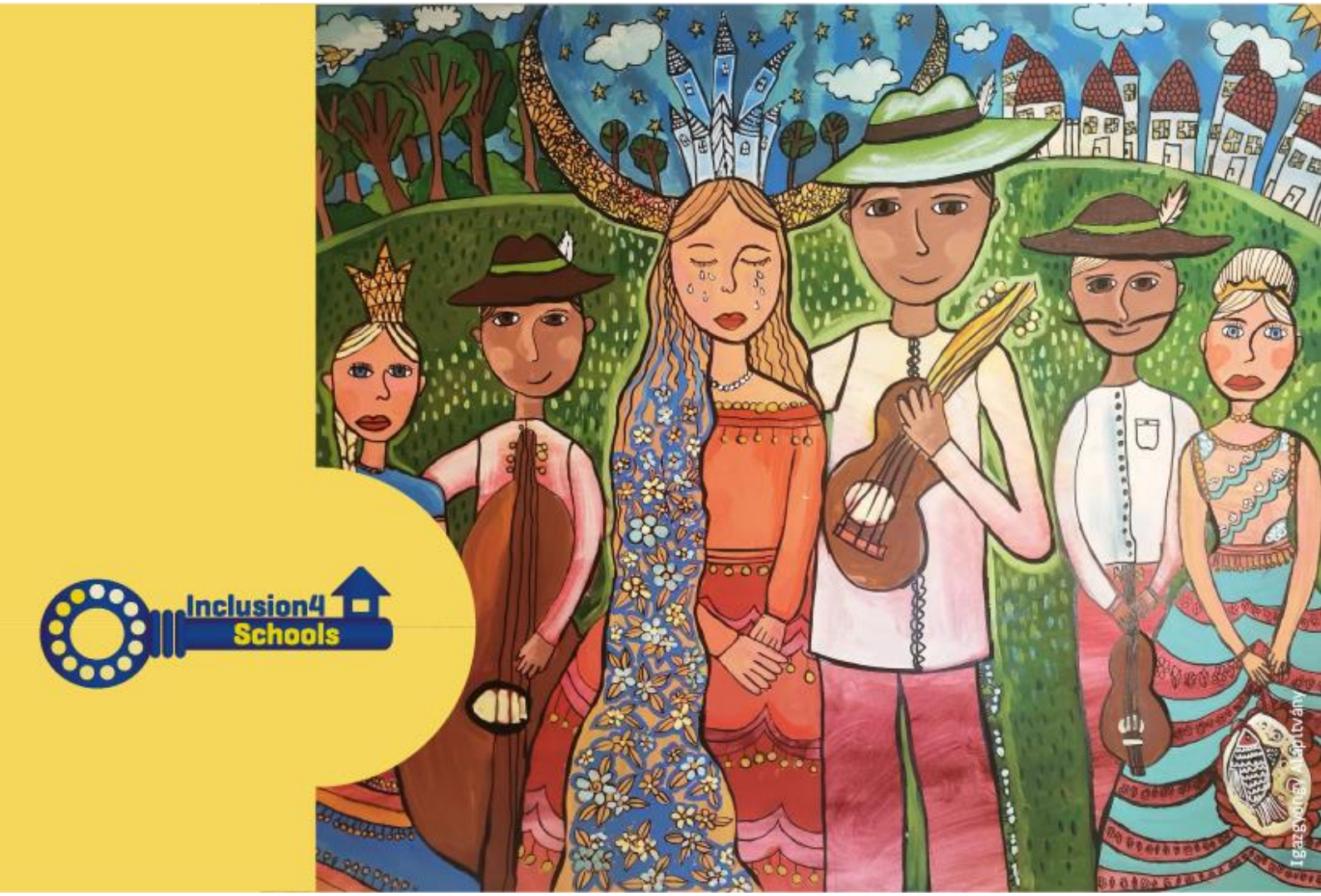
Inclusion4Schools
D1.2 Policy Mix Peer Review



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1. Introduction

1.1. Aim and methodology of the preparatory work in WP1

The Inclusion4Schools project, like other Horizon 2020 projects, is divided into several types of activities. The first WP was separated from the others in time and nature, as it laid the groundwork for all the other WPs, especially the activities in WP3 and 4.

The preparatory work took place in parallel in four areas:

- **In Activity 1.1.1, state-of-the-art studies have been conducted** in the four countries of the consortium, in Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Slovakia. In the project plan, this mapping activity would have been extended only to RDI projects relevant to us, but in fact the national state-of-the-art reports provide a much more comprehensive picture of the conditions in the four countries: the characteristics of the school systems, the education policies for exclusion or inclusion of vulnerable groups and the relevant RDI projects.

- **Regarding Activity 1.1.2**, it was primarily the task of Selye and Wesley to clarify some fundamental theoretical and methodological issues, which resulted in **the creation of a common language (glossary) and the development of tools (e.g., evaluation criteria for good practices or for identifying problem areas in segregated schools).** We also interpreted this activity more broadly than originally planned: not only did we produce measurement tools (Barometers) to determine if a good practice could contribute to social changes, but we also wanted to monitor the process of creating and adapting good practices, and to support schools in this process.

- Based on the country reports and the results of some EU projects relevant to our topic, **related to Activity 1.1.3 and 1.1.4, we have compiled a summary of education policies, major development projects and good practices in segregated schools to tackle social inequalities**. Here, the analysis of RDI projects took place in three steps: first, we asked everyone for data at the national level, then a descriptive summary was prepared in late 2021, and then a policy-oriented comparative analysis in early 2022. Only the second text has been included in this report. In addition, we analysed separately 27 other EU projects and good practices as results of these projects. As far as school-level transformative practices are concerned, we do not yet have enough data on this. At present, we have only been able to analyse good practices that have been developed or implemented in the context of a major project, usually funded by

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the EU. We do not yet have enough data on the schools' own transformative practices, as there are few collections of good practices available online in the four countries, and it is very rare for segregated schools to share their own practices on these portals. Through our online knowledge-sharing portal, in Task 3.2 and 4.2, we will essentially compile the first database of transformative practices of segregated schools in the EU. As soon as we have a sufficient amount of data, we will also publish analyses of the good practices that segregated schools have created or adapted to their own needs and conditions, and may have a transformative impact on the society.

- **The fourth area of WP1 preparatory work was the field survey in Task 1.2 in the schools and communities that were selected** to be involved in community-building and knowledge-sharing Pilots in WP3 and 4. This survey has already been reported in deliverable D1.1.

1.2. Implementation process in Task 1.1

Our exploratory work on transformative practices began in December 2020, when Selye presented its concept for the **state-of-the-art study at national level**. The need for a much more comprehensive study than we originally planned has already emerged in this concept. The reason for this was that we knew little about the situation in the four countries, the support system for disadvantaged students, and the role of different types of schools regarding social inclusion or exclusion. As all our partners agreed with the above reasoning, the country studies had to be carried out uniformly on the following topics:

a. **Basic legislation, school maintenance, types of institutions in public education**, with particular reference to segregation or integrated/inclusive education for vulnerable groups of pupils.
b. **Characteristics of pre-school education**, with particular reference to compulsory pre-school education, school preparation, school maturity tests and the situation of Roma children in this respect.
c. **The first and the second stage of primary school**, with particular reference to branching of educational paths at the entrance to lower secondary education.
d. **The organisational framework and outcomes of teacher trainings**, with particular reference to the prestige of teaching careers and teachers' attitudes towards vulnerable groups.
e. **Major research and development projects carried out in recent years** to support pupils from disadvantaged backgrounds.

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f. **The role of churches in public education**, with a special focus on supporting disadvantaged children and families.
g. **Education of children with special educational needs**, in particular the over-representation of Roma children in the SEN category.

Of the above themes, only the topic mentioned in e) was originally included in our plans, so we needed more time to complete the state-of-the-art studies. Finally, by the end of 2021, all studies were submitted. Based on a comparison of the state-of-the-art reports, we saw that our Pilot programmes with segregated schools can be implemented in a common methodological framework, because the education systems of the four countries do not differ significantly, but we also found that further data are needed for a policy mix peer review analysis. Thus, we asked Ágnes Kende, a researcher at Oltalom, who had participated in similar researches at the Central European University in Budapest, to prepare a synthesis of our country state-of-the-art studies which will be presented in the next chapter of this report.

To analyse the own good practices of segregated schools, three important conditions must be met: a) on the one hand, we need many examples, i.e., a big collection of good practices, b) on the other hand, we need methods, criteria for analysis, and even more, c) we need a tool and the opportunity to do a lot of analysis. Thus, the methodological development took place in parallel with the development of our online knowledge sharing portal. We already have tools that have been integrated into the portal in the form of questionnaires and are suitable for evaluating good practices, but we can improve this tool if we have enough samples of good practices to which we can apply. Therefore, the methodological development that we performed in Task 1.1 (Activity 1.1.2) is currently utilized in Task 3.2. The method we used to analyse project-based good practices is not the same as how schools, teachers can analyse their own or others 'good practices. This self-analysis, or critical reflection that users can accomplish through the portal, is an experimental activity, the results of which we can only report on in a year or two.

The present policy mix peer review relies on a special collection of good practices developed in the four countries using a template to describe project-based good practices. A total of 11 such practice descriptions were prepared by February 2022. To give us a broader view of project-related good practices, a separate collection was created based on the results of programmes whose topic was very close to ours and that aimed to develop or disseminate good practices. Thus, we analysed a total of 36 good practice descriptions relevant to our topic using NVivo 12 qualitative data analysis software in March and April. This analysis on the project-related good practices will be presented by György Mészáros in the third chapter of our report. The extent to which the good practices presented can be considered "transformative" and

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the possible definition of "transformative practice" will also be discussed in this chapter.

In addition to the methodology for finding, analysing, and evaluating transformative practices, terminology accounted for a significant portion of our work within Task 1.1. For example, we have dealt separately with the concept of "resilience" and examined in each country how it is linked to education. However, the result of this study was that in Hungary, there is a discourse among researchers of education on "resilient schools", we have an institutional-sociological approach to resilience. In Slovakia we come across a psychological interpretation of this concept, while in Albania or Bulgaria, this concept is not existing or not related to education. Therefore, we do not call our partner schools "resilient", but segregated or Roma.

Nevertheless, we have included the term "resilience" in the Glossary of the project, along with many other basic terms, which made it easier for project members to use a common terminology to talk about the phenomena under study. The glossary was completed by Tamás Tóth, a researcher of Wesley relatively early, in May 2021. It was originally intended to be included in this report as an appendix, but was eventually considered a crucial part of a policy mix peer review due to the social, political and ideological context of the concepts, therefore, it has also been given a separate chapter. As our goal with the Glossary was to initiate a professional discourse on the phenomena, approaches and interpretations described in the articles, we also published the articles on our website and on our FB page. We have followed the feedback we received on the posts, but these have not resulted in the kind of professional discourse we expected, so we would like to focus on the topics in the glossary at our professional workshops and at our international conferences as well.

1.3. Exploitation of the results of the exploratory activities of Task 1.1

The results of the exploratory work carried out in WP1 Task 1.1 will be integrated into our activities in a variety of ways, as presented in the following table.

Activities	Impact of WP1 results on the implementation of further WPs
T3.1.: Support for community building actions	Based on the lessons learned from the state-of-the-art studies, we have developed a methodology for community building and knowledge sharing activities, taking into account the extent to which
T3.2.: Establishing school-community networks	

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T3.3: Support for school-university partnership	the circumstances in the four countries are similar or different.
T4.1.: Supporting professional self-evaluation at segregated schools	Support for segregated schools will build partly on the tools developed for the online portal (see e.g., the questionnaire for institutional self-evaluation in D3.1), partly on the lessons learned from the analysis of project-based good practices. A collection of transformative practices in segregated schools will be available on our online portal, which will be an essential toolkit for both practicing teachers and teacher trainers.
T4.2.: Exchange of transformative community-centred practices	
T4.3.: Evaluation and development of TE curricula	
T2.1.: Coordination of debates on accessibility of relevant data	The themes, aspects and methods presented in the state-of-the-art studies, the analysis of transformative practices and the glossary offer a wide range of topics for workshops, awareness-raising events and conferences to be organised in cooperation with different EU or other funded projects. The series of methodological workshops have already started in autumn 2021 with the involvement of the parallel RIA projects and will continue in 2022 with educational experts, developers, researchers from more than 22 countries inside and outside the EU.
T4.4.: Clustering with existing programmes & initiatives	
T5.2.: Collaboration with ongoing RIA projects	
T6.2.: Awareness Raising; Dissemination and Communication Activities, Events	

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2. Comparative overview of the education systems of Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Slovakia to provide inclusive education for Roma students – Synthesis report of the four country reports on mapping the State-of-the-Art in Education

2.1. Introduction

Education has always been regarded as an instrument for solving economic, social, cultural, and political problems. The growing complexity of modern societies – and the introduction of mass education – has increased the number of issues for which we find that education should deliver long-term solutions. Despite serious doubts about the omnipotent power of education, all major challenges we face are becoming "educationalized" (Depaepe-Smeyers, 2008). Perhaps this pressure on education has never been as strong as in our times, when we face so many challenges. Changes are ongoing in the societal, demographic, political, economic, and technological environment of schools that are imposing serious adaptation challenges for all schools and education systems, and will determine the alignment of strategies for educational change in the forthcoming years. Due to the rapid acceleration of these changes, we are losing the references required for strategic thinking. In addition to this, what education systems need to face is not simply the impact of individual isolated changes, but rather the fundamental overall change created by the combined effects of all technological, economic, societal, and political changes in our very near future.

Inclusion as a concept has established a global presence in the world of education and educational policies. As claimed by PISA, the first dimension of equity is inclusion, meaning ensuring that all students attain essential foundation skills. Education systems in which a large proportion of 15-yearolds have not learned the basic skills needed to fully participate in society are not considered sufficiently inclusive.

Equity in education can be examined by looking at a range of student outcomes. First, access to schooling can be seen as a precondition for children to benefit from education. Access is chiefly reflected in school enrolment rates; more equitable and inclusive systems succeed in minimizing the share of school-age youth who are not

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enrolled or are significantly delayed in their progression through school (PISA 2015). Second, according to a publication by the OECD entitled Excellence and Equity in Education (2016), the correlation between school performance and socioeconomic background is weaker in countries that operate more heterogeneous schools. A second dimension of equity, fairness, is defined in relation to contemporary debates about equality of opportunity in a public policy context. Education systems are fairer if students' achievements are more likely to result from their abilities and factors that students themselves can influence, such as through their will or effort, and less fair the more they are conditioned by contextual characteristics or "circumstances" that students cannot influence, including their gender, race or ethnicity, socio-economic status, immigrant background, family structure, or place of residence (OECD 2016 – PISA). According to this view, fair education systems provide all students, regardless of their background, with similar opportunities to succeed academically.1 Selection in education – i.e. the tracking of pupils on the basis of their family background, which results in homogeneous bodies of pupils in schools – is a complex phenomenon generated by the combined effects of various characteristics of educational systems: the strength of various societal inequalities that put pressure on institutions and actors in education; the strength of pressure for separation generated by the prevailing pedagogical practice and the individual and institutional interests stemming from this pressure; the degree of educational performance gaps that emerge at very early stages of education; the characteristics of school structure, including the number and location of formal selection points; the characteristics of school networks, especially the average size of schools and the amount of redundant school capacity; parental aspirations and choices; the characteristics of the governance of school systems, various governance failures; and overt and hidden external policy expectations. These factors alone do not necessarily generate social selection. However, if combined, they create a local and/or institutional space within which the rational choices (i.e. decisions on the basis of real or perceived interests) of various actors result in the separation of pupils of different backgrounds. The Roma population constitutes the largest ethnic minority in Europe, totalling close to twelve million citizens. The Roma are present throughout the European continent, but are highly concentrated in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). Estimates from research and international organisations put the number of Roma at as many as 750,000 in Hungary, 115,000 in Albania, 750,000 in Bulgaria, and 490,000 in Slovakia. The Roma population has historically experienced widespread poverty, exclusion and discrimination in these countries. "The painstaking socio-economic gains experienced by most Roma during the socialist era were swiftly reversed after the collapse of communism, where a right to work was enshrined in the political ethos. Increasingly severe poverty, growing intolerance and prejudice led to a situation that some sociologists described as the formation of a Romani underclass, with all its negative aspects, including a high degree of exposure to social exclusion, discrimination and victimisation" (Ladanyi, 2001 cited by Rostas - Kostka, 2014).

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The following synthesis report is based on the four country reports on mapping the State-of-Art in Education.

2.2. Social selection and the segregation of Roma pupils in the four countries

Anti-Gypsyism theory enables an exploration of the deep contradiction between the promise of schools as the great equalizer, and the reality of inequalities in education. Colorblind theory suggests that everybody can enjoy equal treatment, equating political rights with social equality without interrogating the ways that ethnicity and ethnocentrism play out in society to reproduce ongoing social inequality. As a result, the educational segregation of Roma children has always been present and flourished in these countries, regardless of political systems and governments. Despite residential segregation, the educational integration of Roma children could have been accomplished had there been real political will. Using Kozol's ideas, the continuing school segregation of Roma students in the Hungarian case is a product of the failure to affirmatively remedy the totality of the social conditions that have produced ongoing racial inequality (Kozol, 2005). Despite discrimination being prohibited by law, the latter country fails to address less tangible forms of the former that keep school segregation alive today: white flight from schools, disinvestment in public education, the semi-privatization of education, structural problems that reproduce poverty, and discrimination against the majority of Roma people. Radó argues that highly selective education systems provide great latitude for ethnic separation. Selection in education – i.e. the tracking of pupils on the basis of their family background that results in homogeneous bodies of pupils in schools – is a complex phenomenon generated by the combined effects of various characteristics of educational systems. When considering the possible reasons for social selection in education, the impact of the following factors should be assessed: 1. The strength of the various societal inequalities that put pressure on institutions and actors in education; 2. The strength of pressure for separation generated by the prevailing pedagogical practice and the individual and institutional interests stemming from this pressure; 3. The degree of educational performance gaps that emerge at very early stages of education; 4. The characteristics of the school structure, and the number and location of formal selection points; 5. The characteristics of school networks, especially the average size of schools and the amount of redundant school capacity; 6. Parental aspirations and choices; 7. The characteristics of the governance of school systems, various governance failures; and 8. Overt and hidden external policy expectations. These factors alone do not necessarily generate social selection. However, if combined, they create a local and/or institutional space within which the rational choices (i.e. decisions made on the basis of real or perceived interests) of various actors result in the separation of pupils of different backgrounds. Therefore, further analysis that helps with understanding the mechanism of social selection

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should focus on the interplay among these key factors. Also, the focus on local educational spaces calls for a certain level of caution with generalization: such spaces may differ from country to country, and from settlement to settlement. Obviously, the potential of educational policy to mitigate potential issues in relation to these eight underlying factors is not the same. For example, reducing broader social inequalities might be the result of a much broader package of coordinated government measures, including social policy, labor policy, health policy, housing and others. Similarly, influencing parental aspirations might be a legitimate educational policy goal, but it is basically outside of government control. The remaining six factors also differ in terms of the potential space for policy intervention. The reduction of formal selection points, altering educational policy expectations, mending certain governance failures, or school network rationalization might be matters for an "education reform" initiated and partly implemented by a single government. However, changing the prevailing pedagogical practice of schools or the reduction of early performance gaps can be the result of sustained development efforts only, which "education reforms" can only initiate by creating the necessary institutional conditions (Radó, 2020:5-7). The segregation of Roma children in education can take place in special (remedial) schools, but it is also widespread in mainstream education. Ethnic segregation is not limited to the placement of Roma students into separate schools; intraschool segregation is similarly widespread in the countries concerned. This practice is not at the forefront of sociological and policy discourses for various reasons: it is difficult to identify such behaviour, as data on the ethnic identity of students grouped into parallel classes is evidently not accessible, and also because many policy makers believe that segregation ends once children study under the same roof (Messing, 2017). Messing argues that the most important reasons for school segregation – namely, residential segregation and the selectivity of school systems alone – do not explain the overwhelming presence and persistence of educational segregation, and that complex societal and power dynamics are at play (Messing 2017). Ryder et al. argue that "the creation of and maintenance of separate schools is linked to the cultural and political powers of a privileged majority able to legitimise the power control of the status quo" (Ryder at al., 2014:520). According to Szalai, the most important societal role of educational segregation is to draw and institutionalize the dividing lines between the lower-middle-class "white" majorities and the marginalized, socially deprived "colored" Roma, and thus strengthen the hierarchical relations and the relatively inferior position of Roma (Szalai, 2010). Segregation in education thus reconstructs the structures of social inequality (Ogbu, 1978). The different forms and varying motives behind the segregation of Roma children in education have different consequences for children. Segregated schools provide a poor educational environment for Roma students, and teachers in such schools are frequently indifferent about the learning environment, which involves them failing to insist on adherence to regular school norms, weaker disciplinary expectations, and reduced expectations about performance, as well as implementing the curriculum to the absolute minimum. However, these schools can be "safe islands" for Roma children

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living in social exclusion. Many pupils feel comfortable at these schools because they are not confronted with racial prejudice and bullying, and, due to the lowered expectations of teachers, many feel that their school performance is reasonable. Intraschool segregation is similarly harmful for Roma youth. Intraschool segregation serves the interest of local majorities, maintaining physical and social boundaries that are consistent with the social hierarchies constructed along the lines of ethnicity and race. Techniques of segregating Roma children within the school may vary – they include forming specialized tracks, providing ethnic minority education, and creating zero classes for disadvantaged students – but the rationale behind such organizational arrangements at schools is reported to be either the racist views of headmasters themselves, or the need to comply with the anti-Roma prejudices of parents of the ethnic majority, aimed at preventing "white flight" (Messing, 2017:101).

Segregation as a term has been absent in the national legislation in **Albania** until a case study raised by the European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC), presented to the Commissioner for the Protection against Discrimination (CPAD). CPAD is an independent public institution, which was established and operates pursuant to Law no. 10 221 dated 04.02.2010 "On Protection from Discrimination", in accordance with EU Directives in the field of non-discrimination. This case study was focused on segregated schools, in Northeast Albania, and was treated as a clear case of segregation. The final decision of CPAD was that the discrimination in the form of segregation was recognized by Shkodra RED (Regional Education Directorate), because of "race", Roma and Egyptian students studying at the 9-year school "Liria" Shkodra and the Subordinate School "Isuf Tabaku", Ajasem, Shkodra. This is the first time in the Albanian official documents, that the terms segregation has been meaningfully used and addressed as such. The long history of segregation of children with disabilities and other vulnerable children (for instance children from the Roma and Egyptian community have been traditionally discriminated in the previous years in school and society) in all levels (institutions and special schools, society) has created barriers for the implementation of inclusive education. In Albanian inclusive education has not been a natural evolution of the previous experiences or a need and necessity. In contrast to other western societies, in which the inclusive education was a product of people with disabilities, their parents and practitioners, in Albania the international influence and imitation have been the main contributing factors in this direction. All the major changes have happened through administrative activities and not as a result of lobbying and pressure coming from people directly or indirectly involved in this process. The inclusive education picture nowadays reflects the aims and realities of its implementation in the Albanian education institutions.

In **Bulgaria**, the segregation of Roma in education is a major issue. In the middle of 20th century over 100 schools were built for Roma children in the neighbourhoods, in which the educational level does not meet the average for the country standards, even though introducing and applying a reduced educational program with a reduced number of hours on general subjects. This vicious practice and abolished in the early

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1990s, but as a result many generations of Roma were affected by it and practically did not have a chance to get a normal education. By their very nature, these are segregated schools. Since 2000, targeted efforts are made, pushed by NGOs, to desegregate the pupils from the detached Roma neighbourhoods - part of segregated schools are closed and the children are redirected to mainstream schools. However, there are still more than 40 segregated schools with 100% Roma pupils and respectively a very low educational level. There are no exceptions for illiterates who have completed the 8th grade. The results are similar for part of the rural schools where, due to demographic problems, the children are almost 100% Roma. In both cases, the low educational level is due to various factors, some of which are in the education system: there are no suitable methodologies for working with bilingual children to be introduced into the education system; most teachers do not have the necessary preparation for intercultural work; there are serious negative attitudes towards Roma of teachers and macro-society. The new Law on Pre-school and School Education adopted in 2015, with relevant standards to it, partially changes the situation in the area of intercultural education but does not solve other problems. For a number of good reasons, in Bulgaria there is no official statistics with a division of schools according to the percentage of ethnic minority students, but the observations of the professional community and the studies confirm that half of Roma children attend segregated schools in the neighbourhood or start their education in small rural schools with prevailing number of disadvantaged children from nearby villages. According to sociological surveys (2016), 51% of Roma respondents say their children attend a school where the Roma are majority; 9.6% of the non-Roma children are also taught in such schools.

In **Hungary**, the phenomenon of separating Roma children from their non-Roma peers in schools has been discussed by academics since the early 1980s (Csanádi - Ladányi, 1983; Havas - Liskó, 2004; Kertesi - Kézdi, 2006). Using statistical methods and comprehensive data about the ethnic composition of Hungarian primary schools for 1980 and 2011, Kertesi and Kézdi (2013) found that the school segregation of Roma children had significantly increased since the transition in 1989 (Messing, 2017). The Hungarian educational system today is not only unable to compensate for the disadvantages arising from a child's social background, but is actually reinforcing them through the selection and segregation mechanisms present at all levels of public education. Segregation measured in primary schools has been increasing sharply since 2010. The commuting of the children of higher status parents to "elite" schools has resulted in the schools of certain towns becoming "ghetto schools," despite the fact that the towns themselves have not necessarily become Roma majority towns (Virág, 2010). Having no assigned compulsory school districts, church-maintained primary schools contribute to heightening segregation in education. Church schools even in disadvantaged regions and in smaller towns are primarily engaged in the education of the children of more affluent families, meaning that they help the local elite escape state-maintained schools. From 2013 onwards, the education system became more centralized, although the right to the freedom of choice of school and the most

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important school incentives remained the same. When examining the segregation processes at play, Kertesi and Kézdi (2014) arrived at the conclusion that "the primary source of segregation in schools is not that non-Roma families are trying to avoid Roma students, but rather the strong selection that is based on the presumed quality of the schools and the observable abilities of the students, which is made possible by the freedom of choice of school and the low cost of commuting" (Kertesi – Kézdi, 2014:39 cited by RCM2 – Hungary, 2019).

In **Slovakia**, the segregation of Romani children in education remains a systemic and deliberate practice. There is a lack of systemic measures for preventing and eliminating the segregation of Roma children in Roma-only classes and in Roma-only schools (Country Report Slovakia 2020). It is estimated that 62% of Roma children attend a school where all or most other children are also Roma (FRA, 2016); no real progress with desegregation has been observed in the recent past (Amnesty International, 2016) (Education and Training Monitor 2019 Slovakia). Segregation also extends to secondary schools through so-called branches of vocational schools set up next to settlements. The Ministry of Education, Science, Research and Sport (MESRS) continues to argue that segregation is incidental. The remainder of the legislative and financial measures that are implemented are not likely to have been intended to address segregation in practice, further deteriorating the situation of the already segregated education of Romani children. In fact, the state has no plans concerning how to prevent ongoing white flight, to manage desegregation, or to support the transition of Romani children from segregated to integrated schools (RCM2 – Slovakia).

2.3. Education of the Roma pupils in the four countries

2.3.1. Early childhood education

The lack of early childhood services greatly contributes to the low educational achievement among Roma. Since 1989, there has been widespread elimination of free kindergartens from most of the countries studied here, or, even if they are free, the additional costs associated with kindergarten attendance are too high for most Roma families. This lack of provision contributes to a lack of readiness for school, which in turn serves to impact negatively on children's capacity to benefit from primary education (The Right of Roma Children to Education, 2011). In most countries, kindergarten is only compulsory for one year before school. The poor network of kindergartens and the lack of teachers also create problems. There are countries where segregation is already present at the kindergarten level or there are no kindergartens at all near where Roma people live. In Slovakia, for instance, local municipalities are not motivated politically and/or financially to take on the responsibility for creating kindergartens, so they spend their money on other projects.

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Preschool education is not compulsory in **Albania**. Alongside with this, the preparatory year for entering education is not mandatory either. In this respect, it is often avoided, even though when pupils enter the first grade, they are expected to have minimal language and mathematics knowledge and skills, like writing the capital letters and simple mathematical actions. Parents pay preschool fees, which prevent the enrolment of children from poor populations to whom only minimal financial assistance is offered. Net pre-primary enrolment is close to 80%, but large disparities exist for rural populations, minority groups, and students with disabilities. According to UNESCO (2015), the lack of early childhood facilities and services contributes to poor educational attainment in Albania. Furthermore, there is a lack of nurseries for children ages 0-3 in rural areas, and urban kindergartens are overcrowded. Thus, the existing infrastructure is inadequate for ensuring equitable coverage. There is a lack of proper infrastructure within the urban areas and insufficient buildings to host children in rural areas. The distance from the education institution plays an important role in preschool education attendance. Moreover, fees that a family should pay to attend preschool, make for another deterrent especially for the poor families, Roma and Egyptian children, that come from socially and economically excluded families. While it is very common to find unregistered children in the civil registry from the Roma community, their children have not been accepted to enrol in kindergarten without the identification document and vaccine passport. During the implementation of the Initiative "Every Roma child in Preschool" project children unregistered in civil registry have been identified. This phenomenon has been an obstacle to integrate Roma children in kindergarten. The latest figure on pre-primary enrolment from 2017 shows that enrolment among Roma kids aged 3 to 5 years is only 33% in Albania (RCC, 2020), a low worrying rate if we consider that preschool dropout or complete lack of any preschool enrolment brings Roma children to develop linguistic deficit when they enter primary school. While the presence of a free meal is the determinant factor for the enrolment in preschool, 63% of Roma children attend a kindergarten without a meal provision, while only 37% of Roma children attend a kindergarten with a meal provision, where they receive at least one meal per day.

In **Bulgaria**, although the pre-school education for 5- and 6-year-olds is compulsory according to the law, data of the Ministry of Education and Science shows more than 16% of children are not enrolled. In comparison, the average share for the European Union is below 10 %. Although the pro-s and cons in the debate for compulsory pre-school education are mainly among high-status parents, the victims are children in risk groups – isolated minority communities and families with low-educated parents living in remote areas. Kindergartens are usually missing or insufficient in these places. Quality educators usually avoid working there. When the low motivation of parents for better education of children is added to these prerequisites, the result is negative. In the isolated areas and the separate neighbourhoods, the chances for integrated education of the children from the different ethnic communities is impossible, despite the good normative base. But even in localities where there are children from ethnical background, it is a common practice for them to study in

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separated groups. The excuses of the principals who are responsible for the implementation of the law are that the parents themselves prefer that the children from different ethnic groups are not together. There are isolated cases when a director has been punished for non-compliance with law. Little has been done to improve the current situation. In the segregated neighbourhoods inhabited by Roma and other ethnic communities there is often no necessary infrastructure and the groups in the kindergartens are significantly above the optimal number. Children communicate to each other in their mother language and find it difficult to get along with the teachers. We cannot speak about an integrated environment, because there are no children from other ethnic communities in the neighbourhood. Problems with pre-school education for children at risk have been neglected for years, but some progress has been made in recent years. Perhaps this is due to external influence: Bulgaria is one of the countries with higher rate of children who not enrolled in preschool children in the European Union. Usually have low scores on PISA assessment. Despite the efforts of the Government, progress in reaching children at risk in pre-school education is still faint. Despite the increase in the salaries of the pedagogical staff and the targeted funds for additional renumeration, there is a shortage of specialists. Many of the workers in kindergartens and schools have not received the necessary additional qualifications for pedagogical work in a multicultural environment. The motivation of teachers to work with children from risk groups and especially with Roma children is very low. Hence, the quality of the educational process is significantly lower than in other educational institutions. This is especially evident in the external assessment of students in fourth and seventh grade, which is indirectly influenced by the low level of preschool education.

In **Hungary**, the regulation of education has been contradictory in respect of equal opportunities and Roma integration. A measure mandating the enrolment of children into kindergarten from the age of three effective as of 1 September 2015 may contribute to the development of severely disadvantaged children. However, the quality of early childhood education and school education is threatened by a chronic shortage of educators and teachers, a problem to which the government has been unable to find a solution for many years (RCM2-Hungary, 2019).

In **Slovakia**, a subsidy was introduced for poor children attending kindergarten from the age of three as of 1 January 2018 to aid preschool enrolment among Roma children. However, this subsidy of approximately 164 EUR a year per child (payable to the kindergarten) probably does not cover the fees normally requested from parents in state facilities. On the other hand, the introduction of universal free lunch for all children as of 1 January 2019 for all children in their last preschool year is likely to improve the accessibility of kindergartens for poor families (RCM2 – Slovakia, 2019). One of the key reasons for the low rate of the enrolment is the lack of preschool capacity, which is lowest in those regions with the highest share of marginalised Roma.

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2.3.2. Primary and lower secondary education

In spite of the fact that one of the indicators of the efficiency of an educational system is the rate of school attendance, this does not say much about the quality of education. Although the former has improved a great deal in the countries analysed here, the most fundamental problems affecting Roma children – namely, exclusion from quality education – still prevail. Although segregation is partially a by-product of given residential conditions, in most cases it is a result of educational policies. Local educational policies aim at raising efficiency through inter- and intra-school streaming and tracking. "Educational segregation often concludes in a significant downgrade in the quality and the content of teaching. This results in lowered performance and the accumulation of disadvantages in the advancement toward the secondary and higher levels, whereby segregation proves a key driver of inequality regarding educational and vocational opportunities and the reproduction of social deprivation on ethnic grounds. Furthermore, segregated conditions in education tend to result in early ethnic enclosure and isolation. Young people from ethnic minority backgrounds have very limited contact[…] with their peers from the majority. While students and parents often note that segregation in school helps them feel safe and protected, they pay a high price for it: inclusion into the practices, routines, and institutions of mainstream society is often blocked simply by lacking the knowledge about how to proceed. Lowered aspirations and limited paths for mobility are evident implications" (Szalai, 2011:3). The blame for the failures of Roma children in education has been put on Roma families, although the dysfunctional training of teachers, underpaid teachers, the lack of proper perspectives, and unfit methodology are the main hindrances to the successful education of Roma children. This is why in many cases attempts are being made to compensate for a dysfunctional education system by risky – in terms of sustainability – civil initiatives, or by project-based EU funded programs. The enrolment of Roma children in primary and lower secondary school has greatly improved over the last decade in the examined countries, although there is room for further improvement to achieve the goal of full enrolment (RCM – Synthesis Report, 2019).

In **Albania**, the vast majority of Roma parents have declared in various studies that they face difficulties with their children's education due to economic hardships. Difficulties in buying books and other school items, the lack of adequate clothing and poor nutrition tend to force Roma children to stay away from education. According to Ministry of Education, Sport and Youth (MoESY), the official drop-out rate for Roma children is high, at nearly 4 percent. Egyptian children's tendency to attend school is higher than that of Roma children; the official drop-out rate for Egyptian children is 3.4 percent. Poor living conditions make it extra difficult for Roma children to attend school and to complete their homework. Internal migration of some Roma families, weak comprehension of Albanian, early marriage for girls and discrimination all contribute to the current realities. In many cases, Roma children drop out of school

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before the end of the academic year and many abandon school altogether, contributing to an overall literacy rate for Roma children of only 34 percent.

In **Bulgaria**, based on experts' assessments, the experience of grassroots NGOs working for access to education of Roma children and children from disadvantaged communities, as well teachers' experience there are several correlations which are undisputable in the educational community: Roma children enrolled in segregated schools have worst achievements compare to their peers in mixed schools; Roma children from segregated neighbourhoods whose native language is Turkish or Roma, enrolled in mixed schools have better achievements compare to their peers in segregated schools; and children who completed their basic education in segregated environment, being "transferred" in mainstream schools, are less likely to catch up with their peers and are in a higher drop-out risk.

In **Hungary,** access to quality education is restricted by the fact that there has been a consistent shortage of teachers, and that the number of classes held by non-specialist teachers in schools is growing as well – especially in districts where the proportion of disadvantaged children is high.6 In addition, it is also often the case that Roma students attend segregated institutions, which prevents them from accessing quality education, reduces the chances of relationships forming between different groups of young people, and contributes to maintaining already strong prejudices (Kertesi – Kézdi, 2016 cited by RCM2 – Hungary, 2019).

In **Slovakia**, Roma children are overwhelmingly segregated in Roma-only mainstream schools and classes, or in special schools and classes for children with "mild mental disabilities". As a result, they are condemned to low-quality segregated education. Due to the low quality of the education received in segregated settings, they have limited prospects of continuing their education beyond the age of 16 and, if they do, it is usually in vocational schools, without the possibility of accessing university education later. Teachers' low expectations about Romani pupils can contribute to their lower achievement, as can deeply entrenched prejudice and a lack of individual support.

2.3.3. Upper Secondary education, including vocational training

It is typical of all the countries that very few Roma students make it to graduation. Hungary, with its 24%, excels, although this proportion is far below that of non-Roma, at 70-75%. Roma following the VET track is also typical, which on the one hand represents an educational dead-end, while on the other hand VET schools often become segregated – or, even within the system, the Roma often attend a priori segregated VET schools, like the Branch schools in Slovakia. In addition, it is a characteristic feature of these countries that a large proportion of pupils do not reach the upper secondary level because of the need for frequent repetition, thus when reaching the end of compulsory school age, pupils have not, or have only just finished lower secondary school, so some do not pursue further education at the upper secondary

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level. It is an interesting phenomenon – although a detailed analysis goes beyond the framework of this paper – that while in Hungary the dual three-year vocational training cannot prevent students from dropping out, countries that have just introduced the VET track are hopeful that the dual training system will facilitate the inclusion of Roma children.

In **Albania,** Recent Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) shows that within the period 2008-2017, in rural areas, enrolment of students in preschool education and upper secondary education increased twice as much as that of students in urban areas. The gross enrolment rate (upper secondary education for children aged 16-18 years) was 13 percent for Roma versus 60 percent for non-Roma population in 2011.

In **Bulgaria**, only 9% of Roma have completed secondary education according to the census of 2011. In addition to a permanent increase in the number of Roma youth who study at professional gymnasiums and other secondary schools, big numbers of Roma (especially in villages and big ghettos) stop their educations after completing primary education. In June 2017, both seventh- and eighth graders received primary education diplomas, and that was the last year primary schools included the eighth grade. Thus, one of the innovations of the Preschool and School Education Act has come into force - the new educational structure that sets the boundary of primary education at the seventh grade. The data provided by Ministry of Education and Science (MES) about students enrolled in September 2017 in secondary schools who completed primary schools (seventh or eighth grade) during the 2016/17 school year outlines the following trends: 1. Thousands of students drop out after completing primary education, becoming the largest group of dropouts: 2,763 students are not enrolled in secondary or high schools from the 42,221 who graduated from primary schools, or about 6.33%. 2. The presence/absence of a secondary school in a locality is an important, statistically significant factor that affects enrolment into secondary education. The percentage of students who do not go on to secondary education in settlements without secondary schools is almost double: 8.97% compared to 5.03% in places with secondary schools. 3. The creation of united schools (first through ninth grade) is an effective way to minimise dropout after seventh grade: 55 primary schools have been transformed into united ones from the 2017/2018 school year. Most of them are in rural areas (48), five are in urban areas, and two are in the capital. 4. Students who drop out are not evenly distributed across schools and regions, and there is concentration and even overconcentration in certain municipalities and schools. The statistics show that the dropout rate in upper-secondary education (grade 8 to 12) is lower than in lower-secondary grades (5 to 7). The hardest problem is linked with irregular attendance: in many secondary schools, especially mostly-Roma professional gymnasiums, the daily attendance often is below 30 to 50%. In the schools that apply dual education, attendance is significantly higher. Nevertheless, dual education in Bulgaria is still at the pilot stage and includes a small number of students. Another hard problem is that very few students successfully pass matriculation exams into many majority-Roma professional gymnasiums (significantly lower compared to the national rates). Thus,

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many Roma youths finish twelfth grade without obtaining a secondary education diploma (although some receive a professional qualification certificate). Although there are no ethnically disaggregated statistics, teachers and experts share the opinion that in mostly-Roma secondary schools the dropout rate and irregular attendance are higher than elsewhere. During 2016-17, the MES undertook measures for increasing participation in upper secondary education in three directions: general measures for developing professional education, providing free transportation, and a Roma-targeted scholarship programme for secondary students (co-financed by REF). In June 2018 the Council of Ministers approved a list with „preserved professions specialties" that train students for professions with high labour market demand. The state budget provides additional financing for them, including scholarships. The possibilities for dual education have been extended. Free transportation for secondary students to the closest secondary school has been provided since 2017. The State Budget Act for 2018 provided transportation also to the nearest vocational school. Nevertheless, most upper-secondary students still cannot use any free transportation because it is not provided to schools that train in the professions they have chosen, but just to the closest school, which also leads to segregation of the vocational schools. In 2016 the MES started co-financing a Roma scholarship programme for secondary students financed by REF and implemented by the Centre for Educational Integration (a structure of the MES). It supported 763 motivated Roma students to graduate from secondary schools all over the country. It is remarkable that most were girls: 408 (and 355 boys). Most applicants were female Roma (909 of 1559). This contradicts the widespread opinion that Romani girls might be less represented in higher secondary education than Roma boys.

In **Hungary**, every other Roma young person drops out of the Hungarian educational system without obtaining any qualifications (early school leaving). More than half of those who complete secondary school complete a vocational school, and only one-fifth graduate from a grammar school. The proportions are reversed in non-Roma populations, thus the gap between the two groups is growing (Kertesi – Kézdi, 2016).

In **Slovakia**, 80.3 % of 16-year-olds were enrolled into schools, while in case of the youth from marginalised Roma communities, the figure was merely 49% in 2017/2018. Furthermore, a large number of children are unable to complete lower secondary education (i.e. grades 5 to 9) at elementary schools on time as defined by legislation (16 years), caused by a high number of grade repetitions, end up in segregated branch departments of private and state secondary schools.

2.3.4. Special education

The educational systems of the countries examined here typically emphasize the memorisation of large quantities of facts and the regurgitation of information provided by the teacher, a figure who is often authoritarian. Rather than aim at the best education for all, schools aim to differentiate quickly between weaker students and would-be achievers. A relatively small number are thus prepared for universitCy

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education, and by the time children reach the end of lower secondary school (the eighth class in most cases), most of them have their future clearly delineated. Roma students – for reasons ranging from early-age language differences to the cultural specificity of both curricula and pedagogical methods and the different forms of abuse meted out by different educational actors – do not perform well early on in their schooling lives. The former is, in the overwhelming majority of cases, streamed into classes offering substandard education and, in the worst cases, transferred early in their educational lives to so-called "special schools": schools for the mentally handicapped (Cahn et al., 1998). The segregation of Roma children and youngsters in special schooling is a result of disproportionate streaming, leading to the overrepresentation of Roma in special schools or special classes for children with (mental) disabilities, or special education needs. Special schools and classes offer a reduced curriculum and seldom enable their students to enter the regular school system or the labour market. According to the Regional Survey 2011, the share of Roma aged 7 to 15 who attend or have attended special schools (not including special classes) exceeds 5% in Hungary, and 10% in Slovakia (according to EU-MIDIS II, it was 18% in 2016). Findings from a separate UNDP Household Survey conducted in Slovakia in 2010, based on a different sampling methodology, show that 16% of Roma aged 7 to 15 attended special schools, and another 4% attended special classes (Brüggemann – Škobla, 2012). The share of Roma aged 7 to 15 for whom a longstanding illness or health problem is indicated is far below the share of Roma attending special schools. One in four Roma who are or have been attending a special school in Hungary have a longstanding illness or health problem. Considering that illness or health problems are reported for a minority of Roma students that attend special schools, institutional mechanisms might be the main reason for the high share of Roma students in special schools. Streaming into special schools can be triggered by decision making within the family. Roma families might prefer special schools to regular schools (a quasi-rational choice) if, for example, special schooling is associated with lower transaction costs, such as the provision of hot meals and free textbooks or clothing, or when students have a significant chance of receiving achievement-based scholarships, as observed in Slovakia (Friedman et al. 2009). Parents might also expect less discrimination towards their children in special school settings or welcome a special school's quasispecialisation in the conditions found in the local Roma community. In Slovakia (Rigová et al. 2003), it was observed that students are likely to attend special schools if older siblings were also attending special schools. Nevertheless, UNDP/ World Bank/EC survey data suggest that Roma do not believe that special education is a sufficient level of education: Out of 8792 (randomly selected) respondents from Roma households in Central and Southeast Europe, only 28 (0.3%) stated that education in special schools is sufficient for a girl (sample average). The proportion of Roma respondents aspiring only to special schooling for a girl did not reach 1% in any country. This is because special schooling is associated with disadvantages in terms of learning and life chances, and institutional mechanisms that drive streaming are perceived as discriminatory. The streaming of Roma into special schools and classes

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is a result of both direct and indirect discrimination. Direct discrimination has been observed, for example, in Slovakia, where Roma children have been enrolled in special schools without any diagnostic examination (Tomatová, 2004). Moreover, Roma have been found to be indirectly discriminated against through the use of intelligence or school readiness tests, which guide streaming decisions. Diagnostic tests that are used in Slovakia and Hungary show a cultural and language bias that disadvantages Roma children (White, 2012). It is neither limited intelligence nor talent, nor physical or psychological dysfunction, but rather their disadvantaged situation that seems to trigger the streaming of Roma into special schools and classes (Brueggemann, 2012).

In **Albania,** the long history of segregation of children with disabilities and other vulnerable children (for instance children from the Roma and Egyptian community have been traditionally discriminated in the previous years in school and society) in all levels (institutions and special schools, society) has created barriers for the implementation of inclusive education. In Albanian inclusive education has not been a natural evolution of the previous experiences or a need and necessity. In contrast to other western societies, in which the inclusive education was a product of people with disabilities, their parents and practitioners, in Albania the international influence and imitation have been the main contributing factors in this direction. All the major changes have happened through administrative activities and not as a result of lobbying and pressure coming from people directly or indirectly involved in this process. The inclusive education picture nowadays reflects the aims and realities of its implementation in the Albanian education institutions.

In **Hungary**, placing Roma children into special schools or classes is not practiced anymore, as other ways of segregating Roma children have now become typical.

In **Slovakia**, the proportion of pupils with special educational needs is among the highest in Europe, at almost 20% of primary school pupils. Some 5.9% of these pupils (EU: 1.6%) are educated in special classes or special schools. In several districts in Eastern Slovakia, the proportion of primary school pupils in special schools for children with mental disabilities exceeds 10% (MESA10, 2019). This trend especially affects the Roma population: 22.6% of Roma children are in special primary schools (Slovak National Centre for Human Rights, 2018).

2.4. Mainstream equity education strategies and their impact of the education of Roma students

Inclusion as a concept now has a global presence in the world of education and educational policies. However, definitions of inclusion are “all over the place, representing diverse perspectives and ideologies” (Smith, 2010:38), causing confusion as to what they imply (Ainscow, 2007), but I argue that the real challenge is how to detect or understand exclusion in education. Roma students are still disproportionally

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channelled into special education or segregated classes. The practices meant to support inclusion apply not only to students with special needs, but also to various groups of students with cultural and linguistic differences. Cultural and linguistic differences often lead to segregated education (Harry, 2005). As Acton argues, however, "the perception of ethnicity as disability remains subliminally damaging, especially for Gypsies where the achievement of an antiracist approach remains fragile" (Acton, 1998:15). According to Radó, successful inclusive education requires a great variety of necessary conditions to be in place. All these conditions constitute an "ecosystem" around students that is composed of various services, provisions, measures and resources. The core element of the "ecosystem" is differentiated teaching practice, which is based on responding to the specific individual development needs of students. These development needs are as diverse as the potential obstacles to the successful learning of individual students are. Meeting these needs might require supplementary program elements to be provided to a certain group of students, remedial or developmental hours provided to individual children on the basis of individual educational plans, or enrichment programs and projects for talented children or psychological treatments – or any other services beyond regular contact hours. The next layer consists of those provisions that are not necessarily educational in the narrow sense of the word, but are essential for successful learning; these are methods and institutionalized procedures that include the medical, educational, and social profiling of children, various social allowances, and various means of ensuring the empowerment and involvement of parents. The third layer is composed of those elements of the "ecosystem" which are necessary conditions of the improvement and maintenance of the inclusion capacity of schools. The key elements of this layer are as follows: enrolment policies (regulations, incentives, local and school policies) that, by preventing separation and selection on the basis of student background and segregation, ensure the integrated education of students in heterogeneous schools and classrooms; institutionalized and readily available professional support for teachers; a professional development system which is able to respond to the capacity-building needs of teachers generated by inclusion; a local cooperation framework within which various social, health and educational services and service providers are well-connected and which is built around the needs of individual families and children; mandatory self-evaluation-based school improvement, institutionalized cooperation among teachers and other professionals; all necessary elements of a full and effective anti-discrimination system that ensures that related regulations prevail; and the availability of all the necessary financial and human resources (Evaluation report, 2016:17-18). Inclusive education can be explored in three interconnected dimensions:

- Inclusive cultures – this refers to the encouragement of those beliefs and value systems that generate a secure, accepting, collaborating and inspiring community for all participants. A central identifier within the organization is its congenial and welcoming atmosphere and the presence of inclusive values.

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People are encouraged to help each other and collaborate. Everyone (i.e. all stakeholders) is treated with respect.

- Inclusive policies – the explicit aim of promoting inclusion is contained in plans and other policy documents. The focus is on policies related to admission and the accessibility of the organization (and buildings), the recruitment of staff and students, and on the policies the organization has developed to organize support for diversity, and perhaps the celebration of diversity.
- Inclusive practices – these focus on what actually is going on in the organization: on the practices that reflect inclusive cultures and policies by ensuring that activities encourage the participation of all participants (EASPD, 2012:7).

If we examine the conditions of inclusive education in place in these countries, a number of policy initiatives have been proposed in the context of education of Roma children. One of those policies is the Decade of Roma Inclusion (2005-2015) aimed at eliminating marginalization and discrimination against the Roma minority in four priority areas: housing, health care, employment, and education. Hungary, Bulgaria, and Slovakia (among the 12 Member States) were required to develop a national Action Plan. The Action Plans were to include national assessments and to provide clear and pragmatic goals and transparent benchmarks to demonstrate the progress of Roma students in formal education (Curcic et al., 2014). The implementation of the goals depended on an accountability system that included local municipalities and schools, stakeholders in Roma and non-Roma political and educational organizations, and governments, as well as pan-European bodies such as the European Council (Miskovic - Curcic, 2016). Because of the intensity of anti-Roma sentiment and the lack of social reforms on a broader societal level, the effects of the Decade were haphazard and fragmented. As a very important consequence, it is considered impossible to achieve educational inclusion without social inclusion. Individual schools and teachers are supposed to perform "heroic acts," while the larger system remains intact (Miskovic - Curcic, 2016). Furthermore, "Roma civil society remains weak in terms of influence and pressure, dependent on EU and foreign aid, opportunistic, and inexperienced in dealing with the complexities of efficiently influencing the Member States and European agendas" (Nicolae, 2015:6).

Despite some progress in education, mainly through the advancement of literacy and the completion of primary and some secondary schooling (Friedman, 2013) since the end of the Decade there has been little evidence that disparities between Roma and non-Roma citizens of Europe have decreased.

National Roma Integration Strategies 2013-2020 in 28 EU Member States were part of another comprehensive and expanded policy proposed by the EU after the Decade's minimal success. The EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies was adopted in 2011, but each state was left to tailor its national policy according to its own national situation (EU, 2014). As a positive result, the importance of early childhood education has been widely recognized across the member states (EU, 2014).

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The examination of inclusive policies and practices across a number of European states reveals the intertwined and sometimes opposing developments pertinent to inclusive education. Both overt and covert racist behaviour makes school environments hostile to many Roma students. There are tensions that seem to be inherent regarding inclusion within schools that are not ready for all students, but which expect all students to be ready for (such inadequately prepared) schools. Practices that filter Roma children based on their "readiness" for school begin as early as preschool and continue throughout elementary and secondary schooling. Those Roma students who continue their schooling and develop interests and aspirations regarding various career goals often face an "ethnic ceiling" and lower their aspirations based on normative societal- or teachers' expectations. However, Roma youth cannot wait for schools to be ready for them. They need solutions to prejudices and animosity that, over time, and especially in times of economic recession, seem to have increased, not decreased (Miskovic - Curcic, 2016:8-9).

Overall, however, the EU has mandated, encouraged, and financially supported inclusionary efforts towards Roma, which have led to many inclusionary practices, policies, and institutions. As a result, substantial improvements in the lives of socially excluded Roma will slowly emerge. EU efforts have had some positive effects, which could conceivably lay the groundwork for real change. Such efforts, however, have not motivated any broad-based grassroots demand for the governments to improve the inclusion and equality of Roma, nor have they erased pre-existing anti-Roma attitudes and practices. Substantive change will remain difficult in such an environment. In their pursuit of EU membership, all countries with large Roma populations have adopted a variety of inclusionary policies and institutions that have enabled the defence of equal rights and some Roma participation, and various programs and projects supporting Roma integration (Ram, 2014).

In **Albania**, there are different measures that tend to involve Roma children and one of them has been relevant to kindergarten integration and measures. "Teachers speak out" is a public meeting where teachers and parents, part of the UNICEF supported initiative "Every Roma Child in Kindergarten", come together to share their experiences on integration of Roma children into early childhood education, in Albania. The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child protects the rights of any child, notwithstanding his/her race, language, nationality or ethnicity. Upon ratification of Convention on the Rights of the Child, Albania committed to promote, respect and realize the rights of Roma children through the national legislations. However, despite interventions of the Government until now, a substantial number of Roma children do not have yet satisfactory access to pre-school system. UNICEF supported initiative "Every Roma Child in Kindergarten" is jointly implemented by CRCA Albania, Observatory for Children's Rights and the Albanian Christian Women Association, in close collaboration with Ministry of Education and Sports and local authorities, aims to develop and support local early childhood education networks and to integrate Roma children into the education system. Such initiative pays particular attention to

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the enrolment of 3-6-years old children of Albanian Roma community at kindergarten. For the first time, this initiative has created Clubs of Parents and Teachers in 12 regions of Albania, who are working together to develop plans for the integration of every Roma child to early childhood education. During the three-year period of implementation in Albania, the initiative "Every Roma Child in Kindergarten" has achieved to enroll about 1364 Roma children at kindergartens and schools, thanks to the hard work of the Ministry of Education and Sport, assistance of UNICEF and financial resources of the Austrian Development Agency and Swiss Development Cooperation. Pre-University Education Development Strategy (PUEDS) aims at providing support services to children with disability in each education institution and the municipality. There has been a decrease in the use of special schools with increasing numbers of inclusive schools. Attitudinal and philosophical shifts have had an impact and schools have received additional services to support inclusion, like free transport over 2 km from the school for children from poorer families, but there are difficulties to organize transport for children with disability, especially in the rural areas. Currently there are 940 teacher assistants in the system - however these are not enough to meet the overall need. In addition, many teachers who do not have a full teaching load were appointed teacher assistants, regardless of their qualifications. Training of teacher assistants in specific needs of vulnerable and disadvantaged children is required as currently they lack skills to manage more than to care for general needs of children. The need is for specific training on caring for the children with disability.

In **Bulgaria**, ensuring that all children of compulsory school age are enrolled has remained a permanent challenge for decades and has become a key political priority of the new Bulgarian Government (after May 2018). „The Situation of Roma in 11 Member States" survey by FRA and UNDP, undertaken in 2011, showed that only 68% of Roma children of obligatory school age in Bulgaria are enrolled. In 2016, the EU-MIDIS-2 survey showed an improvement, but Roma enrolment is still below the national rate of 91%. The survey also registered 67% of Roma as early school leavers (aged 18-24 years old with at most a lower secondary education and no further education or training) with significant gender differences: 57% of young Roma men vs. 77% of young Roma women. NGOs, schools and municipalities have achieved significant results in decreasing the dropout rate of Roma students within many pilot projects during the last decade. Since July 2017, the Bulgarian Government has tended to back up these efforts with political attention, trans-institutional cooperation, and even with state budget financing. The framework is not a Roma-targeted one, but follows one of the Government's basic promises, namely, to ensure full enrolment of pre-school and school age children by setting up a multi-institutional framework for full enrolment. It contains a Mechanism, a Coordination Unit, and local, multi-institutional teams. The Mechanism includes the key institutions working with children and their families (not only educational but also social care and health care, police, municipal authorities, etc.). They are obliged to cooperate on seven cross-cutting areas to ensure every child will attend school. The multi-institutional teams are formed at local level

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in every „catchment area" that is the area of a certain school/kindergarten. The teams are expected to perform comprehensive measures in the field for „finding" the children who are not attending school, enrolling them, and preventing of dropout and early school leaving. Establishing the multi-institutional framework for full enrolment could be evaluated as an important, positive step that meets a crucial need, namely, to engage a broad range of institutions (not just educational ones) with this goal. It is also a sign of political attention and willingness to mobilise all institutional resources. The envisaged high political participation is a precondition for fulfilling the expected tasks. At the same time, the framework has important limitations. Its engagement of parents and the local Roma community is insignificant: the local teams can (but are not obliged to) include mediators and NGOs, but this is only optional and no participation by them at central level is envisaged. Roma NGOs and mediators take an active part in many local teams, highly improving the teams' efficiency, but no support is provided for their participation. The role of the institutions is exaggerated in the framework (it is expected that they can solve the main challenges facing the full enrolment), while the local communities' role is underestimated, although it is widely recognized that without parental participation no change is possible. The mechanism stresses certain semi-populist measures that could have immediate effects but are problematic from a child- and family wellbeing point of view: for example, replacing family welfare benefits now given in money with clothing and shoes, strengthening administrative punishments for offenses related to attendance, etc. Their longer-term impact is disputable. The pedagogical side of the process is rather missing, and there is no significant attention paid to the change needed in pedagogical methods and tools in the classroom when the children are re-integrated back into school. Important problematic fields that cause non-enrolment or dropout are not properly addressed, such as financial barriers (fees for kindergartens) or migration abroad and domestically. The entire framework is rather administratively based. The Bulgarian educational system needs more adaptive forms (and their application in the rural areas and Roma neighbourhoods) for reintegrating children with health problems. The beginning of 2018 marked two important changes in financing school education that seem to be having an important impact on the education of Roma children, namely, reforming delegated school budgets and providing additional funds for work with students from vulnerable groups. Both have been designed to let two types of disadvantaged schools (rural ones and schools that educate Roma children) appoint motivated teachers and keep them in education by increasing their salaries. The State Budget Act 2018 introduces a new, reformed system for funding schools and kindergartens. It remains within the delegated budgets yet refines them to reduce the disproportion in funding between urban and rural schools and provides opportunities for the development of schools and kindergartens with smaller numbers of students (especially in rural areas). The novelty in the system of delegated budgets is that they will be determined not only by the number of students, but also by class and school numbers. The launched reform of the school education funding system thus promises a positive change in terms of more equal resource

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distribution and overcoming systemic under financing of schools in rural areas. It will make it possible to raise the salaries of teachers working in „small" schools: in order to meet the requirements for increased payment in education and the particularly acute need for qualified, motivated and innovative teachers in villages and small towns. Another new development in 2017-2018 is the introduction of educational mediators. After the unsuccessful experience with introducing the position of teaching assistants with PHARE funds during the pre-accession period, for a decade only a few NGOs and schools appointed educational mediators. The first calls of the Science and Education Operational Programme and the Swiss Cooperation programme demonstrated the need of such a position; it was included in the National List of Professions in September 2017. MES encouraged schools and kindergartens to appoint educational mediators with the additional funds for work with children and students from vulnerable groups. Obviously, tens and even hundreds of mediators are going to join schools and kindergartens (our expectation is that they will exceed 200) for the first time on such a mass scale. According to information provided by the MES, around 220 educational mediators were working at the beginning of November 2018.119 Most are representatives of the local Roma communities. The requirement for this position is upper secondary education. Most appointed mediators (91) have upper secondary education.

Preschool education has been obligatory from the age of three in **Hungary** since 2015. Additionally, governmental programmes aim at increasing the number of kindergarten teachers and their training in social inclusion and integration. Two programmes aimed at reducing early school leaving have been implemented, including remedial schools, second chance educational models, and tutoring. Further, one program aims to reach youth that have already dropped out. The state supports a portion of the salaries of the staff in "Sure Start Children's Houses," which offer early childhood programmes for disadvantaged children. The children's houses have been proven to improve social skills, vocabulary, and motor coordination. Higher education scholarship programmes funded from the "Human Resources Development Operational Programme" are targeted at Roma students (yet only traditional church schools and universities are eligible for funding) (Comparative analysis of data from all 27 Member States: Education, 2019:2).

The government decided on introducing a compulsory one year of preschool education in **Slovakia**. The government utilizes European Structural and Investment Funds (ESIF) to support educational efforts. Through ESF-funded projects, the government provides extra assistance and staff to schools in which the proportion of Roma children is above 20%. The European Fund for Regional Development (ERDF) is used to construct and expand kindergartens (since 2016, 49 projects) and is designed to ensure that at least 30% of the children enrolled are Roma. The Government Plenipotentiary for Roma Communities targets 150 municipalities with the most marginalised Roma communities (although actually only 52 localities have projects running) and provides support for employing teachers and assistants in kindergartens to increase the

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enrolment of Roma children. The two-year vocational training system for jobs in administration, construction, food industry, and textile production is well funded and has potential. The use of EU funds to support developments in education is sub-optimal, and a systematic evaluation of projects that can guide further policy action and funding is needed. Investment in teacher training is also weak. The evaluation of the first action plan (2018-2019) of the 2018-2027 national reform programme for education and upbringing (Ministry of Education, 2018) and the development of the second are pending (Comparative analysis of data from all 27 Member States: Education, 2019:3).

The countries examined here embrace more or less similarly structured societies that allow for similar patterns of inequalities to emerge – forged by interethnic relations and intersecting forces of social status and ethnicity. Across these countries, educational service providers encounter similar problems related to improving the participation of Roma students in education. These problems arise from the traditions and institutionalizations of citizenship and consequential access to schooling. In all the analysed countries, Roma communities are divided by their socio-economic status and cultural traditions among and within themselves, further differentiating the needs and claims for equity, equality, and recognition. These states run their education systems within a complexity of forms of potential and limitations that are informed, on the one hand, by traditions and deeply internalised values of schooling, and on the other hand, by prevailing administrative, political, cultural, and financial choices and constraints (Zentai, 2011).

From the late 1970s, the European Union developed very strong human rights and antidiscrimination provisions and softer objectives and mechanisms to ensure inclusion in socio-economic terms. By the 1990s, European anti-discrimination policymaking had taken important steps towards specifying the types of acts that are considered incompatible with European norms related to the fair treatment of individuals based on ethnic (racial) belonging. The most important embodiments of this progress are the Race Directive (2000/43EC) and the Employment Directive (2000/78EC) that compelled Member States to transpose key anti-discrimination principles into their domestic laws, to stipulate implementation measures, and to establish monitoring institutions. The European Union accession process put the issue of the inclusion of Roma high on the political agenda. It also implanted the language of anti-discrimination into critical, legal, and policy discourses. At the same time, there were cleavages between two major positions regarding framing the problem of the social exclusion of the Roma. One uses the notion of ethnic discrimination and minority rights, while the other refers to socio-economic (class) deprivation and welfare or anti-poverty principles. However, the two axes are inseparably intertwined in processes of exclusion, and thus policy interventions should combine a dual approach. Despite the recognition of intertwined ethnic and socio-economic distinctions as grounds of action, the framing strategies in policy implementation are often reproduced along a single axis (Zentai, 2011).

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The gap between policy intentions at national and EU levels and actual implementation in the form of equal participation and success of Roma students in education is obvious. However, it is important to establish and maintain Roma inclusion as a political priority, to make inclusion part of the accepted normative discourse for governments for integration into national political norms, and also to regulate the use of regional EU funds and to monitor their spending by national and local governments (the problematic nature of governance and regulatory requirements are far too 'soft' to be effective, relying on ambiguous goals and often voluntary participation). The very openness and softness of the early governance instruments that have institutionalised the Roma inclusion discourse in policies, funding projects and programs are seen as the main weaknesses when it comes to the effectiveness of implementation. This is a critique that applies to EU coordinating policy instruments in general, but it also proves the limits of subsidiarity. The nature of EU governance in the field of education and inclusion means that policy reform needs to be pursued as a joint commitment, with national governments having the primary responsibility for implementation (Alexiadou 2017). However, all the governments have shown a lack of political will to implement equality policies in full, and often have long histories of institutionalised discrimination practices against Roma (ERRC 2017; European Commission 2017 cited by Alexiadou, 2019).

The Roma-specific and related educational policy documents that acknowledge the lower educational achievement of Roma children, the barriers to Roma access to quality education, forms of segregated education for Roma, and the incompatibility and weaknesses of certain educational models, aim to define the integration of Roma into the educational systems, improve the educational status of Roma, and improve the multicultural competences of teachers and other educationalists. "A common problem with these policy documents is the fact that structurally and financially the measures on the education of Roma are not part of mainstream educational policies. It could be argued that the educational programs for Roma are seen by the authorities as an 'additional burden' and not as a response of the system to their educational needs" (Taba - Ryder, 2012:29). Many educational polices for Roma are piloted or implemented through very specific projects, rather than included in national polices, often leaving deep systematic inequalities unchallenged. In only a few instances have Roma specific educational measures been incorporated into the general educational policy framework and funding secured through state budgets (typical examples are the different types of scholarships). The financing of such measures is in many cases project based (see PHARE or EU grants programs) and lacks sustainability. Furthermore, the impact of the measures envisaged in these policy documents is impossible to assess due to a lack of specific targets and quantifiable indicators about the state of the education of Roma. A lack of reliable data on education disaggregated by ethnicity makes the problem of monitoring and assessment even more complicated. Also, the lack of clear responsibilities and sanctions by the responsible bodies for desegregation has contributed to weakening the impact of desegregation measures (Taba – Ryder, 2012).

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The results of educational policies for Roma children provide evidence that government strategies to improve their education in most cases have not worked, or in some cases, have even been counterproductive (Liegeois, 2007). According to Fullan, promoting the shared meaning of both strategies and their goals is necessary for changes to be successful. Fullan proposed that, in education, policy-makers and local practitioners come from two different worlds: "to the extent that each side is ignorant of the subjective world of the other, reform will fail – and the extent is great" (Fullan, 2007:99) Fullan also proposes that parents have an important role to play, concluding that "educational reform requires the conjoint efforts of families and schools" (Fullan, 2007:205). Even if governments have looked for ideas from international bodies (the EU, World Bank, transnational organizations, etc.), from whom they could also obtain help with funding reforms, the perceptions and practices of other stakeholders at a local level have been affected by deeply rooted former practices. According to Radó, the distinction between "action aiming at capturing or influencing power and action aimed at changing or influencing the behaviour of individuals or institutions is not obvious" (Radó, 2001:35) in the examined countries (Drown, 2019). Radó suggested that a difference in conceptions about the word policy is the missing link between determining goals and making strategic decisions, which are the first two stages of the policy model (1. determining goals, 2. choosing a course of action, 3. implementing the course(s) of action, 4. evaluating the results, 5. modifying the policy), referring to this as connecting "expected and desirable outcomes with strategic issues" (Radó, 2001:38).

In summary, policy measures targeting Roma pupils are the least common part of mainstream education policy measures. Colour-blind mainstream measures that would strengthen the inclusive feature of the system are not typical of these countries. Roma children are much more likely to be reached through supplementary policies, which are most often linked to EU grant programs, and are very often implemented by civil or church organizations. The use of Roma mentors, as identified in almost all countries analysed here, is one of the most common types of supplementary measures specifically aimed at enrolling and retaining Roma pupils in schools. The capacity of countries to foster inclusion in the education system is minimal and ubiquitous segregation proves that mainstream policy does not really address the structural problems that could affect the inclusiveness of the education system. As no country is doing almost anything at the systemic level to address inequality, supplementary interventions remain a form of firefighting that may reduce symptoms but does not represent a meaningful solution to the inclusion of Roma children in education. Slovakia addresses their education measures for Roma primarily through targeted measures.

Hungary and Slovakia have chosen to invest most in measures aimed at reducing early school leaving. The next most commonly implemented measure in the four examined countries is increasing access to, and quality of, early-childhood education and care.

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The education of Roma (measured through enrolment in early-childhood education, enrolment in compulsory education, and prevention of early school-leaving) has improved in the areas in which they have invested into measures. However, it appears to be a challenge to employ explicit safeguards for securing equal access to education for Roma in mainstream measures, and thus preventing indirect discrimination. Most mainstream measures do not include such safeguards; and in most of the measures that do, the safeguards are not explicit (Commission Staff Working Document Roma inclusion measures, 2019).

2.5. Supplementary policies aiming at improving the education of Roma students

The higher the performance of education systems, they more combine equity with quality. An excessive reliance on supplementary programmes may generate overlap with mainstream system and create inefficiencies and a lack of long-term sustainability for schools. Supplementary programmes are often short term, and do not enable schools to engage in sustainable approaches to supporting Roma students. The education systems in the observed countries do not place strong emphasis on teachers' knowledge and skills in the area of inclusive, multicultural, and non-discriminatory education. Despite the fact that the education system would benefit from teachers obtaining additional training in these areas, in many cases, teachers have the responsibility of financing such additional training themselves. Upon completion, many of these training modules do not provide teachers with official diplomas or certificates that can be used to boost their professional profiles and future careers. Predominantly, training modules are developed and implemented by civil society organisations or independently within the curriculum of specific universities' pedagogical programmes (RCM - Synthesis Report, 2019).

The most typical practice in the observed countries for increasing the Roma's access to education and improve educational outcomes is the involvement of mediators at multiple education levels. Their roles and names vary across countries, but the main activities consist of facilitating enrolment, as well as establishing constructive communication between families and educational institutions to increase enrolment. The role of mediators is to increase access, and to improve the quality of instruction and retention in the education system. Mediators must meet different expectations in the different countries; hence their quality is also different. Furthermore, the quality and impact of mentoring relies heavily on the level of bias and cultural sensitivity of the mediators (RCM - Synthesis Report, 2019). Slovakia continues to rely merely on national ESF projects to provide extra assistance and staff to schools (teaching assistants, special teachers and others) with a share of Roma children above 20 percent, but such interventions typically cease after project funding ends (RCM2 – Slovakia, 2019).

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The other widespread practice employed in the observed countries is awarding scholarships (provided by states or by civil society) to improve Roma students' educational transition, persistence, and outcomes. Some of this includes provision for mentors or tutors. Most of the governmental scholarships do not especially target the Roma population, but rather socially disadvantaged students. Most secondary school scholarships are awarded to support vocational training or second-chance programmes. A few of the state scholarship schemes provide additional mentoring and tutoring services. Hungary is an example of a country that provides a wide range of secondary school scholarships for students from socially disadvantaged families. The programme provides average students with scholarship and mentoring services, but it does not target under-performing students. Even though Hungary provides second chance programmes and training modules organised by job centres, Roma continue to struggle to achieve equity in completing post-compulsory secondary schooling. Therefore, Hungary's example demonstrates that combining different measures, such as scholarships, remedial schools, dual system education, and training programmes, does not suffice to help counterbalance the negative impact of regressive policies, such as the decrease in the maximum age of compulsory education from 18 to 16. In Hungary, the scholarship programme's monthly stipend of approximately 30-40 EUR (9,000-13,000 HUF) is not enough to offset the incentive of entering the labour market. Moreover, scholarship related support for vocational education is more advantageous and easier to access compared to support provided for general secondary education (RCM - Synthesis Report, 2019). In addition, regarding the scholarships some critics have argued (for example, concerning the situation in Hungary) that while the latter assist students to complete secondary education, the schools in which students supported by these scholarships study are of low quality, do not provide students with the ability to move on to higher education, and generally lack training opportunities that would lead to competitive and rewarding careers (RCM2 – Hungary, 2019).

While grade repetition is a leading predictor of school dropout, and is costly and ineffective at raising educational outcomes, a few countries have introduced specific measures to tackle grade repetition and dropout. The main tool for combatting dropout and early school leaving is a combination of Roma mentors and scholarships for secondary school students. In Hungary, an Early Warning System (EWS) was introduced in 2015.

After-school programmes and extra-curricular activities are provided by NGOs, churches, or by the state to support Roma children to do homework, learn languages, computer sciences, art, sport, or other activities. In Slovakia, extra-curricular afternoon programmes tend to be implemented in school buildings; in Hungary, they are delivered in NGO- or church-managed facilities (Study Hall [Tanoda] programs.

In **Albania**, together with in-school programs, school support at home has been promoted as well; in Drizë village in Fier district, the project "Parents and children learning together" has promoted around 300 families to bring parents and children to

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attend school together, as the majority of adult Roma population in Drizë village are illiterate. Other example comes from Allias-Kinostudio near Tirana, where extracurricular support to Roma pupils resulted in 53 children from an expected 60 enrolling in public primary schools and all of them advancing to the next grade (Avery & Hoxhallari, 2017).

In **Bulgaria**, NGOs, schools and municipalities have achieved significant results in decreasing the dropout rate of Roma students within many pilot projects during the last decade. Since July 2017, the Bulgarian Government has tended to back up these efforts with political attention, trans-institutional cooperation, and even with state budget financing, as explained below. The framework is not a Roma-targeted one, but follows one of the Government's basic promises, namely, to ensure full enrolment of pre-school and school age children.

In **Hungary**, one of the more unique supplementary programs is the Biztos Kezdet Gyermekház (Sure Start Children's Houses) that serve children aged between 0 and 5 from families that face difficult conditions and live in disadvantaged, underprivileged settlements. While early childhood development has a definitive effect on the further development of children, and PISA results also show that the years spent in early childhood education contribute to the achievement of higher scores, the number of children engaged in the program is a fraction of those in need (3,941 children engaged in total, while the number of those children aged 0-5 living in a poor household was nearly 150,000 in 2014) (RCM2 – Hungary).

A similar promising practice in **Slovakia** is related to early childhood education: the Way-Out program – an initiative of an NGO –, which targets marginalised Roma children from zero to three years old, which support is entirely missing from state policies. The programme was piloted in 2018 in three communities. The NGO's ambition is to scale up the programme and eventually offer their methods and strategies to state authorities to develop more systemic measures (RCM2 – Slovakia, 2019).

2.6. Conclusions

The way education systems are designed has an impact on student performance. More specifically, some systemic practices, such as early tracking, repetition, certain school choice schemes, or low-quality vocational education and training, tend to amplify social and economic disadvantages and are conducive to school failure. How education systems are designed can exacerbate initial inequities and negatively impact student motivation and engagement, eventually leading to dropout. Improving system-level policies will reinforce equity across the system and in particular benefit disadvantaged students, without hindering other students' progress. Eliminating grade repetition, which is costly and ineffective, avoiding early tracking, and deferring student selection to the upper secondary level, as well as managing school

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choice to avoid segregation and increasing inequities, making funding strategies responsive to student and school needs, and designing equivalent upper secondary education pathways to ensure completion are the main strategies for developing a more equitable education system in general (Equity and Quality in Education, 2012).

The planning of educational and inclusion policies for Roma has been tailored within the limits of the political will and financial possibilities of the countries analysed here. However, in reality, implementation is hindered by insufficient funding, poor implementation efforts, limited scope, and improper design. Consequently, these factors have even less impact than envisioned in the limited plans. Tackling Roma integration, whether through mainstream programmes or through Roma-targeted programmes, represents an ongoing dilemma. The effectiveness of mainstream programmes in tackling Roma integration depends on the overall effectiveness of policy and would require substantial reform. The country reports do not indicate if the needs of Roma are systematically taken into account when designing mainstream policies, yet the main criticism of NGOs is a lack of monitoring mechanisms regarding mainstream policy outreach and outputs and their impacts on Roma. While state authorities typically view ethnically-based data collection as a violation of data protection legislation, NGOs often argue for gathering anonymised ethnic data to devise effective anti-discrimination and desegregation measures, particularly to assess the contribution of mainstream policies to Roma integration. The reluctance of the public authorities to engage with ethnic data is often viewed as a pretext for avoiding addressing the efficiency of policy interventions. In the updated NRISs, one can hardly find any baseline indicators or provisions for impact assessment based on such indicators. In all countries, Roma integration policies and human rights policies, local development, and Roma civil society largely depend on financing from the ESIF, EEA /Norway Grants, and other external sources (A synthesis report..., 2018).

Summarizing very briefly the situation of Roma students in the observed countries:

In **Albania**, school dropout is considered a significant issue in Roma integration. The latest figure on pre-primary enrolment from 2017 shows that enrolment among Roma kids aged 3 to 5 years is only 33% in Albania (RCC, 2020), a low worrying rate if we consider that preschool dropout or complete lack of any preschool enrolment brings Roma children to develop linguistic deficit when they enter primary school. A third of Roma children aged 7 to 15 were outside the school systems in 2015, and considering that unofficial estimates set the total number of Roma at around 115,000, with a median age of 25.6 years, it is plausible that around 30,000 Roma are in schooling age in Albania. The high dropout rate, together with irregular attendance or the failure to create a non-biased and accepting environment in the schools, bought to a situation where Roma kids are often forced to move in a school for Roma. However, Roma families have acknowledged the importance of education, and the current tendency is to move away from separate schools for Roma, as segregated schools have led to a widening education gap and higher dropout rate. Other reasons that could explain the high school dropout rate are the lack of financial means and the distance to the

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education facilities. While the presence of a free meal is the determinant factor for the enrolment in preschool, 63% of Roma children attend a kindergarten without a meal provision, while only 37% of Roma children attend a kindergarten with a meal provision, where they receive at least one meal per day. In terms of education, Roma girls are particularly disadvantaged, as they have to take on the caring role for younger siblings, thereby interrupting their schooling earlier than Roma boys.

In **Bulgaria**, the attendance of Roma children in pre-school has increased but is still below average. The existence of financial barriers (e.g., kindergarten fees), the lack of an intercultural perspective and modern teaching methods that consider the specifics of Roma children and parents form the most serious challenges regarding their access to quality pre-school education. Positive trends regarding abolishing kindergarten fees in new municipalities have still not been supported by national policy. A significant advance has been achieved regarding the enrolment of Roma in primary school and reducing their dropout rate. The multi-institutional framework for full enrolment established in 2017 is yielding certain positive results. The new model of financing the school system provides hope for better targeting of resources for rural schools. Allocation of additional funds for work with children and students from vulnerable groups is an important positive step that could help these schools to appoint school mediators and to keep motivated teachers in the field. Nevertheless, significant challenges remain in promoting ethnically mixed, inclusive education and desegregation. Persistent challenges also remain obvious when it comes to improving academic achievement and quality of education. More measures are necessary to increase the number of Roma in secondary education.

In **Hungary**, preschool inclusion has been significantly improved, but the situation of Roma in education in all areas is worsening. Gaps are increasing and the proportion of Roma not completing different levels of education is very high. Additionally, school segregation is increasing.

In **Slovakia**, the situation of Roma in education has improved in preschool and primary education, and slightly in secondary education. The gap has also been reduced for the latter two. Nevertheless, the proportion of Roma not completing school is large, particularly in relation to secondary education. The gap in tertiary education has remained the same. The placement of Roma in special and segregated schools has worsened since 2005 (Roma Inclusion Index 2015).

The educational situation of Roma pupils, or one can say, the failure thereof, is basically determined by two inseparable phenomena. One is the ability of the educational systems to be inclusive – namely, the extent to which education is able to address children's differences within the system and, in this context, to what extent education is able to compensate for children's social status. On the other hand, another critical factor is the relationship of the Roma within the respective societies. The latter is a decisive factor: many analyses and pieces of research have concluded that pervasive anti-Gypsyism is behind the lack of political will for tackling the problem.

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While the education systems of the countries observed here are among the less equitable and more selective systems (especially those of Slovakia and Hungary) – and are thus, sui generis, less able to compensate for social inequalities –, the inclusion of Roma children is further paralyzed by widespread prejudice. Further analyses would be necessary to accurately interpret the differences between the examined countries. While the PISA results of Hungary are better than those of the other examined countries, the Hungarian system is much more selective and much less equitable than the others. While in Hungary segregation continues to increase along with the overwhelming centralization of the education system, domestic regulations enable early selection among children through different school providers (see the role of church schools in selection). Additionally, differences among high-performing and low-performing students according to social background are the most extreme compared to in the other examined countries, while mandatory preschool from the age of three and the widespread free lunch program (also from the age of three) stand out as unique initiatives. The former is a mainstream measure, and the latter a colourblind targeted measure, but both are having a positive impact on the enrolment rate of Roma children. Regarding enrolment rates, Hungary stands out: Roma children have been participating in public education for a longer time and at a higher rate than in the other analysed countries, which obviously is due to the historical background, but the analysis of this would be beyond the scope of this study. The education systems in Bulgaria and Albania are much less selective than the Hungarian one, yet the former are low-performing countries according to PISA, and they have historically performed very poorly in relation to the enrolment of Roma children in their education systems. In both countries, the lack of legal documents, deep poverty, and housing conditions are among the main barriers preventing Roma children from entering the education system. Slovakia is located somewhere between the latter two types of countries: its education system is less selective than the Hungarian one, but the system is characterized by severe segregation, and it is still a typical practice to place Roma children into special schools. While Slovakia's PISA results are lower than those of students in Hungary, they are higher than in the other two countries. NGOs play a very important role in these low-performing and less equitable countries in terms of tackling the problems of Roma children in education, but their activities are a drop in the ocean: they have no impact on structural problems, and they have minimal power to mainstream their programs.

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3. Transformative practices: conceptual approach and analysis of project-based practices

3.1. Conceptual background: transformative practice

The project's overarching aim is to support the institutions' own learning process by learning from other institutions. Sharing and learning from good practice is a common way of doing this. The project has first developed a theoretical and conceptual background for this process. The concept departs from but goes beyond the idea of good practices.

3.1.1. The concept of good practices

In English, the term "best practices" is most commonly used, but the expression "good practices" is also common, which carries fewer connotations of excellence. As for a working, the term refers to existing educational practices, which re scientifically proven to be effective or which are used by stakeholders and have had (documented) positive impacts on participants. The studies on the concept (e. g.: Osburn, J., Caruso, G., & Wolfensberger, W., 2011) point out that the expression comes from industry (like so many others) and has been used to identify and transfer good practices that work well for efficiency. Over the last decades, it has become a policy and political term used in many fields. In the field of education, too, it is most often associated with the discourse of projects and developmental practices, interpreting knowledge sharing in terms of production, development and innovation. Some studies use it in an unreflective way and even adopt it in the language of research, others reflect on the origins of the concept, looking at good practice as practical, proven wisdom, but calling for evidence-based principles to be used in order to affirm what is really good practice. Finally, many are highly critical of the concept itself. It is worth taking these criticisms into account for our project because good practice is associated with institutions that have traditionally better performed, and also in the field of inclusion, institutions that have explicitly implemented inclusion. It will be difficult to classify some of the institutions working with us in these categories.

3.1.2 Criticism

The criticisms come from different paradigms. Some of them do not completely reject the concept but show that its use raises several problems. For example, Mattock (2017) demonstrates through an analysis of practice in the European cultural field that good practice is a political category and should be approached in this way. It is essentially

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a testimony, a showcase rather, which in bad cases is self-promotion, but in good cases can be a useful way of sharing knowledge, presenting practices offered as inspiration and models. To do this, however, it needs to be defined:

- why and what we are collaborating on, and whether sharing good practices is really appropriate for this; if so,
- what kind of sharing serves the purpose of cooperation;
- what we mean by practice;
- what typology we use;
- who is the target group for sharing;
- what is considered good or best (this is a political, value-based definition)
- how a practice works (some kind of detailed model should be outlined);
- what kind of analysis is linked to the description (description is not enough!).

Petr (2009) offers a rethinking of the concept of evidence-based practices in social work because the hegemony of scientific knowledge is a dimension of power that can suppress other knowledge. It is therefore proposed to use the broader concept of multidimensional evidence-based practices, which also integrates scientific research, and which starts from three sources of knowledge: the consumer, the practitioner and the knowledge offered by scientific research. In addition, this model would also include a value-critical analysis of practices. This means that the "goodness" of practices would also be analysed from the point of view of values (ethics, law, oppression of power, etc.).

McKeon (1998) uses the agricultural model of good practice, whereby a complex network operates to collect, research and share new technologies, helping the process of adaptation. Such a network is also needed in the field of education, where teachers and institutions can find help in finding answers to their problems. Here, good practices are not simply transferable products but are incorporated into a process of knowledge sharing and application. He particularly highlights adaptation.

For educational critiques, it is worth citing our Glossary developed in the first phase of the project:

> *Andy Hargreaves and Michael Fullan argue, that an educational practice to become best practice needs a basis of compelling and valid evidence – yet, it belongs to the professional expertise of teachers to know how to judge the evidence.*
>
> *Tried and tested best practice might quickly become past practice. Most of the best practices of the past 15 years are related to classroom practices. However, as Hargreaves and Fullan point it out, the classroom and the educational form of lesson will likely to become less and less central to teaching. They are trying to draw out attention to the tendency in teaching practice of shifting the focus from lessons to learning, from classroom to learning spaces, which urges teachers to the complete reassessment of tried-and-tested best practice. (Glossary: Transformative practice)*

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Answering the problem of the scientific knowledge hegemony in education, the Glossary offers another term: next practice (following: Valerie Hannon).

> *The idea of next practice adds some space of freedom and creativity to the world of "hard evidence" in teaching, it allows for experimentation with practices which begin with the teachers themselves. Next practice is the hatchery of best practice." (Glossary: Transformative practice)*

There are also writings that are more critical than this, and even suggest that the concept should be abandoned. Egde (1998) argues that the term is wholly inadequate to reflect the complexity and power of education and is therefore not a forward-looking use in the world of education. It is based on the false idea that new solutions can be discovered, passed on to others and, with some modification, then applied by them (discovery - dissemination - delivery). However, this is not actually the case, and this model also prevents pedagogical solutions from flowing from within the individual teacher's practice The solution, in his view, never comes from outside. It also leaves out of the concept the role of theory and reflection on power. Instead, he recommends using a model of theorising practice (theorising practice = praxis). This recognises the role of theory not only as a starting point but also as a product of practice (theory born out of practice) and thinks in terms of praxis that is always being created, accepting that in pedagogical practice, there is never a practice that can be fully formalised and normalised.

A similar argument is made by Smith (1999), who analyses the concept of good (best) practice in the field of health care and concludes that it is a fundamentally modernist concept that considers the need to identify best practices that work to demonstrate their effectiveness and to apply them. Instead, it proposes a more fluid concept of knowledge in the field that goes beyond this model. Rather than highlighting one practice, look for contradictions and fractures, discard the best concept and with it the illusion of progress, and embrace the diversity and variability of knowledge. He sees this as more forward-looking.

3.1.3 Transformative practice

The Glossary of our project, offers a new terminology that goes beyond the weaknesses of the original term.

> *While the language of best and next practice in education might sound appealing and progressive, still both of these are deeply embedded in a particular approach to education (namely →innovative education), which tends to overlook its own value judgements along which it decides what counts as „best" or what makes something „next". Insisting on „what works" is already in relation to specific value-laden purposes (effectiveness, quality, etc.), which might be questionable from an educational point of view. According to *Gert Biesta*, if one understands education as transformative praxis (see →transformative education), then the answer to the question of what practice is desirable cannot be derived from what is already*

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measured and what actually works. Transformative educational praxis refers to combining action with reflection, to be able to make critical judgements about what counts as "good", and desirable in education, when engaging with teaching practices. The transformative character of such a praxis derives from its explicit purpose to change the very coordinates of those social structures, in which "good" education and "best" practice is defined.

The term transformative practice differentiating from the commonly used terminology of best or good practice might help avoid the simplistic interpretation encapsulated in the original concept. This latter might lead institutions to find solutions to their problems without reflecting on the complexity of pedagogical situations. Every educational practice is embedded in systems and in specific contexts and is characterized by explicit or implicit values. When schools try to find answers to problems, reach goals and promote certain activities, they should not simply adopt solutions that worked somewhere, somehow. They should have a systemic interpretation of their practice and consider the context in which they operate. They should develop their own way by critically reflecting also on the values leading their action.

In addition, the concept of transformative practice is based on the idea that education should contribute to the transformation of social and educational structures and systems as well as the pedagogical subjects who are part of the system. This approach is derived from critical pedagogy (McLaren, 2003). In a project that targets institutions working with marginalized or disadvantaged pupils, the perspective of critical pedagogy is particularly suitable because it offers a more complex, systemic interpretation of dealing with social inequalities by looking for the structural dimensions of injustice, and it also helps schools and educators move towards the change of such systemic factors.

In summary, transformative practice means a value-led reflective pedagogical practice that is not simply taken from or shared with others but developed as part of the school's learning process and considering its systemic context. It is an adaptive practice that aims at targeting or at least reflecting on the structural dimensions of inequalities and contributing to social and personal transformation.

For the terminology, in the project and in this paper, we use both terms since the transformative practice expression is not well-known.

Two levels of transformative practices might be distinguished. The most important for our project are the everyday practices developed by individual schools. Institutions can share these on our dedicated website. The portal is designed to support not only sharing but also complex development, institutional reflection and learning related to the practices. The second level is part of the broader context surrounding schools: the world of project-based good practices. There are numerous projects, more extended or shorter-term programmes, developed to support the

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education of disadvantaged (Roma) young people. These can also be considered good practices, often adapted or implemented by institutions.

3.2. Selection and evaluation of good/transformative practices

The long-term aim of the project is to help institutions evaluate their own and others' good/transformative practices. This study's objective is to look at wider programmes and projects rather than local ones. The latter constitute the context of local activities and good practices. For the project, it is crucial to understand not only the different national contexts of education systems regarding inclusion but also the system of broader interventions surrounding and nourishing the local initiatives. In addition, the lessons from the evaluation of the second level practices will be useful for the assessment and monitoring of local good/transformative practices. Therefore, we have collected significant projects or programmes in the partner countries (11) and other relevant European initiatives (27): 38 in total, targeting disadvantaged children. This study aims to analyse and evaluate these 38 "good practices". The selection criteria for the practices were as follows:

- we were looking for funded projects or programmes that were not linked (only) to a specific, single institution
- or considered by the partners to be relevant in their country or to have received attention on the European scene (e.g. shared on the Schoolgateway portal)
- target the education of disadvantaged (especially Roma) children and aim to reduce educational inequalities (particularly early school leaving).

Partners provided descriptions of 11 initiatives, and Ágnes Kende (2022) presented 27 programmes, which are further analysed in this study.

3.3. Methodology

The analysis is not a representative inquiry and a comprehensive evaluation, but a qualitative focused overview that aims to give a picture of the European landscape in this field. This paper is based on Ágnes Kende's study (2022), but it goes beyond its thematic analysis. The evalulation-centred content analysis was made in NVivo 12 qualitative data analysis software. In the programme, each practice was created as a case. The cases were auto-coded with thematic coding. Beyond the thematic focuses, we established a mix of assessment and descriptive indicators. The process of their development was the following. The partners collected some good and transformative practices, and during a workshop, we developed a battery of questions reflecting together on the practices. The original goal of these qualitative-focused questions was to be the basis for a "barometer" to facilitate the monitoring and evaluation of

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transformative practices in institutions. Notwithstanding, these questions seemed also useful for outlining the evaluation criteria of the broader, second-level practices, too. From the questions, we created a simplified, initial list of codes. In NVivo 12, after a first reading of the texts and the codes, we created a final, manual codebook that were used during the manual coding of the practices' descriptions and available materials.

The final codebook for manual coding is the following:

Name	Description
Impact	If the description of the practice provides some kind of evidence on its effectiveness or impacts.
Anecdotal evidence	
Existence of indicators	
Opinion of community members	
Qualitative data	
Quantitative data	
Sustainability	
Objectives	
Coherence with the objectives	
Quality	
Clear focus	
High standards	
Leadership	The role of (institutional) leadership is highlighted.
Monitoring	
Scientific knowledge	The practice is based on or uses some type of research evidence and/or scientific knowledge.

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Name	Description
Toolkit	It is mainly a toolkit for implementation (materials, directions, strategy or methodology descriptions)
Transformative	The practice might be considered transformative following the above unfolded conceptual background.
Complexity	It addresses the problems and situation from different angles, involving different stakeholders, and considering the complexity of the issue.
Contextual reflections	The practice contains or indicates some form of reflection on the narrower context of the target group and the institutions.
Participants involvement	The practice actively involves members of the community in the implementation process. Active involvement means protagonism not secondary roles.
Participants perspective	The practice considers value and use the participants' perspective (voice, opinions, viewpoints).
Reflection on broader structures	The practice integrates or reflect some consideration of the broader(social) structures. It follows a systemic approach.
Reflectivity	The practice contains (critical) reflections on the practice, on the problematic dimensions of the initiatives, on the different paths of implementation, etc.
Towards social change	The practice aims at changing, influencing or at least to a certain extent challenging broader social structures directly of indirectly. (E.g. it does not reinforce existing power relations, but help participants reflect on them).
Values	Value-led focus points that characterize the choices and approaches of the practice.
Action research	Action research represents the value of the active involvement of the respective community.
Emancipatory approach	The practice has an empowering effect on the participants and on the members of the community. It contributes to their (social) emancipation not only to their personal growth.

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Name	Description
Individual learning needs	The practice focuses on the individual learning needs of the participants.
Involvement of the community	The practice involves the members of the wider community as the background of the pupils.
School as a learning community	The practice considers school as a learning community.
Whole School Approach	The practice adopts or reflects the concept of the Whole School Approach: the school is considered in its context and it continuously involves the different stakeholders in the shaping of their community and educational life (teachers, students, other workers, parents, local community, etc.)
Problems	Problematic points were identified during the analysis.
From outside approach	External, from above intervention without considering the perspective of the community.
Needs extra resources	It needs so many extra resources that without continuous support it is not sustainable.
No evaluation and monitoring	The description does not provide evaluation and monitoring processes.
Not convincing results	The results do not seem effective from the description/testimonies/data.
Not enough data	The description does not provide sufficient data for further analysis and evaluation.
Teacher-centered	The practice is centered on the development of teachers, it uses the participants, but it does not integrate their perspectives.

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3.4. Thematic presentation of the practices

The initiatives are very diverse in nature: there are developed toolkits, which can be more like a basis for good practices but are not themselves practices. Some of the materials and tools, however, have been developed while being tried out. The latter are, typically, Erasmus+ projects, so they are based on tried and tested practices. Among the practices implemented, some address a particular situation or implement a small activity (e.g. the development of a common breakfast in schools) others have a broader objective, to which the implementers can associate a variety of optional methodologies (e.g. a programme to support girls' staying in school, for which schools can choose from a range of possible methodologies). Programmes are not equally well developed, and for a number of them, there is not enough data to evaluate them adequately.

The analysed materials also take different approaches to the situation of disadvantaged pupils and their educational inequalities. Several programmes are specifically designed as part of the strategy to combat early school leaving. Some projects stand out for their complex approach to the problem, offering students support to stay in school from several dimensions: mentoring, parental involvement, social support, and school integration. Studies indicate that these initiatives are effective in ESL. Other practices address only a subset of issues: developing specific competencies (e.g. literacy), mentoring, parenting, etc. These can also be effective, but only in the specific areas they target, and it is difficult to judge their longer-term or wider impact.

Kende identified the main focus points for interventions in promoting inclusion and tackling ESL:

- facilitating a different school governance (especially the Whole School Approach)
- engendering teachers' professional development
- supporting learners
- involving parents and other stakeholders

The autocoded themes in NVivo confirm Kende's points, but does not offer significant results for the analysis. Nevertheless, the thematic autocoding helped develop a thematic grouping of the practices. In the following table, the initiatives are grouped according to their main feature and a short description is given of each programme. Table 2 provides an overview of the analysed data.

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The main feature	The programme	Short description of the programme
Complex, ESL and Inclusion Programmes	Wellbeing and Inclusion for New Educational Resources (WINER)	In Romania, there are a large number of children whose parents leave them in Romania in order to work in Italy, as well as a large number of children who have returned with their families due to the Italian economic crisis. The general objective of this project was to facilitate the inclusion of those Romanian children left at home and those who have returned, by developing a well-being-based school and community approach, applied both in Romania and Italy
	Together for every child	Complex programme supporting the pupils' (re)integration and enrolment to institutions through a team of different professionals.
	The School Completion Programme	The programme is based on local projects, and enables local communities to develop tailored strategies to maximise participation levels of those at risk of early school leaving in the education process
	Support for success	Nationwide, complex programme that engenders drop-out prevention through facilitating various activities in schools.
	Students and Families Support Office	A social worker and two mediators work closely with teachers and families of the schools, according to the needs identified and priorities defined in order to prevent ESL.
	Skills for Jobs	Students go through an apprenticeship scheme from career orientation to interviews with employers into 1 year apprenticeship programme, based on contract.
	PRINED - Inclusive Education in Slovakia	Complex ESL preventions programme that offers tools, material help and different extra-curricular programmes for pupils (and their families) through professional teamwork.
	Local Engagement for Roma Inclusion (LERI) - Multi-Annual Roma Programme	LERI brings together local authorities and residents, in particular Roma, to investigate how they can best be involved in Roma integration actions, and identify which aspects of these actions work, which do not, and why. The aim of the project is to facilitate the engagement of all local stakeholders.
	LIT3 - Literacy cubed - Focus on Roma Families	The programme aims to promote family literacy (reading and health literacy) in Roma communities as a tool for raising the attainment level of Roma children in general education.
	INCLUD-ED Family Education	The programme consists of family and other community members engaging in different learning activities in the school. The learning activities can be very diverse; they have to be defined by the participants themselves in order to guarantee that the programme directly responds to their needs and interests and follows a dialogic orientation.
	Every Roma Child in Kindergarten	The programme facilitates and fosters alliances with the local authorities and Roma groups for the inclusion in preschool education of Roma Children through different activities: analysis, diagnosis and support.

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	Combating drop-out and early school leaving (ESL) in Serbia	Complex programme facilitating schools to recognise the risk of ESL and intervene in different ways.
	Bari Shej	Programme for preventing Roma girls' drop-out and ESL through different possible actions: empowering actions for Roma girls; mentoring; Roma Girls' Group; extra-school activities; gender-based violence prevention.
Educational methodology (used in different schools with disadvantaged pupils)	KIP (Complex Instruction Programme)	Educational methodology that helps the integration of all students with collaborative methods.
	INCLUDE-ED Dialogic Literary Gatherings	DLG is a dialogic reading activity based on two principles: reading a classical literature book (as Romeo and Juliet, the Odyssey, Don Quixote) and then sharing meanings, interpretations and reflections with the dialogic learning methodology. It can involve children and their family members.
	INCLUD-ED Interactive Groups	The practice consists of grouping students in a class into small heterogeneous groups, each of them supported by an adult. Each of these groups is organised around four or five students. IG involve and promote the quantity and quality of interactions of all students with a dialogic approach to learning. This approach is based on the belief that learners reach a deep understanding of subject knowledge and engage in processes of personal and social transformation through dialogues that are egalitarian.
	Dobbantó (Springboard) Programme	Dobbantó (Springboard) students are dropped out pupils. They attend a preparatory zero year of upper-secondary/vocational school. They are not more then 16 in a separated classroom enviroment from 6 to 10 months with with 4 or 5 Dobbantó teachers. As learning is not organised around subjects, teachers may spend more time with the students over a week, which allows them to really get to know the students and also helps the evolution of trust and bonds between the teachers and the students
	Complex Instruction in Slovakia	The adaptation of the Hungarian Complex Instruction Programme
Teacher education related programmes	Unit on 'Responding to student diversity in the primary classroom'	The compulsory teaching unit in the teacher education master programme aims at preparing student teachers to teach students with a diverse background, through gaining both theoretical knowledge and practical experience on diversity.
	Master's Programme in 'Educational Treatment of Diversity' (ETD)	The Master's Programme is aimed at Bachelor graduates in pedagogy, and at education practitioners. The programme aims at creating an interdisciplinary system of knowledge, skills and integrated socio-pedagogical, psychological and special pedagogical competences to mainstream diversity in education.

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	Making a change in inclusive education in Albania	Human Rights based training for teachers and teacher trainees to help them develop positive attitudes and skills for inclusion.
	Life is Diversity (Leben ist Vielfalt) Students' network	A network that acts as a forum for professionals and provides (student) teachers with specific knowledge and practical experiences for teaching in diverse classrooms.
	'Nightingale' – a Mentoring and Integration project	Students from the University of Teacher Education in Zug get paired with 8-12 years-old children from a primary school to participate in activities together, such as going to the zoo, the cinema, doing sports together, etc.
Toolkits (materials that can be used by institutions)	Structural Indicators for Schools for Developing Inclusive Systems in and around Schools	The indicators are phrased as statements with yes or no answers, which can guide school actors in self-evaluating in a range of relevant areas. Inclusion in schools is seen as a supportive and quality learning environment with welcoming and caring schools and classrooms
	Guide for working with Roma families	The Guide aims to provide guidance for professionals working on the ground to involve Roma families in the educational processes of their children. It presents a methodological tool for the intervention with Roma families in the school setting and proposes actions to overcome common obstacles, examples of good practices, warnings and things to avoid.
	Guide for Roma School Mediators	The material is aimed primarily at all categories of staff from the Roma community working to improve schooling conditions for Roma children. It is intended to provide staff with wide-ranging tools and practical guidelines that can be adapted to different contexts.
	Criteria for identifying pupils at risk of drop-out and ESL	The document defines criteria (predictors) of early school leaving that can be used by school teams in monitoring pupils at risk and preventing drop-out.
Toolkits based on activities, pilots (toolkits that were developed through actions)	TEIP- Programme for Priority Intervention Educational Areas	The involved Portuguese schools are all invited to develop specific improvement plans, based on an agreement, between the school and school authorities, on measures, targets, evaluation and additional resources.
	Supporting Inclusive School Leadership (SISL)	The project considered that leadership for inclusive education aimed at achieving full participation in meaningful learning opportunities, high achievement and well-being for all learners, including those most vulnerable to exclusion.
	Rescur Surfing the Waves – Resilience Curriculum	The project developed a specialised curriculum in resilience for marginalised groups such as Roma children, children with disability and individual educational needs and children with a migrant background.

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	Inclusive Schools action plan – InScool	The goal of the project was to set up an Inclusive Schools action plan and empower schools across Europe to adopt inclusion practices. It aimed to integrate young people with diverse backgrounds into the heart of their community, helping them to develop a strong sense of both self and togetherness.
Smaller, locally based activities	We take the school to your home - Santiago Apóstol school (Valencia)	Teachers and the Roma community unite to overcome inequalities in response to the closure of schools by COVID -19. Roma boys and girls at Santiago Apóstol school (Valencia) continue studying in times of uncertainty
	Mothers café	In the town of Hilden, similarly to other institutions in Northern Westfalen (Germany), mothers meet once a week in the premises of the elementary school, where childcare and professional facilitation is provided, allowing mothers of different origin to exchange experiences, improve German language skills, hear tips on parenting etc.
	Desegregation pilot in Rokycany	The main aim of the project was to perform a full re-diagnostic of the Roma children from the village of Rokycany in the Prešov district in Slovakia, then introduce them to a mainstream educational environment in their own village with heavy assistance & methodical support from external institutions.
	Childhood for Children	„Detstvo Deťom" NGO dedicates its work to early intervention in disadvantaged families in their centre. It provides daily activities in the spaces of Domček and externally in the natural environments of each individual family home. The practice aims at developing the life skills of clients – students through a range of activities that are running in an ambulant fashion within the centre itself. The centre aims to work with both parents (mothers) and their children and develop both parenting skills and the cognitive and motoric skills of the children.
	Breakfast ~ Morning clubs	Irish schools promote the benefits of providing an early morning breakfast - this includes improved school attendance and retention, improvements in punctuality, interaction with adults, allowing students to have fun whilst at the same time developing social skills, meeting nutritional needs and developing positive links between the school and the family. In St Audoens primary school, all children are welcome to join the Breakfast Club, run by volunteering teachers and external volunteers.
Volunteering	Volunteering@WU - Lernen macht Schule	The programme works with kids from socially disadvantaged backgrounds and student helpers by encouraging social responsibility and volunteering activities. The programme follows the principles of service learning. WU students can volunteer as learning or music buddies to help kids who have restricted access to educational opportunities
Legal intervention	Quotas for students from ethnic	In North-Macedonia, the target groups of the quotas are members of the ethnic communities who do not have access to higher education in their own language. The measure concerns the

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	communities & Scholarships for Roma students	enrolment of students in higher education. They also receive a scholarship during their studies.

TABLE 2: MAIN FEATURES, PROGRAMMES AND SHORT DESCRIPTIONS

The next table shows the different thematic focuses that appear in the programmes:

Thematic focus	Programme
Teacher education/professional development	'Nightingale' – a Mentoring and Integration project
	Combating drop-out and early school leaving (ESL) in Serbia
	KIP (Compex Instruction Programme)
	Complex Instruction in Slovakia
	Unit on 'Responding to student diversity in the primary classroom'
	Master's Programme in 'Educational Treatment of Diversity' (ETD)
	Making a change in inclusive education in Albania
	Life is Diversity (Leben ist Vielfalt) Students' network
Mentoring	'Nightingale' – a Mentoring and Integration project
	Bari Shej
	Dobbantó (Springboard) Programme
	Desegregation pilot in Rokycany
	Volunteering@WU
Parental involvement	Students and Families Support Office
	LIT3 - Literacy cube
	PRINED - Inclusive Education in Slovakia
	INCLUD-ED Family Education
	Combating drop-out and early school leaving (ESL) in Serbia

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	Structural Indicators for Schools for Developing Inclusive Systems in and around Schools
	INCLUDE-ED Dialogic Literary Gatherings
	Guide for working with Roma families
	Guide for Roma School Mediators
	We take the school to your home
	Mothers café
	Childhood for Children
	Breakfast ~ Morning clubs
Learning skills	Skills for Job
	PRINED - Inclusive Education in Slovakia
	LIT3 - Literacy cube
	INCLUD-ED Family Education
	Combating drop-out and early school leaving (ESL) in Serbia
	Bari Shej
	KIP (Compex Instruction Programme)
	Complex Instruction in Slovakia
	INCLUDE-ED Dialogic Literary Gatherings
	INCLUD-ED Interactive Groups
	Dobbantó (Springboard) Programme
	Rescur Surfing the Waves – Resilience Curriculum
	Childhood for Children
Social skills	'Nightingale' – a Mentoring and Integration project
	PRINED - Inclusive Education in Slovakia
	Combating drop-out and early school leaving (ESL) in Serbia
	Bari Shej
	KIP (Compex Instruction Programme)
	Complex Instruction in Slovakia

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	INCLUD-ED Interactive Groups
	Dobbantó (Springboard) Programme
	Rescur Surfing the Waves – Resilience Curriculum
	Childhood for Children
	Breakfast ~ Morning clubs
	Volunteering@WU
Literacy	LIT3 - Literacy cube
	INCLUDE-ED Dialogic Literary Gatherings
	Rescur Surfing the Waves – Resilience Curriculum
Community action	The School Completion Programme
	Local Engagement for Roma Inclusion (LERI)
	INCLUD-ED Family Education
	Every Roma Child in Kindergarten
	Bari Shej
	Guide for working with Roma families
	Guide for Roma School Mediators
	TEIP- Programme for Priority Intervention Educational Areas
	We take the school to your home
	Mothers café
Pupils' well-being	Wellbeing and Inclusion for New Educational Resources (WINER)
	Local Engagement for Roma Inclusion (LERI)
	PRINED - Inclusive Education in Slovakia
	Bari Shej
	Structural Indicators for Schools for Developing Inclusive Systems in and around Schools
	Dobbantó (Springboard) Programme
	Supporting Inclusive School Leadership (SISL)
	We take the school to your home

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	Desegregation pilot in Rokycany
	Childhood for Children
	Breakfast ~ Morning clubs
	Volunteering@WU
Teamwork of professionals	Together for every child
	Support for success
	Students and Families Support Office
	PRINED - Inclusive Education in Slovakia
	Every Roma Child in Kindergarten
	Combating drop-out and early school leaving (ESL) in Serbia
	Dobbantó (Springboard) Programme
	Guide for Roma School Mediators
	Criteria for identifying pupils at risk of drop-out and ESL
	TEIP- Programme for Priority Intervention Educational Areas
	Supporting Inclusive School Leadership (SISL)
	Inclusive Schools action plan – InScool
	Desegregation pilot in Rokycany
(Re)integration and enrolment	Together for every child
	The School Completion Programme
	Every Roma Child in Kindergarten
	Dobbantó (Springboard) Programme
	Desegregation pilot in Rokycany
	Quotas for students
Preparing for the labour market	Skills for Job
	Bari Shej
The school organisational culture	Structural Indicators for Schools for Developing Inclusive Systems in and around Schools
	Together for every child

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	The School Completion Programme
	Support for success
	Combating drop-out and early school leaving (ESL) in Serbia
	Dobbantó (Springboard) Programme
	INCLUD-ED Interactive Groups
	Rescur Surfing the Waves – Resilience Curriculum
	Inclusive Schools action plan – InScool

TABLE 3: THEMATIC FOCUSES OF THE PROGRAMMES

3.5. The programmes' ideological-discursive framework

From the thematic focus points, it is clear where the main areas of intervention for these practices lie. Notwithstanding, they also reflect the ideological-discursive framework of programmes targeting disadvantaged children and their institutions. Some ideological assumptions can be traced behind the themes. We use the term "ideological-discursive" indicating that we are trying to understand some common interpretational trends of good practices without entering into a deeper consideration of what ideology and discourse are. The term simply expresses that we do not consider the explicit and implicit conceptual background for the actions as merely professional, but we contend that they are products of historical, cultural and political processes, thus they can be analysed critically from an ideology-critical perspective.

The next Table 4 is trying to summarize some possible conceptions in a critical way. The table does not include all the elements, it only identifies the main conceptual backgrounds. These dimensions were analysed without the help of InVivo following a simple ideology-critical textual interpretation similar to but not identical to critical discourse analysis.

Focus	Problem identification	Solution	Critical points
Teacher professional development, teamwork of professionals	The professionals have a key role in dealing with disadvantaged pupils' problems.	Training of professionals, sensitising educators, collaboration of	This assumption might suggest that a fundamentally social problem lies in the lack of pedagogical

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	If their professionality is higher, they can deal with the problems better, and the situation of pupils' change.	experts, facilitating learning for teachers and preparation of teacher education students.	competencies, and this might put too much of a burden on teachers/professionals.
Learning skills, social skills, mentoring, literacy	Pupils from disadvantaged backgrounds lack the skills and knowledge needed for social integration and learning achievement and need help to improve their competencies.	The individual help for children and their parents offers a solution, using new methods that suit them: interactive, empowering methods, mentoring, life skill development, etc.	There might be a deficit approach behind this assumption that sees the problem in the individual lack of taken-for-granted competencies. And again, this perspective tries to find a pedagogical solution to social problems (of course with pedagogical repercussions).
Changing the school culture: learning community, whole school approach	Traditional schooling cannot adequately support the learning of non-middle-class children. School culture is teaching-centred and self-enclosed.	The school must become a changing, innovative, learning community, open to the voices of different actors (children, parents, community, environment…)	This perspective also expects schools to address and solve problems that go beyond them. And the ideology of continuous learning and innovation can transform education into a kind of ever-changing business-like activity.

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Parental involvement, community action	Parents and the community can be a pull-back for school progress and need to be involved and "educated" so that students can succeed. Or: The voice of the community must also prevail to ensure that empowerment does not come from above. The pupil should always be understood in relation to his or her community.	Parents also need to be educated, and community support for initiatives needs to be won. And/or: The community itself should act, experience its agency.	The two interpretations are fundamentally different. In the first, a condescending attitude lies. The second is an emancipatory approach but risks looking to the community for a solution, which may not have the resources to do so. See later the brief analysis on action research.
(Re)integration and enrolment, preparing for the labour market.	School attendance and access to the labour market are key to the upward mobility of disadvantaged young people.	Facilitating school completion and acquirement of a marketable vocational qualification	As cultural anthropological research points out, some communities do not legitimately see participation in the productive labour market as a key to their survival. And the human capital approach behind this perspective can leave people vulnerable to capitalist production without acquiring

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			socially critical competencies.

TABLE 4: IDEOLOGICAL-DISCURSIVE FRAMEWORK OF INTERVENTIONS

The criticism of the above table does not claim that these approaches are always wrong or inappropriate. It merely draws attention to the hidden ideological perspectives behind the interventions that may be open to criticism. This is particularly important because of the transformative dimension outlined above. Transformation is only possible if there is a critical reflection on elements that might conserve the status quo. The above-cited critiques often show that a certain concept might serve the conservation of existing structures. For example, if one does not target the main issue of social inequality, but only its lower consequences, it might help maintain the unequal power structures. However, it is much more difficult to address the broader structures, and a lot of interventions can target the reachable points. But as especially critical pedagogues (McLaren, 2003) argue even in small-scale activities, the stakeholders should reflect on the system and the further effects of their actions. Another question related to the ideological-discursive dimension is how this latter is connected to professional arguments. Of course, it is a legitimate and professional interpretation of the problems when the concepts focus on school or teaching culture, the attitudes of the professionals, parental involvement, etc. However, the professionally supported arguments cannot be entirely dissociated from the ideological content that comes from the historical, social and political implications of an approach. The ideological contours of various practices may be different. A research-based, reflective approach and multifacetedness can help to reduce or reflect the ideological elements that can be criticised. Another certainly positive element of several practices is the collaboration of different kinds of professionals. It can contribute to dealing with problems with a more complex approach. The analysis shows that practices that approach the problem from multiple angles can be more reflective. The presence of patronising attitudes can be more easily found behind a simple mentoring initiative than in a complex prevention programme that offers multiple responses. Nevertheless, the extent to which the ideological dimension is present in a practice is not fully traceable from the descriptions. On the one hand, the texts are not always sufficiently detailed, thus at most, it is possible to draw attention to the dangers of the hidden implications mentioned above, or to point out that the description does not seem to be reflective. On the other hand, even if the presentation is reflective and multifaceted, it is still possible that the actors will apply problematic aspects in the implementation. For example, it might happen that the description of a practice does not follow a condescending approach, but the teachers adopting the activity will view parents in a patronising way. Such factors can be inferred from some analysis of project evaluations (where there is an analysis). Many analyses provide visible success criteria, such as a reduction in early school leaving in a given region (this is true for

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all of the complex ESL prevention programmes analysed). However, the provision of numbers suggests that the theory remains along with a simplistic pattern: disadvantaged pupils are empowered through school. For example, in the evaluation of the practice Every Roma Child in Kindegarten, there are only numbers. The Fact sheet Initiative "Every Roma child in Preschool"[1] probably answers to the expectation policymakers by presenting figures and numbers, but the voices and perspectives of the parents and community are missing. The impression from the text is that the parental clubs, the training activities are from-above initiatives that achieve their goals if the persons are reached. The expressions in the text also suggest this. "We have realized periodically meetings with Roma parents and non-Roma parents, shared with them information about the importance of early childhood development." (*Fact sheet*) The parents are simply receivers of information.

If the voices of the students and the community are not represented behind the results, and at least a certain reflection on the broader structures is not presented, the ideological framework remain stronger. In other cases, the evaluation highlights the problematic nature of the practice. For example, interviews with mentors in the Nightningale mentoring programme revealed that their attitudes may have been more often unreflectively patronising and that the practice was more about supporting the teacher trainees than the children. The evaluation of the LERI programme showed that, while the inventors were keen to build on local Roma communities, this could not be achieved in many places because the community lacked resources. This situation highlights the problem indicated above, that the perspective of community involvement does not take into account their situation and may place too heavy a burden on them.

3.6. Values, transformative problematic aspects of the programmes

In this chapter, we will present the most relevant findings drawn from the qualitative analysis in NVivo regarding three dimensions: values, transformation and problems. Not all coding produced really relevant results, which is why we chose these three. The results for the codes in the first part of the code book (See Table 5) can be summarised briefly.

Impact
Anecdotal evidence

[1] Fact sheet Initiative Every Roma Child in Preschool: http://observator.org.al/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/Fin_Factsheet_Every-Roma-Child-in-Precshool_Third-year.pdf

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	Existence of indicators
	Opinion of community members
	Qualitative data
	Quantitative data
	Sustainability
Objectives	
	Coherence with the objectives
Quality	
	Clear focus
	High standards
	Leadership
	Monitoring
Scientific knowledge	

TABLE 5: EXTRACT FROM THE CODEBOOK

The result of these codes highlights the positive elements of the majority of the projects. They have mainly clear objectives and their activities are coherent with these. They are qualitatively sound, they are also based on and refer to scientific knowledge, and almost all of them provide some kind of measurement of their effectiveness or impact. These characteristics are likely to be linked to the project nature of the practices. These dimensions are expected for the activities funded.

The indicators of values reveal some relevant information about the studied projects. Values mean focus points. It is part of the concept of transformative practices that we try to reflect on the value dimensions of our good practices. This is another element that engenders a critical approach that makes explicit the value-related and also the ideological aspects of the activities. Table 6 summarizes the value codes, and Table 7 and Diagram 1 show the presence of the codes in the cases.

Values	Value-led focus points that characterize the choices and approaches of the practice.

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Action research	Action research represents the value of the active involvement of the respective community.
Emancipatory approach	The practice has an empowering effect on the participants and on the members of the community. It contributes to their (social) emancipation not only to their personal growth.
Individual learning needs	The practice focuses on the invidual learning needs of the participants.
Involvement of the community	The practice involve the members of the wider community as the background of the pupils.
School as a learning community	The practice considers school as a learning community.
Whole School Approach	The practice adopts or reflects the concept of the Whole School Approach: the school is considered in its context and it continuously involves the different stakeholders in the shaping of their community and educational life (teachers, students, other workers, parents, local community, etc.)

TABLE 6: EXTRACT FROM THE CODEBOOK: VALUES

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	Action research	Emancipatory approach	Individual learning needs	Involvement of the community	School as a learning community	Whole School Approach	**Total**
'Nightingale' – a Mentoring and Integration project	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	1/6 (17%)
Bari Shej	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	4/6 (67%)
Breakfast ~ Morning clubs	No	No	No	No	No	No	0/6 (0%)
Childhood for Children	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	1/6 (17%)
Combating drop-out and early school leaving (ESL) in Serbia	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	2/6 (33%)
Complex Instruction SK	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	2/6 (33%)
Criteria for identifying pupils at risk of drop-out and ESL	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	2/6 (33%)
Desegregation pilot in Rokycany	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	1/6 (17%)
Dobbanto	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	1/6 (17%)
EVERY ROMA CHILD IN KINDERGARTEN	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	1/6 (17%)
Guide for Roma School Mediators	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	3/6 (50%)
Guide for working with Roma families	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	4/6 (67%)
INCLUD-ED Family Education	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	4/6 (67%)
INCLUD-ED Interactive Groups	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	1/6 (17%)
INCLUDE-ED Dialogic Literary Gatherings	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	1/6 (17%)
Inclusive Schools action plan – InScool	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	3/6 (50%)
KIP	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	2/6 (33%)

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Life is Diversity (Leben ist Vielfalt) Students' network	No	No	No	No	No	No	0/6 (0%)
LIT3 - Literacy cubed - Focus on Roma Families	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	3/6 (50%)
Local Engagement for Roma Inclusion (LERI) - Multi-Annual Roma Programme	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	1/6 (17%)
Making a change in inclusive education in Albania	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	2/6 (33%)
Master's Programme in 'Educational Treatment of Diversity' (ETD)	No	No	No	No	No	No	0/6 (0%)
Mothers café	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	1/6 (17%)
PRINED - Inclusive Education in Slovakia	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	4/6 (67%)
Quotas for students from ethnic communities & Scholarships for Roma students	No	No	No	No	No	No	0/6 (0%)
Rescur Surfing the Waves – Resilience Curriculum	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	1/6 (17%)
Skills for Jobs	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	2/6 (33%)
Structural Indicators for Schools for Developing Inclusive Systems in and around Schools	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	2/6 (33%)
Students and Families Support Office	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	1/6 (17%)
Support for success good practice	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	2/6 (33%)
Supporting Inclusive School Leadership (SISL)	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	1/6 (17%)
TEIP- Programme for Priority Intervention Educational Areas	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	1/6 (17%)
The School Completion Programme	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	2/6 (33%)
Together for every child	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	2/6 (33%)
Unit on 'Responding to student diversity in the primary classroom'	No	No	No	No	No	No	0/6 (0%)

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Volunteering@WU	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	1/6 (17%)
We take the school to your home - Santiago Apóstol school (Valencia)	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	1/6 (17%)
Wellbeing and Inclusion for New Educational Resources (WINER)	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	2/6 (33%)
Total	5/38 (13%)	3/38 (8%)	23/38 (61%)	7/38 (18%)	13/38 (34%)	11/38 (28%)	62/228 (27%)

TABLE 7: THE PRESENCE OF VALUES IN THE DIFFERENT INITIATIVES

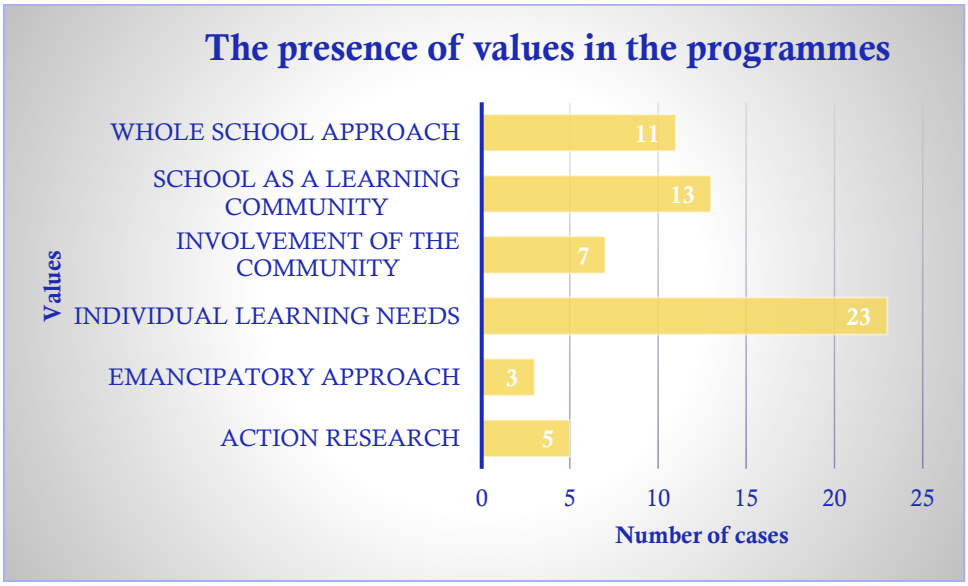

DIAGRAM 1: THE NUMBER OF CASES FOR EACH VALUE.

The trend in the table shows that most of the activities aim to support individual learning. There is much less emphasis on emancipation and community involvement, and on the school reaching beyond its own boundaries. The community dimension is more likely to occur within the school. On the one hand, this is natural for school practices, but on the other hand, it is less in the direction of social transformation. The focus on the individual rather than on structures permeates most descriptions. Pedagogy traditionally focuses on the person and individual development. Moreover, pedagogical action often seems powerless in the face of social disadvantage. This focus is therefore understandable. However, it is precisely in the case of disadvantaged young people that it is important to go beyond the individual level. This is not always reflected in the projects and programmes analysed. The table also shows that more complex programmes (highlighted in yellow) can contain more

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values. The presence of multiple values can enhance the multi-faceted nature of the exercise. Finally, a notable result is that the least present value is the emancipatory perspective. This can be associated with the dimension of transformativity.

The following Table 8 shows the different aspects of transformativeness, Table 9 and Diagram 2 their presence in the cases.

Transformative	The practice might be considered transformative following the above unfolded conceptual background.
Complexity	It addresses the problems and situation from different angles, involving different stakeholders, and considering the complexity of the issue.
Contextual reflections	The practice contains or indicates some form of reflection on the narrower context of the target group and the institutions.
Participants involvement	The practice actively involves members of the community in the implementation process. Active involvement means protagonism not secondary roles.
Participants perspective	The practice considers, value and use the participants' perspective (voice, opinions, viewpoints).
Reflection on broader structures	The practice integrates or reflects some consideration of the broader(social) structures. It follows a systemic approach.
Reflectivity	The practice contains (critical) reflections on the practice, on the problematic dimensions of the initiatives, on the different paths of implementation, etc.
Towards social change	The practice aims at changing, influencing or at least to a certain extent challenging broader social structures directly of indirectly. (E.g. it does not reinforce

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	existing power relations, but help participants reflect on them).

TABLE 8: EXTRACT FROM THE CODEBOOK: TRANSFORMATIVE

	Complexity	Contextual reflections	Participants involvement	Participants perspective	Reflection on broader structures	Reflectivity	Towards social change	**Total**
'Nightingale' – a Mentoring and Integration project	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	1/7 (14%)
Bari Shej	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	2/7 (28%)
Breakfast ~ Morning clubs	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	0/7 (0%)
Childhood for Children	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	1/7 (14%)
Combating drop-out and early school leaving (ESL) in Serbia	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	3/7 (43%)
Complex Instruction SK	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	1/7 (14%)
Criteria for identifying pupils at risk of drop-out and ESL	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	0/7 (0%)
Desegregation pilot in Rokycany	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	1/7 (14%)
Dobbanto	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	2/7 (28%)
EVERY ROMA CHILD IN KINDERGARTEN~ BUILDING ADVOCACY NETWORKS AND EVIDENCE BASED PRACTICES FOR ROMA CHILDREN'S ACCESS TO EARLY CHILDHOOD DEVELOPMENT	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	1/7 (14%)
Guide for Roma School Mediators	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	4/7 (56%)
Guide for working with Roma families	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	5/7 (71%)
INCLUD-ED Family Education	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	7/7 (100%)
INCLUD-ED Interactive Groups	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	1/7 (14%)

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INCLUDE-ED Dialogic Literary Gatherings	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	1/7 (14%)
Inclusive Schools action plan – InScool	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	3/7 (43%)
KIP	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	1/7 (14%)
Life is Diversity (Leben ist Vielfalt) Students' network	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	0/7 (0%)
LIT3 - Literacy cubed - Focus on Roma Families	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	0/7 (0%)
Local Engagement for Roma Inclusion (LERI) - Multi-Annual Roma Programme	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	0/7 (0%)
Making a change in inclusive education in Albania	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	1/7 (14%)
Master's Programme in 'Educational Treatment of Diversity' (ETD)	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	0/7 (0%)
Mothers café	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	0/7 (0%)
PRINED - Inclusive Education in Slovakia	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	2/7 (28%)
Quotas for students from ethnic communities & Scholarships for Roma students	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	0/7 (0%)
Rescur Surfing the Waves – Resilience Curriculum	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	1/7 (14%)
Skills for Jobs	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	1/7 (14%)
Structural Indicators for Schools for Developing Inclusive Systems in and around Schools	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	4/7 (56%)
Students and Families Support Office	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	2/7 (28%)
Support for success good practice	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	2/7 (28%)
Supporting Inclusive School Leadership (SISL)	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	1/7 (14%)
TEIP- Programme for Priority Intervention Educational Areas	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	1/7 (14%)
The School Completion Programme	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	1/7 (14%)
Together for every child	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	1/7 (14%)
Unit on 'Responding to student diversity in the primary classroom'	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	0/7 (0%)
Volunteering@WU	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	0/7 (0%)
We take the school to your home - Santiago Apóstol school (Valencia)	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	0/7 (0%)

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Wellbeing and Inclusion for New Educational Resources (WINER)	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	1/7 (14%)
Total	12/38 (32%)	11/38 (28%)	11/38 (28%)	3/38 (8%)	4/38 (11%)	9/38 (24%)	2/38 (5%)	52/266 (20%)

TABLE 9: THE PRESENCE OF THE DIFFERENT INDICATORS OF TRANFORMATIVITY IN THE CASES.

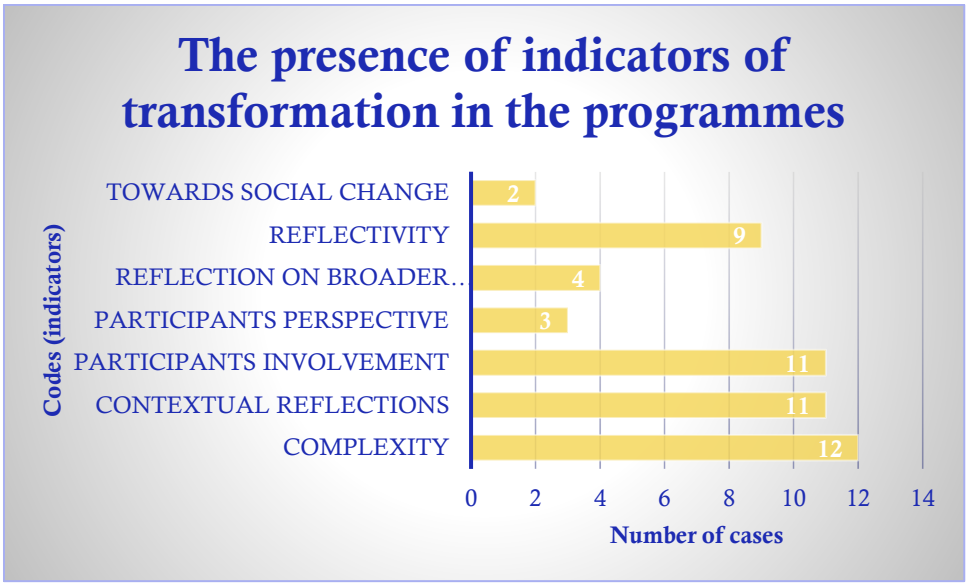

DIAGRAM 2: THE NUMBER OF CASES FOR EACH INDICATOR OF TRANSFORMATION

The different components of transformation have been coded separately, even though it is the combination of these that most fully demonstrates the transformative nature of the practice. However, this gives us an idea of which elements work better and which less well in the projects studied. In many projects, a complex approach to problems and situations is evident. Contextual reflection and reflectivity in general are also stronger, but it is much rarer that participants are actually actively involved, their perspectives are taken into account as a matter of principle and even rarer that the project has the potential to promote social change (only 2 projects). It would be unrealistic to expect this of all projects, but even so, the results illustrate that good practices are difficult to turn into truly transformative practices. Only one project might be considered a fully transformative practice: the INCLUD-ED Family Education programme, and only four initiatives (highlighted with yellow) which have at least 4 indicators of transformativity. It is important to note that these are (except of the Family Education project) all Toolkits, not activities. It will be a challenge how small-scale projects can be facilitated to become transformative.

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The codes of the problems were formed while reading the texts, although the criteria undoubtedly rely on assumptions that derive from the concept of transformative practices. Table 10 presents the codes, Table 11 and Diagram 3 the strength of the presence of problems in the cases.

Problems	Problematic points were identified during the analysis.
From outside approach	External, from above intervention without considering the perspective of the community.
Needs extra resources	It needs so many extra resources that without continuous support it is not sustainable.
No evaluation and monitoring	The description does not provide evaluation and monitoring processes.
Not convincing results	The results do not seem effective from the description/testimonies/data.
Not enough data	The description does not provide sufficient data for further analysis and evaluation.
Teacher-centered	The practice is centered on the development of teachers, it uses the participants, but it does not integrate their perspectives.

TABLE 10: EXTRACT FROM CODEBOOK: PROBLEMS

	From outside approach	Needs extra resources	No evalulation and monitoring	Not convincing results	Not enough data	Teacher-centered	**Total**
'Nightingale' – a Mentoring and Integration project	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	1/6 (17%)

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Bari Shej	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	2/6 (33%)
Breakfast ~ Morning clubs	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	1/6 (17%)
Childhood for Children	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	3/6 (50%)
Combating drop-out and early school leaving (ESL) in Serbia	No	No	No	No	No	No	0/6 (0%)
Complex Instruction SK	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	2/6 (33%)
Criteria for identifying pupils at risk of drop-out and ESL	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	1/6 (17%)
Desegregation pilot in Rokycany	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	3/6 (50%)
Dobbanto	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	2/6 (33%)
EVERY ROMA CHILD IN KINDERGARTEN~ BUILDING ADVOCACY NETWORKS AND EVIDENCE BASED PRACTICES FOR ROMA CHILDREN'S ACCESS TO EARLY CHILDHOOD DEVELOPMENT	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	1/6 (17%)
Guide for Roma School Mediators	No	No	No	No	No	No	0/6 (0%)
Guide for working with Roma families	No	No	No	No	No	No	0/6 (0%)
INCLUD-ED Family Education	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	1/6 (17%)
INCLUD-ED Interactive Groups	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	1/6 (17%)
INCLUDE-ED Dialogic Literary Gatherings	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	1/6 (17%)
Inclusive Schools action plan – InScool	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	1/6 (17%)
KIP	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	2/6 (33%)
Life is Diversity (Leben ist Vielfalt) Students' network	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	2/6 (33%)
LIT3 - Literacy cubed - Focus on Roma Families	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	2/6 (33%)
Local Engagement for Roma Inclusion (LERI) - Multi-Annual Roma Programme	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	2/6 (33%)
Making a change in inclusive education in Albania	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	2/6 (33%)
Master's Programme in 'Educational Treatment of Diversity' (ETD)	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	4/6 (67%)
Mothers' café	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	1/6 (17%)
PRINED - Inclusive Education in Slovakia	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	1/6 (17%)
Quotas for students from ethnic communities & Scholarships for Roma students	No	No	No	No	No	No	0/6 (0%)

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Rescur Surfing the Waves – Resilience Curriculum	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	2/6 (33%)
Skills for Jobs	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	1/6 (17%)
Structural Indicators for Schools for Developing Inclusive Systems in and around Schools	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	1/6 (17%)
Students and Families Support Office	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	3/6 (50%)
Support for success good practice	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	1/6 (17%)
Supporting Inclusive School Leadership (SISL)	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	1/6 (17%)
TEIP- Programme for Priority Intervention Educational Areas	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	3/6 (50%)
The School Completion Programme	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	2/6 (33%)
Together for every child	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	2/6 (33%)
Unit on 'Responding to student diversity in the primary classroom'	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	1/6 (17%)
Volunteering@WU	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	4/6 (67%)
We take the school to your home - Santiago Apóstol school (Valencia)	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	1/6 (17%)
Wellbeing and Inclusion for New Educational Resources (WINER)	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	2/6 (33%)
Total	13/38 (34%)	14/38 (37%)	4/38 (11%)	7/38 (18%)	11/38 (28%)	11/38 (28%)	60/228 (26%)

TABLE 11: THE PRESENCE OF PROBLEMATIC ASPECTS FOR EACH CASE.

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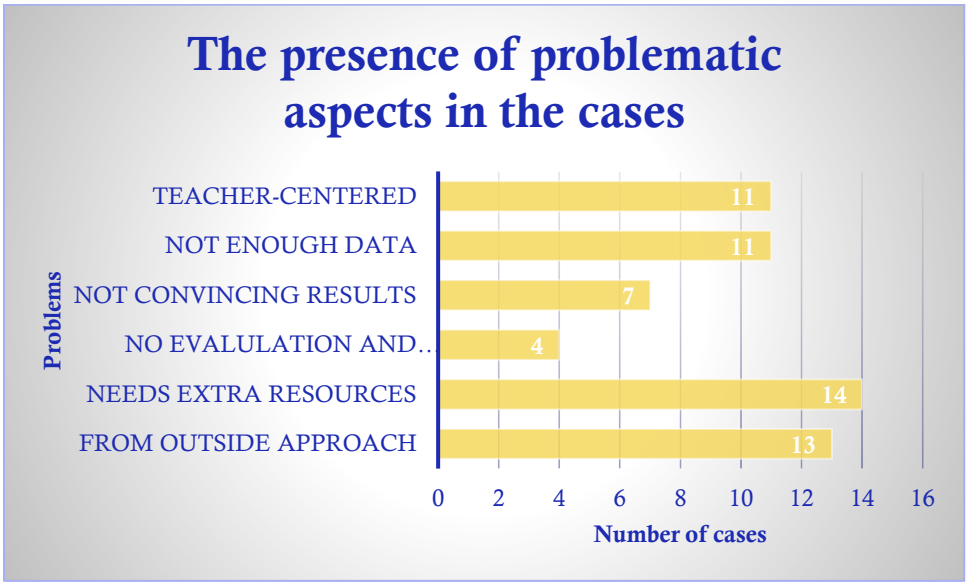

DIAGRAM 3: THE NUMBER OF CASES FOR EACH PROBLEM INDICATOR

The table and diagram show that most of the programmes are not fundamentally problematic. Only two have 4 areas of problem indicators. However, the types of problems are worth analysing.

Sometimes the descriptions do not provide enough data for evaluation (this is not an inherent problem of the practice most of the times, since it depends on a lot of factors: language, accessible sources, expectation...), or the results presented are not convincing, less often the evaluation and monitoring dimensions are not included, but the three most common problems are: the top-down (external) approach, the teacher-centredness and the fact that the project requires a lot of extra resources.

Funded projects are often externally initiated and meet external standards. As a consequence, they may be less representative of the perspective of local communities. The solutions offered are sometimes too general (e. g. a one-size-fits-all methodology like the Complex Instruction Programme), sometimes difficult to adapt to specific contexts because of their international nature, and in some cases the developers of the practice are simply not actively in touch with the realities of the people concerned.

Related to this is the fact that many training programmes and projects focus on teachers and their development. This should not be a problem in itself, as the educators' role in the pedagogical process is indeed crucial. However, many practices tend to focus more on the development of teachers than on the actual achievement of the groups concerned. For example, mentoring activities often serve more the learning and awareness-raising of the teacher candidates, with the perspective of the mentored being overshadowed. Of course, disadvantaged young people may benefit in

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the future from being educated by sensitive teachers, but exploiting students to learn through the mentored while their perspective becomes secondary reinforces power structures.

The last problem dimension suggests that many projects can only be implemented if the institutions have some extra resources. This is particularly true for truly complex, multifaceted projects, which also have a higher transformative potential. This is, of course, an obvious factor, which becomes a problem when resources are often available for only one phase, activity or project. The project-based approach makes the sustainability of activities uncertain. Instead of projects, it would be more efficient to have permanent funding for certain good practices from the state or the maintainer. However, this would require structural changes in education. This dimension also suggests that local initiatives, lacking resources, are often less likely to have an impact. Funded projects are much better at being complex and transformative.

We conclude our analysis of the problems with a concrete network of codes and cases. The figure below is a good example of how the different dimensions and problems can be interlinked (Figure 1). The Nvivo makes it possible to create a „map" that shows the exsisting links between the different nodes and cases already coded. The case of the action research perspective shows several interesting connections. In the following Figure 1, we have compared the cases that were coded as Action research value oriented initiatives and other nodes: characteristic (Toolkit), Problems (Needs extra resources and "From above" approach) and the "most transformative" dimension (Towards social change).

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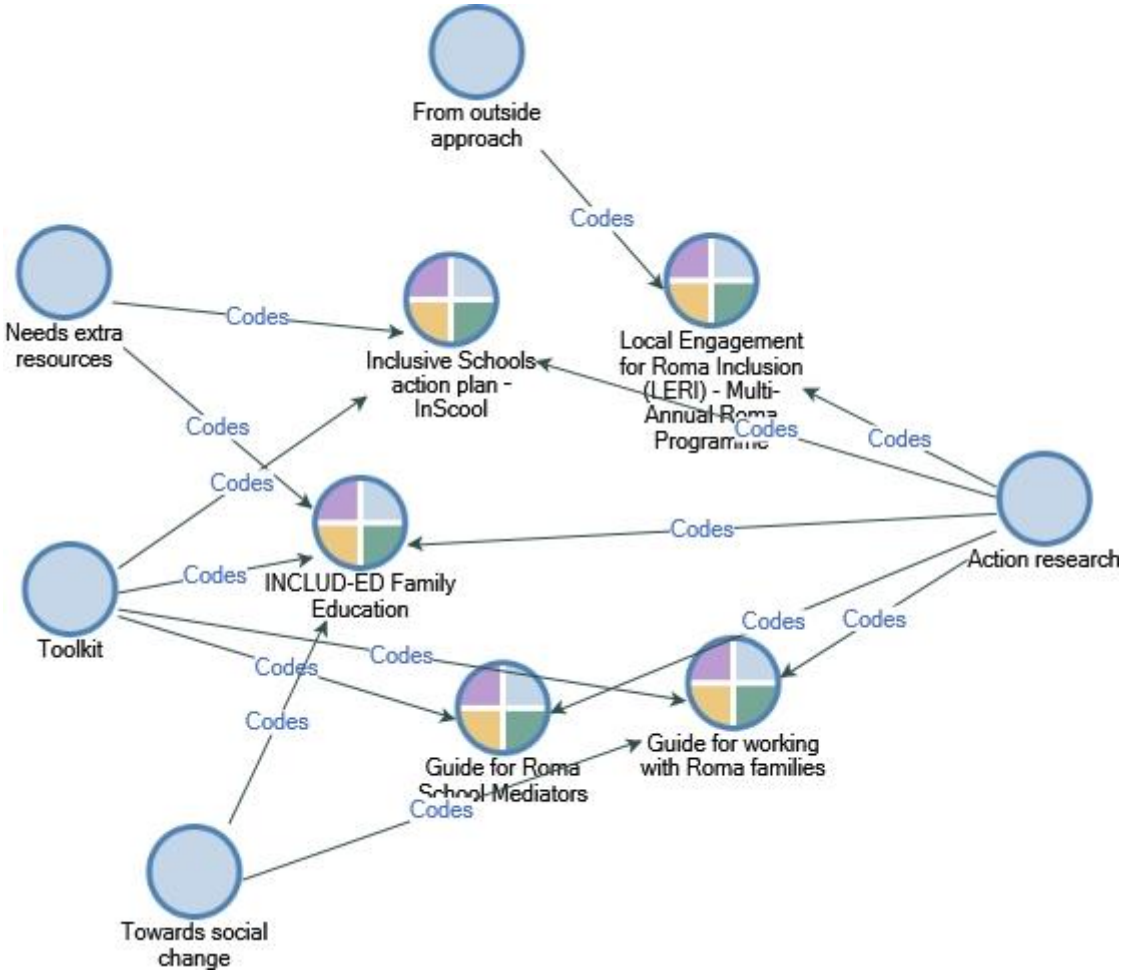

FIGURE 1: THE NODE OF ACTION RESEARCH IN RELATION TO CASES AND OTHER NODES

Action research is often used to mitigate power relations and to bring the perspective of disadvantaged people to prevail. This value focus is therefore well related to the concept of transformative practice. However, when analysing concrete activities, the problems behind the application of this intrinsically valuable dimension emerge. In the middle of the figure, we can see the practices analysed in which action research has appeared. Only 5 out of 36, and even four of these are actually toolkits, i.e. not implemented practices, but methodological guidelines for possible good practices. In two projects, action research seemed to be linked to the social change dimension, but this was not present in three others. And the project that was actually implemented was not strong in advocating the perspective of the participants but was an extrinsic initiative. Action research, while aiming to assert the community's own voice, would often require an expenditure of energy that would not allow for the truly active participation of disadvantaged people. Complex research would also often require extra resources. The figure illustrates the paradoxes around action research. It is

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worth paying attention to such contrasting factors when evaluating good practice. This is not to destructively argue the impossibility of intervention, but to ensure that taking account of systemic drivers helps to promote greater reflexivity in the development and implementation of transformative practices.

3.7. Conclusions

Institutions working with disadvantaged young people are surrounded by initiatives that seek to address educational inequalities in a programmatic way. These programmes and projects can also be seen as good practices. In contrast to institutional practices, they generally have the potential to intervene in a more complex way and with more resources. Accordingly, most of these are quality practices, the effectiveness of which can be demonstrated. They can also be an opportunity for schools. Some of them are not implemented practices but toolkits developed by experts, which can also be useful for local initiatives. The analysis has shown the main areas of intervention (as thematic focuses) and the ideological-discursive patterns behind the practices. These patterns might contribute to the conservation of the status-quo despite of the efforts of good or transformative practices. While this is not totally avoidable, reflection can mitigate the implicit effects of the ideological perspectives.

The analysis of transformativity has shown that several of the practices focus on individual support and that the transformative dimensions are less visible in the activities. A further problem is that often, the practices reinforce power relations by not taking into account the perspective of the community affected, appearing to be an initiative from outside or from above. The project-based approach can also be criticised because large resources can only be allocated to specific activities by the institutions, without a continuous funding and structural framework to ensure resources and sustainability. Conflicting tendencies may even emerge in the implementation of practices, where, for example, it is the participatory methodology that will reinforce power relations. Nevertheless, when schools reflect on and develop their own good/transformative practices, they can draw on and learn from existing programmes. Critical reflection represents an important dimension in the development and sharing of transformative practices.

The main lessons that can be drawn for our project are that it is important to promote multidimensionality (as far as possible) even in small-scale, local projects, and it is also important to promote reflection so that hidden perspectives do not create tendencies that are counter-transformative.

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3.8. References

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Smith, C., & Sutton, F. (1999). Best practice: What it is and what it is not. International Journal of Nursing Practice, 5(2), 100–105. doi:10.1046/j.1440-172x.1999.00154.x https://doi.org/10.1046/j.1440-172x.1999.00154.x

List of good practices analysed

Name of the program	Link to original website or description
'Nightingale' – a Mentoring and Integration project	https://www.schooleducationgateway.eu/files/esl/uploads/b0235c5.pdf
Bari Shej	https://www.efop-palyazat.hu/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/EFOP_144_17_Bari_Shej_Nagylany_Fata_Mare.pdf
Breakfast / Morning clubs	No link available.
Childhood for Children	http://detstvodetom.com/
Combating drop-out and early school leaving (ESL) in Serbia	https://view.officeapps.live.com/op/view.aspx?src=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.schooleducationgateway.eu%2Ffiles%2Fesl%2Fuploads%2Fac2a924.doc&wdOrigin=BROWSELINK

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Complex Instruction Program (HU)	https://komplexinstrukcio.hu/index.php/english
Complex Instruction Programme (SK)	https://complexinstruction.stanford.edu/about
Criteria for identifying pupils at risk of drop-out and ESL	https://www.schooleducationgateway.eu/files/esl/uploads/a923274.JPG
Desegregation pilot Rokycany	https://zsrokycany.sk/
Dobbanto Program (Springboard Program)	https://fszk.hu/english/dobbanto/
Every Roma Child in Kindergarten: Building advocacy networks and evidence-based practices for Roma children's access to early childhood development	https://observator.org.al/our-initiatives/projects/every-roma-child-in-kindergarten/
Guide for Roma School Mediators	https://www.schooleducationgateway.eu/files/esl/downloads/07_Guide_for_Roma_School_Mediators.pdf
Guide for working with Roma families	https://www.schooleducationgateway.eu/files/esl/downloads/08_Guide_for_working_with_Roma_families.pdf
INCLUD-ED Family Education	https://www.schooleducationgateway.eu/files/esl/downloads/52_INCLUD-ED_Family_Education.pdf
INCLUD-ED Interactive Groups	https://www.schooleducationgateway.eu/files/esl/downloads/52_INCLUD-ED_Family_Education.pdf
INCLUDE-ED Dialogic Literary Gatherings	https://www.schooleducationgateway.eu/files/esl/downloads/52_INCLUD-ED_Family_Education.pdf
Inclusive Schools action plan – InScool	https://www.schooleducationgateway.eu/files/esl/uploads/b11a7e54.pdf
Life is Diversity (Leben ist Vielfalt) Students' network	https://www.schooleducationgateway.eu/files/esl/uploads/b11b8ad.pdf
LIT3 - Literacy cubed - Focus on Roma Families	https://www.schooleducationgateway.eu/en/pub/resources/toolkitsforschools/detail.cfm?n=364

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Local Engagement for Roma Inclusion (LERI) - Multi-Annual Roma Programme	https://fra.europa.eu/en/project/2015/local-engagement-roma-inclusion-multi-annual-roma-programme#Jyvaskyl
Making a change in inclusive education in Albania	https://www.unicef.org/albania/media/421/file/Making%20a%20change%20in%20inclusive%20education%20in%20Albania.pdf
Master's Programme in 'Educational Treatment of Diversity' (ETD)	https://www.schooleducationgateway.eu/files/esl/uploads/b325515.pdf
Mothers' café	https://www.hilden.de/sv_hilden/Sch%C3%B6ner%20wohnen/Soziale%20Hilfen/
PRINED - Inclusive Education in Slovakia	No link available.
Quotas for students from ethnic communities & Scholarships for Roma students	No link available.
Rescur Surfing the Waves – Resilience Curriculum	https://www.schooleducationgateway.eu/files/esl/uploads/ac170fc4.pdf
Skills for Jobs (S4J)	https://skillsforjobs.al/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/A PPRENTICESHIP-CASE.pdf
Structural Indicators for Schools for Developing Inclusive Systems in and around Schools	https://www.schooleducationgateway.eu/files/esl/uploads/b524049.pdf
Students and Families Support Office	https://www.schooleducationgateway.eu/files/esl/downloads/56_Student_Family_Support_Team.pdf
Support for success	https://podkrepazauspeh.mon.bg/
Supporting Inclusive School Leadership (SISL)	https://view.officeapps.live.com/op/view.aspx?src=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.schooleducationgateway.eu%2Ffiles%2Fesl%2Fuploads%2Fbd19c88c.docx&wdOrigin=BROWSELINK
TEIP- Programme for Priority Intervention Educational Areas	https://www.schooleducationgateway.eu/en/pub/resources/toolkitsforschools/detail.cfm?n=434
Together for every child	https://www.mon.bg/bg/100935

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The School Completion Programme	https://www.schooleducationgateway.eu/files/esl/downloads/59_SCP.pdf
Unit on 'Responding to student diversity in the primary classroom'	https://www.schooleducationgateway.eu/files/esl/uploads/b62cbc5.pdf
Volunteering@WU	https://www.wu.ac.at/en/students/my-program/bachelors-student-guide/volunteering-support-and-honors-programs/volunteering
We take the school to your home - Santiago Apóstol school (Valencia)	https://www.schooleducationgateway.eu/files/esl/uploads/b625896.pdf
Wellbeing and Inclusion for New Educational Resources (WINER)	https://www.schooleducationgateway.eu/files/esl/uploads/b62dd24.pdf

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4. Glossary

4.1. Education & inequalities

Disadvantage

refers to an unfavourable social predicament, that which hinders a person, a community, or a social group in manifold aspects of its life. Being disadvantaged literally means being deprived of certain advantages which would otherwise contribute to the improvement of one's life. For decades the European Union has mainly used economic (income and expenditure) indicators to assess and combat disadvantage. Yet, since disadvantage is a plural, complex, and contextual problem, important efforts have been made during the last two decades to illuminate the multidimensional character of disadvantage.

This conceptual enrichment of the notion of disadvantage, and the European Union's shift from a narrow income perspective to attempts at integrating economic indicators into a broader picture of deprivation (like non-monetary issues such as education, employment, housing and health) has been inspired by **Amartya Sen's** capability approach. Seen through the perspective of capabilities, disadvantage is not only a matter of access to and possession of resources (goods and services), but also a matter of what a person is able to do and to be. Capability is not merely ability, it doesn't simply refer to what people are able to do but to their freedom and liberty to do and be in ways they value, and have reason to value. This approach shifts our attention from resources to focusing on the extent a person has the opportunity to have control over those resources, and to use them in ways beneficial for the person's well-being.

The extent to which someone has the opportunity and freedom to be and to do in ways that enable advantages depends on so-called conversion factors which represent the person's capability to transform resources (not only goods and services, but different forms of capital – economic, cultural, social – see **Pierre Bourdieu**) into functionings, namely into certain achievements a person manages to do or be – like being adequately nourished, being in good health, being able to take part in the life of the community, having self-respect and so on. (The question of what the essential capabilities are is still a matter of debate, the most relevant list of fundamental human capabilities has been developed by **Martha Nussbaum**, a famous proponent of the capability approach, whose work became highly influential in terms of how EU institutions and bodies approach disadvantage and poverty) Let's take an example from the field of education that might illuminate the relevance of capability approach:

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An able-bodied child with good socio-economic circumstances has a high conversion factor enabling her to convert a tablet for instance into the ability to take part in the virtual life of the school community and to engage herself in autonomous, self-regulated learning. Whereas a child with visual impairment or without proper access to the internet (or to electricity) has a very low conversion factor in the same regard.

In sum, taking into account a person's capability to achieve certain beneficial functionings became an important conceptual supplement to the predominant economic approach to disadvantage. Hence, ***disadvantage is both a matter of being deprived of beneficial resources and also a matter of not being able to utilize certain resources and therefore not being capable of achieving beneficial functionings.***

⇄ in tension with →inequality

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Inequality

is a central concept in social justice theories. It refers to states of not being equal in terms of class, gender, ethnicity, ability and various other aspects of human life, such as education, health, political participation and so on. There are two dominant perspectives for assessing inequality: 1) the view of outcomes problematizes the unjust unevenness of personal achievements in terms of material wealth, living conditions, level of education, health, and so on; 2) the view of opportunities problematizes the extent to which personal circumstances determine personal outcomes.

While the approach to outcomes is concerned with making personal achievements more equal, and thus puts the focus on the "finish line", the approach to opportunity is concerned with compensating →disadvantages by ensuring a common "starting place". While the dominant approach in EU policy-making strategies has been the model of equal opportunities, the works of **Anthony B. Atkinson** have been influential in emphasizing the importance of the outcomes model. The importance of Atkinson's message lies in the fact, that even if equal opportunities were to exist, achievable outcomes might still be unequally distributed, which have direct consequences for equal opportunities, especially when it comes to the next generation.

An outcomes-based approach seems quite legitimate when it comes to the literacy of young children, since it is widely accepted that each and every child should become literate. An equal opportunity to read might not be sufficient to achieve such a result. Similarly, when it comes to educational attainment, →equal educational opportunity might not be sufficient for a student with very low socio-economic status either to finish the school and graduate (especially in a →selective school system), or to achieve a better socio-economic position than her parents. If a student needs to start working before finishing school (due to the social status of her family), then even →equal educational opportunity might fail to guarantee the desired level of →equity.

The recent works of **Richard Wilkinson** and **Kate Pickett** demonstrate how unequal outcomes effect and determine opportunities. By comparing the evidence from countries which all differ markedly in their levels of inequality, they demonstrate that increased levels of unequal outcomes correlate closely with the intensification of a number of other social ills which can directly lead to unequal opportunities: low levels of social trust, mental illness, lower life expectancy and higher infant mortality, obesity, poor educational performance, teenage births, homicides, imprisonment rates, reduced social mobility. Wilkinson and Pickett demonstrate that: 1) unequal opportunities are deeply intertwined with unequal outcomes (income

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inequality and the resulting social ills); 2) inequality exerts detrimental effects across the whole society; 3) even the richest countries, where average material conditions are better, can have relatively more health and social problems because of the extreme income differences between people (which means that inequality can be high in societies with low levels of poverty).

This is where the concept of inequality seems to be more helpful than the concept of →disadvantage: the language of inequality offers a structural and relational approach, as it takes into account the whole stratification of the society. Understanding inequality as a relation implies that →disadvantage cannot be divorced from advantage, privilege, and power, which also means that the effective reduction of disadvantage can only be achieved at the expense of the more advantaged strata of the society. In sum, ***inequality refers to states of not being equal in terms of outcomes and opportunities, which two aspects are intertwined and exert their effects from the bottom to the top end of the advantage–disadvantage continuum.***

⇄ in tension with →disadvantage

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Educational inequality

refers to those unequal, unjust relations and mechanisms due to which some children benefit less from the education system than their peers. Educational inequality is a complex and multifaceted social problem, as **Donald B. Holsinger** and **W. James Jacob** demonstrate it thoroughly by differentiating four aspects of inequalities in education: 1) inequalities related to the unequal distribution of resources and services needed to enrol in a school (income, transportation, health, and so on), and the unequal access to education as such (due to exclusion, segregation, discrimination and so on); 2) inequalities related to the unequal share of educational goods (teaching quality, curriculum, individual development and so on); 3) inequalities related to unequal educational achievements and outcomes (qualifications, credits, competencies, and so on); 4) inequalities related to the unequal realization and exploitation of educational results (further/higher education, employment, social mobility, political participation, and so on). Such different aspects of educational inequality are all intertwined with social and economic →inequalities. In her works, **Nichole Torpey-Saboe** demonstrates how the unequal distribution of educational goods are aligned with particular statuses and circumstances of students: class, ethnicity, gender, residence (especially the rural/urban divide), geopolitical conditions (particularly in terms of areas affected by conflict) – all play an important role here. Educational inequality, however, is not merely a product of one or another of these factors, but emerges at the intersection of such factors.

For instance, in urban areas the →educational exclusion of Roma students might differ from those rural areas where the the proportion of Roma students are higher, and where hence →educational segregation based on ethnicity might be more significant. Yet, educational →selection based on class might be more significant in urban areas, where private and elite schools can sort and pick children of the upper classes. Moreover, these two mechanisms might intersect in such cases in rural areas, when better off non-Roma families take out their children from the local rural school and enrol them into a more prestigious school of a larger city nearby (→white flight), which slowly makes the local school an ethnically segregated institution with low heterogeneity in terms of social status.

Reversing educational inequalities is important not only for its detrimental, future impact on society, but also for its direct and immediate effects on children. The experience of exclusion, discrimination, and even selection can expose children to stress, depression, lower self-esteem, which might ruin their social relations and personal development. However, tackling educational inequalities is not possible without addressing wider inequalities in society. Approaching educational

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problems without taking into account the broader social context and structure would be theoretical isolationism, as *_Stephen Ball_* calls it. Yet, fighting against educational inequalities entails a fight against other social issues as well as long as one holds that education can make a difference not only at the level the individual, but at the level of the society as well.

⇄ in tension with →educational disadvantage

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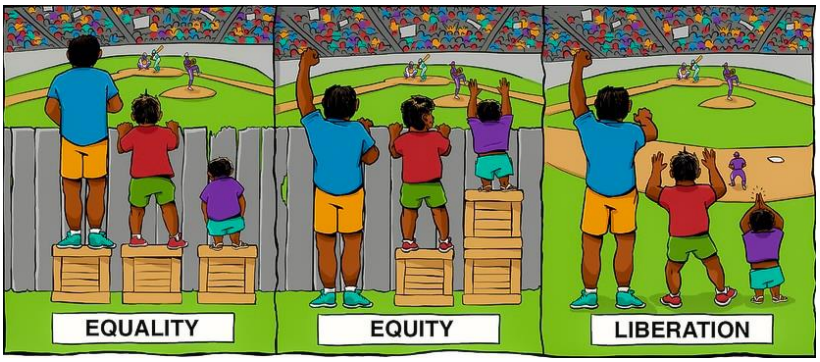
Equal educational opportunity & equity

are interrelated terms in educational studies, because equal educational opportunity can only be achieved through equity. Equal opportunity in education doesn't mean equal treatment, on the contrary: it requires differentiated educational treatment of the students, namely equitable education, which takes into account their different social, economic, cultural backgrounds, and the related social →inequalities children are exposed to. ***Educational equity means recognizing students' different circumstances and allocating educational resources needed according to them, so that each and every pupil acquires an equal education opportunity to learn and develop, and to become socially mobile upwards.*** Equity is the means by which education can reduce the impact that background factors on students' educational outcomes. There are two important and interconnected aspects of equity, as discussed by **Leonidas Kyriakides et al***: one is related to approaching equity as a question of fairness, that is concerned with minimizing the impact of social circumstances on educational outcomes; the other one is related to understanding equity as a question of →inclusion, which means ensuring that regardless of individual and social circumstances each and every child is provided access to education of quality.



In the illustration there are different scenarios of treating individuals, who have unequal access and opportunity to the system (watching a baseball game in this case). Equality here refers to equal treatment: the equal distribution of existing resources, assuming that everyone will benefit from the same supports. Due to social →inequality, however, not everybody's starting out from the same place. Equity suggests that in order to ensure equal opportunity for all to enjoy the game, the same resources need to be allocated on an equitable basis (thus unequally), differentiating between individuals according to the principles of fairness and justice. There is, however, a third scenario, which problematizes systemic barriers (represented by the fence in the picture), which are often designed in an inequitable way to reward specific social groups through discriminatory practices. In this third scenario (liberation) resources were utilized for the sake of removing systemic barriers so that all three can watch the game without the need for an equitable treatment.

And this scenario, the aspect of liberation in education (→transformative education), points to the problematic aspects of equal educational opportunity and equity. While these concepts promote the equalization of chances (starting lines) and the reduction of the impact of background, still they might tolerate and allow for inequalities in terms of educational attainment, achievement and outcomes. Moreover, as **Nicholas*

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*R. Johns** and **Alison J. Green** demonstrate, the model of equity can function as a justification of social and economic →inequalities, through promoting the equality of starting lines and the fairness of competition, while ignoring the fairness of procedures and the equality of outcomes.

> If equitable educational treatment and equal educational opportunities were to exist, the fragmentation of the stages of compulsory education, the vertical and horizontal stratification of public schooling would still enable unequal access, qualifications, and outcomes. This doesn't mean, however, that the model of educational equity has to be dismissed, but that first the structural barrier (the selective, fragmented character of compulsory education) has to be removed in favour of a unified, →comprehensive school system which could allow for more equal outcomes. In it, however, the model and program of educational equity would still be of outmost importance, for it guarantees the differential and just treatment of students who stand on unequal grounds.

⇄ in tension with →transformative education →transformative praxis

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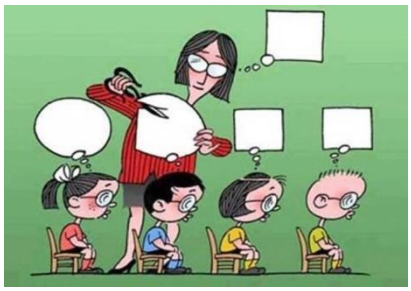
Roots of unequal educational opportunity

→ educational disadvantage & deficit-model | segregation | exclusion | oppression

There are competing explanations about the causes of unequal educational opportunity.

1 The most traditional ways of interpreting the causes of unequal opportunities is putting the focus on ***educational disadvantages***, which assumes, that there is a casual connection between →disadvantage and educational success. It is called the deficit model of educational inequalities.

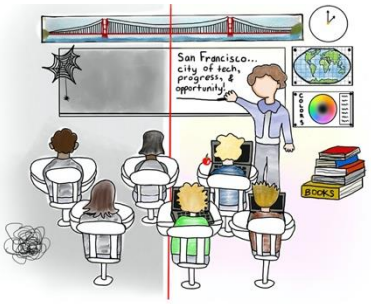


The ***deficit model*** assumes, that disadvantaged children "bring" their social disadvantages into school, as if the students would lack fundamental norms, knowledge, skills from an educational point of view.

Lori Patton Davis and **Samuel D. Museus** demonstrate in detail how this model is grounded 1) in a blame the victim approach; 2) in classist/racist discourses that frame disadvantaged children as deficient; and 3) in an elitist, monocultural approach to education.

2 The next approach focuses on ***segregation*** putting it as the central cause of unequal opportunities. It assumes that through selective mechanisms advantaged groups manage to declare privileges in education, and as →selection goes hand in hand with discrimination, it leads to the segregation of disadvantaged children, exposing them to worse educational conditions.

Segregation (=selection+discrimination) can occur within schools, when teachers isolate a specific group of children in a separate classroom; or between schools, as the more well-off families achieve to take their children to more privileged institutions without a concern for the disadvantaged, who are presumed to be laging behind and pulling the more advantaged back.



As the **Council of Europe** demonstrates, segregation affects in particular Roma children, children with disabilities, children with a migrant background, children living in institutions and children in the juvenile justice system.

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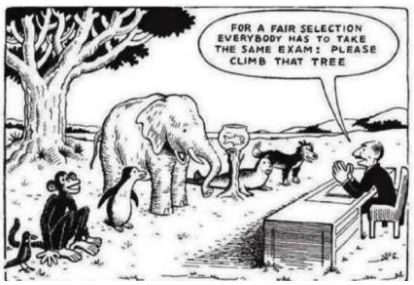
3 The third approach doesn't deny the negative social impacts of segregation, but emphasizes the role of ***exclusion*** and ***latent discrimination***, understood here as the exclusion of a specific group from educational opportunities through discriminatory pedagogical practices. Here, the cause of unequal opportunity lies in the elitist, monocultural character of education which privileges the behaviours, knowledge, cultural customs of advantaged groups (~white, upper-class, heterosexual, able bodied), thus excludes others (see **István Nahalka**).



The cause of unequal opportunity is that due to the effects of exclusion and latent discrimination the social disadvantages of children transform into educational disadvantages. A socially disadvantaged child is likely to achieve worse educational results because education does not value her specific knowledge, skills, cultural customs, and language.

4 The last approach doesn't deny the relevance of segregation or exclusion, but argues that social structures play an important role here, yet in different ways than the deficit model suggests. This approach holds, that unequal educational opportunity is a consequence of systemic ***oppression*** rooted in social inequalities (see **Paulo Freire**), which the school is historically designed to reproduce. The educational challenge here is not only to provide equal opportunities for children to participate in a basically unjust system based on unfair competition, but to contest, by the means of education, the social structures of oppression which produce inequality in education.

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Ways to equal educational opportunity

→ compensation| desegregation | inclusion | liberation

According to the different explanations about the →roots of unequal educational opportunity, there are competing educational responses which all strive to do something about unequal opportunities.

1 The deficit model, which departs from the concept of →educational disadvantage asserts, that education has to ***compensate*** and complement disadvantaged students' (assumed!) deficiency in knowledge, skills, and attitudes, so that they can "catch up" with their more privileged peers.

This compensatory model of is often aligned with the concept of talent education, which holds, that talented children should not "wait" for their peers with deficits to catch up, rather they should be given the chance to develop according to their "accelerated pace" separated from those students who would only "pull them back".

As **Sally Power** demonstrates, compensatory education is doomed to fail, as it doesn't compensate what is should (lack of equality), while compensates what it shouldn't (knowledge, skills, attitudes, language.

2 The approach that explains the roots of unequal educational opportunity on the basis of →segregation argues, that the educational solution is the elimination of segregation – ***desegregation***. This approach holds that fostering educational →integration requires the structural transformation of the →selective education system.

The program of desegregation holds that there is a need to develop an integrated and →integrative school system in which co-education prevails, not only in schools, but also in the classrooms. Eliminating segregation depends on re-engineering the entire school system.

Desegregation is a complex strategy, as discussed by the * *Roma Education Fund**: it has serious considerations regarding teacher education, parental involvement, institutional assessment.

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3 The model of →exclusion holds, that desegregation is insufficient as long as it is not followed by the transformation of pedagogical culture. Since the →root of unequal opportunity – according to this model – lies in that social disadvantages are transformed into →educational disadvantages by means of pedagogical practice, the task is to foster the culture of ***inclusion***, and inclusive education.

Inclusive education here not only refers to the →integration of students into heterogeneous classrooms, but also to the pedagogical culture and practice of →inclusion, which strives to annul the ways →disadvantages determine educational opportunities by appreciating the diversity of students not only in terms of culture, but also regarding knowledge, skills, attitudes, abilities.

4 As ***Ilektra Spandagou et al.*** emphasize, the concept of inclusion is an educational endeavour in a double sense: as a pedagogical culture and approach, and as a structural program which strives to transform the whole system of schooling.
The model of oppression argues, that both desegregation and inclusion are nice efforts to achieve →equal educational opportunity, yet these interventions can not challenge the underlying structures of educational injustices, they can not tackle the drastic inequality of outcomes. The only thing these efforts can guarantee is equal opportunity in a structurally unequal system. What is needed, as ***Peter McLaren*** argues, is a pedagogy which ***liberates*** the students from the shackles of the prevailing order and thus lays the groundwork for enhancing systematic transformation.

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4.2 Education & change

Innovative education

is one of the central concepts of European educational policy-making. The notion of innovation has been transferred to and co-opted by education from various different fields including science, research, industry and art. Innovation, according to **David O'Sullivan** and **Lawrence Dooley**, refers to the process of making such changes that result in the introducing something new and valuable. The increased demand for innovation in education is closely linked with the assumption that the improvement of educational outcomes and equity depends on the extent to which teachers can change and renew teaching practice, as often emphasized by the **OECD**. ***Innovation in education thus means looking beyond actual educational practices and processes, and responding to real educational problems in a new and different way to promote equity and improve learning.*** As **Peter Serdyukov** argues, there are three major steps in educational innovation: 1) invention, that is bringing forth a novel idea; 2) implementation, that is the particular way this idea is put into practice; 3) change, that results from the introduction of the novel idea. All three steps might require innovativeness, but it is not a precondition. For instance, innovation does not necessarily need to start with inventing a novel idea, it is more important rather that an idea appears as something new to those who adopt it. It is the case of imitation, an equally legitimate point of departure for educational innovation, which is the basis of sharing →best/next practices.

"Ms. Peters, hold all calls. I'm busy implementing yet another hastily conceived and unproven educational innovation."

Innovation in education can take several different shapes and forms: from teaching techniques to institutional structure, from pedagogical theory to methodological approaches. What really matters in educational innovation is *innovativeness*, the capacity to bring forth something new and implement it in a way that takes into account the context in which it is implemented, but fosters changes in this context as well by enhancing its potential for innovation.

There is an important distinction between innovation as a process and innovation as an outcome. As **Helena Kovac** demonstrates, when innovation is approached as a desirable outcome, it doesn't necessary require innovative processes, that is innovativeness. For instance, replacing textbooks with tablets might be considered a novel way of teaching and an innovative outcome in many contexts, however, it doesn't necessarily bring forth anything new in terms

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of teaching practices, curriculum and so on. The novel idea of using such devices in the classrooms doesn't come with innovativeness, one can still stick to frontal teaching methods and the activities of the traditional curriculum.

⇄ in tension with →transformative education →transformative praxis

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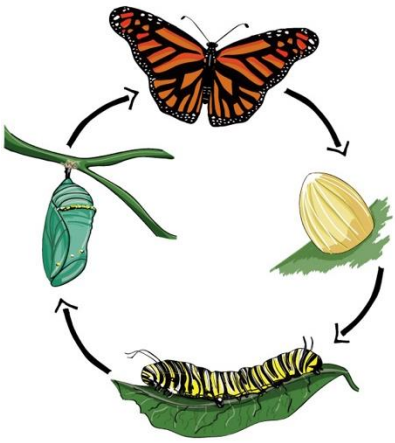
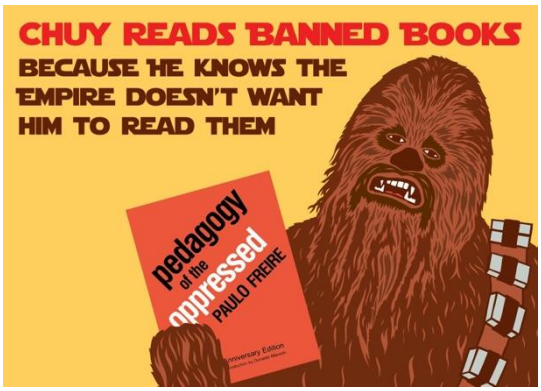
Transformative education

is a particular approach to making changes, social and individual, by pedagogical means. While →innovative education focuses mainly on the effective and developmental change of practices and processes by introducing something new, change here still responds to „what works" and what is desirable in education, which is already biased and determined to a large extent by the status quo. Transformative education attempts to respond to this challenge by problematizing the system itself in which change and newness as such is imagined.

Transformative education begins with the metamorphosis of the students, their empowerment and emancipation, which follows the symbolic path of death and rebirth, of unlearning norms and becoming conscious of surrounding social circumstances through the lens of ethical considerations. It is not improvement and newness that one finds in the center of transformative educational approaches – as in the case of innovative education –, rather *metamorphosis* and alteration: a change so significant to what is transformed that the preceding form, shape, identity no longer fits, it is no longer identifiable.



Approaching change in transformative educational approaches is inspired and informed by social justice theories and critical education studies. Inspired by these, ***transformative education holds that the purpose of education is not to invent new processes and practices so that students can more successfully adapt to the existing world, rather to engage with practices (old or new) which empower students so that they can become active agents of a radical social transformation – of transcending the existing status quo*** (to *trans–form* means to exceed the structure). As **Peter Mayo** argues, transformative education confronts us with the irreducibly political character of all educational interventions, which either strive to fix and maintain, or attempt to contest and transcend the prevailing order. Transformative education is committed to the latter, but it has many different theoretical accounts, which interpret the concept of transformation in distinct ways, from distinct political standpoints. **Jack Mezirow**, an internationally recognized proponent of transformative education comes from a rather liberal tradition, and holds, that transformative learning is a means to change our knowledge and attitudes, and



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deepen our understanding of and empathy toward others. Through critical reasoning, dialogue, consensus building, students get the chance to examine their styles of thinking, and habits, which fosters mutual empathy, the recognition of the other, and acceptance of different standpoints. On the other hand, one can identify a more revolutionary political stream of transformative education, which is mainly associated with **Paulo Freire** and critical pedagogy. In this approach, the central educational goal is liberation, namely, that the oppressed must liberate themselves and their oppressors as well, in order to lay the groundwork of a more humane, just and equal social order. Freire's transformative education aims to raise the critical consciousness of the oppressed through pedagogical dialogue and the collective investigation of reality. The educational purpose here is that the oppressed realize those structures of systemic domination that determine and limit their lives, which realization becomes the foundation of transcending these structures.

in tension with →innovative education

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Educational practices of change

→ best practice| next practice | transformative praxis

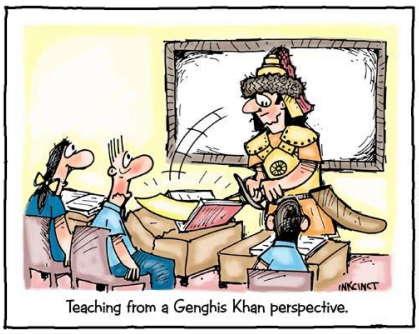
When talking about effective and desirable pedagogical methods, techniques, forms of instruction, researchers differentiate between at least three distinct notions in educational parlance.

1 One of the most widely used terms in educational research is ***best practice***. This buzzword refers to already existing educational practices, which are scientifically proved to be effective in terms of teaching and learning on a wide scale. **Andy Hargreaves** and **Michael Fullan** argue, that an educational practice to become best practice needs a basis of compelling and valid evidence – yet, it belongs to the professional expertise of teachers to know how to judge the evidence. Tried and tested best practice might quickly become past practice.

Most of the best practices of the past 15 years are related to classroom practices. However, as Hargreaves and Fullan point it out, the classroom and the educational form of lesson will likely to become less and less central to teaching. They are trying to draw out attention to the tendency in teaching practice of shifting the focus from lessons to learning, from classroom to learning spaces, which urges teachers to the complete reassessment of tried-and-tested best practice.

2 Best practice in education is always contested at least from two perspectives: on the one hand, there is the issue of reliability of the evidence base; on the other hand, there is the irreducible challenge of adapting best practices to particulair contexts, which requires modifications in the original practice. To what extent can a best educational practice be modified to fit specific circumstances, while retaining their original qualities? Considering these questions, **Valerie Hannon** proposed to supplement the idea of educational best practice with that of ***next practice***. While building a professional knowledge base of educational best practice (tested, shared and adapted) is necessary, it still needs to be supplemented with a culture of improvisation and experimentation in teaching.

Next practices are not in tension with those best practices that already have a good degree of tested and proved effectiveness. The idea of next practice adds some space of freedom and creativity to the world of "hard evidence" in teaching, it allows for experimentation with practices which begin with the teachers themselves. Next practice is the hatchery of best practice.


Teaching from a Genghis Khan perspective.

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Best practice without next practice is merely the repetition of what is already known, while next practice without best practice is left empty handed to measure, evalute and sort out its ideas.

3 While the language of best and next practice in education might sound appealing and progressive, still both of these are deeply embedded in a particular approach to education (namely →innovative education), which tends to overlook its own value judgements along which it decides what counts as „best" or what makes something „next". Insisting on „what works" is already in relation to specific value-laden purposes (effectiveness, quality, etc.), which might be questionable from an educational point of view. According to **Gert Biesta**, if one understands education as ***transformative praxis*** (see →transformative education), then the answer to the question of what practice is desirable cannot be derived from what is already measured and what actually works.

> Transformative educational praxis refers to combining action with *reflection*, to be able to make critical judgements about what counts as "good", and desirable in education, when engaging with teaching practices. The transformative character of such a praxis derives from its explicit purpose to change the very coordinates of those social structures, in which "good" education and "best" practice is defined.

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Education in times of crisis

→ resilience | resistance | resilient resistance

Facing multiple social crises, educational institutions are forced to formulate their responses to such crises. There are 3 distinct strategies in education for counter-acting social challenges.

1 The most frequently discussed counter-strategy is called ***resilience***, which refers to the capacity of education systems or educational institutions to mitigate, cope with and adapt to social challenges in times of adversity.

Resilience is a basically strengths-based approach, which seeks to utilize already existing personal, professional, institutional capacities for enhancing →innovation, adaptation, and improvement in teaching and learning, to counterbalance exposure in the midst of crisis and limited possibilities. Improved resilience capacities can contribute to academic and personal improvement and well-being despite severe challenges.

As *_Marold Wosnitza et al._ * demonstrate, resilience is a process with two main dimensions: 1) the declarative dimension describes the potentiality of being resilient (having the capacities to confront crises); 2) the procedural dimension describes how a specific challenge is handled. In this framework coping is an inherent part of the resilience process as the link between declarative and procedural resilience.

2 If educational resilience requires flexibility and capacities of adaptation, then educational ***resistance*** is characterized by a certain rigidity and stiffness. Both resilience and resistance are based on the acknowledgement of human agency, that is on the confidence and capacities to act on one's behalf, but while the concept of resilience puts the focus on how agency is used to cope with and handle social challenges, the concept of resistance put the emphasis on how the power of human agency is utilized to counteract, contest the system itself from which social challenges emerge. As *_Daniel G. Solorzano and Dolores Delgado Bernal_* argue, →transformative resistance in education combines the awareness and critique of oppressive social structures with the desire for social justice.

"It's a good citizen's responsibility to question authority. Not *my* authority, of course."

A →segregated school, that engages with resistance, might strive not only to cope with and handle social challenge produced by a selective and discriminative social and educational system – as the concept of resilience would suggest –, but might also contest this predicament, by incorporating the problematization and critique of the

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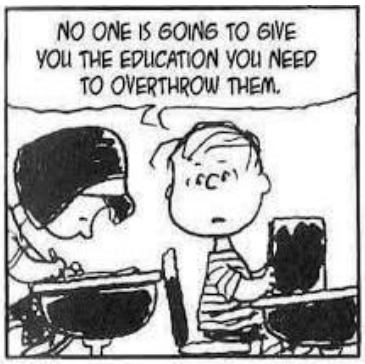
unequal and unjust system into teaching-learning processes, thus raising the awareness of students and empowering them through values grounded in social justice theories.

3 The concept of ***resilient resistance*** offers a middle-ground between coping with times of adversity and contesting oppressive social structures. It is especially important for educational thinking, since in order to strive for the transformation of unjust systems, students and teachers first of all need to survive within such systems. But, as **Tara Yosso** argues, surviving and succeeding in a system that is designed to fail can be in itself a way to challenge that system. Even if being resilient, coping successfully with social challenges despite of the variety of factors, might not be conducive to the transformation of oppressive structures, it might perform an effect of resistance by breaking the systemic rule on the basis of which only a few can succeed while others are doomed to fail.



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4.3 Education & community

Educational logics of exclusion

→ selection | segregation | ghettoization

There are three major logics of exclusion in education and each follows from the other.

1 One might say that the „basis" of exclusionary logics in education is the logic of ***selection***, which refers to the institutional–systemic practice of separating students between or within schools based on specific selection criteria, like performance, knowledge, skills, socio-economic background etc. As **Péter Radó** argues, selection in education is produced and modulated by various systemic factors: the extent of social inequalities that is inseparable from →educational inequalities; the prevailing pedagogical culture and practice which can force schools to prefer a more homogeneous composition of students; the degree of learning outcome gaps along different family backgrounds; the characteristics of the school structure and school networks with immanent points of formal selection; parental aspirations and choices; governance and policy context.

The production of homogeneous compositions of classrooms and schools through the assortment of children on the basis of their background (→selection) emerges at the intersections of the above mentioned factors with different modalities and characteristics in different contexts.

2 **Péter Radó** concludes, that educational selection is inextricable from ***segregation***, since the educational mechanisms of selection are already influenced and informed by prejudices rooted in privileged positions of power and knowledge. Educational segregation occurs when selection is combined with forms of discrimination – when the assortment of students is grounded in racist, sexist, classist, ableist or other exclusionary discourses. Segregation can occur between institutions (e.g. ***segregated school***) and within institutions (e.g. ***segregated classroom***), both are considered as a serious violation of the rights of the children affected by it. As the **Commissioner for Human Rights** demonstrates, in Europe, the harmful consequences of segregation affect mainly Roma and Traveller children, children with disabilities, migrant and refugee children, and those deprived of access to school (such as children in the juvenile justice system).

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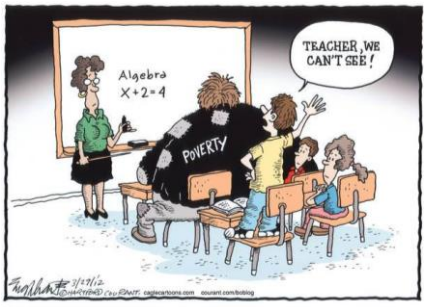
In Europe, a significant number of children attend schools with large proportion of those children who are sorted out on the basis of their socio-economic, cultural, or ethnic background, or due to disability. The segregation of children is harmful not only with regards to educational opportunities, but also in terms of social coexistence, solidarity and cohesion, as segregation inevitably implies discrimination, stigmatization, and marginalization.

As the *_Commissioner for Human Rights_* emphasizes, both political and economic factors play a significant role in the passivity of nation states in tackling segregation, which is further enhanced by →structural mechanism conducive to segregation, such as inappropriate regualtion of school admission, institutional misdiagnosis of mental disability, reduction in programmes supporting intercultural education, and so on (see →structural mechanisms behind exclusion).

3 An extreme, yet unfortunately substantial aspect of segregation is the process of ***ghettoization*** and the emergence of ***ghetto schools***. Ghettoization occurs when educational segregation is rooted in a context of intense spatial inequalities, territorial stigmatization, structural racism (see e.g. →white flight). In such cases, as *_Ryan Powell and John Lever_* argues, it is not only the composition of the school that starts to mimic the social composition of the ghetto, but also the school itself – with deteriorating physical infrastructure, retrograde educational practice, withdrawal of professionals, increasing social tension and so on.



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Structural mechanisms behind exclusion

→ white flight | settlement slope | status-speculation | catch-up mantra | talent-ed | pick-packing| teacher-ed

There are numerous social–systemic factors and mechanisms which propel exclusionary logics in education, some of which are generally characteristic of those European countries whose education system face high degree of selection, segregation, and other forms of exclusion.

1. One of the most common structural mechanism is called ***white flight***, which refers to the process of streaming more advantaged, white children into „better" schools taking advantage of the specific degree of free parental school choice. The „flight" can take place between schools in bigger settlements and cities, and between settlements as well, when for instance non-Roma pupils are enrolled in the schools of other settlements.

2. It also pertains to the structure of territorial inequalities that the smaller the settlement the harder it is for the student to get enrolled into higher educational levels – which is referred to as the ***settlement slope***. The smaller the settlement in which the student attended primary school, the more likely she is to apply to lower level of education. Pupils from smaller villages are more likely to end up in vocational training after the primary level.

3. The biased assignment of students to statuses provided by the education system is called ***status-speculation***. It occurs when a pupil is given such a legal „label" that puts her at a disadvantageous educational situation. Testing – as an instrument of educational selection – is often used to discriminate against children from vulnerable groups. In several European countries, Roma children have routinely been misdiagnosed with mental disability based on culturally biased tests and channelled into special education institutions. In several other cases, Roma students completed primary school under a private student status, attending school only few days a week in the afternoon, isolated from „non-private" students during class periods, breaks, lunch, school events.

4. A more ideological type of mechanism concerns the different rhetorics through which educational exclusion is made legitimate. The most common among those is connected to the →compensatory approach in education, and it holds that the discriminative assortment of pupils is in their best interest. This toxic argument, called ***catch-up mantra*** is based on the assumption that segregated educational settings create the optimal environment for paying attention to the specific needs of the supposedly →disadvantaged students, so that they can „catch-up" with their better-off peers.

5. The pedagogical backstroke of →compensatory approach and the mantra of „catching-up" is the educational agenda for training the alleged talented pupils. The idea of ***talent education*** holds, that the best performing students deserve a special educational environment, isolated from poorly performing pupils so that they don't

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get „pulled back" by the latter. The very assumption of that there are „talented students" enhances →selective mechanisms in education.

6 For decades, there has been a strong demand on the side of higher status parents for a selective education system, trying to claim the best possible education for their kids. The more underfunded an education system is and the less it provides professional help for all kinds of students, the more legitimate the claim for better education becomes for the upper classes, even if they do not support →segregation. Picking the appropriate school is, however, only half of the story. Schools can also be in a position to pick their students, already from the lower secondary stage (grammar schools, gymnasiums, etc.). These institutions pick children based on their learning achievement, family background, and other factors. In contrast to the more hidden, less tangible selection factors, these two processes of ***pick-packing*** children are completely legal forms of →selection from the very early stages of education.

7 One of the most important factors, that is able to propel educational exclusion, is the ***teacher education*** system. According to the →latent discrimination approach educational →exclusion is produced through elitist, monocultural pedagogical practice, which privileges the behaviours, knowledge, cultural customs of more advantaged groups (~white, upper-class, heterosexual, able bodied). If teacher education is not sensitive to the educational challenges posed by contemporary social crises, if its curriculum lacks a basic reflection of the social context, and if the so-called practicum is organized in higher status schools, then teacher education itself can become conducive to maintaining and reproducing →inequalities and →educational exclusion.

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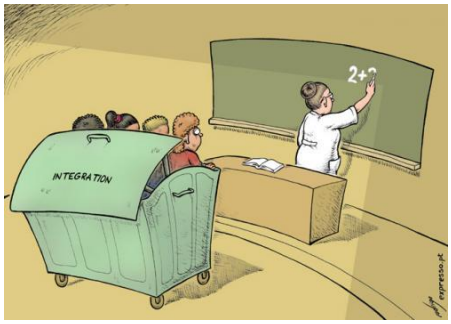
Educational logics of inclusion

→ integration | inclusion | communization

There are three basic educational strategies to counteract exclusionary logics in education. These, however, reference competing educational agendas and pedagogical practices, with clearly distinguishable attitudes to the relation between education and society, school and community.

1 The most frequently discussed counter-strategy to the logics of educational exclusion is the logic of ***integration***, which refers to the co-education of all children in public educational settings regardless of their disadvantages. Still, the logic of integration is often grounded in the →deficit-model of education, and holds that children with disadvantages need to be prepared to, adjusted to, and adapted into existing educational settings by means of special pedagogical support, extra development, and additional mentoring.



Integration means merely enrolling children with special educational needs or disadvantages to schools where such children have not previously been present. The institution does not attempt to change its educational settings so that children with special educational needs can become equal members of the school community, Here the child is expected to adapt to the conditions created by the school.

2 Contrary to the logic of integration, ***inclusion*** holds that there is nothing about a pupil that needs to be fixed or compensated to fit into the existing educational settings. Rather it is the educational context itself that has to adapt to the individual characteristics of *all* children regardless of their backgrounds and abilities. Inclusive education thus benefits all children.

Inclusion requires systemic change regarding teaching methods, pedagogical approaches, school structures in order to enable adaptation to the immense diversity of students. Placing excluded students within mainstream classes without accompanying structural changes does not constitute inclusion.

Josefine Wagner points out four themes informative of inclusive education: 1) inclusion is an ethical endeavour, not a single-issue approach that is only responsive to matters such as disability etc.; 2) inclusion is radically opposed to the deficit-model, and attempts to deactivate the determining force of class, ethnicity, genre, ability, etc. ; 3) inclusion is sensitive to the historicity of identities, meaning that students are not categorized along fix identities, rather considered to be actors with agency, in the process of becoming; 4) inclusion is a deeply social concept, it contests

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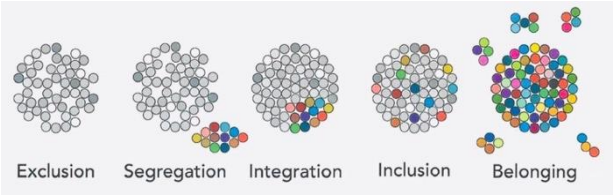
exclusion by understanding education as a place and time where being together happens.

3 Beyond the uniqueness of each student, the logic of inclusion also emphasizes the role a community plays in education. Inclusive education always enfolds against the background of a wider social environment, and this contextual focus is at the heart of those educational strategies that attempt to broaden the concept of inclusion. Students and teachers are not merely parts of a school, but they also belong to a public community which surrounds the school, and which reveals the public or communistic dimension of education.



The educational logic of ***communization*** refers to a particular strategy of inclusion which attempts to extend the inclusive school community to an inclusive community school (also referred to as socialized or communitarian school), which recognizes the community (parents, organizations and other local actors) as irreducibly vital to the life of the school.

Maria Mendel defines community/socialized school as the spatial and public expression of democratic commonality, where the school establishes strong and reciprocal social bonds with its local community, often involving an extensive social support system, mutual aid and conviviality.

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Education and the public

→ a pedagogy for the public | a pedagogy of the public | a pedagogy of publicity

There is a long history of a foremost educational interest regarding questions of citizenship, democracy and the public sphere in general. Such educational thinking belongs to the genre of public pedagogy (or social pedagogy), which is concerned with pedagogical interventions outside educational institutions, within the public domain. *Gert Biesta* distinguishes three different interpretations of public pedagogy: that is for the public, of the public, or of publicity.

1 The first approach is concerned with instructing the citizenry, where educational agents enact such a pedagogical program in the public domain in which what is sayable and doable is predefined by authorities. Such ***a pedagogy for the public*** transfers the logic of the school to the public domain. It occurs for instance when the state instructs its citizens what to think, what to do, and how to behave (either explicitly or through hidden streams of power games), or when fellow citizens feel the urge to teach each other a moralistic public lesson.

2 Contrary to the pedagogical mode of public instruction, the second idea of public pedagogy emphasizes the critical, emancipatory role social, collaborative, participatory learning practices can have in the public sphere. This account of ***a pedagogy of the public*** is influenced to a large extent by the works of *Henry Giroux*, who understands public pedagogy as a specific counter-strategy to the corporatization, erosion and elimination of public spaces. Pedagogy in this approach cannot be reduced to what goes on in the school, the public domain is also a relevant terrain for a transformative, politically committed educational intervention. According to this interpretation the role of the public pedagogue is to engage with her immediate social environment and community, in order to foster social transformation through learning, empowerment and by raising the critical awareness of the people.

3 Both of the previous accounts of public pedagogy attempt to interwene very specifically in the public domain, either through instruction or social learning. *Gert Biesta* proposes a third interpretation of public pedagogy, which is not for the public or of the public, but which enacts a concern for publicness: ***a pedagogy of publicity***, which keeps the opportunities of becoming public, of the very possibility of human togetherness open. Such a public pedagogy is concerned with the public quality of being together, thus interested in the creation of the public sphere and the public space itself. In this interpretation, the public pedagogue is neither an agent of instruction, nor a facilitator of social learning, rather someone who keeps open the possibility of human togetherness and becoming public.

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