Zsuzsanna Benkő (Editor of Series)
Mary Issitt (Editor of Volume)

CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE: SOCIAL INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION, ISSUES AND DEBATES

Szeged – Crewe – Lüneburg
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European Commission

Comenius 2.1: CANDOR - Changing the Attitude of teachers through Normal and Distance learning for Open human Relationships;
Reference No.: 106198-CP-1-2002-1-HU-Comenius-C21

Editor of the Series: Zsuzsanna Benkő
Editor of the volume: Mary Issitt

This project has been carried out with the support of the European Community in the framework of the Socrates programme.

ISBN 963 7356 17 7

Juhász Gyula Felsőoktatási Kiadó
Szeged, 2005

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CONCEPTUAL OVERVIEW

Zsuzsanna Benkő (Hungary)

Key concepts of the 21st century are change and globalisation. As Anthony Giddens argues in several of his publications, in the 21st century only one thing is certain: permanent change. For centuries, tradition was the basis and defining feature of the life-style, behaviour, culture and psychological life of families, individuals and communities. In our present world change pervades every aspect of our existence. Thus it is understandable, and no coincidence, that these changes affect education so strongly, both at the higher and earlier levels. In this particular project, with its orientation towards the professionalisation of teachers and educators, the themes that were the focus of the higher education teams of Britain, Germany and Hungary between 2002 and 2005 are inevitable – health promotion, multicultural education and social inclusion/exclusion of children and young people – all of which are connected so closely to contemporary concerns about equal opportunities.

We inhabit a Europe whose geographical and political borders are shifting, whose population migrates within and among the continents, where women participate in every domain of the division of labour to an extent history has never seen, and where it is natural that people of different cultures, nationalities, ethnic origin and religion, that is all of us, are in everyday contact with those thinking and living differently than we do.

This Europe strives for transferability among its different nation states that is not only economic, legal and institutional but also cultural in the broadest sense. However, the notion of globalisation that has become at the centre of economic development, specialist literature, public debate and analysis since the 1980s is more than that; in some way globalisation impacts on the lives of us all because we exist in the same world. But how is this so? Whilst the cosmopolitan can welcome and embrace this cultural complexity, the fundamentalist finds the same embarrassing and dangerous. However, we can trust, with reason, in the victory of a cosmopolitan perspective.

Cultural diversity and democracy are closely related, and democracy is now spreading all over the world. Globalisation lies behind the spread of democracy. It is inaccurate to think that globalisation just affects large systems. Globalisation is not only about what happens "out there" in the distance, at the same time it resonates with the "here inside", the phenomena that affect our continual socialisation

through our families, education, immediate work environments and friends etc. Globalisation is, then, a complex system of processes that works through contradictions and conflicting effects. Whilst nations may lose a great part of power they once owned, at the same time there is more potential for increased local autonomy. Local cultural identities revive for example in different parts of the world as a result of globalisation. Globalisation shifts sideways as well; it creates new economic and cultural zones within or across nations.

The topic of multiculturalism, multicultural education, the striving for equal opportunities and the question of social inclusion are key issues in the work of educators in the European Union. The idea of multiculturalism is present at every level of society, in the education system, its policies, structures, evaluation mechanisms and school ethos. It is by ensuring equal opportunities that we can make it possible for pupils to perform according to their abilities, and prevent social disadvantage that leads to failure in school, whilst making learning a positive experience. Alongside, and in close relation to the multicultural perspective, the other important factor is health and its promotion. Health is a multidimensional concept where physical, mental and social elements are inseparable, so natural and social environments, the available resources, the combating of problems, the experience of success, satisfaction and positive self-image form health opportunities in every society. The healthy school is at the same time a successful school which can fully perform its role according to social expectations in the structure of social sub-systems. The reinforcement of equal opportunities and the improvement of social inclusion within school entail a change in perspective and authority of traditional professions, and the creation of new opportunities for partnership and cooperation. This innovative approach leads to the conclusion that well-intentioned individual efforts are insufficient in themselves; there is also a need for well-planned organisational changes. The main method of these organisational changes is organisational development; its main means is through the project.

An important element of health equality is the access to health opportunities and their promotion. This involves addressing the considerable differences between the developing and the developed world and between the developed countries as well. Thus in Europe, there are not only disparities between but also within countries. This is illustrated by differences in life expectancy at birth which can be up to 10-14 years among European nations or even within a given country.

This international team aims to assist educators engaged in socialisation processes by placing the values of multicultural education, social inclusion for children and young people and health promotion into the foreground. In the development of the teaching material and the topics chosen we have formulated a

twofold objective for ourselves. On the one hand, all three themes aim to introduce universal and general values, trends and processes; on the other hand, we have striven to introduce different examples of their practical realisation illustrating the possibilities and methods in each case. The teaching materials created contain English, German and Hungarian case studies, and by so doing, these exemplify the effect of historical, national, cultural and religious versatility on the settings of everyday life.

On behalf of the teaching material developing team, I hope that these volumes will be useful to educators, and, indeed, all professionals engaged in education and human service, in their application of a broader, social dimension and values to successful practice!

INTRODUCTION
Children and young people: social inclusion and exclusion, debates and issues

Mary Issitt (United Kingdom)

Awareness and action about the consequences of social exclusion of children and young people at the global, national, local and interpersonal levels of human activity have become the subject of continual scrutiny and debate. There is not a day that passes without some aspect of childhood being examined in the popular media. This can range from how parents should deal with their babies or teenaged children, to children being victims of groups that exploit their youth and vulnerability. Sometimes children and young people can be portrayed as active participants in society, able to define what childhood in the twenty first century involves, and, to contribute to their communities in a variety of ways.

The papers in this volume, written primarily from the experience of Hungary and the UK, examine the diversity of meanings of childhood, and illustrate some of the consequences of children, as a less powerful group than adults, being excluded from opportunities to play their part in society. Examples are also given of how new understandings of childhood and children's rights can lead to more inclusive policies and practices that can transform children's lives.

The volume is divided into four parts. Part one considers general issues arising from including and excluding children and young people. Chapter one explores the way understandings of childhood and youth have changed, and how this has led to particular reactions and policies. These may stem from adults' concern and duty to nurture and protect the young which can sometimes lead to tensions when children and young people want to speak and act for themselves. Child poverty is one of the most striking examples of the way children can be disadvantaged and excluded throughout the world, and ongoing campaigns are calling for concerted global action to tackle this pressing problem. Chapter 2 focuses primarily on the situation in Hungary, but this is placed within the wider European and world context and the complexity of meanings and consequences of poverty in children's lives are discussed.

Part two deals with the international legal frameworks and policies to promote children's rights and protection. Chapter three provides a detailed review of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and its relationship to other provisions, and the problems and possibilities for implementation across the

world. This chapter summarises various global provisions for the protection of children, shows how they have developed, and points the reader to policy documents that can be accessed through the websites of agencies such as UNICEF. Chapter four focuses on the issue of child protection within the UK, and refers also to the European context. It illustrates the dilemmas faced by policy-makers and professionals in determining how services should act in relation to child protection. It defines key terms in order to demonstrate the complexity of the issues involved and the way understanding of abuse has developed. This not only encompasses overt forms of physical harm to children, but also the more subtle forms that this can take at a psychological level. A detailed examination of the system of children's rights and protection in Hungary is presented in chapter five. This covers the different levels of services involved in the protection of children, including financial and educational provision and the responsibilities of professionals.

In part three we explore aspects of service provision to promote children and young people's welfare and present two examples from Hungary and the UK, which are empowering for children. Chapter six provides a general theoretical introduction to considerations of what is meant by welfare and well-being and how this might be linked with children and young people's needs. It demonstrates how these concepts are subject to different political interpretations and can be a site of struggle between those with different ideological positions and values. The two illustrations show how child-centred, children's rights perspectives can transform the experience of children and the practice of professionals. The first, in chapter seven, discusses how advocates can play a crucial part in enabling children to speak for themselves or have someone act on their behalf to promote their welfare. Principles and practice are presented that are based on the experiences of children and their advocates in the UK. The second, chapter eight, is a compilation of information about the world-renowned International Pető Institute, in Hungary. Here, through an intensive process of conductive education, children with motor disabilities learn the physical and psychological skills to enable them to live full lives in society. The work of the Pető Institute has been integrated into the Hungarian education system and its methods adopted in many other parts of the world. Both these chapters illustrate how children can become empowered to overcome social barriers, and how professionals have to review their practice in order to facilitate this.

The final part of the book is concerned with the transitions that children have to make in order to be included and progress in society, and an example from Hungary explains how some young people's transitions may be thwarted. Chapter nine contextualises children's transitions on a daily and lifetime basis as

they move between the home and family and school and work. The chapter applies significant aspects of sociological analysis developed in the late twentieth and early twenty first centuries to this topic; key works used are presented for further reference. Chapter ten shows how some of the educational and cultural disadvantages associated with poverty have an impact on young people's transitions into the labour market in Hungary, and the limitations caused in people's lives by leaving education early.

The examination of debates and issues related to 'children and young people, social exclusion and social inclusion' covers a very wide range of subjects and debates, of which this volume is only able to present a small part. However, we hope that the book will give you an introduction to significant theoretical, policy and practical issues, and point you in the direction of new knowledge, particularly through comparing your own experience with that of the other country presented, in the context of global implications of the issues discussed.

PART ONE:
INCLUDING AND EXCLUDING CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE

Chapter 1
Children and young people: social inclusion and exclusion – definitions and debates

Mary Issitt and Sarah Preston (United Kingdom)

Changing definitions of Childhood and Youth

Children and young people are a typical, permanent and normal part of any society. Although the UN Convention on Rights of the Child passed in 1989 regards children as those aged 18 and under, defining childhood, adolescence or youth is not straightforward and the differences between the terms are not clear. These are not fixed concepts but vary from time to time and place to place. The sociologist Aries noted the fact that childhood only became recognized as a state existing after infancy from the sixteenth century; prior to that children were seen as mini adults. Factors such as class, race, gender, disability and geography also produce varied meanings and experiences for individuals, groups and whole societies. For a young orphan in Bombay or Rwanda, with the responsibility not only for his or her own livelihood but possibly for younger siblings, childhood will be very different from that of a child in a stereotypical, white, middle-class, two parent, nuclear family in the US or Europe.

So where do we start with our definitions and how do we assess the different perspectives that there are?

Childhood and youth- some different views

A 'common sense' approach might tell us that childhood and youth are universal experiences for all who achieve adulthood. While they may be stages in individual physical and psychological development, they are equally important phases for being socialised into a culture when we learn how our society works and how to participate as citizens. Contributions to our understanding of childhood and youth come from many different academic disciplines, such as biology, psychology and sociology. The emphasis in much of the literature is on achieving 'healthy' adulthood as a goal, and childhood and youth are seen as opposite states

to that of being adult. Children and young people are often not seen as 'beings' in their own right, rather they be viewed as in an 'unfinished' state of 'becoming' on the path to the 'entirety' and 'stability' promised by adulthood.

Contemporary analysis now seeks to address the fact that earlier theory which emphasised the universality of being a child may not have recognised the significance of childhood and youth as experiences in their own right and therefore denied children's and young people's voice on their own situations. We now acknowledge that the different modes of childhood and youth can only be articulated by children and young people themselves (JENKS, 1982; LEE, 2001; MAYALL, 2002). Moreover, postmodernism has enabled us to see that the different theories and explanations about childhood are represented in various forms of 'discourse', this being taken to mean "...a whole set of interconnected ideas that work together in a self-contained way, ideas that are held together by a particular ideology or view of the world" (STAINTON-ROGERS, 2001, p. 29.).

Understanding childhood

Theoretical perspectives can be divided into the pre-sociological and sociological. The pre-sociological approaches categorise children into: the evil child, innocent child, immanent child, naturally developing child and the unconscious child. Although some of these theories have been rejected by scientists we can still see vestiges of their influence in more popular explanations of children's behaviour. Thus the evil child theory originates from sixteenth century Puritanism, but often surfaces in popular discourse on the moral or criminal culpability of children for their behaviour. The child needs guidance and control to prevent its headstrong tendencies being unleashed. This social controlling approach provides the basis for producing docile adults (JAMES, JENKS AND PROUT, 1998). By contrast the innocent child is pure, angelic and uncorrupted by the world around it. This perspective is drawn from the work of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who argued that children were seen as vessels of ritual goodness with clear vision to be cared for and nurtured (JAMES, JENKS AND PROUT, 1998).

Whilst the notion of the immanent child pre-dates the innocent child, it came into its own later. In this model children possess drives and dispositions but given the right education and environment will become rational and reasonable (HEAVEN, 2001). Both the innocent and the immanent child provide a basis for child centred education. For theorists of the naturally developing child there is an inherent plan governing human maturation. There may be some individual differences but development follows a biologically determined sequence. Children learn to talk, walk and grow throughout childhood; however children are much

more complex than the sum of their bodily parts and biological progression (HEAVEN, 2001). Developmental psychologists, such as Piaget, linked psychological development with the process of physical maturation. Children are seen to react emotionally to situations but maturity leads to operative intelligence, a competence achieved and deserved. This illustrates the supremacy of adulthood over childhood.

Another significant approach, the unconscious child, seeks to understand adulthood in relation to childhood experience (JAMES, JENKS AND PROUT, 1998). In Freudian theory childhood provides the building blocks for adult personality. This theory is based on the id, ego and superego. The id is unconscious, primal and expressed as instinctive and impulsive, needing management through the 'conscience' of the superego. The ego is the immanent child that monitors the role of the id and superego, obeying the reality principle balancing the id and superego, forming the basis for a healthy personality (HEAVEN, 2001). This model is about explanation and exploration of the adult self, emphasing psycho-sexual development, but it does little to widen understanding of childhood itself (HEAVEN, 2001).

The above perspectives show that theorists either view learning as intrinsic, coming from the inside, or extrinsic and determined by external stimuli (behaviourist). The naturally developing child was distinctly different but this approach has been criticised for its standardisation and assumption of inevitable development (JAMES, JENKS AND PROUT, 1998). Biology is not enough to explain childhood and development and the representation of the 'normal' child fails to explain those who fall outside this perspective. Piaget's theories have been criticised as not recognising gender differences as they were initially derived through observation of boys and applied to male and female behaviour (GILLIGAN, 1987). Vygotsky also argued that, unlike Piaget's approach, cognitive development was not contingent on physical development, but was also linked with social surroundings and interactions; children are not brought up within a vacuum and interactions with others and use of language are equally important. Children occupy a world that is created by their families, communities, socio-economic status, education and culture, thus giving a more holistic approach to childhood (MOONEY, 2000).

Vygotsky's approach links closely with the notion of the sociological child which is conceptualised in a number of ways as: the socially constructed child, the tribal child, and the minority group child. A key sociological perspective is that of socialisation, whereby the child learns how to become a member of a particular society and culture, thus explaining how social order is maintained and reproduced. Important agents of socialisation are the family, the school, peer group and the media.

The socially constructed child stands separate from biological explanations of childhood. Childhood is a distinct feature of all societies but its meaning is created through the relationships that there are between children and adults and between children themselves. It is not just a feature of the individual's life course. On the one hand, children are to be cherished as necessary for the continuance of society, alternatively, their nurturing is a cost and burden. In western societies in the northern hemisphere they are set apart from adults, constructed as dependents for ever lengthening periods, associated with education and play, unable to act as independent economic, political, intellectual or sexual beings.

The notion of the tribal child recognizes children's 'social worlds as real places and provinces of meaning in their own right and not as fantasies, games, poor imitations or inadequate precursor of the adult state of being' (JAMES, JENKS AND PROUT, 1998, p. 28.). These provide rich contexts through which children's viewpoints and competencies can be revealed. Thus "...the world of the school yard, the play ground, the club and the gang' is to be respected and celebrated" (JAMES, JENKS AND PROUT, 1998, p. 29.).

The minority child perspective takes further this view of children as social actors in their own right. Thus children not only exist in worlds created by others they also shape what childhood is. 'Minority' is a moral term that, when attributed to a social group, denotes a sense of powerlessness. The minority rights perspective questions the nature of social structures in relation to gender, race, sexuality, age and mental ability and their discriminatory effects on minorities. Seeing children as a minority group challenges power relations between children and adults, however, placing the child within a broad 'minority' category can also overlook diversity in relation to ethnicity, culture etc. Thus differences between children and childhoods, within and between societies, need to be recognized.

Over the last century, society has become more child centred and with it has come a greater concern for childhood. Theorising childhood has become a complex problem; internal emotional and psychological aspects competed with sociological analysis of childhood during the twentieth century. The consequences of the complex theorising of childhood are that children have become the focus of close scrutiny. One of the main issues is that childhood is now recognised as a distinct category from adulthood but children are dependent on adult society and therefore subordinate in status, and still subject to the power of adults and their interventions in children's lives (MAYALL, 2002). The construction of children as dependents is being challenged through the recognition that children should receive the same social and political rights as adults and their contribution to society should be valued and respected.

Youth

Youth is often perceived as a stage in the life course between childhood and adulthood, but it is more than a chronological age or transitional period. Even though childhood may officially be seen to 'end' at eighteen, full adult status may not be accorded until later and youth as a transitional period seems to be getting longer. Responsibility for decisions is accorded at different stages and this will vary between societies and cultures. Thus in the UK, children up to the age of 16 years are legally obliged to be educated with parents taking responsibility for their attendance. Young people are not criminally liable until 17 years, cannot take out a legal contract or vote until they are 18, but can marry at 16 years, with parental consent (COLES, 1995). However, many European programmes connected with employment and training see youth as extending until twenty five years and in the UK some means-tested benefits normally available to 'adult' householders cannot be claimed.

The dilemma is that youth is seen as a period of instability between the relatively secure states of childhood and adulthood. It is subject to negotiation and renegotiation between young people, their families, friends, agencies and institutions in the wider society. The major issue with youth is that this stage is still regarded as 'childhood' and welfare policies identify a dependency on adults, parents or the state to protect them from exploitation and to promote their physical, social, emotional, moral and educational development.

Young people are still perceived as needing advice and guidance from the adult society; they are neither children nor adults. Numerous theoretical perspectives have been put forward to try and explain the nature of youth and young people. A major preoccupation has been with adolescence not only as a time of physical development, but also as a time of turbulence, conflict and emotional upheaval as well as adjustment to wider social change. The classical approach has been the 'storm and stress model' which perceives adolescents as fundamentally rebellious and prone to mood swings that reject parental influences or interference (HEAVEN, 2001). However, this viewpoint tends to ignore the majority of teenagers who traverse this period without major upsets.

But what are the origins of the concept of adolescence and how useful is it today?

At the turn of 20th century new social science disciplines were becoming established. They proposed ways of understanding human behaviour that were influenced by theories of evolution in natural science to provide 'objective' knowledge. This was to be applied to the evolution of society and the creation of the modern nation state. Psychology could help "make the inner, personal qualities of individuals visible and significant for building a modern society" (LESKO,

2001, p. 9.). Changing social conditions led to the creation of a new social group – those who were not children and not yet adults, but adolescents. G. Stanley Hall emphasised the significance of adolescence which he saw as a period of strung und drang – 'storm and stress' which involved emotional upheaval, suffering, passion and rebellion against adult authority (HEAVEN, 2001; LESKO, 2001). The period was essential in moving from the 'animality' of childhood into the 'conscious humanity' of adulthood.

This early view of adolescence is now seen as a means of preparing for a new social order that maintained white, middle class, male, gender and racial superiority. White, male middle classness was the norm and other races and classes were deviant. Young women's adolescence and education was to prepare them for motherhood and homemaking. This view of adolescence was reinforced by contemporary psychoanalytic theory. This saw human beings as progressing through oral, anal, phallic, latency and genital stages of psychosexual development. Adolescence was seen as crucial in individual identity formation, being the 'genital' stage in which young people negotiated heterosexual maturity, physically and psychologically.

Adolescence as a developmental stage

Biological changes play an important part in adolescence which is signalled by the onset of puberty which can begin as young as nine years or happen at any time into the mid-teens. As well as the development of sexual characteristics there is change to skeletal and muscle parts and a 'growth spurt' during puberty and adolescence; hormonal changes also affect behaviour. It is not just the physiological changes that are significant and ERIKSON (1968) argued that adolescence was one of a series of key developmental stages that run through an individual's life. ERIKSON saw psychological development happening through the resolution of psychological conflicts in previous stages of life. There are a number of important issues to be resolved by young people:

- Dealing with intimate relationships the healthy resolution implying that they do not fear or frantically seek intimacy.
- Preparing for adult life within a realistic timeframe and balancing different commitments.
- Establishing a separate identity. When this is a negative or oppositional to their parents this illustrates dependence on parents because without reference to them a negative identity could not be selected (HAYES, 1995).

For Erikson, adolescence is a time of identity crisis and it is vital for conflict to be resolved during this developmental stage, but other sociological and psychological research has argued that many young people do not have to encounter an identity crisis and turbulence to experience a smooth transition to adulthood. BANDURA'S (1972) study of adolescents found that most were not rebellious or hostile to their parents. He argued that adolescence was not a sudden phase attained in the early to mid teens but autonomy developed from late childhood. A recent study by the JOSEPH ROWNTREE FOUNDATION (2001) found that young people's relationship with parents was a positive one providing essential emotional support. COLEMAN (2000) argues that often differences between young people may be greater than those between the generations, thus challenging popular notions of a generation gap.

The stereotypical view of adolescence as a time of storm and stress is often culture bound. In more 'collectivised', or traditional cultures young people are not expected to break away from the nuclear family but to accommodate to, and remain in, their family of origin. Economic factors and the high cost of housing may bring about change in expectations in more individualistic cultures and young people may take longer to make their transitions. However, cultural relativity also occurs within societies. For example young people have activities restricted to them such as sexual activity or drinking alcohol. This regulation can, in turn, create a separate culture from adult society and in effect produce a 'Youth Culture.' Ways of understanding adolescence are often based around male experience of various youth sub-cultures and are concerned with what deviant behaviour. In this approach young working class and black men are often characterised as 'youth in trouble' whereas young women are invisible unless they are 'in trouble' through sexual promiscuity and teenage pregnancy, for example.

COLEMAN (1990) regards adolescence as a time in which young people have to complete a number of tasks that symbolizes challenge and adjustment for the individual. The young person has to adjust to biological changes, develop their self-image, and cope with late maturation or lack of bodily physique or the problem of deviance. The young person also needs to balance their life between new and changing peer and parental relationships (COLEMAN, 1990; LESKO, 2001). For Piaget, adolescence marks the beginning of formal thinking and Kohlberg sees this stage as when moral reasoning starts to develop (HAYES, 1995).

Whilst acknowledging these physiological and social changes that occur in the teenage years, contemporary perspectives on young people place less emphasis on the usefulness of theories of adolescence to explain this and focus more on youth transitions. These include:

- Transition from full time education or training to a full time job.
- Moving from the parental home to their own independent residence.
- The transition from family of origin to family of procreation.

What has become clear is that these transitions are now more extended and complex, with a person achieving adult status in one area, for example through the completion of education, but remaining dependent through economic inability to set up their own home. Adulthood also continually involves momentous transitions that may cause more personal upheaval than changes that occur during youth and adolescence. These will include increased flexibility and insecurities in employment, the changing nature of parenthood due in part to increase in marital breakdown and divorce. All these changes result in the constant renegotiation of roles and relationships throughout life. Any divide between youth and adulthood is therefore seen as increasingly artificial.

Whilst youth is a potentially exciting period in which young people extend their capacities it can also be a time of confusion. Even, though young people generally negotiate changes in a positive way, youth has been identified with problems, drawing upon discourses which emphasise trouble and danger during this transitional period. At times this has escalated into 'moral panics', sometimes amplified by the media, about the deviant nature of youth and associated problems such as crime, drugs, homelessness etc. Whilst the potential vulnerability of young people is still recognised, contemporary theorists are concerned about the implications of stigmatising young people's behaviour which potentially excludes them from the wider society during the present and in the future.

Children and young people: social exclusion and disadvantage

The emphasis on children and young people as vulnerable and objects of adult responsibility recognises their status as a minority group who by definition have less maturity and knowledge than adults and therefore require protection and provision (MAYALL, 2002). This has led to policies nationally and internationally to prevent them suffering disadvantage. The term 'disadvantage' is problematic to put into context because of its being subject to a number of interpretations but it is often associated with physical, social or economic deprivation (COLES, 1995). Cycles of structural disadvantage, that may be manifested through poverty in childhood and youth, re-emerge as disadvantage in later life and may be compounded by other life events such as having no parent or carer. For policy makers, disadvantage can also lead to children and young people becoming 'trouble' in some way, that is engaging in disruptive or deviant behaviour such as crime,

drugs or teenage pregnancy. This may then prevent full participation, contribution and inclusion in the wider society.

Current approaches to tackling disadvantage acknowledge the contribution of children's and young people's experience of their situations and seek to develop a more inclusive stance in relation to them. When childhood and youth are seen as social constructions, disadvantage is inherent to the condition of being young. Because children and young people are dependent on adults they have less power and will inevitably be seen as less capable and therefore disadvantaged. However, the child and adult relationship is not inevitably nurturing and protective in nature and can be problematic. Being constructed only as dependent, and therefore as disadvantaged, itself leads to exclusion from society and participation in important decision-making and activities. Often parents, carers and other responsible adults are assumed to be able to represent their views, when this may not be the case in all circumstances and children's and young people's perspectives may not be heard.

The disadvantages of being young are further compounded by four main structural aspects of difference, disadvantage and advantage: social class background, sex-gender, locality and race. In addition, COLES identifies dimensions that have serious consequences for the transition to adulthood. These are: "being brought up away from the family as 'looked after' children in the care of the state; having a physical or mental disability; or, involvement in crime and the criminal justice system" (COLES, 1995. p. 17.).

One of the problems with the label 'disadvantage' is that the surrounding discourses tend to focus in a negative way upon, and therefore may stigmatise, particular groups of people. Social theorists and policy makers are continually seeking to explain and rectify inequalities in ways that do not either blame victims of circumstances beyond their control or alternatively reinforce or amplify deviant and disruptive behaviour. Thus the terms 'social inclusion' and social exclusion' have now entered the discourses of European sociology and policy-making. Whilst social exclusion is a "shorthand term for what can happen when people or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environments, bad health, poverty and family breakdown" (SOCIAL EXCLUSION UNIT, 1997, p. 1.).

There are broader interpretations. At the wider societal level, as standards of living increase, the way we measure inclusion keeps going up. A low income and the problems associated with poverty lead to the social exclusion of more and more children, young people and their families, as chapter 2 illustrates. This is potentially disruptive to a coherent, harmonious and productive society. Exclusion

is not only about economic deprivation but also involves lacking support networks, being excluded because of factors such as culture or age. For the individual this may lead to self-exclusion whereby a person feels that they cannot have any impact on or involvement in their society; they have no means of or incentive for getting on the ladder of self-improvement, which should be accessible to all in a fair society.

But some commentators would argue that capitalist society is not fair and that the social exclusion discourses mask inequalities that can only be tackled through a redistribution of resources and a recognition that the interests of different classes and groups cannot be made to work in harmony, without major social change. Furthermore, the emphasis within contemporary policies to combat social exclusion are based upon getting as many people as possible into paid employment. This therefore excludes and undervalues alternative models of social integration that may take place outside of any workplace through social care and neighbourhood networks (LEVITAS, 2001). For some young people, peer-based activities, expressed, for example, through musical and leisure interests, may be more meaningful than repetitive, short-term, alienating work schemes promoted by through state policies in areas of high unemployment.

How do current discourses on social exclusion and inclusion relate to those concerning children and young people?

Perceptions of children and young people are contradictory; sometimes they are seen as innocent and in need of protection, alternatively, they may be menacing or dangerous to a cohesive, inclusive society. In either view children's status is marginal to be regulated through legal and adult control. In complex societies formal training institutions control transitions through schools and youth clubs, as these institutions socialise young people, enabling them to secure productive employment in the future and to contribute as citizens. However, although these institutions are for the children and young people they are not controlled by them but by adults (FRITH, 1984).

Childhood and youth are ambiguous states both for children and adults, and children and young people are both 'beings' and 'becomings' and this ambiguity will therefore have implications for how they can be included and their voices heard, rather than adults speaking for them.

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Chapter 2
Children and Poverty in Hungary

Klára Tarkó (Hungary)

Introduction

This chapter highlights the problem and scope of poverty as a significant contributory factor in the social exclusion of children and young people, with particular reference to the Hungarian context. After presenting some key definitions and statistical information on this topic the changing nature of poverty in Hungary is discussed, and data are considered referring to child poverty in different parts of the world as well as Hungary.

The concept of poverty is generally used to denote a disadvantaged position, resulting from low income and the deprivations arising from this such as incomplete nutrition, poor living conditions etc. A number of terms are used as starting points to enable us to understand the measurement and experience of poverty. Deprivation means being "deprived of something" and how this is viewed will vary from one society to another. Absolute poverty is used to describe a condition when the individual or the family lives below the subsistence level of income required to sustain life. A poverty line may be used as the base measure of the income required to buy the essentials required in a society, and is sometimes used to calculate what individuals and families might need not to be in poverty. Thus the concept of relative poverty does not start from the notion of the absolute minimum for subsistence but links being poor to the struggle to participate in a given society because of lagging substantially behind the average living standards of that society. The economic and associated disadvantages involved may lead to a situation of social exclusion when those affected are prevented from full participation in society.

Child poverty not only leads to social exclusion during childhood but it can impact on the whole life course and prevent an individual being and feeling included in society later on. Problems associated with poverty in childhood include poor health and school performance. This may lead to learning and behavioural disturbances and dropping out from school.

Statistical background

Table 1. shows the distribution of children and young adults according to age and sex in 2002. As in the UK, in Hungary young people are considered legally to be adults from the day they turn 18.

Table 1. Distribution of children and young adults according to age and sex, 2002

Age group	Male	Female	Altogether
0 – 4	244 763	232 914	477 677
5 – 9	277 190	263 342	540 532
10 – 14	314 874	300 605	615 479
15 – 19	327 853	316 852	644 705
20 – 24	383 483	364 323	747 806
Altogether	1 548 163	1 478 036	3 026 199

(Source: Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 2003c. pp. 4.)

The subsistence level, or poverty line, used in the calculations of the Hungarian Central Statistical Office (KSH) is the overall value of the main categories of consumption by households covering a range of needs – food, manufactured goods and services. 258 households met this criterion among those participating in 2002 in the Household Expenses Survey. The amount covering subsistence level per person defined in this way was an average 33.9 thousand Huf, and it varied between 27 and 43 thousand Huf depending on the type of household. The annual subsistence level of a typical household containing two adults and two children in 2002 was 125 thousand Huf, which is 3 thousand per person per month. This threshold value does not necessarily mean there will be malnutrition, ill-health, overcrowded living conditions, lack of adequate clothing and cultural circumstances that do not meet social expectations; it expresses a level of satisfying needs that is still socially acceptable (KÖZPONTI STATISZTIKAI HIVATAL, 2003a).

Those households with children in the most disadvantaged position are economically inactive, where the adults are unemployed, retired, sick, on maternity benefit or are dependent in some other way. Those whose income (from work) is minimal, cannot draw on tax allowance and maternity benefit because they do not have a taxable income. Their numbers rose from 100 000 – 150 000 to about 750 000 in the period between 1990 and 1996/97. It is less than that at present, but we are still talking about some 600 000 persons. 300 000 of the 2.3 million children – dependents under 20 years – live in such households. The population of

households with 3 or more children is about 700 000, in which the number of children is about 400 000 (KÖZPONTI STATISZTIKAI HIVATAL, 2003b).

The number of active wage-earners is less as the number of children in the family increases; it is only 127 persons for every 100 households in the case of households with three or more children. The larger the number of children in a household, generally the lower the education level of active and retired wage earners is. People receiving unemployment or maternity benefit (these amounts are much smaller than the wages and the pension) have similar characteristics to economically active households with three or more children and of inactive households with children. The disadvantages of economically active large families and inactive households with children are manifest in the amount they can consume from particular foods. This is the most visible in the case of foods that play an important role in the nutrition of children, for example, milk, dairy products and fruit. In the case of households with three or more children the average consumption of the above product groups per person was 86%, 60% and 74% of the consumption of active households without children, and in case of inactive households the respective percentages were 72, 50, and 47 (KÖZPONTI STATISZTIKAI HIVATAL, 2003b). In 2002, 554.4 out of every 1000 marriages ended in divorce, and this often leads to the formation of lone parent households which are likely to be more vulnerable to poverty.

Poverty in Hungary

In Hungary there are now a number of official mechanisms used to study the issue of poverty: the household income survey, the household-panel survey, the study of subsistence levels and income statistics. Before 1945 there were no official data on poverty in Hungary. Since 1962 the family income survey has been done every 5 years. According to data from 1967, 1 million Hungarians lived below the subsistence level. In 1982 this was equivalent to 11% of the population, and in 1987 it was 9%. The data show that the incidence of poverty decreased until 1982; it hardly changed between then and 1987, but its composition since has significantly changed:

- Poverty in villages decreased, poverty in towns increased;
- There were more unskilled workers living below subsistence level than agricultural workers;
- The rate of the poor among pensioners was hardly higher than in the general population;
- Poverty has changed from a condition affecting the elderly to one experienced by children (0–14 year-olds).

Since the change of regime (1990) poverty has strongly increased as have income inequalities. The difference between the mean of the highest and the lowest 10% has risen from four times to eight times. The proportion of those living in absolute poverty has risen from 15% to 35% between 1991 and 1996 and it has stabilised there. The distribution of those living in relative poverty, that is, people living under the 50% of the mean income was 31% in 1998.

The question is: who do we call poor? Using demographic and social categories as the basis for our analysis, we can identify four different kinds of poverty:

1. traditional poverty (already known in the socialist era);
2. new poverty (since the change of regime);
3. demographic poverty;
4. ethnic poverty.

These four categories are not separate, but can generally be characterised as follows:

1. unskilled workers, belonging to the agricultural strata and living in villages;
2. unemployed adults, those in receipt of disability allowances, widows, housewives and other adult dependants;
3. a shift from the older age groups towards children
4. the Romany (ANDORKA, 2002).

Table 2. The rate of the poor by age groups, social strata and ethnic groups, in the case of different poverty thresholds, 1994.

Age-group	Below subsistence level	In the lowest income quintile	Below 50% of the standard	Below the pension minimum
0 – 2	54,5	38,1	22,8	10,5
3 – 6	41,8	29,2	11,7	6,8
7 – 14	42,3	31,4	16,4	9,5
15 – 19	41,5	29,9	15,9	10,5
20 – 29	34,5	18,8	9,5	4,7
30 – 39	36,4	24,7	13,4	8,1
40 – 49	31,3	18,4	9,3	4,4
50 – 59	28,3	13,8	11,3	7,5
60 – 69	16,1	7,6	7,4	3,7
70 –	16,7	10,2	9,1	4,9

(Source: ANDORKA, 2002. pp. 140.)

DARVAS and TAUSZ (2001) draw upon work by UNICEF (2000) which showed that child poverty in Hungary is the 22nd highest among the 23 developed industrial countries of the world. During the last ten years the extent of child poverty has exceeded that of adult poverty. The poverty experienced by the first generation is passed on as multiple deprivations to a second generation which grows up, with no chance for improving their situation. According to UNICEF (2000) every sixth child, about 47 million altogether, live in poverty in countries that are considered to be rich. The states most favourable for children are Sweden, Norway, Finland, Denmark, Belgium and Luxembourg. The highest poverty rates (above 20%) are seen in Great Britain, Italy, the USA and Mexico. According to the report children living in single-parent families are on average four times as exposed to poverty as children living in two-parent families. What is more, there is a strong relationship between child poverty and the number of adult family members who do not have regular work or who are working for irregular wages (DARVAS and TAUSZ, 2001). The most important background factors behind the increase in poverty are the decrease in the number of the employed, the instance of permanent unemployment, price inflation, the devaluation of social benefits and services and the decrease of real incomes. This is illustrated by the significant increase in poverty of children under 14 in Hungary. Indicators of this are: the real value of child benefit has decreased by 40% compared to 1989; state expenditure on education has also decreased compared to 10 years earlier.

Poverty does not necessarily mean the suffering of starvation, but bad living circumstances, inadequate health care and restricted opportunities to benefit from education. Participation in education may be affected by social factors such as discrimination against a particular racial or cultural group. An article in Magyar Hírlap, 2001 quotes EDIT KECSKEMÉTI, the head of UNICEF's Hungarian National Committee who stated that in the second half of the 1990s discrimination had definitely increased in education. This is further evidenced by a survey in which 48% of the children questioned said that those pupils who were of different ethnicity were not entitled to have equal rights with the majority. Mrs. KECSKEMÉTI did not refer to the issue of children's rights education in schools, but thought it possible only in places where the rights of the educators were also respected. Consequently, the sociologist, MÁRIA HERCZOG, observed that it is exactly those children whose rights are not recognised within the current system, who would benefit the most (Magyar Hírlap, 2001).

Child poverty: the problem and scope of measurement

It is hard to obtain empirical data on child poverty as most poverty research is adult-centred – the questions asked by adult researchers are answered by adults, they deal mostly with households, and they infer from data gathered on the whole household, the living conditions of children. In such research the child is viewed as a consumption unit, counted as a fraction of the unit allocated to the adult respondent (DARVAS and TAUSZ, 2002).

Some research work uses data to characterize the whole child population of the countries in question, and these data are collected by the national statistical offices of these countries (e.g. UNICEF). Primary definitions are determined by indicators of the state of children living in absolute poverty in the Third World (e.g. the prevalence of child mortality, access to healthy drinking water, etc.) and the problem of children living in poverty in the developed world "looks small" in comparison.

The third method uses a unified tool to measure and show the extent of poverty by focusing on income. Such a survey was conducted by the World Bank in 2000. According to this, in 1997, 2.4% of Hungarian children were living on under 2.15 dollars per day, and 28.8% of them was living on under 4.3 dollars a day (World Bank, 2000, in. DARVAS and TAUSZ, 2002).

The problem of child poverty concerns the OECD countries as well, and those countries which seem to fight effectively against it apply proper and harmonised measures in employment, wages and social policy. While only a part of the population living in a disadvantaged financial situation in a given year can be considered to be permanently poor, the risk of permanent poverty is highest in the case of children.

DARVAS and TAUSZ, (2002) identify a number of factors which play a decisive part in the development of inequalities and the risk of poverty. These include: demographic factors such as family type, number and age of children, adult household members involvement in the labour market (as economically active or unemployed), location (village/town) and ethnicity, that is, belonging to the Romany minority. In the following section we summarize the results of a child poverty survey performed by DARVAS and TAUSZ (2002) in 2001.

1047 households participated in the survey, and within these there were 1624 children under the age of 19, brought up in 804 households. The sample used was representative of the poor rather than reflecting the characteristics of the whole population. One-third of children in the sample were brought up in a family where there were no active earners. More than one quarter of the poor children were living solely on income from social benefits. In these households children

lacked an adult role-model who possessed a regular job, and this was seen as one of the basic conditions and defining factors of later integration into the labour market and into the workplace. In this situation the child is socialised into a situation of dependence where the adult who receives regular state benefit is in a disadvantaged position and exposed to poverty.

In households where children live in the lower income third, the average income per person per month was 14 500 Huf (According to data by TÁRKI – Social Sciences Research Centre – in 2000/2001 the average income per person for the whole population was 470 000 Huf per year (39 167 Huf/month); the subsistence level calculated by the Central Statistical Office for a household containing 2 adults and 2 children was 114 000 Huf in 2001 (28 500 Huf/person); in the same year the minimal pension was set as 18 600 Huf.) Half of the children are brought up in households that have some debt. In the case of 22% of all the children, the household had payments outstanding of more than three months on public utilities and housing costs.

Children brought up in poverty often suffer from permanent disadvantages that determine and limit their subsequent possibilities as well. Because of compulsory school attendance most children participate in basic education. They seem to acquire the ability to read and write, though functional illiteracy is a problem for many people. Finishing primary school is not enough for participation in the labour market any more. But the child whose family cannot afford the necessary school equipment does not have the opportunity of attending extra classes or taking part in some school programmes. For such children it will be harder to progress to higher-level education.

78,8% of children in the sample were not disadvantaged in terms of basic physical needs - parents provided for their children even from a small income. However, in terms of relative measures of poverty, for many it was not possible to buy new clothes, 76% of the children had no form of holiday, and 15–16% of them did not have their own book or toy. 30% of children in poor families lived in environments that were unhealthy, such as damp draughty, hard to heat, overcrowded, flats in an unsafe area, on the edge of the town or city.

The smaller the income of households, the less needs were satisfied, and the risks of poverty were greater for smaller children. Children living with two or more siblings are likely to be in a significantly worse state than the others in all respects, excluding education and their parents' physical needs. Approximately, 1 in 10 of singletons and children with one sibling are threatened by multiple disadvantages, but this increases to 1 in 4 in case of children with more siblings. Romany households are overrepresented among large, poor families, though poverty

in large families is not only a Romany problem. Children living in villages were most disadvantaged in terms of income (13 890 Huf/person/month) and children living in county towns are in the best position (15 530 Huf/person/month). Problems with the quality of accommodation are the most significant in case of poor children living in the Capital. This could be due to their accommodation being dark (35%), damp (55%), unhealthy (26%) in an unsafe environment (43%), overcrowded (38%), and in an area of high unemployment (81%). Children living in villages are disadvantaged in relation to the amenities normally available in city flats – such as water piped into the house (23%), an inside lavatory (31%) or bathroom (27%).

Children brought up in families where there is no economically active family member suffer more and their disadvantages are multiple. Those living in Romany households are brought up under more unfavourable circumstances than the whole sample concerning their income and the labour-market state of adults. The satisfaction of their needs is at a lower level in either the provision of the properly equipped living accommodation or the basic, school-related needs of the children. The research therefore confirms unequivocally that Romany families, and other families with no active earners, are in the most disadvantaged position in Hungarian society.

Table 3. summarises the factors children lack concerning the satisfaction of their needs.

Child poverty – the broader context

ANDORKA, KOLOSI and VUKOVICH (1994) refer to research by the European Council in 1989 which examined the problems of the 38 million registered poor people (including children) considered to be living in poor circumstances, in the then 12 countries of the Union. The study concentrated mainly on the characteristics of families living below the poverty level, those with no job, and emigrant and migrant families. The survey was extended to those Eastern European countries in midst of overthrowing old regimes. At that time – according to a European measure – 8% of children living in Czechoslovakia, 12% of those living in Hungary and 23% of children living in Poland belonged to a proportion that could be considered poor. In the meantime poverty in Bulgaria, Romania, Moldavia, Lithuania, and Slovenia was constantly increasing among the population.

Table 4. presents the composition of poverty in Hungary according to data from 1993. The outstandingly high rate (33%) of poor children (0–19 year-olds) is very clear.

Table 3. The factors children lack concerning the satisfaction of their needs (%)

	N	%
What children lack concerning their needs		
one week holiday a year	1243	76,7
new pair of shoes	693	42,8
bicycle	432	26,7
fruits every day	319	19,7
nameday/birthday presents	314	19,4
own books	262	16,2
own toys	246	15,2
Sunday best	183	11,3
own bed	126	7,8
warm winter clothes	68	4,2
3 changes of underwear	66	4,1
own bed-clothes	62	3,8
eating three times a day	49	3,0
Altogether	1620	100
What children lack concerning their school-related needs		
extra classes	852	78,5
using a computer	754	69,5
regular sports	657	60,6
pocket money	541	49,9
participating in school programmes	256	23,6
necessary school equipments	156	14,4
Altogether	1085	100

(Source: DARVAS and TAUSZ, 2002)

Table 4. The composition of the poor in 1993

	Distribution of those living under the 60% of the mean income	
	Number	**Percentage**
Children (0–19 year-olds)	369	33,3
Unemployed	105	9,5
Housewife	63	5,7
Pensioner (old age)	124	11,2
Disability pensioner	75	6,8
Widow's pensioner	42	3,8
Other dependant	111	10,0
Other categories	218	19,7
Altogether	1107	100

(Source: ANDORKA, KOLOSI and VUKOVICH, 1994. pp. 96.)

When age groups are considered, the high poverty risk of children is seen to have increased dramatically in 1998/99, with the poverty rate for 0–2 year-olds being almost double the average rate. The proportion of the poor had increased among 3 to 6 year-olds as well; if we take the half of the mean as the poverty threshold, it has increased from 17.8% to 23.8% (MEDGYESI, SZÍVÓS and TÓTH, 2000).

Though most of the poor children live in families that became poor due to a range of causes, there is a high number of those children as well, who are without a family, and homeless, living partly or entirely on the street. Experts attribute the reasons to the increasing poverty and unemployment existing in many countries, and also to the large number of refugees, and the increasing rate of families that are in a difficult situation because of the lack of accommodation. A contributory factor is the number of parents unable to provide for their children within the family, and this leads to children living rough becoming a continual feature.

This European Council report dispelled the notion that street children are mainly a phenomenon of in Brazil and Mexico (where, for example, 100 thousand children are living on the street). Statistics have now shown that the countries of the "old continent" are subject to the same problems. European countries with the highest number of street children are, according to the report, Turkey, Romania, Russia, France and, (surprisingly perhaps) Hungary also features in these statistics with around two thousand.

The problem of street children is serious because, as they visibly demonstrate the allied effects of poverty – and the short- and long-term consequences of lack of health care, non-participation in education, and the social dangers of hunger and homelessness. Their defenceless position also makes them vulnerable to a range of other social harms such as prostitution. According to statistical data most street children are boys, the proportion of girls is significantly less.

Child labour and the exploitation of children

On the streets of the so called "developing" countries, the "third world", children who wash cars, clean shoes, sell gum or drinking water, etc. have been a usual sight for decades. Data now shows that many children and young people work in factories, mines, plantations, bars or kitchens and many are employed in homes as servants. In the world today – according to the data from the ILO (International Labour Organisation) – at least 100 million children work to earn money. The early entry of children into the labour market is a sign of poverty and even the increase in employment regulations is not improving this situation. However, there is a gender difference in the proportion of boys and girls among child workers. Boys are apparently in the so-called visible sector. Girls, who participate in

this paid work to a lesser extent than boys, are mainly engaged in domestic labour in private households instead, so their employment belongs to the category of the invisible sector.

One of the most serious consequences of child poverty is that – without the opportunity for proper education – these children are afflicted by cognitive, social and health disadvantages as well that will perpetuate poverty for them in adulthood. The poor child does not go to school most of the time, so he or she does not have the chance to acquire neither the most important knowledge nor the basic behavioural patterns essential for social integration.

Several educational problems surround poor children even if they otherwise attend school, as their school career is much shorter than their peers who live in better circumstances. It is not only financial difficulties that inhibit children's regular school attendance, but the negative attitudes of parents and their peer friendship networks towards social institutions often cause this non-participation. Thus there is a higher school drop-out rate, and this will not improve if the traditional model of education is maintained.

How can the schools attended by poor children be improved?

- They must not – for example – create a punishing atmosphere.
- They should encourage children to help and support each other.
- They should encourage pupil self-evaluation.
- They should offer choices for the pupils
- They should work on the basis of a "real-life" curriculum.
- They should use criterion-referenced exams instead of norm-referenced ones.
- They should place larger emphasis on the creative skills of children.

Beside the factors listed, schools should also pay attention to keeping contact with the parents. Without winning the parents over it is hard – or completely impossible – to persuade children to stay at school rather than go to work. This involves the giving up of the 'instant gratification' of a here-and-now income for the sake of the 'deferred gratification' of a future that may be improved through education but is less immediately visible for them.

We can also state that the communication skills of these children are characterised by many deficiencies, or even disabilities: these may include being taciturn, having restricted expression and vocabulary and indulging in symbolic violence. Misunderstandings among teachers and pupils during their interactions are frequent, everyday examples show that children cannot decode questions so their answers are inevitably lacking etc. Communication problems and the very low level of reading skills have a decisive role among those factors that keep the cognitive performance of poor children low. (See PISA, 2000, in MIHÁLY, 2002a; 2002b).

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PART TWO:
LAW AND POLICY FOR THE PROTECTION OF CHILDREN – NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES

Chapter 3
Protecting children: the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child in the context of international legal frameworks and provisions

Gyula Cserey (Hungary)

I. UN CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD (CRC)

Legal nature of the CRC

The CRC[1] is the first legally binding international instrument, which provides in a single text universally recognized standards for the realization of children's civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights. The CRC was adopted by the United Nations in November 1989, and has, to date, received unprecedented support from the world community[2]. The CRC was ratified by Hungary in 1990, and in 1991 by the UK and Norway. As far as the ratification at the EU level is concerned, all Member States have already ratified the CRC. In so doing, the CRC binds all governments and members of these societies to the principles, goals and standards set out therein.

The CRC requires States Parties (all states which have ratified the CRC) to take all appropriate measures necessary to implement its provisions. The CRC also requires States Parties to monitor the progress of its implementation efforts and report to the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child (the 'UN Committee'), the body charged with the responsibility of monitoring compliance, at regular intervals (Article 43).

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[1] Brief chronology of some events leading up to the CRC is attached hereto as Annex I.

[2] Two optional protocols are attached to the CRC: the Optional Protocol on the involvement of children in armed conflict and the Optional Protocol on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography

Key provisions

- The CRC is in force in virtually the entire community of nations, thus providing a common ethical and legal framework to develop an agenda for children. At the same time, it constitutes a common reference against which progress may be assessed.
- For the first time it enshrines a formal commitment to ensure the realization of human rights and monitor progress on the situation of children.
- It defines children's rights as human rights, and as such they are fundamental rights inherent to the human dignity of all people, including children. Children's rights can no longer be perceived as an option, as a question of favour or kindness to children or as an expression of charity. They generate obligations and responsibilities that all must honour and respect.
- It provides a reference for many organizations working with and for children, including non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and agencies within the UN system.
- It reaffirms that all rights are important and essential for the full development of the child and that addressing each and every child is important.
- It reaffirms the notion of State accountability for the realization of human rights and the values of transparency and public scrutiny that are associated with it.
- It promotes an international system of solidarity designed to achieve the realization of children's rights. Using the CRC's reporting process as a reference, donor countries are required to provide assistance in areas where particular needs have been identified; recipient countries are required to direct overseas development assistance (ODA) to that end too.
- It highlights and defends the family's role in children's lives.

Key provisions focus on

- non-discrimination (Article 2);
- best interests of the child (Article 3);
- right to life, survival and development (Article 6);
- children's active participation is society (Article 23).

Role of the governments and monitoring

Through its reviews of country reports (Article 44), the UN Committee urges all levels of government to use the CRC as a guide in policy-making and implementation to:

- develop a comprehensive national agenda for children;
- develop permanent bodies or mechanisms to promote coordination, monitoring and evaluation of activities throughout all sectors of government;
- ensure that all legislation is fully compatible with the CRC;
- make children visible in policy development processes throughout government by introducing child impact assessments;
- carry out adequate budget analysis to determine the portion of public funds spent on children and to ensure that these resources are being used effectively;
- ensure that sufficient data are collected and used to improve the plight of all children in each jurisdiction;
- raise awareness and disseminate information on the CRC by providing training to all those involved in government policy-making and working with or for children;
- involve civil society – including children themselves – in the process of implementing and raising awareness of child rights;
- set up independent statutory offices – ombudspersons, commissions and other institutions – to promote children's rights.

II. CHILDREN IN NEED OF PROTECTION

Figures

A lack of protection affects children in many different situations. In Central and Eastern Europe alone, almost 1.5 million children live in public care. Globally, an estimated 13 million children are orphaned as a result of AIDS alone. More than 1 million children worldwide live in detention as a result of coming into conflict with the law. Approximately 246 million children work, with about 180 million engaged in the worst forms of child labour. An estimated 1.2 million children are trafficked every year. 2 million children are believed to be exploited through prostitution and pornography. At any given time over 300 000 child soldiers, some as young as eight, are exploited in armed conflicts in over 30 countries around the world. More than 2 million children are estimated to have died as a direct result of armed conflict since 1990. An estimated 100 to 130 million women and girls alive today have undergone some form of genital mutilation/cutting. 40 million children below the age of 15 suffer from abuse and neglect and require health and social care.

(http://www.unicef.org.nz/about/our-work/childprotection.html)

International standards

- Juvenile justice: the CRC outlines the rights of children in conflict with the law in Article 37 and Article 40. Other main international standards for children in conflict with the law, and the administration of juvenile justice are: United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice, United Nations Guidelines for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency, and United Nations Rules for the Protection of Juveniles Deprived of their Liberty.
- Children in public care: the CRC outlines the rights of children deprived of parental care in its Articles 9, 20 and 25[3].
- Child trafficking: the CRC outlines the rights of children to be protected from trafficking in Articles 11 and 35. The CRC on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women also refers to trafficking in its Article 6. Other important international agreements related to child trafficking are: Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography, the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, and the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention.
- Sexual abuse and exploitation: the CRC outlines the rights of children to be protected from sexual abuse and exploitation in Article 34. Other international agreements designed to protect children from sexual abuse and exploitation are: Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography, Stockholm Declaration and Agenda for Action Yokohama Global Commitment.
- Protection of children during armed conflicts: the rights of children to be protected during armed conflict is outlined in Articles 38 and 39 of the CRC. The Third and Fourth Geneva Conventions and Additional Protocol

[3] The Committee on the Rights of Child recently recommended the drafting of UN guidelines to ensure the protection or alternative care of children who do not or cannot live with their families. Especially given increasing numbers of children affected by armed conflict, or living in families and communities affected by HIV/AIDS, such standards are needed in order to better protect children deprived of parental care. Together with International Social Service, UNICEF has developed a series of papers explaining the importance of these standards. The standards will provide guidance on ways to support families to remain together. They will also promote the development of systems to ensure that out-of-home care is used only when needed and ensures children's protection and well-being.

I apply only to international armed conflicts. Additional Protocol II applies to non-international armed conflicts. The articles of the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, the Statute of the International Criminal Court, the Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour, the Optional Protocol to the CRC on the involvement of children in armed conflict, and the resolutions of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement apply to both international and non-international armed conflicts. The statutes of the International Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda apply to the armed conflicts which took place in those countries.

- Child labour: Article 32 of the CRC outlines the rights of children to be free from economic exploitation and hazardous labour. The Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention and the Minimum Age Convention also deal with the subject in greater detail.
- Children with disabilities: Article 2 and 23 of the CRC explain the rights of children with disabilities to enjoy full rights without discrimination, and to enjoy special care.
- Birth registration: the CRC outlines the children's rights to birth registration in Article 7. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights refers to this right in Article 24. The Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness refers to children's right to nationality.
- Female genital mutilation/cutting: Article 24 of the CRC calls for abolishing harmful traditional practises such as female genital mutilation/cutting.
- Child marriage: the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women refers to child marriage in Article 16. Other international agreements related to child marriage are: the Convention on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age for Marriage and Registration of Marriages. The African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child and the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa also condemns child marriage.
- Violence: the CRC outlines the rights of children to be protected from violence in Articles 19 and 39.
- Discrimination: the CRC outlines the rights of children to be free from discrimination in Articles 8 and 14. The Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination also protects children from discrimination.
- Child mortality: the fourth Millennium Development Goal aims for a two-thirds reduction of under-five mortality rates between 1990 and 2015.

International action

At the 1990 World Summit for Children (WSC), world leaders made a joint commitment and issued a universal appeal to give every child a better future. The WSC set out the following priority points:

- a one-third reduction in 1990 under-five death rates (or to 70 per 1000 live births, whichever is less);
- a halving of 1990 maternal mortality rates;
- halving of 1990 rates of malnutrition among the world's under-fives (to include the elimination of micronutrient deficiencies, support for breast-feeding by all maternity units, and a reduction in the incidence of low birth weight to less than 10%);
- the achievement of 90% immunization among under-ones, the eradication of polio, the elimination of neonatal tetanus, a 90% reduction in measles cases, and a 95% reduction in measles deaths (compared to pre-immunization levels);
- a halving of child deaths caused by diarrhoeal disease;
- a one-third reduction in child deaths from acute respiratory infections;
- basic education for all children and completion of primary education by at least 80% for girls as well as boys;
- clean water and safe sanitation for all communities;
- acceptance in all countries of the CRC on the Rights of the Child, including improved protection for children in especially difficult circumstances;
- universal access to high-quality family planning information and services in order to prevent pregnancies that are too early, too closely spaced, too late, or too many.

(http://www.unicef.org/specialsession/docs_new/documents/A-RES-S27-2E.pdf, page 2).

The progress that has been made since the WSC is documented in the report of UN Secretary-General entitled 'We the Children: Meeting the Promises of the World Summit for Children'. In 2002 the UN General Assembly held a Special Session on children and adolescents of the world. The governments reaffirmed their commitment to the purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter, and to complete the unfinished agenda of the WSC. According to the Declaration, the governments reaffirmed their commitments "to create a world fit for children in which sustainable human development, taking into account the best interests of the child, is founded on principles of democracy, equality, non-discrimination, peace and social justice and the universality, indivisibility, interdependence and interrelatedness of all human rights, including the right to development". (http://www.unicef.org/specialsession/docs_new/documents/A-RES-S27-2E.pdf , page 2).

The Special Session outlined the following principles under which international action should take place:

- Put children first. In all actions related to children, the best interests of the child must be a primary consideration.
- Eradicate poverty: invest in children. The cycle of poverty must be broken within a single generation, united in the conviction that investments in children and the realization of their rights are among the most effective ways to eradicate poverty. Immediate action must be taken to eliminate the worst forms of child labour.
- Leave no child behind. Each girl and boy is born free and equal in dignity and rights. Therefore, all forms of discrimination affecting children must end.
- Care for every child. Children must get the best possible start in life. Their survival, protection, growth and development in good health and with proper nutrition is the essential foundation of human development. Concerted efforts will be made to fight infectious diseases, tackle major causes of malnutrition and nurture children in a safe environment that enables them to be physically healthy, mentally alert, emotionally secure, socially competent and able to learn.
- Educate every child. All girls and boys must have access to and complete primary education that is free, compulsory and of good quality as a cornerstone of an inclusive basic education. Gender disparities in primary and secondary education must be eliminated.
- Protect children from harm and exploitation. Children must be protected against any acts of violence, abuse, exploitation and discrimination, as well as all forms of terrorism and hostage-taking.
- Protect children from war. Children must be protected from the horrors of armed conflict. Children under foreign occupation must also be protected, in accordance with the provisions of international humanitarian law.
- Combat HIV/AIDS. Children and their families must be protected from the devastating impact of human immunodeficiency virus/acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (HIV/AIDS).
- Listen to children and ensure their participation. Children and adolescents are resourceful citizens capable of helping to build a better future for all. Their right to express themselves and to participate in all matters affecting them should be respected, in accordance with their age and maturity.
- Protect the Earth for children. The natural environment must be safeguarded, with its diversity of life, its beauty and its resources, all of which enhance the quality of life, for present and future generations. Every assistance will be given to protect children and minimize the impact of natural disasters and environmental degradation on them.

III. RIGHTS OF THE CHILD IN THE CONTEXT OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

The CRC and broader, international agreements on human rights

Education: the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the UN outlines that parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that may be given to their children. The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights states that the States Parties undertake to have respect for the liberty of parents and legal guardians to choose for the children schools, other than those established by the public authorities, which confirm to such minimum educational standards as may be laid down or approved by the State and to ensure the religious and moral education of the children in conformity with their own convictions. Also, it states that primary education must be compulsory and available free to all, and secondary education in its different forms, including technical and vocational secondary education, must be made generally available and accessible to all by every appropriate means, and in particular by the progressive introduction of free education. The First Protocol to the COR states that nobody may be denied the right to education and the states must respect the rights of parents to ensure such education and teaching in conformity with their own religious and philosophical convictions. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights states that the States Parties undertake to have respect for the liberty of parents to ensure the religious and moral education of their children in conformity with their own convictions.

Child labour: The ILO Convention 182 calls for the prohibition and immediate action for the elimination of the worst forms of child labour. It defines a child as a person under 18 years of age, and 'worst forms of child labour' as: all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom, forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict; the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography, for pornographic performances, or for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs, and work which is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children. The ILO Convention 138 defines the minimum age as 15, but several exceptions involving developing or third-word countries, and light work also exist in the Convention.

Child Abduction: The 1980 Convention on the Civil Aspects of International Child Abduction (Hague Conference) is aimed to deal with situations where a person has wrongfully taken a child(ren) from one country to another or keeps them in a country without the other parent's permission or legal authority to do so.

In other words, this Convention concerns wrongful removal/retention from the child's state of habitual residence (country of residence).

Jurisdictional matters: The 1996 Convention on Jurisdiction, applicable law, recognition, enforcement and co-operation in respect of parental responsibility and measures for the protection of the children (Hague Conference) lays down rules on jurisdiction, applicable law, recognition and enforcement of measures on parental responsibility and child protection. The jurisdiction lays in principle with the Contracting State of the habitual residence of the child. A mechanism is set out for co-operation between central authorities.

European legal instruments adopted by the Council of Europe

The 1950 European Convention on Human Rights protects fundamental rights and freedoms and sets up the European Court of Human Rights, capable of guaranteeing their respect. A number of provisions are relevant to the family and children, such as the rights to respect to family life (Article 8). The 1967 European Convention on the adoption of children aims to harmonise the laws of Member States and to avoid conflict of laws where the adoption involves a transfer of the child from one State to another. It deals with the conditions for and legal consequences of an adoption. The 1975 European Convention on the legal status of children born out of wedlock seeks to assimilate the status of children born out of marriage with that of children born by married parents. The 1980 European Convention on recognition and enforcement of decisions concerning custody of children and on restoration of custody of children recognises in its Preamble that the welfare of the child is of overriding importance in reaching decisions on custody. It seeks to provide a remedy to the difficulties arising caused by custody disputes between parents living in different European States. The 1996 European Convention on the exercise of children's rights aims to protect the best interests of children. It contains a number of procedural measures designed to ensure that children's rights are respected.

EU law

In fact there is no single EU policy on children, but there are many acts addressed to children rights[4]. A major breakthrough can be envisaged once the Treaty estab-

[4] For example, in consumer policy, there are acts prohibiting selling toys to children which do not adhere strictly to quality standards. The EU also protects children from abusive advertisements and violent programmes. The EU set the minimum working age of 15 years to protect children form exploitation and up until 18 years of age there are safety limits on youth employment which can not be exceeded. On another level, the EU ensures the preservation of a proper balance between work and family life. To do this, EU law allows parents to take 3 month parental leave each until the child

lishing a Constitution for Europe ('Constitution'), together with the Charter of Fundamental Rights ('Charter') which is incorporated into the Constitution, enters into force. However, nothing in the text of the Constitution or the Charter can be interpreted as creating new rights or reinforcing existing ones beyond national law and practice, and these texts should be applied pursuant to the principle of subsidiarity. The Constitution restates and amplifies the Charter's themes throughout the Constitution's extensive assertions of EU enforcement powers. Therefore, it is hardly clear that the Charter 'does not extend the scope of application or Union law' or 'establish any new power' or 'task'. As a practical matter, the Charter announces numerous rights not previously enunciated in the European Convention on Human Rights ('ECHR') and its various protocols – and time has already demonstrated that the ECHR's principles can intrude upon the constitutional policies of member states. Moreover, as happened with the Bill of Rights in the U.S. Constitution, the broad rights stated in the Charter may evolve rather quickly into fundamental principles of law applicable throughout the EU system of justice - both at the EU and member state levels. As a result, the legislative, judicial, executive and administrative functions of the EU will unquestionably expand to fill in the numerous details of the Charter's rights regime[5].

According to the Constitution, the protection of the rights of the child is one of the objectives of the EU (Article I-3). The Charter, as part of the Constitution, devotes specific attention to children's rights:

- Education: Article II-74(3) outlines the right of parents to ensure the education and teaching of their children in conformity with their religious, philosophical and pedagogical convictions, in accordance with the national laws governing the exercise of such freedom and right.
- Protection and care: Article II-84(1) states that children have the right to such protection and care as is necessary for their well-being.
- Views of the child: Article II-84(1) confirms that children may express their views freely. Such views must be taken into consideration on matters which concern them in accordance with their age and maturity.
- Best interest of children: Article II-84(2) provides that in all actions relating to children, whether taken by public authorities or private institutions, the child's best interests must be a primary consideration.

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reaches the age of 8. Through various policies, the EU also attaches great importance to combating child pornography, sex tourism, trafficking of humans and domestic violence.

[5] 'The Impact of the European Charter of Fundamental Rights and the Proposed EU Constitution on the Domestic Policies of EU Member States' by Richard G. Wilkins and Marya Reed http://www.spuc.org.uk/documents/papers/EUCharterandConstitution.pdf

- Children and parents: Article II-84(3) outlines that every child has the right to maintain on a regular basis a personal relationship and direct contact with both his or her parents, unless that is contrary to his or her interests.
- Child and young people labour: Article II-92 states in no uncertain terms that the employment of children is prohibited. The minimum age of admission to employment may not be lower than the minimum school-leaving age, without prejudice to such rules as may be more favourable to young people and except for limited derogations. Young people admitted to work must have working conditions appropriate to their age and be protected against economic exploitation and any work likely to harm their safety, health or physical, mental, moral or social development or to interfere with their education.
- Parental leave: Article II-93 states that in order to reconcile family and professional life, everyone has the right to protection from dismissal for a reason connected with maternity and the right to paid maternity leave and to parental leave following the birth or adoption of a child.

On another level, the Member States that negotiated the 1996 Hague Convention on Jurisdiction, Applicable Law, Recognition, Enforcement and Cooperation in respect of Parental Responsibility and Measures for the Protection of Children have acknowledged its value with regard to the protection of children. In line with the judgment on external powers delivered by the Court of Justice in the AETR case, Member States are no longer free to approve the 1996 Convention on their own, since Regulation No 1347/2000 has been adopted in the Community and power is therefore now shared between the Community itself and the Member States. But the Convention does not allow for accession by the Community. By way of exception, therefore, the Council has authorised those Member States that are bound by Community provisions in the field to sign the Convention in the interest of the Community. The Member States signed the Convention simultaneously on 1 April 2003. At the same time they made a declaration aimed at ensuring that the Community rules on recognition and enforcement would be applied consistently. The Decision authorising the signature was followed by a proposal that would authorise ratification.

When it comes to accession negotiations, and especially to the Copenhagen criteria which is the basis for accession to the Union, the European Commission places special emphasis on children rights issues (e.g. in the case of Romania). As regards Turkey, the European Commission underlined that legislation and implementation measures need to be consolidated and broadened, specifically in terms

of the zero tolerance policy in the fight against torture and ill-treatment and, among other things, the implementation of provisions relating to children's rights including the prohibition of child labour and International Labour Organisation (ILO) standards.

The European Union as the world's largest donor has a crucial contribution to make to the promotion of the rights of children through its external policies with a special focus on three particularly vulnerable groups: child labourers, children affected by HIV/AIDS and children affected by conflict. The EU Development Policy Statement of 2000 outlines the objectives of development cooperation in which children's rights are identified as a cross-cutting issue which are seen "at once objectives in themselves and vital factors in strengthening the impact and sustainability of cooperation".
(http://europa.eu.int/comm/development/body/legislation/docs/council_statement.pdf).

The Cotonou Agreement is a legally binding document which outlines the priorities and objectives to be followed in cooperation with the African Caribbean Pacific countries. The implementation of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child is referred to in the preamble and children are specifically mentioned in Article 26 whereby cooperation under the agreement is to 'support policies, measures and operations aimed at protecting the rights of children and youth, especially those of girl children'. In addition there are a couple of specific references to child soldiers, children in conflict and child labour. Further, the Dutch Presidency urged the adoption of a Council Regulation furthering a coherent EU policy on the total elimination of child labour linked to the provision of fulltime elementary education for all children up to 14 years of age; at least 8% of ODA to formal elementary education; strategy to integrate out-of-school (working) children into education system by 2005; special provisions to ensure integration of girls and young children from vulnerable groups (including absolute poverty) into formal school system by 2005.

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ANNEX I
Brief chronology of some events leading up to the CRC

1913 Birth of the idea of an International Association for the protection of children.

1919 Creation of the Committee for the Protection of Children by the League of Nations. The States are no longer sovereign on the subject of children's rights.

1924 Adoption of the Declaration of the Rights of the Child by the League of Nations (Geneva, September 26, 1924). No modifications are made to the text.

1934 The League of Nations approves, for the second time, the Declaration of the Rights of the Child.

1946 The UN Economic and Social Council (founded in 1945) recommends taking up the Geneva Declaration again so as to include the peoples of today's world, as in 1924. Immediately following World War II, a universal movement for children favours the creation, by the UN General Assembly, of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF).

1947 Proclamation of the Declaration of the Rights of Man by the UN General Assembly. The rights and freedoms of children are implicitly included.

1959 On November 20, the General Assembly of the United Nations votes unanimously to adopt the Declaration of the Rights of the Child, made up of 10 major principles. However, this text does not have legal force.

1979 Proclamation of the International Year of the Child by the UN General Assembly, to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration of the Rights of the Child and encourage its application.

1983 Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) with consultative status in the United Nations organize themselves systematically, setting up a group to draft the Convention.

1989 Adoption by the UN General Assembly (New York, November 20, 1989) of the CRC.

1990 World Summit for Children, where a Plan of Action is adopted for the 1990s, as the frame of reference for National Plans of Action to be developed in each country.

ANNEX II
International Legal Standards:

General

Convention on the Rights of the Child

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Child Labour

Slavery Convention

Protocol amending the Slavery Convention

Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery

ILO Convention 138, Minimum Age

ILO Convention 182 concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour

Recommendation 190 Concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)

International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)

Child Soldiers

The Draft Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflicts

The ILO Convention 182 concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour

Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and Relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts

Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflict

Relevant Treaties and Resolutions from the Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers Webpage

Children in Armed Conflict and Displacement: The Convention, Treaties and International Agreements (CRIN Webpage)

Juvenile Justice

UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice (Beijing Rules)

UN Rules for the Protection of Juveniles Deprived of their Liberty

UN Guidelines for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency (Riyadh Guidelines)

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)

Parental Responsibility, Orphans and Abandoned or Abducted Children

Convention on Jurisdiction, Applicable Law, Recognition, Enforcement and Cooperation in respect of Parental Responsibility and Measures for the Protection of Children (Hague Conference)

United Nations Rules for the Protection of Juveniles Deprived of their Liberty

Principles for the Protection of Persons with Mental Illnesses and the Improvement of Mental Health Care

International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)

Convention on the Civil Aspects of International Child Abduction (Hague Conference)

Refugees

Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees

Convention Against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment

Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons

Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness

Street Children

UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice (Beijing Rules)

UN Rules for the Protection of Juveniles Deprived of their Liberty

Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment

Plight of street children, G.A. res. 47/126

Corporal Punishment

Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

United Nations Rules for the Protection of Juveniles Deprived of their Liberty

United Nations Guidelines for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency (The Riyadh Guidelines)

United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice (The Beijing Rules)

Regional Standards

African (Banjul) Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights

African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child

American Convention on Human Rights

European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms

European Charter of Fundamental Rights (part of the Constitutional Treaty)

European Convention on the adoption of children (Council of Europe)

European Convention on the legal status of children born out of wedlock (Council of Europe)

European Convention on recognition and enforcement of decisions concerning custody of children and on restoration of custody of children (Council of Europe)

European Convention on the exercise of children's rights (Council of Europe)

Chapter 4
Child protection policy with particular reference to the UK and Europe

Sarah Preston (United Kingdom)

Introduction

As already discussed in chapter 1, the discourses of childhood and youth produce differing images of how children and young people are perceived and inform social and legal actions towards them. Whether children are viewed as needing constraints on their behaviour or as being vulnerable, policies towards them highlight the duty of adults to protect them from themselves or the world around them. Whilst social policy and laws relating to children in many European countries have progressively changed to reflect children's rights, the idea of child protection still remains a politically and socially sensitive area. However, despite the cultural and legal differences that can occur with transference of child protection systems across borders it has become imperative to overcome these problems and establish common policies and practices in relation to children and their protection (BECKETT, 2003). Whilst this chapter draws mainly on the British experience of the development of law and policy for child protection some of the wider international dimensions are also explored.

Historical Context in Britain

Within Britain and many industrialised countries, children and young people, as dependants in society, have progressively received and become the focus for policies for their care, protection and provision. This is not to assume that historically children were unprotected or cherished, but over the last 150 years systems have become more formalised and complex, reflecting the changing nature of society. As the first nation to become industrialised, Britain saw the growth of cities and the exploitation of sources of cheap labour, which included children. The new economic conditions gave rise to changing attitudes towards children's welfare. Initially the workplace was the focus of concern, but this has now extended into the private sphere of the family.

The first significant step came in 1884 with the setting up of The London Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (now NSPCC) (BECKET, 2003).

The NSPCC offered the only form of protection for children until 1889 when the 'children's charter' was passed. For the first time children received legalised protection from abuse by parents and employers, with specific guidelines to protect children in the workplace (LINDEN, 2003). In 1908 the Children's Act introduced juvenile courts and the registering of foster parents. The recognition of the offence of sexual abuse within the family also became a judiciary matter allowing intervention. In 1933 all previous pieces of child protection legislation were made coherent in one act. In 1948 the Children's Act established a children's committee and Children's Officer in all local authorities, mirroring the parliamentary children's care committee which operated at national level from 1945. Significant legislation under the Local Authority Social Services Act 1970 combined all local authority social work services and social care provision, including that for children, in order to provide one service that would meet the needs of the family and the community (HEARN, PÖSÖ, SMITH, WHITE and KORPINEN, 2004).

The 1970s proved to be a significant time for social services, and events called into question this generic social work provision. An inquiry into the death of Maria Colwell found a lack of coordination between child protection agencies and set up local child protection committees. From 1975 this more proactive approach required the setting up by all local authorities of an 'at risk' register, on which should be placed the names of all children for whom child abuse was suspected (LINDEN, 2003). This development sought to improve communication between differing agencies involved in child protection issues such as social workers, police and the medical profession and to prevent deaths such as Maria's from occurring.

In subsequent years, social services departments were often seen as being too zealous in their interventions with families, particularly in respect of suspected child sexual abuse. In 1987, social workers from the county of Cleveland, in conjunction with certain local doctors, were seen to have intervened too early to protect children from sexual abuse, removing children from their families. When a number of these cases of alleged abuse was not proven, the parents and children were both seen as victims of agencies in a system that was supposed to act in the interest of the child welfare.

The policy emphasis now shifted away from removing children to 'places of safety' outside the family, to support for 'children in need' as far as possible within a family setting (BECKETT, 2003). The Children's Act 1989 identified all vulnerable children whether they were disabled, had special needs or might be suffering from neglect or abuse, as 'children in need'. The act gave children further rights to be protected from harm and exploitation, with the key doctrines be-

ing that the best location for children is within a family, in a community. Those who could not stay within their 'natural' family environment were deemed to be 'looked after' by the local authority. This might be within a special residential facility or preferably with a foster or adoptive family.

In the last two decades attention has also been focused on children's vulnerability to adults in a position of trust and responsibility, in services which are provided for their education and welfare, including settings in which they are 'looked after'. This has led to various checks being required for those working with children as teachers, social workers, youth workers etc. The Protection of Children Act (1999) gave tighter guidance to try and prevent paedophiles from working with children.

The main failings of social services in relation to child abuse following the death of VICTORIA CLIMBIÉ, were most recently outlined by the British government in a discussion document called 'Every Child Matters'. This has led to a new Children Bill, the main proposals being to establish: a Children's Commissioner to oversee child protection issues; a new tracking system to ensure better inter-agency communication; a duty of responsibility for agencies to communicate and promote the well being of children; greater responsibility for local authorities to ensure children services take political accountability for child welfare (BATTY, 4/3/04).

What is child protection? The social Construction of child abuse/harm

Since early Victorian times, in Britain there has been a struggle to keep a balance between protecting children against potential harm by their carers, and maintaining the privacy and autonomy of the family (BECKETT, 2003). However, as within many industrial societies, the regulation and protection of children has over time moved away from the private sphere of the home to intervention by the state.

Although child protection is referred to in many texts, across western child welfare agencies during the 1970s and 1980s a new term swept through policy, terminology and eventually practice, and that is the term 'abuse (THORPE, 1994). Thus in order to determine what the term 'child protection' means it is necessary to examine the concept of abuse and the way it has been constructed (PARTON, THORPE and WATTAM, 1997). Child abuse suggests an act or detrimental relationship between the child and a carer, or other adult in a position of trust. The term can also include neglect of a child (an intended act) or failure or omission to act to prevent abuse or neglect, which may not be seen as deliberate (COLTON, SANDERS and WILLIAMS, 2001). The concept of child protection tends to be used in connection with the support services and processes that react to, or seek to pre-

vent child abuse, that are regulated by the state. The term 'child protection' implies a positive response and accountability by practitioners and the protection system to intervene early to protect the child and put a stop to any harmful relationship (LINDEN, 2003). Definitions of child protection and abuse will vary from time to time and place to place and involve value judgements that reflect the differential power relationships between children and adults.

The way abuse is understood or constructed in any society is intrinsic to the development of policy and the implementation of a child protection system. In Britain, the Department of Health (2003) argues that the amount of abuse in society is dependent on society's 'threshold' of what is abuse. Official definitions within Britain separate abuse into three categories, physical, sexual and emotional, and include the potential for as well as the idea of actual harm. Within the Children Act 1989 harm means ill treatment or impairment of health and development, development means physical, intellectual, emotional, social or behavioural development, health means physical or mental health, ill-treatment includes sexual abuse and forms of ill-treatment which are not physical (COLTON, SANDERS & WILLIAMS, 2001. pp. 129.).

Cross cultural complexities and European perspectives

Although many European countries have developed policies for child protection over a similar time frame to the UK, their approaches to dealing with child abuse vary due to different cultural, welfare and legal practices (BECKETT, 2003). Examination of the British and French systems illustrates this. The British tend to focus on evidence gathering for the purpose of proof of abuse for the English legal system before legal action is considered. Therefore the 'family' experience a reactive and investigative procedure that is adversarial often before any charges are laid. The approach developed has grown out of a moral panic created from reactions to child abuse. The French, as well as many other European countries, operate within a Roman law structure. This system is less adversarial since the child protection systems do not have to gather evidence before acting but instead refer the case to a judge therefore avoiding the destructive force of investigation process prior to going to law. The whole process is more about discussion and involvement (BECKETT, 2003).

Another difficulty for child protection services internationally derives from cultural practices which illustrate different thresholds for child abuse. A good example of the cultural differences between European countries is the parents 'Right to Smack.' As STAINTON-ROGERS (2000) argues it is an emotive subject that is much debated in the UK, and examined in relation to the Human Rights Act. Yet

Sweden and some other European countries have already legislated against smacking. However, in other countries and cultures the beating of a child with a stick is tolerated.

The point that is being made is that what is deemed acceptable in one country would not be so within another. There are also cross-cultural differences existing within countries emanating from religious and cultural belief. For example, some Middle Eastern and African countries practice the circumcision of young females. The problem is that although such practices are acceptable in some cultures others might view them as a ritualised form of child abuse. This difference between cultural and religious beliefs causes problems for a unilateral child protection system and difficulties for transference of laws and systems to other countries and within societies (BECKETT, 2003).

Another problem with child protection law is the number of agencies involved in the delivery of child protection. In the UK these include social services, National Health Service, the police and non-governmental organisations such as the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. Each service will have its own agenda: for example social services are concerned with the physical and social aspects, the NHS with the medical aspects and the police with the legal aspects. If child protection is difficult within a given society, the setting up of agencies and transferable procedures between countries is even more problematic. However, there are a number of factors that make the creation of Europe-wide policy increasingly pressing (BECKETT, 2003).

Towards an EU Policy for Child Protection

Since the 1980s children's rights have become a global issue as nations have gradually become more aware of the impact of social and economic conditions on children's lives. This has been reflected in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) being approved in 1989 and now adopted by 171 countries worldwide. Yet there has been no consistency in how quickly different aspects of the convention are being applied within nation states. Children's lack of power and their invisibility within mainstream policy means that their rights maybe overridden by individual countries' economic and political interests.

As chapter 7 which discusses advocacy shows, although family policy is usually seen as the place for child policy, it ignores those who do not have a family and tends to override the child's interests in favour of the parents. Regulating child protection within the EU seeks to benefit those children who are socially excluded such as ethnic minority, travellers, homeless and those who have lost their nearest relatives through war. However, tackling issues of social exclusion is

complex because of the differing cultural groupings across Europe, but one fifth of children are within socially excluded groups.

In spite of European countries having adopted the CRC, a number of examples have shown that the law across Europe is failing to protect children from many forms of abuse. These instances include high profile cases of physical and sexual abuse within nation states, as well as abusive situations that cross international borders such as Internet child pornography, child paedophile rings, and the trafficking of children from Albania and China for sex tourism, or to work in sweat shops by organised gangs.

Although there are EU treaties to tackle these issues there are practical problems of implementation across borders. In 1999 the European commission decided to publish a communication on children this would define a policy framework that would be followed up by a well resourced Action Programme for children, central to this would be a Children's Unit, its primary objective to develop a coherent policy to coordinate across the EU. To put this into practice will require considerable political cooperation and key decision-makers across Europe at both national and organisational level (RUXTON, 2003).

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See also:

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Chapter 5
Children's Protection and Rights in Hungary

Compiled by Klára Tarkó and László Lippai (Hungary)

The concept of child protection

As in the UK, over time the definition of child protection in Hungary has had various interpretations. According to the Child Protection Act (1997): "Child protection is the promotion of children's upbringing in the family, preventing his or her endangerment, and it is an activity directed at providing substitute protection for a child who is estranged from parental care or care by other relatives. Child protection is ensured by basic provisions of child welfare, child protection professional provisions and official provisions defined by the law providing financial, in kind and personal care" (Act XXXI. Of 1997, 14.§.).

Child protection covers all children in principle, but the extent and importance of state intervention and the means it uses to intervene in the life of the child and his or her family depends on the different ways the child is brought up. Child protection procedures are invoked by the state or local authority when the parents cannot provide for the child due to financial reasons or if there are moral issues preventing them from remaining in the family. The authorities also intervene in the case of those families whose educational level is not sufficient to ensure the upbringing up the child. This may also include those children who need special education.

The institution system of child protection in Hungary

The operation of the child protection system is the task of the national state and local government. This institutional system of provisions is regulated by the Social Act (1993) and the Child Protection Act (1997). In the case of child protection, it is the authorities that order institutional intervention, as the child, who has to be protected, is defenceless. While in the case of social provision the person in need decides whether or not to seek assistance. These acts define the scope of provision to be made by each authority based on the number of inhabitants and size of an area. The main objective is to ensure that necessary services are available within a reasonable distance from where people live. Since the 1993 Social Act, local authorities have been allowed to contract out service provision to other

legally constituted agencies such as voluntary organisations, church and community groups, and individuals. Besides local government, the Child Protection Act also identifies "natural and legal entities, and other organisations that are not legal entities" as providers of child protection.

As well as outlining financial provision, the Child Protection Act of 1997 determines the basic standards required for child welfare, the promotion of which is primarily the responsibility of local government. It has resulted in considerable changes in the tasks undertaken by local government at county level. Professional child protection is made available to children who cannot be brought up in their own families. Alternatives to family provision are based as far as possible on the family model. An important ethical position is to respect children's rights as well as their needs, reflecting changes nationally and internationally through the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child.

The Child Protection Act separates the provision of services from the activities required to monitor and enforce standards. Official tasks are overseen by an independent notary and a court of guardians appointed by a local authority. At the level of town or borough the official role is mainly concerned with preventive activities and many problems are resolved at this local level without proceeding further. At this level action may involve taking initial protection proceedings, providing temporary accommodation for the child away from the family, and taking statements of admission of guilt, perhaps by a father. The professional training and competencies required for these interventions are overseen by the town or borough level courts of guardians.

The Child Protection Act and other provision

The broad framework of prevailing children's rights is enshrined in the UN Treaty on Children's rights signed on the 20th of November 1989 which became part of the Hungarian legal system after the announcement of Act LXIV of 1991. Additionally, the Constitution of the Hungarian Republic protects the institutions of marriage and family, includes parents' rights to choose the form of their child's education, and defines the state's duty of care for the safety, education and interests of young people. Together these statutes enshrine every child's right to care and protection from his or her family, state and society that is essential for proper development. The Constitution prohibits any discrimination by race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, and property, birth or other status.

A number of public and legal services support the rights of children as part of the more general system of rights through family law, public education, health

care and criminal legal orders serving their enforcement. The specific situations concerning child protection and guardianship administration are laid down through the Child Protection Act XXXI. of 1997. As well as the broad duties for local government already mentioned, this act contains regulations referring to children's rights and the system of child protection, the regulations of child welfare and child protection provisions. This includes financial and personal care of children, orders referring to official child protection, the organisational and procedural regulations of guardianship administration, and regulations referring to data protection. Its aim is to prevent and stop the child's endangerment, to compensate for missing parental care, and to promote the integration of young adults into society.

The basic principles of the Act are:

- Primarily it is the family of the child who is entitled and obliged to educate the child, and the state and the local government should support this;
- Further responsibilities should be defined by the state and the local government concerning the education of the child;
- Official intervention in the family's life can be allowed only if it is unavoidable on behalf the child;
- The child taken out of the family should preferably be placed with adoptive or foster parents and if this is not possible, at a homely children's home.

The experience of the period since the Child Protection Act came into force on the 1st of November, 1997 shows that this regulation is effective in serving children's rights and the development of a transparent and controllable child protection system. It was amended by Act IX of 2002 and Act IV of 2003, which further specified children's rights, strengthened preventive services, made provision for mothers who were victims of domestic violence and refined the regulations on who can adopt a child.

Child protection, children's rights and financial provision

The aim of all policy for children's welfare is to support the bringing up of the child in the family environment, promoting his or her care, preventing as far as possible, his or her being removed from the family. An important aspect of this is financial support to families in need. Thus all families with children, where the mean income per person is less than the prevailing minimal pension, receive a regular child protection allowance. This allowance is paid according to conditions

defined in law. Before the academic year starts children qualifying under this provision are given a further single payment. Local authorities, as defined in the law, provide families of children that have temporary subsistence problems with an extra child protection allowance. Furthermore, they provide needy children with course books and school equipment in kind, and a school meals allowance.

In the case of children boarding away from home 50% of the institutional meals allowance should be provided as a discount to children eligible for the regular aid described above, as well as for children from families of three or more children and for disabled children and pupils. In the case of a child resident in a youth hostel or other provision external to the immediate family, there is a discount of the 30% of the payment. Boarding in a kindergarten is free for those receiving regular child protection allowances. (There are discussions going on now about the possibilities of extending this to nursery school boarding. An example of a situation when a child might need to board away from home is given in chapter 8).

The court of guardians can rule that the state can provide a child maintenance fee if the parent obliged to pay maintenance is temporarily unable to do so, and as a consequence the foster parent cannot provide for the child properly. This is providing that the mean income per person in the family of the child does not reach three times the lowest amount of the old age pension.

Basic provision for child welfare

Day-care of children brought up in their families is provided through nursery schools, day- or home babysitting by the local government. If the parent cannot provide for his or her child due to ill-health, justified absence, or, if home care is not possible for other reasons, the child is totally provided for within temporary care. Temporary care of children covers food, clothing, mental and physical health care and education. Attendance at school or nursery or other provision and appropriate residence for the child should correspond to his or her physical, mental, emotional and moral development, age and health state, in accordance with the consent of the parent. Temporary care is ensured through foster parents or in a residential home for children. An important regulation in the act is that it orders the joint placing of the parent and the child if they become homeless, so it does not allow, or only in exceptional cases, the separation of the child and the parent and the management of their problems separately. In these cases, provision is to be ensured in temporary homes for families. Temporary care of the child lasts until the reason behind it ceases, or for 12 months at most. It can be extended for a further 6 months if it is in the child's interests to do so, for example where it is

necessary to complete an academic year in school and this will normally be considered when defining the period of the provision.

In the case of a child being in danger of abuse or neglect, the Child Protection Act 1997 specifies that persons, organisations and authorities fulfilling tasks in connection with the system of child protection are obliged to notify the child welfare services of each area, whenever this is suspected. This involves all professionals who encounter children in the course of their work. Thus the district nurse and paediatric network of the country, as well as persons responsible for child and youth protection employed in every kindergarten and school are an integral part of a child protection signalling system. They are obliged to detect and report if a child is in an endangered situation, due either to mistreatment, economic exploitation, being neglected or other circumstances. On the basis of any report made, representatives of the child welfare services will seek to gain the co-operation of the child and the parents, to put an end to the potentially endangering situation. In serious cases they are obliged to initiate official proceedings through the local notaries to ensure the child's safety.

Provision by professional services for children removed from the family home

The aim of professional services is to provide homes for children taken out of the family following official proceedings, and to provide young adults who have left professional care services with aftercare, making up for the lack of family provision. As well as making full-scale provision for the child, there is an emphasis on cherishing family relations, which includes preparation for returning to the family, or, if this is not possible, exploring and promoting adoption.

Any provision made by professionals should be geared to the age, state and needs of children. The child has a right to express his or her opinion on the provision, to ask to be placed together with his or her siblings, to keep in touch with their family and other personal networks, and to ask for alternative care if what is provided is not suitable. The child's religious and moral freedom should be respected, and his or her national, ethnic and cultural affiliation should be taken into consideration. As far as possible, providing children with a home is done through foster parents or if it is not possible, in a residential children's homes. Disabled children are looked after in boarding institutes.

The role of child protection authorities and children's rights

Official child protection is the primary responsibility of the local government notary guardian officials and at the town or borough court of guardians. It is at the town or borough level that officials decide on taking the child out of the family,

placing him or her back or with foster parents, children's residential homes, or for adoption. They also are required to protect his or her financial interests. As well as having the right to express his or her opinion to the authorities, the child has the right to complain about decisions concerning him or her. The hearing of his or her views should be ensured directly or with the help of an expert. Chapter 7, on advocacy illustrates how children in the care system can be supported in getting their views heard. This can happen without the presence of the parent as well, if there is suspected mistreatment or neglect. Decisions by the court of guardians can be contested within a court of law, as a guarantee of respecting the children's rights. The protection of children's rights is the duty of every natural and legal entity that deals with the education, teaching, care and provision of children. Protection of the constitutional rights of children is promoted by the parliamentary commissioner of citizens' rights.

Human rights organisations in Hungary protecting the interests of children and young people

UNICEF Hungarian National Committee
Abbreviation: UNICEF MNB
Form of operation: social organisation
Year of founding: 1975 (registered as an autonomous organisation in 1989)
address: 1027 Budapest, Varsányi I. u. 26-34. II./14.
telephone: 00 36 1 201-4923
fax: 00 36 1 355-5019
The organisation deals with children's rights. It popularizes the Children's Rights Agreement among young people and adults, it organises training for teachers and holds programmes concerning children's rights.

ELTE Law clinic and Street Law Foundation
1053 Budapest, Egyetem tér 1-3.
Tel: 00 36 (1) 266-2021
Free to call green number: 00 36 80-203351
1461. Bp. Pf.: 360
www.jogklinika.hu
e-mail: jogklinika@mail.datanet.hu
jogklinika@yahoo.com
The foundation, within the Street Law programme, and with the contribution of law students, deals conveying the law in an easy to understand manner in basic and se-

condary education institutes. The target groups are secondary school pupils (age 13–18), citizen minority groups, local communities and non-profit organisations.

Human Rights Information and Documentation Centre
Budapest, József krt. 30-32.
telephone: 00 36 1 303 5341, 00 36 1 303 5343
Fax: 00 36 1 303 5360
e-mail: embridok@mail.datanet.hu
The main activities of the centre are the collection of documents concerning human rights and providing information.

Foundation for Human Rights and Peace Education
abbreviation: EJBO
form of operation: foundation
year of founding: 1996
address: 1014 Budapest, Úri u. 49.
Telephone: 00 36 1 224-0782
e-mail: h11397bor@ella.hu
The aim of the foundation is to make people aware of human rights and make it part of everyday educational practice. It collects basic documents, methodological and educational materials in its library. It files information in its database about human rights organisations and experts. The foundation also organises trainings, children's camps and does research into the methodology of human rights education.
The EJBO offers its services primarily for schools, teachers and lower primary teacher training institutes, educators, members of child and youth organisations and for civil organisations that are interested in the topic.

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PART THREE:
CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE – PERSPECTIVES ON SERVICES AND INCLUSION

Chapter 6
Services for children and young people: needs rights and risks

Mary Issitt (United Kingdom)

In chapter one we highlighted the fact that understandings of the meanings of childhood and youth have changed over time. The ensuing discourses reflect debates and views about the importance of 'nature' or 'nurture' for children and young people. Are they born innocent or naughty, and similar to, or, at odds with adults, or is their behaviour due to their upbringing? Different constructions of childhood and youth, together with social, economic and political changes, determine the services provided. Increasingly there has been recognition of the power imbalances between children and adults and concern to redress these within children's and young people's services.

Welfare and well-being or control?

Dominant adult discourses about childhood and youth produce images that have structured the way we act towards children and young people. On the one hand, children have been romanticized and presented as in need of protection from the nastiness of the adult world. In contrast, they may be seen as being born sinful, to be controlled and disciplined by adults, even if in the short-term this makes the child unhappy. Yet both discourses reflect adult concern for children. The first which seeks to protect may be described as a discourse of welfare, and the second, which is concerned to curb any tendencies for wrongdoing, is seen as a discourse of control (STAINTON-ROGERS, 2001).

The discourses inform policies for children and young people and the services they receive. The welfare discourse is concerned with children's care and upbringing. This has resulted in policies at local, national and international levels to ensure that children's well-being is seen as of paramount importance and national and international agencies intervene to assist children who are deemed to be 'in need'. The discourse of control is concerned with the regulation and control of

children and young people's activities and to train them in appropriate behaviour. Thus education policy may be informed by this discourse.

At the level of policy application and the development of service provision there is necessarily an overlap between the discourses as some services, labelled as welfare, will also involve regimes which regulate the behaviour of children and young people, for example, secure facilities for young offenders. Educationalists would argue that schools promote young people's well-being at the same time as playing an important part in socializing them into their societies. Sometimes the discourses of welfare and regulation clearly come into conflict. STAINTON-ROGERS (2001) cites the example of debates about parents' rights to smack their children. In the UK there is an old adage 'Spare the rod and spoil the child' which those who emphasize children's need for regulation have used as a justification for physical chastisement. Those who oppose parents smacking children argue that this may result in adults' abuse of power over children and often support their arguments through children's rights discourse.

Both argue that they have 'the best interests of the child' at heart, but they fundamentally disagree about what constitutes those 'best interests' (STAINTON-ROGERS, 2001, p.31.).

Service provision has also largely been informed by notions that children and young people are dependent 'becomings' in need of care and protection, rather than 'beings' in their own right. But what is the relationship between children's rights and adult responsibility? Is there inevitably a conflict between adults' duty to protect children and young people as vulnerable to being ignored, exploited, ill-treated and possibly demonized (see chapter 1), and the recognition that they are active participants in their own worlds with the right to contribute to and question decisions about them?

In trying to determine appropriate services for children and young people, we are faced with the difficulty of dealing with highly contested concepts. For example, what do we mean by 'well-being', how do we determine who are 'children in need'?

Supporting families, supporting children and young people?

In most societies the family is central to the well-being of children and young people. Well-being has many different meanings. It may be interpreted as what benefits individuals and groups, bringing about people's happiness, the promotion of their good in economic, psychological, physical and social terms and ensuring that needs are met without which they would suffer (SPICKER, 1995). It is important, also, for individuals to be able to define what they mean by well-being;

that they have agency in creating it for themselves as well as being subject to wider economic, social and political forces which will have impact on their lives. Welfare levels are not fixed; people's expectations about what is adequate for their well-being are constantly getting higher. Improved technologies being used in health and welfare, and knowledge gained through the Internet about what is available elsewhere in the world all lead to people seeking better services. People's promotion of their well-being may conflict with that of others; sometimes this will be the case with children and parents. Children's and young people's well-being is threatened when they are deprived of the nurture, care, advice, control and informal education that being in warm, loving family relationships can provide.

Most societies have systems of welfare which promote well-being, that is services that are provided or regulated by a nation state, or internationally agreed through bodies such as the United Nations, to support families in carrying out their crucial and complex roles, but also to substitute in times of breakdown. However, there is considerable debate about what the nature of this support should be and the extent to which public agencies should intervene in they way families determine, and provide for, the well-being of children and young people. The different perspectives involved can broadly be summarized as follows:

- A laissez-faire or anti-collectivist perspective argues that interference in family life is wrong. What the state should do is to provide a minimum level of services for children's welfare and education; means-tested income support when there is extreme financial need; a safety-net to help families when they cannot cope with their responsibilities for children's upbringing, or, when children are at risk of some form of harm in the family context. They criticize too much state involvement as stifling of individual responsibility and choice.
- Social reformist or state interventionist perspectives argue that state involvement is necessary to enable families to deal with the ever-changing pressures faced. They acknowledge that children and young people are important investments for the future of society as a whole and need to ensure that they are to be protected. This may sometimes involve overriding parents' wishes.

Current policies seek to balance these perspectives (HILL, 2003). Most western societies offer some form of universal financial support to families with dependent children as well as protecting children at risk.

Other perspectives are critical of the way that state policies promote welfare, and acknowledge that they can increase divisions between people and may not necessarily always promote well-being:

For Marxists the state inevitably acts to serve the interests of the capitalist class in the world. Reproducing and maintaining future and current generations puts impossible pressures on families. They see welfare as a site of struggle around the level of support that individuals and families can expect. Marxists point out that when the working classes are strong and well-organized then more concessions are gained in the form of better social welfare. It is important to maintain collective means of organization to ensure that hard-won rights are not eroded. For example, at a time when adult and youth unemployment was very high in the late 1980s, the UK government abolished means-tested support for young people between the ages of 16 and 18 in families reliant on state benefits in circumstances such as unemployment or sickness. This exacerbated family stress and contributed to the increased incidence of homelessness in that age group (JONES and WALLACE, 1992).

Feminists argue that one of the problems in giving the family a central role in welfare is the underpinning assumptions about gender roles within the family and the agencies in the state that are concerned with welfare and education. Women are seen to be 'natural' carers and this will have a discriminatory effect in constraining their access to employment, which may have to be part-time because of their family commitments. However, due to economic pressures women increasingly have to work full-time outside the home. Men who wish to share care for children may also be penalized by workplaces that expect them to work long, unsocial hours, restricting their involvement in family life. There is a real problem in balancing parental duties in providing both economically and emotionally for their children.

Anti-racists argue that many policies to promote welfare themselves are discriminatory and do not take account of cultural or other differences (see chapter 10 for an example of this in Hungary with the Roma people). Families and children from minority cultures may be seen as deviant and treated in a punitive way, for example by children's exclusion from education, or being defined as having behavioral difficulties and placed in special, separate units (OSUWU-BEMPAH, 2001). Racism that black and minority ethnic children are subjected to will affect their mental health and welfare and feeling of belonging to society.

Disability rights perspectives argue that disabled people are a minority group that suffer discrimination as their full participation is not so much a feature of any individual impairment, but is socially constructed through attitudes, institu-

tions and policies that marginalize them. They are excluded physically by the design of buildings, or populist fears of physical or mental illness that lead to exclusion from employment and full involvement in society. Disabled children have been disadvantaged by being removed from home and placed in special institutions. The work of the Pető Institute, described in chapter eight is illustrative of a methodology that enables children with motor disabilities to grow up in their own families and communities.

Children's rights perspectives equally argue that children and young people are discriminated against as a minority group in society as their needs, wishes and ability to participate are often overlooked. Parents are listened to and seen to represent them when this may not always be the case. The disadvantages of being young will be further compounded by the inequalities experienced through class, race, gender, disability and sexuality. The next chapter shows how advocacy can be used to enable children's voices to be heard in matters of their welfare.

Needs and risks in services for children and young people

In the provision of services for children and young people there is an assumption that certain needs that have to be met are universal to all, whereas some needs are specific to particular groups and circumstances and therefore service provision has to be targeted or selective.

Assessing need and how services should respond is a complex process. To some extent as individuals we define our own needs, but we may confuse these with 'wants' that are not really necessary to us. Sometimes, ignorance or dislike may prevent us from knowing what we need. Needs may be defined by other people on our behalf, for example, professionals in education, medicine or social work or family and friends. Sometimes needs may be defined by research which compares different groups and highlights what may be lacking for some people (MANNING, 2003). In relation to children and young people, the nature and provision of services for them has largely been defined by adults. It is only comparatively recently that children have been regarded as having expertise and competence in their own situations that should be taken on board in research, service provision and policies, to enable them to be involved in wider society (MAYALL, 2002).

There is much debate about whether it is possible to come up with an objective form of measurement of need about what is basic or essential for human life and agency, whilst also encompassing the varied and subjective definitions that individuals and service providers may use to reflect personal circumstances and social values (MANNING, 2003). Thus many children living in third world countries experience absolute poverty in that they do not have the necessary food

or shelter in order to sustain life. This may be externally and objectively verifiable and Aid agencies will seek to provide the means for them to at least have enough initially in order to subsist, with a longer-term goal of enabling their community to support itself. In complex industrial societies, defining child poverty is a matter of debate. As chapter 2 shows, poverty may be seen as condition relative to other groups in the same society, and will include children's access to social and leisure facilities that might be expected as a norm in that society, as well as providing the means for basic existence.

A range of services meet the universal social needs of children and young people. Through these the state both seeks to support families in promoting healthy development and welfare whilst simultaneously regulating the behaviour of children and their careers. For example, a major concern throughout the world is to have low perinatal and infant mortality rates. The healthy delivery and development of babies is assured through maternity and infant and child welfare services. These include ante-natal screening and parentcraft classes, programmes of immunization against common childhood ailments which may threaten to cause long-term damage to children's health. An example here is the 'triple' vaccine against measles, mumps and rubella. Whilst this has been pronounced as safe by national and international health organizations there has been some debate about a possible link with autism for children who may be sensitive to the vaccine. This has led some parents to refuse it for their children, and fears amongst public health specialists of outbreaks of these illnesses which could cause lasting damage to susceptible groups.

Whilst a basic level of provision may cover all of a society, additional programmes may be targeted at particular groups to redress inequalities within society. It may involve additional service provision in localities of high social need. Many of these special projects are directed at mothers. For example, some smoking cessation programmes seek to change women's behaviour because of the link between maternal smoking and low birthweight of babies, and the additional risk of respiratory diseases to infants in households where adults smoke. In areas where there are large numbers of minority ethnic groups, there may be a requirement to recruit and train health and welfare professionals from relevant ethnicities and cultures in order to include minorities who may feel that they are excluded, or that the services are inappropriate.

Other health, welfare and leisure services will be universally available to children and young people as members of a society. Thus all UK citizens have access to a national health service as a right. Children and young people will continue to have checks on their health during their schooling. There may be some state

provided leisure and informal education services such as youth clubs, but these are increasingly provided through voluntary agencies such as the Scouts and Guides, or through private leisure agencies.

Another universal service, compulsory in complex industrial society, is education. All children are expected to go to school for a minimum period of time, as determined by the society, and their parents will be responsible for their attendance. If children do not attend school, or an acceptable alternative (some parents may prove they are qualified to teach children themselves at home), then the parents may be liable to prosecution.

The period of full-time education is getting longer; children are entering school earlier and leaving later. The development of mass university education means that most young people will not achieve economic independence until well into their twenties, even though in other spheres they have the rights and responsibilities of adults. As we noted in chapter one, transitions between youth and adulthood are becoming increasingly extended and subject to continual negotiation. Schools often include citizenship education to teach young people to become participating members of society.

Children and Young people at risk or in need

Special services and interventions are required when a child or young person's path to 'becoming' a healthy adult is disrupted in some way and their welfare is at risk. Children may be defined as 'in need', over and above what may be normally expected at this time in their lives, due to family breakdown, physical or moral danger that a child may face resulting from their own or someone else's behaviour, individual mental, physical health or disability issues. Definitions of children being in need based on a lack of understanding of different families and cultures, have led to negative stereotypes about black families, and inappropriate interventions by social services (OWUSU-BEMPAH, 2001).

Service provision generally starts from the premise that children's needs are best met within the family setting. Specialist children's services exist to:

- Support families experiencing difficulties that may have an impact on children's welfare. These may involve additional practical support in the home, therapy for one or more family members, attendance of special services and centres. The aim is to prevent families being split up and children being 'looked after' away from their parental home.
- Protect children from abuse. Abuse can mean physical injuries and neglect of children by their parents or carers; sexual abuse by family mem-

bers; ill-treatment of children in residential establishments set up to care for them; sexual exploitation by strangers
- Oversee the welfare of children removed from their family of origin and placed in residential or foster care or for adoption (HILL, 2003).

The role of assessing and supporting children in need and making appropriate interventions is very challenging and complex. A number of agencies may become involved when children are deemed to be at risk, these will be police officers, health and social workers. Social work is a comparatively new profession, having been established for little more than a decade in countries such as Hungary. Social workers' roles and interventions in relation to children are highly controversial and constantly subject to scrutiny through the media, the legal system and public inquiries. They are either seen as too interventionist and too ready to take children away from their natural families, or when children may have died or suffered serious abuse, they are accused of being ineffectual and not acting quickly enough to protect them.

One of the problems in relation to determining and acting upon child abuse is that its definition is highly contested. What counts as abuse varies greatly from one society to another and over time. To return to the reference to smacking children mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, to what extent would what some parents formerly regarded as legitimate, physical chastisement in order to curb children's behaviour, sanctioned by the state, now been seen as physically abusive? In the past actions taken that were seen to be in the child's interest by state agencies would also be regarded now as a form of mental or physical abuse. Examples here are: the denial of analgesics to small babies due to the assumption that they could not feel pain; the removal of disabled children from their families and placing them in long term residential care; the placement of some teenage mothers in mental institutions, denying them access to society for the rest of their lives[6] (LANDSDOWN, 2001).

As children get older and into their teens, the concern shifts towards measures to prevent young people being either 'trouble' or 'in trouble'. Policies carried out through citizenship education in schools and youth clubs, seek to prevent young people getting involved in risky behaviours such as under-age sex, substance misuse and crime. Special employment and training projects, many of which are funded through the European Union, aim to ensure that disaffected

[6] There is evidence that this practice continued in some European countries into the middle years of the last century.

young people do not become disengaged from society and seek to re-engage them through work. In the UK, the Social Exclusion Unit identified the risky behaviour of young people as a key priority (COLES, 2000). It produced a series of reports in which concerns about young people featured. These covered: poor neighbourhoods; truancy and social exclusion; teenage pregnancy; 16-18 years olds not in full-time education, training or work; and, rough sleeping. The reports tied provision in with targets to be achieved in tackling the associated problems. In a number of localities, special units have been set up to address anti-social behaviour of young people, disruptive families and adults.

Children's and Young People's rights

Services for children and young people have been shaped in recent years by the discourses on social exclusion and children's rights. Welfare perspectives informed by minority groups' experience have highlighted the potential structural inequalities and discrimination in both universal and special services that do not respect difference. It has been recognized that children, as a less powerful group than adults, should be accorded the same right to respect and equality as adults. The advocacy movement within welfare has fought to establish children's rights to have professional advocates either to speak for them or help them give voice themselves so that they can affect important decisions, independent of adults such as parents and social workers involved in their lives.

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) has been influential in re-framing service provision and services for children. It contains 54 articles which combine concerns to promote the protection and welfare of children world-wide with their increased involvement as full citizens in society. Rights involved include survival, health and safety (protective rights), selfhood (personal rights to individual name, identity and privacy), services (provision rights), serious consideration of children's opinions and freedom of association (participation rights) (HILL, 2003).

The UNCRC has been ratified by 119 countries in the world, apart from the USA and Somalia (LANSDOWN, 2003), and provides a framework for services for children and young people. Forums for representing children's views have been set up across all services and individual representation through peer or other advocates is available. Some countries, beginning with Scandinavia, have set up the role of independent Ombudsman or Commissioners to whom children have an independent right of appeal. However, children's rights still largely exist within a separate discourse concerning children as a specific social group. Children's concerns do not receive attention in relation to wider, powerful, political interests,

and in the European Union and its member states there is no directorate to give a policy lead on children's matters (RUXTON, 2003).

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Chapter 7
Advocacy for children

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This chapter examines the meanings of advocacy in services for children and young people. Advocacy is an age-old practice whereby one person speaks for another in order to represent the other's views, interests, rights or defence. The focus here is on the role of advocacy in services that are provided for children's welfare and protection. Even in these services which are set up for them, children's voices may be lost in the various interventions and non-interventions by adults, albeit well-meaning, who deliver and control the services. There is often a contradiction between policy aspirations for inclusiveness and children's experience whereby they may feel that important decisions affecting their lives are outside their control and influence (JENKS, 1995). So how can advocacy make a difference, and what are the problems and dilemmas involved as well as the potential benefits?

Meaning and models of advocacy

Advocacy can be seen as an empowering process yet, that takes many forms. 'Case' advocacy deals with the concerns of individuals and 'systemic' advocacy aims to change institutions and organisations. Like democracy, it can mean 'different things to different people and there are active and passive models' (HODGSON, 1995. pp. 123.). For some who have lacked representation, having another person voice their concerns may be an empowering experience. Others may feel more empowered through being actively involved in their own advocacy. A number of approaches are listed below which may often operate in combination, depending on needs and circumstances:

Legal Advocacy is probably the best known as the right to representation for individuals and groups is universally formalised within law.

Citizen advocacy is rooted in the notion that all people have rights and should be valued. It became an organised force from the 1950s. Citizen advocacy aims to empower people who have been denied power or those who have been discriminated against, and involves action in individual cases. It seeks to redress

inequalities experienced by individuals in relation to a range of social institutions and procedures and does not necessarily make links with others in a similar situation.

In self advocacy users of welfare services speak for themselves, finding their own voice rather than having someone speak for them. This involves establishing who has power over them and in some cases joining with others in the same situation. The use of self-advocacy has been particularly well-developed by people with learning difficulties. This form of advocacy assumes that people can be empowered and have the ability to get their point across. Self-advocates may have a supporter to help them speak for themselves. However, not everyone can become a self advocate in relation to the services they use, and may draw upon other forms of advocacy to represent their needs.

Collective or class advocacy involves a group of people getting together and campaigning for change in policy and legislation. As well gathering detailed evidence about their situation and associated inequalities, people will take direct action to highlight their concerns. An example of this occurred in the UK when disabled activists in the mid-1990s protested in Parliament to draw attention to the limitations of new legislation that was supposed to outlaw discrimination against disabled people.

Professional advocacy for welfare service users became established in the last decades of the twentieth century and involves dedicated workers being assigned to represent an individual to ensure that his or her point of view is heard. These professionals may work for voluntary organisations concerned with the representation of particular minority group interests. Sometimes they are attached to welfare organisations to speak for service users in proceedings that affect them.

Advocacy and children's rights

The importance of children and other less powerful groups in having a voice is now high on the agenda of European decision-making. In the latter decades of the twentieth century, advocacy became an important force in the struggle to ensure that children's views were heard in matters concerning their welfare. The movement for advocacy has been closely associated with those, at international and national levels, to promote children's rights to equal access to basic necessities for existence, as well services geared towards their health, education and emotional and physical well-being.

It is only relatively recently, then, that children have been recognised as being competent and proficient in voicing their opinion on their circumstances. The notion of children as active citizens in their own right has replaced the idea of them being passive receivers of care and control (JENKINS, 1995). This active cit-

izenship has also been advanced in the formal context of the law. In the UK, the Children Act 1989 brought about fundamental changes to the law in that it includes frequent reference to the children's wishes and feelings. On a European level the United Nations Convention on Children's Rights 1989 illustrated Europe's commitment to children having rights to the fullest participation within society. The UN convention has been portrayed as 'an important and easily understood advocacy tool' (VEERMAN, 1992. pp. 194.). The convention has a strong emphasis on a child having participatory rights and giving them the ability to voice their opinion. Under article 13, children who are able should be given the right to present their views, and those who cannot do so should be given the opportunity for an advocate. Although some European cultures strive for inclusiveness, children's right to participate in society on the same basis as adults is restricted by concerns about their capabilities at different ages and the desire to nurture and protect them. Restrictions on what children can do and when, vary between different societies, covering such diverse activities as, for example, being unable to vote or enter a contract, limitations on sexual behaviour or what films they should be permitted to watch. We are faced with the dilemma that the social construction of children and young people as vulnerable and needing protection from the world around them can contradict their rights for social participation and active citizenship (FOLEY, ROCHE and TUCKER, 2001).

Thus in determining the rights of the child some important questions need to be explored such as: how does the child find her or his 'true' voice, how does a child have agency within institutional structures? What is the nature of advocacy and the advocate's role in relation to children? Whilst advocacy is integrated in the UN Convention this document does not go on to define or explain its meaning giving a problem with interpretation. Although, as JENKINS (1995) explains it is seen as a means for achieving rights for children, traditionally and historically the passive approach to advocacy has been used in the interests of the child:

Child advocacy attempts to empower children, enabling them to make use of societal resources ... Advocacy consists of social action on behalf of (our emphasis) children, whether to increase their self-determination or to enhance the social, educational, and medical resources to which they are entitled (JENKINS, 1995. pp. 36.).

Over time children and young people's groups have established the following values in advocacy:

- Believing that every individual has a right to participate in society
- Believing that children and young people possess the capacity and potential to make decisions about their lives

- Valuing children and young people regardless of any racial, cultural or other factor in their identity
- Focusing upon children's and young people's ability to overcome problems, and empowering them not disabling them
- Listening and learning from children and young people
- Seeking to overcome injustice
- Speaking out when we see children and young people treated unfairly
- Believing that children and young people may have problems BUT they themselves are not the problem
- Supporting children's increasing capacity for self determination
- Enabling children and young people top speak for themselves whenever possible to achieve the outcomes they want
- Accepting that children and young people have a right to be wrong and make mistakes
- Understanding that empowerment for children and young people means less power for adults
- Accepting that all children and young people have a right to as much self-determination as they wish for and can achieve.

(Taken from Total Respect Training Manual, Dalrymple et al: 2000, pp. 93.).

Advocacy services and agency for children and young people

Advocacy services for children and young people have developed many forms over the years as the momentum for children's voices to be heard has been advanced by children's organisations and recognised by service providers and the wider society. Children and young people may need to use any or all of the forms of advocacy - citizenship, self-advocacy, collective advocacy, professional advocacy and legal advocacy - depending on their needs and what is available to them at different times. What has emerged in the UK is a variety of groups providing advocacy; some operate with volunteers whilst others have professionals. In some situations there may be a 'natural' advocate, such as a family member or friend whom the child knows who can take on the role. Sometimes it may be a child's social worker, but acting as an advocate may imply criticism of their employing service. This may cause a young person to worry that the worker is putting their job at risk.

There are circumstances that call for advocates to be entirely independent of the young person's immediate situation, particularly when a child may feel that those close to them do not want their voice to be heard and, therefore, may not be able to act in their interests. As well as specialised advocacy services that can be called upon, there are groups for young people who come from particular minori-

ties, for example gays and lesbians, disabled people, young people using mental health services, children in the care of the state or black young people. Within services more generally available for young people and children such as schools and youth clubs, there may be access to others who will act as advocates.

In translating the values of advocacy into practice DALRYMPLE (2005) shows that children and young people expect advocates to:

- Be independent (and free from conflict of interests)
- Be able to act as a friend (even though the relationship may be short-term)
- Share their knowledge and power (not use it to create a distance from young people).

Advocates in Dalrymple's study also shared the concern for independence and wanted to ensure that situations in which they were involved were child and young person focused, and they took care not to collude with the adults involved by being "sucked into professional chat" (op. cit. pp. 13.).

Overcoming barriers to advocacy

No model of advocacy, no matter how child-centred, can have effect unless it can be heard. There have to be individuals within organisations, willing and able to listen, if children are to affect decisions made about their welfare. Organisational cultures will need to be able to respond to and accommodate the change that advocacy demands. In the provision of welfare the problem to be surmounted is the organisation's ability to criticise, evaluate and alter systems and structures. Services for children not only need to listen to children but also to staff members who may question policy and practices. Whilst some organisations may see their employees as agents of change, others may see those who question practice as 'whistle blowers' who are causing difficulties for the service's smooth running. As JENKINS (1995. p. xi.) points out,' if the staff of children services have no voice how can they enable children and young people to be empowered?' For PAYNE (1995), adopting the values of advocacy will enable service providers to change policy and organisational cultures to make them more relevant to children's needs.

It is not only at the level of policy and procedure that change is needed but also at the level of 'expert' judgement in individual cases. Professionals may see advocacy as a threat to their expertise as carers operating in a child's best interests. They may try to prevent an advocate becoming involved and question the advocate's competence, particularly when the advocate is also a young person.

To enable children and young people to be heard, change has to take place at the personal, as well as professional and political levels in their service provision. DALRYMPLE (2004) suggests that organisational change involves the following:

Stage one is to reverse the effects of disempowerment experienced by children and young people. The second stage involves empowering the young people by developing their self esteem and giving control back to them. The third stage involves seeking change within the agencies and structures that impinge on them. This model is predicated upon advocacy as a key ingredient of the culture of change requiring openness to listen and take on the views and perspectives of children and young people.

As the case for advocacy for children and young people has been established and become a service requirement, it now needs a degree of professionalism and standards together with an ethical code of conduct to ensure the voice of the child is heard. This poses problems for international, national and local organisations. Although the United Nation Convention for the Rights of the Child has an agenda of children's social participation, Europe has many different cultures and ethnic compositions. Within them, children have varying degrees of status and the setting up of advocacy systems will be more complex in some countries than others (DALRYMPLE, 2004).

Through its citizenship programmes in the UK, government has been concerned to promote children's agency within society. There has been a concern to overcome the ad hoc nature of advocacy services for children and young people in need, who may be in state care, either in children's homes or with foster parents. Through its Quality Protects initiatives it is encouraging all local authorities to ensure that independent advocacy is available to children in care (DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, 1998).

The dilemmas of advocacy

Being an advocate is not a straightforward activity. Operating in a way that is child-centred may be challenging to those who think they are acting in the children's best interests in the services they provide to nurture and protect children. For advocates it involves examining their own assumptions, motivations and actions, as the agency of the child, and his or her ability to give voice to concerns, is in the hands of the advocate. Advocates and advocacy organisations will need to be constantly vigilant to ensure that the advocate is presenting the child's views rather than their own. They need to be competent to interpret and properly communicate the child's perspective. This will include ensuring that they involve the young per-

son at every stage in the advocacy event, and do not use professional jargon that excludes the young person.

Advocacy for children and young people has become recognised internationally and within nation states. Getting the right balance between providing services to protect children whilst promoting their agency as active citizens continues to exercise policy makers and service providers. Should children's voices be heard in the context of family policy, as is the situation in many European countries, or, should policy in relation to children be independent? The difficulty that perplexes young people searching to control their own destiny is how to access social services for children without losing control to adults. Without an independent voice, children's issues are not focused on and become subsumed and secondary to other interests. The problem is that the child's voice is not truly heard in statistics or information gathered for their social grouping and their own life situation goes unnoticed (QVORTRUP, 1997). UNICEF (2002) commented that issues of poverty, homelessness, discrimination, lack of education, HIV/Aids and conflict together with leadership that lacks the listening power, can particularly inhibit the child's voice been heard. Adopting the principles and practices of advocacy could provide us with the way forward for children rights and active citizenship.

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Chapter 8
The International Pető Institute

Information compiled by Klára Tarkó[7] (Hungary)

> "Give a fish to a hungry man and you will save him from starvation today. Teach him to fish. and he and his family will prosper and be happy for a lifetime." *(Oriental saying)*

The Institute and the internationally renowned 'conductive educational system', set up by Professor PETŐ ANDRÁS, has given motor disabled people the unique possibility to start a new, full life. In the 1950s he established the Pető András Institute for Conductive Education of the Motor Disabled and the Conductors' College known today as the Pető Institute. In the beginning, it was the Professor himself who searched for patients, in most cases the poorest ones for whom he provided not only medical treatment, but food, clothes and shelter as well. Using an innovative approach, he was the first to look at the dysfunction motor disordered people as a problem of learning, rather than biology. Over time, the Pető Institute has succeeded in breaking down the barriers between the lives of disabled people and the wider society.

The International Pető Institute, which employs nearly 250 conductor-teachers and 40 college lecturers, has now managed to establish an extended conductive educational network. In Hungary, each county has at least one institution (hospital or educational centre) where qualified conductor-teachers provide treatment for motor disabled children and adults. Conductive education has now become world famous, and today the International Pető Institute operates as the centre of excellence of the international conductive network. It is also integrated into the Hungarian State education system, covering three main areas:

- Providing conductive education for motor disabled children and adults with damage to the central nervous system.
- Training conductor-teachers in the Conductors' College.
- Carrying out scientific research in the area of conductive education.

[7] This chapter introduces an international institute for the motor disabled that is also known worldwide as an educational centre for conductive education. The information presented in this chapter is based on the webpage of the institute itself (http://www.peto.hu).

Initial assessments are performed for several hundred applicants annually. Almost 400 families participate in different forms of therapy to assist early development. Individual conductive education sessions are provided for 500 patients. The number of children in residential provision is generally about 250 every year. 120–130 children are educated in the institute's Kindergarten on a residential or daily basis. The Institute's Primary School has 100–120 school-aged, motor disordered children attending as residential or day pupils. They offer mainstream education for grades 1–8 and special education for grades 1–4 for motor disordered children with learning difficulties. The number of adult patients has now reached 200.

Institute for the Motor Disabled

The conductive education of motor disordered children and adults takes place at the International Pető Institute's Training Institution, which also serves as a centre for continuous professional development for conductor-teacher students. After graduating, conductors usually work in teams led by a senior professional. The conductors' work in the Institute is supported by doctors, medical staff as well as by other specialists from related professions.

Counselling and initial assessment is available to anybody with motor disabilities resulting from damages to the central nervous system. During the counselling process, experienced professionals determine the appropriate forms of conductive education on the basis of the results of the initial assessment and the medical history of the person. Conductive assessment always precedes the start of conductive education, and it is ongoing throughout the individual's involvement in the programme.

A conductive assessment involves the carrying out of general and ordinary examinations, but in a way specific to conductive education. Conductors combine the examination with education. Instead of focusing on an individual's shortcomings, their attention is centred on finding ways for the person to become active. The assessment mainly concentrates on establishing rapport with the person either directly or with the help of the family. The conductor observes the patient's intellectual, psychological, aspirational, motivational, social, physical, motor and communicational characteristics, attention level and activity.

Observation is performed in age-appropriate, natural settings, in various situations in connection with a diverse range of performance, activities and motor tasks. By establishing a positive emotional relationship, the conductor increases the motivation and willingness for co-operation of both the family and the child. At the first assessment, the conductor already begins to educate the child and the family through various forms of facilitation and by showing them how to proceed. This comprehensive assessment is supplemented by information about the family's home environment.

Early Development Unit

The Early Development Unit of the International Pető Institute provides a comprehensive conductive education programme for infants and young children who, due to damage to the central nervous system, do not develop satisfactorily compared to their age group. The younger the child is when starting conductive education, the better the results that can be achieved. Children whose education begins at a later age will be at a considerable disadvantage. If started before the age of one year, conductive education can prevent the following:

- passivity and poor motor function
- bad posture and contractures
- pathological stereotypes
- behavioural and adaptation problems
- delayed mental development
- characteristics of a dysfunctioning personality
- 'sick child' mentality
- disturbances in family life .

The conductive educational process at the Early Intervention Unit includes development of movement, cognitive functions and self-care activities. The programme puts special emphasis on the improvement of manipulation, playing skills, early speech development, and proper body image as well as on the broadening of the child's general knowledge about the surrounding environment. Tasks are set to prevent the development of symptoms common to the main form of dysfunction. Other important goals of the unit are to facilitate the family's involvement in the children's conductive education and to prepare them for kindergarten and primary school. The Early Intervention Unit applies special prevention techniques in order to avoid the development of further dysfunctions. The conductors set up such individual or group sessions for each child that can ensure the best development possible. During the sessions, it is the parent him/herself, with the help of the conductor, who conveys to the child the tasks to be carried out. This way the parent can also learn how to conduct the child in a proper way toward positive achievement. By working together, the motor disordered child's family grows to understand that the real goal of the exercises is not simply to execute them correctly in the practice room but to apply them in everyday life situations. According to the conductive method, it is not the surroundings that should be adapted but the child has to learn to function in an ordinary environment. Conductive education in the Early Intervention Unit is performed in three settings:

- An outpatient section for young children

- A school for parents
- A residential group for mother and child

Outpatient Section for Young Children
This section works with motor disabled children from birth to four years. Up to the age of six months, babies and their families are provided with individual counselling, while children older than that participate in group sessions with one of their parents. Groups are organised at different levels i.e. beginners and advanced for children who can already walk. There is also an opportunity for children above the age of two to join a half-day pre-kindergarten group. These types of education are mainly offered to families coming from the Budapest area who can easily access the Institute regularly. Children are admitted to the Outpatient Section for Young Children following counselling or screening.

School for Parents
The School for Parents provides conductive education for children under the age of six years who live in the countryside. What is special about this service is that it takes place on a regular monthly basis providing sessions mainly for consultation purposes. Complex development is carried out individually or in microgroups by teaching the parents. The parents attend the sessions with their child and educate him/her in accordance with the principles discussed. This service aims to support the family in establishing an active daily routine and preparing the child for the conductive or normal kindergarten.

Residential Group for Mother and Child
Children between the ages of two and a half and six years attending the Outpatient Section of Young Children or the School for Parents programme, periodically come to the Residential Group for Mother and Child for a month at a time. In this group, children and parents continue to apply the daily schedule they have already started at home, getting support and advice from the conductors. Referrals are also made to the Mother and Child Group and from the national conductive education network. The group aims to provide intensive conductive education by instructing the parents and preparing the children for kindergarten.

Kindergarten Section
The conductive kindergarten of the International Pető Institute educates motor disordered children from the age of three to seven years. Children are admitted to the section from various areas concerned with early development (Outpatient Sec-

tion for Young Children, national conductive education network) following the decision of the Institute's Expert Committee on Evaluation and Rehabilitation.

Children are educated in groups on either a daily or residential basis. The daily groups are organised for children living in the Budapest area while those from the countryside stay in residential groups during the week. The groups are made up of 16 to 18 children representing different developmental levels. Group sessions are built one upon the other according to a daily schedule, which allows the children consciously to apply what they have learnt from one session to the other. Their kindergarten programme is put together with two considerations in mind: it has to satisfy all requirements of the National Kindergarten Programme as well as it has to suit the motor disordered child's level and pace of development. The daily programme includes general conductive kindergarten education as well as the practice of self-care activities and various motor and cognitive tasks. Complex development, promotion of graphomotor skills and other programmes i.e. singing, arts and crafts, swimming, horse riding and playing with a computer are also part of the daily routine.

Throughout the conductive education programme, the same conductors work with the same group of children until they reach school age. A special feature of the conductive kindergarten is that it loosens the strict boundaries set in mainstream kindergartens, thus the duration of the programme may vary from one child to the other. It might occur that a 3-year-old child needs less than a year to learn everything prescribed for the lowest grade, whereas it is not unusual that a 4-year-old stays in the same grade for two years. When reaching school age, the child either leaves the Institute and goes to a local school or joins the Institute's Primary School Section if he/she still needs conductive education due to his/her motor problems.

The kindergarten programme emphasises that by improving the motor disordered child's cognitive function, motor and speech development will also be positively affected. In contrast to average kindergarten groups of able-bodied children, conductive education has to take into account specific characteristics and differences resulting from motor disabled children's diverging rates of development. Thus conductors must equally consider the needs of the group and the individual when composing the conductive kindergarten programme.

Sessions in the conductive kindergarten are characterized by a combination of detailed structure and freedom of expression. Thus, highly organised and continuous supervision primarily sustains the rehabilitation work, e.g. helping the motor disordered child maintain appropriate posture and correct bad habits. Because of the frequent lack of positive experiences due to the motor disordered

children's limited motor co-ordination, those functions that healthy children spontaneously develop will only evolve if a carefully structured programme is implemented. The initial help is gradually reduced later, as conductive education aims for correction, acceleration of development and ultimately integration, so that the motor disabled child can catch up with his/her able-bodied peers. This is the objective of the Institute's recently launched 'open integration programme' to which motor disabled children are admitted with their healthy siblings in order to be prepared for school life.

Freedom in the conductive kindergarten's sessions is also achieved by stressing voluntary learning. Children's requests and wishes are acknowledged more here than in mainstream kindergartens, and there is less pressure on excessive performing. Instead, playful and inspiring sessions are provided to help children acquire knowledge and information without appearing to be formally taught.

Primary School Section

The Primary School Section of the International Pető Institute is part of the official Hungarian public education system, and it is required to conform to the National Primary School Curriculum. It offers mainstream education from 1st up to 8th grade for school aged motor disordered children. For motor disordered children with learning difficulties it offers school education from 1st up to 4th grade. Since their conductive school's curriculum corresponds to any other school's in the country, those children whose motor development has reached the optimal level can reintegrate into the mainstream primary school system without major difficulties.

The principle of conductive education i.e. the comprehensive and harmonious development of the personality is of vital importance during school education also. This means that to reach the individual goals set for each pupil, a well-structured daily schedule is worked out to simultaneously develop the motor disabled children's motor and mental abilities, sensory and cognitive functions, speech, emotional and volitional functions.

The curriculum also assists the children in their development in relation to social behaviour and customs. All activities, from self-care to academic task solving, are perceived as learning situations. The teaching-learning process takes place in classes according to a daily timetable where motor development is naturally "embedded" whether pupils attend on a daily or residential basis. During school lessons the conductive groups split into school classes. Their curricula being different, those identified as having learning difficulties are taught in special classes.

The Institute's Expert Committee on the Evaluation of Learning Abilities and Rehabilitation carries out educational development tests and makes suggestions regarding school placement. One of the Institute's specialities is the 'extended first class' offering an extra school year to pupils showing delay in some aspects of motor ability, speech and manipulation skills. In almost every case of cerebral damage the child has impaired perception, apraxia or agnosia. These problems have to be taken into consideration during the teaching/learning process. However, intellectually able they are, due to underdeveloped logical thinking and fine motor skills, sensation and perception problems and lack of experience, such pupils are likely to have major difficulties with meeting the requirements at primary school. With the help of a special conductive programme embedded in the yearly work schedule, carried out in a playful fashion and using a wide range of illustrative material, these children become able to make up for the deficiencies.

From the very first class onwards, the level of curricular requirements and the subject matter of instruction in the school correspond to those of any other school in Hungary. In the conductive education system, studying standard school material is not merely a goal but by the same token, an effective tool for motor disordered children's development, since the development of intellectual abilities and that of motor skills are interrelated.

In addition to the main subjects (e.g. reading, writing, mathematics and study of the environment), they also have opportunities for acquiring skills and enhancing their talents in arts and crafts and singing. Each pupil participates in these sessions, performing individual tasks adjusted to his/her level of motor development. The school lessons are spread through the mornings as well as through the afternoons. As DR. PETŐ said: "Even the best therapy will fail if it is not built into every detail of the person's daily life."

The Adults' Rehabilitation Unit

In addition to improving the conditions of motor disabled children, DR. PETŐ was also interested in the prospects of adult rehabilitation. The Adults' Rehabilitation Unit provides conductive education in various symptom specific groups e.g. hemiplegia, Parkinson's disease, multiple sclerosis, paraplegia, cerebral palsy and aphasia. Adult rehabilitation is a frequently treated subject in modern neuropsychology. From a neurophysiological perspective, the rehabilitation of adults is based on the perception that the plasticity of the brain does not disappear entirely after childhood and youth. It is possible to build new neural connections and achieve a high degree of self-regeneration by increased activity even in cases of severe damage.

One of the main objectives of conductive education is teaching how to learn, regardless of the patient's age. Therefore, the adult conductive groups' programmes are planned in a way that each motion, series of movements and actions are presented as tasks to solve. The goal is for motor disordered adults to regain their lost abilities so that they have a chance to become active members of society again.

Aftercare Unit

The main task of the Aftercare Unit is to follow-up on how motor disordered children (and adults) adapt to family life, to the kindergarten or to the school system after leaving the Institute. Conductors monitor children's development from the moment of leaving the Institute up to adulthood, through assisting in choosing the right school and later on the right career. The Institute provides the opportunity to continue conductive education at any time, if necessary for the maintenance of results previously achieved, or if the child's development seems to have come to a standstill.

Every child leaves the Institute with an individually prepared plan. The Institute organises regular visits to kindergartens and primary schools and obtains information about their admittance procedures. The child is introduced to his/her future teachers who are carefully informed about specific problems related to the child's developmental level. The Aftercare Unit maintains contact and co-operation with conductors working in the national network as well as with the professionals in similar institutions in order to assist the development of former pupils.

Due to their motor condition some children need regular sessions in a conductive group run by the Aftercare Unit. Such groups work according to the same principles as any other conductive group. The uniqueness of this provision is that the child participates in the session only once a week or a fortnight while still living at home.

Due to various reasons, former pupils may experience a deterioration in their condition. As a result of insufficient care, somatic disease, operation or psychic problems, the motor disabled child's symptoms may re-appear. In such cases the Aftercare Unit will arrange for re-admission to a residential group.

Each year the Aftercare Unit asks for reports from the institution where the motor disordered child attends in order to gain more information on his/her development.

College

The founder of the Institute, Dr. ANDRÁS PETŐ, developed his original education system in the late 1940s and directed the institution from 1950 until his death in

1967. Although the need for training experienced professionals to implement conductive education arose after the Second World War, it was not until 1964 that college level conductor training could be introduced in Hungary. Regular four-year conductor-teacher training was launched in 1987, at the beginning in cooperation with the Teacher Training College of Budapest. In 1990 the College was declared a state recognised non-governmental institution of higher education run by a public foundation.

In a 4 year, 8-semester course the College trains skilled specialists with up-to-date knowledge in the general and conductive educational areas. Activities of the College's practising base include complex conductive education and rehabilitation, kindergarten and school education as well as an advisory service. The College prepares its students in promoting personality development and providing efficient and creative conductive education for motor disordered children and adults in various age groups. The curriculum followed by trainee conductors has a high correlation between theory and practice. At the beginning they work under direct supervision of a senior conductor. As they perform increasingly comprehensive tasks, direct supervision is reduced and replaced by an interactive consultation framework.

Besides Hungarian candidates, the College also accepts international students for training in the world-renowned PETŐ method. Hungarian citizens who are studying to acquire their first diploma and have been admitted to a state financed place are not charged any tuition fees while foreign nationals have to pay the full cost of the training. The four-year (BA) training is accessible to international applicants holding a certificate of secondary education or higher education. The two-year postgraduate training is accessible to applicants holding a university degree in education or a teacher's certificate. In the 2001/2002 academic year the College had 224 students including 32 foreigners from the UK, Israel, Spain and Russia.

The United Kingdom was the first country to take notice of PETŐ's conductive education method. A close co-operation was soon formed between the Institute and British authorities. The early co-operation soon expanded from receiving British motor disordered children for treatment at the Institute, to accepting students from the UK at the College of Conductive Education to learn the PETŐ method. These foreign graduates can now apply the PETŐ method in their own countries with the initial assistance of experienced Hungarian conductor-teachers. These joint efforts have resulted in international scientific and methodological activities and active collaboration in the area of conductive education.

International Relations

In addition to Hungarian children, increasing numbers of motor disordered children from other countries are treated at the Institute. In the past seven years children and adults from 52 countries visited the International Pető Institute. Many foreigners come to the Institute to learn conductive education and, following the training, work as conductor-teachers in their own countries.

The College trains Israeli conductors in collaboration with the Tsad Kadima organisation in Jerusalem. The Spanish Aspace organisation sends qualified teachers for a two-year postgraduate conductor training to Budapest. Supervised by Hungarian instructors, the candidates complete their final six-month practice in Spain. The institute has a long-standing joint training programme in the UK and have been invited by Aquinas College in Grand Rapids, Michigan, USA to participate in the training of American conductor-teachers. Additionally, the Pető Institute organises a growing number of international projects through which conductive education has become available to families near their place of residence. Such programmes are running among others in Linz, Austria; Ulm, Germany; at the Pető Centre in London, UK; in Tromsö, Norway; at Tsad Kadima, Jerusalem, Israel as well as in the US and Mexico. Teams of qualified Hungarian conductors work with local motor disordered children at regular intervals. In some projects, where the country already has native conductors, consultants from the Pető Institute have an important role.

The International Pető Institute also conducts many joint research projects, such as the Pető Nord Project in Norway or the Pető-Modell projekt in Bavaria which was successfully completed recently in collaboration with the Kinderzentrum Munich.

An example of a teaching session

This section presents the experiences of visitors to the primary school of the Pető Institute when they observed a mathematics lesson in a 1st grade class.
(See the webpage: http://izzo.inf.elte.hu/~hehe/tavoktatas/peto/jobb_oldal.htm)

"The teacher worked with six children (two were absent), one of whom was atetotic, and two were probably mentally disabled. Four conductors assisted with the smooth progress running of the session. Our entrance to the classroom evoked huge interest. The children observed us so intently that the class started one or two minutes late. The topic of the class was practising addition and subtraction with positive whole numbers less than eight.

It was interesting to observe the methods of the teacher that were occasionally different from what we are used to. She was skilful in engaging pupils' interest and the choice of tasks proved to be equally engaging. The primary aim of the teacher was to involve pupils in active learning. With the help of her experiences and patience she has succeeded in meeting this aim. During the lesson, that was approximately 50 minutes long, they managed to solve several exercises. Let us examine these exercises one by one:

The pupils were given some small pictures they had to place on their board in chronological order. The pictures depicted the developmental phases of a flower. The exercise was suitable in more than one respect. First, it developed manual skills, which is one of the most important objectives. Second, the teacher activated their short-term memory as well, as she made the children recap the order of the pictures again in a later part of the lesson.

The pupils were given some time for individual work and then they discussed the results together. One of the small boys was very enthusiastic in providing his own ideas which the teacher listened to, but she involved the others as well in the analysis.

The teacher started to say a series of numbers, and the pupil to whom she threw a ball had to continue it. After finishing the previous task the attention became a little bit lax, but the teacher managed to restore it soon. She only had to ask the following: 'Listen! Where can I begin the game? Who is sitting neatly?' The children reacted positively to this at once. We should note that the educators always pay great attention to the posture of the children and often remind them of it (feet should be stable on the floor, hands on the table).

The children had already tried this task, so it was familiar for them. This also serves several objectives as well, as it develops manual skills and they have to think in the meantime. They had to continue increasing and decreasing series of numbers one by one, each of the children had their turns. First it seemed that the beginner girl could not grapple with the task, but then the patience of the teacher brought result. One of the small boys, Gergő proved to be very enthusiastic, and though throwing the ball was a little difficult for him, he was listing the decreasing series of numbers skilfully, and enthusiastically.

The teacher covered the pupils' eyes and they had to draw a number from a box (these numbers were large enough and easy to feel). Their task was to identify which number they had drawn.

The pupils knew this exercise and they told us the rules of the game. Here a new perception, the feeling of objects came to the foreground. After guessing a number the teacher also asked what one digit more and one digit less next to that

number was, making the task more complex. Gergő, who proved to be one of the best in mathematics as he knew the next digit below 0, so the teacher praised him for it, and his classmates applauded him. We became aware that these children were generally happy about each other's success and quarrels were not common.

The atetotic girl, Másа took part in the work very skilfully as well. One child who found speaking difficult was able to draw the number when his eyes were uncovered.

With the help of their number-line the children placed a rabbit or a bear on the number the teacher told them. For example, the rabbit is looking for a number that is two digits more than four. Where did it jump to? With the help of this exercise they started to practise addition and subtraction. The teacher wrote the results on the blackboard as well. The children then also described the route of the rabbit using the language of mathematics– four plus two equals six. In case of this task everybody wanted to have his or her turn, so several wrong answers were also shouted out. Gergő, for example was so active that the teacher asked him to whisper the numbers in her ears (this way he could participate in work and his fastness did not hinder the others).

We saw an interesting illustration of this. One of the girls rose to speak because of the overactiveness of Gergő: "Do not shout, Gergő, because I will go deaf!" She was not being hurtfull, the girl only wanting to attract Gergő's attention to what was happening.

The size of the two different characters, the rabbit and the bear, involved in the task was significant, as one was larger than the other. Pupils who had difficulty in moving were given the larger character, the bear, which he or she could handle more easily.

The children were later given dominoes made out of paper. They had to add together the dots on the two halves and say what the total was. Again this was a way of practising addition, and from this they could also learn that no matter in what order the same two numbers added together appear, the result will be the same. So, if they turn the domino over the result won't change, for example 4+2=2+4=6. Teachers try to make teaching more effective with the help of games like this. According to the methods we saw, pupils learned to add and to subtract separately and only realised later what they had done.

Later in the lesson one girls was not successful in adding together the dots of the domino after several tries. The teacher did not give the answer but asked one of the assistants to count the dots together with the child. So the lesson was not held up and the girl was enabled to answer for herself. Gergő, waited for after

everyone else to say their number, and then shouted with joy that his number was the largest.

The children were given a paper vase and yellow and red tulips. They had to place the flowers into the vase according to the directions of the teacher. For example:

- to show a number 2: put this amount of yellow tulips into the vase!
- add as many red tulips to it that you will have 5/6/or7 tulips altogether!
- the yellow tulips have faded away, take them out! How many tulips do you have now in the vase?

This task, like all the other tasks is quite practical and can be easily adapted for practising additions and subtractions. The teacher drew the vases and the flowers on the blackboard, as well, and wrote the corresponding sum underneath.[8] So many tasks were solved during the lesson. Work was generally dynamic and effective, as far as it was possible. The teacher continuously praised the children and that obviously meant a lot to them."

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[8] The teaching materials used in these exercises have been on the market for two years.

PART FOUR:
MAKING TRANSITIONS

Chapter 9
The relationship between schooling, family and work in children and young people's transitions

David Webster and Ken Parsons (United Kingdom)

This chapter presents frameworks which will allow an understanding of the various transitions from the home background, into and through schooling, and into the adult world of employment and/or higher education. The focus will be on how social factors differentially influence the individual's orientation toward and performance within key institutional contexts to the benefit of some but detriment of others. The analysis will begin with the relationship between "home background" and "schooling". The first five or so years before the child enters schooling have a major impact on his or her development. This transition from home to school does not happen once around the age of four or five, but repeatedly, usually daily, throughout the child's school career.

First, however, it is necessary to recognise the distinction between genetic and social influences, an area sometimes referred to as the "nature versus nurture" debate. This debate is not purely academic as the controversy is fuelled in part by political and ideological agendas. The mainstream position adopted here is that both genetic and social factors play a part, but, whilst the power of the genetic is acknowledged, the concentration here will be upon the social.

The next distinction to make is that between "ends" and "means". The former refer to parents' and children's ideas about what is worth pursuing in life, what is desirable and what is realistic. The latter refer to the various resources which are needed in pursuit of these ends. A key factor is whether, and if so to what extent, schooling is seen as relevant to attaining the chosen ends. The significance of "ends" and "means" are considered in turn below.

Children acquire hugely different ideas about the desirability and possibility of what life can offer. For some, the desirability may involve a professional calling in medicine or law with all the financial and status rewards that attach to such a position. Of these, some will see no limits to the possibilities of advance-

ment and see a clear path through the educational system to attain their end; even quite young children can have a sense of the series of transitions needed to convert them from child to revered professional. For others, the desirable may be the avoidance of all paperwork and tedious confinement in an office, embracing instead the freedom of practical and physical activity in the outdoors. Whilst for some, there may be no limit to the imagined possibilities, no geographic barriers to an adventurous and exhilarating life far from the parental home, others may see possibilities defined by the local factory or farm and realities of the local labour market. Thus, children's mental horizons of the desirable and possible differ significantly. "Ambition" and "motivation", terms which are often seen as psychological or even genetic in origin, are always forged in a particular social context. It is important to note that, in the daily transition from home to school, "ends" affect parental interest, parental encouragement and child's motivation.

Parents vary in their perception of the relevance of what school offers to their view of desirable and possible ends. This will affect their level of interest in what the school offers and how well the child is accessing and benefiting from it. It will affect the quantity and quality of encouragement they will give to their child to persevere with the school's agenda and overcome difficulties. In turn it will affect the child's orientation to the school and motivation to work to the school's agenda. Parent and child will refrain from investment in an institution which does not promise dividends in a currency they wish to spend. Parent and child who see each school assignment and experience as a small stepping stone on the route to the desired end will combine to invest heavily.

The "means" are the resources required to attain the chosen ends. We distinguish here between the material; the cultural; the emotional. All these resources are distributed unequally and will be considered in turn.

Material resources are those which money can buy. The first to be considered is "access to privileged education". Many societies offer parents the theoretical choice between state and private provision. Normally, however, this freedom can only be exercised by parents who are able and willing to afford the fees. Whilst for very wealthy parents this is little hardship, many less wealthy parents are clearly prepared to reduce domestic expenditure elsewhere. There must clearly be reasons for people to make such expensive purchases. A general checklist of real or perceived advantages is offered though these may relate differently to particular schools. Most private schools have smaller classes allowing teachers to spend more time with each child's individual needs. The social exclusivity of private schools may offer a more academic environment in which children's shared commitment to the school's agenda reduces the distractions created by those less

committed. Such exclusivity may also prevent contamination by traits such as "undesirable" accents, modes of self-presentation and cultural affinities. It may also provide the basis for a lifetime's network of "good" (influential, useful) social connections. The parent is thus buying "mixing with a nice class of person" and avoiding "getting in with the wrong sort". Given such exclusiveness, private schools can, and do, advertise superior academic achievement as measured by examination results. Finally, the old-fashioned appeal of snobbery should not be discounted as a motivating factor. Not all "privileged" education is privately provided. Within the state sector, schools vary considerably either as a result of deliberate policy or of socially variable catchment areas. Thus, even with state provision, a market-place may exist and parents will be differentially able to influence the chances of their child accessing a school with a perceived or real "superior" level of performance. Parents may spend money to coach their children through the filter of selection criteria. They may move house to be in an advantageous catchment area. They may claim religious adherence to confirm a child's "aptitude" for a particular school. Thus material resources can be significant in affecting the child's trajectory through the schooling system not only between state and private sectors but within the state sector.

The next category of material resources consists of toys, books, learning resources, visits and experiences. Individually and collectively, these will affect the quality and range of stimulation available to the child which may be converted to educational success. Whilst toys and books may vary in their educational potential, exposure to them is more likely to lead to physical and mental dexterity, and conceptual and imaginative development. The information technology revolution which has accelerated across the globe in recent years, has obvious educational potential. Children clearly have differential access to the relevant hardware and software. The fortunate child with a computer in his or her bedroom, using skills that can be routinely practised and extended, can access a planet's treasure trove of knowledge and experience via the internet and CD-ROM. Such a child is placed at a serious educational advantage to the majority less fortunate. Of course, these new media open doors to forces which are corrupting, destructive, and enslaving, an issue considered further below. Wealthier parents are also in a position to buy their child access to holidays, excursions and other experiences which may have considerable educational potential. Meanwhile, the limited mental and intellectual horizons of the less fortunate will be reinforced by the absence of alternatives to the physical horizons of their neighbourhood.

The final category of material resources considered here groups housing, clothing and nutrition. Variations in the extremes of these may be educationally

significant. Housing provides the physical base from which the child makes the daily transition to school. Damaged or poorly maintained housing may be affected by damp or draughts which will increase the incidence of illness and disrupt a child's steady and cumulative learning in school. Inadequate heating (or cooling) may make all or the child's "private" area of the house unusable or unattractive for homework or other educational activities. Many children will not have private space whether of the appropriate temperature or not. The child who is not able to retreat from the aural, physical and emotional disturbances and distractions of family life is less likely to be able to concentrate on educational activities.

Children will suffer if the clothing their parents can afford is either physically or socially inappropriate. Physical inadequacy arises from that which fails to protect from the vagaries of the weather or climate. A child arriving wet and cold to the classroom, with leaking shoes and insufficient layering, is more likely to be ill and less likely to be ready to concentrate on schoolwork. A one-off occurrence is of little importance. But any experienced teacher will recount cases where such experiences are regular. Social inappropriateness arises where fashion or cultural customs dictate that only certain styles of dress or brands of goods are socially acceptable. Children in societies where the marketing of branded goods and constantly changing fashions is pervasive can be unforgiving of those who break the ever-changing rules by wearing the "wrong" kind of trainers or the "wrong" style of jacket. Those stigmatised by this process over a prolonged period may suffer psychological problems detrimental to educational success.

Nutrition is increasingly recognised as significant for the health of children and hence their readiness to benefit from what school offers. A distinction may be drawn between quantitative and qualitative aspects. Too little and too much food can affect the child's performance in the classroom. Historically, starvation and malnourishment have been the bigger problem and remain so in many parts of the world including Europe. The hungry child complaining of an "empty belly" will find it difficult to concentrate. In a hierarchy of needs, physical sustenance will always push before intellectual sustenance in the child's priorities. More recently, obesity has emerged as a major problem in more affluent societies. Children are more likely to eat too much when they have their own disposable income, they are bombarded by tempting and fattening foods, their parents are unable or unwilling to regulate their consumption. All of these conditions have become increasingly prevalent in so-called "developed" societies. These factors also influence the quality of nutrition. Research into the significance of diet began with concern over allergic reactions in a minority of children. Particular additives in soft drinks and other goods were claimed to lead to hyperactivity and other behavioural prob-

lems inimical to classroom concentration. More recently, the negative nutritional effects of additives, fat, sugar and salt in many convenience foods have been seen as threatening to a whole generation of children. It is sadly ironic that many see it as a mark of self-advancement to have the capacity to move from healthy and relatively inexpensive national or even peasant cuisines to an increasingly globalized and often unhealthy cuisine.

The second of the three categories of resource to be considered is "cultural resources". These are non-material in that they cannot directly be bought, though social class may still be a factor influencing their unequal distribution.

As a cultural resource, intellectual stimulation varies significantly from one child's background to another. The family is the key agency in preparing the child for the transition to school life. At the age of four or five, there is a huge range in children's skills and capacities. To some extent, of course, this will be genetic in origin. However, social factors cut across the divisions laid down by biology. Some children will already know their colours, numbers and letters. Others will not. The attitude to literacy fostered in the home is a crucial variable. Some children will have been exposed to a literary culture where reading and writing are normal and frequent activities, books seen as gateways to exciting worlds of the imagination. Others will be more familiar with a video/DVD culture in which traditional literacy plays little part. Such differences inevitably influence the ease with which the child adapts to the literary culture of the school.

Toys, books and experiences have already been noted as material resources. However, it is the way such things are used which may be decisive, the quality of the experience not the quantity which counts. For example, parents vary in their conception of toys. For some, they are absorbers of destructive energy, keeping the children quiet (or at least out of mischief) until the toy is broken or the battery runs out. For others, toys are educational investments, carefully selected to build skills and expand concepts. Purely entertaining toys may be the most expensive. Educative toys may be at the cheaper end. There is no necessary correlation. Similarly, a "skilled" parent will extract more of educational value from a simple trip to the local park to feed the ducks than will an "unskilled" parent who leaves the child taken to Disneyland to their own devices. Libraries and museums that are free for users contain treasure troves of physical and electronic resources from which the child may benefit. But the confidence to use such facilities may be lacking in the parents of children who most need them. Of course, intellectual stimulation, like nutrition, is a matter for an appropriate quantitative and qualitative balance. Over-stimulation may be as damaging as under-stimulation, burning children out at a young age.

By "subcultural factors" we refer to those apparently surface or trivial features which a child acquires but which may significantly affect how he or she is treated or judged by others. The first example is accent. Accents vary by class, region and ethnicity. In a given situation, particular combinations of these will produce accents of different status and even supposed intellectual strength. What counts as "good manners" will vary from one home background and/or culture to another. But teachers may appreciate some versions more than others and punish or reward children accordingly. What might be called different "modes of self-presentation" may also be differently valued by the school. Interpersonal skills such as tact and diplomacy and more elusive concepts of demeanour, poise and bearing will have social more than biological origins. People do "judge a book by its cover". Preparatory and other private sector schools place an especial premium on honing these kinds of valuable cultural resource.

Brief mention is now made of other "cultural resources" which vary from child to child and are significant for the child's orientation toward, treatment by and performance within the school. Traditionalists will argue that differences in aptitude between boys and girls, for example mathematically or spatially, are biological in origin. Many, however, would claim that gender traits are acquired, repressed or developed as part of gender stereotyping through the socialisation process. A similar debate prevails with reference to ethnic differences with some holding that some "races" are intellectually inferior to others whilst others maintain that any measurable differences in performance result from exploitation of and discrimination against subordinate groups. Different ethnic groups and even religions place differential emphasis on scholastic success. Minority gender expectations, customs and modes of dress and adornment may produce conflicts with and hostility from majority interests. Multiculturalist and anti-racist strategies are designed to reduce unwarranted inequalities arising from these differences. Finally, political and nationalistic ideologies may affect the smoothness or otherwise of the transitions from the home to the classroom world and back.

The third category of resources to be considered is the "emotional". Children may "score highly" in terms of material and cultural resources, but optimising their educational performance may be jeopardised by emotional factors. Most, if not all children need a secure emotional base if they are to thrive. Though, of course, some children may experience emotional disturbance as a result of some genetic endowment, most emotional problems are social in origin or at least social factors interact with genetic predispositions.

The first area is that of child abuse. Abuse may be physical, mental or both. Research increasingly shows that for many children the home behind the locked

front door offers not affection, safety and reassurance but domestic violence. This may result from well-intentioned notions of firm discipline and punishment, from deliberate cruelty, or may be a by-product of tensions and psychological disturbance among family members. Such tensions may arise from marital breakdown, unemployment, work stress, alcohol or drug abuse or other causes. Most physical abuse will be visible to the observant teacher though children, to avoid inflaming a volatile domestic situation, may be clever at explaining away fractures and bruises. Sexual abuse is more difficult to detect except through the child's changed behaviour or mood. Many adults recall the chronic effects of such traumas. Mental abuse occurs where there is no actual physical violation but the child feels threatened or anxious. In some cases, such mental torture, deliberate or unintentional, may be more damaging and chronic than physical abuse. Children may react badly to forms of pressure. For example, successful parents and/or siblings may create unreasonably high expectations of a child's school performance. Children who are doing relatively well, but experience un- or ill-concealed disappointment by key family members, may rebel against a game they feel they are destined to lose. Children are also likely to suffer if they perceive an absence of love and affection. Parents may subconsciously resent the child who was an "accident" and disrupted a good professional career. A child may be a symbol of a former failed marriage or relationship from which the parent wishes to move on. And life will create many other contexts in which love and affection are withheld. The depletion of emotional resources for the reasons cited above may be significant throughout or at a critical point in the child's educational career.

Reflecting back on the material, cultural and emotional resources considered above, it can be concluded that class, gender and ethnicity cut across whatever genetic predispositions may exist to influence the success of the child's transitions between home and school. Even if schooling were identical for all children (like some industrial process), children would therefore respond very differently to the common experience. However, clearly schooling is very far from being a common experience. Schools are differentiated and stratified, offering very different kinds of experience. And within a given school, the various transitions which constitute the school career progressively shape and reshape the pupil's orientation. Children progress along school career paths which are on balance more pro-school or more anti-school. A child's acquired dispositions combine with the grouping policies of the school to influence the pupils with whom he or she interacts and hence the dominant pupil subculture with which he or she identifies. Peer pressure makes the subculture a significant factor in the child's motivation to invest in the educational qualifications which are the root of much social

selection and ethnic labour market cultures may also restrict their opportunities and life chances, as chapter ten illustrates. Thus, an array of social factors affect children's consciousness and marketable certificates will vary significantly when they make the transition from schooling to enter the adult world.

We now, therefore, focus attention on issues relating to the transition of youth into the labour market and an analytical framework is derived from the study of the British experience. For three decades following World War II, early school leavers experienced smooth transitions into the labour market, as a wide range of jobs and apprenticeships were available. In this context of full employment, the social science focus centred on young people's career choices, their experiences during the transitions from school to adulthood and the shaping of their personalities and identities as they left school and entered a particular youth culture. Access to the wage meant that new generations of young people could buy into leisure pursuits, via the well publicised teenage youth groups of 'Teddy Boys', 'Beatniks', 'Mods and Rockers', 'Hippies', 'Skinheads' and 'Punks'. These youth cultures were often seen as the vehicles that shaped the image, argot, demeanour and style of young people and structured their politics and resistance rituals against an adult-led "straight society".

Some politicians, media magnates, clergy and other influential people were accused of fuelling a moral panic against the activities of these young people. This filtered down into the popular psyche of British society. Calls were heard from some quarters for the reinstatement of National Service, Boot Camps and Short Sharp Shock policies as possible remedies to curb the social unrest that the youth of the Nation were perceived to be causing.

By the mid 1970s moral panics and the focus of social science attention had shifted away from youth sub-cultures, towards concerns over young people's jobs training and education. De-industrialization had resulted in an escalation in adult unemployment rates, whilst for many young people their job prospects were reduced at an even greater rate as traditional apprenticeships and job options within youth labour markets saw a massive decline. This meant that growing numbers of early school leavers were, (and still are), experiencing broken transitions from school to work, with the norm for many consisting of a merry-go-round of short term contracts, part-time work, and periods of unemployment. Thus, there had been a shift away from several generations of employed low academic achievers in the 1950s, '60s and early '70s towards growing numbers of young unemployed low academic achievers since this time. This situation culminated in a political 'Great Debate' on the predicament of low academic achievers. Industry claimed the fault lay with inappropriate schooling and liberal teaching methods which re-

sulted in a mismatch between the school curriculum and labour market needs. Parents too, it was argued, had lost confidence in schooling. Policy makers, from all parties, rushed to repair these broken transitions by introducing various contentious state sponsored New Vocational schemes and programmes that were "designed" to provide early school leavers and the young unemployed with labour market experience and general social skills that would make them more employable. New Vocational courses, such as the well known 'Youth Opportunities Programme' in the late 1970s, The Youth Training Scheme in the 1980s, followed by a multitude of Training initiatives throughout the 1990s and beyond were set up by successive governments. Some schemes did lead to quality jobs for young people, but as time passed it became apparent that for tens of thousands of young workers the schemes were not delivering secure employment trajectories.

Several variables have been seen to be influential in assessing the quality of such interventions by the state into these transitions. Analysts of 'social class', for example, highlighted that only about ten percent of high academic achievers participate in such government sponsored schemes, prompting popular slogans of "education for the middle classes and training for the masses". The 'gender' variable was often seen as channelling young women into typical female specific routes within the schemes which limit their career choices relative to young males. Individuals from ethnic minorities were also more likely than white youth to be placed on low budget schemes with unscrupulous employers offering limited opportunities. The 'skill' content within the schemes came under scrutiny with many ordinary, run of the mill activities being checked, recorded and promoted as technical and high grade achievements. The geographical location of such schemes was said to impinge on the end product as young people who lived in affluent areas had greater chances of entering a secure labour market than those young workers growing up in economically depressed regions.

The youth predicament was compound further, claimed Segmented Labour Market theorists, who argued that New Vocational courses are little more than a surrogate labour market for youth. Thus finding employment was not dependent on the quality of vocationally relevant courses, but on the structure of the adult labour market whose modern character demanded a flexible labour force for both the old and the young.

'Political Socialization' variables are also seen by some theorists as an important mechanism that filters young workers into appropriate orientations to work. Thus, young people enter the world of work already socialised into specific class, gender this process.

All these influential variables have prompted some researchers in recent years to concentrate on alternatives to what appeared to be a constant social spotlight on young peoples' jobs, training and education. "Mind sets" could be altered by drawing on the European example where "Long Transitions" from school to work are seen as the norm in several countries. Other alternatives recognised the increasing vulnerability of youth and centred not only on the school to work transition, but also, the transitions through the family and towards life in an independent household. The exclusion of many young people from the rights of citizenship emerged as the focus of attention with the government funded ConneXions Service seeking to bridge the gap between exclusion and inclusion as witnessed by its attempts to offer comprehensive help to young people which "supposedly" remedies the mis-match of existing youth aid policies. Yet, the success of this service will depend on how well it can recognise the influential variables on youth transitions already mentioned.

Other frameworks place the vulnerability of youth in the context of a 'risk society', where career steps are no longer secure. Life today is less tidy than the traditional patterns of childhood, adulthood, old age etc. Traditional life cycles where generations of people followed similar paths have become blurred and have been replaced by life courses through which individuals take varied and individualized routes. In past decades we had "jobs for everyone" and some were "quality jobs". Today, with flexible labour markets, we have too little of both. The point here is that as young people make their way in risk societies they have to make decisions, and take steps, which will almost certainly affect their future opportunities, but where the outcomes are uncertain. Thus, uncertain futures and risk taking have become just part and parcel of life for young people during the transition to adulthood.

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Chapter 10
Social exclusion and the transition into the labour market in Hungary

Klára Tarkó (Hungary)

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to give an overview of the labour market situation, the position of disadvantaged young people, and the opportunities and inequalities within the Hungarian education system in promoting or inhibiting the transition of pupils and students into the world of work. To serve this aim we examine the efficiency of Hungarian schools, the selection mechanisms prevailing in the school system, and the labour market statistics and situation of disadvantaged young people.

The efficiency of the Hungarian school system

Research into poverty evidences the relationship between education and disadvantage, that is, the lower the education level, the higher the risk of the poverty, and vice versa. In terms of education, 8 years attendance in the primary school or even less education entails an above average risk. Between the two ends of the educational hierarchy – primary level and the higher education diploma – the risk of becoming poor has risen to ten times as much by 1999, while it was only 6 times as much at the beginning of the nineties (KERÜLŐ, 2000).

According to PIERRE BOURDIEU's theory of cultural capital, cultural elements do not only increasingly infiltrate the development and maintenance of social disadvantages, but these themselves are the embodiments of economic disadvantages as in every society the family is the primary agent for transmitting different cultural knowledge to children. The lack of this will hinder children in achieving school success. Research into the reasons for dropping out shows that the educational level of parents in the case of almost 90% of children who are not able to finish primary school is a maximum of 8 years at primary school. This results in the school perpetuating and reproducing a low level of education (KERÜLŐ, 2000). This is not a deliberate but a latent process. As schools generally reflect the way the middle classes act and think, their assessment procedures often replicate structural inequalities by not accounting for the habitus (i.e. the acquired patterns of thought and behaviour that are inherent in social practices

and actions) of pupils from different class and cultural backgrounds (CZACHESZ and RADÓ, 2003).

The efficiency of Hungarian schools in terms of compensating for different social inequalities is exasperatingly small. The Hungarian school system is strongly selective, the latest point for this being on entry into secondary education, when pupils are distributed into different types of schooling and this is generally happens according to social background. If we observe international comparisons of social inequalities we can see that Hungarian schools are more reflective of the social circumstances around them, than the schools of most Western-European countries. One of the most important prerequisites for enabling disadvantaged pupils to reach their full potential is to ensure high quality and effective education for them. There are several data referring to the fact that those who are disadvantaged have fewer chances to access quality education (LISKÓ, 2002). Income inequalities and – in case of the Gypsies – the ethnicity-based social division is much larger than in most of the Western-European countries (RADÓ, 2001).

Western-European research has shown that one of the defining reasons, and at the same time consequences of school achievements, are poor social circumstances, with unbearable living circumstances accompanying lack of family motivation (CSILLEI and KERÉKGYÁRTÓ, 1998). Parents, partly because of their ignorance and partly due to their disadvantaged position, do not fulfil their duty to educate their children. Parents know that compulsory schooling does not end after a child finishes the 8th grade of primary school. In most of these families the earning power of the child is needed as early as possible to contribute to the family budget. In the case of poor village families, boys start work at an early age, that is why they fall away from school.
(http://www.oktbiztos.hu/kutatasok/szulo/szj_13.htm).

The following interview was undertaken with a parent with many children:

> When communal work is over, then there is work for earning income. Because I have bought a petrol chainsaw earlier, it was good because the office (local government) had not bought one. That was good, we had work with it. There was some money for the winter. I have the apprentice here (male child), 16 years old, my brother-in-law went to the town to work.. Well, I said, go! They have not paid him, imagine! The eldest went to work.
>
> Is he sixteen already?
> Not yet.

Doesn't he go to school?
No. He has finished the eight years of primary in a special school, then he finished (….). There is no big story behind it, I heard from the kindergarten teacher, that according to her version, she had prepared Sz. properly, and she somehow misinterpreted this thing … as he was taken to M. for a test … and there, I do not know, he was not admitted as he should have been .... Now he has eight years primary education. We have not helped him much, he was very weak. He could read and write.

And didn't it cause any problems that he did not attend school after finishing the eight years of primary education?
It was no problem. Nobody mentioned it. Isn't it only for someone who studies further? To the ninth and tenth? Nobody mentioned …
(...)
I want to talk about K. that he is a very hard-working child, that is why I like him. He is more hard-working than my first child. He is such a child that there are self-employed people: kulaks and peasants, who like K. because they like [to have] apprentice. It happens that they wait for him here, K., comes… there is some work. He will be thirteen or fourteen, but he has already quickly found his own feet, he could find a way to earn his living.

What kind of work is he doing?
Well, around the house, he goes to the grape-yard or to the apricot yard, or to the blackberry yard, I do not know … I am proud of him. He earns some pocket money, but I do not take it away, because it could come handy for him in the future. Because we are going out of the good times… I think there will be poverty, the whole village.
(http://www.oktbiztos.hu/kutatasok/szulo/szj_13.htm).

The reason in the majority of cases for the neglect of and continual absence from compulsory schooling stems from ignorance, and possibly negative attitudes towards school. As chapter 9 pointed out, sometimes it happens that the child does not have proper clothes or shoes, and an older sibling is already suffering from the remarks of his or her classmates.

The notion of multiple disadvantage has been an enduring one within education, but it is increasingly used by educational workers to categorise some groups of children (see also chapter 6). The original function of the concept was to provide a basis for the creation of equal opportunities through compensatory

education for those children who come from worse circumstances, whose socialisation and norms (i.e. their habitus) differ considerably from the prevailing habitus of the schools. In recent years, the term multiple disadvantage has become an obstacle to creating equal opportunities. Now it sometimes is a means of stigmatising some groups of children, inferring that they are different, need more attention, but also that, they have worse chances from the start, or they have no opportunities at all. The disadvantaged label also influences the way educators perceive and attribute personality characteristics to children from different groups. (http://www.oktbiztos.hu/kutatasok/szulo/szj_13.htm).

Vocational education

With the political reforms in Hungarian society and the consequent changes in the educational structure it has become more and more evident, that vocational schools – being the institutions that educate the most disadvantaged pupils – cannot avoid dealing with mental health and social problems of their pupils. To deal with such issues a well thought-out programme and special professional expertise is needed.

In a society, where currently more than half, and, according to predictions, in future years, 80% of the Matura-age group pupils will obtain a Matura[9], going to a vocational school is a disadvantaged position in itself. The socio-economic position of semi-skilled and unskilled workers is even worse than that of those attending vocational school. In the case of skilled workers, the currency and viability of the career he or she trained for at the vocational or trade school is decisive. An apprentice has to deal with the poor career potential and low social prestige of skilled workers, and will be looked down upon by peers of his or her own age-group that are about to obtain a Matura.

The vast majority of apprentices struggle with serious problems arising from their environment, their own past and a social background in which lower educational achievement is endemic, leading to a weaker overall skills profile. These factors result in the rate of undiagnosed learning difficulties and psychological problems being higher among them, and without professional help can lead to serious school failures. Young people who experience consistent failure are in a defenceless situation, and choose vocational training on the basis that no other form of learning is available to them. There are many pupils who are not at all interested in the trade they end up studying, but are 'doing time' until they are old

[9] The Matura is the examination taken at the end of secondary schooling when young people are about 18 or 19. It is used as the prerequisite of entry to University.

enough to leave compulsory education. This obviously makes the chances of acquiring the necessary skills and finding a job worse, but what is more serious, it can also have fatal consequences in terms of their psychological development, as the teenage years and youth are important for the establishment of identity. If they do not have a supportive background for establishing their interests and guidance as to career paths, this phase of development can easily be left out; the young people can become rootless and aimless for their whole life. Thus there is a lot at stake, both for the individual and for the wider society.

If a vocational school dealing with disadvantaged pupils can provide an environment that enables its pupils to identify and build on their strengths, they will be more successful. If it can demonstrate that they can be competent in determining their own life and future, then this school really increases their chances on the job-market, together with their chances of feeling good about themselves, and inclusion within the wider society.

Amongst the most disadvantaged are the Gypsy children, and a vocational education project called 'Romany Chance' based in Szolnok, focuses specifically on their needs. The range of courses taught in this vocational school is: general courses in Hungarian language and literature, English language, man and society, man and nature and mathematics; special training courses are in economic and management information, conduct of life and practice, self-knowledge, intercultural education, and vocational courses (CSILLEI and KERÉKGYÁRTÓ, 1998). The project's aim was to offer the possibility of acquiring a vocational qualification that would then lead to a job for those finishing school. Vocational training is offered within the subject system of the offered courses. The three vocational branches of the training are as follows: computer-assistant, park-keeper and road-worker.

Adult education and vocational education outside of the school system

The completion of qualifications at the same time as their peers, leads to training and opportunities to ensure young people's entrance into the labour market, and to guarantee security and well-being for the individual. If this is not achieved there is a need to offer the opportunity for this kind of training later in life for those who feel excluded from society, in order for them to make a new start. This so-called 'second chance' is promoted by adult education and vocational education outside of the school system (KERÜLŐ, 2000). According to data provided by KERTESI GÁBOR (1995), Gypsy children are often provided with an ethno-specific training programmes based on traditional Gypsy handcrafts (like adobe brick making, or basketry) that have no market any more. The programmes are organised mainly on the bases of Gypsy stereotypes instead of fulfilling the needs of

participants or on the basis of labour market prognosis. This needs to be compensated for by educational opportunities in adulthood.

However, HARANGI (2004) states that one of the main obstacles to lifelong learning which might deal with this kind of problem, is the fact that the Hungarian education system reproduces and conserves rather than reduces social inequalities. He mentions, as one of the most important obstacles, the fact that the adult education system has been very slow to help disadvantaged groups adapt to the flexible labour market that is now the norm. With respect to spreading the paradigm of lifelong learning, the author finds it important that ways should be found to accredit experience and knowledge acquired outside of formal educational frameworks.

Referring to the question of transition between education and work, RADÓ (2002) thinks that selective education is too rigid and does not allow for transfer between different sectors. A system like this introduces children to the smaller or bigger segments of the labour market and there is not much chance of breaking out of the category assigned through schooling. RADÓ (2002) argues that the time has come for a different paradigm that provides people with a lifelong possibility to change through general education and different vocational programmes. He does not necessary think of this possibility in terms of vertical mobility, so by obtaining a Matura, then a university diploma it would be possible to progress from being a shoe-maker to become president. He thinks more in terms of horizontal mobility, for example, being able to leave the shoemaking trade and start a new business, such as working in a different service, or opening a pub if the proper education is acquired. RADÓ (2002) suggests putting a higher emphasis on the value of different means of getting learning validated through career-oriented education or a modular system vocational training. This would strengthen and ease the transition between education and the labour market.

Positive discrimination

The practice of using educational finance to promote positive discrimination already exists in Hungary. This supplementary funding is geared towards enabling minority ethnic groups to 'catch up' with the majority population and provides extra financial support for schools educating disadvantaged or Gypsy children. By itself, this money is insufficient to achieve significant changes (BAJOMI, 2001).

The Ministry of Education's plans to introduction positive discrimination, in favour of ethnic minorities led to a heated debate in the media. Accordingly, educational disadvantage was defined in terms of those in receipt of supplementary family allowance and parents with low level of education, or being in state

care. Therefore, not only Gypsy pupils but also those generally suffering extreme disadvantage would be prioritised in university admissions. The Minister of Education has also made it clear in all his communiqués, that those especially disadvantaged pupils admitted, will be assisted by mentors, and this provision will help at most 1000–2000 young people to get in to a university or to a college (SZIRA, 2003).

Labour market

The number of the employed was 3,883,000 people in February – April, 2003, the unemployment rate was 6.2%. The rate of 15–24 years old young people among all the unemployed was 22.6%, the unemployment rate of this age group was 13.6%, 2 percentage points higher than it was a year before (KSH, 2003b). Thus a combination of educational and vocational policies, such as those discussed in this chapter, is required to deal with the problem of unemployment amongst Hungarian young people.

16. A munkanélküliségi ráta korcsoportok és nemek szerint
Unemployment rate by age-groups and sex

%

Korcsoport *Age-group*	2002				2003	Változás az előző év azonos időszakához – *Change* '02 J-M – '03 J-M
	J – M	Á – J	Jl – Sz	O – D	J – M	
	Együtt – *All*					
15–19	26.4	22.8	29.2	30.2	31.2	4.8
20–24	10.2	10.3	12.5	11.4	12.7	2.5
25–29	6.8	6.8	7.2	7.3	7.7	0.9
30–34	5.8	5.4	6.0	5.8	6.5	0.7
35–39	5.8	5.5	5.0	5.1	6.1	0.3
40–44	5.0	4.7	4.6	4.9	5.4	0.4
45–49	4.2	4.1	4.2	4.3	4.7	0.5
50–54	3.5	3.8	3.5	3.8	3.7	0.2
55–59	3.6	3.4	3.3	3.6	3.3	-0.3
60–64	...	...	...	...	...	...
65–69	...	...	...	...	...	...
70–74	...	...	...	...	...	...
Összesen – *Total*	**5.8**	**5.6**	**5.9**	**5.9**	**6.4**	**0.6**
15–24 évesek	11.8	11.4	14.2	13.1	14.4	2.6
15–64 évesek	5.8	5.6	6.0	5.9	6.4	0.6
Munkavállalási korúak*	5.9	5.7	6.0	6.0	6.5	0.6

(Source: KSH, 2003. p. 34.)

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Size: 7,5 sheet (B5)

Published by:
SZEK Juhász Gyula Higher Education Publisher
Head of publisher: József Pitrik, dr. manager

Printing and bindery:
Letter Print Kft., Budapest
Responsible head: Czakó Győző, manager