the effective management of problems require schools to take steps in this direction.

In most institutions, teachers struggle to control students who disturb classes. Still, there are examples of efforts to handle situations like this without requiring extra resources: for instance, in one school, students who prove hopeless to manage in class are regularly sent to the principal's office – but not as punishment, but as a step towards managing the problem:

> "The teacher can't handle the child on the spot, because he is disturbing the class so much [...] and then he is sent out of the room, but that means he comes here to see me or the vice principal, and we talk. And then a lot of things come out about the child in that conversation, which starts a new process, about what we, about what steps need to be taken to sort out the life situation that he is in." *(principal, city with county status)*

At the opposite end of the scale from conflict management aimed at solving problems involving teamwork and pedagogical assistance specialists is the use of disciplinary action.

There are quite large differences between schools when it comes to the frequency of the use of disciplinary action, although there are hardly any schools where they are frequent.

Disciplinary action is often an implicit admission of failure on the part of the institution:

> "We only remove children through disciplinary action who have gotten to the point where they undermine and damage the whole community. Then we do not have any other options, at that point pedagogy has failed, and then... that's when we resort to this solution." *(principal, small town)*

Even in institutions that use disciplinary action, the number of students expelled in this way is under 10 per year; in some schools, it is 5 or 6, but in most, it is 2 to 3. The causes are the same as for most school problems: in most cases, aggression that is judged to be unmanageable, but there was at least one case where a student was disciplined for absences. It appears that in some cases, disciplinary action is not just an indicator of the school's lack of other solutions; it is a communication path:

> "And the student is of compulsory schooling age, so we can't expel him even if he misses classes without justification, so above a certain percentage we take disciplinary action, and then the parent is informed of what's going on." *(principal, small town)*

The above quote shows the communicational and symbolic importance of disciplinary action, and it raises another important point as well, by mentioning the schooling obligation. Perhaps the relatively low number of disciplinary actions may be related to the lowered compulsory schooling age, as it allows institutions to expel problem students without ‚bothering' with disciplinary procedures. This indicates that schools often apply this measure when they have exhausted all other options, and when disciplinary action is taken, the goal might not be solving the problem.

The distribution of disciplinary cases between institutions is uneven. This is clearly not related to one school having „easier" students while another has more „difficult" students; the causes are, again, to be sought in the different attitudes of schools.

LOGICS OF ACTION

The above discussion shows that problem management in schools (which naturally has an impact on dropouts) is not only determined by outside circumstances (the primary school career and family background of students), systemic issues (the position of vocational training within the education system) and the infrastructure. It seems clear that schools may respond differently to similar situations, and may view and treat the same problems differently. Schools may be seen as actors with their own logic of action.

The logic of action of an individual or a group is a set of dominant attitudes that can be identified based on an observation of the actor's practices in a specific area – e.g. regarding absences or academic or behavioural problems. The term of logic does not refer here to an explicit reasoning structuring speech, but rather to an implicit coherence in a series of practices contributing to carrying out a certain orientation. (Maroy 2004). Naturally, this is not entirely independent of the various „objective" conditions listed above: it includes a reflection and an opinion on them; an assessment of what realistic objectives the institution can set for itself, about what it can and cannot achieve. However, the same „objective conditions" may lead to different reflections and different logics of action in different institutions.

Although this research project did not involve making observations in the schools, only an examination of the narratives of principals in order to learn about the phenomenon of dropping out of school, these narratives still give some insight into various logics of action. A field research project carried out in six areas in five countries (including one area in Hungary) covering a total of 89 primary schools showed schools as having a dominant logic of action ranging from instrumental to expressive. These terms are borrowed from Bernstein's (1996: 97–99) work (Maroy, 2004: 89).

In schools with an instrumental logic of action, the relationship of students and teachers is determined by the academic performance of students and the teacher's

authority; parents are seen as strategic capital, the principal is seen as a manager and acts accordingly. The focus is on academic achievements, discipline and calmness; considerations of fairness are secondary. In schools with an expressive logic of action, the relationship of students and teachers is based on a family atmosphere, caring and attention; fairness is fundamental in school practices; the school has programmes for children with special educational needs and children with behavioural issues, and the principal is seen as the head teacher.

It might not come as a surprise to the reader that the above cited international research project showed that schools with an instrumental logic of action generally had a lot of students from the higher strata of society, and were primarily interested in recruiting such students and made efforts to exclude students with a worse background and poorer academic results, while in schools with a more mixed social composition, the expressive logic of action was more often used, and there were more programmes with various types of remedial courses.

Assuming that a description of school practices supplied by the principal gives us some insight into the school's real practices, elements of both instrumental and expressive logics of action can be found in the vocational schools under study. The below table lists some characteristic details from principals' descriptions as an illustration of the point.

Table 1: logics of action as reflected in the descriptions supplied by principals in interviews	
INSTRUMENTAL (THE QUOTES ARE FROM 4 SCHOOLS)	**EXPRESSIVE (THE QUOTES ARE FROM 3 SCHOOLS)**
they are so *misbehaved,* I don't know what parents expect of them at home, they don't even understand why it is a problem that they stand in front of a teacher with their hands in their pockets and the way they talk to teachers.	we are kind of an incubator school, so we have a very close relationship with students, and they are happy to stay here, because they know the teachers here, they know the students, so this is a *safe environment for them.*
It is difficult to get them to show *respect.* So it takes *firmness* to command respect here. For instance, it is difficult to maintain order in the classroom. It takes ongoing work, and firmness. So you have to be consistent, you have to be firm.	*There aren't many failures,* because I think our job is to teach children, not to fail them. Our job is not to fail them, and if a child can't learn something, we have to put them on a different track, because this is a vocational education institution, and our job is to give them a profession so they can make a living and integrate into society, and not to teach them things they cannot or do not want to learn.
And I would like to stress that this school, our school, is not like the average school, how you imagine vocational schools. So if you come in here, you can see children are disciplined here, we haven't had a stabbing here, or a big fight where the police had to get involved, or a beating of a teacher, so nothing of the sort that you hear about in the press or the internet. We pay a lot of attention to that.	So if there is a rigid teacher, someone who thinks 'I'm the teacher, I will teach here, and the kids' job is to do what I say' – well, that teacher will leave right away, after the first class. Out of the 45 minutes of each class, 15 minutes are spent teaching values and norms, and 30 minutes are spent teaching the subject matter.
In this heterogeneous environment, we have set up a school that is fundamentally very orderly. So today we have interim examinations, where a panel from the chamber is testing children, and they come in here – they just told me – they like to come here, because there is peace and quiet here.	And then the teachers took out their children's primary school mathematics textbooks at home, and brought in those problems, to teach children from that and make some progress, because there is no point in giving them a failing mark.

INSTRUMENTAL (THE QUOTES ARE FROM 4 SCHOOLS)	EXPRESSIVE (THE QUOTES ARE FROM 3 SCHOOLS)
Table 1: Logics of action as reflected in the descriptions supplied by principals in interviews	
	Our children come back here, they bring their children in to show them to us. A lot of marriages were made here. This is a mixed school.
	We have afternoon play sessions, which are open, so they are not just for our kids. And of course, the news spreads, already through the school year, if a kid's friend is in trouble, because they missed a lot of classes, or failed, or had some behavioural problem, that they can come here, it's a good place for them.

These quotes contain characteristic descriptions: on the one side, we have "order", "respect" and "misbehaved" children, while on the other, we have "incubator school", "safe" and "mixed school". Instrumental and expressive logics of action make for entirely different schools, which have very different expectations towards their students as well – and they can offer different things to students.

The different problem perceptions and problem management methods discussed in the paper can often be described in terms of one of the two logics of action. In institutions with a more instrumental logic of action, a lot more problems are detected; one could also say that they perceive as problems certain things that are simply treated as a given in schools with an expressive logic: students' poor family background, their troubled previous school career or their low level of skills; as one respondent said, they "do not see this as a problem" – a clear example of expressive logic.

When it comes to problem management patterns, the two logics of action seem to show the opposite trends: in schools with an expressive logic, active solutions are sought, often aimed at keeping the child in the school, while institutions with an expressive logic report using innovative solutions more rarely and they report ‚unavoidable' disciplinary procedures and inescapable dropouts more often. Of course, this should not come as a surprise, as instrumental logic requires children to be assessed based on the school's expectations, unlike expressive logic, in which the goal is keeping the children in the school and offering them services that are valuable to them.

The following table illustrates the above trends through examples.

	INSTRUMENTAL LOGIC OF ACTION	**EXPRESSIVE LOGIC OF ACTION**
Figure 5: Problems, problem management and logics of action		
Problems, topics	where there are few applicants to choose from, the dropout rate will be high	There is a lot of movement in 9th and 10th grade, I mean coming in. So there are very few dropping out, thanks to the mentoring network we have here. But very often enrolment takes place in September, and then new children keep coming from the middle of September all through to the end of the school year. Constantly.
		Well, you know... finding out every time if the bus was late or... there was some problem that caused lateness. I think we have to show a little tolerance, if the child shows up and is there... not if he is several hours late, but if he is five or ten minutes late, he can still join the class.
Family background	They expect too much from the school, much more than we can do for them. We cannot provide them a calm environment to study in at home.	
Behaviour	We too have classes where there is tougher, firmer control and order, and that group will be much more disciplined in the class-room as well. And there are classes where there is more freedom, I know teachers that give them more freedom, and that shows in the classroom too.	
Problem management	Can the school do something to prevent this, is it worth it? So if somebody hasn't really been coming. V: There is not much we can do. We have called in the parents... the parents are not interested in the child's performance. They don't phone in to ask how their child is doing, what his grades are.	And then we try to get them signed up for the quarterly exams, so we have to set up an indivi-dual study schedule for them so that they don't get rejected for their absences, so we rather visit their families and examine their living conditions to see what's going on. And then we usually find out the child has to work, because the family is in trouble, and the child takes on odd jobs, and can't plan for them in advance, so then we set up an in-dividual study schedule, when to come to school, how to do it, and of course it appears like the child isn't going to school, when there is actually an ongoing control and cooperation.
	We have students of compulsory schooling age who do not come to school despite written notices, reports and contacts. So overall, if a student of compulsory schoo-ling age does not want to go to school, we have few options to force them to, and the authorities can't do much, either.	We have students, it's not that rare, that they are forced to work, and there are some who have children at a young age. So these are life situations where the school tries to help as much as it can, of course we can't break the rules... So of course this is a matter of individual judge-ment.
		There has to be a school for these **kids with a troubled background**, a welcoming institution where they can be socialised if their family can't, for instance, because they don't have a family, or their circumstances are so messy, I mean, so that they get something. So I am proud to say that if a student enters this school, then maybe not in the designated time, **because it may take longer, but eventually the overwhelming majority of students completes this programme** and get a vocational certificate.

Figure 5: Problems, problem management and logics of action		
	INSTRUMENTAL LOGIC OF ACTION	**EXPRESSIVE LOGIC OF ACTION**
	Well, generally we get 5 or 6 disciplinary actions each year. And the student is of compulsory schooling age, so we can't expel him even if he misses classes without justification, so above a certain percentage we take disciplinary action, and then the parent is informed of what's going on.	I think that if we started this with the disciplinary, so, if it was like that, we could expel one every week, or many in a year, so that's **not a solution.**
		This person, who was absent from an awful lot of classes, because of the divorce of his parents, we could have... And I think that most institutions would, understandably, just expel him, but I think we can integrate him back by, although of course we won't be able to grade him at the end of the year, but we want to keep him in the institution, we want to **save him.**

All the vocational schools studied are institutions of low prestige and their students have a poor social background, and, as we have seen, principals stress this fact. In the light of this fact, it is certainly a warning sign that, while international research experiences show that schools of this type generally apply an expressive logic of action – for a reason, as a response to social and systemic characteristics –, the interviews indicate that in the vocational schools in our sample, the instrumental logic of action is at least as prevalent, if not more prevalent in numerous institutions.

One might go so far as to say that this is the reason why the schools where the instrumental logic of action prevails in the school's practices and the management of conflicts and the school's problems are the ones that report the strongest sense of powerlessness discussed above. These schools aim for goals (disciplined students committed to learning, good academic results, cooperative parents) that are characteristic of middle-class schools, and these are not realistic expectations for vocational schools due to their obvious low position in social/educational rankings. Therefore, they are constantly faced with resistance and a sense of failure. Thus, the strong presence of the instrumental logic of action in vocational training can be considered an inadequate approach to the problem.

CONCLUSION

Our research has shown that the dropping out of students is a constantly present issue in vocational education, but it is difficult to measure, and most schools do not track students who dropped out (or indeed the students who completed their programme). Therefore, there is not much information on what happens to students who are expelled from a school or leave the school of their own volition. This is in itself an indication that dropouts are not considered a priority area by schools, or at least not important enough for schools to want to know exactly when and why a specific student drops out of school. Respondents agree that in most schools, the phenomenon

is at its strongest in grade 9, and some schools take it is as a matter of course that some students will drop out no matter what. It appears that dropouts are just one of the many problems of vocational training, while they also enclose a microcosm of all the other problems in vocational training. The way in which the problems arising in connection with vocational school students and dropouts are interconnected is a good example. As we have seen, often it is the most problematic students, those who are most difficult for the institution to handle that drop out: those who miss a lot of classes (and are thus essentially unknown to the institution), those who fail classes and those who cause problems with serious behavioural issues or aggressive conduct. The interviews made with principals indicate that in most institutions, the aggressive behaviour of students that are actually present in class, or, for instance, students' learning difficulties, are a much more serious problem for the school, and therefore, if a problem student drops out, that actually eliminates the problem for the institution. At the same time, there are some (very few) welcoming schools as well, where the movement is in the opposite direction: they absorb some of the students who drop out of other schools. These institutions have already recognised that they cannot expect students to adhere to traditional school rules and values.

The interviews show that vocational school teachers have a clear sense that the problems stem from the position of vocational education in the education system, but they struggle to meet the challenges resulting from that situation. It is clear that, due to the low prestige of vocational education, the worst-performing students end up going to such institutions, and it is also clear that as a result of that, it is difficult to achieve results with them using traditional pedagogical methods. At the same time, most teachers feel that they have not been taught any other methods, and would like other staff to help them with that, but such staff is usually not available.

Additionally, all principals reported that – even though this may not be officially declared – a significant portion of the time spent in vocational training is consumed by trying to compensate for disadvantages and teaching students the basic skills they failed to learn at lower levels of education – or at least there is a need for that, because there is unanimous agreement that this is indispensable for achieving the „official" goal of vocational training, which is to teach students a profession.

Programmes that help students acquire such basic skills are popular, and they are usually seen to be effective. However, most schools focus on professional training; that is what schools feel they are qualified to do, and they are not able or willing to adapt to the different needs and situations that they do perceive.

At the same time, the tools that could help these schools manage the problems are clear: in the majority of even those institutions that feel unequipped and are passive when it comes to solving problems with their own resources, there are clear positive experiences with various disadvantage compensation and competency development programmes (the KOMP, Dobbantó and Vocational School Development Programmes were cited most often) and the presence of specialised support staff. To a lesser degree, experiences are positive with regard to certain in-service teacher training programmes as well. It appears that these schools, unlike those welcoming, accepting, generally non-state-run schools that „specialise in" the most difficult children and use innovative methods, generally do not wish to take on the challenges and needs that

they themselves also perceive with regard to the development of basic skills and values and norms, yet they would like somebody to take on these tasks, which is to say that they clearly would not resist external help in this work.

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ANIKÓ FEHÉRVÁRI: CAREER TRACKING
OF YOUNG SKILLED WORKERS, 2010–2014

School-to-work transition has a wide research background. The OECD (1996) and the ILO (2010) have undertaken international surveys in this field. The OECD also explores transition at a systemic level and compares educational and labour market subsystems and analyses to what extent school qualifications correspond to jobs in the labour market, and putting the success of transition in this context. This typology can be derived from two approaches to labour market segmentation. According to one, the task of the educational system is to raise the level of general education; according to the other, it is to meet the special demands of the labour market, i.e. to train for specific occupations. (In international literature these two theories are called internal versus occupational labour market and qualificational versus organisational space. In his paper Müller (2005) shows in detail how different kinds and levels of education shape the chances of access of young people to the labour market.) At one extreme of this typology are countries with dual vocational education and training (VET) (e.g. Germany, Austria), where connections between education and the labour market are the closest. At the other end of the scale are countries where VET does not feature in public education at all (e.g. USA, Canada).[1] This typology not only allows classification of the various education systems but also makes it possible to examine changes in a particular country over a period of time. Thus, Hungary before the fall of communism tended to follow the German model; after the political changes there was a gradual shift towards general training, and over the past few years, education policy has again pointed in the occupational direction.

The OECD's indicator C5 of the transition from school to work refers to the age group 15-29 (the main breakdown of data are: in/not in education; those not in education: employed/unemployed). The data are available also by sex and age groups (15-19, 20-24, 25-29-year-olds). Analysing the trends by age going back to 1995, we find that in Hungary the rate of 15–19-year-olds in education is higher than the OECD or even the EU21 average, while the trend reverses in the age groups over 20. The number of youths in education in the age group 20–24 doubled in Hungary over 12 years but still falls short of the OECD or EU21 average. The number of 25-29-year-olds in education also increased in Hungary compared to 1995, but there was a decline after 2010 followed by stagnation while international averages continue to rise also in this age group. This means that in Hungary the rate of youths in education in the 20+ age groups is still smaller than in the developed countries.[2] Moreover, another negative trend is the higher rate of NEET in the 25-29-year-old population compared to international averages (Hungary: 27%, EU21 and OECD: 20%). (OECD, EAG, 2014)

The European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training (Cedefop) also conducted comparative European studies in this area. A 2012 publication analyses the school-to-work (STW) transition process in 27 European countries based on the EU's

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1 Another characteristic feature of the internal labour market is that the employer (large company) provides for the professional training of the jobholder who has a general theoretical knowledge in the framework of a training plan attached to in-house career. Hungarian employers seldom adopt this attitude.
2 A possible reason is that learning activities are not supported by the regulatory environment.

2009 labour market survey data. The publication emphasizes that in 2009 there were 35.2 million youths of 15-34 years of age who had ISCED 3 or 4 qualifications. VET is most popular in the Czech Republic, Austria and Slovakia. The analysts highlight the strong influence of family background on the choice of school, and the higher the parents' educational attainment the higher qualification the child aspires to. For these youths general secondary education is only a mid-station to tertiary education; they are not going to directly enter the labour market. Conversely, approximately three-quarters of VET graduates (from skilled worker training) enter the labour market directly. The analysts also point out that labour market entrants from skilled worker training are more successful than those who come from general education; their adaptation is shorter and smoother, and their starting wages are higher. Although unemployment among women is higher, skilled worker women tend to be more successful in finding jobs than women graduating from general education (Cedefop 2012).

Besides international comparative studies there is an abundance of national surveys in the STW transition literature. One of the most detailed among them is the book titled revealingly *Triumphs and Tears* by Hodkinson, Hodkinson and Sparkes (2012) published in several editions, describing the career paths and decisions of young Britons in the first 18 months after qualification. In addition to research focused on entire generations there are others that explore in detail a particular segment of the transition. A separate direction of research is, for example, the analysis of dysfunctions related to the transition (Nochajski–Schweitzer 2014; Vuolo–Staff–Mortimer 2012), or that of a particular social group, e.g. the disadvantaged (immigrants) (Tchibozo 2013). In addition to individuals-related research policy analyses is a special research area. An example is a Canadian team's publication (Versnel et al. 2011), which formulates national characteristics planted in an international context. To this end, the researchers operationalized the indicators of STW transition applied in international surveys. The following main factors were found to lend themselves to the analysis of national characteristics: international economic and social factors, personal and family background, educational context, workplace context, school-work intersection, and individual outcomes.

Among the Hungarian empirical research projects, mention should be made of those which start out from differing concepts but explore the level of the individual. The first major research in the field of transition was conducted by ELTE Budapest University's team in 1998 examining an entire cohort of secondary school leavers (60 thousand students) (Róbert 2000; Csákó 2002). Transition here was from secondary to tertiary education. Transition from higher education to the world of work is followed by the graduates' career tracking system. Processed at an institutional and also on a nationwide level, its data are available (Veroszt, 2014; Garai–Veroszta 2013). The project titled Career Tracking started in 2006 (Kertesi-Kézdi 2010). It tracks the entry pf 10 thousand 8th graders from primary to secondary school, and examines their subsequent careers. The goal is to track learning paths but multiple panels allow career tracking as well. The third stage of the study took place in 2012 with the participation of approximately 7,000 young people. This data collection already showed exit from public education and moving on. The main findings were as follows:

- 99% of students starting primary education successfully completed primary school.
- 90% of students starting primary school successfully finished secondary school.
- 75% of students starting secondary school acquired a secondary school leaving certificate.
- 47% of students acquiring a secondary school leaving certificate pursued studies in higher education at the time of the survey. (Hajdú et al. 2014)

While previous studies addressed all types of secondary education, some are specifically directed to vocational education and training (VET). The Institute for Economic and Enterprise Research of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (MKIK GVI) launches research particularly about training by vocational training schools on a regular basis, investigating the outlooks of career starter skilled workers in the job market (Makó 2014). These studies generally assess a shorter period of transition, the first 6 to 9 months of starting a career. The findings show that young Hungarian skilled workers' career start is less successful than the European average.

THE RESEARCH

Started in 2010, our study has been aimed at exploring the transition from school to the world of work. International and Hungarian studies prove that this is no longer the only momentum of transition, as learning path and career are often intertwined and are building on each other, and transition has become more precarious (Róbert 2002). This is what our longitudinal study intended to confirm. Besides the changes in learning paths and career paths we wanted to explore the chances youths with different qualifications face when starting on one path or another. Earlier Hungarian surveys tended to investigate a homogeneous population, e.g. skilled workers graduating from vocational training schools. Our study is novel in that in examines the careers of skilled workers graduating not only from vocational training schools but also from vocational secondary schools. This enables us to compare skilled workers with and without a secondary school leaving certificate.

Three rounds of survey were conducted in the course of the four years of study. In the first round the researchers personally approached skilled worker students still at school in their final year and asked them to fill a questionnaire in groups. The following aspects were taken into consideration when creating the vocational secondary school and vocational training school panels: trade group taught by the school, and location of the school (region, type of locality[3]). At the initial data collection the respondents were asked whether they would agree to be interviewed for later data collection. Those who agreed were the sample population of the next panels. The second

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3 The first round of data collection involved 1,175 vocational secondary school students and 1,359 vocational training school students, all of them in their final year.
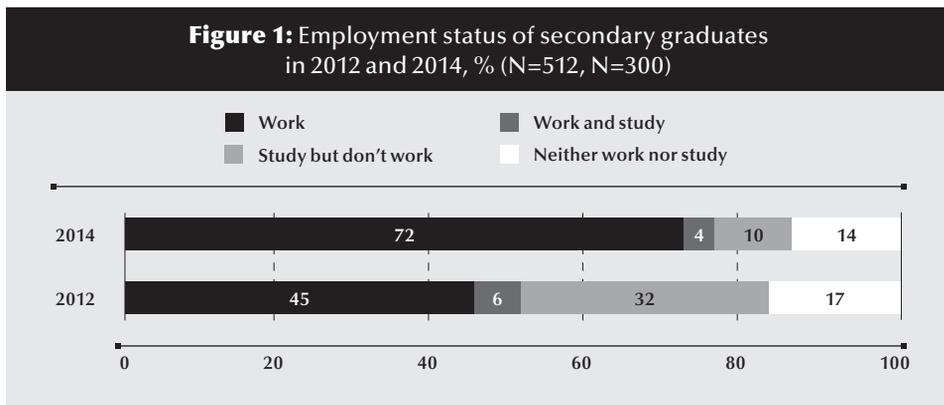
round took place in January 2012[4] in the form of telephone interviews, and the third round followed in the summer of 2014,[5] also by means of telephone interviews. Telephone interviews only allow for a short questionnaire, therefore the most important basic data and the more detailed school career data were recorded in the first round, then the data of the three panels were connected. (A detailed description of the methodology is provided in a separate chapter where we also formulate recommendations that might be useful in career surveys.)

In what follows we present an overview of the career patterns at the two survey times, their differences, and the typical features based on sex, trade group and place of residence. Of the career patterns we analyse in detail subsequent learning paths and point out the factors affecting them.

CHANGES IN EMPLOYMENT STATUS OVER TIME

The first detour in the population surveyed was acquiring or not acquiring a qualification. In 2010 the vast majority of the examined secondary graduates obtained a qualification in their trade but some failed the skilled worker qualification examination and did not manage to pass later either, consequently they entered the labour market without a secondary level qualification.

At the next two survey points we examined the employment status of the respondents at the time of the telephone interview. Four main categories were set up: 1. Work (employed, entrepreneur, full-time or part-time, casual worker, public worker), 2. Study, 3. Study and work, 4. Do not work, do not study (registered or unregistered

Figure 1: Employment status of secondary graduates in 2012 and 2014, % (N=512, N=300)

Work — Work and study — Study but don't work — Neither work nor study

2014: 72 | 4 | 10 | 14
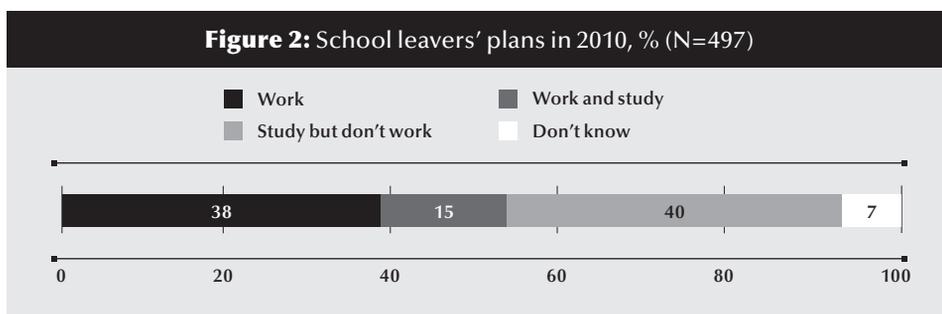2012: 45 | 6 | 32 | 17

0   20   40   60   80   100

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4 In the second round 513 young respondents were interviewed over the telephone. The number of vocational secondary school graduates was 236, and of vocational training school graduates 277. Both rounds were coordinated by Soreco Research Kft.

5 A total of 263 questionnaires were prepared in the original 2012 sample and 37 in the 2010 sample, altogether 300. Each round of the research was coordinated by Soreco Research Kft. At the time of the 2010 survey there were no nationwide statistical data available about the parameters of vocational secondary school and vocational training school graduates, therefore estimated parameters were used for the provisional weighting of the data base. In the third round all three data bases were weighted by means of the 2010 nationwide KIRSTAT statistical data instead of by region and trade group.

unemployed, other inactive, e.g. on maternity leave[6]). The contents of the categories will be analysed later.

The figure clearly shows that while the proportion of young people in studies was quite high in the first year after leaving secondary school, four years after graduation the rate significantly dropped, which increased the rate of those with an active status (work–study rate in 2012: 51-38%; in 2014: 76–14%). (It is likely that the youths participating in the third round of survey were the relatively more successful ones.) This also indicates that skilled workers by no means consider the acquisition of initial qualification the end of their learning career. They tend to continue studies mainly as full-time students and only few undertake studying whilst working (their rate is approximately the same at both survey points). It is conspicuous that the inactive population somewhat shrank between the two measuring points, though not significantly.

We compared the visions, i.e. the plans (immediately) before graduation, of skilled worker students to the results of the measurement points. It is noteworthy that right before the qualification examination, 7% of students had no idea of what they would do afterwards. The difference is greatest between envisioned and actual studies. A considerably higher proportion of youths had thought they would continue studies than actually did; this is particularly true for studies while working. While 15% of school leavers would have liked to continue studying while working in 2012 only 6%, and in 2014 only 4% actually did so.
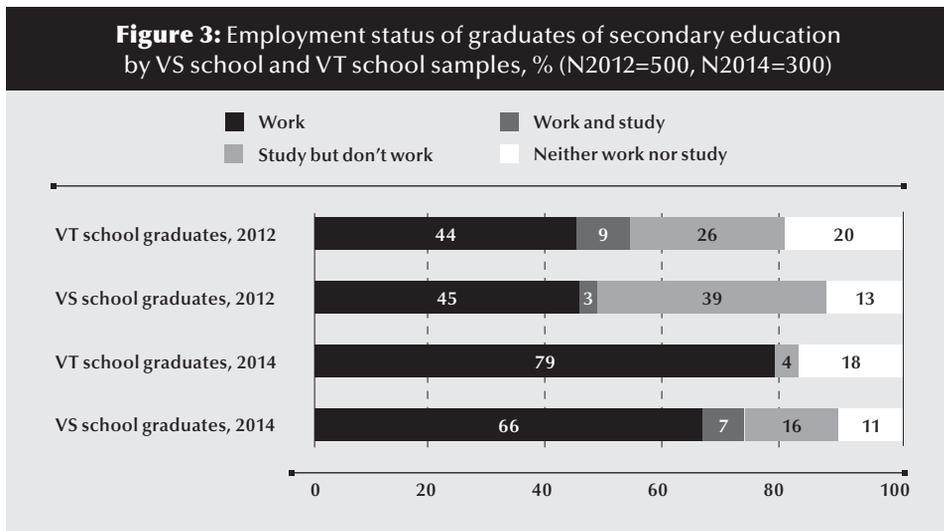

Figure 2: School leavers' plans in 2010, % (N=497)

■ Work   ■ Work and study
■ Study but don't work   □ Don't know

| 38 | 15 | 40 | 7 |

0   20   40   60   80   100

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SCHOOL TYPES

Analysing separately the sample vocational secondary (VS) school and the vocational training (VT) school populations we find that there are basic differences in employment status at the time of both surveys. In 2012 the presence of both groups on the labour market was similar: 48% of vocational secondary school graduates and 53% of vocational training school graduates worked. Vocational secondary school graduates continued their studies in a larger proportion than vocational training school graduates; at the same time, proportionally more vocational training school graduates undertake to study whilst working. In 2014 larger proportions of vocational training
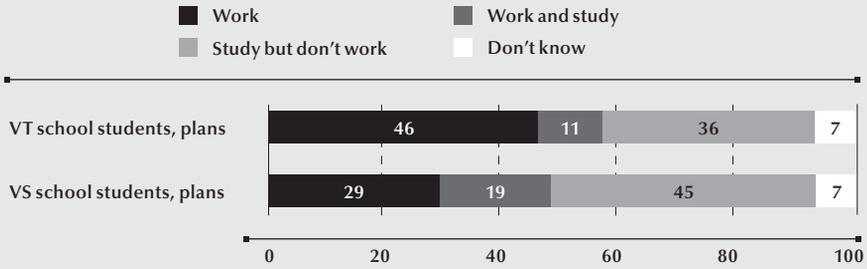
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6 Respondents' self-classification.

school graduates were present on the labour market but inactivity was also more frequent among them. Conversely, more of the vocational secondary school graduates continue to study either whilst working or as full-time students. By 2014 the rate of students among vocational training school graduates dropped to a minimum level. As our hypothesis was that it is not so much the school type as holding or not holding a secondary school leaving certificate (the Hungarian equivalent of a GCE) that is the main line of divide in employment status we also looked at the numbers of vocational training school graduates who have acquired the certificate since 2010 (13% of the vocational training school sample), then repeated the analysis for holders and non-holders of a secondary school leaving certificate. The proportions remained practically the same, the minimal increase the number of secondary school leaving certificate holders did not change the group sizes.

Figure 3: Employment status of graduates of secondary education by VS school and VT school samples, % (N2012=500, N2014=300)

Compared to earlier plans it is mostly vocational secondary school graduates whose study plans were not realized: 23 percentage points more of them wanted to continue studies working or full-time than actually did. Approximately as many of the vocational training school graduates entered the labour market as planned, but fewer than planned continued to study. The question is which group contributes more to the inactive population: those who want to work or those who want to study. Looking at the comparative values, it seems more of those who wanted to work realized their plans (70% did work in 2012); at the same time this group contributed the largest number to the inactive (22%). Those who had planned to study but could not for some reason tended to find work and fewer of them were inactive.
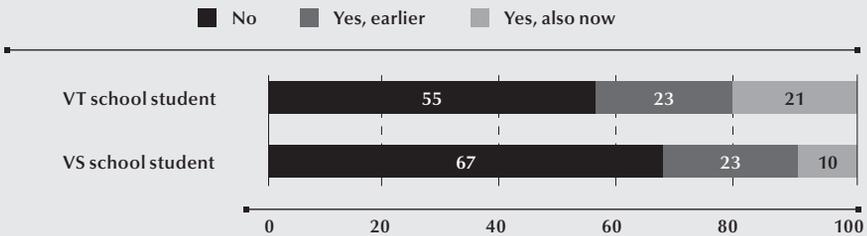
Figure 4: Plans of school leaving students by VS school and VT school samples, % (N2012=497)

Legend:
- ■ Work
- ■ Work and study
- ■ Study but don't work
- □ Don't know

	Work	Work and study	Study but don't work	Don't know
VT school students, plans	46	11	36	7
VS school students, plans	29	19	45	7

(Scale: 0 – 20 – 40 – 60 – 80 – 100)

As regards the internal distribution of the not working and not studying population, in 2012 the proportion of those on maternity leave was low in both samples (1-3%); it was somewhat higher among vocational training school graduates, although the proportion of women in the vocational training school subsample was 35% compared to 50% in the vocational secondary school population. The difference between the two subsamples stems from the rate of the unemployed, which is higher among vocational training school graduates. By 2014 the rate of the unemployed is similar in the two subsamples (7-8%).[7] The difference between the inactive groups is caused by family starters: the rate of those on maternity leave is higher in the vocational training school group (10%) than in the vocational secondary school population (4%).

As data were collected at a particular point of time unemployment rates are only snapshots. We therefore asked if the respondent had been unemployed any time after graduation. Obviously the population that experienced unemployment in this extended way is considerably bigger than the rate of the currently unemployed. In 2012, 39% of the respondents indicated they had been unemployed earlier: one-third of vo-

Figure 5: VS school and VT school graduates experiencing unemployment, 2012, % (N=497)

Legend:
- ■ No
- ■ Yes, earlier
- ■ Yes, also now

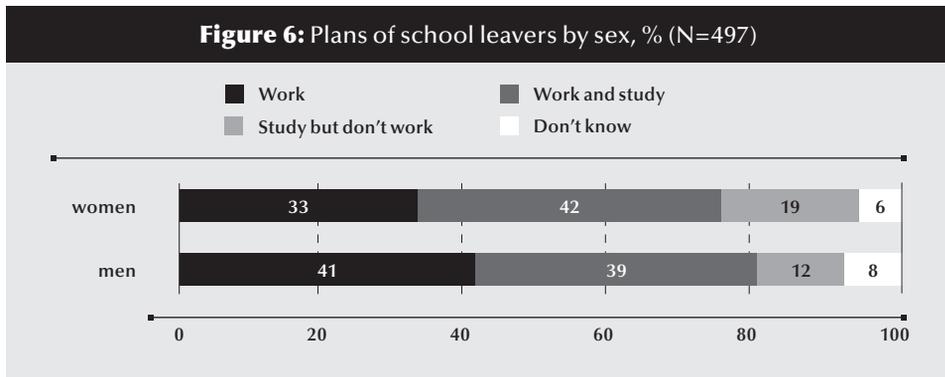|	No	Yes, earlier	Yes, also now
VT school student	55	23	21
VS school student	67	23	10

(Scale: 0 – 20 – 40 – 60 – 80 – 100)

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7 The case numbers of the two surveys differ. It is possible that the rate of unemployed is higher among those who refused to answer.

cational secondary school graduates and 45% of vocational training school graduates were unemployed sometime in the two years after graduation.

On the average young people spent 6.3 months without a job (dispersion: 4.8). No correlation was found between the duration of unemployment and subsamples (i.e. school type) or sex.
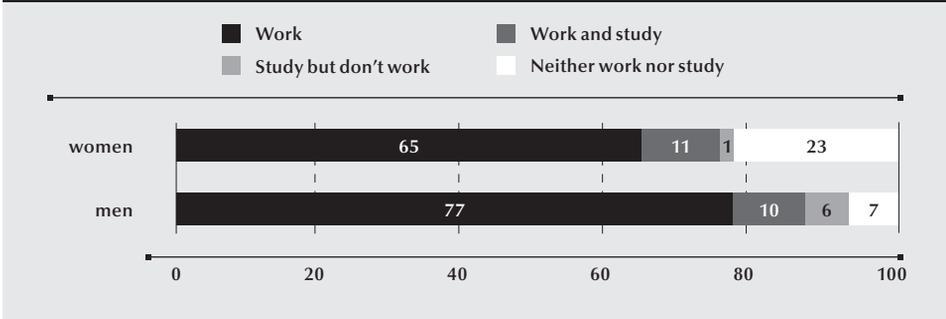
DIFFERENCES BY SEX

In 2012 no significant difference was found in employment status in terms of sex: one in two youths in both groups worked, 17% neither worked nor studied, and 32% studied. Only one very minor difference was registered: while 5% of boys worked and studied, the same rate for girls was 9%. No significant difference was found between the sexes in terms of unemployment experience either. In the year after graduation similar rates of boys and girls became unemployed (although the rate of girls was four percentage points lower). The vision of school leaving students was quite different compared to their actual status. Girls planned to go on studying in greater proportions than boys: the difference between the two groups is 10 percentage points in this respect. However, it is clear that these plans did not materialize: 20% less girls actually continued studies than initially intended.

Figure 6: Plans of school leavers by sex, % (N=497)

Legend: Work · Work and study · Study but don't work · Don't know

women: 33 | 42 | 19 | 6
men: 41 | 39 | 12 | 8

By 2014 the difference in employment status by sex is significant. The active rate is higher among boys and so is the rate of studying whilst working. Inactivity is higher among girls due mainly to having children. The rate of full-time students is similar in both groups.

Figure 7: Employment status of graduates in 2014 by sex, % (N=300)

Legend:
- Work
- Work and study
- Study but don't work
- Neither work nor study

	Work	Work and study	Study but don't work	Neither work nor study
women	65	11	1	23
men	77	10	6	7

FURTHER EDUCATION PATTERNS

In the period investigated, between 2010 and 2014, 60% of the freshly trained skilled workers were engaged in some sort of studies and 14% of the respondents are currently involved in studies. One in five of them study in higher education or mastered another trade. Post-secondary non-degree vocational training was chosen by 7%, and 23% attended courses. A smaller proportion (14%) studied to acquire a secondary school leaving certificate.

Figure 8: Learning activities of graduate students, % (number of learning activity indicators=180)

	%
College/university	32
Post-sec non-degree VT	7
Course	23
New trade	34
Secondary school leaving certificate	14
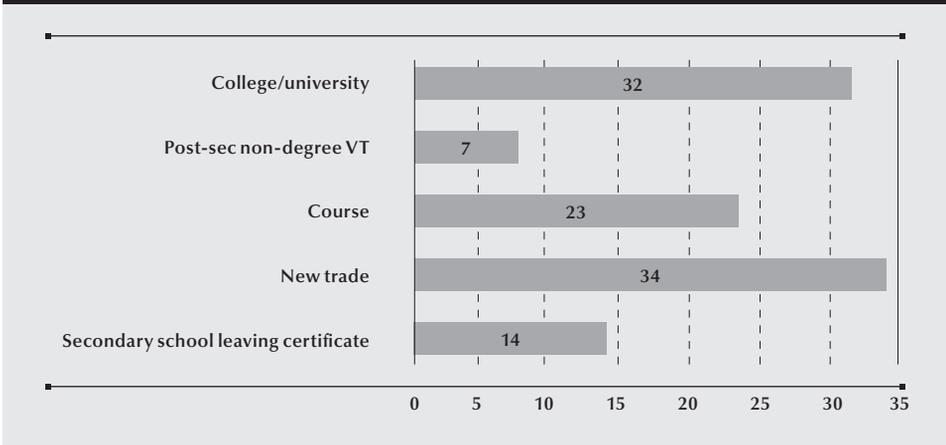
The main reason for studies was the intention to acquire more knowledge. Many of the respondents had a more specific motivation: 27-22% of them went back to studies in the hope of a better job and higher wages. Some thought they studied "for the paper" because they thought they would not be able to find a job without a secondary

Figure 9: Motivations of continued learning activities, %
(number of learning activity indicators =180=180)

Motivation	Value
You can't do without a degree	19
You can't do without a s sch certifcate	9
To have more kowledge	47
To find a better job	27
To secure higher wages	22
Couldn't find a job	17

school leaving certificate or a degree. Finally, 17% studied further because they could not find a job.
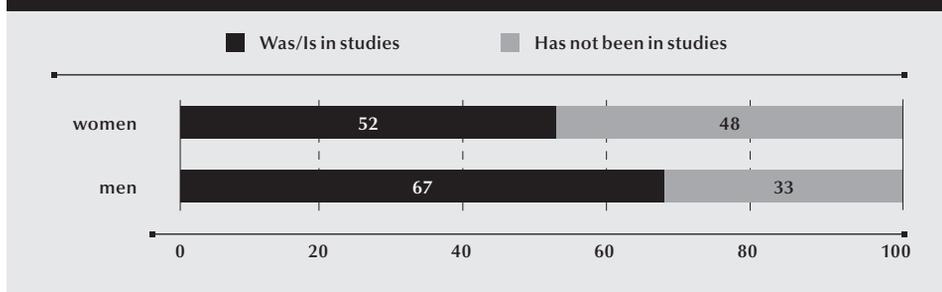
Multiple choices of motivation were examined by means of factor analysis.[8] The answers were grouped into three factors: Factor 1 comprised better job, better pay, and you can't do without a degree at this day and age. Factor 2 was dominated by the answer couldn't find a job, and also included, with a lesser weight, better job, better pay, and you can't do without a secondary school leaving certificate at this day and age. In Factor 3 only the need for a secondary school leaving certificate had a high weight. Factor analysis highlighted two main groups: those who want to advance from a good position to a better one; and those who want to advance from a worse position to a better one.

Motivation to and form of learning correlate from several aspects: 29% of respondents who learnt a new trade said they had opted for this because they could not find a job; the same rate was 7% in the group following a course, and 5% in the case of entrants in higher education. This means a change in occupation is more likely to be the result of a force of life.

It is conspicuous from the data that men's learning activity is higher than women's. One in two women continues learning as opposed to two in three men.

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8 Explanatory power of the model: 61%. Factor weights: Factor 1: higher wages ,584; better job ,690; you can't do without a degree ,483; couldn't find a job -,487. Factor 2: couldn't find a job ,442; higher wages ,371; better job ,371; you can't do without a secondary school leaving certificate ,339. Factor 3: you can't do without secondary school leaving certificate ,772.

Figure 10: Continued learning activity of graduates by sex, % (N=300)

■ Was/Is in studies   ■ Has not been in studies

	Was/Is in studies	Has not been in studies
women	52	48
men	67	33

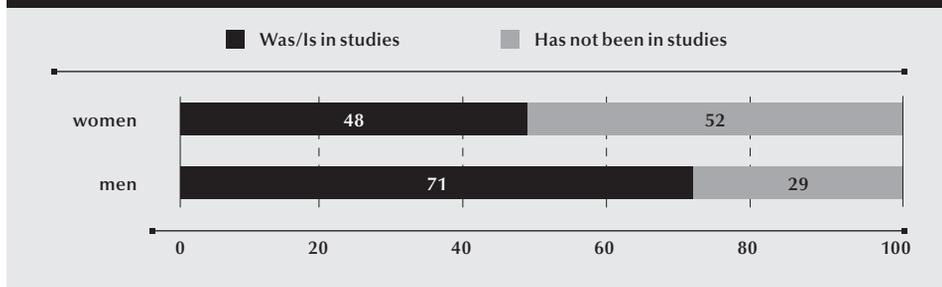0   20   40   60   80   100

Although women were more active in terms of plans, this was not the case in implementation. However, when asked if they were planning on some form of studies in the future, more women respondents answered yes than men. The difference between the sexes results from starting a family; the rate of women who already have children is higher, therefore continued learning will be delayed or perhaps will remain a plan.

There is no significant difference between the sexes in respect of motivation and the type of learning. The only one notable difference was that more women replied they studied because they could not find a job (24%).

There are differences between the two subsamples in terms of the frequency, type and motivation of studies. While 71% of vocational secondary school graduates continued their studies after graduation the same rate for vocational training school graduates is 48%. (It is to be noted that even the vocational training school graduates' rate is very high.)

Figure 11: Continued learning activity of graduates
by secondary school type, 2014, % (N=300)

■ Was/Is in studies   ■ Has not been in studies

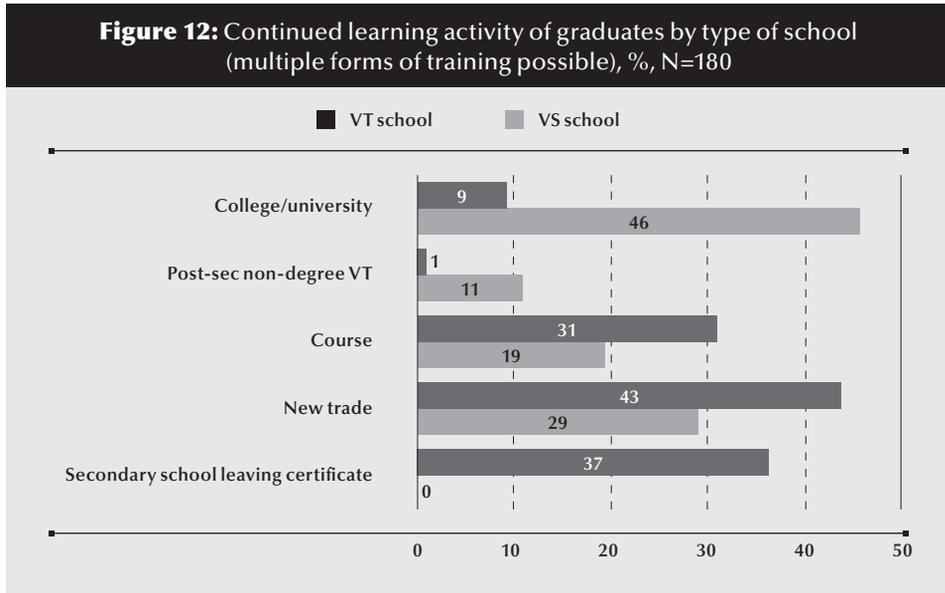|	Was/Is in studies	Has not been in studies
women	48	52
men	71	29

0   20   40   60   80   100

In addition, a large proportion of even those not in studies in the period investigated were planning on some formal or non-formal learning activity.[9] Half of the

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9 The question referred to concrete plans; instead of inquiring about general study plans we asked specifically what the respondent wanted to study.
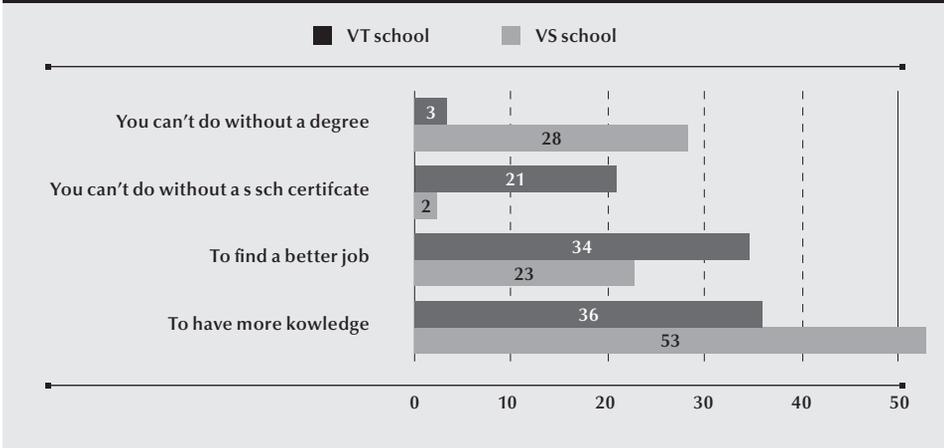
vocational secondary school graduates and two-thirds of the vocational training school graduates envision continuing their studies sometime in the future.

While the most frequent learning activities for vocational training school graduates are to master another trade, acquire the secondary school leaving certificate, and follow some kind of training course, vocational secondary school graduates typically aim at higher education. Learning another trade is also frequent among them.

Figure 12: Continued learning activity of graduates by type of school (multiple forms of training possible), %, N=180

As regards motivation, the biggest difference between graduates of the two school types is the way they see the usefulness of qualifications. While vocational training school graduates think they can't get by without a secondary school leaving certificate, vocational secondary school graduates think the key to success is a degree. Both groups aim qualifications one level above their own. It also transpired from the data that while acquiring more knowledge through continued learning is important for both groups it is more important for vocational secondary school graduates, and vocational training school graduates rather think learning will lead to better jobs.

Figure 13: Motivations of continued learning activity
of graduates by type of school, % (N=180)

VT school VS school

You can't do without a degree — VT: 3, VS: 28
You can't do without a s sch certifcate — VT: 21, VS: 2
To find a better job — VT: 34, VS: 23
To have more kowledge — VT: 36, VS: 53

The respondents' visions are closely related to their learning activities. A youth who, when planning his career, envisioned an occupation requiring a degree is more likely to continue studies than one whose plans did not require a higher level of education. Among those who specified a particular occupation as a career choice and it required a degree, 87% continued their studies after graduation from secondary education.

In addition to sex and type of secondary education, other background variables are also related to subsequent learning activity. Parents' educational attainment shows a close correlation. The higher the father's and the mother's educational attainment the more likely it is that the child will continue to study (the correlation with the mother is stronger). While half of the children whose mother has low educational attainment (primary school or skilled worker training) continue in some form of education, the same rate in the case of mothers with a secondary school leaving certificate is 69%, and in the case of mothers with a degree, 72%.

WHAT ARE THE REASONS THAT INCREASE THE LIKELIHOOD OF LEARNING?

We tried to see the difference between those who currently study (or did so after qualification) and those who do not. In other words, what are the reasons behind studying? We set up several models comprising the following variables: the father's and the mother's educational attainment, type of school (vocational secondary school or vocational training school), residence while in secondary education (the capital city Budapest, city, small town, village), trade (trade group) learnt, sex, and ideas about the occupation envisioned at the end of primary school (does it require a degree or not). In our first model the dependent variable was the current student status, and in the second model whether or not the respondent was pursuing or had pursued studies after

graduation. Binary logistic regression analysis was applied. Due to multicollinearity the variables were selected by applying the Wald test (as has been seen above, several variables show close correlation with learning and also with each other).[10]

Table 1 lists the variables having an impact on learning based on the data of the 2012 survey. It is conspicuous that the explanatory power of the model is very weak. In 2012 the continued learning of young skilled workers was most affected by the parents' educational attainment, however, it is unclear which parent exercised the dominant effect. In one model the father's educational attainment appears more dominant, in the other, it is the mother's. The secondary school leaving certificate seems to be the line of divide, it being more dominant that a degree. Besides the parents' educational attainment the impact of the trade group is also conspicuous. Youths with qualifications in business or services related occupations are more likely to continue their studies than those qualified in other trades. Graduating from vocational secondary school also increases the chances of further studies.

Table 1: Logistic regression model of learning based on the 2012 survey, N=500

Current learning	Odds ratio	Wald	Significance
Business and services trade group	0.7	10.8	0.001
Mother's educational attainment (primary school)		13.0	0.001
Secondary school leaving certificate	−1.0	12.9	0.000
Degree	−0.84	8.1	0.004
Constant	0.05	0.5	0.811
Forecasting accuracy: 66%; Nagelkerke's pseudo R²: 6%			
Past and current learning	Odds ratio	Wald	Significance
Sample	0.4	3.5	0.060
Father's educational attainment (primary school)		13.6	0.001
Secondary school leaving certificate	−1.4	15.2	0.000
Degree	−1.0	6.9	0.018
Business and services trade group	0.57	7.8	0.005
Constant	0.8	3.8	0.051
Forecasting accuracy: 66%; Nagelkerke's pseudo R²: 8%			

The explanatory power of the models created from the 2014 survey data is stronger (weak medium). Very few of the variables remained in the model. In the case of respondents who were in studies (learning) the status is explained by the school type, the mother's educational attainment, the student's residence whilst in secondary education, and the sex. The first of these indicators have the strongest impact. This means that vocational secondary school graduates (and also young people whose mothers have at least secondary school leaving certificate) are more likely to continue learning than vocational training school graduates. Sex and locality of residence have lesser,

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10 In setting up the model we relied on papers by Kovács (2014) and Bartus (2003).

though still significant, impacts. Men and those living in Budapest and county seats were more likely to study in 2014 than women and those who lived in smaller localities. It is important to note that residence does not refer to residence at the time of survey but at the time of secondary studies. The current residence has no impact on learning.

Table 2: Logistic regression model of learning based on the 2014 survey, N=300			
Current learning	Odds ratio	Wald	Significance
Subsample (ref. VT school) VS school	1.7	12.6	0.000
Mother's educational attainment (ref. primary school) secondary school certificate or higher	1.0	7.5	0.006
Residence (ref. village)		9.9	0.041
Capital city	0.7	1.6	0.200
County seat	0.4	0.7	0.375
City	−0.4	0.4	0.532
Small town	−1.2	4.9	0.026
Sex (ref. female) male	0.7	3.3	0.067
Constant	−3.4	54.	0.000
Forecasting accuracy: 86%; Nagelkerke's pseudo R^2: 25%			
Past and current learning	Odds ratio	Wald	Significance
Sex (ref. female) male	1.0	8.7	0.003
Subsample (ref. VT school) VS school	0.8	15.7	0.000
Envisioned occupation (ref. requires no degree) requires a degree	1.9	14.1	0.000
Mother's educational attainment (ref. primary school) secondary school certificate	0.49	3.2	0.071
Constant	−1.0	15.0	0.000
Forecasting accuracy: 69%; Nagelkerke's pseudo R^2: 22%			

We also wanted to find out whether the explanatory power or the composition of the model changed if we took into consideration not only the current learning status but also learning in the period since graduation. The second part of Table 2 presents this model. It shows a different set of explanatory variables compared to the first case: school type, sex and the mother's educational attainment were kept, and added was envisioned occupation. There is a greater chance for continuing learning if the respondent is a vocational secondary school graduate male and envisioned an occupation requiring higher education as an adolescent. The latter is interesting because while in the first model educational attainment of the parents dominated, this model gives precedence to individual career ideas as this indicator has the greatest impact within the model.

SUMMARY

This paper analysed the career paths of young skilled workers on the basis of data from a longitudinal questionnaire-based study. After the initial data collection in 2010, the year of acquisition of the skilled workers' certificate, the respondents' labour market position was subsequently examined twice, in 2012 and in 2014. The respondents were skilled worker students studying in vocational secondary schools or vocational training schools, so the careers of holders and non-holders of a secondary school leaving certificate could be compared. On the whole the findings showed that while only half of the surveyed skilled workers were on the labour market in 2012, the active rate increased considerably by 2014 and three-quarters of the respondents worked. Acquisition of skilled workers' qualification therefore does not result in an automatic labour market outcome. After their initial training large numbers of skilled workers tend to pursue further studies in order to secure better employment status or in the hope of a job.

The two subsamples differ significantly in terms of subsequent learning paths. Vocational secondary school graduates typically continue in tertiary education, while vocational training school graduates tend to acquire another trade. Success in finding a job is also different: unemployment is experienced more frequently among vocational training school graduates.

Differences between the subsamples were also significant in terms of sex. By 2014 inactivity increased significantly among girls due to starting a family. They are the ones who give up their initial ideas or put them on the backburner as their majority did not manage to fulfil their study plans. It is a question whether their early inactive status will not impair their chances to find a job.

There are also significant differences in the learning activity deployed in the follow-up period. Further studies (of any form) are more frequent among vocational secondary school graduates. In addition, we found that while in 2012 the family background (parents' educational attainment) on the youth was the crucial factor determining studies, by 2014 this was mostly superseded by the youth's career ideas.

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