FOGYATÉKOSSÁG ÉS TÁRSADALOM

HUNGARIAN JOURNAL OF DISABILITY STUDIES & SPECIAL EDUCATION

ELTE Bárczi Gusztáv Faculty of Special Needs Education

FOGYATÉKOSSÁG ÉS TÁRSADALOM

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PROLOGUE

The latest special issue of the periodical in English is not without precedent, as issue 1 of 2018 also presented the results of the *From Equal Opportunities to Taygetus* OTKA research to readers in English. It is always a great pleasure to publish Hungarian research results in a foreign language, as the break out of linguistic isolation suggests that we can get involved in international knowledge production and we can make our voices heard.

However, our joy is somewhat overshadowed by our experience that the works of scholars from Eastern Europe, more precisely from post-socialist countries receive very little Western reflection, and their interpretations and analyses are not sufficiently sought after on the international scene. It seems as if Eastern European social scientists have nothing relevant to say to Western societies. It is as if the knowledge they offer, accumulated in this area, is only relevant domestically.

Embedded in the dependencies of global capitalism, the Hungarian discourses of the humanities undoubtedly fit into the center-periphery relations and they are represented as lagging behind the West, but historically necessarily wanting to catch up as recipients and users of knowledge coming from the center.

To this day, scientific discourse is defined by the bipolar mode of understanding and narrative in which, in the hierarchy of the developed West and the backward East post-socialist countries belong to the periphery of the West. Thus, it is no coincidence that, (for example) the paradigm-forming theories of disability, the theoretical toolkit, typically come from scientific workshops in Western Europe (and North America). Therefore, while in Western Europe not much is known about the research being done on this topic in Hungary, we cannot afford not to have up to date knowledge of the canonized Western writings of our scientific fields.

Why is it that there has been so little reflection on this up to now in the international literature? Is it at all possible to change the dynamics of the Western Master and the Eastern Disciple?

Concerning to disability knowledge we still do not contemplate these issues enough.

It would be extremely important to create a dialogue which would enable the specific knowledge of Eastern Europe (as part of global theories) to become part of the integrated knowledge of the field.

Here is our chance to get the dialogue started!

Ilona Hernádi PhD

Adolf Ratzka

National Personal Assistance Policies

What We Need and How to Work for It?

ENIL Webinar on Personal Assistance, September 14, 2020

We need to work for national personal assistance policies in our countries. What features must they contain in order to empower us, and how can we work for such policies?

First, what do we expect from such a policy? What can personal assistance do for our lives? There are many examples of how assistance users have managed to live with the help of their assistants but here is my story.

In 1961, at the age of 17, I contracted Polio. As a result, I have been using a ventilator, an electric wheelchair, and increasing assistance with the activities of daily living ever since. In 1966, after five years in a hospital, a scholarship enabled me to move from the hospital ward in Munich, Germany to a dormitory room at the University of California in Los Angeles.

The transition from patient to student was made possible by the scholarship that not only covered my expenses as a student but also contained direct payments for personal assistance. With that money, I hired, trained, paid, scheduled, and supervised fellow students as my assistants. I was able to pay them competitive wages, i.e. wages that they would have earned for working on campus at the libraries or cafeterias. They assisted me with everything I needed to concentrate on my studies and to enjoy life as a young adult living by myself for the first time. I had to learn to express my needs, had to learn to be the boss. That was difficult and I made many mistakes. But my mistakes have been valuable lessons.

In 1973, I moved to Sweden to work on my dissertation. Again, I hired people there as personal assistants. With their help, after completing my academic training, I worked as a researcher at the university.

Throughout the years, I must have employed hundreds of students, immigrants, and people between jobs to work for me. They not only enabled me to study and work but also to live the way I wanted, with a rich social life, with many interests, romantic relationships, with travel for work and pleasure. With their help, I became involved in disability work nationally and internationally. I founded several organisations, traveled and lectured widely, was recruited for research positions overseas, and headed international projects.

Personal assistance was also the key for me to getting married. My wife and I were confident that, with the help of my assistants, I not only would take care of myself, independently of my wife, but could also share household chores and work around

the house, on an equal basis. (That was the plan but it has not always worked out that way, I'm   ashamed to admit.) My wife would not be my life-long, unpaid nurse. We wanted a relationship where we both, independently of each other, could develop and grow, pursue our interests, and have a meaningful career. For example, we both traveled in our work to meetings and conferences in Sweden and abroad. When we did travel together it was because we choose to so and not because I needed her as an assistant. The decision to have a child was also based on my personal assistance. My assistants would enable me to have an active part in raising and being close to my child. For instance, as a small child my daughter and I went shopping for groceries or fishing. My assistant would stay behind us and only interfere to prevent an accident.

The Swedish social security system pays me a monthly amount of money for which I employ seven parttime assistants to provide me with 18 hours of personal assistance a day. I can pay competitive wages. With that money, I have been able to live in the community despite my extensive disability. I am a profoundly ordinary person. There is nothing special about me, I have no exceptional gifts or talents. Many, many people in my situation could have equally fulfilling lives. What is special about me is that I have had personal assistance throughout my entire adult life. That is, sad to say, very special. In countries without personal assistance services – that is, in most parts of the world – I would not have had any self-determination. With only help from my family, I would have been very limited. In a residential institution, I probably would have died decades ago.

From my experience with personal assistance since 1966, I conclude that a personal assistance policy that is to enable you to live with the same choices and conditions as your non-disabled brothers and sisters, friends and neighbors must meet three main conditions.

First, we must have control over our personal assistance. The more we can adapt and fine-tune our personal assistance solution to our unique person and life circumstances, the better we learn how to handle this tool, the better will be the quality of our lives. That, in turn, requires that we recruit, employ, train, schedule, and supervise our assistants.

Second, we need direct payments from the government to pay our assistants' wages, that is, money paid directly to our banking accounts. Without controlling the money, we cannot be the employer and must accept any services that the government selects for us. Without direct payments, we have no choice, are stuck with services we don't like. Also, without controlling the money, you don't have the final word in important decisions in recruiting, setting wages or dismissing employees. You will be object, not subject. Your assistants will have a different attitude toward you. If you are not the boss, if you cannot switch service providers you cannot enforce good service quality and you are made to feel dependent on your assistants.

Third, the Direct Payments must cover the cost of all the hours of assistance we require, and enable us to pay competitive wages. Without decent wages people working for us may expect our gratitude. Under these circumstances, we cannot expect prompt, competent and reliable workers. With assistance insufficient in the number of hours and insufficient in quality, you have to rely on family and volunteers. You will be dependent, must make compromises and concessions. Planning activities or larger projects will become very difficult.

How do we work for personal assistance in our countries? How can we convince our governments, members of parliament, the media and, most importantly, the general public of our right to personal assistance?

One argument is in the area of economics. But, please, do not claim that personal assistance is cheaper for the government than residential institutions. That might backfire. Institutions with very few staff and crowded conditions like Third World prisons are definitely cheaper per inmate than personal assistance. Instead, we argue that with the same amount of money that institutions receive from the government for each of their residents, most residents could have better lives living in the community with personal assistance. In most countries, governments pay more for keeping us in an institution than for enabling us to live in the community. In Spain, for example, an institution received €2,400 per month for each resident while someone wanting to leave the institution could count only on €750. (The figures are from 2007 but their relationship is probably still the same today.) We can only speculate about the reasons why owners of institutions are entitled to such generosity from the government. Perhaps it's simply that they are better organised and have more money than our movement, have a better lobby, and better friends in government.

Institutions are capital intensive – considerable money is tied up in land and buildings. Personal assistance is labor intensive – almost all the costs are wages. Our assistants are low-income earners who use their wages for food and rent. This promotes the domestic demand – an excellent way for lifting a country out of a recession.

In Sweden, personal assistance has become a labor market instrument. Some 50,000 persons work as assistants or 0.5% of the country's total population. Many of my assistants would have difficulties in finding other work and would have to rely on social welfare payments from the government. Doesn't it make more sense to use direct payments for enabling us to contribute to the community, for allowing our relatives to work in their chosen field of interest, and, at the same time, for putting our assistants to work? We must make the general public understand that direct payments for personal assistance are not costs but investments – investments in people's ability to contribute to society.

The other argument for direct payments for personal assistance are health and safety issues in residential institutions and parental homes – the alternatives for assistance users. The media ever so often report about physical and sexual abuse of persons with disabilities in institutions and – to a lesser degree – in families, in particular, where parents as the sole caregivers are over-burdened and burned-out.

There is ample scientific evidence that institutionalization, through lack of stimulation, exclusion from family, friends, class mates, and the community, leads to retarded development and loss of social skills. I lived five years in such a place, from age 17 to 22. It took me nearly a decade to recover from the damage of this most horrible period in my life.

The current Corona pandemic provides further evidence of the dangers of institutionalization. So far, a higher percentage of older persons has died in institutions than in the community. It would not surprise me if this were also true for younger persons with disabilities.

A third argument are our Human Rights. The European Union, as a whole, and all its member states have signed and ratified the United Nations Convention on the

Rights of Persons with Disabilities. According to Article 19 of the CRPD, we have the right to living independently and being included in the community, at conditions equal to others. The General Comment Nr 5 in its operational definitions makes it very clear that residential institutions must be phased out and replaced by personal assistance services.

Sure, we shouldn't need to enumerate these economic, health and safety, and legal arguments to convince people of our right to personal assistance. In a decent society, all citizens have equal opportunities for living in the community in safety, health, and enjoyment of their innate potential. But, as we know all too well, we don't live in decent societies, we have to make them decent first.

I suggest the following strategy for working for a decent society.

More accessible housing

Our societies have to become more accessible. To replace residential institutions with personal assistance services, we must have more accessible housing in the community. Otherwise, many persons with disabilities – even with personal assistance – would still be forced into institutions. We need Universal Design in housing. For that, building codes for new construction and grants for housing adaptation of existing buildings must be in place.

Coalition building

In line with the CRPD General Comment Nr 5, residential institutions are to be phased out by redirecting resources into direct payments for personal assistance. To get that far, our movement has to become wider. As Founding Chairperson of ENIL, I'm proud about our organisation and its achievements. But we have to get better at coalition building, particularly at the national level. In many European countries, the disability movement is still divided into organisations for and of persons with disabilities. On top of that, organisations are mostly oriented along medical diagnoses. Thus, we find countries where one organisation, for example the Muscular Dystrophy Organisation, works for personal assistance but not the Spinal Cord Injury Association or any of the other organizations of the country. As if people with Cerebral Palsy, rheumatism, autism, sight impairment, Downs Syndrome, etc. would never need personal assistance! Would not our fight for personal assistance be more successful, if more organisations, more people were pushing the issue?

National organisations for Personal Assistance

I suggest we start ad-hoc one-issue organisations in our countries – national organisations for personal assistance. Anybody who wants to support or work for the goal is highly welcome regardless of their medical diagnosis or affiliation with other organisations.

Coalitions with the organisations of retired and older persons

Having worked for personal assistance for the last 40 years, I realise that we make a big mistake when we do not build coalitions around personal assistance with the organisations of retired and older persons. If our movement could get these often very large, rich and politically influential organisations to support our cause, lawmakers would pay more attention to us. How can we get these organisations on board?

Let us join organisations of retired and older persons

One of the ways is that those of us who are old enough join them and try to climb up in their ranks. We need these organisations to realise that their members are not only old but also prone to become disabled sooner or later, with a high probability of needing assistance by others with the daily activities of living. We have to convince their leadership that to live in the community with personal assistance is a hundred times better than being warehoused in an institution.

Our motto: We are profoundly ordinary people

We must double our efforts in making everybody – most importantly ourselves – understand and identify with our position: Though we may look, walk, or behave different, we are profoundly ordinary people because, like everybody else, we need to be seen for who we are, we need to be respected, we need to be loved. These needs we share with everyone, these needs make us truly human. To meet these needs, we need to live, love, and work among our friends and family in the community – with personal assistance.

Csaba Bánfalvy

The Social Integration of Disabled Persons

The Contribution of Education and Employment

This paper is based on the findings of INCLUD-ED – Strategies for inclusion and social cohesion in Europe from education (2006–2011), a European Union research project. The main purpose of the project was to map educational strategies that might enhance social cohesion as well as those leading to social exclusion within the European knowledge based community. INCLUD-ED also aimed to provide key elements and lines of action to improve educational and social policy. (European Commission, 2011)

Successful educational actions highlighted by the INCLUD-ED project even today might support schools in becoming learning communities, besides promoting the involvement of families to their children's pathways, and establishing intersectoral integrative actions. (Flecha, 2015)

INTRODUCTION

All European countries set up their own systems of education for disabled persons with the intention of better helping them with regard to social integration. The educational methods most preferable for the successful social inclusion of disabled persons also vary.

- In some cases separated education is considered more suitable for developing knowledge and skills in disabled persons that would be of the most benefit for including them in mainstream society.
- In other cases separation is considered to be a form of segregation, which hinders the socialisation necessary for social inclusion. Authors holding this view promote educational integration and inclusion.

The way that social inclusion is understood and measured is not clearly defined and research deals mostly with specific cases in a certain concrete field or topic.

Employment is considered an important means in the transition from education to the wider society.

The process of transition from school to society (the process of social inclusion or exclusion) has scarcely been studied in detail.

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1. THE GOAL OF EDUCATION AND THE PREFERABLE EDUCATIONAL METHOD

The general goals of education, as generally understood today by the organs involved, are described by UNESCO as follows:

- 'Ensuring that educational activities have comprehensive approaches that take into account the needs of currently marginalized and excluded groups
- Developing approaches, policies and strategies to address diversity in education
- Supporting national capacity building for government policymaking and system management in support of diverse strategies towards inclusive education
- Refining and developing indicators for inclusion and give support to strengthen capacities at the national level in developing indicators and using of various data in forming strategies and activities
- Gathering and disseminating information and ideas, and stimulating dialogue about the diversity of needs of those who are still excluded or marginalized from their right to education.' (UNESCO, 2003, 27)

European countries differ as to the kind of institutional provision (separated or integrated schools) they offer for the education of disabled persons. Yet no matter what educational settings exist in the various countries, the general experience is that disabled pupils have a lower educational attainment compared to that of non-disabled children.

'Young people affected by a physical or mental/psychological illness are more likely to be absent from school and in the longer run leave the school system early is supported by evidence from national and international surveys and research projects.' (European Commission, 2005, 77).

Some experts emphasise that school integration cannot be a goal in itself but only one of the possible tools.

Others such as Bánfalvy, Bucková and Calin adopt a more moderate approach. As Bürli states: 'Denn die Hypothese, schulische Integration führe zu einer verbesserten gesellschaftlichen Integration, konnte bisher nicht generell verifiziert werden.' (Bürli 1997, 57)

These authors, on the one hand, discuss the importance of the special, focused and expert support pupils will receive in separated schools for disabled persons in future social inclusion. On the other hand, these unfashionable opinions stress that when separated school systems were established they were intended to protect disabled persons from social environments that did not include them on equal terms due to their disabilities, which proved to be obstacles in a so-called 'normal' society.

Regarding the debate in France see Ravaud: 'Aujourd'hui, dans le système scolaire français, on peut distinguer deux voies de scolarisation pour les enfants handicapés: l'inîégration scolaire en milieu ordinaire et l'éducation spéciale qui concerne des établissements dépendant soit de l'Education Nationale soit des Affaires Sociales.' (Ravaud, 1995, 83)

As Seamus Hegarty elaborated: 'In an ideal world there would be no special schools since every child would receive an appropriate education in a local community school. No country is near achieving that goal, apart perhaps from Italy, and it has to be assumed that special schools will feature on the map of special education for some time to come. But that does not mean they can continue unchanged. Special schools have many advantages – concentration of expertise in teaching pupils with various disabilities, modified curricula and programmes of work, adapted buildings and equipment, training opportunities for staff, and links with local employers and post-school training agencies. These are the very things whose absence from ordinary schools makes them ineffectual in educating pupils with disabilities. The challenge to special schools then is to find ways of sharing their expertise and resources, and of embedding them in a wider educational context. Some special schools have already begun to develop outreach programmes. This can entail setting up working links with neighbourhood ordinary schools where staff and pupils are shared.'

'Some special schools act as resource centres, providing information and consultancy to local schools, organizing support services for families and contributing to in-service training activities. Discharging these functions successfully requires considerable changes within special school staff. New skills must be developed and new attitudes fostered. Transmitting a skill to others is not the same as exercising it oneself, and operating across several schools or in the community is very different from working in the closed confines of a single special school.'

'The most important changes required are attitudinal: staff who are jealous of their autonomy and intent on maintaining lines of professional demarcation will not set up effective collaboration. There must be a willingness to move beyond existing institutional bases and any status that may go with them, and to work co-operatively in whatever new structures may be advised. The upshot of all this is that special schools of the future could be very different from now. Emphasis would move away from educating limited numbers of pupils in relative isolation towards acting as resource centres. The latter could encompass curriculum development, in-service training, the collection and evaluation of equipment and computer software, and specialist assessment, as well as advice and consultation on all matters relating to the education of pupils with disabilities. These resource-centre functions are important in improving the standard of special educational provision regardless of where it is provided. By capitalizing on available experience and establishing a bank of information, materials and expertise, this offers a powerful model for making best use of frequently limited resources. If special schools have to make changes, ordinary schools have to undergo revolution. Ordinary schools have generally failed pupils with disabilities and major school reform is necessary before they can make adequate provision for them.'

'This reform must operate at two levels: the academic organization and curriculum provision of the school and the professional development of staff. The former requires rethinking the ways in which pupils are grouped for teaching purposes, the arrangements that schools can make for supplementary teaching and the modifications to the mainstream curriculum that teachers can make so as to give pupils with disabilities access to it. All of this forces major changes in teacher behaviour. Attitudes, knowledge and skills must all be developed to create and sustain a new kind of school where those previously disenfranchised are given an equal say and narrow concepts of normality are discarded.' (Hegarty, 1994, 16) Hegarty continues: 'Preparing pupils

with disabilities for adult life is a particular challenge for ordinary schools that run integration programmes. Many special schools have devoted great efforts to this area and have well-established leavers' courses. They also benefit from the greater control they can exercise over pupils' environments and exposure to the outside world. Ordinary school staff have to find ways of ensuring that pupils do not miss out on the systematic preparation they would receive in a good special school, and they must often do so with fewer resources and in contexts that allow for less control.' (Hegarty, 1994, 45)

The debate persists and has gained new impetus fuelled by the controversial findings of follow-up research conducted on current experience of integration in schools. A UNICEF Innocenti Insight study of 2005 highlights the situation in CEE/CIS countries and the Baltic States: 'The education debate is still very active. There are arguments that integration of children with disabilities into mainstream classrooms can be a drawback for some students, both disabled and non-disabled persons. That may be a question of adequate resources – a persistent and important issue. There is a case in the CEE/CIS region for linking special education schools with local mainstream schools to help to break down the tradition of segregation.

'In some Western countries, there is a trend to co-locate special schools on the same site as mainstream schools in the belief it provides the 'best of both worlds'. Serious efforts towards integration are being made in some countries, notably Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania and Macedonia.

'Where integration has occurred, it is largely accomplished by being at the same location as and/or mixing with mainstream students, rather than integrated or inclusive classrooms. Curricular integration, where children with disabilities learn together in the same classrooms with the general student population, is still seldom seen in the region – and where it is, it is often unplanned and, therefore, unsupported.' In Albania in 1996, as the Country Report notes, for the first time 'the integration of pupils with disability in regular school' became a declared policy goal – although the details of how to do this were not specified. A recent survey by the Albanian Disability Rights Foundation found that the integration of children with disabilities was quite limited and done largely in response to pressure from parents of children with moderate disabilities. In Hungary, where the special school system was retained, enrolment of children with disabilities in mainstream schools started spontaneously in the mid-1990s. However, schools 'did not have the technical, pedagogical and conceptual conditions necessary for the integrated education' of children with disabilities.

'The resistance of attitudes against the integration of children with disabilities in mainstream schools cannot be underestimated. In echoes of the 'charity' treatment of children with disabilities, parents and others may support integration only conditionally, e.g., the proviso that including children with disabilities in a regular classroom does not detract resources from non-disabled students. Additionally, there is substantial passive resistance incumbent in existing education systems and other social services.' (UNICEF, 2005, 20)

In the literature we can find several examples: 'Although parents were happy with the progress of their child at the school, they were disappointed about social outcomes. This was in part due to the fact that many children with disabilities came by bus from out of catchment: they had to make a new friendship base, and had less opportunity for carrying it on out of school hours.' (Avramidis, Bayliss & Burden, 2002, 150)

The UNICEF study continues with a quote from the Lithuania Country Report of 2002: 'Policy, law and practice have been linked in Lithuania to make strong progress for special needs education. The 1991 Law on Education recognized the right of children with special needs to be educated in schools closest to home. School committees started using more restrictive criteria for accepting children into special schools – a crucial gatekeeping function. Amendments in 1998 gave precise definitions of the role of pedagogical-psychological services in assessing special education needs and gave parents and children the right to choose the form and place of education. The law stresses integrated education and the right of persons, even those with complex or severe disabilities, to be educated.'

The UNICEF study then refers to staffing issues: 'The lack of teachers who are adequately trained to work with children with learning disabilities, behavioural problems and milder intellectual disabilities (a substantial population largely overlooked before the transition) is an issue for all CEE and CIS countries. However, staffing resources affect even countries that have increased the overall size of their special needs programmes. The Lithuania Country Report notes that 'pedagogues in general schools lack knowledge and skills necessary for educating of children with special needs who learn in the same class with their peers.' This despite the fact that the number of special staff working with children with disabilities in general schools rose by 58 per cent between 1996 and 2002. However, these integration specialists are still fewer in number than teachers employed in special schools. Staffing is also an issue for special schools. In Hungary, for example, institutes of special education, especially in rural areas, cannot attract enough staff, due primarily to low wages, low morale and difficult working conditions.

'*Excluded from education.* Many children with disabilities, especially those considered disabled from birth and those with intellectual disabilities, are still at risk of being excluded even from special education. [...] Even in the Czech Republic, children with disabilities can still be given 'exemption from compulsory school attendance.' Some of the children who do not attend schools may receive education at home [...].

'In some countries, like Hungary, home teaching for disabled people remains 'under development'. Children with disabilities often drop out of school or complete basic education over a long time frame. In Estonia, for example, where school completion rates for students with disability are stable at around 90 per cent, the 2000 Population Census found that the majority of children with disabilities have only primary education; just one third have any form of secondary education. In Hungary, the 1990 Population Census found that among people with disabilities aged 7 and older, the share who have not completed any school grade was 11 per cent – several times higher than in the total population.

'*Early childhood programmes*. The critical importance of early childhood care and education is increasingly understood and embraced in international circles. This development approach is perhaps even more important for children with disabilities. One strategy that some CEE and CIS countries are using to reduce the 'stock' and 'flow' of students in special schools is to improve access to special preschool programmes. Some students may be redirected from special schools and others diverted before they ever enter. This approach appears to be used more in countries that already have high overall rates of preschool attendance.

'In the Czech Republic, for example, where kindergarten enrolment is over 80 per cent, the number of special kindergartens has increased from 177 to 235 between 1990 and 2000, providing service to 2 per cent of all children in preschools. Many other countries post much lower shares of children with disabilities participating in preschool education. In Hungary, 0.4 per cent of children attending kindergartens were in special programmes (although that is double the share in 1990). In Croatia, special groups for children with disabilities covered only 0.5 per cent of preschool pupils in 2001.

'*Secondary education.* In wealthier countries with clear commitments to special school enrolment, there have been increases in the number of school units and students at the secondary level. These include enrolment in special schools, vocational and technical institutions. In the Czech Republic, for example, new schools have opened for children with disabilities to continue their studies at upper secondary levels: In 1990, only eight secondary technical schools existed for children with disabilities; a decade later, there were 133. During the same period the number of vocational schools increased from 90 to 167. The rise of new, predominantly non-state schools in basic and secondary special education has opened up opportunities for Czech students with disabilities: In 1990 15,100 pupils attended upper-secondary special-education programmes; in 2000 19,000 pupils attended (3.6 per cent of all young people aged 14 to 17). In Russia […] the rate of students in special education at grades 9 to 11 has seen a tenuous increase, though it remains low compared to basic education figures or rates seen in the Czech Republic. 'In poorer countries, however, educational opportunities for children with disabilities have diminished during the 1990s…' (UNICEF, 2005, 22)

What, in general, has been revealed about the 'school-effect' is summarised by Evans: 'Pre-school experiences are important, especially those to do with laying the foundations of primary education, reading to children and so on; attending nursery school or play group can be part of this [...]. Absence of such pre-school preparation can be a risk factor, especially in families where the parents' own educational resources are limited. In school itself, the main risk factors are to do with being in a low stream, and experiencing remedial education. The social class composition of the school intake also features as does the type of catchment area (inner city, high rise rented housing and so on). One of the more surprising findings is the lack of identifiable school and classroom effects in most analyses. Counter-intuitively, even class size appears to have negligible effects on children's attainment. […] In terms of risk factors what seems to be significant is an overall disjunction between the capability of the family to provide the child with the necessary educational preparation and support and the expectations of the education system. Middle class families have little difficulty in keeping in step with what the system expects of them. Many less advantaged families

have great difficulty in doing so. Effective programmes are able to bridge the gap.'
(Evans et al., 2002, 12)

2. TRANSITION FROM EDUCATION TO THE WIDER SOCIETY

For a sociologist focusing on the social integration of disabled people, the role of education and the labour market are among the key factors. The last two decades have served us with valuable experience as illustrated in the professional literature.

A key performance indicator of education is the extent to which it is able to equip learners to enter the world of work. Education should not be an end in itself but a means of successful social integration including, in particular, the activity of work. Success, or the lack thereof, will, in this context, retroactively benchmark the education system while defining its tasks.

Here, in studying the labour market, we first need to limit our attention to the sector of wage labour and formal employment, mainly because this is the area about which we have comprehensive and empirical information; all the more so since, in analysing the wage labour environment, we may draw on our specific expertise and present a sociological perspective relevant to the labour environment as a whole. In addition, we subsequently aim to present the informal section of working activity.

In studying the relationship that disabled people have with the labour market, we are speaking about the great majority since only persons with severe disabilities (a relatively small group) are thought to have no working capacity. According to ICF-10, 'people with very heavy mental retardation' are described as 'capable of learning a smaller part of housework and other jobs of practice' (WHO, 1980, 344). Three key questions should be addressed while discussing the economic conditions of formally registered disabled persons:

- Job opportunities for disabled persons and people with health impairments;
- Living expenses in connection with disability;
- The extent and character of state-funded financial support for disabled persons, other than that related to employment, and any changes to which it may be subject.

3. SOCIOLOGICAL FACTORS DETERMINING LABOUR MARKET POSITIONS FOR DISABLED PERSONS

In a sociological approach to the actual labour market position of disabled persons or people with certain health conditions, the following two questions should be distinguished:

1. How do the disabilities or health conditions, in themselves, influence the position of the person in the labour market?

2. How do the respective persons' overall social circumstances have any impact on their opportunities in the labour market?

Examining the issue with regard to these two questions, we may conclude whether people with disabilities or health conditions generally face employment difficulties regardless of their social circumstances, or if it is rather those with a particular social background who are threatened by a lack of opportunities. It is all the more important to distinguish between these two questions, since depending on which one predominates (the emphasis on disability and health, or on social circumstances), this may determine the conditions under which a labour market intervention is made and solutions are found, tailor-made in terms of special needs education and medical treatment, and when to apply such intervention to the needs of various social strata defined in sociological terms.

The problem may be described in the following questions:
1. Is it the disability, or health condition, that makes it difficult for people to find employment, or the fact that they belong to certain vulnerable social groups?
2. Does every person with a disability or health condition face difficulties in finding a job, or mainly those that come from the more vulnerable groups of society?
3. Is it only people with disabilities or health conditions who face extraordinary difficulties in finding a job, or are all those who fall within the more groups of society confronted by these difficulties?
4. Are the solution and prevention of the employment problems faced by people with disabilities or health conditions better seen in terms of addressing the persons' disabilities or conditions, or addressing their other social disadvantages?

In our examination, we must delineate two groups within the population of people with disabilities or health conditions. The first consists of those who are incapable of working in terms of formal wage labour. For them, the disability or condition is so severe that they cannot be employed (people with severe physical or intellectual disabilities or degenerative health conditions). Their case therefore does not fall within our present examination. The second consists of people who have, to some extent, a reduced capacity for work. In our analysis, we shall now discuss the difficulties faced by this population.

Inclusion in the labour market is, in addition to family circumstances, motivation and education, dependent upon a person's state of health. The social composition of people with health impairments shows patterns similar to those seen in their educational and vocational composition. In the 1980s, 85% of those in need of rehabilitation were classed as blue-collar workers, among whom 38% were classed as manual labourers and semi-skilled workers. The number of those in need of rehabilitation among the blue-collar population as a whole was seven times as high as those among the white-collared. Fifty per cent of disability benefit recipients had previously been manual labourers or semi-skilled workers (Central Statistical Office, 1989). Besides family and educational disadvantages, health conditions also hinder people, especially those of a lower socio-economic status, as well as disabled persons who are employed.

The employment of disabled persons depends fundamentally on the following three factors:

- The working abilities of the disabled person,
- Motivation in relation to work, and
- The characteristics of labour demand.

The fact that the level of qualification among disabled persons is, on average, well below that of the overall average of the population (see the former results on school education), roughly at a similar level to that of underprivileged social groups, is pivotal, since disabled people mostly occupy lower positions and unstable, underpaid jobs.

Separated school education undermines the employment aspirations of disabled persons (particularly for severely disabled people). In addition, separated school education entails vocational training within a narrow spectrum for severely disabled persons. For example, the fact that there are few occupations available for blind people following school education reduces their labour market mobility and thereby their bargaining position from the start.

Furthermore, for those coming from lower socio-economic groups (mostly those graduating from special schools), an additional problem is that the family background does not give incentives to the children to learn further and pursue a career within the labour market. Poor families cannot even support them in learning further. Labour market demand for disabled people is low as a result of poor information available to employers, who may have fears about their capacity for work or are convinced that disabled persons can only underperform compared to non-disabled persons, or who believe that special and substantial input is required to create working conditions suitable for disabled people to be employed efficiently. More often than not, employers fear that the working activity of disabled people represents a risk to themselves and to others, tending to cause accidents more easily than that of non-disabled people.

However, it is also understood that workplaces in their current form are not always suitable for disabled people to be employed efficiently. The necessary adaptation of working conditions to meet the specific needs of disabled persons must involve additional costs for employers, who in most instances do not undertake this burden.

As a result of these factors, disabled people comprise a disadvantaged group within the labour market in many respects. With regard to quality of life, however, work and employment are of key importance for disabled persons just as they are for non-disabled people. Beyond its macroeconomic significance, work has several macro- and microeconomic consequences, both in individual and social terms. The significance of working and having a workplace is felt increasingly by those left without a job. Through the harm caused by unemployment both to individuals and to communities, we can understand the outstanding role working activity has in the social existence of people. We would like to highlight the key sociological aspects that are essential for both disabled and non-disabled people in terms of the effects of unemployment (Bánfalvy, 2003).

3.1. Drop in income

In the modern market economy, the main source of income is wage labour. If somebody loses his or her job and becomes unemployed, this will, in most cases, result in a loss of income. Today in Hungary, the average gross unemployment benefit is well below the average earnings of workers in both the blue- and white-collar sectors, while being just over the official social minimum. This loss of income has an increasingly severe impact on unemployed disabled people, the majority of whom (particularly among persons with intellectual and psychosocial disabilities) had been low-paid manual or semi-skilled workers. However, international experience shows that often the people who suffer financial difficulties the most are those who are least likely to claim state benefits. They do not know what they are eligible to receive and are often too helpless and powerless to apply for such assistance, or they consider it humiliating to claim benefits. In the census of 2001, 15 per cent of disabled persons over the age of 15 did not have any income (Central Statistical Office, 2001, 19).

3.2. Socio-psychological harm

In modern societies, however, working activity has a more complex meaning than for it to be considered simply a way of earning an income. Work is an organic element of human life, it is the source of learning, knowledge and experience, a key pillar of our way of life, in which social reputation and identity are rooted. All these social experiences derive from the activity of work, and to a great extent modern societies make these experiences particularly available within the form and scheme of wage labour. Those who are jobless or unemployed will therefore lose a basic element of social existence. Unemployment is severely and irreversibly detrimental to the persons concerned as well as – indirectly – to the whole society (Warr, 1987). More specifically, what is this harm?

a) Weakened interpersonal relationships and isolation. Unemployed people and those permanently out of work have a narrower network of personal relationships than non-disabled persons do. Workplaces offer an opportunity for an exchange of experience and views; colleagues talk to one another about fashion, sports, politics, etc. and maintain contact beyond working hours. In going to and from work, people buy newspapers, as well as travelling with other people, shopping and happening to meet acquaintances, that is, acquiring a wealth of experience. The importance of such relationships, otherwise considered natural, is particularly intensified when people miss them.

b) Reduced social prestige and self-esteem. In modern societies, social prestige is closely related to positions occupied by people in work and involved in economic life with a view not only to social prestige but also to social identity. . The state of being unemployed cannot represent anything positive, in terms of identity. Therefore, unemployed people often appear inept or lazy, not only to others but also to themselves. Also, for disabled persons, it is not inconsequential whether they see themselves as employees, unemployed or simply incapable of working. What is more, disabled persons may, by securing a job, have a chance of seeing themselves primarily as

jobholders (who are otherwise disabled), rather than as disabled persons first and foremost, and have others also see them in this capacity.

c) Family conflicts. Loss of income due to being unemployed and the resulting problems, general frustration and poorer interpersonal relationships often give rise to family conflicts or even divorce. This especially holds true for those becoming disabled in adulthood when change to social roles caused by the disability is aggravated by the re-arrangement in family roles due to unemployment.

d) Health concerns. Early surveys on unemployment often stressed the context regarding health conditions and unemployment. In particular, for a short period after losing a job, the health condition of the person improved: many 'rid themselves' of an unhealthy job, with more time to spend in open air and for sleeping; furthermore, they could more regularly sustain their bodies since they were unemployed. What also contributed to their better state of health was that they had more time to take care of themselves including going to see a doctor if they had some health problem. However, long-term unemployed people soon began to feel the reverse. Their physical and mental condition worsened, which may be attributed to increased material difficulties and the consequences of the abovementioned mental and social harm.

e) Marginalisation, deviance, self-destruction. The accumulation of economic, social, physical and mental harm may result in the marginalisation of those concerned. They feel superfluous, excluded from normal society. They see division and separation from others ('our business is not their business'), and that they have different problems from those of non-disabled, active members of society. Either they are passively excluded from mainstream society, that is, they do not participate in social gatherings, do not read newspapers, discuss politics or may be non-voters, or they are actively engaged in challenging society (joining extremist political and social movements), or they may be criminals or prostitutes. More marginalised unemployed people often fall into self-destructive behaviour such as alcoholism and drug addiction, and, according to surveys, even the number of suicides is increasing among them. For disabled persons, existing levels of marginalisation may be enhanced by unemployment.

4. EXPLAINING PRINCIPLES FOR THE EMPLOYMENT OF DISABLED PERSONS

In economic terms, disabled people and those with health conditions who are able to work are potential and actual employees of the same quality as their non-disabled counterparts. Like non-disabled persons, they are suited to specific jobs within certain bounds, while they are not suited to other particular jobs. For example, despite the fact that blind persons are undoubtedly limited in terms of working capacity, they should not be considered a working force with worse capabilities than rural workers, unskilled workers etc. since each group of employees has limited potential for occupation. In particular, women are not suitable for very hard physical work and juveniles cannot work for three shifts, while unskilled workers are not capable of carrying out skilled work.

In economic terms, disabled and non-disabled people do not represent two types of employee groups that are qualitatively different, especially since, as is well proven, whether or not companies employ disabled people has no bearing on their efficiency. While there are companies in Hungary and, even more so, abroad, that conduct business well and employ disabled people to a significant extent, there are also several companies where no disabled people are employed and yet they are just as likely to struggle or be confronted by a crisis.

In principle, technical, organisational and environmental conditions may be aligned with the needs of disabled persons, so, as in the case of any other group of employees, the harmonisation of working conditions with workers' needs is both necessary and achievable.

By way of an example, transport conditions could be adapted to meet the needs of disabled persons, thereby enabling them to be on par with non-disabled people in this regard, and this degree of equality may also be provided in the workplace and in work activity. In everyday life, we can find numerous examples of when, by creating suitable conditions for disabled people, they can experience social rehabilitation and inclusion. From the electoral system to furniture for the home, and from television programmes to the rules of sports adjusted for disabled persons, a wealth of examples may be listed. In principle, there is no reason why a working environment, adapted to specific needs, could not be created in institutional workplace settings.

Disabilities may often be transformed into advantages in the world of work. With reference to Schnell, Barcza stated the following about deaf people:

1. 'So many deaf people are employed in extremely noisy industrial plants, which means that fewer hearing people are put at risk of industrial deafness, while employers and social security services are exempted from paying for occupational injuries;
2. Workplace noise does not affect the nervous system of workers who are hard of hearing or deaf to the extent that it diminishes the quantity and quality of work, thereby enhancing profitability for the employer;
3. This idea would be a great move towards finding a practical solution of the social situation of hard of hearing and deaf people without involving a significant sacrifice from the 'able' society.' (Schnell ref. Barcza, 1993, 315)

The formal employment of disabled people is not specifically determined by economic factors but by direct technical ones or ultimately by social interests and values. A solution, neutral in economic terms and achievable in technical terms, to the problems hindering the employment of people with disabilities and health conditions would be a realistic technical solution and actual employment, but only if the society making the relevant decisions and aiming for the inclusion of disabled persons

In a period of economic upturn with a huge expansion of the labour force, higher employment rates appear not only among non-disabled persons but also among people with disabilities and health conditions. However, once an economic downturn occurs and the demand for labour falls we see the appearance of groups that 'cannot be employed in a profitable manner'. These groups include not only people with disabilities and health conditions but also unskilled workers, long-distance commuters, women with no more than secondary school graduation, immigrants, the Roma minority and others, in other words, all groups in a weak social position, to whose detriment it is

easier to implement dismissals, or who can safely be blamed for any declining efficiency of company output. As finding a job is increasingly difficult in general so those labour groups that are unable to protect themselves are excluded from the labour market while intensive efforts are made to serve the interests of those who benefit from this exclusion, with the suggestion of some ideology. In this context, the losers in this game are given a label to legitimise the situation or for some ideological purposes. Labels such as 'lazy', 'drifter', 'lumpen elements', or negative perceptions of people with disabilities or health conditions also serve to disguise the fact that unemployment is rooted in macroeconomic and social inequalities lying behind the direct causes. It is obvious that only those in a vulnerable position are excluded from the labour market, rather than all the drifters and lazy, or alcoholic workers.

Even if these labels hold good for some of those excluded, deviance is not only a reason for, but also a consequence of, the failure of both the labour market and society as a whole to implement inclusion to the same extent. When accounting for labour market successes and failures, putting individual excellence or fault to the fore serves to facilitate the exclusion of social groups unable to defend themselves within the labour environment. This upside-down logic is all the more dangerous as many disabled people, and generally all those in a marginalised position, believe that the fault lies with them. The resulting frustration reinforces harmful behaviour such as alcoholism, crime and voluntary dropping out from the labour market.

For disabled persons, employment may contribute to a lower public burden in the same way as would their better social inclusion. Arguing for the many-sided necessity of employment, Tegyey summarised his view as follows: 'In the employment of the disabled with reduced working capacity, it must be ensured to give them the most appropriate job opportunity despite their handicap, that is, such a job where working capacity requirement could be provided to the fullest possible, where sufficient output is achieved to allow for them to earn their living. On the basis of this suggestion, that is, to develop working abilities and fine-tuning those as far as possible, all the disabled persons' social problems would be solved. It is proven that – according to our thoughts above – the disabled people mostly have the working capacity to solve their social problem on their own' (Tegyey, 1991, 155).

As far as the disabled persons' position in the labour market is concerned, we believe that:
1. The characteristics of disabled persons in terms of special needs education or medical treatment cannot fundamentally explain the difficulties that they face in the labour market. It is rather their social origin, and the extent to which they are able to enforce their interests, that are telling motives;
2. Basically, the same social factors affecting opportunity prevail for them as for non-disabled people. Therefore, they are more at risk of losing their jobs or becoming unemployed if they come from a more disadvantaged social group or have a lower level of education.

Modern wage-labour, which is only one of the existing forms of work, has, therefore, several latent functions other than that of earning an income. Some such functions are also present in other activities while these latent functions, of the utmost relevance

for people's social life, only exist in such a high proportion and with such consistency in paid work (Bánfalvy, 2003).

At the same time, it also should be considered that in modern society employment provides people with manifest and latent material and non-material resources and experiences**.** As Jahoda observes: 'Paid work as a social institution is not for these forms of experience; its raison d'être is to produce goods and services for the purpose of profit to be obtained. However, as an unwanted but inevitable consequence of its objectives and organization, paid work is to force these expereince categories upon all the participants. While the unemployed are left alone to find these categories of experience in something else if they can, and if not, they will suffer from the lack thereof, in the eye of the employed those are guaranteed. The quality of experience in categories is essential, rather than the categories themselves' (Jahoda, 1982, 39).

What can be done if there is no realistic way of offering paid work to certain individuals or groups such as disabled persons? How can such an experience be provided for these disabled or socially disadvantaged persons?

For disabled people with bleak prospects of employment, it could be a more realistic short-term ambition if they seek the type of paid work experience that is available for others from an alternative source. Organised drives for voluntary work, sports and leisure activities and more effective communication may provide opportunities to help those concerned and compensate, at least partially, for their metaphorical 'lack of vitamins' concerning lost opportunities of paid work.

In addition, following the dissolution of traditional forms of paid work and the slackening of the rigid borders between work and non-work (leisure-time) related activities, a process is emerging of convergence between new forms of paid work such as flexible working hours, virtual workplaces and variable labour relations, and the forms of 'alternative vitamin replacement', as in Warr's 'vitamin model' (Bánfalvy, 2003). Perceived differences between paid workers and non-paid workers are diminishing, including judgments made both socially and individually of these two forms of existence. Thus, making distinctions between the 'vitamin sources' and 'alternative vitamin sources' is also decreasing, both for disabled and non-disabled persons.

5. EXPERIENCES FROM THE PAST

Employment conditions were extremely difficult, not only for persons with intellectual and psychosocial disabilities, but also for those with other disabilities in the 1990s, when unemployment began to assume increasing proportions. Regarding the situation of deaf and hard of hearing people, the magazine, 'The Deaf', wrote as follows: 'With enterprises liquidated, numerous deaf people have lost their jobs, becoming unemployed. Unfortunately, employers of today are not interested in hiring disabled people. Accusations have been made that deaf people have claimed disability benefits in order to avoid working. This is untrue and offensive. With so many enterprises liquidated, deaf people have been forced into claiming disability benefits. The enterprises have profited by avoiding having to make severance payments, which they have done by making deaf people believe that they are better off claiming disability benefits, but unfortunately neglecting to inform them that it is impossible for them to find a job since employers would sooner hire unemployed people rather

than someone eligible to receive disability benefits. This may be understandable but it is unacceptable to the deaf community. For a young man of working capacity and ambitions, disability benefits are humiliating and to be avoided if possible. Thus they tend to tire of looking in vain for a job and of being dependent on their parents or on any other people or agencies. They feel ashamed but continue to seek employment. Employers are also prejudiced. If they come to know of the applicants' deafness they do not employ them. They are afraid of communication difficulties, understandably, although these could be overcome by showing some patience' (1995, 9).

Another study discussed the position of disabled persons in the labour market with regard to the problem of unemployment (Bánfalvy, 1997). In analysing the ways that people become unemployed we saw that both disabled and non-disabled people most frequently lost their job as a result of a company lay-off. However, it is remarkable that among the jobless disabled persons involved in the study the majority did not find a job after graduation, although they were no less qualified than non-disabled persons. Hence, if there was no drastic difference between disabled and non-disabled persons in formal terms of being unemployed, the effect of disability was clearly shown. At the same time, disabled people were not dissatisfied with their previous job significantly more than non-disabled people. The reason for being unemployed, for disabled people, was not based on their hope for better living conditions or on any voluntary decision they may have made. The figures suggested that the feeling of comfort experienced by disabled people in work was greater than that of those out of work while it lagged behind that of non-disabled people in work. It is vital for disabled persons, too, to be employed, with a view to experiencing the feeling of comfort. Among those interviewed, disabled people out of work saw themselves as having the lowest social prestige or being regarded at the lowest level.

Komáromi (2002) studied the greatest two hundred Hungarian enterprises. Inter alia, they aimed to discover the extent to which these enterprises employed disabled people and how they did so. The results showed the following: 'In Hungary, 58.1 per cent of large enterprises employ people of reduced working capacity while 41.9 per cent do not employ any such persons. There is a difference even between those enterprises employing people of reduced working capacity in terms of how many such people they employ' (Komáromi, 2002, 62).

'Among those enterprises employing people of reduced working capacity most employ disabled people with impaired mobility. 65.8 per cent of these enterprises employ people with some mobility impairment. Deaf employees comprise the second largest category (24.1 per cent). 19 per cent and 10.1 per cent of the enterprises in question employ people with low vision and cumulative disability, respectively. Persons with intellectual and psychosocial disabilities comprise the most peripheral group of all the disability groups. 3.8 per cent of the enterprises employing people of reduced working capacity employ persons with intellectual and psychosocial disabilities.

To sum up, 82.3 per cent of the enterprises employing people of reduced working capacity employ people with some disability.' (Komáromi, 2002, 68)

The researchers also intended to examine what disabled persons feel about employment or comfort in work, and their study revealed the following:

'Most of those involved in the study felt discomfort, the key sources of which were the fear for some being how long they would be able to continue working while others' main concern was unemployment and for almost all there was a fear of

having insufficient means. Moreover, there were negative experiences such as the humiliating mandatory medical test. Furthermore, they feel there is no public body to help them, and that they merely represent a burden on the government. Most of the older people involved felt lost since the huge social and economic transformation that took place in 1989 and 1990.

'Those working only as casual labourers or those out of work reported that they all would have liked to work, mostly for material reasons but also to spend their time in a useful manner.

'The participants all gave an account of great difficulties both in terms of seeking jobs and working. 'An inappropriate structure of labour supply in Hungary gives a serious cause for concern. The participants would mostly have liked to have distance working or part time (four to six hours a day) jobs while the availability of such jobs was very low. Among the difficulties of looking for work, age was a primary one, in addition to reduced working capacity, mostly for older applicants, for whom the problems of age and reduced working capacity were intertwined.

'It was the claiming of disability benefits that presented a stumbling block in job search, as well as a problem in working activity, rather than the disability itself. They felt that the employers tended to employ fewer disability benefit claimants as they would have extra income. Accordingly, they described their experience when their colleagues and employers showed a negative attitude towards them, on account of this extra income. This presumably accounts for many feeling that it is 'indecent' to claim state benefits while having a paid job. At the same time, benefit claimants are forced to enter into employment because the benefits are so low.

'Another problem that appeared was that many disabled people had no car, preventing them from going to work. High expectations in workplaces and low tolerance on the part of their employers were also a cause for concern' (Komáromi, 2002, 149–150).

In their case study, the authors examined a company initiative to design a network for the coordination and control of further employment of its own employees of reduced working capacity. Two results were highlighted from the analysis:

'On the one hand, […] the key motivation of company X for designing a nation-wide network was the occurrence of costly labour law cases involving increasing amounts of money, according to one interviewee. At no time was the point raised that the company could improve its image by also employing people of reduced working capacity. According to the interviewee, this was not an aim for Hungarian enterprises.

'On the other hand, it transpired during the interview that the network could only provide between five and ten jobs in total per annum. Many rehabilitation processes are inadequate for meeting the needs of workers of reduced working capacity since the jobs offered would be situated somewhere else, away from their previous workplace. We raised the notion that there may be some complex value for the employer in not helping their disabled employees relocate, in that the whole initiative may serve as an 'alibi' to avoid litigation risks without really contributing to the further employment of the company's workers of reduced working capacity' (Komáromi, 2002, 197).

Recently it has gradually become apparent that society is obliged to pay attention to disabled people and try to meet the criteria laid down in the Law of Equal Opportunities. However, the process is very slow and inconsistent. Perhaps we have begun to accept that the entrance of a building with many stairways cannot be accessible for those in

wheelchairs, but we do not take account what may present an obstacle for persons with intellectual and psychosocial disabilities…

Based on feedback given by the participants the training system could also be widened, or even specialised for those taking steps in the direction of integrated employment. I believe the following statement may also refer to the training of persons with intellectual and psychosocial disabilities as well:

- They could attend targeted special training programmes that take into account their problems in which learning through practice would play a prominent role;
- Further education is not a real option for these young people. Therefore, in their case, preparations for the role of an employee are the main vehicle, mission and objective, rather than that of an entrepreneur' (Komáromi, 2002, 50–51).

6. RECENT NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS

Domestic and international analyses (Bánfalvy, 2012) indicate that societies tend to 'write off' disabled persons and people with health conditions by offering minimum pecuniary services under the titles of support for people with disability and impaired health. Any ambitions that a society may have and influence that disabled people may exert are not strong enough to prevent health conditions or poor school performance from being classed as incapacity and disability, no matter how much environmental conditions are adjusted to meet the needs of people with disabilities and health conditions. It does not effectively serve the integration of people with health impairments into a society if working opportunities are perceived as appropriate in many various ways and means. In addition, as international and domestic evidence shows, this integration has the least chance of existing in formal employment.

A new approach to integration in employment has recently materialised. In particular, it involves inclusion in the labour market as a key element of social integration: In the 1990s, the basic approach to social need underwent serious changes with regard of the objectives and forms of social assistance. Rather than accommodation, it has been the demand for the remainder of capacities to be used or labour inclusion coming at the forefront. The emphasis has shifted from passive labour market measures such as assistance and benefits to active policies for all groups struggling with employment difficulties.

Increasing strains on national budgets due to increasing numbers of people in need, the precedence of passive labour market policies (assistance and benefits) and a widespread economic slump. In more developed countries societies, equal opportunities in life and work are increasingly a cause of urgent action and socio-political commitment. Equal opportunities in the labour market involve equal access for all to work, vocational training and certain occupations with no discrimination.

For socially disadvantaged groups, special emphasis was given to the improvement of individual employment prospects, the widening of educational and training opportunities and the creation of labour market possibilities where skills and experience could be acquired in accordance with open labour market requirements.

In Hungary, the issue of equal opportunities and the inclusion of socially disadvantaged citizens have increasingly gained ground, thanks in part to European

Union standards adopted after Hungary's accession and to macroeconomic exigencies and constraints. In recent years, raising the level of employment has been a key strategic element of employment policy including in particular the improvement of employment opportunities for socially disadvantaged people as well as the planning and application of methods of integration suited to meeting the needs of all those stranded on the periphery of society. The government has attempted to improve employment opportunities for disabled persons by making changes to the legal environment. At the same time, non-governmental organizations have also played a notable part in helping disabled persons find employment, in addition to the significant efforts made by the government.

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Judit Kereki

The State of Early Childhood Intervention and Opportunities for Development in Hungary

Introduction

The importance of providing preventative and intervention services in the first few years of life, in terms of their impact on the child's development and later possibilities in life, has become increasingly recognised in both professional and public opinion in Hungary. These services not only play a decisive role in the child's individual development, future physical and mental health, but also have a profound effect on the stability of the family's situation besides strengthening its competences. Moreover, their societal usefulness and their long-term influence on social integration and economic life are also significant.

Due to research and developmental programmes related to early childhood intervention, the stronger representation of professional interests and efforts made in accordance with the goals of the European Union, the issue of early childhood intervention has also attracted considerable attention in Hungary. Since 2014, this field has been coordinated by the State Secretariat for Family and Youth Affairs. The most significant measures concerning early childhood intervention were summarised in a Government resolution in 2015 [Hungarian Government Resolution 1246/2015. (IV. 23.) on Measures Necessary for Successful Intervention in ECEC].

In the past ten years, several projects in relation to early childhood intervention have been carried out under the aegis of the various sectors concerned. Although these projects attempted to establish connections with each other, they were unable to achieve a comprehensive systematic change.

This made it reasonable to initiate an intersectoral project that channels in the results obtained so far and involves the co-operation of sectors such as health care, education, social and family affairs. This project has the potential to better ensure the application of a complex and interdisciplinary approach to early childhood intervention.

In February 2017, EFOP 1.9.5 *Intersectoral Development of Early Childhood Intervention* was commenced, as a high priority project. Its main objectives are: (1) initiating a client-centred reform of early childhood intervention services and (2) providing guaranteed access to services for children under six in need of special support, as well as for their parents, based on particular needs.

1. THE MEANING OF EARLY CHILDHOOD INTERVENTION

The term early childhood intervention can have different meanings in different countries. One of the most frequently used definitions is the following: early childhood intervention is a composite of services for very young children and their families, which provide help and take action when a child needs special support in order to ensure and enhance her/his personal development, in addition to which they strengthen the family's competencies and promote the social inclusion of the family and the child (European Agency for Development in Special Needs Education, 2005, 2010).

Hungarian experts interpret this in a wider sense. For them, early childhood intervention incorporates preventative services covering the pre- and peri-conceptional periods as well as the entirety of the provision of services targeting children and their families from the time of conception to the age of the child entering school.

The early childhood intervention system consists of all institutions and professionals working in the fields of health care, education, social policy, child welfare and other related fields providing services to and working with young children and their families from the time of conception until the child enters school. There are three stages of early childhood intervention: the first one is the screening and problem detection stage, the second is the diagnostic stage and the third covers the provision and supply of services and support, including therapies, skills-development support, habilitation, rehabilitation, etc. This level also contains family support and social welfare (Kereki, 2015a; Kereki & Szvatkó, 2015).

While early childhood intervention services can be universal, that is, accessible to all, such as in the case of health visitor services, they can also be specifically targeted at several groups in need of special support (e.g. education services). Its universal nature includes the concept of a differentiated approach that determines the nature of the preventative and intervention activities in view of the various needs of these groups of children and their families.

The target groups of early childhood intervention can be classified according to the various needs as well as legal regulations and the categories appearing in the Hungarian services. Based on the above-mentioned aspects, we can distinguish the following groups:

1. Children living with biological risks who are affected on a biological (organic) level: children born with developmental risks (e.g. premature babies), children with developmental delay, and children living with disability, chronic illness or rare diseases;
2. Children who are vulnerable in terms of psychological development,
3. Socially vulnerable children; as well as
4. Exceptionally talented children and their families who make up the often-overlapping clusters of early intervention policies (Kereki, 2015b).

2. INTERNATIONAL TRENDS IN EARLY CHILDHOOD INTERVENTION

The field of early childhood intervention is expanding rapidly. Several emerging trends favouring an expanding family-centred approach can now be identified, as well as a tendency towards integrated and coordinated service models.

In recent years, the role of early childhood services centering on the family has increased in significance. After the previous child-centred approach, features increasingly focus on families. The family and its closer and wider environment has moved into the centre of service provision, in parallel with the shift towards a strength-based (rather than a deficit-based) approach. (Turnbull, Turbiville & Turnbull, 2000; Bernheimer & Weisner, 2007; Coulthard, 2009). 'The overall aim of these services is to provide parents and families with the knowledge, skills and support to meet the needs of their child and to optimise the child's development and ability to participate in family and community life. All services are provided, using a family-centred approach, recognising the importance of working in partnership with the family' (Moore, 2016, 1). In order to identify a need and mobilise social support networks and community resources, it is important to gain a profound understanding of the impact of a family's cultural background, cultural beliefs and values on interactions between children, families and practitioners (Stayton & Bruder, 1999, cited in Coulthard, 2009).

The family-centred approach is closely aligned with the spread of the ecological family model, which interprets the functioning of the family in the context of their closer and wider environment, rather than in isolation (Bronfenbrenner, 1994; Guralnick, 2005). Instead of fragmented services, here the focus is on a holistic approach, with integrated services (Guralnick, 2008). The form of collaboration has shifted first from multidisciplinary to interdisciplinary teamwork, then from interdisciplinary to transdisciplinary teamwork (Carpenter, 2000; Rapport, McWilliam & Smith, 2004; Moore, 2004; Drennan, Wagner & Rosenbaum, 2005). Similarly to the interdisciplinary or transdisciplinary team, the 'key worker model' requires professionals from across diverse disciplines to work collaboratively, meet regularly and develop a co-ordinated and comprehensive service. This model supports families and caregivers in providing the environment and experience necessary to foster their child's optimal development. It simplifies the family's relationship with the team through a single key worker, ensuring that advice is well planned, considered and coordinated, and involves the family in all decisions (ECIA, 2014).

A universal approach is the best way forward for ensuring that all children and their families have access to the services they need for the best outcomes in education, care and health. In a universal approach, early intervention for children with a disability or developmental delay is available from birth in mainstream services through evidence based practices and education and with the support of child and family consultants, key workers or other early intervention professionals (Moore, 2011, 2012, 2016). National practices show that the coordinated, integrated web of supplied services based on interdisciplinary teamwork functions more efficiently. These systems typically materialize rather at a local level and as good practice than at a system level. Integrated early childhood intervention systems are inclusive, with careful monitoring for equity, and especially targeted at the most marginalised and disadvantaged as well as disabled

children. This type of system is also concerned with ensuring continuity between age levels and smooth transitions between age–linked services. Building capacity is a priority at every level. The training of sector specialists remains a priority, but with a shared vision of integrated early childhood development (Woodhead et al., 2014).

3. An assessment of the Hungarian situation

In Hungary, one of the most important parts of early childhood intervention is that of early development and care, which is provided by the education sector. Early development services are provided for individual early development from 0 to 6 years. Target groups addressed by the services are children at risk, children with developmental delay, and those who have a diagnosed disorder or condition, such as intellectual disability, physical disability, speech delay, behavioural disorder, hearing or visual impairment, multiple disabilities or autism. It is the task of the expert committees of education authorities to propose early development support services, which is a state responsibility and provided by educational institutions. If the education authorities are not able to organise the service delivery in their own physical location, service can be provided at the home of the child or at other institutions with which the education authorities have a contract (such as a nursery, children's home, care home, etc.). The tasks of early development and care are complex early childhood prevention, counselling and consultation, as well as developmental support. Typical intervention activities include complex special needs education, conductive education counselling, the development of motor, cognitive, social and communication capabilities, and psychological support. After the age of three, either individual early development may continue or developmental support is provided in the nursery, which may be a special or an inclusive nursery. Inclusive nurseries are for all kinds of children including those with special needs. Early development services, educational counselling and speech therapy services can be provided from birth by the education authorities. In the health care system, different therapies, habilitation or rehabilitation services can be provided for children with biological risk, developmental delay or diagnosed disabilities.

It is estimated that 5–10% of the cohort require some early intervention services under the age of six. However, according to the assessment, close to 40% of this group do not get the support they need (Kereki & Lannert, 2009). New research studying the functioning of the system of early childhood intervention in Hungary has revealed several shortcomings that limit the system's efficiency.

As previous studies have revealed (Kereki, 2013; Kereki, 2017), besides inconsistencies in the legal and financial framework, inefficiencies in the institutional system, non-traceable, unregulated consecutive phases of service delivery and a chronic lack of information are creating obstacles for children and their families. Collaboration between experts of different sectors is non-systemic and weak or non-existant. The various professionals do not know enough about each other's jobs and competencies. The long-standing lack of certain expert positions creates problems within the various areas of provision. The parents' knowledge and parenting skills in relation to their children's development are frequently inconsistent, so parental competencies and the sense of responsibility evolve only with difficulty. Moreover,

parents are not aware of the services available and where they could turn, if they have doubts or questions in connection with their children's development. Professionals in health, education and social services tend to know little about each other. The sectoral IT systems are not linked to each other and there is no interworking between them. Their clients' data cannot be combined or accessed by professionals in other fields. Geographical inequalities of access to early childhood intervention services also make it difficult for children and their families to be admitted into the care system and gain access to the services they need.

4. PERSPECTIVES, FUTURE POSSIBILITIES

A new programme supported by the European Union aims to solve most of the identified problems and improve the functioning of the early childhood intervention system. The EFOP 1.9.5 *Intersectoral Development of Early Childhood Intervention* project commenced on 1 February 2017 and will be continue to be implemented until 31 January 2021. The partners involved are typically different institutions of the concerned sectors (public education, health care, social care).

The main goal of the project is to improve the efficiency of services for pre-school children and their families. The programme focuses especially on helping families with children who need special care and early intervention. The overall aim of the project is to define a common, so-called Children's Pathway through the various sectors of care and service provision. By following the Children's Pathway, children and their families will be able to receive the most adequate support, from the recognition of potential problems and diagnosing them, to receiving the necessary therapeutic services.

According to the project plan, this Chidren's Pathway will be developed in coordination with the institutions of the different sectors based on the formal rules regulating the work of professional personnel in these institutions. The necessary protocols will be elaborated in detail and the supporting legal background will also be set. The main contribution of the project is to provide a detailed description of the possible means of help within the care system from conception, through the perinatal period and the development phase after birth to the time of entry into primary education. The programme covers all the players participating in the service provision in each particular phase, and any roles and connections between them defined by the current legal framework. It identifies critical but weak or non-existent connections and suggests changes in the legal framework in order to improve the performance of the early childhood intervention system by way of a definition of a more efficient and effective Chidren's Pathway.

Moreover, this European Union supported project focuses on improving the effectiveness of cooperation between experts working in early childhood intervention, such as special needs teachers, psychologists, nursery teachers, social workers, health visitors, paediatricians and general practitioners. The programme also aims to achieve a higher quality of service by developing the methodology, education and supporting information technology. It will help parents improve their abilities and support them in becoming more competent and aware in performing their parental role from the very first days of the child's life. A very important aspect of this development is to improve the provision of services for children and their families living in those

counties and municipalities where the availability and provision of services are less than adequate or even lacking. According to the current plans, the supply and provision of the services will be delivered to the target groups in the form of complex 'mobile' early intervention support services.

4.1. System-level developments

The project will assess the availability of services in all areas of the country and identify problems. This information will then underpin subsequent action. The legislation, the professional guidelines and the system of documentation will be reviewed and the legislation harmonized. The study and review of the competencies, tasks and co-operation between persons involved in early childhood intervention will help improve the functioning of the service system. Promoting cooperation and defining the various competencies and tasks for professionals involved in primary health care, specialist education, public education, social welfare, child protection, child welfare and early childhood intervention as well as for families with children under school age is an important principle.

The Chidren's Pathway, as a pathway of care, will be set up with the cooperation of professionals from different disciplines. The methodology of intersectoral, interdisciplinary and intra-institutional interdisciplinary team activities will be prescribed, and the definition of modes of sending referrals and signals will be defined. This is accompanied by the description of the data and access permissions needed by professionals from different fields, which form the basis of the interconnection of the professional IT systems. A single, integrated cross-sectoral IT system will be introduced to provide an interface to connect with the IT systems of the institutions. A more efficient flow of electronic information and thus the traceability of the children's cases in the system will be established. The interconnection and development of the existing national filing systems in the fields will greatly improve professionals' access to information.

Focusing on the development of complex service networking in service-deprived areas, a model for complex 'mobile' service delivery will be developed to facilitate local provision, in particular access to services for children below school age and their families in small settlements and disadvantaged micro-regions. In areas where there is a shortage of services, special services are needed, which would be provided by the development of an incentive system. The project will deliver a complex 'mobile' service to hundreds of municipalities through a pilot programme.

4.2. Methodological support for professionals

The project seeks to improve the knowledge of professionals working with children under school age and their families. Methodological manuals will help professionals gain knowledge. The recognition of divergent knowledge of child development, everyday educational issues and how to solve them all contribute to the broadening of expertise, primarily among professionals working in community settings. Furthermore, practitioners can use the methodological materials for early screening, identification

and diagnosis of developmental disorders, besides referring to a handbook on early family-oriented counselling and intervention.

Knowledge of the care system and of a unified Children's Pathway may serve to develop a common approach among professionals involved in early childhood intervention. Currently, efforts are being made to develop and test the necessary professional background, with guidelines and protocols for entry into the Children's Pathway (e.g. aftercare policy, school readiness protocol, exercise therapy protocol, screening protocol, etc.). A sensory integration testing procedure, a school readiness test and a child development questionnaire will be developed for playgroup educators (0–2 years old) and nursery teachers (3–6 years old). Quality care is based on the development of quality indicators for early childhood intervention.

Currently, some diagnostic tools are obsolete or do not have a Hungarian standard. As a result, the toolkit needs to be updated to ensure effective development, primarily the diagnostic toolkit for education services. The professional output of the project will be posted on the project website (gyermekut.hu) and will be made publicly available.

4.3. Broadening the competences of professionals

Most of the project's methodological improvements are channelled into advanced training materials and are delivered to practitioners in various fields in small groups or via distance learning. Free, accredited, certified in-service training is being organised for the 10,000 professionals involved in early care. The content relevant for all professionals appears in complex training sessions and is taught in small mixed groups by professionals from different disciplines. Within the complex groups, professionals will learn about typical developmental pathways and the temporal recognition of developmental differences in children from birth to school entry age, and the roles and competences of professionals working in other sectors, as well as learning about communication with professionals and parents.

Subject-specific training sessions will introduce practitioners to screening procedures that are currently being developed, including health awareness, early complex family-centred counselling and intervention. Group-specific training is aimed at preschool educators and early childhood educators in acquiring basic educational counselling skills and assisting professionals working in early childhood intervention. The aim of these training sessions is to promote integration, inclusive approaches and practices in institutions for young children. Similarly, specialist clinical psychologists in the education services will be trained in the field of therapeutic care based on parent-child relationship diagnostics, in line with the expansion of services.

Another important aspect is the appearance of early childhood intervention training in graduate training. To this end, regularly convened workshops of higher education institutions are designed to facilitate common training output, content and the channelling of project results into graduate training. Institutions of teacher training and humanities as well as social science training are involved in this process. Professionals also receive mental health support, take part in supervision and case discussion groups with members working in various fields of early childhood intervention and model the workings of mixed early childhood intervention case-discussion groups with parents and families.

4.4. Supporting parents, developing partnerships with families

The project gives importance to the education of parents of children under school age, to improve their knowledge of early childhood development and parenting, broaden their knowledge of the care system, and develop appropriate parental competences.

One of the cornerstones of early childhood intervention is early access to services. That is why it is important to become acquainted with the Chidren's Pathway and to increase knowledge of the care system. The brochures, designed both for professionals and for families, provide help in early recognition and information about the care system. Workshops, lectures and training sessions provide information on preparing for childbirth, the early childhood intervention system, child development, development services and problem recognition.

An interactive website helps parents, families and professionals find guidance on care paths, and helps families contact the right care provider corresponding to their needs as soon as possible. Through the appropriate transfer of knowledge, the project aims to increase parental awareness and competence in the development, care and upbringing of children, and to enhance the work of professionals. Through the project, parents are able to handle problem situations in a more informed manner. Parents can participate in case discussion groups, parent groups and parent clubs. Parenting groups provide support for parents of children with various delayed development issues.

4.5. Specific Chidren's Pathway pilot

International experience has shown that more functional early childhood intervention systems are characterized by the operation of coordinated, interdisciplinary, integrated services. There is an agreement that in terms of more integrated service delivery, moving from a multisectoral approach to an intersectoral approach will result in a more efficient and cost-effective care system. In the specific Chidren's Pathway pilot, a new model is being tested, building on the experiences of previous developments, and using their adaptable elements. An appropriate impact assessment must be conducted from the very beginning of the project. Based on the evaluation of the project, including the necessary corrections, the final institutional model will be developed and implemented after the approval of the decision-makers.

SUMMARY

It is necessary to identify the most important problems in order to make good policy decisions. Among these, it is worth emphasizing the following: sectoral fragmentation makes regulation difficult to interpret, the laws of the different sectors are disconnected from each other, and a regulated path from primary health care to the public education system is missing. Moreover, the various professionals have a very heterogeneous knowledge of child development and different care options, and they do not have enough information of the knowledge and competencies of professionals working in other sectors.

In choosing the key areas and setting the proper aims for the development of the system, it is important to understand international trends and identify adaptable elements of successful practices. Those systems that function well are based on a family-centred approach, in which an interdisciplinary team is built around the children and their families, involving the collaboration of experts and members of the family with a key worker who follows the Children's Pathway in the system. It is also important to establish natural learning environments that enable specialists' skills to be applied through everyday family routines.

For the programme to be a success, it is also important to take into account the results of different research studies and earlier developmental programmes. The *Intersectoral Development of Early Childhood Intervention* project initiates the development of an evidence-based service. The project is expected to lead to a more efficient care system, with a transparent, traceable Chidren's Pathway and an increased number of better quality and accessible services for all. At the same time, geographical areas with a lack of services will be provided with care, and regional inequalities in provision will be reduced. As a result of the training sessions, the competence of the professionals concerned will increase, their unified knowledge will be developed, and they will become familiar with the professional expectations and service paths related to the common Children's Pathway. Families will be better informed, more satisfied, and increasingly competent in recognizing and supporting their children's strengths and abilities. They will be able to navigate better in the care system, experiencing a decrease in stress and isolation and an increase in their family's quality of life.

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Legal regulation

Hungarian Government Resolution 1246/2015. (IV. 23.) on Measures Necessary for Successful Intervention in ECEC.

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A Second Chance with Lifelong Guidance in Northern Hungary

Introduction

'Think globally, act locally' – measures for Sustainable Development Goals

The United Nations treaty on Sustainable Development Goals (2015), adopted unanimously by 193 countries, envisions a just world by 2030, in which fewer people live in poverty and starvation, and have significantly more access to quality inclusive education and job support, where inequalities are reduced and well-being increases.

It is particularly important that people belonging to vulnerable groups who are disadvantaged on account of their gender, age, ethnicity or disability have access to the acquis necessary for their full participation in society.

In addition to the importance of creating a global agenda responding to crises, the treaty celebrates the different approaches, visions and models of each country and the availability of a wide range of implementation tools to achieve Sustainable Development Goals in line with the circumstances and priorities of the states involved. The activities of small communities, local civic organisations and partnerships lend people-centred and diverse content to supranational ideas, and are therefore of paramount importance.

The focus of this study is a research and development activity that examines the possibilities and limitations of career development in a highly disadvantaged region of Hungary, with a multidisciplinary approach. The research team uses educational, psychological, social scientific and economic approaches in order to obtain a more complete response to the issues of multi-disadvantaged children of mainly Romani ethnicity, and in some cases children with disabilities, with regard to their lifelong guidance, career development and subsequent integration into the labour market.

Multidisciplinary aspects

The complex process of career development can primarily be analysed through the personal psychological features of a child or an individual. The evolution of a career path is greatly influenced by the choices that an individual has, which are in turn influenced not only by the environment, but also by the stable, conscious functioning of

the personality. Therefore, it is particularly important that all programmes widening the range of opportunities should be included as an inescapable part of the development of the individual's self-knowledge. Self-knowledge development covers the ability to explore the capabilities and skills of realistic appraisal of the development options for the formulation of interests, motivating factors, desires and values. The individual's awareness of their emotional-volitional properties and social skills is important. An insight into communication skills, cooperation, empathy, tolerance and conflict management skills is key to the effective management of social situations.

The two components of the self are the self-concept that individuals have about themselves and the self-esteem they feel towards themselves. With regard to career guidance, young people with sufficient self-knowledge are able to answer questions on matters such as dexterity, or, for example, how precisely they can perform tasks, or how to overcome tension, etc. Self-awareness is key to controlling thoughts, feelings and behaviour and delivering results in performance situations. Self-awareness allows the individual to find the situations and life path suitable for their qualities and skills. Good, fitting choices are accompanied by positive feelings such as joy, pride and success, while situations that hinder the self give rise to negative feelings, such as fear and anger (Smith, Mackie & Claypool, 2016). The image we have of ourselves feeds on our own thoughts, feelings and interpretations of our freely chosen behaviour, the reactions of others towards us, or the results of comparisons between ourselves and others. The reactions of others mainly affect people who have uncertain self-concepts. Comparison with others is effective when compared not with extreme (strong or weak) examples, but with individuals of similar abilities.

The image of self and the image of the future self (ideal self) has an effect on self-esteem, and it is also decisive in the evolution of an individual's way of life. A person's basic ambition of self is to maintain satisfaction with themselves and their self-esteem. Positive self-assessment is reinforced by the positive evaluation, recognition and unconditional acceptance of others and successes achieved (Rogers, 2018; Kőrössy, 2017). Given that self-functioning is characterised by the maintenance of self-esteem, whether positive or negative, it is extremely important for children to receive feedback from their environment that creates and maintains a realistic, positive self-image. Furthermore, the environment must support the creation of an achievable self-ideal, thereby encouraging a positive chance in life.

The educational and social scientific approach addresses the opportunities and inequalities of opportunity to access knowledge, school and social inclusion.

According to Katalin Szabó, 'Opportunity – in the most general sense – means that someone is capable of doing something or possessing something. The possessed information and experience about possibilities, its quantity and quality, the self-awareness and the knowledge of the situation determine the outcome of the struggle for opportunities. Opportunity assumes activity. In the life of a community, disadvantage means a limitation or loss of the possibility of participation with others on an equal basis, and discrimination against disadvantaged people and their environment. This approach focuses on the shortcomings of the environment and of many organised activities in society (e.g. providing and disseminating information, communication, education) that hinder or block equal participation' (Mihály, 1999; Nahalka, 2008; id. Szabó Á-né, 2014, 3).

Family environment also has a strong impact on the possibility of equal participation. The Hungarian Child Protection Act considers a disadvantaged child one whose parent or guardian has, at most, primary education or low employment status, or if the child's living environment and housing conditions are insufficient. A multiply disadvantaged child is who meets at least two of the former criteria, or a child in foster care, or a child of student status living in after-care (Act XXXI of 1997 on Child Protection and the Administration of Guardianship).

According to the Hungarian Act on Public Education, disadvantaged and multiply disadvantaged students require special attention. The Act on Public Education also states that if there are several primary schools operating in a settlement, efforts must be made to distribute disadvantaged students evenly among the institutions (Act CXC of 2011 on Public Education). This regulation is intended to prevent the segregation of schools. However, the study of Kertesi and Kézdi (2014), among others, shows that the level of school segregation in Hungary has increased since the 1980s, and the distribution of Roma and non-Roma students between schools has become more unequal. The segregation index, which measures ethnic segregation, has more than doubled. This trend was most prevalent in major cities. According to the research, the degree of segregation in primary schools is mainly determined by the extent of student mobility, the local proportion of Roma pupils and the leaning of local education policymakers towards segregation or integration (Kertesi & Kézdi, 2014).

The latter trend is also shown by the PISA results (PISA 2018 Summary Report, 2019). It reveals that Hungary unfortunately ranks highly among OECD countries in the degree of school differentiation based on the social status of parents, which means that there are some schools where only Romani pupils study (Parliamentary Resolution 47/2007 (V. 31.) on the 'Have a Better Childhood!' National Strategy, 2007–2032).

Equal opportunities in education in Hungary are regulated by Act CXXV of 2003 on Equal Treatment and the Promotion of Equal Opportunities and Act CXC of 2011 on Public Education. According to the law, no one in Hungary is excluded from accessing education services, moreover education is compulsory for 6- to 16-year-old children. However, the legislation can primarily act against direct segregation, but in the field of education, a number of so-called 'hidden segregation' mechanisms can be found.

The term 'equity' means that it is necessary to eliminate disadvantageous distinctions, but this does not adequately ensure truly equal opportunities. Differences in society (inequities) have to be recognised and compensated for, and in order to provide equal opportunities supportive measures are needed.

One such 'inequitable factor' is the so-called assimilation constraint, which may result in marginalisation or selection and segregation. In fact, public education undertakes to eliminate the effects of inequality of opportunity through integration and inclusion. 'Of all the social strategies, inclusion (mutual inclusion) is the one that offers efficient solutions based on the concepts of equal opportunities and equity. Inclusion applies the prohibition of discrimination accompanied by equitable services providing real access, so that different social groups or individuals could live together successfully (in a way that creates opportunities)' (Varga, 2015, 24). Integration, especially in its more rigid forms, only amplifies the disadvantages that are based on differences (Réthy, 2004), if it is not accompanied by supportive measures and effective actions. Hidden selection mechanisms have to be taken into account, such as selection among the different types of schools on the basis of social prejudice

(Lannert, 2004). A significantly larger proportion of disadvantaged or Roma students study in segregated, often poorly facilitated schools and classes in Hungary.

The issue of equality in education is also the subject of examination in the PISA studies. Thus the question of fairness also appears alongside the dimensions of efficiency and effectiveness. Fairness emphasises the extent of efficiency and effectiveness to all students, in other words, the ability of a country's education system to compensate for the diversity of the students' sociocultural and economic backgrounds (PISA Summary Report, 2015).

The latter is closely linked to the concept of the added value of education systems, which examines the effectiveness of schools, depending on the socio-cultural environment (family background, settlement and environment). The schools that are considered to have high added-value are those that do not reproduce existing social inequalities, but increase the students' chances of social mobility (Frigy, 2012).

One of the most important determinants affecting students' effectiveness is the socio-economic status of parents and guardians. It is typically measured by examining the parents' education, income and occupation (Lannert, 2004).

It is not only the mechanisms of the education system that can influence the trajectory of an individual's life but also the quality of the social capital they can utilise in achieving personal goals. The main types of social capital are the following: (1) capital of competence, (2) property capital, (3) relational capital, (4) capital of social qualifications, (5) information capital, and (6) individual social capital. Capital of competence includes, for example, civil rights, the right to vote and to be elected. Property capital equates to the economic interpretation of capital. Relational capital is the sum of an individual's social relations. Capital of social qualifications includes all qualifications: such as degrees, vocational training and foreign language certificates. Information capital means having access to exclusive information, while individual social capital includes the personal qualities of a person (Farkas, 2013).

The most certain way to avoid poverty is to have a job providing a suitable income. However, finding a job in the labour market, having decent working conditions and avoiding poverty as an employee is a major challenge for many people worldwide, particularly for vulnerable, disadvantaged groups with a low level of education (International Labour Organisation, 2019). A person's future success in the labour market is adversely affected by that individual having a low level of education and insufficient competences, especially in the knowledge-based economy of our time. These factors serve to maintain poverty and inequality. Hence, developing competences and obtaining a higher level of education can reduce the risk of unemployment, increase the level of income and improve living standards. It is also beneficial for communities, as labour productivity increases, the area becomes more attractive for investors and higher added value jobs are created, with higher wages paid (World Bank, 2018).

Roma people – the largest ethnic minority in the European Union – are subject to strong discrimination in the labour market, while equal access to employment would provide the key to their social integration and struggle against poverty. In the early 2010s, only 28% of Roma people over the age of 16 had a paid job in the EU member states; 23% of them were casual labourers, 21% were self-employed and 9% were in part-time work. Among young people (16–24 years), 24% were employed (European Agency on Fundamental Rights, 2014).

Prejudice, discrimination, segregated housing conditions and low levels of education are among the reasons for their exclusion from the labour market. Among Roma youngsters (18–24 years), the share of early school leavers is significant: 72% in the Czech Republic, 82–85% in Bulgaria, Hungary, Italy, Poland and Slovakia, and 93% in France, Greece, Portugal, Romania and Spain do not complete secondary education (European Agency on Fundamental Rights, 2014).

1. OBJECTIVES

Our Life Path Research and Development Project was initiated to examine the situation of disadvantaged pupils, including students with disabilities, in a region of Hungary for the development of life path building skills in a state school environment and with the help of an out-of-school child programme. In our research, we have sought to explore the current role and opportunities of public education in connection with life path building skills and labour market integration. We examined the effects that contribute to social exclusion and their influence on these factors.

Among the main areas of career development competencies, there is always self-awareness and self-efficiency, the main elements of which are knowledge of personal strengths and weaknesses, interests, values, the development of a positive self-image, and the ability to effectively shape interpersonal relationships.

The main areas of Career Management Skills (CMS), namely, self-knowledge, awareness of opportunities, decision-making and transition management skills, should form an integral part of development training programmes, as these may create a solid basis for the design, development and implementation of a career. Children, adolescents and adults of any age, and in any form of service, should be supported in acquiring and deepening their self-knowledge, and increasing the effectiveness of their interpersonal skills. In addition, it may be necessary to develop specific career management skills at a particular point in their career span, such as developing the ability to cope with changes caused by career modification, periods of unemployment or, for example, changes caused by transition to part-time work. In addition to expanding an individual's knowledge of the labour market and improving their skills for employment, flexibility development, flexible adaptability, effective management of uncertainty and environmental factors also play a key role (Vuorinen & Watts, 2013).

Development of self-knowledge, realistic self-image and self-worth and strengthening of self-confidence are overarching elements of career-building skills development. The development of career-building competences has a strong basis if the use and synthesis of knowledge, decision-making and the development of the necessary skills are linked to self-knowledge. Accurate and realistic self-knowledge allows the individual to be effective in, for example, processing knowledge of careers, related decision-making, seeking a job and keeping it etc. A young person who is aware of his or her qualities, skills, motives and desires has a higher chance of making good decisions, which leads to success, therefore building confidence and laying the foundations of a prosperous career. Another essential requirement for successful career building is the motivation itself. An important task of the environment is to generate and strengthen the motivation for career building. Conscious planning and

shaping of the future, and the urge to do so, are not implicit, they are highly influenced by socialisation.

An important part of career skills development includes, therefore, the development of realistic self-esteem, the strengthening of self-confidence and creating a sense of self-efficiency (Billédi, 2018; Perlusz, 2018). An important task of all professionals involved in the process is to develop the social, communication and cooperation skills and personality traits of children and adolescents by supportive and constructive feedback (Gordon, 2001).

Programmes aiming to develop career management skills can be organised for young people and adults alike, with key elements of developing self-worth, exploring and structuring strengths and interests, supporting critical thinking and thus strengthening personal efficiency (Vuorinen & Watts, 2013).

A part of self-knowledge development is encouraging the child or adolescents to practise self-reflection, which, in the development of career-building skills, means the exploration, comprehension and realisation of values, interests and skills connected to the world of work. A person-centred and solution-focused approach provides an effective theoretical background to the development of self-awareness in children and adolescents, working and encouraging them. Carl Rogers' (2018) person-centred approach emphasises that ensuring the positive development of a personality, whether in everyday life or in a therapeutic relationship, is linked to three basic conditions. These conditions, namely unconditional acceptance, empathetic understanding and congruent communication, allow an individual to look at themselves realistically, without any kind of defensiveness or aversion, on the basis of their own choices and decisions. According to Steve de Shazer (1985, id. Berg, 2004), a solution-focused approach is an essential component of finding solutions and resources to focus. Instead of focusing on problems, finding solutions is also about trying to find resources, which means encouraging the individual to practise self-reflection, to boost their confidence and faith in themselves.

The development of self-knowledge is a constant but not always effective part of family and institutional socialisation. In addition to the content and methodological aspects of the direct development of a young person's self-knowledge, including self-knowledge programmes and self-knowledge groups, attention should be paid to the important actors involved in this process, such as parents, teachers and counsellors. Adults, parents and professionals supporting the development of self-knowledge in young people can be effective if they themselves have realistic self-knowledge and confidence, enabling their communication and feedback to be supportive and constructive. Thus, parent groups or professional training can be an integral part of the process (Billédi & Csákvári, 2019). A strengthening family approach based on protective factors is an excellent backdrop for the complex phenomenon of the development of career-building skills. The building-up and reinforcing of the following five protective factors – parental resilience; social relationships; knowledge of parenting and development; specific support in an emergency; and the social and emotional competences of children – ultimately contributes in a complex way to improving the young person's self-knowledge, confidence, problem-solving skills, and effective career development (Kas, Billédi, Cs. Ferenczi, Csákvári & Tánczos, 2015).

2. INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS

The 2020 Strategic Framework of the European Cooperation in Education and Training specifies four strategic objectives intended to improve the quality of life of as many European citizens as possible (including vulnerable and cumulatively disadvantaged students supported by our Life Path programme). These goals directly frame our programme, in which lifelong guidance and career development are implemented to prevent early school leaving, as part of a second chance children's programme. The concept of early school leaving, according to the official definition in the European Union, includes those 18–24-year-old people who do not (yet) have a secondary qualification (ISCED level 3, vocational school certificate or certificate of secondary education), and do not participate in education or training.

According to the Council of the European Union, the aims of a second chance programme are the following:
- To implement lifelong learning and mobility, the development of more open education and training systems that can respond further to change;
- To improve the quality and efficiency of education and training, raising the level of basic skills (literacy, reading and numeracy), making Maths, Natural Sciences and Engineering more attractive, and strengthening language competences;
- To promote equity, social cohesion and active citizenship, so that all citizens can develop their professional skills throughout their lives, regardless of their personal, social or economic circumstances;
- To develop innovation and creativity, including entrepreneurship, at all levels of education and training, as they are the main drivers of sustainable economic development (Council of the European Union, 2009).

Early school leaving, which affects 10.6% of European citizens aged 18–24, is a serious problem as these young people face increased difficulties in the labour market: In 2019, 4.9% of young people were in work, 3.5% were not employed but wanted to work; and 2.2% were not employed and did not want to work (Eurostat, 2019).

In Hungary, the government regulation (Government Decree 1729/2016 (XII. 13.) on the Action Plan for the Strategy against Early School Leaving) on its medium-term strategy to prevent early school leaving without qualification recognised demographic and educational reasons for the statistic of 11% for early school leaving. This means, on the one hand, that in the decreasing school population the rate of the disadvantaged and cumulatively disadvantaged students with special educational needs is constantly increasing, and that the state education and training system cannot respond effectively to their needs, while the systematic reduction of early school leaving would improve the life chances, employability and adaptability of those affected.

In her research (2013; 2019; 2020), Szilvia Schmitsek emphasises the increasing numbers of Romani students leaving school early. According to her surveys, only 15% of Romani students attend secondary school after primary school, and only 2% continue their studies in higher education (Schmitsek, 2013). However, personalised support for individual learning and career pathways for learners can increase their success in the labour market or higher education (Schmitsek, 2019).

3. Domestic frameworks – National Core Curriculum, guidelines, local curricula

Public education should play an important role in improving career development skills, further education and lifelong guidance, and in realising the right career choices (Borbély-Pecze, Gyöngyösi & Juhász, 2013). As in previous decades, Act CXC of 2011 on Public Education ranks the day-to-day responsibilities of schools and teachers as 'further education and guidance', though it does not conform with the most modern approach. However, this is not the greatest problem. Domestic legislation treats the issue of career choice as a priority development area – i.e. as content that can be incorporated into each grade of each subject – as stated in both the previously mentioned Act and in Government Decree 5/2020 (I. 31.). Among the key competences of the new National Core Curriculum, which came into force by government regulation, are those of 'employee, innovation and entrepreneurial competences', but these areas are barely present at the level of each subject framework curriculum and teachers do not have the competence to develop careers. Although the tasks of Education Assistance Services include guidance for careers and professional support for the lifelong guidance activities of teachers (Act CXC of 2011 on Public Education 18.§. 2f; and Decree of the Ministry of Human Capacities 51/2012. (XII. 21.) 26. §), this guidance is also limited, mainly due to a lack of human resources, capacity and coordination. By way of illustration, here are a few examples: within the scheme of the school course in 'Civics' it is mentioned that students shall consciously prepare for their future role as employees, thus they shall learn about the basic legislation affecting the world of work and learn about the role of the labour market, and the situation and changes in the labour market. They should recognise its role in social division of labour as listed in the 'Learning Outcomes' list, and understand and interpret the basic legal conditions and framework of student work, while also gathering information on the employment situation and changes in the structure of the various professions. Similar examples can be found in the school course in 'Technology and Design' under the heading 'Preparing for the World of Work', which states the following:

1. They shall work together with their peers according to the division of labour in group work;
2. They shall recognise the importance of working for each other, and the value of the division of labour;
3. They shall become familiar with the characteristics of observable professions and professions in their surroundings.

It can be seen from the above that the guidance provided in Hungarian schools is not a process that is built according to a plan, with the same emphasis and expanding theme in successive grades, but it is rather based on an individual or group service available in education services, which does not provide a real opportunity for the target group affected by our research and development programme. In other words, it does not fit those who need it most.

4. Good practices for compensating disadvantages

4.1. Psychological aspects

The periods of transition between different ages are always challenging. The tasks required for further studies, career choices and the responsibility of making decisions and their consequences all create a wide range of emotions in young persons, which affect their ability to cope with life tasks.

Almost all compensation programmes for disadvantaged children and/or children with disabilities affect their need to develop self-awareness. There are several programmes and good practices for developing self-knowledge. In general, a wide variety of activities are suitable for the development of self-knowledge. A key element in these programmes is the opportunity for the young to take responsibility without anxiety, to have an opportunity for self-reflection, and to receive effective feedback (criticism and praise) from their environment. In addition to self-knowledge groups, individual or group activities for different purposes (such as artistic self-expression and skills development) also have an impact on self-knowledge.

Self-knowledge groups of all ages suffice to provide a safe space for rethinking personal characteristics and dilemmas, as well as assessing traits, talents, abilities, skills, desires and career opportunities. In addition, self-knowledge groups provide a good framework for learning to express and control emotions and learning how to deal with critical situations, as well as harnessing feedback. Self-knowledge groups aim to clarify strengths and weaknesses, rethink values and define social roles. The designation of self-knowledge groups refers to the fact that, based on different methods (such as free interaction, encounter and psychodrama), the activities are aimed at improving the participants' self-awareness. The management of self-knowledge groups requires the assistance of a qualified professional, since these benefits can only be achieved in appropriate, expertly led groups (Kalamár, 2003; Sütőné Koczka, 2003; Bácskai, 2005; Rudas, 2007).

Artistic activities (fine art and film, music, dance, etc.) enable, among other things, self-reflection, the processing of emotions, the development of self-knowledge, and understanding other people's self-expression through the opportunities afforded by creation, creative activity and self-expression. Artistic activities contribute to physical and mental endurance, and development in emotional, social and cognitive fields. Artistic groups can also operate within educational frameworks or in therapeutic quality through specialists trained in their respective methods.

Various skills development groups and programmes (such as problem solving, communication skills, emotional and social skills, conflict management development, etc.) have a positive effect on self-knowledge, self-confidence and social relationships. Sport, or movement in a comprehensive way, has a developing effect on the physical, cognitive, affective and behavioural functions of the young person. As a result of sports and exercise, children and young people gain a sense of success, while their stamina improves and their self-confidence increases.

Different kinds of games – from logic games to puppet shows or drama games – help young people develop skills in several fields. Through the self-forgetting act of playing, intellectual skills develop, such as the mastering of the rules of social relations and of emotion-regulation abilities.

The tasks are organised around thematic projects, and the sets of common objectives can provide opportunities for planning, organisation, creativity, discussion, decision, ownership, cooperation, experience and exercise.

Voluntary assistance of others provides a good opportunity to strengthen positive self-esteem, even when the helpers themselves need help and support in other respects. Young people can practise making contact with others, listening to them and collaborating with them.

4.2. Second chance programmes as aspects of education

In most OECD member states, secondary education has become a minimum condition for later labour market prosperity or further education. At the same time, in many countries there is a significant number of students who become school leavers without having any qualifications (Lamb & Markussen, 2011). In addition to the supranational and national policies previously presented, non-governmental networks and complex developments that could represent a second chance for these students and their families play an important role. In the following, we present international and domestic initiatives that see career development as one of the possible ways of overcoming disadvantages.

4.2.1. The European Association of Cities, Institutions and Second Chance Schools

The European Association of Cities, Institutions and Second Chance Schools, or E2C, is the only European network that deals exclusively with the networks of second-chance schools and their development. The organisation has set out the following clear criteria for second-chance schools, which have since been applied in many member states, including Hungary, not only in the framework of schooling, but also in other development programmes:

- 'Such a school has dedicated resources for the site and staff.
- Educational processes are characterised by versatility and innovation, as well as their flexibility and individualism.
- IT tools are highly important in the education process.
- The alternation of theoretical and practical education is a central component of the system and aims to play a key role in the acquisition of professional and social competences.
- They consider it important to support and support a professional project for young people, a personalised educational approach.
- The educational procedures used are designed to ensure that pupils are left behind in their mother tongue, foreign languages, Maths and information technology' (Schmitsek, 2010, 116).

4.2.2. Modules of the Dobbantó (Springboard) Programme – 'Bridge to the World of Work'

The national programme, developed, introduced and monitored between 2008 and 2011, was designed to provide the preparatory 9th year class for the preparation of the then vocational school. The aim was to provide pupils who are not in formal education or who have already dropped out with training and life path planning/building services based on individual roadmaps to pupils with behavioural and learning difficulties, or other special needs (Mártonfi, 2013).

The modules of the programme called 'Bridge to the World of Work', in response to the needs of the pupils concerned, have set a complex goal: to support the development of a positive image of young people, to strengthen their competences in relation to employee and employability, and to acquire and expand their career building experience, in order to successfully find pathways between school and the world of work (Fehér, Győrfi, Katona, Kádár, Kovács, Szitó & Tóth, 2009).

The Bridge modules, which accounted for 40% of the school year as a highly important element of the programme, include basic employee knowledge, career building knowledge and basic knowledge of groups of professions, as well as job-shadowing and experience of the world of work (Kovács & Katona, 2010).

4.2.3. The role of Second Chance Education Programmes

Second Chance Education Programmes ('Tanoda' in Hungarian) have been operating in Hungary for more than two decades. 'The Second Chance Education Programme is an institution that seeks to enhance the skills of disadvantaged students, primarily the skills of those Romani students, who, due to discrimination, find themselves in a much more difficult educational situation.' (Kerényi, 2005, 15). According to a survey conducted in 2005, 76% of children and young people attending this programme participated in a guidance programme and 69% participated in a further study programme (Németh, 2005). At the same time, studying the operation of the Second Chance Education Programmes in Hungary (they number about 100), it can be concluded that the activity of these programmes extends far beyond the basic activity for which it was originally created.

The activities can be classified as the following:
- Building a complex chance-creating model,
- Community development (community programmes, community building),
- Scholarship programmes,
- Contributing to solving crisis situations,
- The creation and exploitation of income-generating activities, and
- Training programmes for different local participants.
- It is clear that dealing with children with multiple disadvantages, especially those who are even more affected by discrimination – precisely because of the complexity of the problems – requires multidisciplinary and intersectoral cooperation, in each case focusing on the person, the child.

4.2.4. InDaHouse pilot-programme

Since 2014, the InDaHouse Hungary Association has been working with disadvantaged, mainly Romani children, in four small towns in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County, with the help of volunteers. The aim of the organisation is to support the education and further education of the 100 children involved and, in the long term, to help them become self-fulfilling, responsible and self-fulfilling adults. The programme is implemented in the township of Hernádszentandrás every weekend during the school year. In this programme, individualised development sessions and group sessions take place in the school, and individual early childhood development sessions are conducted in families' homes. Every week, children involved in the school development programme are provided with a task sheet that corresponds to their individual learning goals, abilities and interests. Additionally, every child has a task sheet volunteer, and the goal is for each child to have a mentor who tracks their individual development path. The school has time slots, so every child has a one-and-a-half- to two-hour time slot when they go to the school. The professional foundations of the programme are focused on individual development and education through play. It is a professional goal to strengthen the children's self-awareness and self-confidence. The latter is especially important as the children participating in the programme typically face failure and negative feedback in educational institutions, which reduces their self-esteem and motivation to participate in education and to continue learning. Furthermore, it is important to note that the Association is not only concerned with the development of children, but also as an employer in the affected settlements. The children are transported to school by two of the fathers as paid workers. Furthermore, the Association operates a guesthouse in settlement of Pere in the form of a social enterprise, which also creates a workplace.

The Life Path Programme brought a new career path, a career orientation focus, and an approach to the operation of InDaHouse. It helps identify and organise operations that are already in place, but which support sporadic career guidance, and facilitates the integration of new elements of guidance.

5. THE LIFE PATH RESEARCH & DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

The aim of our research and development programme was to support the more efficient operation of these services by exploring the skills of the chosen municipality and its environment, while developing career building skills and improving its existing organisational and network operations. Our model is similar to the approach of the new rehabilitation paradigm, which 'captures and strives to deliver the various services as gap-free, gear-like interlocking in time', and interlocking, with an alternating focus, so that the help we need arrives without delay and in a well-coordinated manner' (Borsay 1979; Weiss 1974, id. Könczei, 2009, 19). As Könczei claims: 'This approach helps focus on the person at the heart of the process: between the gears that move at the same time, interconnecting and driving each other, there are no more important and less important gears, because they all have to rotate, otherwise the process will stop' (Könczei, 2009, 19).

The Life Path Research & Development Programme consists of three elements in this regard. In the framework of our research the relevant international and domestic literary background has been reviewed and fieldwork of a qualitative nature has been conducted, and the insights that have been gained will support the career planning of students participating in the InDaHouse Children's Programme.

In the development section, building on the results of the research, a complex methodological package will be compiled for students and their schools, in order to provide specific professional support in the field of career development and career guidance to the volunteers of the Children's Programme. The aim is to help educators working in the students' schools, while preparing a personal career plan for the students who will be involved in the programme.

Elements of the methodological package will be tested in the coming academic year and a partnership will be developed to ensure the sustainability of developments at local level. The strengthening of these synergies, on the one hand, can lead to the alignment and networking of stakeholders in different sectors, such as children and their families, educators educating children, volunteers and mentors in the children's programme, local employers and municipalities. On the other hand, further input and other impacts will appear during the process, adding more value to the effectiveness of the programme.

6. RESULTS

Our study is one of qualitative research, in which we conducted semi-structured interviews with local actors supporting the development of careers of disadvantaged, mainly young Roma people, in the InDaHouse Hungary children's programme, in order to become acquainted with their opinions and suggestions on the subject. We focused territorially on Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County, including Miskolc as the county seat, and on the four municipalities of the Encsi region (Hernádszentandrás, Hernádbüd, Ináncs and Pere), where the children of the InDaHouse programme live. During the first phase of the research, we conducted interviews with the teachers of a secondary school in Miskolc, a career guidance specialist from the education service in Miskolc, a nursery-school social worker working in the district and the mayor of one of the four small towns mentioned. The findings of these first interviews are summarised in this section.

6.1. The context of the research

6.1.1. The labour market situation in the county

With regard to the employment data of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County, there has been a positive labour market process in recent years, specifically a significant decrease in the jobless rate and the number of jobseekers. However, disadvantaged groups in the labour market have not been able to take advantage of these positive developments. The county has a remarkably high rate of jobseekers with only a primary school education, which means their not having any kind of qualification; in the Encsi micro-

region, where the present research was conducted and the development programme is implemented, the rate is the second highest in the entire county (Expanzió, 2018).

The interviewees emphasise the problem of unemployment, which has exploded since the change of regime in the area where, typically, they had previously lived from agriculture. The mayor of the village notes that there are still good but currently unexploited resources in agriculture due to a lack of relevant systemic strategy and innovation in the area. There are limited job opportunities in the small settlements that we examined. Typically, the main employers are the local authority, the nursery, the school, social institutions and small shops. There are job opportunities in Encs, but they typically require expertise, and are located around Miskolc, in factories, that are owned by international companies. The latter are highlighted by the principal of the Miskolc secondary school as the main job possibility for students who have graduated from the school. Since 2012, public work schemes have been available for low-educated or unskilled workers, and unskilled labour and undeclared work is also available on the region's construction sites. There are also bottom-up job creation initiatives, such as the Bioszentandrás Organic Gardening Social Enterprise in Hernádszentandrás. In addition to the possibility of work experience and workplace socialisation (acquiring, for instance, a capacity for failure tolerance, cooperation or following schedules and rules), Bioszentandrás also supports the completion of further training for its employees and serves as a springboard to the open labour market.

The region is characterised by the emigration of young people and qualified skilled labour.

> 'Increasingly, those who have strong connections or no chance of going any-where else remain in the small settlements. At best, they have a certificate of primary school attendance as the highest qualification but some do not even have that.' (The mayor)

6.1.2. The situation of children and families living in small settlements

According to the teachers' interviews, students and their families typically face numerous failures and prejudices against Romani people during their school careers.

> 'I do not know. I do not want this. I'm not very good at this. I'm not smart. These are the typical sentences I hear from children.' (Secondary school teacher)

> 'Most families have struggled a lot already. They are very, very down. They have a lot of life management problems. As I see it here [...] I tend to have children whose families are already falling apart.' (Nursery and school social worker)

In addition, family patterns and family background have a significant effect on their early school leaving and further studies. For families with financial problems, making money and working are preferred over the children's further studies. For girls, traditional gender roles and having children can also divert them from further studies.

> 'I can't go to school because I can't buy food for myself.' (Young girl quoted by secondary school principal)

'He can't study at home because his wife has to clean up.' (Secondary school principal)

'Contrary to stereotypes, young people are not like that. They would like to get good things and opportunities. They want to have a better life. And when one gains their trust, they can move on. They can only move on for a certain amount of time because they are often in families that create an awful force pulling them back.' (Nursery and school social worker)

If young people also decide on further studies or vocational training, the decisive factor affecting their choice is the geographical proximity of the training and not whether it meets their interests. Families living in small settlements are often extremely afraid for their children's safety, which can hinder their mobility and further studies.

'Recently I was in a small school and there, thanks to a grant, the pupils could go to the cinema and on an excursion. We had to talk to each parent to let the children go, because the parents are afraid that their children might be stolen, that their organs might be sold. So they fear for their children to such an extent.' (Life guidance specialist)

Insufficient levels of access to digital tools and digital competences can hinder young people's further studies. Typically, children typically use social media sites exclusively on their smartphones, but they are unable to find information on the internet. Currently, the information needed for further studies is mainly available digitally, which these children and families typically do not have access to.

6.1.3. Major institutional actors relevant to career development

6.1.3.1. School

According to the principal of the secondary school, their funding is low and unreliable, which hinders professional work. For this reason they undertake a wide variety of tasks in which they see opportunities for improvement. For example, a workshop will be established in the school from September, where a partial vocational certificate will be awarded in addition to graduation. He mentions as a difficulty the variable nature of the legal environment and the low number of students in upper secondary schools, as the world of work is more attractive to many young people than that of studying, due to, among other reasons, the lowering of the minimum school leaving age (to 16 years).

They try to encourage young people to continue their education after primary school by various means. They regularly visit primary schools, where they also motivate the students, their families, and teachers. They typically face the fact that primary school teachers have also had numerous experiences of failure, not believing that their students would be able to obtain a certificate for a profession or for graduation. The low number of students attending the school (60–70 people) provides an opportunity to build relationships and an atmosphere of trust. Great emphasis is placed on strengthening the young people's self-confidence, self-knowledge and personal support through individual mentoring. The school provides a youth hostel, which creates the opportunity for those students who live far from the school to attend. The youth hostel also plays an important role in developing and consolidating learning habits and time

management skills. They also organise clubs and leisure programmes. A scholarship scheme is available, also funded by the state, which is very motivating for families and young people. A scholarship programme is also offered, in addition to work, in which the young people are already working while still studying at school.

> *'Our students are very happy that they not only waste their time at school, but get paid for learning.' (Secondary school principal)*

The secondary school supports students in two main career directions, specifically towards obtaining a graduation certificate and, if possible, pursuing higher education, or towards vocational training. They are in contact with higher education institutions such as Eötvös Loránd University, Corvinus University and the Central European University, where visits are organised to show the students that Romani people can obtain Bachelor's or Master's degrees.

> *'We build trust that they are able to study at universities.' (Secondary school teacher)*

They also cooperate with vocational schools and regularly visit factories around Miskolc, which also receive their students as trainees.

In the secondary school, the social worker of the nursery and the school has been delegated as the person responsible for lifelong guidance. An important factor in her case is that she has several years of experience of working with disadvantaged children in the Lyukó Valley, so she can also establish positive relationships with their students.

6.1.3.2. Education Assistance Service and lifelong guidance

According to the lifelong guidance specialist, there is a shortage of capacity and specialists in the education assistance service, and as a result, their lifelong guidance work unfortunately does not extend to all primary schools in the county. Schools are enrolled in their programme, which includes lifelong guidance classes and days in grades 7 and 8 of primary school and secondary school. However, the career choice exhibition is open to all schools. Additionally, in Miskolc, individual lifelong guidance counselling is available at their headquarters. The expert emphasises that small-town schools, which are the focus of the present research, are at a disadvantage as opposed to urban schools, as they have more limited transport and other adverse circumstances, making it more difficult for them to access further training and lifelong guidance. She describes it as a problem that students typically lack knowledge about professions and have high school dropout rates. On the other hand, it can be a supporting factor if a parent works in a certain profession and involves the child in becoming familiar with it, because this can give the child a positive role model and motivation. However, this is not evident in families in which parents do not work, or work predominantly in public work schemes. The principal of the secondary school also stresses that students coming from a village or from a town have completely different knowledge. For instance, a child in Miskolc learns many more professions indirectly than a child growing up in a small village, simply because there are more diverse job opportunities in a larger city.

6.1.3.3. Social work in nurseries and schools

Nursery and school social work services have been operating in the district since 2018. They aim to identify and address social problems in nurseries and schools. The responsibilities of social workers include preventing school-based violence and conducting lifelong guidance sessions. The social worker also confirms the opinion of the lifelong guidance specialist that young people's knowledge of the profession is very low. Therefore, she organises factory, usiness and institutional job shadow visits to employers in the area for schools, where students can learn about different professions.

> *'I want to get the kids to come back to a place regularly, and have a mentor there to have connections to someone, because there is fear in them, as I say to the outside world. If you already have connections to someone, you have confidence, you can ask better, you will not be so shy. You experience the misconceptions you may have in your mind about non-Romani people.'* (Nursery and school social worker)

6.1.3.4. InDaHouse Hungary Children's Programme

According to the findings in the interviews, there is no active cooperation between the lifelong guidance specialist of the education assistance service, the social worker of the nursery and the school and InDaHouse Hungary Children's Programme. These actors have a limited view of each other's work.

The secondary school principal considers the work of InDaHouse Hungary Children's Programme important, as it provides a supportive background for students and their families, which reduces dropout.

> *'It's good they were standing behind the two kids!'* (Secondary school principal)

The mayor acknowledges the professional work of InDaHouse Hungary Children's Programme. He sees the key to its sustainability in finding synergies with local actors and embedding in the community.

> *'They have to understand that in a small town, whoever comes from far away at first looks strange as a stranger. [...] In addition to doing what they do very well, there is also a focus on making contact with other environments where the child is also in focus – like parents and, school professionals, in order to start that kind of synergy.'* (The mayor)

CONCLUSION

In our research and development programme we focus on children, and especially on students (Ferge & Darvas, 2011). In our study, we presented a form of research utilising a gear-like operating model, which focuses on strengthening students. We formulated our goals based on the conviction that the support of labour market integration also highly depends on public education. In our interpretation, career development is an immanent element of an education system and at the same time it presents an opportunity. We sought to show the inner strength of collaboration between various actors with regard to a specific children's programme.

We attempted to show that stakeholders, who had previously worked independently, are able to generate common activities for the same purpose, in the best interests of the children and students, if they cooperate and have the tools to do so. We present some good practices on supporting the life path planning of disadvantaged Roma students who are particularly in need of professional support to compensate for the socio-economical disadvantages caused by their family background.

Our research also reveals that focusing on children, developing and strengthening their abilities cannot be realised solely by working with them, but also by involving people around the children, those who might have impact on their lives. Supporting and helping these people (parents, teachers and , helpers) is at least as important for the development of the adults as it is for the children.

All these not only directly serve to strengthen the children's and students' career development competence and empowerment skills, but organisations and actors also face synergies of working together and their ability to make an impact. In disadvantaged areas, cooperation and the utilisation of available limited financial and human resources are even more crucial. In this case, notions such as sustainability and innovation are not merely empty words, but they become a part of everyday practice based on multidisciplinary professional collaboration. Our research may not only provide a basis for developing stronger cooperation between the professional actors in the examined area, but also represent a starting point for making educational policy decisions, developing intersectoral collaboration and facilitating the networking of local communities.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Narratives of Struggle

Lifelong Guidance and Future Planning Alternatives for People with Disabilities in Hungary

INTRODUCTION

The issue of all strategic planning in the last fifteen years has been to support lifelong learning activities and the labour market integration of young people with special educational needs, thereby expanding lifelong guidance methodological knowledge and the network of experts and service alternatives. This also presents a challenge in innovation and development strategies for the coming years on both European and national levels (McCarthy & Borbély-Pecze, 2020). However, according to the International Labour Organisation's 2014 report on employment trends, young people with special educational needs are at a significant disadvantage in the labour market in terms of the transition from secondary education, job search, and long-term career development (International Labour Organization, 2014).

Several researchers (Nagy, Grónai & Perlusz, 2013; Török, 2017) assert that career guidance has a key role to play for these young people, given that they have high drop-out rates and low-skills. Their training is often deadlocked in terms of their future well-being.

Numerous researchers (Keszi, Komáromi & Könczei, 2002; Csízik, 2007; Csukonyi, Máth, Medvés & Pántya, 2007; Nagy, 2011; Scharle, 2011; Csányi & Mihala, 2013; Cseh, 2014; Dajnoki, 2014; Szellő, 2015; Galambos, 2017; and Dunás-Varga, 2017) have conducted remarkable, comprehensive research on the employment of disabled people. At the same time, the fact remains that little domestic research has been conducted on this topic with particular regard to the supportive and hindering factors of lifelong guidance and the transition to adulthood. Our work may, therefore, be considered a niche study, as it covers both lifelong guidance and employment, and pays special attention to the individual life paths, the subjective experiences, and the narratives of the people involved in various institutional and service environments.

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1. THE THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL CONTEXT OF THE RESEARCH

1.1. Basic concepts and the theoretical background

Our study can be interpreted in the disciplinary context of Special Needs Education and Disability Studies, but it also uses the literature of diverse disciplines. The research is built on an open central question that we have specified in the sub-research.

The main question of our study is: *What kind of supporting and hindering factors appeared in the lifelong guidance process of students with special educational needs in public education in the various subsystems?* This question is mostly explored through the experiences of various actors, disabled adults and students with special educational needs, so we focused on what they mentioned and thematised in the narratives. The related sub-question in the research was as follows: *What kind of supporting and hindering factors did disabled people experience in lifelong guidance during their life path?* In the present study, we do not mention the additional pillars of the research, which focused on the experiences of professionals and life situations related to people with high support needs.

Based on the *social and human rights model of disability* (Könczei & Hernádi, 2011) our work is permeated horizontally by the support need as an analytical concept. We do not examine the characteristics according to each type of disability, however, and where relevant, we refer to the methodological aspects that can be associated with them. We will discuss in detail whether the systematic assistance arising from the need for support and corresponding to it is realised or not. In addition to the term 'disabled person', we also use the term 'person/student with special educational needs', in accordance with the Public Education Act.

Applying the definition of Borbély-Pecze, Gyöngyösi & Juhász (2013), we describe *lifelong guidance* as a long-term process that supports citizens by complementing lifelong learning 'to be able to tolerate, understand and properly manage the changes that affect them. Well-functioning lifelong guidance as a system of pedagogical, counselling activities and as a social support system helps to maintain the individual's openness to change, and teaches [him or her] to initiate and manage change, to direct their own career, to tolerate the uncertainty of change, and provides individuals with the information, advice and support services they need to make decisions and manage change' (Borbély-Pecze et al., 2013, 35) Successful lifelong guidance involves career development, career information and career counselling activities. Career development competencies include the knowledge of various professions and of the labour market, self-knowledge and the ability to match self-knowledge and professions as well as the ability to acquire and interpret training and labour market information, prepare decisions and deal with the consequences of decisions and changes (Borbély-Pecze, 2010; Borbély-Pecze, Gyöngyösi & Juhász, 2013; Borbély-Pecze, 2016).

Based on theoretical and practical experience, the community of *people with high support needs* and their relatives may be considered a particularly vulnerable group. In many cases, their adult life takes place in an environment that seriously violates human rights, which makes it impossible to develop a self-determined

life (Sándor, 2017, Sándor, 2018b). In addition to the narrower concept of lifelong guidance for work and placement in the labour market, we therefore include future planning and person-centred planning, and the whole life-cycle theory and practice of self-determination (Boban & Hinz, 1999, Mansell & Beadle-Brown, 2012, Sands & Wehmeyer, 1996). That is, we are not just looking at how people can find a suitable profession and job for themselves during the transition from childhood to adult life, but we also include housing issues, planning supporters' networks, the spending of free time, the experience of meaningful activities, and the possibility of interpersonal relationships. We expect the application of these inclusive concepts to enrich our analytical frameworks for other groups as well.

Furthermore, because disabled people generally face many barriers in society regarding planning their future, we also focus on how they can transcend these limits, for which we use the theoretical basis of *resilience* as an interpretive framework. Based on this, we analyse the factors of future planning in the structural, cultural, relational and individual processes of the resilience theoretical analysis matrix, all of which may contribute to supporting or hindering this (Cárdenas & López, 2011). Complemented by a social constructivist approach to resilience, we may examine the sources of supportive and hindering factors within the processes. Resilience in a social constructionist approach means adapting to a challenging situation that results from the interaction of resources between individuals and their environment. This is not a linear but a chaotic, context-dependent, complex, relative relationship between risks and protective factors, in which the lived experiences of individuals are at the centre. This approach favours qualitative methods in resilience research (Runswick-Cole & Goodley, 2013; Ungar, 2004).

1.2. The methodological background

From a methodological point of view, we worked along with postmodern research methodological principles in a qualitative research paradigm. Our exploratory, question-driven work is based on Grounded Theory: utilising the continuous interaction of data collection and analysis, we used our study not to test theories, but to expand and deepen existing information. As a consequence, the creation of the theory is not the endpoint of the research process, but it develops, expands and modifies during the research (Glaser & Strauss, 2006; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). In the qualitative strategy, we did not set the research questions rigidly at the beginning, but new aspects and questions might also appear during the research, the method might be adapted to the needs of the field, and even the results of the research might generate new questions. By using and triangulating several methods, we tried to increase the validity of our research, which basically served to answer the same question by several methods at the same time (Szokolszky, 2004). In qualitative research, abduction arises in the development of the research process, which is a conclusion based opinion or assumption. The conclusions are not based on certainty but are the consequence of a creative leap of thought in which the researcher plays a central role. The researcher starts from his / her preliminary knowledge and subjective observations, from the specific alloy from which the conclusions are formed (Sántha, 2011).

The 'Nothing about us, without us!' principle was implemented using participatory methodology (Barnes, 2009, Marton & Könczei, 2009). Two disabled co-researchers, Dániel Csángó and Károly Tóth, also took part in the entire process of the research, from the preparation of the research plan to the data collection and analysis of the results. With this, the points of view of some disabled people are directly reflected in our study, influencing the research process. As non-disabled, professional researchers, we work not only in what we consider are the best interests of disabled people but also for the purpose of jointly defined goals, valuing the life experiences of those with whom we have conducted the research (Clements, Rapley & Cummins, 1999; Könczei, Antal & Kolonics, 2016; Antal, 2017; Sándor, 2018a). We consider the lived experience and local knowledge of disabled people as having a special value, a kind of special expertise, which complements the acquired knowledge of non-disabled researchers (Heiszer, Katona, Sándor, Schnellbach & Sikó, 2014).

In one part of the research, we focused on individual life paths and conducted semi-structured individual life story interviews with disabled adults regarding their lived experiences. In line with the participatory approach, the interviews were conducted in pairs, in which a disabled and a non-disabled researcher worked together. The literature states that the so-called dyadic, paired interviews can lead to more relevant and valid conclusions in practice (Caldwell, 2014). However, in the part focusing on life paths, in some instances we could not involve a participatory research partner (due to technical and accessibility issues), so we recorded classic two-person interviews.

In our study, we draw on the experience of interviews with five students with *learning disabilities and five physically disabled adults*. The interviews were recorded on a dictaphone and in each case we provided anonymity by using pseudonyms, as well as guaranteeing confidentiality to our interviewees, who signed a consent form. In all cases, the interviews were conducted at a time and place convenient for the interviewees. The length of the interviews was approximately 60 minutes. In the analysis, we focus on the latter two of the structural, cultural, individual and relational factors.

2. RESULTS

The interviews were analysed with a thematic analysis, during which the main dimensions were compared, collecting the similarities and differences. In content analysis, we combined deductive and inductive strategies. On the one hand, we started deductively from an already existing category system, which we matched with the texts of the individual interviews. That is, based on the matrix of theoretical analysis, we coded what was said in the interview according to structural, cultural, relational and individual processes, supplemented by a social constructivist approach to resilience (Cárdenas & López, 2011; Katona, 2014, based on Runswick-Cole & Goodley). The interview excerpts, classified into four main categories, were also grouped according to whether they were perceived as aiding or hindering factors for the interviewees' life path planning. In an inductive way, based on what the interviewees said, we developed the codes that could be classified into four main categories, taking into account the new aspects inherent in the interview texts.

In the course of our analysis, we tried to find similar patterns and matching information in the life paths. We presented our results separately for young people with learning disabilities and adults with physical disabilities. We illustrated our interpretations with interview quotations, and at the end of these texts we used pseudonyms.

2.1. Students' experiences of lifelong guidance

Young people with learning disabilities form one of the groups of students with special educational needs. Their situation is special as the terminology suggests that this category focuses primarily on learning challenges. The question arises as to what kind of learning this is really about. Does it only refer to difficulty in meeting the requirements of the school curriculum and the lack of the necessary abilities and skills? According to the classic definition of the Budapest study (Czeizel, Lányiné & Rátay, 1978), in addition to school performance, this group is also characterised by difficulties in leading an independent life. Important elements of the latter are lifelong guidance, labour market planning and success.

In our research, we sought an answer as to how and by what means vocational schools support lifelong guidance and the *job search of their students with learning disabilities*. During the research, structured interviews were conducted with five young people from Budapest. We grouped our questions around five topics (childhood, school experiences, current relationships, quality of life, and vision of their future). When compiling the set of questions, we placed great emphasis on decision-making and its supportive environment.

We sought the help of two vocational schools and an alternative primary school to find the interviewees. In the vocational schools, the deputy principals consulted with the students about the research before providing us with contact information, but in the primary school, they consulted with the parents. The mother of the interviewee recruited from the primary school recommended her daughter's friend, who is also a young person with a learning disability. During the interviews it later transpired that both of them studied in one of the vocational schools we visited, although the school management had no active relationship with them. Three of our interviewees are women and two men, the youngest being 21 years old and the oldest 28. Each has at least one profession, all work, and one attended a school that provided a graduation certificate at the time of the interview.

2.1.1. Supporting factors in lifelong guidance

During the interviews, we covered several topics, but in this study we describe specifically the participants' experiences of vocational school with regard to lifelong guidance. Lifelong guidance '[...] is a process that helps [students] select the appropriate career and profession, taking into account the individual needs of the student, by providing the widest possible information' (Szilágyi & Völgyesi 1996, id. Borbély-Pecze, 2010, 9). In this sense, the task of career guidance is twofold, as it not only includes imparting knowledge of specific professions and related labour market opportunities, but also awareness of the students' own self-knowledge in the broadest sense. These

tasks are the responsibility of vocational school teachers in close collaboration with those who teach professions.

Table 1. Supporting relational and individual factors (edited by the authors)

Relational	Individual
The family becomes an expert – the 'struggle narrative' (optional)	Independent decision making possibility
Family network in job search	Own career plan for the future
Vocational school mentor (optional)	

Factors that support career development at a relational level

Based on the interviews, relational support is an important element of career development.

Parents played a significant role in the career choice and job search of all interviewees.

In the case of interviewees from families with high socio-economic status, parents (mostly mothers) became experts in treatment, schooling rights, and so on. Here, as well, the 'struggle narrative' appears on the part of parents as they sought childhood development opportunities, schools, hobbies, NGOs and jobs.

> *'My mum and I went to many workplaces. We went to the X Foundation. I didn't work there, I just walked around. [...] I went to the Z Foundation, [and] I went to another foundation as well. You just had to work in a group home there. And then came the NGO, and so came the job.' (Betty)*

However, in finding a job, every parent supports their child, which in turn means that the vocational schools do not have employee network connections and that students would not be able to find a job on their own.

> *'My mum works with me. So I'm a porter, and she's a nanny in the nursery right there. And then she helped me find a job.' (Roland)*

In the case of interviewees of low socio-economic status, instead of very active parental support, we can see an accidentally formed vocational school mentoring relationship.

> *'Well, they knew it was the case (stroke at birth), and they thought, that I'll make it somehow. But they were always by my side, with all the problems.' (Hugo)*

When selecting the deputy directors, it was also an important factor for the interviewees whether or not they (the deputy directors) had maintained contact with the students after they had finished school. These are not system-wide relations, but are formed randomly. The names of the two interviewees recruited from primary school were not even mentioned by the vocational school as potential interviewees, which means that there was no connection between them.

'Well, he liked it in the ninth grade. And then we were doing well (the school child protection specialist - ed. comment). We always talked a lot. He actually looked at me like I was his son. [...] At that time (when a profession was chosen - ed. comment) I was not in such a talking relationship with him. We only turned to him if there was a problem with the school.' (Hugo)

Mentoring plays a key role in building self-knowledge and self-confidence. As this, according to the interviewees, was random, it can be considered an indirect element of lifelong guidance. Mentoring, if not specifically in the choice of profession, has a positive effect on personal development later.

'I think I said I had a second mum. Yes, because she was so hard too. [...] And she also took me to Baja, to that competition.' (Anna)

The mentoring relationship was not limited to one area at a time, but they also entrusted a number of significant activities to the interviewees (poetry recital at a graduation ceremony, professional competitions, etc.), which improved the self-esteem of students, who became more confident and open-minded.

'It wasn't confusing because I was an excellent student […] so that's exactly what I was asked to do, to help him in his studies. Well, in the beginning, I wasn't so enthusiastic about teaching a person like him. […] it would take all my free time. Then I started, so even if he didn't speak, I got excited about the whole thing, […] I taught him several things. He learned this all because of me. After waiting for the first results to come, I was really pleased that he got good marks because of me.' (Anna)

Factors that support career development at an individual level

As a child, each interviewee encountered a dismissive, abusive attitude at an individual level. They needed considerable support in reinforcing their self-confidence and self-acceptance. The role of vocational school mentors, friends and supportive work relationships came to be of great importance in their lives.

'I grew up and realised that […] I don't need to, I shouldn't strive to have friends. Because if they want to be my friends, they'll love me the way I am. And then I registered for a dating app, I was already 18 years old. [...] And then a boy wrote to me, he lives in D.n. We agreed on many things, we talked, then met. Since then we've been together for three years.' (Anna)

Two interviewees met their current partner at the vocational school, one also living in a registered relationship with his partner.

'He still loves me. He used to call me on his mobile. I met him at school. And we used to go home together, he used to accompany me to the metro.' (Susy)

'She studies in a vocational school, yes, in the hospitality industry. She still has a year to go. We've been together ever since she started there. […] We come out well, thank God. We are also fine with my mother-in-law.' (Hugo)

The possibility of independent decision-making means that parents see their child as a partner, which is an important part of growing up.

'They said I was 18, I did what I wanted, and I also worked. And then they said it was OK. But if I don't like something there (at his partner's parents - ed.), I can always come back to them. I can go back.' (Hugo)

The narrative of struggle appears in several interviewees' stories, for example about their education in relation to their parents.

'Well, first Mum told me not to bother her with this nonsense, as, well, this good school surely wouldn't take me with my diagnosis and special needs certificate, because it's really a bilingual school, and it would be so hard for me. But on the other hand, it drove me as much as possible. And I didn't know that Mum had discussed this issue with the director. And she came home one night with this plan, [to] pack [my] stuff the next day and go to this vocational school.' (Anna)

'Well, […] very much of my own volition. My mother didn't really like it, but I told her I wanted to go in this direction. Because I am sure I won't even go to school if I can't study this profession. Maybe she understood it because then she allowed it.' (Roland)

Hobby activities are also meaningful, when a person is not someone in need of development or support, but is an independent actor.

'It's a really good feeling to support someone (in case of wall climbing - ed.). But there were times when I could handle a 72-kilo person.' (Betty)

It is very significant, with regard to our focus on lifelong guidance and career development, that three interviewees have plans for the future. This is, of course, related to their current jobs and circumstances.

'Well, after graduation, I'd like to get a certificate for a profession. This would be free after graduation. And I want to learn to be a nurse.' (Anna)

'I want to get a license for the forklift truck next year.' (Hugo)

'I was invited to join a support group for people who live in group homes. And there they talk to the residents and the head of the institution. And I thought I could go, too.' (Betty)

Stigmatising personal experiences were thematised by two interviewees. One interviewee tended to have a negative, covert attitude while the other tended to be tolerant.

'Because no one could tell me that it would be the right place for me. [...] That I have no problems with my cognitive functions. There's nothing on a behavioural level either. I only went there because I had this diagnosis and paper about it, and then I had to go there, to the special department.' (Hugo)

'You're developing in your field, and you need to let it develop the way that's good for you. And I don't think we need to evolve with the world. I think it's a characteristic of everyone that they develop at their own level, and not as expected.' (Anna)

2.1.2. Hindering factors in lifelong guidance

Table 2. Hindering relational and individual factors (edited by the authors)

Relational	Individual
Special school environment – aggression in school	Lack of self-confidence due to previous negative experiences
Lack of practical and adult life training at school	Physical and cognitive abilities
De-motivation of professionals, lack of well-trained professionals in the close environment	
Parental opinion	

Factors that hinder career development at a relational level

The influence of families, especially mothers, is decisive at a relational level. Only two interviewees made explicit criticism.

> *'They said it would be completely different in a normal class. Because they said I'd definitely fail there.' (Hugo)*

> *'It was Mum who really wanted me to study this. It was free. A profession with a higher degree and a graduation, I'm expected to earn a little better than her or anyone else. I don't want to work in my profession.' (Anna)*

Although almost all interviewees claim to have loved the vocational school they attended, they independently stated that aggression and drug use were present in the school.

> *'That's why drugs were here, wasn't it? They gave them to each other.. There were times when I also took my bag to the loo so they wouldn't put anything in it, so there would be nothing. And phone thefts have gone up a lot here.' (Anna)*

> *'They were picking on me in my previous school, but I didn't want to tease anyone, only because my classmates did that.' (Roland)*

Factors that hinder career development at an individual level

The interviewees' previous experience of the negative attitudes of colleagues is decisive at an individual level. All the interviewees greatly appreciated their current jobs because they were accepted there. They tried to do everything to keep their jobs, in many cases by taking too much on themselves.

> *'There are times when we have too much work. We don't have enough room. Then I come in to make some room, but I also call my boss to let her know that I'll come back in the evening.' (Hugo)*

Interviewees also described physical or other limitations that made it difficult for them to choose a profession or a job, or to manage their daily lives.

> *'The other is textile production. I couldn't go there because of my health [...] You always have to calculate how much it costs. You have to part with money. That's why I went back to the other profession.' (Susy)*

2.2. The life pathways of disabled adults

The interviewees were selected by expert sampling, which focused on the following criteria:

The participants are engaged in activities that are considered significant; they started 7th grade of primary school in 2007 or later; and they have received (in a broader sense) lifelong guidance.

Based on this, five *physically disabled adults* with were interviewed, two women and three men.

2.2.1 Supporting factors in lifelong guidance in the narratives

We first collected the recurring contributing factors in the narratives, which we systematised according to structural, cultural, relational and individual processes, and in this article we show the results of the relationship and individual processes of these. In summary, resilience, overcoming the disadvantages of disability, and overcoming barriers were aided by the following factors based on the experiences of the interviewees (see *Figure 3*).

Table 3. Supporting relational and individual factors with regard to disabled adults (edited by the authors)

Relational	Individual
Active lobby activity of the family, parents becoming experts – 'struggle (of the family, mainly the mother) narrative'	Feeling of power and control – 'struggle' (of the disabled person) narrative'
Encouraging self-determination (rather in the family)	
Strong relationship network	
Inclusive school environment	

Factors that support career development at a relational level

Most of the contributing factors were described at a relational level by the interviewees.

Among these, the most common point in the narratives is a very strong, supportive family background, when the activity of their parents (especially the mothers) is striking.

'And so when my mum came up with the idea of a disabled [child] going to this sports school, well you know, she came up against a wall. And my mum pushed until she even said it was good, okay, [the school could] give [him] a week, a week and a half to get to know [him]. And if we see, well you know, that it's not going to work for him, we'll really stop. And this deputy principal was constantly against it. And in a week and a half, I was practically integrated with the others at that level.' (Robert)

Interviewees frequently mentioned finding an accessible school or finding a suitable profession in which parents also played a significant role.

'And that's when the idea came up that my mother would start looking for accessible schools […]. And Mum thought that if I tried this law-related [school], not as a lawyer, but still in the line of legal administration [...]. Well, overall, I'm basically satisfied, because I think what could have come from me, what I could have become, pretty much happened.' (Benjamin)

This result corresponds with the results of a previous study, in which one of the dominant strategies in relation to the adulthood of people with disabilities was that parents lifted the barriers facing their adult child (Katona, 2014). This often includes strong lobbying by parents and their playing a significant role in their child's career choice and employment. Parents take this role so seriously that they become experts in the field of disability. We have called this a 'struggle narrative' in the interviews, when this struggle focuses on the family.

'No, the expert was my mother. And then I went for the second degree. So we have educated ourselves so much on this subject. And we laughed when somehow it turned out we knew better.' (Emma)

Support for the family, on the other hand, is more manifested in encouraging their child's self-determination, which is also a typical but less common strategy in previous research (Katona, 2014).

'My mum played a big role in the story because she didn't butter the bread for me, but she taught me how to do it. And I started my life with this philosophy.' (Robert)

There were those who were specifically raised to fight as they saw that this was the only way a disabled person could prevail.

'So they (my parents) said you have to fight to be accepted. And then maybe if you make yourself acceptable, you can expect them to give something too. And that seemed completely unfair. But looking back, it kind of turned out to be useful because I started to come up with a lot of strategies to make me acceptable.' (Emma)

Several mentioned that the family basically supported their idea, not holding them back from their goals.

'Because yes, my parents were the ones who never insisted but supported me… They handled it pretty well. They raised their eyebrows a little […]. But then they realised that this was important to me, it was a good opportunity. So they were basically supportive.' (Emma)

The parents were not only supportive in motivating them to learn, but also, if they could afford it, in aiding further learning by paying for private lessons.

> *'Well, for us, that was basic. So this has been pushed into me, that speaking a foreign language is basic.' (Stella)*

Aside from this, some reported that their disability was not an issue, and that they were not treated differently.

> *'And my whole family, basically, didn't see my disability in me, I was treated like a completely normal child. And that sometimes gave birth to oddities. At the same time, however, they were aware of my difficulties. They just really didn't give much importance to it, so as not to deal with it differently.' (Benjamin)*

Several emphasised that the integrated educational environment also had a supportive effect on their plans for the future, which could even be at a structural level, but as personal relationships play a more prominent role here than the system itself, we have listed this, but not categorically.

> *'Well, I went to a normal nursery and to a normal school. Which was very, very lucky in that sense, because I wasn't, so to speak, segregated from society, but together we were able to relax, fool around and learn what we had to as a normal young person. And so I wasn't like that, I wasn't discriminated against, but I also grew up as a healthy kid. And it helped me a lot to be more aware. And so I have a purpose in life, even if I'm disabled.' (Robert)*

> *'[...] and there I went to primary school with normal kids. Which is a dubious thing, isn't it, at the age of seven? To get into a school with non-disabled kids as the only disabled person. Because the kids could either accept me, and I'd be the centre of attention, because I was different from the others, or they wouldn't accept me, for the same reason. Fortunately, the former happened.' (Benjamin)*

In several interviews, participants mentioned the highly motivating, supportive personalities of one or two teachers, who also helped build self-confidence and preparation.

> *'In secondary school, however, my teachers saw something in me. And they basically helped me, prepared me for graduation, even for higher level graduation… And this extra time he spent on me between breaks, in his free time.' (Emma)*

Supporting factors in lifelong guidance at an individual level

At an individual level, the 'narrative of struggle' refers only to the disabled person and not to a family member, which stems mostly from a sense of power and control. This can manifest itself in the workplace.

> *'There are very, very many, complex tasks. So, that's why I was happy, because it can be a little better for a person, for a person's health, when they are already entrusted with tasks that, for example, not everyone can handle. So plainly speaking there is a weight on your shoulder […]. And it gives you energy. That's a good thing for my self-esteem.' (Robert)*

It is often a great realisation that they do not have to wait for others to make a decision, but they can decide for themselves.

> 'But that, for example, when I was looking for a partner, I had a great realisation that, oh my God, I don't have to choose whoever chooses me. I can choose for myself too.' (Emma)

There were people who explicitly identified themselves with the struggle narrative.

> 'Well, it's an inner narrative that I may not be able to identify with. Because there is this narrative that the whole life of a disabled person is a struggle. And that's how we describe our lives.' (Emma)

This personal empowerment may act as a significant driving force, which is clearly related to how parents perceived the individual at the relationship level, and the degree to which they strengthened their sense of competence and self-determination.

2.2.2. Hindering factors in lifelong guidance in the narratives

Table 4. Hindering relational and individual factors with regard to disabled adults (edited by the authors)

Relational	Individual
Segregated school environment	Feeling of incompetency, lack of self-confidence
Lack of teaching practical and adult life skills in the school	
Demotivation of professionals, lack of well trained professionals	

Hindering factors in lifelong guidance at a relational level

At a relational level, the attitude of the family can also be a hindrance, but our interviewees experienced more support in this area.
However, there were negative experiences regarding some professionals, and even the lack of expertise of the life path coach mentioned earlier can be partly attributed to this.
There was a lack of instruction in preparation for life on the part of some teachers.

> 'We did not teach life skills. Maybe none of it. So how to get along in life or how to tackle certain things. None of it.' (Stella)

In some respects, the attitudes of classmates also proved to be a hindrance.

> 'There was no encouragement, so no one in our class wanted to study further. At the previous school I came from, there was a 98% rate of further education. So it would have been good anywhere in between [the two schools]. And everyone graduated there with an 'A', while no one had any plans for the future in our class. Maybe I had the most [plans] in the class. […] I had a classmate who didn't even graduate, there were even two of them! And so I can imagine that he didn't have many plans.' (Benjamin)

'I hated school in the beginning because my classmates were picking on me a lot.' (Arnold)

Hindering factors in lifelong guidance at an individual level

On an individual level, the aforementioned power and control was not always in the hands of the same interviewees, implying that they lacked sufficient self-confidence or were faced by an identity crisis. So at some stage in their lives, these also appeared as a hindrance.

Sometimes basic physical and contextual constraints made it difficult to choose a career and continue with one's life.

'On top of that, I also felt I couldn't stand it physically. So I also felt that what I was choosing was very selective.' (Emma)

CONCLUSIONS

In our study, through interviews with five students with learning disabilities and five physically disabled adults, we presented the supporting and hindering factors of lifelong guidance at a relational and an individual level.

At a relational level, the supporting role of the family in both groups is important in terms of school search, labour market placement, strengthening self-determination and motivation. Furthermore, for some of the interviewees, a teacher played a resilient role, but the development of these mentoring relationships is not systematic. At an individual level, partly as a result of the above mentioned results, a sense of control over their own lives and the ability to resist power are supporting factors. Among young people with learning disabilities, a definite vision of future labour market trends is an important element of career development.

Deficiencies in school career development were mentioned by both groups, such as lack of practical preparation for adult life and person-centred planning, and poor levels of motivation among the professionals concerned. We also consider the continuous support of school professionals involved in career development (for example through training sessions, development workshops or forums to facilitate the exchange of experiences) and the utilisation of their experiences to be of paramount importance. Therefore, based on the experience of the research, two types of training contents were developed. One of the directions is the involvement of special needs teachers attending Bachelor's and Master's programmes in the implementation of lifelong guidance with a modern approach. The *'Carry on! The preparation of teachers supporting lifelong guidance and future planning for children with special educational needs and disabled young people'* further training programme provides opportunities for providing teachers already working in schools with resource-focused knowledge. At an individual level, a lack of self-confidence in both groups is a basic, common experience. In the case of physically disabled adults the feeling of incompetence was thematised as a hindering factor, while young students with learning disabilities mentioned barriers arising from physical or cognitive abilities. Overall, based on the interviewees' experience, individual and relational barriers (family, peers, or society)

may be reduced and personal resilience may be increased by the family, the 'struggle narrative,' and / or school support person's mentoring role.

Our results will be nuanced in further publications by the supporting and hindering factors presented at structural and cultural levels that also determine the system-level framework.

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Luca Róka

Career Guidance for Disadvantaged Students in the Hungarian Education System

Introduction

During the 20th Century career guidance attracted more professional attention yet it was only in the latter years of the century that it became a focus point in education (Hegyi-Halmos, 2018)

A UNICEF report of 2019 states that children in education possess greater skills and abilities than children who have no education at all, even if the education is of poor quality. More developed skills and abilities make these children more prepared for employment and thus increases their potential, which is why every child should have the chance to receive an education, as laid down as a right in the 1989 UN Convention on the Rights of Children. This convention was ratified by Hungary in 1991. By law every child in Hungary has the right to study and receive equal opportunities. Hence, the state is obliged to provide career guidance and information in schools and other facilities outside schools. Thus, as these young people reach adulthood, they will be able to build a successful career and become a useful member of society.

To build a successful career it is necessary for people to identify their passion and turn it to good use in a profession. For any society, it is also important to support its members in finding their passion. Doing so will have a positive economic effect on the country. It can decrease the number of people living in extreme poverty, besides diminishing social exclusion and lessening the economic differences between people as well as regional inequalities.

Unfortunately, finding the right profession is not always easy, especially if the background of the person is questionable, in the sense that the person may have unfavourable environmental conditions, opportunities and role models inside their families. This would clearly limit their abilities and options. For these young people it is important to offer and provide services that provide further information about their opportunities, as well as counselling them about their future plans and supporting them in achieving realistic career goals. Sometimes having only one role model whom they can approach outside their family, and who can help them find the right path, is enough. (Török, 2017)

As experts such as Réka Török (2017), Tibor Borbély-Percze, Katalin Gyöngyösi, Ágnes Juhász (2013) and Tibor Borbély-Percze (2016) state, career counselling, lifelong guidance and future planning must be in focus. To this end, it is crucial for all concerned to learn the necessary competences, skills and abilities regardless of their

family and economic background and environment. With regard to disadvantaged groups, in order to compensate for potential difficulties caused by the differences in background it is extremely important to make available opportunities and services for their support. As Aranka Varga (2012) asserts, if they do not see and understand the value of work from a young age they will not be motivated to learn anything pertaining to their job and so make it a profession. Finding and building a career is a lifelong commitment.

Although disadvantaged groups require more varied types of support, in Hungary there is a lack of appropriate service systems in public education. Solutions for career guidance may thus vary, and it is difficult to examine their impact on young people (Borbély-Percze, Gyöngyösi & Juhász, 2013).

1. CAREER GUIDANCE IN THE HUNGARIAN EDUCATION SYSTEM

1.1. Career guidance in schools

Besides families, schools have the most impact on the values and life choices of children, such as their career. Schools can motivate the students, have a positive effect on their self-esteem, teach them how to make choices independently, and offer them opportunities to accomplish their future plans. In order to plan and achieve these individual career paths it is necessary to have a suitable educational environment, the right tools and qualified experts (Varga, 2012).

Schools can also impart necessary competences and skills, such as self-knowledge, cooperation, creativity, adaptability and self-knowledge of their capacities. It is not only the teachers' job to teach these attributes, it is also the responsibility of every professional working with the students, for example social workers, school psychologists and special needs teachers (Török, 2017).

In Hungary there is no legally binding unified glossary detailing career management, and the tasks and responsibilities of the various professionals involved are unclear. In the school system future planning and career guidance only appears a year or two before the students have to choose a profession to study. It would be more useful to introduce the planning and guidance as a process, developing it over time and providing further options such as career counselling. The choice of a career is not a decision that people cannot change later, especially nowadays, but they need support to make these changes easier for them (Cserti-Szauer, 2019).

1.2. Career guidance for students from disadvantaged groups

Children or students from disadvantaged groups comprise a legal entity and term in Hungary. The term is used to describe children whose environment puts their development at risk, and/or whose parents or legal guardian/s finished their studies before starting vocational secondary school and/or have a low income. This study

focuses not only on children from disadvantaged groups, according to the legal definition, but also on students with unstable backgrounds.

Students with unstable backgrounds are those who do not fall within the legal definition of disadvantaged groups but at the same time do not have a supportive family or social background. These students do not fall within the scope of the state, which is why the professionals involved have a greater responsibility in identifying and supporting them in their future plans.

Everyone needs support in career guidance, but it should always be personalised for the person or the group in the focus of these activities. The types and goals of these activities should match their personalities, knowledge and socio-demographic background, without which the guidance would be less effective.

When planning career guidance activities for students with unstable backgrounds there are some important educational tasks to perform, such as widening their everyday knowledge, nurturing realistic self-knowledge and the personal need to access future information, and teaching conflict management techniques. These activities must harmonise with the group's or person's current life situation. It is also advisable to impart this knowledge by providing them with the opportunity to gain meaningful experience (Kenderfi, 2012).

Coming from an unstable background may present a risk factor in pursuing further education. The students are often less motivated to continue their studies and find a stable job if they come from an economically poor area and if their parents did not study a profession. That lack of motivation puts them at risk of dropping out of school. In these cases, preventing the students from dropping out represents another focus of career guidance (Vágó, 2002).

2. Methods

The main aim of the research is to explore and illustrate the type of support that is provided as career guidance in vocational secondary schools for children from disadvantaged groups, based on the experiences of students and staff of one such school in Budapest. The research examines the efforts made by the education system, the programmes offered in school, and the personal efforts of the school staff.

The research is intended to look for the answers to the following questions:
1. What role do school staff members play in career guidance at the school?
2. What experiences and knowledge do the students have of activities and programmes that support career guidance?
3. What kind of further supporting models could be used in schools, considering the interviewed students' interests?

The study's sample group comprises students from disadvantaged groups attending vocational secondary schools, and the professionals who work with them in school. All the stages of the research (the interviews and surveys) were conducted at the same school in the Hungarian capital.

In the first stage, two semi-structured interviews were recorded based on previously written questions. The first interviewee was the school's career guidance coordinator, who expressed an opinion on the subject, not only in the school but within the whole

education system. He is also a teacher and has his own class as a class teacher, so he could also share his experiences as a teacher. The second interviewee was the school's social worker, who is responsible for child protection services in the school, and he could share his experiences from his own professional point of view.

The surveys were used to measure the students' attitudes, experiences and knowledge of career guidance. Thirty-six students aged between 15 and 20 years participated in the research. Nineteen of the students were under 18, and studying their first profession. From these nineteen students eight came from disadvantaged groups. Seventeen of the students were older than 18. These students already had a profession and were studying for their secondary school graduation. From these seventeen students eleven came from disadvantaged groups. In the whole research study there were nineteen students in the target group and seventeen in the control group.

The questions in the surveys focus on the students' socio-demographic background, their future and their career plans, as well as their relationship with their family, besides questions that examine their career guidance. The questions about their career guidance measure how they prepared themselves for choosing a career, besides also measuring their knowledge, attitude and experience of activities and programmes that support career guidance. The students over 18 had extra questions regarding their educational background, which pertain to their career plans and the possibility of changing their originally chosen career path.

3. FINDINGS

3.1. Interview 1: Career Guidance Coordinator

The education system frequently plans events such as *SzakMÁzz!*, in which institutions and schools have an opportunity to introduce themselves and the vocational courses that they offer. There may also be companies and foundations that offer future opportunities in the various professions. They organise further industry-specific events with the same purpose. *Építsd a jövőd!* (Build your future!) is one of these events, and focuses on professions in the construction industry. These events are helpful in the fight against students dropping out. They offer first-hand experience and information about the professions, which makes it easier to attract the attention of students who are less motivated to look for a profession or who have less opportunity to gain knowledge, similarly to students from disadvantaged groups. These events are especially attractive because they are often compulsory school trips, organised for the students. There are smaller events run by the education centre but organised by, and taking place in, the schools, such as *Szakmák Éjszakája* (The Night of Professions). These events prove less effective among the groups of students, with lack of interest and motivation to travel around and make an effort to gain knowledge of the professions.

The education centre has no further activities or counselling to support career guidance. There are no unified activities or methods that the schools are required to follow and use. Advice is given and general requests are responded to, but it is for the most part left to the discretion of the institutions what they choose to do, considering their options and tools.

Since September 2019 schools have been required to provide information about their career guidance activities. This information must conform to European Union requirements although not all of them may be achievable, given the actual circumstances of the schools. The requirements include description of the support of current students in career guidance and career planning, besides providing data on sshool leavers and on the activities of school alumni.

The school where the research was conducted mostly offers future options and opportunities to support the students' careers. They organise presentations in the school where companies introduce themselves and their work, so students may establish connections in the business world. Upon request, they also post job offers on the school's notice board. The school also strongly recommends the mandatory internships at companies where the students can continue to work after their studies. However, it is difficult to find such companies if the student does not have personal connections.

A particularly sensitive issue for the school system is when students change their specialised subject. It should be a goal to make this possible between related subjects, but the education system does not allow for this. The difficulty is caused by the dual system in which, despite offering considerable experience, the annual internships may be the source of the problem, given the lack of teachers who could help the students prepare for the transition to working life.

The school's main focus is on students who are entering their last two years of secondary school, in that the school tries to make contact with them and seduce them to the school. It recommends itself and shows what it can offer, but the goal of these activities is to recruit new students and not to provide career guidance. To show potential future students what the school can offer it has four days during the school year when its door is open to the public. During these four days visitors can hear presentations about the school, visit classes and have a tour of the building. The school also participates in The Night of Professions and offers experiences in the specialisations it offers, as well as presenting itself in secondary schools, upon request, where it introduces itself and its options, and the career paths it can offer.

In the opinion of the career guidance coordinator, it would be important to increase the role of the education centre in career guidance, to offer a wider range of activities, to unify the methods employed and requests made of schools, and to give further support during the process. It is also necessary to develop more effective communication between the schools and the centre, as all the parties concerned function separately instead of working together. The centre should listen to those working in the field. Schools should establish more contacts with companies, so as to be able to offer wider options to the students for their future. He does not subscribe to the idea of preparing activities exclusively for students from disadvantaged groups, as he wishes to avoid any possible negative effects on their self-esteem.

3.2. Interview 2: The Child Protection Referent

With all the faults in the system the school staff have an even greater role to play in career guidance. They are not always able to prevent students from dropping out, for example if students are not sufficiently motivated or have financial problems which

make any kind of work more important than their studies, but the staff can always try. They can help, for example, by adjusting expectations to match the students' abilities and goals.

The teachers have opportunities, even during school hours, to support students' career guidance. During class time the teacher can provide activities concerning future planning and career guidance. The class teacher can also let motivated students go to events held by the centre during school hours, or even plan class trips to go there.

Within the school, there are professionals (special needs teachers, the psychologist, the social worker), who work with the students as an interdisciplinary team. Their joint work is especially important in the school where our research was conducted, because there are many students who have behavioural disorders, or who come from disadvantaged groups and require extra, personalised support and attention.

The students do not associate these professionals with academic education and examinations, which makes it easier for them to create a safe atmosphere where the students can approach them more easily with their personal problems.

> *'As a teacher, during classes it would be difficult to keep the educational environment if the student shared with you all their sorrows and sadness' (The child protection referent)*

In their situation the lack of everyday contact can make it difficult to develop a trusting relationship. To overcome this difficulty, since last year, they have held 15–30 minute meetings with every student at the beginning of the year, in which they have a friendly chat to introduce themselves and their work and assess the students' background. This routine will make their work easier later. Thus, the students will know who they may approach, and whenever needed, the professionals can offer help or support them faster with this knowledge. These professionals also introduce themselves to the whole class and organise activities for them during the year. In addition, they have another way of maintaining contact with the students. Ten years ago, they initiated a project and established a communal area in the school where students can play table football, billiards and other games such as chess, or just have a chat. It provides these non-teaching staff members with an opportunity to build a relationship with the teenagers in a comfortable way and identify those who need extra attention. These professionals workers do not work directly in career guidance, but if there is a sign in the students' behaviour that someone is in need of counselling because their specialised subject is not ideal for them, they help solve the problem and find the career path that is most suitable for the student.

> *'Two or three years ago there was a girl who came from another school in the middle of the year. She had a behavioural disorder, which was the reason why she had to change schools, so the school psychologist and I invited her for a little chat, just the three of us. It soon transpired that the profession she was studying was not one she was interested in. She wanted to go to the same school where her sibling had planned to go. During the year we had a meeting with her and her parents and in the end she expressed her wish to her parents as well. Luckily, they were cooperative and supportive. She could start the following next year at the school where she wanted to go.' (The child protection referent)*

Preventing students from dropping out is one of the main responsibilities of these professional helpers. Whenever there is a student at risk of dropping out they organise meetings with the teenager concerned, his or her parents, because usually the parents have the most effect on the students' motivation, although the media can also have a (mostly negative) impact, and the teachers who work with the student regularly. If any of these people do not cooperate fully, they are fighting a losing battle. Another factor can be a negative peer effect that can cause drop-out. To prevent this, they hold mediation meetings between the parties and organise class activities. These activities usually last between four and ten sessions and may focus on conflict management, crime or the prevention of bullying. Adverse environmental conditions may also be a cause of students dropping out, so the staff try to create a student-friendly environment in the school to motivate the young people to stay. They work on nurturing a beneficial school atmosphere and a strong class spirit, providing team building activities, and giving positive feedback.

The child protection referent's opinion is that they could work more effectively if the students had met them and become familiar with their role at a younger age, maybe in primary school or even nursery. Early encounters would accustom the children to their presence and encourage them to ask for their help.

3.3. Surveys

Students in both the control and the target groups mostly identified completing the same three lowest levels of education as future goals, to enter a manual profession, to graduate from secondary school, or to attend professional training after graduating from vocational secondary school: but in different proportions. Any similarities possibly derived from the type of school, while the differences are that the students from disadvantaged groups more frequently chose the lower education levels as opposed to the control group who chose higher goals in education. Seven students from the target group wanted to enter a manual profession, six would also aimed to graduate from secondary school, and two aimed to attend further professional training after graduation. This contrasted with the control group, of whom three chose a manual profession, seven aimed for secondary school graduation, and five intended to pursue further professional training after graduation.

The desired highest level of education is partly explained by the students' family backgrounds. Every member of the control group said that their parents supported them in their studies while in the target group four students said that they were not supported in the same way. It is noteworthy that two students said that although their parents supported them in their studies they had been financially self-sufficient since they had turned sixteen. In their case an unstable financial background and the need to work may put their further studies and opportunities at risk.

The family affects not only the students' motivation and goals but also the career choices they make. Four students from the target group and seven from the control group, all under the age of 18, chose a profession also held by another family member. Other than the parents there were other persons to whom the students would turn for help in career guidance.

Table 1. Who affects the students' career choices? (edited by the author)

	Aged under 18		Aged 18 and over	
	Target group (8 persons)	Control group (11 persons)	Target group (11 persons)	Control group (6 persons)
Parents	7	11	6	5
Siblings	4	1	3	1
Others	4	1	5	2
Teachers	3	0	0	2
School psychologist	0	0	0	0
Special needs teacher	0	0	0	0
Social worker	0	0	0	0

Unfortunately, the least likely scenario is that they would approach the professional helpers (psychologists, special needs teachers and/or social workers), which confirms that they are not sufficiently familiar with this option and the professionals' competences, or not confident enough to ask them for counselling.

> *'Their trust is easily breakable, and a must to have in our job'* (The child protection referent)

A trusting relationship is critical for students in choosing who to approach. More students in the target group chose 'others' as an answer to whom would they approach than students in the control group, probably because of the lower degree of support they received from their parents. By 'others' they usually identified friends, relatives and acquaintances, yet some identified the media as an effect on their choice. In the target group, another popular answer was that of 'siblings'. An interesting finding is that the importance of the teacher's role was opposite in the two age groups (under or over eighteen). Among those under eighteen, three members of the target group but none from the control group would ask for their advice, while among those over eighteen none of the target group and two of the control group thought teachers influenced their career choice.

Ideally, choosing a career does not only involve making a choice, rather, it is an entire planning process until they are able to make the right decision for a successful future that is suitable for them. There are four steps to take before coming to a decision: setting future goals, assessing their abilities and interests, collecting information and planning their future career. None of the participants took all four of these steps.

Table 2. Steps before choosing a profession (edited by the author)

	Target group (19 persons)	Control group (17 persons)
Setting future goals	9	12
Measuring abilities, interests	7	5
Collecting information	4	7
Planning their career	3	6

Most of the students set future goals during the process, the number of these students being especially outstanding in the control group with twelve of its students. Fewer students from the control group measured their abilities and interests than from the target group, only five as opposed to seven, their high level of self-knowledge rendering this step unnecessary. In the target group nearly twice as many teenagers assessed their abilities and interests than either those who collected information or those who planned their career, which may indicate that most of them probably did not give much conscious thought to the decision. Although students from disadvantaged groups appeared less conscious of the four steps they have more information about the programmes and options that are potentially helpful in career guidance, such as websites, the school psychologist and the Bridge programme (Híd-program), which, until January 2020, was a state programme intended to help students continuing their studies in vocational secondary school after experiencing difficulties at secondary school.

Table 3. Career guidance services of which the students have heard (edited by the author)

	Target group (19 persons)	Control group (17 persons)
Websites	5	7
The Bridge programme	4	4
Educational Services	3	0
Mentor programmes	2	0
School psychologist	2	5
Study-halls	2	1
Art-ravaló	1	1
Other	0	0

These were the three most well-known services in the control group. Only a few said they knew about study-halls outside school and an alternative art programme called *Art-ravaló*. By way of contrast, all the programmes were chosen at least by one person in the target group. This indicates that students from disadvantaged groups, probably because of their social demographic background, may have more information about these services but it is not enough, and it does not include all the programmes and

activities. Hence, they will not be able to choose the career most suitable for them, which can have a negative effect on their motivation to make use of these services.

The data also shows that although the target group's knowledge is more extensive, the students are not inclined to use the services if they are not mandatory or organised by the school.

Table 4. Career guidance services used by the students (edited by the author)

	Target group (19 persons)	Control group (17 persons)
Centre-organised events	14	12
Activities in class	6	5
The Bridge programme	2	1
Educational Services	1	0
Mentor programmes	1	0
School psychologist	0	1
Study-halls	0	0
Art-ravaló	0	1
Other	0	0

Most of the students from both groups had attended a career guidance event organised by the education centre and approximately a third of both groups had participated in at least one career guidance activity during class time. A small number of students participated in other activities but there were no significant differences between the two groups.

The students were given an opportunity to write down what other type of career guidance activities would they like to participate in. All their ideas were experience-focused and specialised in their professional subjects. They also relished those that took place on school premises, such as class time activities or The Night of the Professions.

For those over eighteen there was one extra question focusing on the possibility of changing their profession. Four students from the target group and three from the control group mentioned plans to change their career path entirely or at least continue to study related professions. Three of those who planned to change said that the reason was that their original profession was not suitable for them, which means that the career choice they made was unsuccessful and they did not receive adequate support in correcting it in time. One was unable to find a job in their profession and three only wished to have more stability and options by being able to do more types of work. This last reason was extremely popular among the target group.

4. Conclusions

The following conclusions are made in full knowledge of the study's limitations. The research does not claim to be representative, as it was conducted to reveal the experiences of one school in career guidance. The methods used were not standardised. The conclusions and suggestions are based on the school's experiences and therefore are not applicable for the whole education system without further research being initiated.

It was revealed that the education centres provide no unified services or activities for students from disadvantaged groups to help their career planning and career guidance. There are no general activities and services either. Secondary schools mostly focus on recruiting new students, but while introducing the courses they offer, they also help with career guidance. It is, for the most part, the responsibility of the professionals to support the student's career guidance as well as they can, by organising activities. As long as the system neither unifies their methods and activities by law, nor supports the professionals with the necessary tools and training, improvement is not a realistic expectation. Expectations of the schools should be harmonised among all schools in order to make it successful.

The surveys showed that the family has considerable influence on the children's career guidance and career choices, but in disadvantaged groups it is often less supportive regarding education. The target group needs compensation for that with activities and counselling with someone they trust, otherwise they will not be motivated to participate in them. The need for a trusting relationship also applies to the teachers, as without that they cannot influence and motivate students to continue their studies. Teachers also represent a connection between students and the career guidance options. They must be well-informed about the available services and options, so as to be able to offer them to the students.

It is necessary to improve the career guidance system in education, which should start at a young age, possibly in the nursery, and continue on every level within the education system. For it to work, it would need to have unified methods and tools, the teachers should be trained to deliver it, and there should be constant communication between the education centres and the schools. It would also be useful to create a website that contains all activities, programmes, and other options for career counselling, with the necessary information such as what they can offer, what they do, and how to contact them.

While career guidance does not have a system such as the one described, designating a greater role to the professional helpers could also be effective. The special needs teachers can motivate the students, make them feel successful and improve their abilities and skills. The social workers can offer the students social support and make them more competent in using their social skills. The school psychologists can consult with the students about their difficulties and uncertainties.

SUMMARY

The attitudes towards career guidance and future planning have changed during the last hundred years. Providing support in it has become an important goal worldwide. However, Hungary does not yet have a unified support system for career guidance. Without adequate methods and tools teachers need to be creative in providing effective support. Teachers and professional helpers should rely on each other and share their methods and information in order to support those who do not have enough social support or a sufficiently beneficial environmental background to find their career path.

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Réka Török

The Founding of a Service Centre

The Most Significant Results of the Content and Methodological Developments Conducted by the Kilátó Piarist Career Guidance and Labour Market Development Centre

INTRODUCTION

'Four hundred years ago, Saint Joseph Calasanz opened his extraordinary school in Rome. This was the first free-of-charge public school in Europe. He introduced classes as units within the educational system; students were able to enter higher levels based on their unique skills and pace of learning. He was the first to have a language textbook developed in the common dialect; he also started teaching Mathematics in the first class. He wished his staff of educators to receive the most up to date training. He knew well that any school that wishes to enable the steady and lasting progress of their students must never disregard the importance of maintaining contact with the parents. This is why he always sought a close relationship with them.

The Piarist Order believes that the key to their founder's success was his ability to recognise God's wishes for that age. He was always attentive to the needs of the children who surrounded him.

We, Hungarian Piarists, both clerical and secular members, would like to undertake the great task – just like Calasanz – to start focusing on the present day's characteristics, society and needs, and boldly review our educational activities, pedagogy, pastoral care and everything we would like to do to support children today and tomorrow, guiding them towards "a wholesome and happy life".'

The above quote from the document 'New union with Calasanz – Invitation to our process of rejuvenation' clearly communicates the wish to revitalise the Hungarian Province of the Piarist Order, which is a common goal of clerics, educators, parents, students, employees of different institutions and members of local communities. The foundation of the Piarist Kilátó Centre was intended to express a call to everyone. The institution aims to be a special place where this call brings people together in creative, productive and empathetic cooperation in the fields of career planning, equal opportunities and education reform (Katona, 2020). In 2019 the Piarist institutions pledged to make career planning the main element of their educational programmes.

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The Hungarian Province of the Piarist Order designates an important role to the Kilátó Centre.

1. The foundation of the Piarist Kilátó Centre

Plans to establish the Kilátó Piarist Career Guidance and Labour Market Development Centre in the city of Vác stem from the early 2010's. The intention was to found a multi-functional centre for complex development and career orientation which would also serve as a station for work ability screening, and as an institution for scientific research, methodological advancement and education.

The Kilátó Centre considers young people between the ages of 12 and 30 with high developmental and care needs to be its primary target group, with a special focus on career guidance, further educational services and support for young people with special educational needs and disabilities to have equal rights in making use of labour market services.

The career counselling services at the Kilátó Centre were preceded by developmental processes – service planning, content development and testing. Preparatory activities related to establishing the Kilátó Centre included career guidance services for 252 young people (primary and secondary school students and young adults currently neither in employment, education nor training) and their parents and teachers. Experience from these services were utilised in the development of the professional activities of the centre.

2. Activities of the content and methodological development process (2017–2019) and main results

Starting in 2017, development was carried out by groups of specialists committed to inclusive services as described in the National Disability Programme (Országos Fogyatékosügyi Program (2015–2025.) szóló 15/2015. (IV. 7.) országgyűlési határozat – Parliament decree 15/2015. (IV. 7.) on the National Disability Programme (2015–2025). Through inclusive career guidance young people with special educational needs or disabilities have equal opportunities to use modern, high quality, mainstream services facilitating complex career-planning and transition to employment. These services help them build career-related competences, reach their goals, establish an independent life and become more included in society.

Experts responsible for content and methodological development outlined six main principles which then guided the preliminary work on the services. The first principle was the individualised nature of services, meaning that every young person shall receive the service that best suits their individual needs and condition. According to the second principle, activities should be organised for three age groups (primary school students, secondary school students and young adults), taking closer (parents, siblings, family) and broader (teachers, school, workplace) circles into consideration.

The third principle is that of accompaniment: one of the most important activities of the Kilátó Centre should be the continuous and personal accompaniment and support of young people who use the services of the center. The fourth principle calls for evidence-based services: real needs, local opportunities as well as research data and experience should serve as starting points for developmental processes. The fifth principle is the use of a participatory approach: focusing on work based on participation and cooperation through participatory research and development, inviting emancipatory and participatory actors, making (self) inclusion possible for SEN groups, also providing affirmation in their own decisions, helping them become the experts of their own lives and empowering them in the areas of research and development, services and training. Finally, the sixth principle is to build extensive partnerships: the complexity of the target group requires extensive alliances with both private and public sector actors and to this purpose, widespread local cooperation is needed.

Guidance documents used by experts while drafting the principles and providing a foundation for the developments:

1. A concept note by the European Union and the European Lifelong Guidance Policy Network (ELGPN) on lifelong guidance, in particular guidelines 17 and 18 which emphasise the support of disadvantaged groups, including children and young people with special educational needs and adults with disabilities;
2. The Hungarian version of the 2013 ELGPN Glossary for career guidance activities;
3. Act CXC 2011 on national public education 4 § (25) on SEN target groups;
4. Act XXVI 1998 on the rights of persons with disabilities and promoting equal opportunities in the definition of persons with disabilities;
5. Parliament decree 15/2015. (IV. 7.) on the National Disability Programme (2015–2025);
6. Publication by the Hungarian Province of the Piarist Order on the the identity of their service with regard to the vision of Saint Joseph Calasanz

Employees of the centre have set the following objectives in the organisation's documents and the documentation governing the establishment of the Kilátó Centre:

- Equal opportunities in accessing career counselling, continuing education and labour market services for young people (aged between 12 and 30);
- Preparing students needing special attention and care – including students with special educational needs and young people with disabilities – for independent life and career planning through providing career counselling services;
- Compiling knowledge about all target groups and types of disabilities and utilisation of this knowledge among the target groups in need of career counselling;
- Accompaniment of the learning and further educational processes;
- Improving the work-related identity and skills of those who need it;
- Removing obstacles to career-development caused by disabilities or other environmental factors;
- Encouraging successful transition to employment through individual accompaniment, using the most up to date tools and methodology available and utilising the conserving and strengthening forces of the community;

- Empowering the development of social and community engagement of young people using the services, as well as their parents and families;
- Developing the centre's own knowledge base to serve young people with typical development;
- Establishing cooperation with partner institutions;
- Designing and running projects to develop services out of the regular scope, utilising already existing practices and measuring their impact;
- Active participation in methodological development and research, as well as the education of professionals and organising of events in the field;
- Involving Piarist schools in the career support activities.

3. DEVELOPMENTAL ACTIVITIES RELATED TO THE FOUNDING OF THE KILÁTÓ CENTRE

In the establishment stage in the spring of 2017, as a result of the research and development qualification process, the processes of methodological development and the centre becoming an institution were all classified as research and development activities. A two-year pilot period was commenced, enabling the planning and testing of future services and examining their effectiveness. The author contributed to the planning of the research and development activities, the recruitment of experts and coordinated research, expert meetings and the processes of designing and testing the career diagnostic questionnaires as well as the compilation of the professional protocol.

As a first step, foreign and national research data on career counselling for SEN and other target groups with disabilities was gathered and reviewed, and research hypotheses and plans for involving the target groups were established. Experts contributing to the innovations reviewed relevant policy documentation, earlier research papers, and methodology developed for SEN target groups, and assessed the adaptability of currently existing diagnostic tools, after which they created the hypotheses, planned and scheduled the research activities.

Two major starting points set the course for the professional development strategy. One was a regional assessment (in Pest County where the services would take place), and a national assessment of members of the future target group. The other starting point was the development of the key concepts for the main service areas, based on the above mentioned assessments.

3.1. Assessment results

To be able to thoroughly plan the professional activities of the centre, it was important to map the expectations and opinions of organisations, experts and employers offering career guidance. This is why focus group interviews were conducted in the first phase of the research and development process. Later, members of the target groups (young people, parents and partners) were asked about their preferences for future services to be offered in the centre. Researchers also inquired about their level of satisfaction with the services already available. These results served as a base for the pilot programme.

The primary situation analysis and needs assessment took place with the participation of three groups of experts. The focus group interviews were conducted in June 2017 in the Vác region with a total number of forty participants, of whom twelve were counsellors, nineteen were educators and nine were representatives of respective companies. The central topics of the interviews were identifying the missing service elements and formulating an action plan to manage these shortfalls. Summarising the results of the focus group interviews, the following activities seem to be in the highest demand:

- Increasing the number of professional is the field, providing vocational training, forming expert working groups, appointing SEN coordinators;
- Providing employers with training and educational materials to overcome the lack of information in the areas of SEN and disadvantaged workers;
- Building a parental information system; creating a continuously updated database, listing the professions that can be performed by people with certain kinds of needs or disabilities – sorted by SEN target groups;
- Changing society's attitudes regarding SEN target groups, to ensure a higher level of acceptance (e.g. through media and film appearances);
- Establishing a mentoring system and on-the-go services;
- Finding market gaps and job opportunities in the region, providing part time or full time employment and specialised positions created by dividing and restructuring the multiple scopes of activities;
- Assuming the roles of mediator and coordinator, acting as a liaison between their clients and the employers and also between the actors of the concerned sectors;
- Organising a professional forum for interested employers and representatives to exchange experiences;
- Strengthening the system of career diagnostics and the assessment of professional competences, starting in primary school and continued in secondary school;
- Providing secondary school students and young adults with job trials, student jobs, internships and transit employment;

In the second phase (December 2017), a nationwide survey research was conducted with the participation of the SEN target groups (with regard to students, the parents were also invited). The surveys were filled out in person and six sub-samples were assessed:

1. Primary school students (classes 7 and 8, students with SEN and disabilities);
2. Secondary school students (classes 9 to 13, students with SEN and disabilities);
3. Parents (parents of the primary and secondary school student participants);
4. Young NEET people (young people between the ages 18 and 25, just entering the labour market, neither in employment, education nor training);
5. Currently unemployed people with disabilities (disadvantaged or disabled people, over 25 years of age, currently registered as job seekers);
6. Currently employed people with disabilities.

A total number of 543 people from the six groups took part in the survey. The sample was heterogeneous regarding the type and degree of disadvantages: the largest proportion of the sample comprised people with mobility challenges, concentration deficit disorders, behavioural disorders, visual and hearing impairments, intellectual impairment and certain learning disorders (dyslexia, dysgraphia, and dyscalculia).

Of the entire sample, 42% never used any services in connection with career choice. The greatest percentage of those who did not have any experience with career counselling were those of working age: the NEET sub-group and the employed and unemployed people with disabilities (over 80%). In contrast, the number of those who had never used career counselling was only 3% for SEN students in secondary school and 16% for SEN students in primary school, and 18% of parents remembered not availing of such services. The reasons for not seeking advice from career counsellors were mostly either a lack of knowledge or a low level of motivation.

Based on the results, the most useful services for primary school students would be those directly supporting career choice, involving personal interaction and directly including the respective families in the process. Secondary school students would prefer activities that improve their self-knowledge, independence and decision-making. The difference between the preferences of two age groups is clear: the secondary school students preferred indirect services aimed at improving skills while the primary school students mostly sought direct, personal support. At the same time, half the secondary school students were also open to individual counselling but in their case it was of the utmost importance that the counsellor had a strong professional background. Parents were open to different services in greater numbers than primary school students. Their first choice would be services for improving skills, but individual counselling and practical training would also be in high demand.

3.2. Supporting studies

As the second stage of the research and development process, the expert working group conducted studies in six areas, aiming to review the concepts of service development and utilising the results of the assessments. The experts identified those that would serve as a foundation for future service protocols regarding the three main target groups (primary school students, secondary school students and young adults). Furthermore, the following important guidelines for research and development activities were identified:

1. Adapting tools based on individual characteristics instead of SEN-specificities – SEN-based adaptations might be necessary in some cases and for certain activities, but the starting point for development should always be based on individual and environmental characteristics. In this complex system, SEN status is an important, but not necessarily the most determining factor;
2. Mentoring and accompaniment should be handled separately from the other activities within the range of the career counsellor's competences; a list of criteria should be set to determine whether a mentor and accompanying person should be involved in the development; moreover, creating a representation of the client journey is also appropriate;

3. Testing well-established practices during the pilot period. This way development activities are approached in a complex service frame, integrating social activities and the supportive power of social media in career building, which might also serve as an information base; it is important to involve role models in the information providing process.

The list of supporting studies included the following:
1. Developing the concept of service methodology for primary school students;
2. Developing the concept of service methodology for secondary school students;
3. Developing the concept of service methodology for young people neither in employment, education nor training;
4. Developing the methodology of mentoring and accompaniment;
5. Developing the methodology of career guidance services regarding the content of diagnostics and interventions for all target groups;
6. Preparing a study on the organisational operations and institutional model in relation to the activities aimed at supporting the clients' successful transition to the labour market.

In preparation for the research and development process, there was a networking phase with regional service providers (from Budapest and Pest County), educational institutions, disability organisations and labour market actors. As a result, the Kilátó Centre initiated a partnership with 47 institutions for the pilot period, including 15 schools, where career diagnostic tests, work diagnostics and other services were tested.

4. MAIN OUTCOMES OF THE SERVICE DEVELOPMENT PROCESSES

Based on the outcomes of the primary situation analysis and needs assessment and supporting studies, six main service elements were developed.

As part of the career diagnostic service, self-assessment career guidance surveys for primary and secondary school students and young adults were developed, supplemented with assessments of the young person completed by their parents and professionals working with them (e.g. educators). The surveys were made available in paper and online format, the latter also available in accessible and easy-to-read versions for all target groups (with videos in sign language). As part of the work diagnostic service, methodology for computerised aptitude tests was developed and professional training for using the ErgoScope work simulator and tabletop aptitude testing tools was conducted. With the aid of psychological aptitude testing tools the students received feedback on their skills which may be of help in their studies. As a result of this activity, during the pilot (research and development) period, ergoscopic aptitude testing of 100 young people was conducted, as was aptitude testing of 50 young people with tabletop tools.

Content for individual counselling and group-based career guidance services were developed and these services were tested in the pilot period, besides which disability-specific adaptations of the above services were developed for six disability

types (e.g. Orientation Day). As a first step, syllabuses for the different age groups were created; later, individual aspects were integrated by experts in the fields of respective disabilities. These aspects cover techniques and methods to be used in cases of different disabilities, including unobstructed access of information.

As a result of the content development for services for educators and parents and the testing of these services during the pilot period, the Academy for Parents and Teachers Programme was established. This is a 90-minute interactive, experience-based workshop, containing thought-provoking and awareness-raising elements regarding potential career guidance services for young people with special educational needs. The service plays a significant role in addressing and motivating the supportive environment in order to strengthen the outcomes. 103 participants attended the academy for teachers, and 21 attended the academy for parents.

The methodology of workplace visits and test-workshops was designed in the following fields: computer science, agriculture, hospitality, logistics, engineering and the social sector. These services introduce different tasks and allow participants to try and practice them.

Finally, the development of career information materials produced introductory materials for 30 careers with regional relevance for Pest County, as well as 200 career-descriptions with respect to the characteristics of the SEN target groups. Twenty career-descriptions were also created in an easy-to-read version for young people with intellectual disabilities.

5. DEVELOPMENT OF THE CAREER DIAGNOSTIC SERVICE AND SURVEY RESULTS

As part of the content and methodological development process, career guidance assessment tools for primary and secondary school students and young people with special educational needs were compiled, prepared, tested and assessed for suitability. In his paper on survey design Orosz (2018) highlighted the correspondence between the factors; he also mentioned the differences between the individual sub-samples; furthermore, he discovered relationships between responses of counsellors and parents and responses of student participants. Additionally, he reviewed the aspects of instructions that require special attention and the optimal ways of setting the environment for data collection when working with young people with special educational needs (Goldberg et al., 2013).

5.1. A short introduction to the survey inventory

The survey inventory consisted of two parts, part 'A' and part 'B'. Part 'A' included demographic and other status variables, whereas part 'B' included scales measuring different psychological dimensions. Scales included in the survey inventory measured the following career choice-related dimensions:
   1. Recognising strengths and challenges (the respondent's level of ability to recognise their own strengths and areas of improvement in relation to different tasks);

2. Self-efficacy in articulating one's disability (the respondent's level of ability to express their disability);
3. Adapting to changes and perseverance (the respondent's reactions to obstacles);
4. Perceived social support (the level of help and support the respondent can expect from others [in general, from family and friends] when needed);
5. Leading an independent life (the respondent's level of independence in pursuing everyday activities [e.g. transport, running administrative errands]);
6. Goal-setting and planning (the respondent's level of ability to set goals and make plans);
7. Academic motivations (the extent to which the respondent has intrinsic [e.g. gaining knowledge] and extrinsic motivation [e.g. for a reward] to learn);
8. Academic amotivation (the extent to which the respondent is amotivated to learn for different reasons [e.g. finding it boring]);
9. Competences (the respondent's competences in the main areas [personal, social, cognitive and special competences]);
10. Self-efficacy in career decisions (the level of the respondent's ability to successfully make decisions during the processes of career guidance and the career advancement, and pursue the activities pertaining to the decision);
11. Work motivations (the extent to which the respondent has intrinsic [e.g. bringing them joy] and extrinsic motivation [e.g. having a wish to prove themselves] to work hard);
12. Work amotivation (the extent to which the respondent is amotivated to work for different reasons [they are afraid they will not perform well in their job]);
13. Areas of interest (the fit between the respondent's personality and their expectations for the job);
14. Work style (the fit between the respondent's preferences and the material and personal circumstances of the job);
15. Career engagement (the amount of positive steps taken and behaviours shown by the respondent in order to build their career).

The teacher and parent versions of the self-assessment surveys followed the structure of the student versions, hence everyone assessed the exact same 15 dimensions (the ones listed above). The evaluation methodology for all the surveys was created based on the averages and standard deviations (Török, 2017):
  (a) High score: the services are not needed;
  (b) Medium score: services might be needed in the respective area; and
  (c) Low score: services are needed.

Scores were supplemented with written assessments, aiming to determine the content of the personal development plans, make suggestions for services and develop action plans based on the needs emerging from the survey results.

Respondents could also give text responses regarding certain survey dimensions (e.g. strengths and challenges, goals, career interests), which would provide a more detailed profile of the young person and enable qualitative analysis. For example, if a student specified that they would like to become a carpenter, it would be possible for them and the counsellor to assess whether the indicated areas of interest, skills and

work styles were a good fit for the desired profession. If there was a need to review other professions in order to find the best fit for the student's interests and skill set, that would be recorded in their personal development plan.

5.2. Introducing the young people in the sample

The survey was completed by 262 participants (100 female) with special educational needs. Participants were aged between 13 and 30 years, with an average age of 18.47 years (SD = 3.95). 37.4% of the participants (98 persons) were in primary school, 38.5% (101 persons) in secondary school, and 24.0% (63 persons) were young adults neither in employment, education nor training (Török, 2019b). 41.6% of the participants (109 persons) had prior experience of career choice-related services. Young people with the following disabilities and disadvantages participated in the survey research: visual, speech and hearing impairments, physical and intellectual disability, dysgraphia, dyscalculia, dyslexia, behavioural and attention deficit disorders and autistic spectrum disorders (Orosz, 2018).

5.3. Main outcomes of the survey design process

The surveys had appropriate psychometric properties in terms of validity and reliability, hence they were suitable for use in the later phases of the research. Based on the research outcomes, the following pattern of relationship could be observed: goal-setting – self-efficacy in career decisions – career engagement. Through improving skills related to goal-setting – which is the basis for career choice – mental associations for goals become stronger, resulting in higher levels of motivation and better long-term performance (Oettingen and Gollwitzer, 2010). While pursuing goals, the area-specific self-efficacy of the students becomes stronger, leading to more adaptive behaviours and stronger career engagement.

Self-efficacy in career decisions is a sensitive indicator of career-related opinions and the probability of future steps, and is a good predictor of the necessity of career counselling. The level of self-efficacy in career decisions is connected to the behavioural factors of adaptability to educational and work environments, and a growing level of self-efficacy strengthens career engagement. Enhancing the level of self-efficacy in the career decisions of young people will have a great positive impact on academic performance, positive self-efficacy expectations and the proactive discovery of their life goals (Török, 2017).

Even if young people have a clear vision of their career choice, they are often less informed on how to attain it. This is why goal-setting plays an important role in predicting whether the growth in self-efficacy in career decisions would become manifest in tangible behaviour. Clear and specific objectives are more likely to lead to effective behaviour through self-efficacy. Those young people who make career-related decisions with self-confidence are more likely to set goals for themselves, and hence are more likely to make plans and discover career opportunities (Török, 2017). Materialisation of behavioural indicators can be measured through career engagement, indicated by the frequency of observable behaviours.

5.4. Conclusions and potential opportunities for practical use

In conclusion, the survey results show that in the case of groups in which self-assessment methods were effective, the introduced tools were able to provide a complete diagnostic view on career planning directions for young people with special educational needs:

a) The chosen psychological constructs (15 dimensions) proved to be appropriate and informative regarding the career guidance of students;

b) The chosen methods were effective in helping determine the focal points of counselling and consultations for each student;

c) Surveys may be used with participants having most types of special educational needs, optimised for three age groups (ages 13–14, between the ages of 15 and 18, and young adults aged between 18 and 30);

d) The tools are appropriate for conducting 360 degree assessments, besides collecting the opinions of parents and professionals working with the young persons;

e) The final survey inventory is appropriate for use in multiple consequent assessments to determine important changes regarding the career orientation of young people, as well as the rate and pace of their improvement (Orosz, 2018).

6. IMPACT ASSESSMENT OF SERVICES

During the pilot period, self-assessment diagnostics for 262 young persons were conducted (with the participation of 54 parents and 88 educators), as well as the computerised aptitude testing of 100 young persons. Furthermore, the following services were provided: workshops for 48 participants, individual counselling for 11 participants, workplace visits for 7 participants and accompaniment for 11 participants.

Throughout the pilot period the Kilátó Centre examined the individual development of student participants with special educational needs that might have been induced by the services in the respective fields (positive adaptability to change, challenges in adaptation, perseverance, social support, support from the family, support from friends, or self-efficacy in career decisions and career engagement). The aim of individual and group counselling was to provide information tailored to the respective age group and type of special educational need, and to enhance positive attitude and self-efficacy. Both individual and group counselling sessions lasted 90 minutes.

Participants completed the scales before and after receiving the services. A total number of 41 young people (20 females) with special educational needs participated in the impact assessment. Participants were aged between 13 and 26 years, with an average of 17.20 years (SD = 3.10). 43.9% of the participants (18 persons) were primary school students, 51.2% (21 persons) were secondary school students and 4.9% (2 persons) were young adults neither in employment, education nor training. 53.7% of the participants (22 persons) had prior experience of career choice-related services. Three persons took part in individual counselling, 37 persons attended group counselling and one was in a job trial. Young people with the following disabilities and

disadvantages participated in the intervention: visual, speech and hearing impairments, physical and intellectual disability, dysgraphia, dyscalculia, dyslexia, behavioural and attention deficit disorders and autistic spectrum disorders.

During the impact assessment researchers compared the results of the participants on the bases of the following factors: positive adaptability to change, challenges in adaptation, perseverance, social support, support from the family, support from friends, self-efficacy in career decisions and career engagement. There was a significant rise in the level of self-efficacy in career decisions between the results of the pre-test and the post-test (t(39) = -2.67, p = 0.011), while no significant changes could be observed regarding the other assessed factors.

The results relating to self-efficacy in career decisions correspond with the content used in career counselling workshops, since there was a strong emphasis on this topic. Areas of self-efficacy – including self-efficacy in career decisions – are central elements in the system of career-management dimensions. Self-efficacy in career decisions plays a key role in behaviours related to career-building, and can be improved even in short interventions that utilise the power of various forms of self-efficacy information (e.g. learning from one's own success or the achievements of other people). The workshops at the Kilátó Centre use these methodologies (Török, 2019a).

7. Institutional professional protocol

In the last phase of the development (in the summer of 2018), the institutional professional protocol and the activity-based description of the service process were finalised. The professional protocol summarises the main guidelines and tasks, including the role of the Kilátó Centre within the Piarist institutional system. The activity-based description addresses current definitions of career-planning and characteristics of target groups with special needs; in addition it introduces clientele with special educational needs and provides a detailed presentation of the institution's services in an activity matrix, organised by target groups. The matrix summarises the goals, process, outcomes and criteria of each service. The services are defined by the following activities:

1. Networking (obtaining information, contacting the target group);
2. Providing information (briefing on service content, contact);
3. Assessment of the situation and needs;
4. Complex diagnostics (diagnostics, skill- and aptitude-testing, and career guidance assessment);
5. Career guidance services (personal action planning, providing career information, individual and group consultation and counselling, job trials, and test-workshops);
6. Accompaniment: a professional relationship that supports personal and professional development through shaping the individual's attitudes, competences and personality;
7. Clearing of vacancies: individualised job opportunity mapping and placement;
8. Background activities related to the services.

The respective service units were described regarding each activity (19 activities in total), as well as the required methodology, resources (of staff and equipment), technology and time conditions, the administrative system and anticipated outcomes of the respective service (Galambos et al, 2018).

The activity-matrix provides help in planning, organising and executing each of the service activities, as well as setting the quality criteria in order to provide the client with the best possible service regardless of the location, time or provider (Török, 2019a).

8. THE CURRENT SITUATION OF THE KILÁTÓ PIARIST CENTRE

The mission of the Kilátó Piarist Centre is to support the career-planning of students and young people with a need for special individual attention, to conduct research in order to promote the development of their capacities in an educational setting, and to help their transition to employment through an individually accompanied process, using the most up-to-date evidence-based tools and methods, and utilising the conserving and strengthening forces of the community.

To achieve this, the centre provides career-enhancing services for both individuals and groups to help them make successful career-decisions and improve competences, thus promoting a successful career. Furthermore, the centre aims to establish and operate an inspiring, inclusive and accepting social space that contributes to professional dialogue and cooperation, while also providing a space for innovation and creativity by engaging all actors in the career-planning process in community experiences. Through its career-based research and development activities, by engaging students and young people with a need for special individual attention, and empowering the innovation by the professionals working with these young people, the Kilátó Piarist Centre will become a strong methodological centre (Katona, 2020).

From 2020 onwards, the fully renovated and accessible building of the old Franciscan Monastery of Vác will be home to the Kilátó Piarist Centre. Plans for utilising the garden attached to the centre have also been developed. The primary purpose of the garden is to create a space for outdoor activities, supplementing the professional activities taking place indoors. For example, in some areas, gardening and park maintenance tasks can be demonstrated or practiced; also, other areas can be used for certain elements of sensitisation programmes.

During the pilot period, between January 2019 and May 2020, the Kilátó Centre helped nearly 400 young people with their career-planning, while also building strategic partnerships with educational and service institutions in Pest County. The centre provided services to students of 19 institutions throughout this period.

Besides the individual and group versions of self-assessment career diagnostic services, the diagnostic tools for assessing work competences are appropriate for measuring and improving professional, vocational and job-related competences. The tools used for aptitude tests are able to assess fine motor skills, sensory and motor performance and several cognitive, individual and social competences.

Activities of the centre also include career-planning for local youth and supporting the career guidance services of the Piarist institutions.

Accompaniment is of central importance among the centre's activities. Through the process of personal attendance the Kilátó Centre's goal is to make the young people feel personally respected, and offers every possible tool to aid their educational, psychological and emotional, social and spiritual advancement. The Piarist concept of human nature shines through this mindset, as professionals in the centre regard the students as wholesome individuals – and as such, they experience constant and continuous change and improvement, and have a responsibility for this process.

The centre contributes to content development for career-planning, both as a curricular and extra-curricular activity, developing materials and organising career-planning sessions and programmes (guidance day, camps and creative workshops).

The centre has created sensitisation programmes for four areas of disability and for three age groups (primary school students, secondary school students and college students). From a variety of services offered to employers, the centre has launched the sensitisation programme first, to prepare the admittance of young people with disabilities and recognise their achievements. At the same time, these programmes also became available to educational institutions.

The centre has developed an educational programme for teachers who wish to play an active role in career-planning in the near future.

The Kilátó Centre conducts its scientific research in cooperation with university research laboratories. Among these partners are the ELTE Bárczi Gusztáv Faculty of Special Needs Education, the ELTE Faculty of Education and Psychology and the ELTE Faculty of Primary and Pre-school Education, with whom the centre collaborates on research and other service development programmes in order to improve the career-related competences of young people. The Kilátó Centre provides thesis research opportunities for ELTE students and doctoral students and will also start to admit students for professional internships. Furthermore, the mentioned institutions support the development and realisation of one another's training (e.g. mentor training).

Since April 2019, the ELTE Faculty of Education and Psychology has participated in the resumption of vocational training in Göd, and is the professional lead of the guidance training, contributing – with the Pious Vocational School, Secondary School and College and the Kilátó Centre – to the development of a vocational training programme in Hungary. The cornerstones of this joint initiative are the following: launching research projects both in Hungary and abroad, shaping the educational background of the career guidance training. One of the most important aspects of this programme was the development of the career-module for the guidance class that was launched in the vocational institutions two years ago, as well as participation in running the programme and monitoring its effectiveness.

The purpose of the cooperation agreement with the ELTE Bárczi Gusztáv Faculty of Special Needs Education signed in July 2019 were – among others – starting joint research and educational projects, and providing career-planning services to young people with disabilities. Furthermore, the faculty creates the conditions for the professional monitoring system and the steps of the quality assurance process at the Kilátó Centre, besides providing constant monitoring in accordance with the jointly set goals and methods of quality assurance. The quality assurance of services at the Kilátó Centre is ensured by a group of specialists delegated by the ELTE Bárczi Gusztáv Faculty of Special Needs Education – as requested by the Foundation for Improving Special Needs Education (Gyógypedagógia Fejlesztéséért Alapítvány) –

in cooperation with employees of the Kilátó Centre. Their focus is to provide equal opportunities for service users and adapt these services to different types of special needs, following the principle of 'Nothing about us without us'.

SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

The data and experience compiled throughout the pilot period has served as a starting point for building the services, and future innovation will be based on continuous data gathering.

By means of this development a thorough, easy-to-access, evidence-based methodology has been created, which aims to support the career-building and employability of students and young adults with special educational needs; furthermore, it contributes to the social inclusion and transition to employment of young people with special needs (visual and hearing impairments, physical and intellectual disability, psychological developmental disorders and hyperactivity disorders) through easy, personalised access to related services.

The developed services and methodology put a special emphasis on accompaniment, as well as improving competences that contribute to the career-planning and career-building processes in the long run, rather than supporting one-off decision making. Services also include engaging the supportive communities, with a special focus on cooperating with the families throughout the service process.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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Tímea Vissi

'Hello, I am here!'

Psycho-Emotional Disablism in the Life Stories of People with Disabilities

Introduction

This study is a secondary analysis in which data was gained from a more extensive research study. While the earlier study focused on factors *promoting* inclusion from the perspective of people with disabilities, this study targets secondary data analysis corresponding to with Reeve's concept (2012, 2004, 2002) of psycho-emotional disablism. Consequently, although critical elements are presented, I intend to emphasise that the focus of interest remains letting the participants' voices be heard rather than analysing the Norwegian system and disability policy.

In this study six semi-structured life-story interviews, one semi-structured focus group interview and a field diary on a 34-hour participant observation (with seven participants) were subject to analysis. The data collection took place in two Norwegian towns in October and November 2019. As the persons involved would be easily recognisable by determining the exact locations, these are omitted with the mutual consent of the research participants, to ensure anonymity. The typing of the interviews took place in December 2019 followed by the primary qualitative analysis according to the grounded theory method in January and February 2020 and the secondary data analysis in April and May 2020.

The research participants were young adults (aged 26 to 34) with cerebral palsy (CP). In contrast to the general Hungarian term of mobility impairment based on the medical model, I regard CP rather as a complex disability, a term that has recently become widespread in the international literature, which refers to the heterogeneity of persons with CP more precisely. Consistent with the term 'complex disability', the persons involved are people with complex needs.

I approach disabilities from a critical disability studies (CDS) perspective that reconsiders normality, emphasises the complexity of disabilities, and questions 'the unbodied, standardised, rooted and liberal-humanist concept of identity and works with the concept of a decentralised, embodied subject being in a constant state of becoming someone or something' (Antal et al., 2018, 85). Disability Studies, as a discipline, differentiates between *impairment* and *disability* by stressing, in line with the perception of strong social criticism, that disability is a social construction, a negative social reaction to impairment that consequently creates the definition of the 'other', referring to something that deviates from the 'normal' (Goodley 2017; Wendell, 2010). Disablism refers to a situation in which people are subject to social exclusion, preventing them from being full participants in society (Goodley, 2017, 11).

1. THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THIS STUDY

In critical DS, the social model of disability is considered insufficient for any understanding of the complexity of a disability, as it places emphasis on socio-cultural barriers but disregards the personal dimensions of disability (Reeve, 2004, 2002). Reeve develops Thomas's recommendation (1999), according to which the experience of disability has a psycho-emotional dimension, in that it influences the psycho-emotional well-being of people with disabilities.

> *'Disability is a form of social oppression involving the social imposition of restrictions of activity on people with impairments and the socially engendered undermining of their psycho-emotional well-being' (Thomas, 1999, 60).*

Reeve extends the social model (Reeve, 2012, 2004, 2002) which consists of both structural and psycho-emotional dimensions of disability. He has a progressive concept that focuses on 'what people with disabilities are able to become' instead of 'what they are actually capable of'. She distinguishes between direct and indirect disablism and scrutinises their impact on psycho-emotional well-being.

1.1. Indirect disablism: structural disability

People with disabilities experience physical barriers and social exclusion in their everyday lives. These consist of segregated education, inaccessible buildings and separate entrances for people with wheelchairs, which not only restrict or separate them physically, but also imply that 'you are different, you do not belong to us'. This type of experience provokes various emotions in people with disabilities, such as anger, shame, disappointment, anxiety, desperation, sadness and resignation, in turn affecting their psycho-emotional well-being, self-concept, self-esteem and self-confidence, and, hence, *making them disabled in an indirect way* (Reeve, 2014, 2012, 2004).

The main difference between people living with disabilities and other minorities is that it would be completely inconceivable in the Western hemisphere in the 21st century to have separate access to a building for any minorities. However, people with disabilities face this on a daily basis. It reinforces the feeling of being second-class citizens, and that their presence is nothing more but tolerated. The emotional message of physical exclusion is the manifestation of psycho-emotional disablism, which increases the oppressive nature of structural disability (Reeve, 2004).

1.2. Direct disablism: interaction with others

People with disabilities often have painful, humiliating experiences during social interaction with others. Disablism may appear in social interaction in various forms, such as jokes about their condition, avoidance or even open rejection. It is also frequent that they receive unrequired opinions addressed directly to them (e.g. 'they would rather die instead of living like this') or by muttering something about them when passing by (Reeve, 2012).

People living with disabilities must face the fact that their bodies are objectified or examined only for the purpose of listing their defects, be it during a medical examination or in social schemes where their entitlement to benefits is to be decided upon. This results not only in feeding their sense of being 'other' but also in nurturing the feeling of being fragile and vulnerable and that their bodies are something to feel ashamed of.

One reason for disablism is that there are no culturally accepted rules regulating how strangers should make contact with people with disabilities. This has been regarded as a concern not only in relation to people with disabilities, though, but also to everyone whose body differs from the required and desired body in any way. As much as we tend to express our appreciation of a slim, 'perfect' body in a culturally accepted way by demonstrating our positive attitude ('You look pretty!', or 'These trousers suit you very well!'), we have difficulties with such observations when meeting someone who has put on weight (Reeve, 2014).

A highly ruinous effect of psycho-emotional disablism occurs when a person with disabilities internalises negative social stereotypes and prejudices, which Reeve (2004, 2012, 2014) describes as internalised oppression. This form of oppression often affects self-esteem on a subconscious level, which also shapes the person's attitudes and actions. It may create false consciousness if, for example, a person with disabilities believes that people like them cannot have an intimate relationship or have children. It may also result in creating double consciousness in which a person with disabilities lives with the constant knowledge of being 'other', living as an alien in the world. They can accept the stereotype that people with disabilities are not 'perfect' and that they are less valued than able-bodied people (Reeve, 2012).

2. RESEARCH METHODS

The following qualitative methods were applied: life-story interviews, participant observation, and a semi-structured focus group interview. The participants were recruited via email and a written information sheet had also been sent in advance. Before their informed consent was obtained, an oral presentation was organised, in which all the participants were given an opportunity to inquire about the details. Seven persons (three women, four men) aged 26–34, with complex disabilities and diverse support needs were involved in this study (one only agreed to participate in the participant observation) and five parents or personal assistants took part in the focus group interview. Participation was voluntary and anonymous.

The various methods offered access to different 'data', although the primary aim was to remain focused on the personal opinions and experiences of the persons with disabilities. Therefore, we led conversations during the participant observation and they regularly commented on the ongoing activity, their remarks being recorded either at the same time, or, due to time constraints, immediately after finishing the observation. The research documentation was extended with a research diary presenting a detailed description of the events, dates and persons involved, as well as my impressions, thoughts and dilemmas including possible solutions as well as my decisions with a brief reasoning.

The language of the interviews and conversations was English, being a second language for both the participants and me. I had a basic level of Norwegian which

proved to be sufficient in overcoming language barriers. For instance, when the participants changed from English into Norwegian, I could understand and record it both at the time and later in the typing, but they were asked politely to use English. The research was carried out in compliance with the ethical permission regulation *SE PAK 1/2019.10.15*.

3. RESULTS

Due to the volume limitations of this article not all the participants' quotes are selected. The study focuses on the most mentioned and most frequently occurring experiences. I chose those sections of the field diary in which the participants described their experiences in relation to the observation, as I intended to emphasise that their opinions and explanations were the centre of interest.

The participants form a small and, therefore, easily identifiable group. Discussing and agreeing with participants to ensure anonymity, any citations were removed that referred to events and data and that would thus make it easier to identify them. Likewise, names of places, organisations and persons were deleted. For the same reason, the participants' gender, age or other characteristics are not indicated.

3.1. Indirect disablism

In the analysis, not only are the barriers of the built environment or exact forms of exclusion as indirect disablism classified, but also *all human-built environmental factors*, including the role of tools and the issue of personal assistance needed for overcoming physical disability.

Environmental barriers often promote the physical exclusion of people with disabilities from buildings, events, and, in an indirect way, from everyday social life.

> *'The environment of course is really important in independent living as well, as another thing, because […] yes, for example, if you have any equipment or wheelchair or […]. It's, it's really important the environment around you can be accessible and available for everyone. We still have a long way to go when it comes true that people with disability take part in the same life as anyone else.'*

Although Norway seeks to eliminate structural obstacles, and in my own experience it has been a pioneer, the participants complained about stairs, lifts that were not wide enough, and doors which were not at all or not easily accessible with wheelchairs, all of which I have also experienced. The participants also mentioned obstacles concerning theatres and cinemas, where there was space in the auditorium for people with wheelchairs, but electric ones did not fit into the lift, so audience members with electric wheelchairs could not arrive at the auditorium. Another concern was that there was room for only one wheelchair in the place of two chairs. The interviewee's concern was not so much that there was not enough room for two chairs but that the staff did not know what to do and so did not do anything to address the situation.

In all the Scandinavian countries, including Norway, the concept of normalisation was introduced in the 1950s, highlighting the importance of creating living conditions

for people with disabilities which resemble general life circumstances to the greatest possible extent (Lányiné Engelmayer, 1993). An ideological and political change was implemented concerning approaches to disability in Norway by the end of 1960s, which was consequently enacted in legislation. It became generally accepted that family support and day-time services should be strengthened rather than entirely supporting institutions. Reform and development of long-stay residential institutions was of major importance, and they focused on welfare measures to improve the quality of life of people with disabilities. By the 1970s the importance of environmental effects in relation to disability became the dominant view in Norway (Tøssebro, 2016), and has since become an important element of the Nordic Relational Model of Disability (NRM). The NRM was developed in the late 1990s and early 2000s, and it describes three main aspects of which 'disability is a person-environment mismatch, situational (contextual) and relative' (Jackson, 2018).

Although the NRM is a 'weak version of the environmental turn' (Tøssebro, 2004), and pays less attention to the man-made environment than to the social model of disability, the actions of UK activists had a major influence on the Norwegian disability concept in the Millennium years, which came to appear in the legislation. The Norwegian legislature approved the act on discrimination and the right to equal access in 2008 (Lag [Law] 2008), according to which all forms of discrimination were declared forbidden. Critics have blamed this change for being slow, and have urged the elaboration of solutions to new challenges; they realise that the mere adoption of welfare measures has not been sufficient. Difficulties arise elsewhere than in the welfare sector; if people with wheelchairs do not go to restaurants, the owners will not be confronted with the demand for stairs to be removed (Tøssebro, 2016).

> *'I'm using wheelchair and the experience is really often I can't go inside some building or some café, for example theatre, just because I am wheelchair-user. And this is a great issue.'*

None of the participants mentioned structural obstacles in education, which would have prevented them from taking part in classes, mutual programmes or otherwise connecting with their schoolmates. At nursery or school, they all had a personal assistant for a shorter or longer period of time who helped them getting from one point to the other and assisted them with the learning.

> *'I have not learning skills problem, I could learn, but I needed help. I didn't write, so to do my homework I needed an assistance's help.'*

They were provided with assistance tools in schooling, which, however, had not always been satisfactory in keeping up with their schoolmates. Nonetheless, technical development also had an impact on the development of assistance tools, and the improvement of computer systems in particular finally brought about radical change in their education.

> *'– And did you use a computer there or a tablet, ok, not a tablet because there wasn't a tablet at that time, but a laptop? Or maybe other devices to help you learn?*
> *– Yeah. But it was very slow. Because I used the joystick to use the computer.*
> *– So… you had to choose the letter you wanted to write with a joystick?*
> *– Yeah. It was too … it took one hour.*

– That slow. [Laughing]
– But when I was 14 or 15, I had this eye-tracking computer. Yeah, I deal, I
could start to do my thing on the computer, here, on a normal screen! So, it
was a… it was a turning-point, I think.'

There are some critical voices concerning inclusive education in Norway. Although 86 per cent of children with disabilities attend regular schools, 57 per cent of them learn under segregated circumstances for a certain period of time even in regular schools, which reduces social interaction and results in their exclusion from school communities (Finnvold, 2018). The research participants, with one exception, shared the same experiences as I did, although most of them regard them as learning assistance rather than exclusion.

'During my life, the social connections … uhm… uhm… during nursery school, there weren't so many problems with these things. But during my first years at school it was not so easy, because … at the beginning there are many, many teachers, they thought that I needed one-to-one schooling, so many times they took me out of the classroom. So, I couldn't interact very much with the others...'

'– I remember uhm…, uhm… in primary school, there was one teacher who always took me out of the school. Oh, not from the school, from the class.
– And teach you face-to-face?
– Yeah, yeah.'

'I was really slow, you know. So, I had to learn and learn and learn to read faster. It was hard… there was a teacher, she took me out, because we had a course. Do you know, it's a course to… to learn to read faster.'

Welfare measures provide concrete results. The participants live in their own apartments, six of them in specially designed ones, where they can lead independent lives with some personal assistance. At the time of the building construction, the individual needs of the buyers were taken into consideration in accordance with which living conditions were set. Only one participant complained about living issues and was planning to move to a barrier-free environment.

'[…] Then in my home now, I live on the 3rd floor, with stairs, and carrying my groceries up in my hand, it's like…, it's heavy.'

Many of them mentioned that having an accessible apartment alone is not sufficient for leading an independent life, and they also need personal assistance.

'I can say one thing about the BPA It says, it's independent life, and the assistants are the people's hands and eyes in that they can't do it by themselves. It's an important thing.' [in Norwegian: brukertstyrt personlig assistance; in English: user controlled personal assistance].

Determining the weekly hours of personal assistance is a task of local government. The BPA-system (HUMANA) allows persons with disabilities to hire the assistants and to specify the volume and exact period of personal support to tailor the service to their real needs. The BPA plays a major role in their lives, not only when shaping their independent life and equal living conditions, but also in independent decision making, individual choice and

controlling their own lives. It allows people with intellectual disability to take part in relevant discussions on themselves and to be ensured supported decision making.

'[… name] attends meetings with his assistants and his mother. He is not excluded from meetings. So, the BPA means that he has a lot of influence in what he would like to do, basically.'

There is are considerable differences in how many hours of assistance a person may be entitled to, which does not necessarily correlate with their needs.

'We live in a tiny little place with a very small local government and we get less support. For [… name] eighteen and a half hours of assistance are stipulated, but there's no assistant, so he doesn't get any assistance, while [… another name] is entitled to eighty hours and de facto receives it.'

'This is a special system in Norway. There is difference between the local communities, there are […] some places where you get everything you want. [In] Other places, you have nothing.'

The situation of those living in group homes raises even greater concerns, partly due to the increasing importance of parents who welcome full deinstitutionalisation (Tøssebro & Lundeby 2006), and partly due to the fact that, in accordance with Norwegian political values, a government decision was passed on the closure of large institutions in 1988, which was implemented between 1991 and 1995. This rendered Norway the first country in the world where all such institutions were closed. Those whose independent life required assistance were relocated in apartments within group homes with personal care facilities. These apartments include the residents' own bed- and bathrooms in buildings with a maximum of three to five such apartments in a residential neighbourhood (Tøssebro, 2016). The assistants who are employed in these apartments provide support for all the residents of the building. Although BPA regulations vary from county to county, according to the interviews people living in group homes are in a disadvantageous position irrespective of their place of residence, and the support provided caters to their care needs at the expense of their other needs.

'I know a couple in the middle of Norway who have a son with very many problems. He has only two hours a week. He hasn't any more. I think he's 42 years old.'

'I think that if the person with a disability has parents that are willing to fight for their child's needs, the person has a very nice life, but if they don't have parents who are able to fight, or if the parents have passed away… I don't know… they get help, but …. how much will be the minimum.'

3.2. Direct disablism: interaction with other people

Direct disablism takes various forms and can be highly damaging to a person's psycho-emotional wellbeing, as it can divert people from achieving their own potential (Reeve 2002). The research participants have been confronted with this type of disablism several times and the conversations and the participant observation showed that the effects of this disablism have been more significant, and the given emotional reactions have been strong with long-lasting consequences on the lives of people with disabilities.

In their early childhood the participants did not experience any peer rejection or discrimination, or at least, they could not recall any. This does not mean that they had positive relationships with their peers. Due to the fact that they all had personal assistants, many of them said that they had not made friends with other children, as it had been much easier to talk to the supporting adult.

> *'They used to run away from me. Run faster than me. I was not able to keep up with them, or to follow them. I used to play with my assistant at the beginning.'*

Later, at school everyone but one participant was segregated from the class and educated separately for a shorter or longer period. This significantly reduced the chance of peer interaction. According to some research, exclusion emerges at school age and intensifies with age (Finnvold 2018).

> *'And in school time, when I was 12 to 15 years old, I was not so included in the others' activities. Because I always was inside when they went outside, so school time wasn't very good… But when I was in the secondary school, I was very included again. So it was a little bit up-and-down in school time.'*

> *'In the first years it was OK, it was a normal relationship. But the other kids, uhm…, when we were a little bit older, like up to 10, I lost all contact with them.*
> *– All contact?*
> *– Yeah. Only in school, of course, but… there was a kid who was interested in me, he talked to me… it was really good. The girls laughed at me… so I was alone, when I was 11 or 12. Until I moved to [… place name] when I was 16. Yes, I was a bit lonely then.'*

> *'[…] Yes. In the secondary school. We were planning to go to uhmmm…. to uhm…. a trip to get to know each other… So, our teacher planned to take a trip to the top of the mountains in [… place name], where we'd sleep in tents, or something. I couldn't walk so much! And my father went to the teacher, and had a long talk with her, and told her that I had CP, that I could walk a limited distance, I was still a member of the class. […] And they had a long talk, and the next day, the teacher came to the classroom and said: "Oh, we can't go on the trip together, because one of you can't walk." So fuck! So we had to stay in the school, a pretty nice evening in the classroom with pizza and soda.*
> *– And the other kids? They liked it?*
> *– No [laughing], absolutely not. I was excluded from activities and social activities in class for the next three years.*

People with disabilities not only experience exclusion in their childhood, but it may also occur as an obstacle with regard to their employment. In the quote below, the interviewee emphasises that merely creating an adequate physical environment is not enough.

> *'The attitudes… it shows in many ways that people can't work with positive environmental conditions alone. But also, if a disabled person applies for a job, they do not get a chance, all because we are in a wheelchair. So, for this reason, I think it is not anything special for Norway, it's like the whole of Europe and we wouldn't like to see it in Norway and in Scandinavia because our goal is good inclusion and integration.'*

One participant reported regular school abuse which culminated in causing psychological and physical symptoms. The abuse persisted for years and the school was unable to control the situation, so that only moving and changing school could ultimately stop it.

As stated in various studies, there is a strong correlation between violence, abuse, and disability (Hanisch, 2013; Hughes et al., 2012). Based on Hanisch's (2013) study, children with disabilities become victims of abuse and violence in Norwegian schools twice as often as their peers.

> *'And then the bullying started, the class… this student was jealous of me, and… I didn't want it, I just wanted to be like everyone else I had to, uhm…, so they said: "Why are you so lucky? No one cares about you, you are so stupid!"'*

> *'[...] And from the 6th class to the 10th class, I had no friends and I got emails, which said "you're terrible".'*

Attitudes, stereotypes, and the requirements created by teachers towards children with disability strongly affect the entire group of minors. Firstly, if they do not endeavour to involve these young people in activities, the group will follow this behaviour. (Finnvold, 2018). Secondly, low demands may transmit negative stereotypes to the children with disabilities, implying that they do not have to perform because they are unable to do so. Different and low expectations may verify to them that they are 'other', they know less and are worth less in the educators' eyes than the other children. One of the participants had a teacher who openly refused to give support in learning.

> *'I don't think that everyone [brief silence] had great expectations of me. Because now, if I meet a teacher who taught me 20 years ago… and I talk with them and say what I am doing, what I have done in my life, they almost get shocked, because it doesn't meet their expectations.'*

> *'[…] And I had tried to study but they said: "No, we can't help you."'*

> *'But four or five years later I was in a private school, and they really helped me.'*

The participants' *general experience* was that when meeting new people, they sense negative stereotypes at the very first encounter which reduce or even disappear over time by their becoming better acquainted with each other. However, there was an

example that mentioned an assistant who was dismissed because she was not able to discard her negative stereotypes. The most common stereotypes in relation to people with disabilities are as follows: they are dependent, vulnerable, amoral, less valued regarding morality, superhuman heroes, asexual, pathetic (Wendell, 2010).

> *'I had one assistant,... she was earlier sometime, and she didn't fully understand that I was not fully disabled. I talked her when I employed her, I told her: "Yes, I am studying." She told: "yes, OK". And then she started a job, and she came home to me, and my book was lying on the table she was surprised: "OOOOh, you are reading!"'*

> *'When you go to the shop, strangers, yeah, that is… some kind of… they see you as, as an alien, a bit. So, they feel, you think, I am… you are different from me.'*

Another difficulty that emerged *in every interview* was that people ignore them, treat them as non-existent and turn to the accompanying person instead. I also had the same experience during the observations, although it is very important to underline that it is easily reversible. Every time the participants' parents or personal assistants explained to the receptionist, shop assistant, waiter etc. that her/his client was the person in the wheelchair, they immediately approached the person concerned in a respectful manner. This implies that *stereotypes are so strong that they prevent the initiation of interaction* despite the presence of a positive and acceptable attitude.

> *'Yeah, as I said, it depends… in my, in my own community, it's no problem. I can see… they don't have a bad attitude… towards me but when you go to bigger places, for example Oslo, it is more usual to look down on people with wheelchairs… and as I said, when you are for example at a doctor and you are with your assistant, or your parents, it's usual that they are… talking not to you but they are talking to my parents or my assistant. "Hello, I am here!"'*

> *'[…] yes, you saw, the repairman was here, he was not talking to me, because he doesn't understand that I live here, and I know what the problem is. He doesn't think that. I experience this all the time, when I am in the shop, and sit in my wheelchair, they talked to my assistants.'*

People with visible disabilities must deal with the inquisitiveness of others, as their difference in appearance arouses curiosity concerning their physical abilities. It may manifest itself in staring, but even in asking too intimate questions about satisfying their needs or sexual life (Reeve, 2012). It again emphasises the 'otherness' of people with disabilities because we do not normally ask anything about other people's urinating habits or whether they have a sexual life. People who behave this way show less respect towards people with disability, do not adhere to the unwritten rules of politeness and convey the notion that people with disabilities are to be treated differently from able-bodied persons.

> *'[…] yeah, but one more thing… People and society ask me all the time: "Can you have a partner, can you have a sex-life?", can you... yeah. And this is irritating. Because of course, I can have a sex life, I have a normal sex life.'*

A conveyor of psycho-emotional disablism is not necessarily an unknown person, it may be an otherwise supportive family member (Reeve, 2004).

'When I wanted to go to Germany, they were not so positive, they were thinking: 'No, this is too hard, you can't make it on your own and you can't organise your life, and so on. They were really worried. And that time, […] I was at home, I hadn't lived on my own anywhere else. Especially for my mother, it was really hard thing. She was really, really sceptical. Before I left. And then I left, I feel she was so sceptical if I could do it or not. I myself was starting to get negative. And I said: "Maybe I shouldn't go, maybe I can't handle this life." '

'My mama and the doctor said: "You have limits, it's not good for you to walk a lot, so it's good for you to have a wheelchair, to sit in it sometimes." And I denied it: "It's not happening." But my mom talked, and talked, uhm… this, this summer I've got a wheelchair. In my apartment now, but I don't use it. But it is here [laughing].'

The role of local governments was repeatedly mentioned in the interviews in relation to claim procedures and the attitudes of civil servants. In these cases, indirect and direct disablism combine: the personnel's negative stereotypes and prejudices (in a direct form) influence decision-making with regard to claims and assistance, and if they come to the conclusion that there is no justified need for assistance or an accessible apartment, structural obstacles (in an indirect form) remain.

'[…] when I was applying to the assistant, at first the answer was that you had to vegetate to get an assistant. You had to be extremely ill to get an assistant. And that is not correct… so I don't talk with them, just I know what I want. Yeah. So… it's problematic with the local government, because they want to tell us how we should be, where we should be… yeah. They told me for instance that I should not use an assistant when I am travelling.'

'I applied to get support, they told me that I could stay inside, in the apartment. So, they thought that people with disabilities should not do what people without disabilities do.'

3.3. The impact of psycho-emotional disablism on the participants

People with disabilities deal with psycho-emotional disablism in various ways: some negotiate it in a very constructive way, whereas others cannot do so for various reasons. Consequently, their reactions have numerous aspects: from fiery resistance to a demonstration of outstanding ability or from performance to passive resignation. Furthermore, it differentiates the ways that their self-concept is formed. There is a significant difference between those who say, 'I am disabled because I am not able-bodied' and those saying, 'I am disabled and proud' (Reeve 2014, 2012, 2002).

Reeve highlights *internalised oppression* as the most destructive effect of psycho-emotional disablism on psycho-emotional wellbeing and as such it has a negative influence on self-concept and self-esteem (Reeve, 2002, 2004, 2012, 2014). She also underlines that internalised oppression is not a common and general experience, and that it can be prevented by resistance and protection.

'I think it's normal for people with disabilities that they can't hang out with all the other children.'

'And they said, "Come to fix it." And they didn't, and I should fight for it, eventually, and it was my fault that I had no social life, I am too vulnerable.'

'uhm, I really wanted to study here, but I am terrified, I am not going to… uhm, uhm, to do that, because I knew, I would fail. I wouldn't make it in normal terms.'

'– Now I'm feeling extremely lonely.
– You had no friends?
– No, I don't have any… I am, I am ashamed of my disability.'

Although internalised oppression was experienced by the participants, resistant rejection was a more usual reaction to disablism.

The majority of the participants reported that a 'twist' happened to them when they were able to reverse negative attitudes and stereotypes expressed towards them as well as low expectations about their potentials, and, hence they were capable of proving what they could become and resisting internalisation of negative attitudes and stereotypes.

'[…] And, and then I left, I feel she was so sceptical if I could do it or not. I myself was starting to get negative. And I said, "Maybe I shouldn't go, maybe I can't handle this life." […] I could manage independently as well. So therefore, when I got back, I decided to move into an apartment. It was not as difficult as before, because they were convinced that I could manage myself. So it was much easier. Because I… I really show them I'm able to manage myself. So that was uhm… uhm… really important period in my life. Actually, because… because it's changed, everything was changed. They are convinced now, I have really proved to them that I can live my life myself. So, everything was easier afterwards.'

An attempt to conceal their disabilities also appeared among the participants. However, this may only be a reaction of those who do not have any major visible impairments (Reeve 2012; Wendell 2010; Goffmann, 1963). Concealing or making a disability invisible also implies that the person with the disability accepts negative social perceptions and tries to conceal their impairment in order to prevent a consequent loss of social value.

'When I meet new people, yes I can mention that… so I stopped using that word [CP]. Then I meet people I say: "Really strange arm, it's very funny. Don't worry, it doesn't bite." [Laughing] And I don't mention that I have a diagnosis.'

'Yeah, I had a friend… I had a friend with a problematic arm, and he has not accepted it. But… he is hiding the arm in his jacket, trying to hide it. But you have to accept your disability! But, yeah. He said that people cheat him he is stupid.'

When choosing a partner and in intimate relationships many felt that their physical impairment reduced their chances. This was *the only time* during both the interviews and the observation when physical disability was labelled as a major obstacle, even if for different reasons, regardless whether the disability was visible or imperceptible.

Firstly, ableism presents us with an ideal image of what our body is supposed to be like, which is in fact only realistic for a small minority of people, and it severely undermines the self-concept and self-esteem of everyone (Wendell, 2010). Accordingly, it is not at all surprising that it seems very unlikely for someone to be attracted to people whose bodies have been subject to observation but only on account of their dissimilarity, or have been objectified and examined by medical doctors only to identify and, if possible, heal the defect.

Secondly, due to their physical state they usually need help when taking care of a baby, but instead of personal assistance, they would prefer to have a partner with whom they can share the child-raising tasks.

Thirdly, as they need personal assistance to lead an independent life, when starting a life with someone the number of persons living together in cohabitation would amount to at least three.

In this respect, negative stereotypes re-emerge, namely being treated as dependent and vulnerable.

> *'And we mentioned a boyfriend (light laughter) […] Of course,… I don't know if someone can accept who I am, I have needs and would like help. And so I don't know if there is someone who can accept it.'*

> *'– What do you think, your bigger barrier, your bigger difficulty in your life is? Your disability or maybe your extreme tiredness? Or something else?*
> *– As a boyfriend, I would say my physical part.'*

> *'I think it's difficult to find a man who really wants to make a family with me. I don't know if he exists. My ex-boyfriend, he was such a man, I think, but it's too difficult.'*

> *'But I don't know if I want to live with someone else and of course I want to, but... because at the beginning my ex wanted to live together, I was like…I didn't want to live with him, because there is the staff, my assistants…'*

> *'It's really difficult to have a relationship. I think, people are afraid of people in wheelchairs. They assume I am helpless, and I need help with everything.'*

Reeve stresses the dangerous impact of psycho-emotional disablism on identity. All the participants defined themselves as people with a disability but not as disabled people. They underlined the importance of this distinction because they object to and reject the stereotype that leads people to assume that their disability affects all areas of their lives, and to fail to take into consideration who they are, what they are capable of and who they could become.

> *'I cannot let my disability problems define me, if I let them define me, I will have more problems.'*

Reeve regards disability activism or joining any disability organisations as a form of resistance, as a positive reaction (Reeve, 2002). None of the participants had joined such organisations, and there was even an opinion that considered the 'jointly, together' approach an alternative to other forms of segregation and, thus, opposed it.

> *'[…] it's some commune, I don't like that, good, I have a disability, but I don't need it… I think I would like a normal place.'*

Pride also emerged as a form of resistance against internalised oppression, although not in relation to the participants' disabilities but to their achievements.

> *'I was in a bike-competition, 73 km [laughing]… It was horrible weather. It was rainy, 4 degrees, and very windy. The strong wind was against me all the way [laughing]. So, it was lovely weather [laughing].'*

> *'And when I came back I was smiling and… I managed it myself! But I was also able to show them that I have -a disability- but I achieved it!'*

> *'– I decided, I know what I want to do, and that's all I work on.*
> *– A lot. And you don't give up. Never. [Laughing]*
> *– Mhm… [Satisfied nodding]'*

> *'So, it was a really important thing to do. Not for only myself but for them (the parents), as well. But also, for other people with physical disabilities. You should know you have many opportunities and possibilities. If you notice them, and if you organise everything and do your best, you can achieve.'*

All the participants except one have enough self-confidence to make future-plans and regard their prospects of the future with more or less confidence and anticipation. One, though, severe lacks self-confidence, is hardly able to fight for her/himself and is very uncertain about her/his future.

> *'[…] and I've been actually, like I've said, several times, I don't live my life, I just exist.'*

> *'I am really, really looking forward to my future, of course. And I am excited to see what kind of experiences and opportunities I may have. Of course, I'd like to… to… my home and my life. And this way.'*

Summary

This study analysed the experiences of persons with disabilities in compliance with Reeve's concept of psycho-emotional disablism. As the analysis demonstrated, each participant has encountered direct or indirect disablism, or rather both. All highlighted the existence of *negative stereotypes*, suffering from them on a regular basis when interacting with others, and they mentioned the significant impact the stereotypes had on their wellbeing and social participation. These elements correspond to Tøssebro's analysis (2016), according to which Norwegian welfare measures aiming at ensuring an equal quality of life for people with disabilities did not meet all the expectations and hopes held. Although family ties became stronger in their lives, employment rates, the social net, inclusion and participation have not changed significantly.

Despite the fact that negative stereotypes occur in every segment of society and have a ruinous effect on the everyday life and health of people with disabilities, these issues are often ignored in discussions on disability.

If a person with a disability cannot cope with stereotypes, they may withdraw from social participation. Internalising a stereotype extinguishes the fight against it, and makes the people degrade themselves to being less valued members of society by regarding their disability as the reason for social exclusion, in spite of prevailing social attitudes (Reeve, 2012). Feelings of being 'other' and incapable, i.e. that they cannot influence it and rather let it control their lives, will intensify. All the participants with only one exception resist this internalised oppression and, based on their stories, they consider negative stereotypes as an everyday inconvenience that affects their wellbeing and social participation. They keep fighting against them by various means, rather than surrender.

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Dániel Csángó

Social Entrepreneurship in the Context of Business and Disability Studies

'To be truly authentic, to realize the potential of flourishing, we need a shift from a view of ourselves first from one of Having to one of Being, and second from one of Needing to one of Caring. By developing a different story or paradigm to replace the dominant cultural view of what it means to be human, we can begin to realize the possibility of flourishing…'
(Ehrenfeld & Hoffman, 2013, 83).

'Since we are the best experts on our needs, we need to show the solutions we want, need to be in charge of our lives, think and speak for ourselves – just as everybody else.
To this end we must support and learn from each other, organize ourselves and work for political changes that lead to the legal protection of our human and civil rights.
As long as we regard our disabilities as tragedies, we will be pitied.
As long as we feel ashamed of who we are, our lives will be regarded as useless.
As long as we remain silent, we will be told by others what to do'
(Ratzka, 2003).

INTRODUCTION – THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND RELEVANCE

Persons with disabilities are less independent than their non-disabled counterparts. International best practices can provide a model for the Hungarian disabled community to push for their integration. Almost everyone at some point in life will experience disability, either permanently or temporarily (Goodley, 2011; Wendell, 2010), especially as we age (Maschke, 2010). With the passing of time, our control over our bodies decreases, resulting in more difficulties in functioning. Less control over our bodies means that we will all rely more on other people and on technology to replace the loss of functioning (Baltes, 1995; Kittay, 2015). Every society must face the issues of disability in order to integrate its growing population of people with disabilities. Besides the change in demographics, in that people live to an older age, living a fast-paced life is another factor that contributes to the growth of the disabled population (Goodley, 2011).

Ever since the beginning of our history disability has been a part of humanity. Throughout history, cultures and societies viewed disability in different ways, hence its definition has evolved over centuries (Barnes & Mercer, 2006; Könczei, Hernádi, Kunt & Sándor, 2015).

Since the 1970s a new approach has started to shift the paradigm with the self-organisation of people with disabilities. From being segregated in large institutions and special schools, people with disabilities came to demand an independent life. This led to a new tendency to see disability as a human issue (Barnes & Mercer, 2006; WHO & The World Bank, 2011). With the shift from segregation towards inclusion into society, it was now possible to recognise that people are not only disabled due to impairment but also because of environmental and cultural factors (Goodley, Lawthom & Runswick Cole, 2014; Wendell, 2010).

When defining disability we should consider all these factors, seeing it as a complex, dynamic, multidimensional and changing phenomenon. The transition from being viewed as a person with a medical condition to a person whose environment does not meet its needs has been described as a shift from the 'medical model' to a 'social model', in which society is the disabling factor as opposed to impairment (Bánfalvy, 2004; Könczei & Hernádi, 2011; Kullmann & Kun, 2004; Shakespeare, 2006; WHO & The World Bank, 2011).

Through my experiences as a disabled person, I believe that both the medical and the social model should exist with a right balance between them. The World Health Organisation uses the biopsychosocial model, which is a combination of the two models. 'Disability is an umbrella term for impairments, activity limitations and participation restrictions. It denotes the negative aspects of the interaction between an individual (with a health condition) and that individual's contextual factors (environmental and personal factors)' (WHO, 2001, 213). In this paper I will study the environmental factors, or in other words, the social and human rights models of disability, since their effects can be traced directly in the economy of a given country.

The interdisciplinary framework of my analysis is based within the fields of Disability Studies and Economy. Disability Studies is a critical social science, the purpose of which is to deconstruct the phenomenon of disability and examine the oppressive practices of society. Its central theme is also the critical analysis of power relations in society. It defines disability as a social, cultural and political issue (Goodley, 2011).

In classic economic theories that examine the functioning of the market, the phenomenon of disability is not relevant. The common section of the two areas may be defined after the recognition that people with disabilities and their allies may also appear in the market as employees, consumers, users of products and producers of value (such as business owners or services providers) (Barnes & Mercer, 2006; Könczei & Zsolnai, 2004).

I take into consideration the sources of scientific value, primarily those in English, but also Hungarian sources. The aim of my research is to introduce some Hungarian best practices that correspond with the key principles that are mentioned in the theoretical section.

1. Methodological context

Starting from the social problem mentioned above, and using the analytical tools of Disability Studies and Economics, the aim of this paper is to seek answers to the following research questions:

- How can a social enterprise support the independent living of people with disabilities, while also strengthening the economy?
- How does a social enterprise working towards the employment of persons with disabilities affect the economy?

I used a qualitative methodological approach of literature analysis (desk research). As the outlined social problem does not have an extensive volume of literature within the certain interdisciplinary context, it may be relevant to analyse the results achieved so far. According to Schulman (Schulman 1999 cit. Boote & Beile, 2005, 3), *generativity* is a very important principle in research, with particular regard to complex issues. This means that it is fundamental in every research project to learn systematically about the findings of previous studies. While using this method, it is important not only to collect and to analyse the literature, but also to be able to understand the theories and practices within a wider cultural, historical and legal context. An important aim is also to synthesise the collected material from the researchers' professionally reflected, unique perspective (Boote & Beile, 2005). I also introduce some examples of best practice (case studies), which is a well-known method in social sciences (Babbie, 2003).

Desk research, as Verschuren and Doorewaard (2010) state, has three main characteristics: it does not use empirical methods, but *relies on existing material while reflecting on it*; the *researcher has no direct contact with the object* of the study; and the analysis of the literature and the findings of previous studies are *used from a different perspective than at the time of the production* (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2010). This means that desk research does not make it possible to meet the participants of the research, that is, the persons who are directly affected by the issue. For Disability Studies, it is essential to learn about the narratives of the research subjects, and with an emancipatory approach, this controversy may be addressed.

In desk research, we can distinguish between *literature survey* and *secondary research*. The method of literature surveys analyses the knowledge that authors have already produced (the sources can be scientific articles, monographs, etc.). Secondary research uses empirical data from previously conducted studies (the sources can be research reports, scientific articles, statistics, etc.) (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2010). This study comprises both a literature survey and secondary research, as it aims to analyse theoretical and empirical information and synthesise it with a focus on the research questions. In this paper, I have tried to avoid using indirect citations from other authors and have checked the original sources of all referred texts.

Besides these methodological approaches, I also rely on the approach of *emancipatory research.* Based on the principle of 'Nothing about us, without us', the aim of the emancipatory paradigm is for the entire process to be planned and implemented by disabled persons themselves. This involves a very high level of user involvement that can lead to more relevant research questions and more valid outcomes. To achieve this complex level of participation and inclusion, it is important to support disabled persons in gaining access to higher education and to support them

until they gain their degrees. In other words, it is not sufficient to be a disabled person to conduct a research project, it also requires certain professional skills (Barnes & Mercer, 2003; Clements, Rapley & Cumins, 1999; French & Swain, 1997; Oliver, 1997).

Emancipatory research can be best understood from the postmodern theoretical perspective. This approach challenges the image of the independent researcher and uses the lived experience of researchers not as an obstacle, but as an added value. For this type of activity to be reliable, it is a premise to constantly be self-reflective and to make so-called *situated knowledges* (such as age, gender, cultural perspectives or even disabilities) transparent for those reading the study (Barnes, 1996; Haraway, 1994; Katona et al., 2019).

2. INDEPENDENT LIVING

Independent Living (hereafter cited as IL), according to Ratzka (2003), is a *philosophy* and a *movement* of *people with disabilities who work for self-determination*, *equal opportunities* and *self-respect*. It is important to stress that IL should never be taken to mean that an individual wants to live a lonely life, without any support. Self-determination is a basic human right and need.

IL means that as disabled persons, we demand the same choices and control in our everyday lives as our non-disabled counterparts. This also includes participation in the community and a life within a family (Ratzka, 1984; Ratzka, 2003; Wehmeyer, 1998; Wehmeyer, 2005).

The term *Independent Living* was created by the American disability movement in 1960s. It is now regularly used by professionals and non-professionals as a common phrase to refer to living in the community as opposed to living in institutions. However, it not only describes a way of living, it is also an *ideology*, a *social* and *political movement* as well as an *attitude*, which was developed in contrast with the so called rehabilitation paradigm (DeJong, 1979; Ratzka, 1984).

It is difficult to imagine a person who is completely independent. Every member of society is dependent on their jobs, their relatives and their partners. In Western societies, in particular, we are also highly dependent on technology, certain services and products. Why then, should disabled persons expect to become independent? A key term here is interdependency (Ratzka, 1984; Wehmeyer, 2005; Wendell, 2010). This means that in various ways we all rely on each other, regardless of our abilities or support needs. IL does not force on anyone the right to be fully independent, but rather calls for disabled people to have the right to make conscious choices, to decide on the basis of several alternatives and to have the dignity of taking risks and failing (Perske, 1972).

The reason for classing IL as a social and political movement dates back to the last decades of the US civil rights movement. The rights of people with disabilities has been aligned with racial and ethnic minority causes as well as women's rights movements, all of which have evolved into political forces. The ideology derives from the consumer movement being applied to people with disabilities. Since they are experts on their own lives, they have the full right and responsibility to decide upon the issue of control of their lives. In other words, people with disabilities do not need professionals or medical staff to control their lives, because they are not

'sick' (Derksen, 1980; Könczei, 2009a; Könczei et al., 2015; Ratzka, 2005). The IL movement illustrated perfectly society's oppressive behaviour towards people with disabilities. One of its first and most noted achievements was the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 in the United States. This was an extremely significant piece of anti-discrimination legislation. Unfortunately, a similar bill failed in the United Kingdom in 1983, with the result that it is still legal to discriminate against people on account of their disabilities. In many other countries people are not even aware that by segregating people with disabilities into special nurseries, special schools, sheltered workshops, special housing, special transport, special public lavatories and special hotels is an overprotective and oppressive practice (Charlton, 1998; Ratzka, 1984).

Since disablism is considered as discriminatory and widespread as racism and sexism, the IL movement is dedicated to combatting it. The goal is to have disabled people live with the same amount of freedom as anyone else in the population: freedom of education, work and leisure, in economic, political and social life. In order to bring about self-determination, disabled people need options and alternatives. They need to be able to make choices themselves, reserving the right to make bad decisions, fail and succeed. This will be the only way for them to advance from being the object of expert opinion to being the subject of their own lives, exercising control and responsibility (Goodley, 2011; Goodley, 2014; Finkelstein, 2001; Könczei, Hoffmann & Flamich, 2016; Ratzka, 1984, Wolbring, 2012). The burning question arises: How can that be achieved? How can people with disabilities exercise the same amount of freedom in all aspects of their lives that their non-disabled peers have. Here are the prerequisites for IL, based on the article by Adolf Ratzka, who is a disabled activist himself (1984).

The first essential prerequisite is a *strong consumer organisation*. Organisations should be run and represented *by* disabled people themselves instead of non-disabled professionals. It is no longer acceptable to act *for* disabled persons in the name of care (Derksen, 1980; ENIL, 2004; Ratzka, 1984). Imagine women's organisations being run by men. It is unimaginable! Thus, it is important that disability organisations should be run by a wide variety of disabled people, regardless of their condition.

Unfortunately, most disability organisations are still run by a majority of non-disabled people, with some even calling their own members 'clients'. This highlights the medical model and people's dependency on so-called experts, focusing on the defects of disabled people instead of their strengths. It is very important to concentrate on what unites these people and makes them stronger, instead of being divided. As Könczei concludes, it is crucial to have an elite of disabled persons in the movement, who are not only experts on their own lives but are also highly educated and possess the necessary skills to support their advocacy work. Without them, it is very difficult to strive for a united front and a strategically acting community (2009b).

The second prerequisite for many people is having a *personal assistant*. Personal assistance is required for the basic needs in life to be met. Assistance might be needed to get out of bed in the morning, besides bathing, using a lavatory, dressing, travelling to a workplace, being able to gain access to community activities, etc. In many cases, the majority of people who need this service live in institutions (Ratzka, 1984). Words such as integration, inclusion and equality remain empty phrases while disabled people cannot choose where they want to live as other people can. As stated in the General Comment to Article 19 of the CRPD, it is a serious violation of basic human rights, and an act of discrimination based on disability, if someone is forced to live in

an institution, solely on account of their disability (General Comment No. 5, 2017). Assistance should adapt to meet the needs of those who require it, not the other way around, with people having to adapt to the services available. It is unacceptable that those who need extensive help are forced to live in special residential institutions. Having flexible care attendants should not be linked to special living arrangements. People in need should have the right to live by themselves in an apartment, and not have to rely on family members, feeling themselves to be a burden.

People with disabilities need to be able to hire, train, schedule and even dismiss personal assistants, if needed. This is important, so that the balance of power does not shift to the side of the assistant. For example, a social worker has the authority to make decisions as to who is employed in the public sector. For those in need of assistance, this represents a loss of control and responsibility over their own lives. To fully integrate people into society, for example wheelchair users, conditions should enable them to go anywhere just as non-disabled people do. *All housing, transport, workplaces, streets, public spaces, schools, shops and business premises must be made accessible*. Accessibility should be standardised, with codes and standards, enforced by regulations, and not to be left at the discretion of landlords and private builders (Ratzka, 1984).

In Sweden these codes have existed since the 1960s. Since 1977 these codes have also been applied to almost all residential buildings. In Hungary, similar regulations came to force in 1998 (Act XXVI, 1998, on the Rights and Equal Opportunities of Persons with Disabilities) and in 2003 (Act CXXV, 2003, on Equal Treatment and the Promotion of Equal Opportunities). In the Hungarian disability movement, considerable progress has been made by numerous disabled persons and their allies, for example Gábor Zalabai, Ágnes Zalabai, Magdolna Jelli, Pál Gadó, László Hajdi and others (Zalabai, 1997). Hungarian IL centres (Önálló Életvitel Központok – ÖÉK) were established in the 1990s with the aim of supporting persons with severe disabilities and offering counselling to professionals (Zalabai, 2009). Magdolna Jelli, a disabled activist, was the president of the *Disabled Peoples' Independent Life Association* (Mozgássérült Emberek Önálló Élet Egyesülete, ÖNÉ). Some of the services that she introduced, such as the *Ferryman Service* (Révészek), which is a peer support group, still operate to this day (Jelli & Hegyes, n.d.; https://onalloelet.hu/ [Accessed: 08. 10. 2020.]).

To underline the relevance of the human rights approach and the legal framework of disability and employment issues, which are essential parts of IL, I have analysed some documents and statistical data, based on the human rights model of disability.

3. The legal framework

3.1. Employment in the context of the human rights model

The CRPD and the related Optional Protocol, ratified by Hungary, states that the 600 million people with disabilities living in the world shall enjoy the same human, economic, social and cultural rights as any other citizens.

The human rights approach, including disability movements in recent decades, has progressed a long way at policy level from a formerly paternalistic philosophy to one securing rights for persons with disabilities in order to promote their control of their own lives. *The former attitude, largely based on pity and the perceived ineffectiveness of disabled people, is now* considered *unacceptable*. The focus shifts from rehabilitation to assistance aimed at the social integration of people with disabilities, resulting in a global philosophy of transformation within society, which is aimed at accommodating and supplying the needs of all people, including persons with disabilities (UN, 2002).

Disabled people demand equal opportunities and equal access to all social resources, especially to labour market initiatives. Sixteen per cent of the working age population of the European Union lives with some disability. This represents more than 45 million people aged between 16 and 64, that is, every sixth European worker (EK, 2007). The *human rights model*, *in its capacity as a key to social inclusion*, defines the solution of employment issues. 'Special efforts need to be made to promote the access of disabled people to employment, preferably in the mainstream labour market. This is one of the important ways to fight against the social exclusion of disabled people and to promote their independent living and dignity.' (UN, 2002, 7).

According to several studies, disabled people in the European Union are, however, prevented by many factors from being active in the labour market. They often face discrimination in employment. Their employment rate is lower than that of non-disabled persons. Their unemployment rate is twice as high as the average for the entire population of working age. If they do find employment, the work they undertake is generally low-paid and does not require a qualification. Disabled women are also at a disadvantage when working in a team together with non-disabled men (CERMI, 2002; EC, 2001; WHO and The World Bank, 2011).

This rather negative situation indicates that most disabled job seekers do not have marketable skills and qualifications, are not motivated to work and are given very little information that supports integration. Many employers resort to negative attitudes towards disabled workers based on prejudice, and they do not believe that these people are able to work full-time. In addition, ensuring the accessibility of jobs is thought to be an unnecessary cost.

In addition to the *Charter of Fundamental Rights* adopted by the European Union in December 2000, the *European Council Directive* 2000/78/EC, which establishes a general framework for equal treatment in employment and occupation, also provides the legal framework for the employment of people with disabilities for EU Member States. The Disability Strategy of the European Union is the basic treaty identifying

specific tasks for the social and labour market integration of disabled people in the period 2010–2020.

These treaties address serious economic interests by focusing on the employment issues of people with disabilities, namely the activation of currently inactive groups and the mobilisation of currently untapped economic potential, thereby contributing to the creation of a competitive, knowledge-based Europe as envisaged in the Lisbon Strategy.

The preferred tools to support the integration of disabled people into the labour market are the following:

- Improving the efficiency of vocational rehabilitation;
- Increasing spending on labour market programmes;
- Expanding active mainstream programmes, increasing their efficiency, and increasing accessibility;
- Strengthening a personalised approach (mainstreaming);
- Improving employability;
- The revaluation of the role of the Public Employment Service and other service providers;
- Increasing the number of incoming jobs; and
- Expanding alternative forms of employment.

Based on European and world trends, the objectives of the Hungarian development may be:

- Modernisation of the qualification system;
- Modernising the process and tools of vocational rehabilitation, making it accessible to all;
- Strengthening cooperation (social sphere, NGOs, etc.);
- Establishing an employment incentive system;
- Improving the accessibility and efficiency of mainstream active programmes;
- Making workplaces more inclusive;
- Improving the employability of people with disabilities;
- Expanding the scope and capacity of labour market services, networking; and
- Alternative employment opportunities, such as social economy (Gere & Szellő, 2007).

As previously mentioned, the most relevant treaty, according to the human rights approach, is CRPD Article 27 (Work and employment). This not only recognises the right to work, but also ensures that persons with disabilities should have the access to workplaces on an equal basis with non-disabled persons.

3.2. Statistics on disability and employment in Hungary

In 2008, the European Commission established the Academic Network of European Disability experts (hereafter cited as ANED). The responsibility of this network is to provide scientific data, support and advice for the EU disability policy Unit. The Hungarian report was provided by well-known experts in disability and employment,

namely, György Könczei, Péter Horváth and Roland Keszi. The aim of this report was to conduct a review of the national implementation of the European Employment Strategy and to provide the Commission with useful evidence in support of disability policy mainstreaming (Könczei, Horváth & Keszi, 2007). Mainstreaming is defined as the process in which the issues of disadvantaged groups, such as disabled persons, are considered in the implementation of various policies and measures (Kajtár, 2007).

The numbers of persons with disabilities were reported by the national census findings of 1990, 2001 and 2011. The 1990 census reported 368, 000 persons with disabilities. This group consisted of 577, 000 individuals in 2001, which represented 5.7% of the population of Hungary (Könczei, Horváth & Keszi, 2007). During the 2011 census, 490, 000 persons, representing 4.9% of the total population, identified themselves as disabled (Tausz & Lakatos, 2004; Tausz et al., 2015). As the ANED report suggests according to the work of Hablicsek, that the number of persons with disabilities is continuously increasing and by 2021, it could possibly reach 1 million (Hablicsek, 2005 cit. Könczei, Horváth & Keszi, 2007).

There are significant differences between the census data from 1990, 2001 and 2011. One reason for this may be related to the time difference of twenty-one years. Another factor may be the difference in sampling methods, as the 2001 collection targeted the entire population of the country, whereas only twenty percent of the population was represented in the data collection in 1990. Furthermore, in 2011 the terminology of disability was changed in comparison with that of the previous collections.

As the Hungarian ANED report indicates, the ratio of disabled persons in employment has not changed significantly, although they now form a strong lobby group. They still face oppression and discrimination in many different forms. As Könczei (2007) and Könczei, Horváth and Keszi (2008) claim, the situation is complex, due to several factors.

Firstly, the Hungarian socio-political *context* determined, that in the 1990s, after the change of regime, attitudes towards disabled persons were not in any way inclusive. At the same time, neither the employment practices, nor the resources available gave disabled people an opportunity to participate. The necessary standards could not be attained, even after Hungary joined the EU. As already mentioned, the Hungarian government passed Act XXVI, which was based on the principles of equal access and autonomy. The Act introduced rather strict regulations, but the community had to face the fact that the deadlines of the mandatory availability of access and support services repeatedly expired without any consequences (Act XXVI of 1998; Kajtár, 2007; Pandula, Farkas & Zsilinszky, 2007).

Secondly, as research has shown, *in times of budget cuts the issue of the IL of persons with disabilities loses its priority*. The advocacy power of disability organisations is not strong enough to fight for resources in such situations. *Thirdly*, in Hungary, the consumer paradigm and the user control that are largely based on the social and human rights models are still not present. This is why the Hungarian experts believe that only a small amount of the resources reach the disabled community (Könczei, Horváth & Keszi, 2007).

The ANED report, with regard to the statistical data from 2011, shows that disability is treated rather as a social issue than an employment policy. The concept of an active, working, self-determined citizen of the CRPD could not be realised in the system. The

employment rate of persons with disabilities varies from census to census: 2001 it was 9%, in 2002 it was 12% and in 2015, 20 % (Hungarian Central Statistical Office, 2002, 2004, 2016). When someone has to face disability in their youth, they have better chances of employment than persons who face disability at a later stage of their lives. Additionally, educational status has a significant impact on the employability of a person (Bói, 2011).

It is a worrying statistic that 90% of employed disabled persons work in segregated workplaces and not in the primary labour market (Könczei, Horváth & Keszi, 2007). In 2007, Leadhem and Vég published their results regarding the effectiveness of supported employment projects in the primary labour market. Their *Social Return on Investment (SROI)* study examined return on investment, but also attempted to take into consideration social value besides economic results. The calculations were preceded by complex surveys, individual interviews and focus group interviews. Their quantification took into account, for example, the extent to which the state saves money by supporting citizens in becoming active members of the labour force. The study showed that every 1 (one) HUFinvested in the supported employment programme of the foundation during the period under review (January 1 – December 31, 2006) resulted in a return on a local or national level of HUF 4.77 over the next five years. The survey also demonstrated that 11 months are needed on average for organisations to create the same value as the cost of the programme, that is, the return on investment (Leathem & Vég, 2007).

The country-wide report mentions various topics in which further research would be helpful, for example: the living conditions of disabled persons, the interest system of the relevant stakeholders, the system of supported decision making, the process of vocational rehabilitation, etc. (Könczei, Horváth & Keszi, 2007).

Another country-wide research report appeared in 2011. Among many other findings, it stated that inequalities in employment across the country have a much stronger effect on disadvantaged groups such as persons with disabilities. Disabled persons are more at risk of losing their jobs, especially in less developed regions. This is why they are even more at risk of other kinds of health issues and disabilities and these make it nearly impossible to re-join the labour market (Bói, 2011).

4. SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND DISABILITY

There is no unified, official description of social entrepreneurship, so it may have many diverse social descriptions and scientific approaches. Social enterprises are initiatives that can be understood in the context of social economy and which represent a renewed expression of civil society. They can neither be counted among the traditional for-profit organisations nor in the public sector.

The main characteristics of social enterprises can be summarised as follows:
- Continuous activity producing goods and/or selling services;
- A high degree of autonomy;
- A significant level of economic risk;
- A minimum amount of paid work;
- An explicit aim to benefit the community;

- An initiative launched by a group of citizens;
- A decision-making power not based on capital ownership; and
- A participatory nature, which involves the persons affected by the activity (Defourny, 2001, 16–18).

The non-profit sector and the social economy has become stronger worldwide in the last few decades. This may, in part, be related to the fact that for more than half a century there has been no open global warfare. If we take Europe as an example, we can see that some kind of new strategy has been born, with the aim of combatting social and economic exclusion (OECD, 2003), since welfare states have diverged from the normal redistributive and institutional system.

Civil initiatives also appeared increasingly, as there is a global way of thinking that neither trusts in the state nor in political leadership worldwide. Nowadays people increasingly feel that they can solve their own social problems much better than any state authority, and that they have much better and more colourful ideas to meet their needs. This sense of autonomy includes the addressing of social or environmental problems and research questions.

It may thus be said that the margin between non-profit and for-profit organisations has become much thinner than before, so we do not need to state whether a social enterprise is a non-profit or a for-profit organisation. I think we only need to see the orientation of the enterprise and the goals it is capable of reaching.

Parker Harris et al. emphasise that increasing numbers of people with disabilities have chosen entrepreneurship in recent years instead of various traditional forms of work. Becoming a social entrepreneur is particularly popular because they can transfer their own experience of discrimination and oppression to this form of business activity, especially in the following fields: *education, training and information; finance, funding and asset development; networking and supports* (Harris, Renko & Caldwell, 2013).

The opportunity to become a social entrepreneur became one of the key elements of employment strategies for people with disabilities. The lack of traditional employment positions and the flexibility of being a social entrepreneur also promotes this solution (Harris, Renko & Caldwell, 2014).

5. PROMISING PRACTICES IN HUNGARY

A *best practice (in business also strongly connected with the more complex process of benchmarking – for details see Stapenhurst, 2009)* is a method or concept that has been accepted as being more effective than other alternatives because it produces results that are superior to those achieved by other means. In addition, best practice '[...] is a series of processes that enables a company to become a leader in its respective marketplace' (Wireman, 2015, 79). Since companies' market strategies are likely to differ from each other, best practices cannot be exactly the same for every organisation (Kozak, 2004). According to Watson (2007), by simply adapting the best practice of one successful company, serious functional errors can occur in the execution. Also, if a technique or process becomes widespread in an industry, it can lead to stagnation, due to a lack of innovative power.

Another important element is that the practices should be in some way superior to other practices. Although some companies only use benchmarking to become as good as their rivals, from a professional point of view, the aim of the method is to constantly grow, develop and achieve better results than the competition (Wireman, 2015).

Wireman (2015) suggests that due to the fact that we are unable to detect just one single best practice for every business situation, we should use the term *Better Practice* instead of Best Practice, in order *to prevent 'best practice' from becoming just a meaningless buzzword*. Research has shown that in this regard, particular emphasis should be given to the internal transfer of good practices within an organisation (O'Dell & Grayson, 1998; Szulansky, 1996).

In this study, best practice is defined as the use of well-working methods and innovative ideas, and how organisations try to support and integrate or even rehabilitate people with disabilities.

5.1. The Para-gastro movement

The Para-gastro movement is operated by social enterprises employing disabled workers in the field of gastronomy. The seven organisations that established the network provide jobs for 104 people, 76% of whom are disabled. Compared to their 133 million HUF turnover after tax for 2016, the state subsidy is half this amount. Thus they add up to twice the amount of support (Jakubinyi, 2017).

Para-gastro is a network of organisations that have three mutual objectives. The first is 'gastro', which is a daily activity in which people work in the field of food production or catering.

The second objective relates to the role of people with disabilities. It should be a place where there are employees who have disabilities or changed work abilities, where they are integrated. Here, 'integrated' means that they have a conventional job, for which they earn a salary or wage, and they have interaction with customers or consumers.

The third objective is that they should be *social enterprises*. Hence, they have a social responsibility, and they try to achieve their goals, but they also make a profit.

The members of this network are the following: the *Ízlelő Family Friendly Restaurant* (Szekszárd), the *Hatpöttyös Restaurant* (Székesfehérvár), the *Nem Adom fel Cafe & Bar* (Budapest), *Kockacsoki Manufacture* (Budapest), the *Búzavirág Foundation* (Vámosújfalu), the *Batyu-Téka Restaurant* (Miskolc) and *Baráthegyi Cheese Manufacture* (Miskolc).

'Seven organisations, seven different fighting paths. Seven social enterprises across the country. There are those who make chocolate, who produce cheese and who have a restaurant, buffet or coffee shop. Their lives revolve around food production and hospitality. In addition to rehabilitation in business, their social inclusion programmes are also outstanding.' (Jakubinyi, 2017, 8–9). Some of these enterprises are described as follows.

5.1.1. The Ízlelő Family Friendly Restaurant

The *Ízlelő Family Friendly Restaurant* was the first restaurant in Hungary to employ people with disabilities. It opened on the 17th of May 2017 in Szekszárd. At that time, it had six tables and a workforce of 24 people with a total capacity of 40 guests. Before becoming a restaurant the building had been a three-room school. It was in a very bad condition and the local government office let them use the premises with a long-term tenancy.

It is a family friendly business, whose goal is to employ people with disabilities. They try to give them employment and help them build a career, trying to improve their skills and giving them an opportunity to work as other people do. They created this business with the help of the Kék Madár Scholarship (Blue Bird) and they try to use their profit to continue the work of Kék Madár.

The restaurant was established by János Kovács, a well-known chef. Before opening the restaurantm he worked in famous restaurants in Budapest, such as Nádor and Gundel. He was instrumental in developing the restaurant and still works there, giving the benefit of his considerable expertise to help maintain the establishment.

A sum of 38 million Forints was required to open the restaurant, of which 20 million Forints was spent on the construction of accessible premises and the rest was for equipment and furniture. In the eighth month the restaurant started to make a profit. In its opening year, the management of the restaurant was passed on to a non-profit company (Molnár, 2014).

This non-profit company helped make the restaurant a safe and convenient workplace for people with disabilities. The main intention was to create a workplace where disabled people could work and develop in a completely safe environment. The kitchen tools were also specially designed for people with disabilities, being either automatic or semi-automatic, giving anyone the opportunity to use them.

Since its opening in 2017, the latest data shows that the restaurant has 17 employees, of which 15 have some type of disability or reduced capacity to work. Thus, only two of them are non-disabled people.

The restaurant provides the following services:
- Monday to Saturday menu meals;
- Pre-order and take-away options;
- Family-friendly environment (children's playroom, high chairs for babies, cots for babies, nappy changing facilities, etc.);
- Designing and preparing meals for people with different food allergies and health problems to suit their individual needs;
- Organisation of private events (corporate and family gatherings) and catering services;
- Food delivery within Szekszárd; and
- Wine dinners organised by famous winemakers.

As quality evaluation sheets indicate, guests are extremely satisfied with the restaurant (Barabás, 2008).

The organisation is involved in a number of projects in which the profile of social enterprises can be expanded. For example, in TÁMOP-1.4.3-12 / 1-2012-0181, in cooperation with FRUIT OF CARE Non-profit Kft. (Ltd.), the development of three

product portfolios providing long-term employment (cosmetics, vegetable and fruit jams, and chocolates) has been established (http://www.izleloetterem.hu/index.php [Accessed: 08. 10. 2020.]).

As a popular website has suggested, it would have been understandable if the owners had gone bankrupt with their business idea, since disability is not an explicit for-profit issue. However, instead of facing financial ruin, the organisation has achieved success and is currently planning to establish a franchise network (Molnár, 2014). This process has already started: in the autumn of this year, the second restaurant (Hegyvidéki Ízlelő) started in Budapest, as a social venture with the cooperation of the Kék Madár Foundation (N.A., 2018).

5.1.2. The Hatpöttyös Restaurant

The *Hatpöttyös Restaurant* was founded in 2009 by three families who all have children with disabilities and who intended to create a suitable workplace for them. Although two of the families left, due to financial difficulties, problems with the place itself or lack of help, the establishment continues to operate.

Now only one family runs the restaurant, having three girls with the youngest having a disability. They wanted to help her have a suitable job as well as giving all three children a sustainable future, which is why they opened the restaurant.

After a long time they could finally talk to the president of the local county office, with the help of political and social contacts. He was in favour of the restaurant, and believed in it to the extent that he tried to convince the local county council, who placed the premises at the family's disposal for ten years, free of charge. Eventually, they could use the premises, but the process took half a year, so the process was far from easy.

In 2010 they were able to take occupancy of the premises, but they still needed money to start the enterprise, and because the tenders had ended by that time, they had to wait for another year and a half to submit a tender in order to obtain money for the business.

Finally, they found more tenders, and successfully applied for two of them, one of which funded the rebuilding of the premises, while the other provided money for the furniture. This support was invaluable, but the family needed to pay for many things from their own pockets, since the subsidies did not pay for everything. For example, the family paid to have the flooring laid and for the engineers' plans of the restaurant.

The restaurant attracts a wide variety of customers, including, in particular, many white-collar professionals. It also has an outdoor area, which can seat between 100 and 150 guests. They also provide catering for the local government office. It is worth mentioning that despite the family's success, in the first few years they perceived negative attitudes towards their employees (Csendes-Erdei, 2013). This indicates that social enterprises may need to implement awareness raising initiatives in order to be able to make a regular profit.

On the 7th of October 2017 they started a special a la carte menu and also started to open from 11.00 in the morning until 10.00 in the evening. All their employees work on Saturday and have one free day in the week.

They additionally run a programme in which they offer work experience to two students from a vocational school for people with disabilities, who can work in the

restaurant once a week. They try to give them enough experience in the restaurant to be able to find a suitable job in an ordinary restaurant employing staff who do not have disabilities.

Their clientele is slowly but steadily increasing in number. They planning to open a sweetshop and also intend to provide a take-away food service, which for they already have a car that they won through a tender. Their activities could build a bridge between non-disabled persons and people with disabilities (https://www.hatpottyos.hu/ [Accessed: 08. 10. 2020.]).

5.1.3. The Nem Adom Fel Cafe & Bar

This was the first cafe to be established by people with disabilities, where they serve and participate in various other tasks. They even contribute to social programmes. The cafe is maintained by two organisations, one of which is engaged in providing the hospitality, while the other one owns the premises, organises the programmes in the cafe, and strives for the improvement of the people with disabilities who work there.

This is not only a cafe but also a place for people with different life conditions and it gives people with disabilities an opportunity to work. It organises social programmes, and has an community room that is available for anyone. In this establishment, particular emphasis is given to acceptance and responsibility for human connections (http://nemadomfelkavezo.hu/ [Accessed: 08. 10. 2020.]).

5.1.4. Kocka Csoki

This chocolate manufacturer is the first Hungarian social enterprise to be autism friendly. They produce home-made biscuits, and they run a programme for the self-development of young people with autistic spectrum disorders. They provide three different programmes for them:

Kitchenmaster: this is a self-support lifestyle programme for autistic persons. This programme comprises a five-session training course, in which they help participants become familiar with kitchen work. It consists of food hygiene, knowledge and safe use of utensils, and providing meals, from the preparation of dishes to serving. So here youth can try to make food. They have different themed lessons, in an autism specific environment. Themes include healthy lifestyle, food hygiene, use of kitchen utensils, hospitality, and preparation of ingredients and cooking. Five people can participate in one course.

Internship programme: this is an opportunity to gain work experience. The aim of the programme is to provide young people with a wider experience of work, to improve their prospects of finding suitable employment. It also helps them gain a better understanding of kitchen work, while improving their skills. They try to prepare these groups for the active labour market. Here they can understand the skills they need to keep an active job, which they can learn in an empathetic and secure environment, as well as becoming familiar with the expectations they will be required to meet for gaining a job. In one internship schedule they can provide the programme for two people at the same time.

Lifelong guidance: here there are six young autistic persons between 15 and 21 years, who receive support in their individual future planning, within an autism-friendly and safe employment context (http://www.kockacsoki.hu/autizmus-programok/programok-autista-fiataloknak [Accessed: 08. 10. 2020.]).

5.2. The Salva Vita Foundation

The Salva Vita Foundation (https://salvavita.hu/ [Accessed: 08. 10. 2020.]) was the first organisation in Hungary to introduce the concept of Supported Employment (hereafter referred to as SE). SE is a key concept that supports the employment of persons with intellectual disabilities and autism in the primary labour market (for further details see Csányi, Jásper & Vég, 2009; Dávid & Móricz, 2000; Jásper & Csányi, 2009; Leach, 2009).

The foundation was established in 1993 and since 1996 it has employed persons with disabilities (Dávid & Móricz, 2000). The US methodology was not only adapted but also remodelled for the Hungarian version, also taking into consideration the different abilities of various groups of disabled persons.

The essential principles of this method are the following:
- Individuality,
- Respect,
- Self-Determination,
- Informed Choice,
- Empowerment,
- Confidentiality,
- Flexibility, and
- Accessibility (EUSE, 2018).

In 2003, the *National Employment Public Foundation* (Országos Foglalkoztatási Közalapítvány) started to evaluate and support other organisations in establishing an SE programme. So far, the following organisations have joined the common effort:
- Szimbiózis Alapítvány (Foundation), Miskolc,
- The Életet Segítő Foundation, Veszprém,
- The Kék Madár Foundation, Szekszárd,
- The Fogd a Kezem Foundation, Pécs,
- The Down Foundation, Budapest,
- The Esélyegyenlőség Foundation, Székesfehérvár, and
- The Szt. Cirill és Method Foundation, Győr.

The foundation has a variety of programmes to offer. Some are for clients, such as the SE programme itself or the Work Experience Programme, which helps students of vocational schools find the job that fits them best. The foundation also organises training sessions, consultations and corporate events for employers. Every year, they present the most accessible and *'disability friendly'* companies with awards in recognition of their good practice in diversity management (Fogyatékosságbarát Munkahely). They also introduced the webshop *Shop With Heart* (Segítő Vásárlás) that supports companies that employ disabled persons (Salva Vita, 2018).

Their service is an example of best practice, as, for more than twenty years, they have prepared numerous social enterprises and for-profit organisations for hiring and keeping persons with disabilities as long-term employees. With their considerable network of employers, employees, professionals, special schools and policy makers, they are able to work together in an extremely effective way. As already stated, vocational rehabilitation is a good investment, as proven by *Social Return on Investment* studies (Leathem & Vég, 2007).

5.3. The HELPIFIC Platform

HELPIFIC is an online platform where people who need support can be helped to build their own life in the community. The platform connects individuals with the goal of creating stronger, more cohesive communities (https://helpific.com/hu [Accessed: 08. 10. 2020.]).

The HELPIFIC Initiative was established in Estonia and later spread over several European countries, and in 2014 it made its entrance in the United States. Thanks to the efforts of this platform, following the *sharing economy model*, in cooperation with higher education actors, further innovations have emerged in order to reform basic social services.

One of these is the University of Tallinn's development course, which is the result of cooperation among a wide range of professionals. This course is organically linked to the active creative industry and start-up culture of the Estonian capital, and thus . The development connects the university with many events, courses in the city or the so-called 'hackathon' events. HELPIFIC is an award-winner at such an event, and has been invited to numerous entrepreneurial competitions over the past four years (for example, the best 30 entrepreneurial ideas series of events in Estonia) (Bugarszki, 2019).

'Over the period since 2014, HELPIFIC has combined more than 6,000 registered members with hundreds of people with disabilities, linked to the informal opportunities of personal assistance. Today, a platform company conducts modelling experiments in eight countries simultaneously with implementation and development in areas such as the sharing economy-based community transport system or organising personal help with local governments on the basis of a smartphone application.' (Bugarszki, 2019)

HELPIFIC Hungary became an officially registered association in October 2018. The Hungarian platform operates with 600 members and connect persons who look for support successfully with the members who offer support. In 2019, Helpific was one of the Zero Project awardees in the topic of Independent Living and Political Participation (https://zeroproject.org/2019-awardees/ [Accessed: 08. 10. 2020.]).

CONCLUSION

In this paper I have intended to show that by supporting people with disabilities in innovative ways, they not only can live a significantly better quality of life but also contribute to society in ways that will also have positive effects on the economy. As a disabled person myself, I have been fighting oppression for several years now, in a variety of ways. However, the idea of integration being achieved by economic means has only recently attracted my attention.

I employed a qualitative approach to literature analysis by way of desktop research. Since my field of interest was interdisciplinary, I analysed literature on several topics such as economy, social entrepreneurship and Disability Studies. I used a so-called emancipatory research method, which is based more on the narratives of people with disabilities than on the views of professionals. I believe that this is important since it reflects the spirit and values of the 'nothing about us, without us' slogan, which states that no decision on policies affecting people with disabilities should be made without them being involved. Also, providers should model their services based on the experiences of persons with disabilities.

With the rise of self-advocacy movements in the 1960s, the social model has brought about a new shift of paradigm. This model focused on the barriers set by society, rather than claiming that disabled people are not normal and therefore need to be healed. With the independent living movement in the USA a role model was born according to which people could receive personal assistance, go to universities, have jobs, live by themselves and exercise their free will. One of the greatest achievements of the movement was the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), which prohibits discrimination against people with disabilities and guarantees equal opportunities in employment, transportation, public accommodation, state and local government services and telecommunications. Thanks to the ADA, people could find jobs in the private sector more easily, earning wages similar to those of their non-disabled peers.

As anti-discrimination movements became increasingly important in the 20th century, the next cornerstone in integration was the United Nation's Convention on Rights of Persons with Disabilities. The CRPD – the most recent, and the most extensive recognition of the human rights of persons with disabilities – outlines the civil, cultural, political, social and economic rights of persons with disabilities. Its purpose is to 'promote, protect, and ensure the full and equal enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedoms by people with disabilities and to promote respect for their inherent dignity'.

Hungary was one of the first countries to ratify the CRPD. With this move Hungary signed up to the human rights model, yet 90% of people with disabilities who are in employment work in segregated workplaces rather than in inclusive environments, which is a worrying phenomenon. Moreover, it is clear that if people do not have a job, they probably rely on state benefits, living under the poverty line, being dependent on the community.

To fight oppression and segregation in the USA, the Independent Living movement created centres run by disabled people. The goal is for disabled people to live with the same amount of freedom as anyone else in the population. Freedom of education, work, leisure, and economic, political and social life. In order for this to happen,

disabled people need a multitude of options and alternatives. Since the government funds no such centres in Hungary, we need to find alternative ways of creating jobs.

Since the end of the 21st century a new approach to conducting business has emerged, namely social entrepreneurship. Although there is no official definition of social entrepreneurship, I like to describe it as a hybrid form of running business. It has a mixture of for-profit and non-profit characteristics. In essence, it is similar to a typical for profit-venture with a social aim. Yet it also has non-profit features, for example it can accept donations or have a non-profit legal status. These types of business forms are able to solve social problems such as the unemployment of disabled people.

There are several well-functioning Hungarian social enterprises that can provide a role model for others. The Para-gastro movement is operated by social enterprises employing disabled workers in the field of gastronomy. The seven organisations that set up the network provide jobs to 104 people, 76% of whom are disabled. Compared to their 133 million HUF turnover after tax for 2016, the state subsidy is half this amount. Hence, their earnings represent twice the amount of support they receive.

The opportunity to become a social entrepreneur became a key element of employment strategies for people with disabilities. The lack of traditional employee positions and the flexibility afforded to social entrepreneurs also promote this solution. These non-profit companies provide safe and convenient workplaces for people with disabilities. The aim is to create places where disabled people can work and develop in a completely safe environment. Restaurants redesigned their kitchens, creating accessible spaces and provided special tools that can be used by disabled people. Easy language and picture recipes supportintellectually disabled employees in their work. As the outcomes of the quality measuring evaluation sheets indicate, show, the guests are extremely satisfied with the services of the restaurant.

Special internship programmes have been launched by foundations such as Salva Vita, which was the first to introduce the concept of SE in Hungary. SE is a key concept that supports the employment of persons with intellectual disabilities and autism in the primary labour market. Through programmes such as this not only will disabled people be able to learn workplace practices but their employers may also come to understand the needs of their future workforce.

Last but not least, I believe it should be mentioned that this does not only support the integration of people with disabilities in society, but it may also partially solve the great labour shortage in Hungary, which does not seem to have any other alternative solutions in sight.

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Júlia Mecséri

How Can a Company Take an Active Part in the Social Integration of People with Disabilities?

Introduction

Over the last decade an important element of employment policy has been to promote the employability of disadvantaged groups of workers and the integration of persons permanently excluded from the labour market, balancing their competitiveness in the market. The current government is also working to improve the employment opportunities of people with disabilities by developing the legal environment. According to the 2011 census, 490,578 people with disabilities live in Hungary – based on self-reports – but the number of people with a reduced capacity for work is much higher, 681,000 according to a survey conducted by the Hungarian Central Statistical Office (KSH, 2016). The survey reports that almost 11.3% of the Hungarian population aged 19–64 live with some kind of illness or disability that restricts their work. Three quarters of the group receive some form of welfare benefit and one fifth of them work (KSH, 2016). This rate was 66.4% for the total active population and 72.2% for the control group (KSH, 2016).

In the last decade, governments have invested significant energies in reintegrating people with disabilities into the labour market, yet the result achieved is not yet considered to be full social integration, as employment and income are fundamental but not the only aspects of social integration. Many socially disadvantaged people with disabilities are excluded from the labour market due to the difficulty they face in accessing information and developing the skills needed for employment (Boda, Holp & Szabó, 2006). People with disabilities are often unable to take a full-time job due to their health status, and to inadequate employment structures and factors such as low educational attainment, low language skills, long-term unemployment and the uncertainty of job retention. Relatively few of them are employed as part-time teleworkers, with little experience in this area.

The National Lottery Company is engaged in a wide range of activities aimed at fostering the integration of people with disabilities. In the early 2000s, the company faced a new challenge on the competitive market, and it became a matter of urgency to meet the demand of market expansion. The various scratch card products improved rapidly, which required the launch of new sales practices and the involvement of additional workers on a national level. As a responsible employer, the company considers it important to participate in programmes designed to solve social problems. With this in mind, in 2003 a charity scratch card sales network

was established that only employs people with disabilities. The company aims to achieve equal access to employment, following the principle of 'Nothing about us without us' (Szerencsejáték Zrt, 2020). The activities of the company are defined in accordance with the *National Disability Programme for 2015–25*.

This advanced step also corresponds with international trends. Activities aiming at the integration of people with disabilities are also a priority within the Association of European Lotteries (EDF-EL, 2011). The general practice of equal opportunities in the workplace also supported this decision on the part of the Hungarian lottery company. The process has also been supported by the fact that the positions offered were suitable for employing people with disabilities flexibly. As a result, nowadays 11% of the company's employees are people with disabilities.

> In Hungary there is a distinction between disabled people and people with reduced working capacities. The second cluster is wider and includes people with chronic health conditions.

About 180 people with disabilities work in the charity sales network, at 120 sales points in accessible working environment, in 70 towns. 18% of the vendors (including both vendors of the lottery shops and charity vendors) are people with disabilities. This ratio of involvement of disabled employees represents an outstanding level among the companies in this market. The company does not receive any state subsidy.

The company has a high level of employment-retention within the employees with disabilities. The average age of employees with disabilities is 58 years. More than two thirds of the employees with disabilities have worked for the company for more than ten years. The majority of the scratch card vendors intend to work for the company until they retire, and many of them plan to stay there and continue working after reaching the pension age.

In the beginning, besides people with chronic health conditions, it was mostly people with physical disabilities who were employed, and later, in 2014, the company also started hiring deaf and hard of hearing people (SINOSZ, 2015). In both cases the company turned to NGOs representing the concerned disability groups for professional guidance in tailoring the recruitment, selection and induction processes, and in creating an accessible workplace. Candidates are involved in the above mentioned processes taking into consideration the principle of independent living. The professional partners in recruiting people with physical disabilities and deaf and hard of hearing people were MEOSZ (the National Federation of Associations of Persons with Physical Disabilities) and SINOSZ (the Hungarian Association of the Deaf and Hard of Hearing) respectively (Mecséri & Hangya, 2017). Both partners provided professional counselling during the development process.

With the charity scratch card sales network, the company provides employment opportunities for people who could not find any work for several years due to their health conditions. By earning a regular income, and having professional and commercial success, they may consider themselves valuable members of the labour market. The company provides them with working opportunities and positions that they are able to manage. Despite the low level entrance requirements – the applicant is required to have completed primary education – clearly defined competences are expected from the employees. General competences are appraised in a personal

interview. The necessary skills include confident calculation, communication skills and commercial talent.

The charity scratch card vendors are not semi-skilled workers, as general and product-specific commercial knowledge is required. The employees develop their knowledge continuously, attending professional training sessions provided by the company. Besides these training sessions, the employees additionally receive financial, health and digital training (Polyacskó, 2015).

1. Individual development

More than two thirds of the charity vendors have been working for the company for more than ten years. Regional meetings and training sessions are organised for them on a regular basis. The vendors also attend other company events (sports days, Christmas parties) where they can meet each other as well as other employees in an informal setting. They enjoy these events; the Christmas party being the highlight of the year, when 'Vendor of the Year' is awarded with other winners.

The charity managers, operating the charity sales network and handling the cases of the scratch card vendors, experience increasing cooperation with the vendors due to the annual training sessions and social events. There is an improvement in the personal and social competencies of vendors as their sales performance increases. Besides their commercial performance, the vendor's personal and social competences have improved. In this study, the authors shall describe the areas of development experienced by the managers by using Goleman's competence model (Goleman, 2008). According to Goleman's model, emotional competences can be grouped into the following five main classes: self-awareness, self-management, social awareness, motivation and relationship management.

During the past decade financial, health and digital training sessions were provided for employees with disabilities, as well as training in sales techniques. These sessions affected their self-awareness indirectly. The vendors became more confident in many areas of their lives. They became more aware of their needs, and their self-assessment improved. The increase in their revenues has increased their self-confidence, of which they are proud, and as they can be described as successful tradespersons so their self-assessment is affected positively.

Self-regulation is also a developing area. Thanks to personal visits, progress has been made with regard to cooperation with, and adjustment to, the partner vendor working at the same sales point (one of them works in the morning and the other in the afternoon). Partnership is required from the vendors in setting the optimal opening hours and finding the best places for sales.

According to surveys (Boyce, Wood, Daly & Sedikides, 2015), long-term unemployment has an adverse effect on a person's work ethic. Ten years ago, delays and absence from the sales points, or even working outside working hours, were common. As a result of regular and thematic internal communication (meetings held twice a year, circulars sent every two weeks and personal conversations), vendors became more reliable in complying with working hours. To date, the numbers of unreported absences or instances of failure to respect working time are negligible.

Empathy is essential for a successful vendor in assessing customer needs. Developing this competency is, however, more difficult. It is common among people with disabilities not to experience empathy themselves, themselves, nor to see a positive attitude towards others, either within their families or in the surrounding environment. Total rejection also occurs at times. For these people, being sensitive to the needs of others is almost unknown, based on their own experience, and they may have difficulties paying attention to others, recognising customer needs, or making personalised offers. In this, they need higher degrees of support than the average from their managers.

The motivation of the employees is adequate. The performance incentive system is based on several benefits. On the one hand, they receive a commission based on their turnover results. In addition, the titles 'Worker of the Month' and 'Charity Vendor of the Year' motivate them to exceed their own performance from time to time. They receive a quarterly personal written evaluation of their turnover performance. They can follow the average of the network and the evolution of their own performance, which provides important feedback that they take into account. The company also conducts 'phantom shopping', after which the vendors receive individual feedback. Their suggestions for changing the sales and opening hours demonstrate their abilities to initiate actions. They are committed employees of the company. As indicated earlier, two thirds of them have worked there for a long time. An internal survey revealed that they are unquestionably proud of working for Szerencsejáték Zrt. Employees with disabilities do not plan to change, and many of them still work after reaching pension age.

Their social skills have also developed positively. Employees with disabilities meet dozens of customers every day. As a vendor, they need effective communication. They can conduct conversations, and use their scratch card knowledge effectively in sales processes. Sometimes they also have to manage conflicts in which they are able to maintain the company's reputation as the 'face of the company' and with their skill in fostering new contacts, they are able to attract new customers and turn them into regular ones.

Teamwork and collaboration skills are strengthened. Several people are in contact with each other outside working hours. The employees with disabilities have a closed Facebook group in which they share their sales experiences, sharing advice with each other. They are happy to attend corporate events. On the last sports day, one of the employees with a wheelchair joined the pétanque championship as a member of the charity team, which proved to be a common success. At the Christmas party one of the deaf employees was also present with a sign language interpreter.

The roles and responsibilities of the company are to provide the necessary conditions for independent participation in these events. The large number of employees with disabilities attending these events indicates that they enjoy the events, and that the organisers are acting prudently.

2. EUROPEAN PRACTICE AND NATIONAL IMPLEMENTATION

The lottery industry is engaged in the social integration of people with disabilities. The European Lotteries (EL) and the European Disability Forum (EDF) declared their aims in 2011 in a cooperation agreement, stating that they would take part actively in the social integration of 80 million European people with disabilities in four areas: contribution to the employment of persons with disabilities, awareness-raising within society, contribution to the full integration of people with disabilities in society beyond employment, and dissemination of best practices (EDF-EL, 2011).

At the end of 2015, a trilateral cooperation agreement was signed between the Council for Organisations of Persons with Disabilities (Fogyatékos Emberek Szervezeteinek Tanácsa, FESZT – the Hungarian umbrella organisation for people with disabilities), one of the Spanish lottery companies, the National Organisation of Spanish Blind People (Organización Nacional de Ciegos Españoles, ONCE), and Szerencsejáték Zrt. The agreement was designed to foster the employment of people with disabilities, to promote raising awareness of disability, and to share best practices. ONCE is the professional leader of the implementation of the EL-EDF programme.

The Hungarian programme set its objectives to cooperate with the cooperation agreement made between the European Lotteries (EL) and European Disability Forum (EDF). Under the trilateral agreement, the company undertakes to launch new projects in all four areas, focusing on a general increase of awareness in society and promoting the social integration of children with disabilities. This demonstrates that the European industrial ambition represents a strong motivating factor for the company. The company has set several goals in the field of awareness-raising in society.

The above mentioned employment programme has created a need to launch an attitude-forming training course in which front-office workers become familiar with the specifics of all disability groups, practise and learn specific aspects of communication with people with disabilities. To date, more than 440 employees have participated in the training, including members of back-office departments who volunteered for it.

In 2017, with the financial support of the National Lottery Company of Hungary, and with the professional help of FESZT and the ELTE Bárczi Gusztáv Faculty of Special Needs Education, the Salva Vita Foundation announced the 'High 5!' programme (Adj Egy Ötöst!, 2019) for primary and secondary school students. In Spain a similar programme named 'Concurso ONCE' (ONCE, 2019) has run successfully for 36 years.

The aim of the proposal is to meet children with disabilities at an early age, and to form their attitude to learning how to become open-minded, accepting, responsibly thinking and well-prepared members of a diverse society. Additionally, the programme contributes to forming the attitudes of adults (parents and teachers) who are indirectly also a part of this awareness raising programme.

'According to the practice of ONCE, 10–18 year-old students in school groups may participate in this programme managed by a mentoring teacher. In groups, applicants prepare a preliminary plan for a low-budget, short-term programme with disabled people. The ideal programme plan is a pleasant activity for both parties. One of the main points of the proposal is to share the personal experience of the applicant groups with others as a good example and as good practice. Applicants

prepare documentation with photographs, videos and written materials about the awareness programme, which can help the professional jury decide who will be among the winners. The applications are evaluated by the following criteria: how creative the idea of the awareness programme is; how fun and interactive it is for both parties; whether the provided information is accessible; whether the method of documentation reflects the mood of the programme; and the message of the programme. The best ten school groups win 1,300' (Dukic & Mecséri, 2019).

In the first edition in 2017 fifty disability awareness programmes were initiated. A wide range of programmes were implemented, such as: a one-week camping trip with disabled children, a presentation of various professions in practice (decorator, carpenter, mason), dance performances, the preparation of a home page for blind people, wheelchair basketball championships etc.

In the second edition, in 2018–19, 89 programmes were implemented, thus reaching more than 11,000 people (including parents, teachers and participants with disabilities) (AEÖ, 2019).

The survey is conducted with the participants under the leadership of the ELTE Bárczi Gusztáv Faculty of Special Needs Education to measure the change in their attitudes towards disability. Students and mentor teachers are required to fill an input and output questionnaire before and after the implementation of their programmes. The results indicate a positive change in the emotional aspects of attitudes within the questionnaire (Dukic & Mecséri, 2019).

The company also contributes to awareness-raising within society by the production and promotion of specific scratch cards with descriptions of disabilities printed on the back, intended to inform consumers.

In 2018 the company spent part of its income from the previous year's Christmas scratch cards, called 'Nagykarácsony', on building inclusive playgrounds in a programme called 'Playing builds connections' (FESZT, 2018). In these inclusive playgrounds children with disabilities can play together with typically developed children. Playing together helps children gain common experience and brings them together imperceptibly. Thanks to these more intense personal contacts, they can become more cooperative, tolerant and more open-minded adults with regard to the problems faced by people with disabilities. In the inclusive playgrounds, all children with disabilities can find a toy suitable for them.

In the first year of the programme three inclusive playgrounds were built (in Budapest's Third District, in Veszprém and in Miskolc). In 2019 five new playgrounds were inaugurated (in Pécs, in Sopron and in Budapest's Fourth, Eighth and Eighteenth Districts), and the programme will be expanded in 2020 with five more playgrounds.

The consultants of the programme are FESZT, the Universal Design Information and Research Centre (ETIKK), and the Association of Physically Disabled People of Budapest (MBE). They have expertise and significant professional experience in the field of universal design. Before the start of the investments, a methodological guide on the programme was prepared and is available on the ETIKK website: the Handbook of Universally Designed Playgrounds (ETIKK, 2019). The handbook is a great platform for disseminating the programme's results.

As a direct action for the full integration of people with disabilities outside the workplace, the company sponsors the Paralympics Team of Hungary (Szerencsejáték

Zrt, 2020). Szerencsejáték Zrt. also considers the maintenance and development of the charity sales network to be a social mission. In order to set an example to other enterprises the company's best practices are shared at conferences and workshops, and are also regularly described in the national media.

3. Impact on corporate operation

The employment of people with disabilities has also brought positive changes in the daily operations of the company, enhancing its working culture.

Disability awareness is visible in several areas within the company. It plays a role in product development and advertising campaigns (e.g. the Christmas scratch card). Often, the special guest in the lottery show on television is also a person with disabilities (SINOSZ, 2015).

The company's external relations include a number of non-governmental organisations representing the people with disabilities (National Council of Associations of Persons with Disabilities – FESZT, Hungarian Association of the Deaf and Hard of Hearing – SINOSZ, the National Association of Hungarian Blind and Visually Impaired People – MVGYOSZ, MBE) and institutions (Universal Design Information and Research Center of Hungary – ETIKK, the Eötvös Loránd University Bárczi Gusztáv Faculty of Special Needs Education, the Ministry of Human Resources).

Accessibility is clearly practiced in the company. Whenever its lottery shops and office buildings are renovated, the company seeks the opinion of a professional partner regarding reasonable conditions for disabled people. Besides physical accessibility, information communication accessibility is also in focus. Providing a KONTAKT sign language interpreter service for deaf and hard of hearing players is currently being tested in 27 lottery shops, in a pilot programme.

Through the activities undertaken in the interests of people with disabilities, Szerencsejáték Zrt. has gained a favourable reputation, which is confirmed by internal and external surveys.

As a result of the company's employing people with disabilities, other employees have become more open and tolerant towards people with disabilities. Based on a survey conducted in 2018, the employees agree with the above mentioned activities of Szerencsejáték Zrt. and agree with the programmes supporting people with disabilities, especially the maintenance of the charity sales network. These activities bring benefits for the Company.

Employees with disabilities are considered to be successful in onboarding, and their acceptance is favourable for both their customers and their colleagues. Their trading data also shows that their commercial presence is welcomed by the costumers.

The company's activities as a responsible employer are also awarded from year to year. Most recently, in 2019, based on the performance of the last nine years, the Disability-Friendly Workplace Champion Award was given to Szerencsejáték Zrt. by a professional jury. It is particularly noteworthy that two of the company's employees with disabilities have already received the '*Example Award*' in recognition of their work.

The company intends to continuously develop its practice of employing people with disabilities. A milestone in the company's life is to change the current offline sales system of employees with disabilities in the near future by switching to an online sales

system. The changes, named 'the IT development of the decade', are expected to affect several areas, for example, it will be possible to employ members of another disability group, that of blind and visually impaired people, to use specific software, similar to the practice of ONCE. As a result of this development, employees with disabilities will be able to work with up-to-date digital equipment. Furthermore, there will be an opportunity to expand the sales portfolio, and other products may become available at charity sales points.

The company later aims to provide all the conditions necessary for maintaining stable, inclusive workplaces, becoming an inclusive workplace by opening new positions, in which all players with disabilities will find the most accessible service platform that supports their fulfilment, and the attitudes of all employees will continue to become increasingly inclusive.

CONCLUSION

The company is undergoing development. As a first step, people with disabilities were seen as potential employees, with a focus on creating and maintaining employment conditions. This was followed by the awareness-raising of non-disabled employees, and currently, the company is in the process of increasing the comfort of players with disabilities in information accessibility by introducing the KONTAKT sign language interpreter service. Besides, the 'High 5!' and playground programmes address the interests of society at large. The target group of the programmes has gradually expanded. The fact that the event for the company's partners held in the Pesti Vigadó in 2018 was dedicated to disability also shows the level of the company's commitment. Disability-related activity, which initially started as an employment programme, has now become an integral part of the company's wide-ranging social responsibility (CSR) activity.

There are allocated elements of the programme but steps have also been taken due to unexpected decisions. It was a conscious decision that in the beginning, in addition to the employees with a chronic health condition, the group of people with physical disabilities was considered as a target group, and all necessary measures were taken to make it accessible. Vendors were involved in the design of the sales table, as part of a workshop. As a result, the tables are height-adjustable and easy to use for a person with a wheelchair. In all cases, the sales points are accessible and the lottery shops serving the vendors have also been selected so as to be accessible. Introducing the employment of deaf and hard of hearing people in 2014 was also a conscious step, taken with the involvement of a professional partner, SINOSZ, who was also involved in preparing the integration of the employees. For employees who come into contact with deaf vendors, a deaf trainer held an awareness raising training session. This was based on an idea occurring to one of the senior executives involved in the training, so an internal awareness raising training course was developed. In addition to disseminating knowledge and understanding of disabilities, this training helps all employees become aware of the company's commitment to disability.

The most important experience of the company's more than 15-year programme is that for an organisation planning the employment of people with disabilities, the following aspects are considered worth pursuing.

- Accurate and detailed business planning.
- An inclusive approach, ensured in the relevant organisational system of the company.
- Organisational and human openness in both technical and HR innovations.
- Knowledge-based acquisition of information about disability, which may also include the involvement of NGOs.
- Transparent representation of the main principle of disability within the company, the 'Nothing about us without us' principle.
- All people involved in the employment programme being equal partners.
- The order and content of the company's internal and external communication being formed precisely.

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Carmen Svastics – Sára Csillag – Zsuzsanna Győri

Entrepreneurs with Disabilities in Hungary

A New Solution for Work Inclusion?

Introduction

Social cohesion and the well-being of individuals have gained growing recognition as societal assets and as important benchmarks for evaluating human progress (Eurofound 2018a). The risk of social exclusion is highest in the socio-economically disadvantaged population: citizens who are unemployed, have low incomes or low levels of education, or live with a chronic illness (Eurofound 2018b). According to the European Quality of Life Surveys (Eurofound 2018b), people with disabilities (PWD) comprise one of the most disadvantaged groups in the European Union, and show less favourable scores regarding such indicators as perceived social exclusion or participation in society. Despite any improvements due to policy initiatives such as the European Disability Strategy 2010-2020 or the European Pillar of Social Rights (2017), inequalities for PWD, especially in the labour market, seem persistent.

The lack of employment opportunities and secure employment pose personal, societal and economic difficulties and challenges for PWD (Yamamoto et al., 2012). Where reliable statistics are available, they show that the unemployment rates of PWD are considerably higher, and that their labour market participation rates and economic activity are well below those of non-disabled people. Evidence shows that the right of PWD to meaningful work is frequently denied, based mostly on a medical picture of disability, which frames disability as an individual medical problem requiring cure and care (Barnes and Mercer, 1996). Although good practices can be found where the employment of PWD appears as part of corporate social responsibility (CSR), this topic is still marginal. Even if companies deal with responsible employment, they usually choose disadvantaged groups that are easier to manage, e.g. mothers with small children or older workers (Győri & Csillag, 2019).

Being present in the labour market offers several advantages and may mean a variety of work options. Moreover, self-employment, business ownership or entrepreneurship may provide viable and realistic options toward overcoming at least some of the traditional obstacles to employment, such as negative attitudes and ignorance, environmental barriers (especially mobility barriers), inadequate vocational rehabilitation services, and lack of opportunities for career development (Hästbacka et al., 2016). At the same time, some obstacles may remain, such as lower levels or

lack of educational or social networks and lack of inclusive entrepreneurial initiatives, while new challenges may also appear, such as competence-deficit.

Although self-employment as a career option is nothing new, as a strategy it has been neglected by policy makers and rehabilitation agencies alike, considering it a last option, or a safety valve for PWD (Ashley & Graf, 2014). This attitude may originate in traditional Western culture, which sees the entrepreneur as a proud and independent (white male) hero attaining outstanding accomplishments. This is in distinct contrast to the widespread and distorted image of PWD as dependent and vulnerable people who expect others to make decisions on their behalves, or wait for job offers rather than take the initiative and actively seek employment (Cooney, 2008, Harper & Momm, 1989).

Pagán's (2007) analyses of the European Community Household Panel (ECHP), in addition to US data, suggest that self-employment rates are indeed higher among PWD than non-disabled people, showing notable national differences (Kitching, 2014, Renko et al., 2015). Unfortunately, there is presently no official Hungarian data on the ratio of self-employment or business ownership for PWD, as Hungary did not participate in the European Community Household Panel survey (Pagán, 2007, Csillag et al., 2019). Nevertheless, as the rate of self-employment is lower in Hungary than the European average, a lower rate of self-employment among PWD should be expected.

In our paper, we wish to examine the possibility of societal participation through entrepreneurship for PWD as a way of avoiding traditional adverse circumstances that might appear in workplace environments. The results of our exploratory research project contribute to the growing body of empirical research on entrepreneurs with disabilities (EWD), from which the findings regarding the goals and motivational background will be discussed here.

The structure of the paper is as follows: firstly, we introduce the literature on the entrepreneurship of PWD especially focussing on the motivational aspects. Next, we describe the methodology used, after which the main results of the research are presented. The paper closes with a discussion providing arguments for the points of the contributions mentioned above.

1. Literature review

Entrepreneurs are '*individuals who exploit market opportunity through technical and/ or organizational innovation'* (Schumpeter, 1965, 45). They represent a driving force for economic development and job creation, at the same time playing a significant role at various levels of social connection and also in personal fulfilment. For becoming an entrepreneur certain (internal) competences and suitable (external) conditions are needed, which can shape both the strengths and the weaknesses of the business venture in question. Entrepreneurial competences have cognitive, attitudinal, behavioural, social and functional aspects and can be both inborn and acquired through education, training and experience. As they form a rather complex set of expectations, clearly nobody can perfectly fit all characteristics. Nevertheless, with sufficient awareness, the lack of particular abilities can be detected and improved upon, and possible shortcomings ay be complemented by partners and business associates. This makes entrepreneurship a viable opportunity for PWD to use and

develop their own competences, to be flexible in terms of management, time and place (Jones & Latreille, 2011) and finally to improve their economic standing and quality of life (Dhar & Farzana, 2017).

Prior research suggests that over the past decade PWD tend to prefer self-employment and entrepreneurship to being employed more than other people do (Parker Harris et al., 2013, Bagheri et al., 2015). The reason and motivation behind their decision to launch their own enterprises may be diverse and complex, just as the enabling and disabling environment and the aspects of the entrepreneurial ecosystem (Isenberg, 2011) around them may also differ. The next part of our paper gives an overview of the goals and motivations possessed by EWD, as we provide some insights into the general entrepreneurial factors, then list some of the special characteristics of EWD from the findings.

1.1. Motivations

A significant body of the existing literature on EWD examines the potential motivations for and barriers to entrepreneurial activities of PWD, including macro-level national or global policies as well as individual perceptions and backgrounds (Cooney, 2008, Kitching, 2014). Vecsenyi (2017) suggests that the main motivations for becoming an entrepreneur in general are as follows: need for income; independence/freedom; job satisfaction; willingness to pursue an idea/opportunity; educational or occupational skills/experience; need for new challenges; and self-realisation or encouragement from others (from family or broader society). In our inquiry, we wished to investigate whether these were the same for EWD. Based on the relevant literature, we have identified four sets of motivations for PWD to become entrepreneurs, with both pull and push factors (incentives and disincentives) being grouped according to either personal (internal) or social and economic (external) aspects. *Table 1* shows the four groups of factors concerning the potential motivations of EWD.

The reason and motivational background for becoming an entrepreneur is of the utmost importance in self-employment. Motivation arising from a constraint or a fear of something (e.g. unemployment or employer discrimination) creates a completely different situation than if entrepreneurship is based on an independent and positive decision. The literature distinguishes between 'self-employment' and 'self-directed employment' (Rizzo 2002) or 'need-driven' and 'opportunity-driven' entrepreneurs (Howard 2017). In the case of self-directed employment, *'people with disabilities, to a significant degree, have a prime, decision-making role in the kind of work that is done, how time is allocated, what kinds of investment in time and money should be made, and how to allocate revenue generated. The essential feature is that the people taking responsibility for doing the work also have a significant say in how the work is organized and managed'* (Rizzo 2002, 98). Cooney and his colleagues (2008) distinguish between the situation of taking the initiative to start one's own business and that of having no real alternatives. Based on the above, we introduced the categories of pull and push factors, based on which we can distinguish between the level of agency of EWD in determining their own career options.

Table 1. Potential motivations of EWD (edited by the authors)

	Personal (internal)	**Social and economic environment (external)**
Pull factors (incentives)	wealth creation and financial security (Cooney, 2008); flexibility (Bagheri et al., 2015); self-determination (Howard, 2017); higher level of job satisfaction (Pagán, 2009); 'making an impact' (Atkins, 2013)	network connections (Atkins, 2013); role models (Parker Harris et al., 2013); supportive family (Renko et al., 2015); ecosystem: policy, finance, support, human capital (Bagheri et al., 2015); market (Miller & Le Breton-Miller, 2016); rehabilitation agencies (Seekins & Arnold, 1999); business services and contexts (Rizzo, 2002); small business development programmes (Heath & Reed, 2013)
Push factors (disincentives)	overcoming the personal challenges of everyday life (Dhar & Farzana, 2017); coping with personal disadvantages and previous unpleasant experiences (Miller & Le Breton-Miller, 2016); dissatisfaction with previous job (Yamamoto et al., 2012)	fighting for social acceptance and existential independence (Dhar & Farzana, 2017); recovery from poverty and a disadvantaged situation (De Clercq & Honig, 2011); fighting against prejudice (Miller & Le Breton-Miller, 2016); ecosystem: changing of culture (Miller & Le Breton-Miller, 2016)

Personal features and previous experience also determine the starting and successful operation of an enterprise. Yamamoto and his colleagues (2012) list gender (e.g. women's discrimination experiences), the type of disability (e.g. entrepreneurs with blindness or physical disability are overrepresented among EWD – we too have found this pattern in our research), and qualification (e.g. the self-employment of PWD is more common in the IT sector). De Clercq and Honig (2011) underline the importance of knowledge and competences, while Renko and his colleagues (2015) claim the impact of family patterns to be crucial. We call these personal, internal factors. The broader social and economic environment (its support or obstruction) is another source of motivation (Howard, 2017), which we call social and economic, or external motivation factors.

Among personal pull factors (in the first quadrant) we grouped personal incentives for being an EWD. Wealth creation and financial security (Cooney, 2008) are important for EWD just as for anyone else. Some scholars also suggest that the relative independence and flexibility of entrepreneurial life could be important motivations compared to being an employee, as being disabled forces a person to overcome

obstacles on a daily basis. Being an entrepreneur enables a PWD to achieve professional and personal goals and could result in a higher level of job satisfaction (Pagán, 2009), as well as involving greater flexibility in time and tasks (Bagheri et al., 2015, Dhar & Farzana, 2017). A will to exercise self-determination is also identified (Howard, 2017). In some cases, this involves strategic, long-term thinking and at the same time the willingness to do good for others (the public or other PWD) as well. Atkins (2013) writes about the desire to 'make an impact' and about pursuing a passion for displaying one's experience and skills. Miller and Le Breton-Miller (2016) mention the desire to prove one's knowledge and talent.

Among the social and economic environment as pull factors (in the second quadrant) we identified the motivating role of network connections and role models as listed by Atkins (2013), Miller and Le Breton-Miller (2016), Renko et al. (2015), Bagheri et al. (2015) and Parker Harris et al. (2013). The motivating role of a supportive family is also mentioned here (Renko et al., 2015). Mostly US articles list the importance of a supporting ecosystem, emphasising the possible role played by vocational rehabilitation agencies (Bagheri et al., 2015, Seekins & Arnold, 1999, Ipsen et al., 2003, Rizzo, 2002, Miller & Le Breton-Miller, 2016). Potential business services such as mentoring and social services (Rizzo, 2002) and small business development programmes (Heath & Reed, 2013) are also mentioned in the literature, which draws attention to the human capital (labour market and education), support (NGOs and venture-oriented professionals) and financial aspects of entrepreneurship (Isenberg, 2011). The appropriate business context (Miller & Le Breton-Miller, 2016) may also be associated with support, with regard to infrastructure, in which transport and communication should, in particular, be accessible.

Few factors were found for the personal push factors (in the third quadrant). Dhar and Farzana (2017) claim that the wish to overcome the personal challenges of everyday life can be a great motivator (e.g. earning enough money to afford to pay an assistant). Howard (2017) conducted a qualitative research study with EWD and highlighted the importance of family values (such as entrepreneurial spirit, courage and education for independence) offsetting the fear of failure. Miller and Le Breton-Miller (2016) elaborate on the ability to cope with personal disadvantages and previous unpleasant experiences. Yamamoto et al. (2012) emphasise the effect of previously experienced discrimination and dissatisfaction in previous jobs.

For social and economic environment as push factors (in the fourth quadrant), we identified drivers for social acceptance and existential independence (Dhar & Farzana, 2017). This involves, among others, fighting against prejudice and recovery from poverty and disadvantaged situations (De Clercq & Honig, 2011, Balcazar et al., 2014). Miller and Le Breton-Miller (2016) claim that people living with negative personal circumstances of an economic, socio-cultural, cognitive or physical nature (such as those experienced by people living in poverty, immigrants, PWD or those with learning disorders such as dyslexia and ADHD) show the same career path with regard to their becoming entrepreneurs while coping with their own, specific types of challenges. Moreover, *'to compound the difficulties of these populations, there is often a bias against them that makes traditional career paths, and even entrepreneurship, a most challenging endeavour'* (Miller & Le Breton-Miller, 2017, 8). Dominant ideas about disability and about the roles PWD should play may be linked to Isenberg's culture domain (2011), as the only domain which presents as a discouraging, or push

factor, while others are rather encouraging incentives or pull factors for becoming an entrepreneur.

2. METHODOLOGY

This study employs a qualitative research method to explore the entrepreneurial motivations of EWD experience for two reasons. Firstly, qualitative methodology has proved to be effective for investigating complex and multifaceted social phenomena, such as issues connected to disability (Cooper & Emory, 1995). Secondly, research on EWD is still in an exploratory stage and there is little information in this field of inquiry (Bagheri et al., 2015). Previous studies have also used qualitative methods to investigate EWD (Heath & Reed, 2013, Atkins, 2013, Reddington & Fitzsimons, 2013, Bagheri et al., 2015, Dhar & Farzana, 2017, Ashley & Graf, 2017). Data was collected from semi-structured interviews lasting between one and two-and-a-half hours (as in Kvale, 2007), conducted in various locations, depending on the demand of the interviewee. Interviews were recorded and transcribed word-for-word. Altogether, we conducted 10 interviews.

A snowball sample selection strategy (Silverman, 2008) was followed. Firstly, we sent the summary of the research plan to various stakeholders (both individuals and organisations), among others vocational and rehabilitation agencies, disability advocacy organisations and service providers, state government representatives from disability, employment, education and small business departments, private or state funded entrepreneurship development centres, academic faculties and networks of researchers, entrepreneurs and social entrepreneurs. We asked them to recommend possible respondents, together with their availability. Interviewees were also asked to recommend further potential respondents.

At this stage of the research, we did not restrict the sample according to the type or severity of disability or field of entrepreneurship, taking into consideration the explorative purpose of the study. We invited participants who claimed to be entrepreneurs with a disability and who had experience of entrepreneurship for at least three years as well as having employees. The participants – nine men and one woman – with an average age of 44.6, were located nationwide in Hungary and they had either physical impairment or sight loss. This is in keeping with Ashley and Graf (2007), who found that among PWD, persons with visual impairment have the highest self-employment rates (based on US statistics). Heath and Reed (2013) and Bagheri et al. (2015) on the other hand conclude that people with physical and mobility issues may face fewer difficulties and challenges in performing entrepreneurial tasks. The spectrum of the business sectors represented by the entrepreneurs was wide, including various commerce activities, the IT sector, construction, energy, accountancy, project management or event organising.

Four members of the research team, all having experience of working with or studying PWD, took part in the coding process. In the first phase of the analysis, each interview was coded by at least two persons from the research group. The texts of the interviews were coded around themes based on the research questions. In the second phase, the texts of all codes were re-read and a condensed text (Kvale, 2007) was produced describing each code with the aim of detecting significant statements,

typical patterns and relationships, using word-for-word quotations. The researchers met several times to discuss results and formulate interpretations. Ethical standards were maintained throughout the research process with consideration paid to participant contact, communication and behaviour.

3. RESULTS

According to the respondents, becoming an entrepreneur can be both a constraint and an autonomous, positive decision. Some participants failed to become employed, while for others, the salary they had earned was simply not enough to live on. Even now, half the respondents stressed that they still had to work on several projects or jobs at the same time in order to avoid becoming financially vulnerable. Thus, necessity-driven entrepreneurship (Howard, 2017) is strongly present in the sample.

3.1. Personal pull factors

The strongest motivation of EWD is related to the fulfilment of individual and professional goals. Half the respondents mentioned that above all, they were striving for financial security, earning a living, pursuing self-interest and focussing on personal gains. *'I realised that it was not my goal in life [to remain at a sheltered workplace]. I did not want to remain on such a financial level' (V1).*

The passion for work and for related social causes also appeared as a motivating factor. The majority of the entrepreneurs spoke about their determination, pursuing a passion for demonstrating their experience and skill, and taking pride in the achieved results. *'I am basically proud of myself, that with all my disadvantages, starting from below zero, I am way in the positive already' (V1).* Independence, autonomy and flexibility were also of great importance to EWD, as opposed to being an employee. *'I can't imagine sitting in an office for eight hours where they're checking whether I'm on Facebook or filling out an excel chart, and it is not because of my condition, but because of my attitude' (V2).*

Half the entrepreneurs mentioned long-term plans for company growth, service or product development and stressed that it was important to think in a strategic way. *'So I quit my job for various reasons and started my own business. Well, of course I'm still waiting for my big dreams to come true, though I'm not doing badly at all' (V1).* At the same time, the idea of being satisfied with achievements and consciously not wanting to grow the business further also appeared in the interviews. The wish to spend ample time on family and leisure activities shows a multi-dimensional approach to life, success and happiness. *'And thank God I can say that my life is full, irrespective of the fact that I am in this [wheelchair]. But is it worthwhile to develop further, to let's say having fifty thousand more a month plus a five times higher stress level? I'm not sure it's worth it, on the contrary, I would say, it's not worth it. I'd rather spend my time with my family, my kid, my dog, my hobby or whatever' (V3).*

Appreciation and recognition in the form of entrepreneurial or innovation prizes (the Disability-friendly Workplace Award, the Hungarian Quality Product Award) can also form part of the personal motivation. Such awards are not goals in themselves but may serve as good PR, make achievements visible and be a testimony to making

mainstream business irrespective of any personal differences. *'It's good to know that what you do leaves a mark, and that you are motivated by high quality, pride and timelessness' (V4)*.

3.2. Social and economic environment as pull factors

The importance of a favourable business context and supporting business network connections was also mentioned in the interviews. Support and motivation, besides inspiration, can come from the closer circle of family and friends, or from official incubator schemes or mentor programmes. Even the idea of starting a business might come from outside, from a role model or from members of the family who believe strongly in the person's talents and skills. *'Starting a business basically came from him [the role model]. I saw things at his place and I also had an idea of a kind' (V1)*.

The need for a better supporting ecosystem was also mentioned by some respondents, which goes beyond the narrower personal business connections and entails a whole system of support. The respondents had generally not received any help from entrepreneurial ecosystems, either from vocational rehabilitation agencies or from general business development programmes. *'Theoretical support, [I received] from everywhere, [but] any practical assistance, let's say material support or something like that, not at all' (V1)*. Support would have been welcome regarding capital, the attainment of entrepreneurial skills, business networking or accessibility, but these are said to be missing for EWD in Hungary. *'These programmes in every country, wherever they operate, are supported by the local government, or the ministry of education, [and] there is no private funding anywhere' (V5)*. *'They should connect us with potential customers or investors. Credit is not enough, in fact: if you are not good enough, the credit can ruin the whole enterprise: it can put you in a worse position than you were originally' (V6)*.

The government does not seem to believe that PWD represent a competent workforce who might even launch their own businesses. *'Let's switch our brains a little bit: people with disabilities are not a poor, unhappy, useless population, sitting at home, but a potential workforce, even an excellent, loyal workforce' (V5)*.

3.3. Personal push factors

With regard to motivations, the respondents mentioned the importance of a positive personality and self-knowledge. They emphasised that a very important step and recognition in their becoming EWD was to realise that disability does not define them as human beings or as entrepreneurs. *'You need to accept the state you are in, you do not need anything else. … First I need to accept myself, [then] others will also accept me for what I am' (V8)*. Some respondents believed that being a successful entrepreneur was fundamentally based on personal properties: *'I think it's just about personal qualities. So, for someone to be successful you need to be persistent, you need willpower, to run headfirst into a brick wall, and break down any door in your way, so it depends on you. A person can only become a good entrepreneur if he has the attitude it takes' (V7)*.

The respondents, however, tended to agree that being positive and resilient was not always easy. Psychological barriers do exist, and are created by previous negative life experiences such as discrimination, humiliation, failures, the lack of others believing in them or they themselves not believing in their own possible success. As many as three of the ten respondents revealed that they had had mental health issues, were in depressive moods and that starting a company was in fact what pulled them out of the situation. Regarding other PWD, some respondents drew a negative picture of them in general, claiming that they lacked any motivation to make an effort to change their disadvantaged positions in life. *'I noticed that the majority of them [other PWD] are wretched and closed. ... It's easier to be at home and feel sorry for themselves, hiding in the world of internet' (V7).*

3.4. Social and economic environment as push factors

Among social and economic push motivations, we have identified the following: a need for existential independence, recovery from a disadvantaged situation, drive for social acceptance, and fighting against prejudice. In line with the personal wish to secure financial stability, the fear of financial vulnerability and limited employment potential represented major external driving forces for EWD. One of the respondents even formed a rather clear-cut critique of other possible forms of employment: *'And whatever employment there is, it is mostly slave labour in these sheltered workplaces' (V5).* The financial means provided by establishing a business also has the important role of supporting an individual's independence and agency: *'I'm not self-sufficient physically ... but if you get to the level where you are financially self-sufficient, then if we are being really pragmatic, you can also pay for your independence' (GG).*

Some EWD consider themselves to be mediators between mainstream society and the PWD community, and wish to support them with the means they have. Some respondents called it their mission to help their peers in overcoming their deprived positions. Service and giving back to the community seems motivating for EWD: *'Every obstacle that you overcome makes you stronger. Our mission is to help people with visual impairment freely access information, integrate into the 'intact' society more easily, and improve their quality of life through our IT services and activities' (V9).* The topic of becoming role models for fellow PWD, to motivate and empower was also mentioned: *'I would like to show my peers that there is a way other than the one followed by many. This one is a lot more difficult, but possibly a lot better in the long run' (V1).* At the same time, some EWD said that they could not countenance taking on more responsibility. The image of a successful, confident, self-sufficient (male) entrepreneur may seem too difficult to achieve for someone with issues of self-esteem, physical and communicational disadvantages or even financial difficulties.

4. Discussion

The narratives of EWD show that both push and pull motivation factors are present in their decisions to start and run a business venture. While various sources of personal and social motivation are evident (self-fulfilment, ambition, social change, etc.), economic pressure and the lack of any further alternatives are at least equally strong motivating factors, as Cooney (2008) and Howard (2017) also suggest. Highlighting the importance of reaching a work-life balance besides achieving the goal of becoming a successful entrepreneur may, however, indicate that EWD have a somewhat atypical approach to interpreting the benefits of entrepreneurship. Considering profit as a means to finance free time and leisure activities or pay for any personal assistance required due to a disability may be important motivations to escape from everyday existential problems and be able to fulfil higher aims.

Using the personal and financial benefits of entrepreneurship, EWD find a way of self-fulfilment and earning a living while escaping the traditional barriers in employment. In this sense, becoming an entrepreneur might also be seen as a form of resistance to the mainstream norms of the labour market. Avoiding low-paid work and supported employment might be strong personal push motivators, especially when having had personal experience of them. For a young person entering the labour market with a good education and a stable family background, the grim prospect of a precarious, low-paid job as a lifelong career represents a horror to be avoided. While there are certain risks involved in becoming an entrepreneur, the opportunities to gain financial autonomy, have a meaningful job and achieve possible success far outweigh the possible hardships, missing skills or lack of a suitable ecosystem which might be encountered (Doyel 2002).

Concerning the path to becoming an entrepreneur, two distinct patterns emerged from the interviews, according to whether the respondents' disabilities were congenital or acquired. The respondents who were born with a disability consciously prepared themselves for their chosen professional field and also for becoming entrepreneurs (education, career choice, networking etc.). The other pattern, in the case of acquired disabilities, was of those who made use of competences, skills, and previous life and work experiences, based on which they were able to create and build a new venture or continue previous business activities but adapted to the disability. In both patterns, the role of the family seems to be decisive in becoming an entrepreneur. On the one hand, they influence the upbringing of the child with a disability (overprotection, education in mainstream or special schools, life experiences, attitude etc.) and on the other, they may provide practical support (entrepreneurial skills, experience, expertise, business partnership, capital, attitude, etc.) and positive role models (Németh & Németh, 2018, Csákné Filep et al., 2018). These seem to make a long-term impact and finally create a positive micro-ecosystem in which to start a career in business, as Howard (2017) also emphasises.

Besides having a supportive family and other role models to follow, a high level of self-knowledge and self-esteem was also emphasised. This applies not only to entrepreneurial competences, but also to the acknowledgement and acceptance of one's own disability. It seems that having a positive attitude to life, overcoming any psycho-emotional hardships and freeing oneself from general negative attitudes is necessary in becoming a successful entrepreneur. The gap between the image of a

goal-oriented, creative and flexible EWD with a good business attitude and that of a helpless, passive, defenceless PWD who may or may not work and who depends on sheltered work or government benefits is wide. Unsurprisingly, it was important for EWD to distinguish and distance themselves from that image.

At the same time, we also found patterns for the motivations of 'giving something back' to the 'disabled community', as Atkins (2013) suggests. Some of the entrepreneurs focus on providing services to special PWD groups (e.g. software for blind people, or special wheelchairs), in which their special, insider knowledge of the given condition is converted into competitive advantage, as De Clercq and B. Honig (2011) claim. Other entrepreneurs organise free programmes or provide services for lower prices for PWD, based on their perceived responsibility and willingness to support their peers. Respondents tended to emphasise the importance of sharing experiences and providing a role model and encouragement to the 'disability community', which role is nevertheless controversial in the narratives since respondents also need 'othering', that is, distancing themselves from other, less able PWD as a form of self-protection (Procknow et al., 2017).

Generally, the respondents did not attend any special mentor programmes and did not receive any special government support tailored to encourage entrepreneurial activities or self-employment, and only one of the ten respondents encountered any general mentoring or incubator programmes. Although all experienced difficulties or even crises in their businesses, such as financial issues, mental health issues or difficulties with physical or communications access, these were solved individually. For a favourable business context, providing equal opportunities for all possible entrepreneurs, strategically planned national policies *are considered* necessary to support those PWD who endeavour to start their own businesses with significantly more disadvantages than the average population.

5. CONCLUSION

In our paper we aimed to explore and analyse the motivational background of EWD based on a classification of pull/push and personal/social factors. Based on the narratives of ten research respondents, we can conclude that the entrepreneurial ecosystem for EWD is not a favourable one in Hungary. Among others, accessibility is a general problem and the lack of a supporting business environment with specifically tailored mentor programmes is also discouraging for EWD. At the same time, personal and family related factors are important resources and have huge importance in choosing this career path and in starting and running businesses.

Both the acceptance of one's own condition and the acquisition of entrepreneurial knowledge are of high importance. Typical entrepreneurial skills and competences (self-realisation, knowledge management, flexibility, risk taking, creativity, innovation, leadership skills, etc.) usually contradict the common image of PWD, so EWD have had to overcome further 'twice as many obstacles to personally accept and make others accept their situation and business activities. Thus, having sufficient motivation is a crucial factor in overcoming both material and discursive barriers, demonstrating suitability for all parties concerned and aiming for high goals in life. This, nevertheless,

may also entail paying a high price, such as burnout, alcoholism or mental health issues, which has not generally been addressed in the literature (Campbell 2008).

By identifying the motivational background of EWD we believe that we have contributed a necessary and crucial step to making the general public, the business community and policy makers aware of the hitherto mostly hidden life situation and potentials that lie in EWD. By employing a complex and flexible support strategy matching the actual system of benefits and adapted to individualised needs and aspirations, entrepreneurship may become a potential means of vocational rehabilitation to support the participation of PWD in the labour market and eventually achieve higher levels of societal inclusion and quality of life in general (Kitching 2014).

LIMITATIONS

Naturally, our findings are restricted by the limitations of the study, the literature accessed and the low number of interviews. Integrating entrepreneurial literature and that of disability was challenging, especially regarding the different languages and approaches, starting points and ways of reasoning, as well as gaps in theory and research. The interpretations reflect our perceptions of what is important and relevant and are framed by our situated knowledge. While the issue of entrepreneurship among PWD seems global, the differences in the economic, employment, social and disability states and systems of various countries as sources of information certainly have an impact on its cultural understanding and interpretation. Accepting and being aware of the limitations, our intention was to acknowledge the existence of entrepreneurs with disabilities and explore and indicate some initial patterns and insights, which could deepen our understanding of their situation in the future.

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Ildikó Dunás-Varga

Attitudes Regarding the Education and Employment of Persons with Disabilities

1. The concept system of attitude

There have been many definitions and examinations regarding attitude in the last century, and the following is a short presentation on the concept system of attitude.

Attitude is a positive or negative relation to any object, person, group, situation or other phenomenon, often being linked to items of information or assumptions. The first item of information acquired has the greatest and most permanent effect. (Atkinson et al, 2005).

According to Prislin (1996, as cited in Csepeli, 2001) the most substantial attitudes are those that may fit into a given person's value system. Attitudes pertaining to given groups can be measured using attitude scales or interviews. Several examinations have reinforced the theory of Allport (1954), according to which previous experiences usually have a positive effect on the probability of the formulation of future relations and sympathies. In their study on the validity of contact-hypothesis, however, Balassa and Kovács (2010) emphasise that in Hungary there is a positive relevance of contact with ethnic groups (in mixed population settlements), while in other countries the opposite is true (prejudice increases, and the likelihood of stereotyping does not decrease).

2. Attitudes towards persons living with disabilities

The following are the results of key studies that have, in recent years, addressed the phenomenon of discrimination in addition to attitude and behaviour in education, training and employment.

The Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, in accordance with the human rights model (UN, 2006), has had a significant impact on the rights to work and education, resulting in increasing intentions to ensure equal access and opportunities.

2.1. Attitudes in education and training

According to the Disability Strategy of the European Union, students with disabilities between the ages of 16 and 19 tend to drop out of secondary school, while the proportion among young people of the same age without disabilities is considerably lower (European Commission, 2010, 7).

The panel survey conducted by Eurostat shows that only 24% of people with disabilities between the ages of 30 and 34 had graduate education, while the proportion among people of the same age without disabilities was 36%. The Europa 2020 strategy aims to reach a proportion of 40% throughout the entire age-group. The greatest proportion of people with disabilities having a degree are in Finland and Luxemburg with 36%, while the fewest are found in Italy, with only 11% (Eurostat, 2014).

Although in recent years several theoretical and empirical studies have examined the attitudes of parents of students and their teachers, there are only very few articles written about measuring attitudes in the contemporary (same age) community (Szabó, 2016; Pongrácz, 2017), and scarcely any literature dealing with the inclination towards acceptance of people with disabilities in same age communities.

According to the literature analysis of Stepaniuk (2019), in Eastern European, ex-socialist countries (based on articles available in English: Czech Republic, Moldova, Poland, Romania, Russia, Slovenia, and Ukraine) most parents are supportive of integrated education but stress the responsibility of the government. The economic resources of a family also determine whether the given child studies in a segregated or non-segregated institution. The stance of teachers is a substantial element of cooperation. According to the analysis, most of the teachers did not understand, or misunderstood the notions of inclusion and integration.

The overall attitude of Russian teachers towards students with disabilities was essentially bipolar in nature, one pole representing the medical, functional model, the other emphasising the importance of appropriate conditions for teaching, but in theory making no difference between persons with and without disabilities.

The teachers were mostly open towards students with physical disabilities and mild intellectual disabilities, while they displayed a more dismissive attitude towards students with more serious, behavioural, emotional and cognitive problems. The teachers interviewed emphasised the importance of further education and the demand for it. Those teachers who did not participate in the preparatory training sessions had a negative opinion of integration and were concerned about the school equipment (Stepaniuk, 2019).

The author finds the lack of data pertaining to children with disabilities problematic, and claims that attitudes towards people with disabilities continue to have a paternalistic and medical focus, and that acceptance is relative to the severity of the disability. Inclusive education is thus in competition with the 'inherited Soviet ideology' (Stepaniuk, 2019, 19).

2.1.1. Hungarian context

Based on her study of the attitudes of a majority of students (2017), Pongrácz establishes that among them there is a scarcity of inclusive and acceptive attitudes towards people with disabilities. Fisher (2009) believes that among teachers,

acceptance of people with moderate, severe and profound levels of intellectual disability is the least accepted. According to Szabó (2016), it is also typical in Hungary that teachers with the relevant set of educational skills and the practical experience of teaching are more apt to opt for teaching in integrated settings than teachers who do not have the above mentioned attributes. Hungarian teachers consider students with autism spectrum disorders and with psychological development problems the least capable of receiving education successfully (Szabó, 2016, 30).

The Hungarian study related to the Dignity of Labour project establishes that there is no training available for persons with disabilities to further their competences and their chances of employment (Haidegger & Kozicz, 2013). Szellő (2015) maintains that there is no available support for young persons with disabilities, to provide vocational guidance or improve their future prospects. Hangya (2019) adds that accessing adult education is also hindered to an extent. She elaborates that in the area of domestic and EU supported labour rehabilitation training, most trainings are available for persons of altered working capacity, but it is important to stress that not all persons with disabilities are persons of altered working capacity! Besides the funding of materials and other tools, it appeared to be a more obstructive phenomenon in that teachers in adult education are frequently dismissive, the organisation of the education is inadequate and the educational materials also lack adaptation and substance.

2.1.2. Hungarian statistical data

With regard to the research results of the Hungarian Central Statistical Office (KSH) in 2011, 53.41% of people with intellectual disabilities aged 15 and over had not completed basic primary education (the group of people never finishing the first year of primary education or the first to third years of primary education or the fourth to seventh years of education), which also applied to 35.77% of people with autism, 40.21% of people with speech impairments and 20.71% of people with visual or hearing impairments. As for people with other disabilities, the proportion of students not completing primary education was under 20%. It is an important fact regarding 'people with multiple disabilities […] that 15% of them have two, while 4% of them have three or more disabilities' (KSH, 2015, 27). The ratio of people not completing primary education stands at 34.7% for people with three different disabilities, and 23.6% for people with two disabilities.

When asking for data, persons were also asked about their other disabilities, but there are no available statistics describing the achieved level of education in various 'disability combinations'.

In 2011, the acquisition of a degree in higher education and the probability of employment had no consequent relevance, as the number of people with higher education is lower than that of employment demand. Also in 2011, 8.63% of people with intellectual disabilities, 20.34% of people with autism spectrum disorders and 23.47% of people with speech impairment (not to be confused with speech impediments) had a vocational or middle school certificate. The highest proportion of those receiving both middle and secondary school education were deaf students, followed closely by with people with other and unknown categories of disability. A total of 5.79% of

people with disabilities attended colleges in 2011, while the proportion in the whole population was 15.74% (KSH, 2011a).

2.2. Attitudes in employment – international relations

In the world of labour and employment, persons with disabilities can be considered multiply disadvantaged, as the hidden or open discrimination experienced in education continues. The ratio of people with higher education lags far behind that of people without disabilities, and the high number of dropouts make their success in the labour market even more difficult (European Commission, 2010, 9). In 2010, 46% of people with disabilities between the ages of 20 and 64 worked as an employee, as opposed to the number of people without disabilities, which stands at 72%. In 2011 this ratio was 0.9% higher, while the proportion of people without disabilities remained the same (European Commission, 2014, 62).

Based upon a survey conducted with 80 Italian employers, Santili, Nota, Ginevra and Soresi (2014) claim that the type of disability is a strong influencing factor, as the participants had more negative attitudes towards people with hearing impairments, people with intellectual disabilities and people with psycho-social disabilities. It thus appears that this selective prejudice often has roots in misinformation, although there was no significant difference of opinion between employers with or without previous experience of employing people with disabilities.

In Poland, the majority of the population, 79%, support the presence of persons with disabilities in the labour market. Most of them, however, have no direct relations with anyone who has a disability. With the decline of subsidised employment and sheltered workshops, employment in the free labour market is growing. From 2014 onwards, remunerations and fringe benefits are set on an individual basis, and do not depend on the type of employment (Jabłońska-Porzuczek & Kalinowski, 2018). Similarly to the regulations in Hungary, there is also a minimum quota in Poland, exempting employers from paying certain amounts to the National Insurance contribution funds.

For every 25th employee under 5% of the official employment quota, the employer has to pay a rehabilitation contribution (Act CXCI 2011).

A Swedish quantitative research study (Strindlund, Abrandt-Dahlgren & Ståhl, 2019) examining the attitudes of employers suggested a threefold recommendation for a solution: trust, contribution and support. Trust means not only that vested in persons with disabilities, or that between employers and employees, but also trust towards the authorities. *It is an important point that disability is independent of the employment and the work* (Strindlund et al., 2019, 2916). Contribution is the added value, i.e. if we do not dwell on the disability, and do not assume that it may affect a person's capability for work, we can already create a more welcoming environment. The importance of support is not only meant in the relation to an employer in financial terms, but also for educational and personal means, which are officially regulated, so it cannot be considered a motivating factor in the employment of people with disabilities.

Dixon, S., Smith, C., and Touchet, A. (2018) analysed the 2017 UK government attitude survey and extended it with their own survey. In their report they claimed

that in society there are negative stereotypes regarding the need for care and labour efficiency. There is a huge difference of opinion between those who, in fact, have experience of employing people with disabilities and those who have none. According to a House of Commons dataset from Q3, 2019, 53.2% of persons with disabilities aged between 16 and 64 were working at that time, while the rate of employment for people without a disability stood at 81.8%. Moreover, 6.7% people with disabilities were unemployed and 43% were economically inactive (Powell, 2020). According to the statistical data of May 19, 2020, currently 49.2% are employed (House of Commons Library, 2020)

2.2.1. Hungarian context

According to the discrimination and attitude survey of the Eurobarometer, Hungary ranks fourth among the 27 member states in the table of discrimination with regard to disability and handicap (Balázs-Földi & Dajnoki, 2016, 33), which represents a strong force hindering people's opportunities to become employed, besides other activities. The size of labour market share has a direct relation to a person's acceptance in society, as in Hungary the rate of employment of people with disabilities has scarcely changed since 2007, standing at 13% in 2011, and 16% in 2016 (KSH 2011; KSH 2018). Although according to Eurostat the employment rate in 2011 stood at 24%, it still represented the greatest difference between employment of people with disabilities and those without disabilities (Eurostat, 2011).

In 2013, the Equal Treatment Authority and the Institute of Sociology of the Centre for Social Sciences of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences performed a research study in Hungary on discrimination. In their study of employers and the labour market they also identified helping, integrative elements, such as state regulations, business and organisation culture, the spread of atypical forms of work, equal rights policies and practice at workplaces. Preconceptions on the part of employers, employment discrimination and permeability between primary and secondary labour markets (public employment) were revealed to be factors hindering integration. 'Labour market discrimination forms a fundamental block against integrated employment, which is important on both economic and individual levels.' (Balázs-Földi & Dajnoki, 2016, 314). According to Cseh (2014), the rejecting stance of society is considered by the actors themselves to be an obstacle against integration.

2.2.1.1. Hungarian statistical data

According to the details of the 2016 micro-census, negative discrimination is the worst for people over 45 years of age (KSH, 2018), which signifies the presence of ageism besides discrimination against people with disabilities. Negative discrimination was present in employment (8.4%), transport (7.5%) and health services (7.2%), according to the participants with disabilities (KSH, 2018, 27).

As seen in *Figure 1*, persons with disabilities were employed mostly in manufacturing and in positions not requiring preliminary training (KSH, 2011b). As there were no queries in 2016 for this target group regarding categories of employment, we have no statistical data for that time period.

*Figure 1. Main employment categories, edited by the authors (KSH, 2011b)*
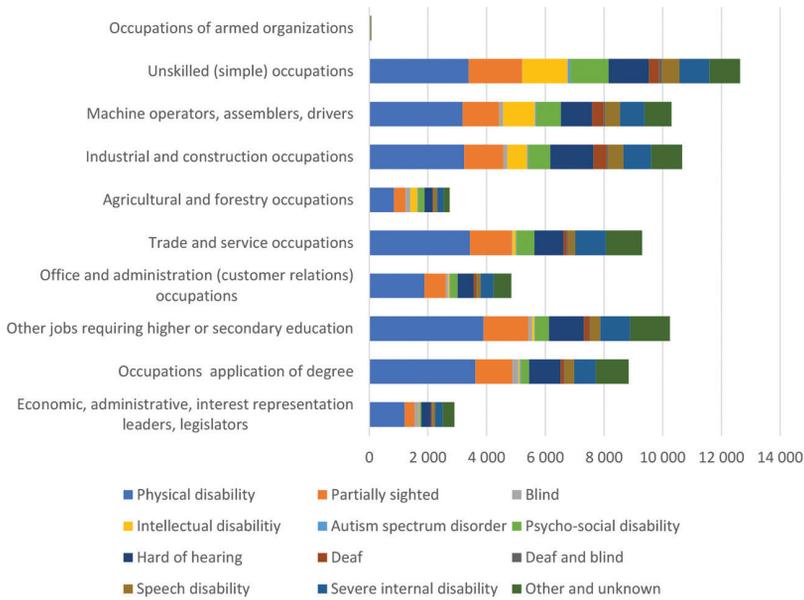
The country report for Hungary in 2019 (European Commission, 2019) states that Hungary has a low level of employment, and that 'for persons with disabilities looking for employment, public services are provided in the framework of the National Employment Service, and the support of non-governmental providers is still very limited. This hinders access to personally tailored professional rehabilitation, recruitment and workplace transformation services, which emphasises the need for development' (European Commission, 2019, 33).

2.2.2. The work discrimination model

Hungarian authors (Dajnoki, 2014, Csillag, Toarnicky & Primecz, 2018) have drawn attention to major areas of discrimination. Likewise, Bonaccio, Connelly, Gellatly, Jetha & Martin Ginis (2019), in a systematic literature review, also grouped employer attitudes in relation to international findings. Essentially, prejudice appears in four main areas, affecting hiring, and after recruitment it also affects the circumstances of work performance. The main four areas are the following: recruitment, selection, organisational integration and performance management. These areas were described by the Hungarian authors, but besides the common features of Hungarian and international areas of discrimination, it may be discernible as a new feature that this model may not only be used for persons with disabilities and/or persons with reduced capacity for work, but also to map out the employment environment for other groups of disadvantaged persons, as the discriminative cornerstones were reordered in accordance with the classic areas of HR.

Figure 2. Work discrimination model, edited by the author (Bonaccio, 2019, Dunás-Varga 2019, Csillag et al., 2018, Dajnoki, 2014)
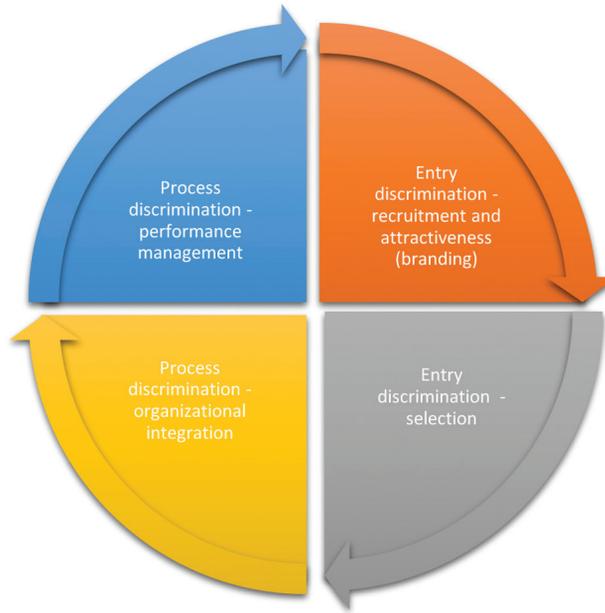
During the process of recruitment and selection, the knowledge and professional skills of candidates are usually undervalued. Those who lack information and methodological knowledge do not know how to adapt processes or work areas, while also maintaining productivity. For organisational integration and efficiency, the review show that the most acute preconceptions were revealed concerning performance output, the negative stance of teammates and the possibility of diminishing work ethics. The research came to prove that the very opposite is typical: persons with disabilities perform at the same level of productivity, and the attitudes of teammates are mostly positive and supportive (in achieving this, there is also a strong role for organisational communication and process management). As far as workplace health protection and safety are concerned, although there is a higher probability of reporting a problem or injury, the persons in question show a better aptitude for following rules, so the number of more serious injuries is, in fact, lower than in the case of persons without disabilities. On the other hand, the time needed to return to work after a work accident is usually longer than in the case of employees without disabilities. Employers also worry about giving notice of dismissal, as they are afraid that terminating the employment of a person with disability may be legally more problematic. It is important to stress that termination on the grounds of underachievement is only considered discriminatory if the training, preparation and appropriate work environment have not been provided for the performance of work (Csillag et al., 2018, Bonaccio, 2019).

3. OUR RESEARCH

The preliminary samples for our large-scale review were collected in 2018. We collected 112 query forms for evaluation in Budapest and in Pest county, from large and medium size employers, while only a few small enterprises participated in this research. Most participants in the research sample had already had experience of employing persons with disabilities (56.25%), and 44% employed persons with disabilities at the time of the research. The query form included thirty mixed questions, of which, on average, the respondents answered 20–25 questions, and the query forms were processed using SPSS statistical software application.

The results revealed that the least desired groups of employees with disabilities were those with intellectual, psycho-social and multiple disabilities. Employers are most open to employing persons with physical disabilities and hearing impairments. Most of the employers did not ask for information, apply for professional help regarding the employment of people with disabilities, or know where to turn to for help, which revealed the problems associated with a lack of proper information.

The research found that several of the contributors were not willing to employ persons with disabilities in the near future. Four organisations claimed they did not plan to employ persons with disabilities from that time onward, as they had experienced low productivity. Six organisations did not employ persons with disabilities, but were planning to, although they did not know when that was going to occur. None of the respondents chose to select the option to employ persons with disabilities in one or two years. Eight organisations refused outright to employ persons with any disabilities. Those organisations that had never employed a person with disabilities before claimed that the reason was that higher management 'had no idea' how to handle such a situation, and that 'there were no persons with disabilities with the right skills', and also for fear of their 'low productivity'. It is discernible that 'low productivity' is a common supposition both for organisations that have employed persons with disabilities, and that have never done so, which goes beyond attitude and draws attention to training.

In summary, the results of this study established that the organisations mostly blame the lack of accessibility in the built environment, while the other crucial factor is the lack of information. Employers mainly prefer roles requiring no preliminary training, and positions with graduate and secondary school education, usually in a form of atypical employment. Employers who currently have workers with disabilities are interested in acquiring rehabilitation subsidies.

Depending on the pilot results, we plan to continue quantitative and qualitative research studies in 2020 and 2021, expanding the review area locally and on the organisational level. We shall continue to examine the attitudes towards persons with disabilities, experiences, focusing on intellectually disabled people with regard to the model of workplace discrimination.

4. The effects of Covid-19 on the labour market

The emergency situation brought about by the Covid-19 pandemic can have an extremely negative effect on both our target group and their employers. This refers not only to social services and care, but also to their status in the labour market. There are several segments in Hungary that have endangered operation (hotels and restaurants, tourism, production and manufacturing), and this can have a negative effect on the employment of persons with disabilities. It can be assumed that the oversupply of labour caused by lost workplaces, even if only temporarily, will influence the possibilities of employment in the next one to three years, and it may even coincide with further processes of economic recession (Economist Intelligence Unit, 2020). According to the report of the Institute of Economic and Enterprise Research (GVH), released on the 15th of March, 2020, 74% of businesses regard their business position as unfavourable, especially in the areas of accommodation, catering, transport, logistics, postal services and commerce (GVI, 2020a). The institute explains that after the second wave of the 24th of March, 2020 'most terminations of employment are highest, on average, at companies providing business and personnel services, 5.1 persons, and the lowest number is at agricultural businesses (0.2 persons, on average, at 19 responding companies)' (GVI, 2020, 4). It is difficult to establish an accurate diagnosis as there are dependent variables for the given country's technological, social and welfare statuses. According to the latest statistical data, the rate of employment dropped to 69.2% in April, 2020 (a 1.1% drop against the data for the previous month), while the unemployment rate increased by 0.4%, which represents a 26.5% increase compared to last year's data. The number of inactive people (not unemployed, not working, not looking for work actively or unable to find a new job within two weeks) grew by 54 thousand. There is no specific data on the employment of persons with disabilities, but it can be assumed that they are also included in these processes. The census of 2021 will probably provide an answer on how permanent the 2020 results remain, and there will be a separate panel dealing with persons with disabilities.

Summary

Attitudes towards persons with disabilities prove to be permanent and affect participation in both education and the labour market, as well as access to them. In the world of labour and employment persons with disabilities may be considered multiply disadvantaged, as the hidden or open discrimination experienced in education continues. The ratio of people with higher education lags far behind the ration of that of people without disabilities, and the large number of dropouts makes their success in the labour market even more difficult. Although the depth and direction of attitudes in the European Union are varied, it can be claimed that it is still typical to undervalue citizens with disabilities, especially those living with intellectual and psycho-social disabilities, possibly because of the consideration of cognitive functions in both cases. The acquisition of a higher education degree and the probability of employment has no consequent relevance, as the number of people with higher education is below that of employment demand. Negative stereotypes about people with disabilities

are present in Europe to varying degrees, as societies foster negative stereotypes regarding the need for care and labour efficiency. There is a huge difference of opinion between those who have experience of employing persons with disabilities and those who have none.

Lack of information is prevalent in the case of both trainers and employers. It would be of great importance to gain support on an EU level, to start further training and other professional programmes. The contact hypothesis, which states that direct experience and contact can influence opinions regarding a certain group, appears to be an important influence on both teachers and employers. It is visible within the work discrimination model, as the discrimination processes appear in related areas of HR. The main four areas are the following: recruitment, selection, organisational integration and performance management. These areas have been described by Hungarian authors, but besides the common features of Hungarian and international areas of discrimination, it may appear that this model might probably not only be used for persons with disabilities and/or persons with reduced capacity for work.

Our results also revealed that the least desired groups of employees with disabilities were those with intellectual, psycho-social and multiple disabilities. Employers are most open to employing persons with physical disabilities and hearing impairments. Most of the employers did not look for information, did not apply professional help for the employment, did not know where to turn to for help, which revealed the problems around lacking proper information.

Employment affected by external pressure and by a rigid subsidising system cannot really increase the likelihood of employment, furthermore, as an external motivating force it cannot be permanent if this system is transformed. It is expected that the integrative and inclusive processes will be effective in transforming social attitudes in the long term, and this will result in the growing participation of people with disabilities in the labour market and in education.

The challenges of the Covid-19 pandemic affect all social groups, especially people with disabilities. It would be worthwhile to examine the effects of this on the organisation of the labour market, as well as on the practice of working from home and on digital solutions, as these have all had an impact on employment.

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Roland Keszi

Earthquake in the Labour Market

The Effects of the Artificial Intelligence in the Shadow of the Coronavirus Armageddon

In the coming decade, the jobs of many hundreds of millions of people worldwide, and those of approximately 900,000 people in Hungary, will be transformed by the effects of artificial intelligence. It may also be formulated that the occupation and work of such a mass of people may be endangered by the labour market consequences of forthcoming developments in artificial intelligence. Although the original aims of this study did not include thematising the effects of coronavirus pandemic, other emerging processes that also have a radical impact on the open labour market must be taken into consideration. My hypothesis is that the impact of both artificial intelligence and the coronavirus on the labour market will occur together in the world of work, and that their impact will be mutually reinforcing.

The partial purpose of this paper is to outline data-based megatrends and forecasts. In particular, I consider it important to indicate this in advance, even in the absence of information until the closing date of this manuscript. The lack of information is twofold. On the one hand, it refers to the epidemiologically and virologically unknown nature of the new pandemic, Covid-19, and on the other hand, to the narrow range of central government information sources. At the end of April 2020 in Hungary, the first 'science-like' data release was held, in which researchers specialising in epidemiological statistical analyses presented results calculated from mathematical models of the epidemic curve (see ITM, 2020). However, due to the limited availability of databases, scientific verification / falsification did not become available, so researchers who were omitted from the data releases were pushed to the brink of guesswork. Data on labour market effects (eg number of unemployed persons) at the end of this study is also limited, both in Hungary and internationally.

This study examines the economic and labour market trends and underlying sociological megatrends that should be highlighted with regard to the processes related to the spread of artificial intelligence, and I expect their impact to be marked. I will illustrate the intertwining of sociological and economic processes with the emergence and intensifying effects of new technologies, including artificial intelligence, on the labour market, by presenting some economic and social dynamics trends as well as recent empirical research findings. I will therefore review those trends in the open labour market that are embedded in the historical framework of the economy and the labour market. I will also indicate which trends may be expected in relation to the effects

of artificial intelligence. In my study, I use the data on the American and Hungarian labour markets as a 'desk study field', intended as a case study.

INTRODUCTION: MACHINE, MAN, ECONOMY, ECONOMIC SHOCK

Since the beginning of the 21st century, artificial intelligence has once again emerged as a new, subversive technology and as a hope for the future of the open labour market. The coronavirus appeared as a brutal, unexpected invader, eliminating innumerable livelihoods. The impact of subversive (disruptive) technologies has long been felt in all major economies around the world. Various predictions have been made about these technologies, including practical initiatives that are associated with prophecies and reviews that envision dystopian visions, underscoring uncertainties surrounding predictions about these subversive technologies. For example, the European Union has initiated the EUROPA 2020 strategy for economic and social development, which launched the Grand Coalition for Digital Jobs (EU, 2013). At the same time, a 'Startup Europe' programme was launched through the European Commission to support online businesses.

Numerous smaller, larger economic and social research projects have been launched, in which EU member states, in some cases with associated partners, have worked on research issues brought to the surface by the new economy. Some of these, in which the author has had the opportunity to participate, include the following: EMERGENCE, TEDIP, EGAP, E3WORK, STILE.

At the same time, dystopian ideas conveying negative visions have appeared, drawing attention to the fact that new types of technologies will eliminate numerous jobs [for example, Ford (2015), Brynjolfsson, E. & McAfee, A. (2016), on embedding ideas about the future of work in a historical framework, cf. Rimler (1999)].

In the shadow of these two conflicting visions, empirical sociological analyses of the social impacts of technological innovations, and the risks and opportunities associated with their emergence have also emerged [cf. Nitto, H., Taniyama, D. & Inagaki, H. (2017), Arras, K. O. & Cerqui, D. (2005), Wike, R. & Stokes, B. (2018)].

The above two completely opposite visions, as well as the empirical sociological analyses that have been conducted, are embedded in various, longer-term technological, economic and sociological megatrends. In this study, I would also contend that these trends may only be interpreted in the light of each other's effects, and that interpretations of individual phenomena alone can lead to false conclusions.

The two entirely opposite visions described above, as well as the empirical sociological analyses that have been conducted, are embedded in various, longer-term technological, economic and sociological megatrends.

The defining microelectronic revolution that followed the development of the transistor and then the microprocessor, the basis of the subversive technologies

that are the subject of the present study, has been ever-present in the technological-economic literature since the 1970s. In this paradigm, the labour market and the potential dangers associated with technology appear from the outset [cf. eg. Friedrich, G. & Schaff, A. (1984)]. The global system of international division of labour, i.e. *globalisation*, which also has a separate literature base, discusses the related trends from the perspective of the internationalisation of production chains. Embedded in the above two articles analysing groups of indirect phenomena is a megatrend, directly related to human relations, a canon of literature discussing *demographic changes* related to the changing age of modern societies. The articles discuss the growing gap between those entering the labour market (new entrants) and those leaving (retiring) and the growing burden on the active age group through retirement. The new IT trend has been described by some as a fourth industrial revolution (Schwab, 2016), and by other authors as a third IT revolution, Bojár, 2018).

The long-term effects of the above megatrends erupted in the first quarter of 2020 from a health-related economic shock with a significant impact in the short term. The new type of coronavirus (Covid-19) has been the greatest health risk in world history since 1918, representing a 'bolt out of the blue' on the world economy and on societies. According to forecasts available at the time of writing, the European Union, for example, is facing the deepest recession in its history. There is extreme uncertainty about the predictions. For example, the Hungarian government predicts an economic downturn of around 3%, while EU experts predict an economic downturn of around 7%, and analysts of the Hungarian Central Bank predict a 3% expansion for Hungary. This signifies extreme differences of opinion, even if we disregard the distorting factors arising from the political background of the forecasts and the interest groups on the side of investors.

The first, marked appearance of the economic shock caused by the coronavirus, unsurprisingly, started from the side of the money and capital markets. The SPX index, an indicator developed by Standard & Poors that represents the value of the largest U.S. companies, fell more than 35% in one month from its peak at the end of February 2020. Regarding market fluctuations, the VIX jumped more than eight-fold shortly after the outbreak (from 11.42 to 85.47), closing higher than at any time during the 2008 crisis, thus setting a serious historic peak.

The VIX index is also called the panic index. The higher the value of the VIX index, the more nervous the market sentiment, the greater the expected (implied) volatility and fluctuation of the markets.

This market rift occurred far more rapidly than during the 2008 economic crisis, which arose in the US money and capital markets. It is conceivable that the total shock will also have a considerably more significant impact than that of the 1929–33 world economic crisis.

Regarding the initial state of the labour market, a survey conducted by the CSO reveals that more than half the number of employees who lost their jobs during the coronavirus epidemic have fallen victim to redundancies in the workplace: 39.7% of employees refer to curfew restrictions, a further 51.7% to redundancies within the workplace, and 7.4% to permanent job closures (KSH, 2020).

Employing mathematical and statistical procedures, Kónya & Köllő (2020), taking into account the relationship between the registered unemployed and Google searches, estimated that the number of registered unemployed in Hungary exceeded 400,000 in April 2020, which represents an increase of roughly 120,000 compared to February.

* * *

In the present study, using the American and Hungarian economies as case studies, I aim to highlight a number of clearly evident economic and sociological processes, as well as a latent tendency regarding the not too distant future of the labour market. At the time of writing, dozens of virological and epidemiological research reports are being received daily from around the world. Hundreds of analyses are published on the economic, sociological and psychological aspects of the pandemic, which, similarly to medical analyses, often draw contradictory conclusions. Over the next few years, it will be the task of the scientific community to confirm or negate these conclusions, so the present study does not intend to add further clutter to the jungle of published information. Our study merely attempts to describe the labour market consequences of developments in artificial intelligence, in the shadow of the impact made by the coronavirus pandemic on the labour market. I therefore consider the coronavirus situation a significant factor that could exacerbate the labour market consequences of earlier developments in artificial intelligence. In this regard, I strongly emphasise three interrelated facts.

Firstly, the effects of the coronavirus pandemic are compounded by significant pre-existing industrial and economic megatrends, thus exacerbating the labour market implications of the pandemic. *Secondly*, I would like to emphasise that those who stand to lose the most due to the coronavirus, in terms of labour market processes, will be workers with low labour market status (for the interest of readers of this scientific journal, these may include workers of altered working capacity).

Thirdly (without any political implications), I would also like to highlight that while world governments are making significant efforts to mitigate the negative effects of the pandemic on the labour market in the short and medium term, the Hungarian government is once again pursuing one-special path solutions, that could result in 'purgatorial' conditions in the economy, including the labour market.

We would refer here to critical positions on crisis management, cf. Petitions signed by leading American and Hungarian economists: Economists Statement (2020) and MKL (2020)

In economic terms, the crisis situation is most frightening because, at the time of writing, there are no established sets of macroeconomic solutions that can deal with the economic and monetary effects from a health and fiscal perspective. As previous crises derived from economic situations, macroeconomic analyses could provide the tools to model economic effects, develop means of intervention and fiscal / monetary stimulus packages. The 2008 crisis, for example, started in the US money and capital markets and then spread to a crisis of confidence that spread throughout the world. The health crisis that originated in China in 2019 will freeze the entire world economy by radically endangering other human lives and blocking international production

chains. There has never been such a crisis in world history, so there are no options for the world's central banks or governments to resolve it. The situation is thus similar to groping in complete darkness, as the equations of macroeconomic models are uncertain, without having any precedent. The most important of these uncertainties is the question of its timespan. We have no idea how long the pandemic or the resulting crisis will last, or what form the economic recovery will take, whether it will be L-shaped, V-shaped, W-shaped, or U-shaped, nor do we know how many waves the virus will have. So we do not know what course of the crisis will take, but one thing is certain: The process will go hand in hand with unemployment. Thus, two main processes, namely the increase in the intensity of artificial intelligence developments and the coronavirus pandemic, both have a significant impact on labour markets. The coronavirus has a direct and a gross effect, and developments in artificial intelligence have an effect in the medium term. Both processes point in the same direction, that is, a process that generates unemployment. Related to this, I intend to share some data-supported interpretations of the effects of long-term unemployment in the rest of this study.

1. ECONOMY AND SOCIETY IN THE LIGHT OF MACRO DATA ON WORK: A DATA BASED INTERPRETATION

The labour markets of modern economies, regardless of pandemics, economic downturns or geopolitical factors, have been characterised by an increasing trend since the dawn of artificial intelligence research (approximately after World War II). This megatrend is shown by the data in *Figure 1*. It is clear from this figure that in 1970, for approximately 6 months, during the economic crisis of 1974–75 (conceptualised as recession) for approximately 14–15 months, while, during the last major crisis before Covid-19, in 2008, after the crisis that began with the bankruptcy of the Lehman Brothers investment bank, it took an average of 80 months for the labour market to regain its pre-crisis health. It took so much time for the U.S. economy to recover in terms of employment. This longitudinal data set alone is somewhat alarming. Clearly, as the table shows average data, there were strata of workers who were forced to live without work for considerably longer periods of time, even without any income.

Regarding the economic impact of the coronavirus, it is typical that data on the March downturn was not officially available even on May 4, which is unprecedented in the United States, where data is updated on a weekly basis. According to market opinions, the processing of incoming unemployment claims has reached such proportions that the official bodies have been unable to process the applications of persons applying for unemployment benefits.

The labour market of the world's largest economy is a good illustration of the trends in the labour markets of modern economies, on the other hand, with small time differences – moving in step with modern labour markets through the impact of global production chains.

Figure 1. U.S. employment data from the dawn of artificial intelligence to 2020, May
Source: FRED (2020)
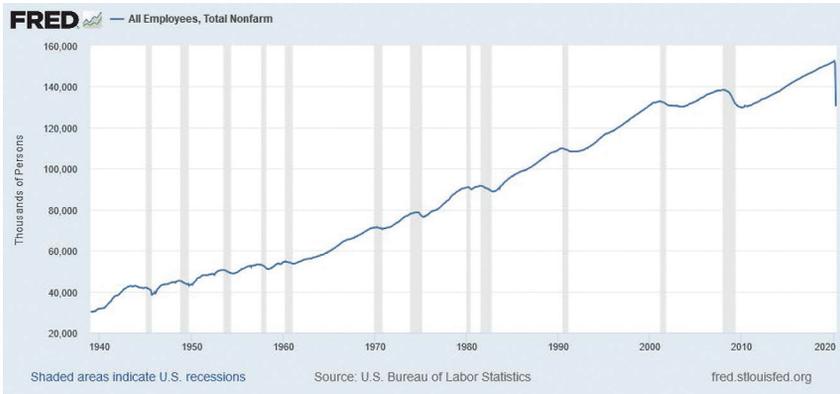
The relative loss of space for the U.S. economy is not the subject of the present study, however, we can say that the U.S. is still the strongest economy in the world to this day, and will continue to be so for a long time to come, both in world politics and artificial intelligence developments. Our above baseline data set is therefore relevant if we want to address any of the modern economies.

The function, in the economic sense (until the spring of 2020), clearly shows an increasing trend, since declines in employment were always followed by employment recoveries, that is, the lowest points were followed by increasingly high peaks.

Clearly, the requirements of the monotonically increasing function in the mathematical sense are not met by the data set, however, employing one of the methods used in money and capital market analyses, it can be seen that, from a technical analysis point of view, the trend shown in the figure is clearly increasing until the spring of 2020.

The figure therefore shows continued growth until the spring of 2020. It can also be traced in the figure that during periods of economic recession (symbolised by the grey zones in the figure) employment falls. All this is a natural process, and there is nothing surprising in it, as, since the spread of modern monetary theory, every macroeconomic analysis in economics takes it into account.

By monetary theory, I refer to the foundations laid down by J. M. Keynes in the 1930s [see Keynes, J. M. (1965)].

The graph in the figure is therefore rising, which, at first glance, may be a cause for joy, as employment growth is a welcome process for modern capitalism, with the hope that sooner or later things will turn out well, we will recover from recessionary periods, and that sooner or later unemployed persons will be re-employed. At the same time, the medium and long-term trends mentioned involve more than just drawing positive conclusions. What will happen to those of us who, unfortunately, happen to be born

in the periods marked by the ominous shadows of the grey bars shown in the figure, during our 'labour market life', or even if, as career starters, we try to enter the labour market at the beginning of a recession? In terms of employment, first, at the level of the data, it is important to examine what lies behind the ominous shadows indicated by the grey bars in *Figure 1* above.

Figure 2. Time required for labour market recovery as a function of recessionary periods (months)
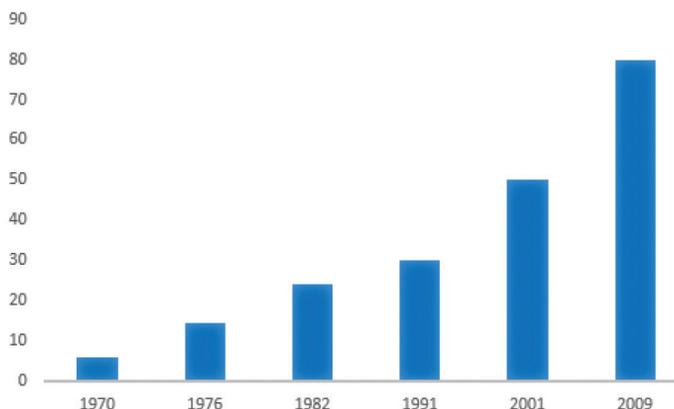Source: FRED (2020), Ford (2015)

Figure 2 illustrates how long the labour market needed to recover, i.e. to return to pre-crisis employment levels. It is clear from this figure that in 1970 it took an average of *6 months* for the labour market to recover. During the economic crisis of 1974–75 (conceptualised as recession) it took approximately *14-15 months*, while, during the last major crisis before Covid-19, in 2008, after the crisis that began with the bankruptcy of the Lehman Brothers investment bank, it took an average of *80 months* for the labour market to regain its pre-crisis health. It took so much time for the U.S. economy to recover in terms of employment.

This longitudinal data set alone is somewhat alarming: Clearly, as the table above shows average data, there were strata of workers who were forced to live without work for much longer periods of time, even without any income. At the time of writing, the economic impact of Covid-19 is intensifying. There are 20.5 million people who lost their jobs in May, with an unemployment rate of 14,7%.

The first stage of unemployment is the loss of a job, which in itself is accompanied by extraordinary mental processes, an emotional roller coaster.

For the psychological dynamics of unemployment, see e.g. Amudson, N. & Borgen, W. (1987). For empirical research on a process involving a large company facing radical organisational changes and collective layoffs, see Keszi (2002)

Nor is it difficult to imagine the life of a long-term unemployed person or the examples of those around us, who will be increasingly numerous in the coming months. Negative mental processes arise due to constant rejections: feelings of worthlessness and

depression, as well as possible hospitalisation, which represents an unemployment trap for workers at an individual level. Yet there is also an organisational level (causal level) and an overall societal impact (cause) of the unemployment trap. The entire causal chain is embodied in a phenomenon called labour market polarisation.

We should examine the causal process from two sides. Firstly, we should observe the productivity indicators of organisations (companies) at the macro level, comparing them with the compensation indicators of employees in companies (*Figure 3*).

Figure 3. Macroeconomic causes of labour market polarisation: The productivity-compensation gap
Source: Mishel, L (2012), Ford (2015)
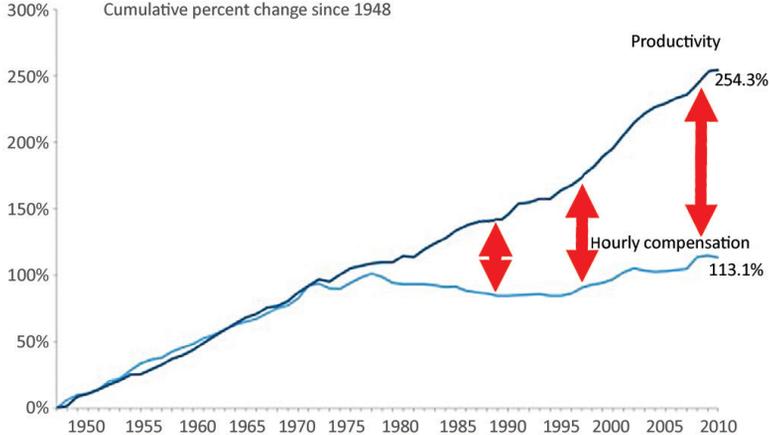
Hourly compensation is of production/non-supervisory workers in the private sector and productivity is for the total economy. For data see: Mishel, L (2012), for the quote and other calculations: Ford (2015), Original data: Bureau of Economic of Labor Statistics, Labor Productivity and Cost program and Bureau of Economic Analysis, National Income and Product Accounts public data series. Data visualization: Keszi.

Figure 3 indicates that there is a significant and widening gap between productivity and wages, symbolised by the increasing length of the red arrows. It also follows that the profits of companies do not flow mostly to the stratum of employees. The question arises as to where they do, in fact, flow. As a first hypothesis, we can state that this profit remains with the companies, which they transpose into other asset stocks, and further developments in order to increase their productivity. It is important to note that any trend indicated here may only be interpreted in parallel with technological change / development. For an overview of the links between artificial intelligence developments and economic development, see Keszi (2019).

2. WHERE DO COMPANIES' PROFITS FLOW? ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE DEVELOPMENTS AND ROBOTISATION TRENDS

Figure 3 illustrates the characteristics of the growing corporate profit flow at the macro level. Let us now examine the organisational-level trends appearing among the reasons for the widening gap between profit and wages. To check our hypothesis (that the profits of companies flow into developments), we first note that the latest phenomena within the technological changes related to companies are provided by developments related to artificial intelligence (AI). A review of the following longitudinal data on the deployment of industrial robots may shed light on the effects on the labour market.

Data cf. IFR (2019). Robotics and artificial intelligence are related, but they do not mean the same concept. There is no uniform definition of the concept of artificial intelligence, in the present study we use the following conceptualisation scheme: Artificial intelligence is an entity that is able to receive, interpret, and learn from its environment (INPUT), perform relevant, flexible behaviour (OUTPUT) to achieve a specific goal.

Figure 3.1. Meso-level causes of labour market polarisation #1: Artificial intelligence and robotisation (international data): Worldwide annual supply of industrial robots, in thousands   Source: IFR (2019)

Figure 3.2. Meso-level causes of labour market polarisation #2: Artificial intelligence and robotics (continental comparison)   Source: IFR (2019)
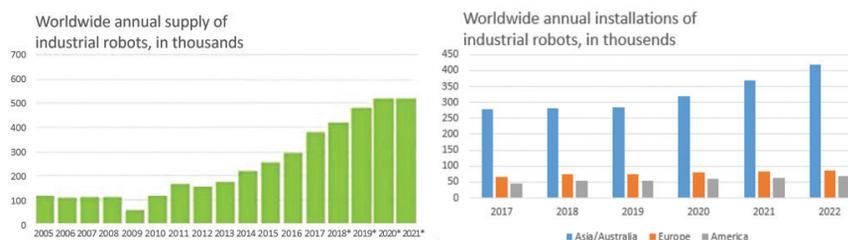
Automation and robotics will result in obvious redundancy in certain strata of workers, which, translated into the language of the labour market, will result in unemployment for certain strata of workers.

The opinions of labour economists and work sociologists are divided on how many and what types of new jobs will be created through the increased use of artificial intelligence and automation. For the two positions, see Autor, D. & Handel, M. (2013), Frey, C. B. & Osborne, M. A. (2013), Ford (2015), Brynjolfsson, E. & McAfee, A. (2016). In this study, we do not take a stand on any of the positions, but we would like to emphasise that unemployment is to be expected in the short term, in which certain sections of the labour market are at increased risk.

In the later part of our study, the data will also illustrate the exposure, extent and characteristics of the endangered workforce, regarding the Hungarian labour market as a case study.

3. First sociological interpretation experiment: Organisational sociological causes of long-term unemployment and the modern job market billog phenomenon

In order to illustrate the significance of the unemployment period in this regard as well, let us take a comparative set of data describing the relationship between the duration of unemployment and the return to the labour market.

In this connection, a labour market experiment with a number of 4,800 items was conducted by Rand Ghayad. See reviews: Ghayad, R. & Dickens, W. (2012), O'Brian, M. (2013), Lahart, J (2014), Krolft, K., Lange, F. & Notowidigo, J. (2012), on the consequences of long-term unemployment: Crabtree, S. (2014).

The data and further research results show further patterns based on organisational attitudes lying behind the phenomenon in this field. The Beveridge curves shown in *Figures 4.1* and *4.2* illustrate the relationship between the chances of returning to the labour market and the duration of unemployment (*4.1*). The curves also illustrate the overall relationship between the chances of returning to the labour market and previous work experience (*4.2*). At the same time, the meso-level (organisational) causes of the curves partly explain the protracted processes occurring in the recovery periods of the macro-level labour market. The presented phenomenon contributes to an explanation of the extension of the recovery periods, thus refining our understanding of the phenomenon from the point of view of organisational sociology. Prolonged processes may be seen in the HR policies of companies and may be explained by organisational sociological factors that feed on the attitudes of HR managers. *Figure 4.1* illustrates the relationship between the duration of unemployment and the duration of return to the labour market. The data indicates that the long-term unemployed person has almost no chance of returning to the previous local labour market. The longer someone has been unemployed, the less likely they are to return to the labour market, whether they want to return to the same sector in which they already have work experience or want to be mobilised in another sector. Compared to the newly unemployed, the long-term unemployed (older people, without work for over six months) have a 1/8 chance of returning to the labour market depending on their previous work experience (16% vs. 2%).

Figure 4.1. The chances of returning to the labour market as a function of the duration of unemployment
Sources: Ghayad, R. & Dickens, W. (2012), O'Brian, M. (2013)
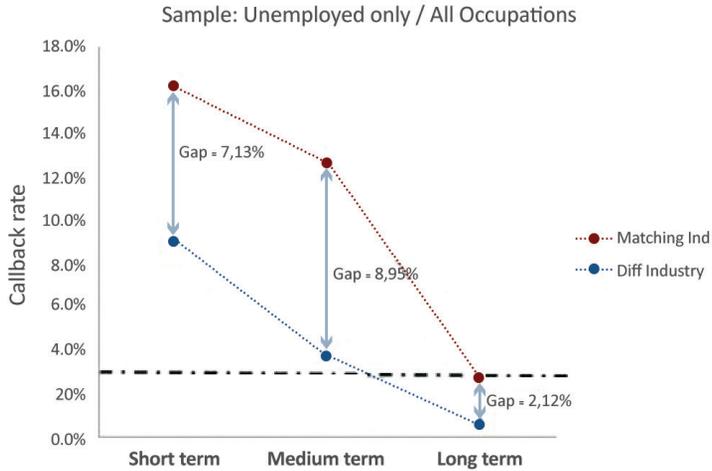
The Beveridge curves also show that workers with significant work experience (five or six previous jobs) are almost as unlikely to re-enter the world of work if they have been unemployed for more than six months. Neither the jobs relevant to their previous work experience nor the job transition will help them reintegrate. The relevant data is illustrated in *Figure 4.2*.

Figure 4.2. Chances of returning to the labour market as a function of previous work experience
Sources: Ghayad, R. & Dickens, W. (2012), O'Brian, M. (2013)
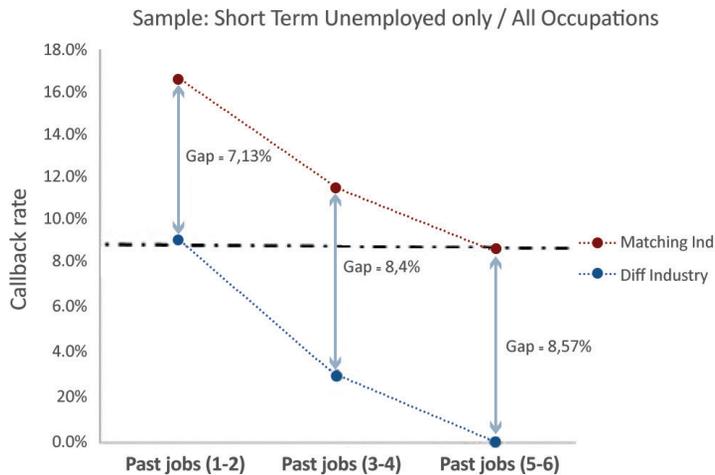
In short, the trap of long-term unemployment is an impression of the modern labour market stamped on the supply side of the labour economy, which leads to the long-term oppression of people and households. For the HR practices of companies, which are also embedded in recruitment procedures, see Győri & Csillag (2019a,b).

It is clear that long-term unemployment, which is an extreme threat facing a vulnerable workforce, also presents a macroeconomic problem for national economies, as falling wages on the demand side lead to declining consumption, first and foremost for companies in the short and medium term.

In the above, we have reviewed some data, mainly from the point of view of economics and labour economics, making a first attempt at a sociological interpretation, accounting for the development of the labour market from an organisational sociological perspective.

4. SECOND INTERPRETATION EXPERIMENT: SOME EOCIOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL CONSEQUENCES OF LABOUR MARKET POLARISATION

We should consider what awaits us, why long-term unemployment is a threat to society as a whole, and whether or not we are individually affected by job loss. Let us examine some trends based on the analyses of Murray and McAfee, who have been following social processes in parallel with the above-mentioned economic trends since the beginning of artificial intelligence developments in the 1960s (Murray, 2012, Brynjolfsson & McAfee, 2015). Murray's original analyses did not relate to automation or the rise of artificial intelligence, but the data tends to draw some conclusions from the trends identified in relation to the world of work as well. Since we still consider U.S. economic data to be an 'ideal-typical analytical framework,' we shall continue in the same vein. Murray (2012a) outlined two ideal-typical cases, two employee models. In this study, somewhat differently from Murray, implementing McAfee's outline, we use the concept of ideal type in the Weberian sense (cf. Weber, 1970a,b, 1987).

The first (HIGH: 'people like Ted') are, for example, managers with a higher level of education, doctors, lawyers, engineers, persons conducting some scientific activity, or university lecturers. These are shown on the graphs by the parts of the diagramme marked in blue. The second type (LOW: 'people like Bill') typically includes non-tertiary blue-collar workers, non-managerial workers in the service sector and white-collar non-managerial workers. Their data is shown on the graphs by the chart sections marked in red. *Figures 5.1-6* show depressing labour market trends arising since the early days of automation (that is, the cradle of developments in artificial intelligence). Longitudinal data indicates an increase in social divisions that is hidden from the perspective of macroeconomic data. Here we can see the issue of labour market participation and livelihoods (*Figures 5.1* and *5.2*).

Figure 5.1. Proportion of families with at least one employee with a permanent (min. 40 hours/week) employment
Source: Murray (2012a), McAfee (2013)
Figure 5.2. Proportion of workers with persistent livelihood problems
Source: Murray (2012a), McAfee (2013)
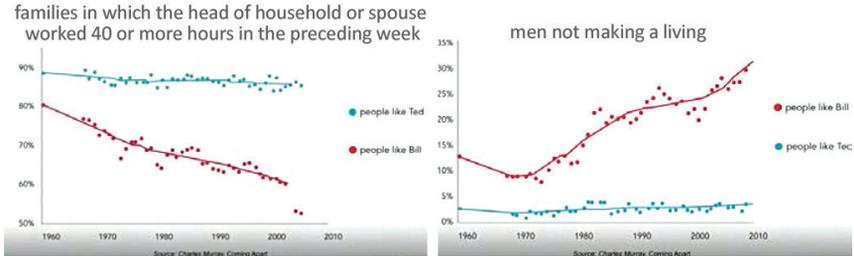
It is already clear from these two figures that since the 1960s low-skilled workers have been steadily excluded from the labour market, while the situation of higher qualified workers has in fact stabilised, with almost 90% in permanent employment. So, despite the steadily growing levels of employment that we see from macro-level statistics, the labour market has split in two, and low-skilled people are increasingly cast out of the world of work. Hence, it is not surprising to find that the lower group is constant and faces increasing difficulties in daily living (*Figure 5.2*).

Not only has the division related to livelihoods increased, it is clear from the data that interpersonal relationships such as the proportion of people living in a happy marriage (*Figure 5.3*) or the so-called situation of the lower strata is also giving increasing cause for concern in terms of the proportion of children growing up in a truncated / matrix family (*Figure 5.4*).

Figure 5.3. Proportion of happily married people as a function of time
Source: Murray (2012a), McAfee (2013)
Figure 5.4. Proportion of children living with both biological parents as a function of time
Source: Murray (2012a), McAfee (2013)
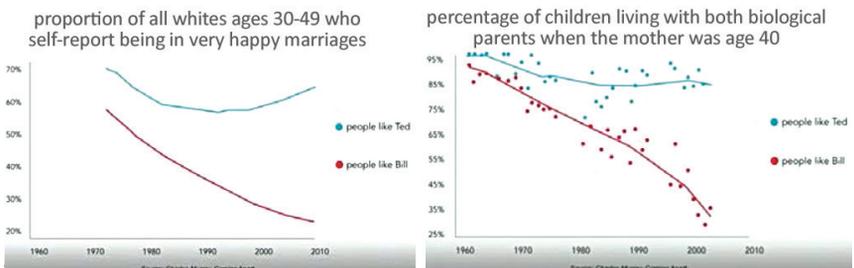
The trends shown in *Figures 5.3* and *5.4* are also evidenced in family sociological research, in which we also find data consistent with conclusions drawn from perspectives of work and organisational sociology.

Due to the polarisation of the labour market, increasing differences also appear between the two ideal-typical layers of the labour market in other areas. Members of the lower group participate in political elections to a lesser extent, while the rate of crime among them constantly increases. These phenomena are illustrated in *Figures 5.5-6*.

Figure 5.5. Voting turnout in presidential elections Source: Murray (2012a), McAfee (2013)
Figure 5.6. White prisoners per 100K population Source: Murray (2012a), McAfee (2013)
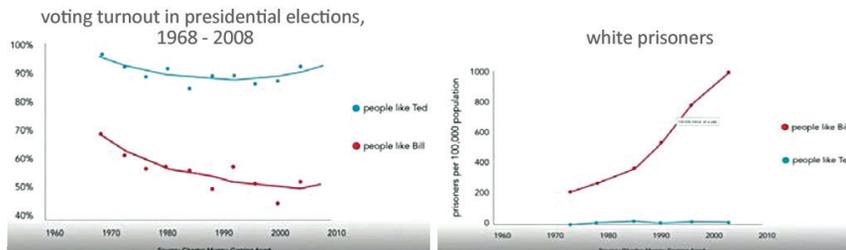

The growing disparities seen in the above data not only pose increasing problems for workers in the lower strata, but also envision a challenging future for society as a whole. One of the most dramatic patterns relates to crime rates, which represents an extremely unfavourable trend requiring sociological analyses that cannot be identified by analysing simple macroeconomic data. The above-mentioned factors are related to the effects of automation and, in our current circumstances, to developments in artificial intelligence, so it can be assumed that further intensification of the mentioned processes can be expected.

5. A CASE STUDY OF THE FOLLOWING DECADES: FACTORS DETERMINING THE POLARISATION OF THE HUNGARIAN LABOUR MARKET IN THE AGE OF THE EXPLOSION OF ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE

The Hungarian labour market is also embedded in global trends. In relation to these trends, almost half of all jobs worldwide are affected by developments in artificial intelligence: 14% of jobs are directly at risk, with a significant change expected for a further 32%. What is more, extremely important global data indicates that 60% of the adult population does not have adequate IT background knowledge of the use of the latest technologies (see OECD, 2019, 9). The above global data primarily sheds light on the operational difficulties of artificial intelligence besides underscoring the key role of adult education. In addition, the ongoing processes are likely to further deepen the polarisation of the labour market discussed above. For international reviews and

theoretical backgrounds on occupations at risk, see Autor, D. H., Levy. F. & Murnane, R. J. (2003), and Autor, D. & Handel, M. (2013), and Frey, C. B. & Osborne, M. A. (2013).

Figure 6. Adequate IT background knowledge (grey zone) and change in work tasks
Source: OECD (2019)

Completely automated Change significantly
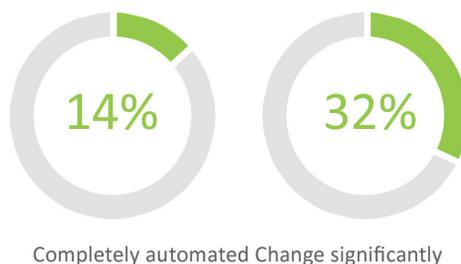
Overall, in light of the overall global data, the Hungarian labour market can be said to be better prepared among developing countries. However, it is also true that Hungary lags significantly behind certain former socialist deficit economies in Central and Eastern Europe (for deficit economies see: Kornai, 1980). Such a comparison is not the purpose of this study. Nonetheless, it can be said that, due to the unpreparedness of the labour market, in Hungary a number of challenges appear. The labour market will undergo radical transformations in terms of both occupations and jobs over the next ten to fifteen years and beyond. On the one hand, occupations will disappear or transform, in line with international trends, and on the other hand, significant changes can be predicted in terms of the number of people employed, in terms of jobs.

In Hungary, the work of approximately 900,000 people will be transformed by the effects of artificial intelligence (Price Waterhouse Coopers [PWC], 2018, 2020). In other words, the jobs and occupations of almost one million people are potentially jeopardised by the labour market consequences of forthcoming developments in artificial intelligence. In the case of individuals or social groups, imminent changes should be classified as a 'threat' if the social group in question does not possess certain IT skills (hard skills: basic knowledge of network infrastructure, database management, programming, etc.) and the skills needed to work, or tacit skills (see Polányi, 2009) required for collaboration, teamwork, activities in automated work environments and activities in human-machine collaboration, which will comprise the necessary requirements for working in ecosystems represented by the new artificial intelligence. It is important to note that it is not only the classic varieties of IT knowledge that will be increasingly appreciated. Human capability groups that have long been mentioned in management literature, especially in terms of leadership skills, will also be exponentially valued in the labour market. At the same time, among the current economies, which are underdeveloped similarly to the Hungarian economy in terms of artificial intelligence, there are also types of occupations in which these skills play a key role. These are the occupations in which human collaboration, empathy, emotional intelligence and creativity are needed to solve tasks at a high level, such as teachers, doctors, social workers and designers. For professions at risk in the Hungarian labour market, see Nábelek, F. & Vági, E. (2019).

The effects of artificial intelligence are still being felt in the economy, and its impact is growing stronger. Its effects on the labour market, which will be more significant than at

present, will be wave-like. According to recent research (see PWC, 2020), the spread of artificial intelligence in the Hungarian labour market will take place in three cycles and waves. In each wave, different industries and different layers of workers will be affected. At the same time, it can also be seen that the impending waves may overlap, thereby further increasing the polarisation of the labour market. We do not have suffficiently reliable research data on the latter, but I assume that the wave-like course of the effects of artificial intelligence on the labour market will pose prominent and increasing risks for certain strata of workers. At the time of writing, these risks are unpredictable, but I believe it is certain that the economic effects of overlapping trends, in addition to the coronavirus crisis, will lead to a stronger polarisation of the labour market.

The Hungarian labour market will be most affected from the 2030s onwards, due to the effects of artificial intelligence, and the current developments will have an impact to such an extent that they will affect a significant number of populations, causing visible social changes. One of the effects in question may certainly be the phenomenon of long-term unemployment, as analysed above, for which we have long-term research findings on its detrimental effects on society as a whole. Some of these have been reviewed above. As for the three waves in which artificial intelligence will exert its effect on the Hungarian labour market, the expected trends are summarised in *Table 1*.

Table 1. The effect of artificial intelligence by several independent background variables
and automation waves on the example of the Hungarian labour market
Source: Summary made by Keszi based on the following data: PWC (2018), PWC (2020)

Automation Waves	Time	Work Tasks/Activity	Sectors	Gender	Age
Algorithm wave	2020– 2025	Automation of simple computational tasks and analysis of structured data, affecting data-driven sectors such as financial services	Data driven sectors such as finance and insurance, information and communication, and professional, scientific and technical services	women	young
Augmentative wave	2025– 2030	Dynamic interaction with technology for clerical support and decision making. Also includes robotic tasks in semi-controlled environments such as moving objects in warehouses	The financial and insurance sector will continue to be highly impacted, along with other sectors with a higher proportion of clerical support, including public and administration, manufacturing, and transport and storage	women & men	middle
Automomy wave	2030–	Automation of physical labour and manual dexterity, and problem solving in dynamic real-world situations that require responsive actions, such as in transport and manufacturing	Sectors such as construction, water, sewage and waste management, and transport and storage with the advent of fully autonomous vehicles and robots	men	middle & old

Of the diverse industrial activities, manufacturing is considered to be the sector with the highest exposure in terms of labour market supply over the next ten to fifteen years. According to an estimation from current data, 384,500 jobs will be affected here through the impact of artificial intelligence. I consider all this to be a particularly harmful and deadly process for the Hungarian industrial structure. I am referring here to the fact that the automotive industry, which accounts for a large share of Hungarian industrial production, barely contains any added value. There are no innovations in Hungary, thus the added value in these sectors is extremely low. In fact, Hungary is able to operate as an assembly plant for foreign, mostly German, multinational companies in the automotive industry. It is not enough to attribute the cause of this phenomenon to the traditionally intensive trade relations between Germany and Hungary. The rise of low value-added workflows is also supported by policy-making. The fate of the younger strata of workers, who are on the verge of entering the labour market and who imagine their future as remaining in Hungary, will become even more dangerous, and the polarisation of the labour market will become even sharper. From the 2030s onwards, these jobs will be triggered at a rapid, accelerating pace, by robots backed by artificial intelligence, rendering the position of mass labour redundant.

Hungary's competitive advantage in the cheap labour market is being lost. The workforce represents masses of people who will not be able to mobilise in any other sector, and they face a serious threat of long-term poverty. If, however, they are able to change jobs, the horror of long-term unemployment, as seen in the Beveridge curves presented earlier, may weigh on younger generations. During an automotive wave, the more experienced strata of the labour market (after 10-15 years) are beginning to be increasingly weighted by the process of job shortage. Among them, the risk of further deterioration of poor health, which is typical of the Hungarian population, must be taken into account. Regarding the deteriorating health status of the Hungarian population, see WHO & Dr. Gaál, P. et al. (2016).

Increasing mortality rates will have to be expected, and health care expenditure on the population may soar, and the social sector will not be able to address the resulting additional tasks. From a societal point of view, the negative trends presented above due to the increasing polarisation of the labour market are expected to intensify. An increase in the poverty trap, a deepening of political divisions, rising crime rates and a deepening increase in health and mental problems are all expected to occur.

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION POINTS

As every aspect of human life will be affected by the labour market impact of artificial intelligence, several facts and tendencies, which have so far been interpreted as evidence, should, in the near future, be considered and discussed not only as scientific questions but also as social issues. Some of these debates have already begun, among them issues raised in this article, while others have not yet been proposed as the subject of debates in the near future.

In the above study, regarding the American and Hungarian economies as case studies, some economic and related sociological processes were examined. The analyses were framed by the labour market effects of developments in artificial intelligence, which were compounded by the general, unprecedented economic

processes caused by the new coronavirus, which we expect to have a decisive presence in the foreseeable future. Each trend will be accompanied by an accelerating increase in social inequalities. The presented processes – also in connection with the not too distant future of the labour market – will be given priority, as half the work activities will disappear or be transformed. We expect processes to begin, for which there are currently no established solutions. As most occupations will be involved in the emerging processes, we can expect comprehensive societal changes in which all subsystems and actors in society will be involved.

(1) In connection with the rapidly increasing polarisation of the labour market, we raise the question of the feasibility of introducing a general basic income, which has already occurred in many places and forms in the world, its long-term applicability and effects being unclear.

(2) It is important to rethink and revise the review of education systems, especially in countries with a similar level of economic development to that of Hungary, as current education models have limited consideration of the rapid inflation of knowledge. In knowledge-based economies, rather than providing 'longlife learning,' the emphasis should be on teaching learners how to learn effectively and quickly.

(3) It would be of paramount importance for each state to develop specific state strategies in which artificial intelligence, the labour market and education systems coexist, and policy activities related to them coexist in parallel. In addition to the above, of course, we need to rethink a number of other issues in the coming years. The above three issues raised arbitrarily take place in parallel with the popularisation of political systems in the world, which further increases the vulnerability of social systems, and the risk level and vulnerability of social groups with low advocacy capacity.

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Innovation Trends and the Labour Market

How Do We Respond to the Needs of People with Disabilities?

Introduction: The impact of innovation on the labour market

International strategic documents on the employment situation and educational integration of people with disabilities highlight the fact that they are less favourable compared to the situation of the non-disabled, active age population. The proportion of people with disabilities within the total population, according to OECD and UN research, is 14-15% (OECD, 2018, ENSZ 2012). Their economic activity differs in various countries, yet half the active age population may be considered inactive (EB, 2010, ENSZ, 2012; ILO, 2017). According to OECD research conducted in 2016, the employment rates of people with disabilities were the best in Iceland, Sweden and Switzerland. These values were the lowest in Hungary, Slovakia and the United States of America (OECD, 2018). Employed people with disabilities are more likely to work in a position with a lower salary, requiring a lower level of education (ENSZ, 2012). Domestic data also shows that the unemployment rate of people with advanced professional expertise, which is of more value in the labour market, is considerably lower compared to those with secondary or lower education. In 2019, the unemployment rate of people aged 15-74 with primary education was 9.7%, while the rate of those with secondary and post-secondary, non-tertiary education was 3% and that of people with tertiary education was only 1.5% (EUROSTAT, 2020). Technological development, and the labour market impact of the knowledge economy based on innovation, appears primarily in enterprises applying more advanced processes and technologies where people with higher levels of higher education are employed (Piva & Vivarelli, 2018). The impact of innovation on the situation of vulnerable social groups in the labour market, especially people with disabilities, is a relevant issue.

Originally, innovation was defined as introducing a new product, creating a new manufacturing process, new market entry in a country's market, raw material procurement or organisational transformation (Keresztes, 2013). Today, however, it has become a widely used term. In addition to economic life and industrial technologies, it is also included in the conceptual set of social sciences, where it has assumed a multidimensional and more complex meaning. The overall introduction of the concept

of innovation and its theoretical definition in the context of economy, sociology and the impact on the development of a capitalist economy may be attributed to Schumpeter (Schumpeter 1980, 1994). In his works he examines how development based on innovation in advanced industrial societies affects both employment and unemployment. According to Schumpeter, innovation ensures the possibility of departing from cyclically changing economic systems and the way in which existing or new goods can be produced at a new level of quality, combining existing resources in a different way (Schumpeter, 1980). Innovation means that an idea not only emerges, but it is also implemented. Schumpeter highlights the realisation of an innovative concept: it is not merely the scientific research or the development itself that is important, but rather the application, the result achieved by the contractor, that becomes economically relevant. So, the effect on the market is what makes a new idea interesting (Schumpeter, 1980). Innovation is not the idea itself, it is the realisation, the spread and the fundamental impulse of the idea, that keeps capitalism in motion. His theory of innovation has an economic and sociological approach, and is not exclusively concerned with products, transport possibilities and new markets, hence it also concerns further organisational changes. This represents more than new ideas, inventions or the birth of a new technology, but is rather about their application for a new product, their combination and introduction to the market, even if this technology already exists. While their implementation is an economic function, it is also more than that, as the resistance of the environment has to be confronted due to the diversity of society's attitudes and preparedness for change. Thus, it is not enough to merely have new inventions, as they need to be put into practice (Schumpeter, 1994). One of Schumpeter's key concepts is that of *creative deconstruction*, which not only involves the deconstruction of the existing combination of economic and technological structures, but also involves the appearance of new and valuable economic and technological combinations. The old capital stock loses its value for lack of innovation, and previous technologies and structures become superfluous, while the new ones become valuable. Although there are social losses, such as unemployment, for which solutions can be found, creative deconstruction results in increased prosperity (Komlos, 2016). There are several technological innovations, achieved by rational science, that create immediate economic profit. They contribute to social and economic development and even if unemployment should occur, it is manageable. In addition, development achieved by innovation involves a departure from the old technology, which is compensated by new jobs. Schumpeter mentions the development of healthcare as an example. Despite not being profit oriented, methods used in hospitals are developed by will power in capitalist rationalism.

1. The innovation economy and employment

New products, such as aeroplanes, televisions and refrigerators, and new, more valuable jobs, were created by the industrial and technological innovations and new technological industries of the 20th century. They created unemployment in terms of the traditional, discontinuing industrial technologies. However, working towards a solution to this problem, with sufficient planning, does not necessarily impose an unbearable burden on the capitalist economy. Every prosperous period is followed by more difficult periods, when unemployment rises. This is a cyclic phenomenon, which can change due to political or economic decisions, wage policy, the transformation of the institutional system, or a foreign policy situation. Expenditure on unemployment and supplies does not represent an unmanageable problem in a developed capitalist economy, and there is no need to fear that a steady rise in unemployment will become a lasting feature of the capitalist economy (Schumpeter, 1994). The pace of technological development is accelerating, so its impact on the labour market and the consequences of innovation processes are of great relevance for vulnerable social groups. According to critics, the consequences of creative destruction are that it is precisely those who find it more difficult to succeed in the labour market who suffer the most as a consequence of trends in innovation. In addition to those who benefit, there are numerous people who do not benefit from the evolutionary progress, which is painful (Komlos, 2016). In his study of the economic and social impact of creative destruction, John Komlos cites as an example the downsizing of the large Kodak company, which employed only 8,000 people from its former 145,000 workers by 2014 after recovering from bankruptcy. As a result of creative deconstruction, the media labour market in the United States lost 125,000 jobs in 15 years between 1999 and 2014, creating 212,000 new jobs instead of 424,000. While the impact of economic cycles is slowly reaching the point where the employment rate of disadvantaged workers begins to rise, these workers experience the greatest difficulty in trying to avoid the negative effects of such crises. Advances in technology create a higher need for qualifications to fill new jobs, which can increase the disadvantage of those with lower qualifications. As a result, unemployment caused by technological development may become permanent unless there is a significant change in education and vocational training. As a result of technological advances and innovation, jobless recovery becomes unemployment growth, in which, with the transformation of technologies and production methods, fewer workers can achieve the growth of gross national product, GNP (Brynjolfsson & McAfee, 2012).

Workers with very high incomes and up-to-date and marketable knowledge may choose to spend less time at work and have more free time, while under-skilled workers who lose their jobs or are at a disadvantage due to disability will not benefit from the changes. Overall, both those who benefit and those who do not work less than before, reducing the overall time spent in employment (Brynjolfsson & McAfee, 2014). In a study cited earlier, John Komlos notes that as a result of economic and technological innovations following the 2008 economic crisis, the employment and population ratios in the United States fell by about 5 percentage points from 2008 to 2014. Significantly, 12.5% of the workforce are underemployed, and are thus employed

in positions requiring lower knowledge and shorter working hours than merited by their knowledge, practice, experience and expected job. The growth of GNP has been separated from employment as companies have shifted from human work to robotics, and employees are becoming increasingly redundant due to automation. In his view, the state of permanent underemployment is expected to remain with us in the future, contrary to Schumpeter's original claim (Komlos, 2016).

Studies measuring the impact of innovation on employment are mostly conducted among the companies concerned, which are knowledge-intensive and fast-growing firms in the innovation sector (European Innovation Scoreboard). However, Zimmermann extended his research to 12,000 German companies in the medium and small business sector (Zimmermann, 2009). The main finding of the study is that innovation has a positive impact on employment in both growing and declining small and medium-sized enterprises. However, the situation is more nuanced than this, as innovation has a much stronger impact on the number of employees in companies with stronger growth than in those with slower or weakening growth. The study distinguishes between product and process innovations. According to the analysis, the introduction of new processes or the further development of previous processes has a stronger impact on employment than product innovations. According to Zimmermann, the positive effects of innovation on employment are therefore not limited to a few segments of the economy, and economic policies aimed at strengthening the innovative strength of companies provide a broad incentive for employment (Zimmermann, 2009). Zimmermann examined the companies surveyed on the basis of data from 2003, 2005 and 2006. Of the surveyed enterprises, 55% introduced innovation, 34% applied process innovation related to product production and 46% applied product innovation. The increase in the level of employment of the companies investigated was significant at 4.3% during the period considered. In addition, recent research highlights the importance of analysing the links between technological innovation and employment. While Zimmermann has rather measured the direct impact of innovations and his findings are valid for a shorter period of time, longer-term studies provide a more nuanced picture of the effects of process innovations and product innovations on employment (Piva & Vivarelli, 2019). The study rests on an analysis based on the European Commission's Joint Research Centre (JRC) Scoreboard database. The database included the 1000 most important European (EU) R&D service and industrial companies investing between 2002 and 2013. The study analysed the companies' net sales, capital inflow, R&D expenditure, and employment labour cost data. The positive effect on employment is predominant in high-tech companies, while it is not evident in low-tech companies. Process innovations lead to lower prices and increased investment. If this increases demand and production growth, new jobs may be created, which will compensate for initial job losses. The labour-saving effects of product innovations, and the labour-saving effects of process innovation, are offset by different mechanisms, the effectiveness of which is again weakened by other mechanisms, and these can appear in a variety of different combinations. Thus, they result in different and somehow unpredictable employment outcomes (Piva & Vivarelli 2019, 3). However, the positive findings of the study on higher technology companies also show that less innovative companies, which represent the vast majority of European companies and are more tied to traditional production activities, may not increase their employment (Piva & Vivarelli, 2019, Kancs & Siliverstovs, 2015).

2. THE IMPACT OF TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATION ON THE EMPLOYMENT OF PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES IN INDUSTRIES RELATED TO STEM (SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY, ENGINEERING, AND MATHEMATICS)

Fewer people with disabilities have a higher level of education, so they are under-represented in professions and jobs that require greater expertise. However, this is not the only reason why their participation in high-tech industries and services based on technological innovation is proportionally lower than their share of the overall active age population. At the same time, companies with the most advanced technology still employ fewer people with disabilities than non-disabled people with similar qualifications. According to the 2014 ACS PUMS (US Census Bureau's American Community Survey Public Use Microdata Sample) survey, 54% of disabled people with a bachelor's degree in the U.S. are employed, compared to 31% of those with only a high school diploma. In contrast, 84% of non-disabled people between the ages of 21 and 64 are employed (Erickson et al., 2018). The reason may therefore not only be due to the gap in educational attainment related to STEM specialisations. Young people with disabilities face many more barriers than their non-disabled peers, such as negative attitudes from within the environment and the presence of physical barriers. So, even if they are admitted into STEM-type education, many external barriers still exist to businesses that base their acivities on technological innovation (Erickson et al., 2018). Out-of-school programmes, strengthening community and social relationships, and using professional and mentoring opportunities all contribute to improving employment opportunities (Erickson et al., 2019). While the employment rate of people with disabilities in high-tech industries lags behind that of traditional industries, we are faced with a paradox of economic participation and prosperity: modern technologies contribute to better work and a better quality of life, while at the same time they can also increase social inequalities by excluding the most vulnerable groups from the higher-income labour market. State-of-the-art technologies and the opportunities provided by the digital world can provide an opportunity to transform employment and labour market structures, but at the same time the possibility of exclusion can further deepen the social and economic gap (Yu et al., 2019). One of the key findings of the 2014 PUMS study is that people with disabilities who have gained a bachelor's degree or higher in STEM courses, which correspond with the needs of state-of-the-art and dynamically developing industries, are much more likely to find themselves unemployed than non-disabled people with similar qualifications. STEM occupations include: engineering, life and physical sciences, mathematics, information technology occupations, social science occupations and architecture while STEM-healthcare occupations include: physicians, nurses, dentists, pharmacists and physiotherapists). As Erikson et al state, 'Individuals with a STEM bachelor's degree with a disability are 3.8 times more likely to be unemployed than individuals without disabilities (13.1% divided by 3.5%). Those in STEM healthcare-related fields are 2.5 times more likely to be unemployed, and those with non-STEM or non-STEM-healthcare-related degrees are 2.7 times more likely to be unemployed' (Erickson et

al., 2019). The benefits of a high level of qualification and up-to-date knowledge only really exist among people with disabilities, yet they are at a disadvantage compared to people with similar qualifications who are not disabled. Knowledge adapted to sectors driven by knowledge and technological innovation does not provide an absolute advantage, and we come to different findings and draw different conclusions regarding the impact of innovation on employment and job retention (Piva & Vivarelli, 2019).

Future changes remain unpredictable and the inherent feature of economic life is uncertainty (Könczei & Zsolnai, 2004). As Könczei and Zsolnai also note, in traditional economics the individual appears as a resource and income-generating factor. People with a disability are ignored in this sense, and their qualities only become relevant if they generate economic benefits and if the company finds a suitable position where their productivity can be optimised and it is worth employing them on the basis of cost-benefit calculation. In this case, as a resource for the company, such employees produce an economic result and are of the same benefit as any other employee. Favourable conditions can be created if public provisions, sanctions and incentives are introduced, if companies are given an advantage by receiving compensation for employment costs, or if employment obligations and economic sanctions are imposed should companies not employ a person with a disability.

3. SOCIAL AND PERSON-CENTRED INNOVATION OPPORTUNITIES – PERSON-CENTRED INNOVATION IN INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

Different perspectives and approaches, procedures and responses to societal needs may all be interpreted as innovations (Nemes & Varga, 2015). At the same time, their application in the social sciences and policies based on them raise the concept to multidimensionality and enter a new field of interpretation. We can examine social innovation on the one hand as a process, a procedure, and on the other hand as a value-based solution for solving a particular problem or challenge, in which business benefits are no longer primary, and moreover we may list processes that change a social value or social structure or an implemented norm (Nemes & Varga, 2015). As defined in EU Regulation 1296/2013 on a European Union Programme for Employment and Social Innovation (amending Decision 283/2010/EU establishing a European Progress Microfinance Facility for Employment and Social Inclusion), social innovations relate to the development and implementation of new ideas and, at the same time, to meeting societal needs and creating new social relationships or collaborations, thereby benefitting society and enhancing society's capacity to act (EaSI, 2013). We have to take into account that the latter definition deals primarily with the concept of innovation at a national and community level, which affects the whole of society or at least its large systems, so we need to narrow the focus of interpretation with regard to small-scale employment and labour market innovations. In particular, the concept of innovation should be narrowed down to practices and complex procedures that achieve the social participation of people with disabilities by facilitating access to employment, taking into account the specific situation of the individual, by breaking

down the characteristics of the environment that concern disability. The European Pillar of Social Rights (EP, EC, 2017) summarises in 20 points the fundamental rights and the resulting courses of action that can work together to increase employment in Europe and increase people's social security. Point 5 on secure and flexible employment calls for support for innovative forms of work that ensure quality working conditions (EP, EC, 2017, 5.c.). The aim of the United Nations Summit on Sustainable Development: Transforming Our World: A Framework for Sustainable Development 2030 Objective 27 is to ensure fair, decent work and build dynamic, sustainable, innovative and people-centred economies for all. There is a strong emphasis on a well-trained workforce equipped with the appropriate knowledge and skills to complete the given tasks and become full members of society (UN, 2015). Point 8 of the document calls for the provision of decent work for all men and women, including people with disabilities (UN, 2015). The overarching goal of the ILO's human-centred agenda (51) is to invest in decent and sustainable work through a people-centred growth and development path. This people-centred growth depends to a large extent on the coordinated operation and synergy of financial and trade policies, which is of paramount importance for the well-being and spiritual development of individuals through decent work. *Trade and financial policies are important means to the material welfare and spiritual development of the person through decent work* (ILO, 2019,56).

The contribution of innovation-led growth to social participation is somewhat questionable. Contrary to the traditional interpretation of poverty, Max-Neef breaks away from the economic approach to poverty, arguing that any unmet basic human need also represents a form of human poverty. Neef identifies nine types of human needs, one of which is participation. Exclusion due to membership of a minority from community relations or from the exercise of a right, such as exclusion from work, also causes poverty (Smith & Max-Neef, 2011). Regardless of the economic situation of people with a disability, if they are unable to participate in the world of work, they can be considered poor. Even if they contribute to economic growth at a macro level, innovation processes can cause exclusion and specific poverty in vulnerable social groups. At the heart of the success of social, labour market and employment innovations lies a proper relationship between employee and decent work and between individuals and their environment.

SUMMARY

All technological innovations and knowledge-intensive developments that strengthen growth and contribute to improving the efficiency of economies can have an effective social impact insofar as they are accompanied by people-centred and inclusive labour market policies. As employers pay increasing attention to finding and recruiting well-trained workers, it is inevitable that they pay attention to creating an inclusive environment during education, including not only healthy workplaces, but also including knowledge management, career opportunities, universal planning aspects and the use of mentoring programmes (Erickson, 2019, O'Mally et al., 2016).

An inclusive, people-centred approach becomes tangible in a microenvironment. Employers who create an inclusive environment and involve their employees with disabilities in developments and allow their innovation potential to unfold are more

likely to have employees who keep their jobs, who are less likely to face discrimination and are less likely to be hindered in their career development. Only 26% of them feel discriminated against, compared to 41% of those employed elsewhere. In addition, 45% perceive limited career opportunities with an inclusive leader who develops innovation opportunities, while 66% perceive it with a non-inclusive leader (Sherbin et al., 2017).

A person with a disability should not be seen as a factor of production or a mere resource, but primarily as a person who lives in the community, whose economic value is only one among others (Könczei & Zsolnai, 2004). People intrinsically represent a value, and their identity is not based on the degree to which they adapt to their physical environment. It is built on human relationships as an intrinsic value, and its personal relationships are of significance regardless of any economic or social benefit (Goodley, 2019). People who belong to vulnerable social groups can find a job that matches their skills and knowledge, and they can find their path in their career and in society through innovations that favour the person rather than the product or the efficiency of the organisation.

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Katona, Vanda – she graduated as a sociologist, and works as an assistant professor at the Institute for General Theory of Special Needs Education at ELTE Bárczi Gusztáv Faculty of Special Needs Education. She defended her PhD dissertation at ELTE PhD School of Education, in the Special Needs Education Program in 2015. The topic of her dissertation was the Independent Living of persons with physical disabilities, focused on their resilience, based on a participatory approach. She has conducted several participatory research projects and teaches students of special needs education on bachelor and master level. The field of her research and teaching activities are: disability studies, transition to adulthood and parenting of persons with disabilities, social history of disability, social inclusion, deinstitutionalization, inclusive research and inclusive methods in higher education. She is the leader of the Disability Studies Doctoral Workshop and a core member of Freekey and the Disability/Studies/and Social/Innovation Lab.

Kereki, Judit – economist, special education teacher. Since 2010 she has been working at the Eötvös Loránd University Bárczi Gusztáv Faculty of Special Needs Education, at the Institute of General Theory for Special Needs Education and the Institute of Atypical Behavior and Cognition. As a researcher, university lecturer, professional leader and developer of EU funded and domestic projects, she primarily deals with the topic of early childhood intervention, with special emphasis on the operation of the care system and its development potential. In particular, her focus is on cross-sectoral interdisciplinary collaborations, the implementation of a unified children's path and the development of the regulatory background of the early childhood institutional system.

Keszi, Roland – he is a sociologist and assistant professor at the Institute for Disability and Social Participation (ELTE University, Faculty of Special Needs Education). He graduated as a sociologist at ELTE University with a parallel graduate degree in research sociology and change management. He graduated from the Budapest University of Economics and Public Administration (Corvinus University) with an MBA. He wrote and defended his doctoral (PhD) dissertation on empirical organizational sociology. He gained business and management experience in Hungarian and multinational companies.

Kondor, Zsuzsa – expert of social policy, social science researcher and trainer. Fields of expertise: community based social services of people with disability and specifically people with psycho-social disability, deinstitutionalization.

Kovács, Gábor – sociologist, student of the Special Education Program at the ELTE Doctoral School of Education. He is specialized in developing innovative employment and labour market programs and social enterprises.

Mecséri, Júlia – sociologist. She is an employment professional at National Lottery Company of Hungary since 2008. She graduated in 2005 at the Faculty of Social Sciences of ELTE. She is currently attending the ELTE Doctoral School of Education, and her research area is integration of people with disabilities.

Papp, Gabriella – special education teacher specialised in teaching persons with intellectual disabilities and persons with visual impairment. Dean and university teacher at the Eötvös Loránd University Bárczi Gusztáv Faculty of Special Needs Education. Her main education areas are: training development, masters and doctoral training of special education students with learning disabilities (mildly intellectual disabilities) and the methodological issues of co-education (integration, inclusion). As a guest lecturer at university-level education in Hungary and Germany, she has led a number of courses training pre-school, education, engineering, and economics professionals. Her research, projects and publications are mainly related to these topics, supplemented in recent years by the issues of career planning and career orientation of people with disabilities.

Main publications related to the topic:

Papp G. (ed., 2015). *Út a munka világába*. Budapest: BME Tanárképző Központ.

Papp G. (ed., 2015). *Sajátos nevelési igényű tanulók, fiatalok a szakképzésben. Ajánlások szakképzők számára*. Budapest: BME Tanárképző Központ.

Papp G., Cserti-Szauer Cs., Dávid A. & Fehér I. (2014). Komplex felnőttképzési és foglalkozási rehabilitációs fejlesztéssel a fogyatékos és megváltozott munkaképességű munkavállalók munkaerő-piaci sikeréért. *Szak- és felnőttképzés*, *3*(5-6), 18–22.

Perlusz, Andrea – she is a special education teacher and teacher of special pedagogy habilitated in educational science. She works at Eötvös Loránd University Bárczi Gusztáv Faculty of Special Needs Education as a professor and a Deputy Dean of Scientific and Strategic Affairs.

Her research areas are: integrated/inclusive education, the characteristics of schools that are effective for all. Integration, inclusion, educational achievement, educational effectiveness, social inclusion of persons with special educational needs, in particular those with hearing impairment, the rehabilitation and social integration of people with hearing impairments, in particular, career planning and integration at work.

Ratzka, Adolf – he is married, has one daughter, is a user of personal assistance, ventilator and power chair since 1961. He has a BA degree from the UCLA in sociology, a BA degree in psychology and an MA degree in Business Administration. He received his PhD in Urban Land Economics. He is the founder of the Institute on Independent Living Sweden, which he directed until 2017. He was involved in several research and development projects on both national and international level. He hold lectures on disability and self-determiniation issues in over 30 countries and participated in United Nations Expert Seminars on disability as invited expert/resource person on Independent Living in Vienna, Stockholm, Estonia, Finland, Beijing, and Costa Rica. He is the member of the Scientific Board of the Hungarian periodical *Fogyatékosság és Társadalom* [Disability and Society], distinguished fellow of the Review of Disability Studies and overseas editor of Disability & Society. In 2017, he won ULOBA's Pride Award for being Europe's leading activists in the fight for equality for disabled people for nearly five centuries.

Róka, Luca – she graduated in 2020 as a special needs educator at ELTE. She continues her studies at master level to be a Human Resource Counsellor. In the future at my work she would like to use the knowledge she gained studying special needs education in harmony with her knowledge in economy.

Sándor, Anikó – she graduated as a special needs teacher and therapist and as an economist. Her doctoral dissertation examined the self-determination possibilites and challenges of adults with high support needs. She is a founding member of Freekey and the Disability/Studies/and Social/Innovation Lab. She is the leader of the Disability Studies Doctoral Workshop and a mentor of the Social Entrepreneurship Incubation Program. The field of her research and teaching activities are: Disability Studies, partcipatory research and teaching, supported decision making, community based support services, Personal Assistance, high support needs, end of life care.

Svastics, Carmen – has degrees in humanities and sociology. She is a full-time lecturer at the Bárczi Gusztáv Faculty of Special Needs Education at Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest and is responsible for vocational language training. She is also equality adviser, and expert in education policy and project development. In her previous work, she has worked in many areas of discrimination and development policy, and has been involved in the work of the European Union, central administration, and international and civil society organisations. She is currently researching the topic of entrepreneurs with disabilities as part of a Budapest Business School research group. She is writing her doctoral dissertation on the relationship between language, power and disability.

Török, Réka – she is a career decision-making specialist, researcher, developer of multiple career counselling systems in Hungary, also working as the lead expert at Kilátó Center. In her book, 'A pályadöntések mesterei' (Masters of career decisions, 2017) she focuses on the characteristics of career guidance for students with special educational needs and disabilities. Her most beloved areas of expertise are career diagnostics and digital tools of career counselling. She has been part of the developments since the founding of Kilátó Center.

Vissi, Tímea – she is a conductor, special needs teacher, PhD student at Doctoral School of Education, ELTE University. She is an assistant researcher at the Institute for Conductive Education at SE Pető András Faculty. Her current research fields are the following: social inclusion of children and adults with cerebral palsy as a complex disability, quality of life of children and adults with complex disability, children with complex disability in education.

ABSTRACTS

Bánfalvy, Csaba

The Social Integration of Disabled Persons: The Contribution of Education and Employment

The paper is based on the findings of INCLUD-ED ᴅ Strategies for inclusion and social cohesion in Europe from education (2006–2011), a European Union research project. The main purpose of the project was to map educational strategies that might enhance social cohesion as well as those leading to social exclusion within the European knowledge based community. INCLUD-ED also aimed to provide key elements and lines of action to improve educational and social policy (European Commission, 2011). Successful educational actions highlighted by the INCLUD-ED project even today might support schools in becoming learning communities, besides promoting the involvement of families to their children's pathways, and establishing intersectoral integrative actions. (Flecha, 2015)

Keywords: inclusive education, inclusive society, knowledge based community, social policy

Billédi, Katalin – Cserti-Szauer, Csilla – Kondor, Zsuzsa – Papp, Gabriella – Perlusz, Andrea

A Second Chance with Lifelong Guidance in Northern Hungary

The Life Path Research and Development Programme supports students living in a highly disadvantaged micro-region in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County. Without targeted, multidisciplinary and cross-sectoral intervention, these students are likely to be early school leavers and excluded from the labour market. In this study, we present the first results of field research that seeks to break this negative spiral with a diverse system of career planning in a supranational, national and local context, while focusing on the individual person.

Keywords: career development, self-knowledge, disadvantaged students, early school leaving, Life Path Research and Development Programme.

Csángó, Dániel

Social Entrepreneurship in the Context of Business and Disability Studies

This paper is based on my dissertation 'Social Entrepreneurship in the Context of Business and Disability Studies', written for the Commerce and Marketing BSc Programme of the Budapest Business School.

From the perspective of Disability Studies, the phenomenon of disability is not intrinsically a medical question but rather one of social and human rights. People are disabled because their rights are violated, and they do not receive the appropriate support they require to be a full member of society. To address this issue, the Independent Living movement of disabled people has demanded social services and regulations. The Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) drafted by the UN became the most important protocol for identifying and safeguarding the rights of disabled people.

My research focuses on how social enterprises employing people with disabilities can support independent living as well as strengthening a national economy. As a disabled person myself, I conducted desk research by analysing literature on the theory of independent living, the employment of people with disabilities, and the companies that employ them. To further reinforce my point, I discussed best practices that combine these different approaches. The Hungarian Para-gastro movement is a group of social enterprises that all operate in the gastronomy sector, employing persons with disabilities in a sustainable way.

Keywords: Disability Studies, Economy, Social Entrepreneurship, Para-gastro Movement

Cserti-Szauer, Csilla – Bányai, Borbála – Katona, Vanda – Sándor, Anikó

Narratives of Struggle: Lifelong Guidance and Future Planning Alternatives for People with Disabilities in Hungary

Our participatory research entitled 'Carry on! The development of lifelong guidance services supporting lifelong learning through the training of professionals in the field of special needs education and employment' maps the experiences of disabled students in the Hungarian school system and focused on their networks.

We have integrated the results of our research organically into training and curriculum development, strengthening the availability of lifelong guidance and future planning topics in the courses offered at the Eötvös Loránd University Bárczi Gusztáv Faculty of Special Needs Education.

Keywords: lifelong guidance, future planning, disabled people, students with special educational needs

Dunás-Varga, Ildikó

Attitudes Regarding the Education and Employment of Persons with Disabilities

This study aims to present European and Hungarian analyses of attitudes towards persons with disabilities in the areas of education and training. Previously published data on employment and degrees awarded in higher education also presents a clear overview of the effects of negative discrimination in Hungary. The second part of this study presents the 'multi-discriminatory model', referring to both Hungarian and foreign studies and experiences. The model is furthermore applicable to the examination of other groups, regarding whom there is a wide range of discriminatory attitudes. The third section of this study provides a short description of ongoing research findings and presents further planned steps.

Keywords: attitudes, education, employment, people with disabilities

Kereki, Judit

The State of Early Childhood Intervention and Opportunities for Development in Hungary

The ways in which early childhood intervention is interpreted create the context in which structural problems may be identified and improvements made. Observing international trends and integrating elements of functioning systems from abroad into the national model in Hungary provides an opportunity to develop a more effectively functioning system for early childhood intervention in this country. In the present study, I will discuss a project targeting the cross-sectoral development of early childhood intervention in Hungary that builds upon international experience as well as on previous research and development. Besides identifying a unified, integrated and clear-cut Children's Pathway in the system, the project also establishes the foundations of a system that is based on the work of a coordinated, integrated, interdisciplinary team.

Keywords: early childhood intervention, services system, Children's Pathway, interdisciplinary team, family centred services

Keszi, Roland

Earthquake in the Labour Market: The Effects of the Artificial Intelligence in the Shadow of the Coronavirus Armageddon

Over the next ten years, the jobs of many hundreds of millions of people worldwide, and in Hungary those of approximately 900,000 people, will be transformed by the effects of artificial intelligence. This study examines the economic and labour market trends and underlying sociological megatrends that should be highlighted among

the processes related to the spread of artificial intelligence. The main focus of the study is on the effects of artificial intelligence, which may be amplified by those of the coronavirus crisis, and we expect a marked emergence of the trends reviewed in this study in the near future. The study illustrates the economic and social processes that will also affect the jobs of employees with altered work capacity, with longitudinal and cross-sectional research findings on the American and Hungarian labour markets.

Keywords: artificial intelligence, labour market, labour market polarisation, labour market megatrends, unemployment

KOVÁCS, GÁBOR

Innovation Trends and the Labour Market: How Do We Respond to the Needs of People with Disabilities?

One of the cornerstones of economic growth in the 20th century, the development of an economy based on innovation, is also currently rearranging social and employment structures with the development of institutions, enterprises and technologies. The strengthening and weakening of economies and the development of various market tendencies will sooner or later also affect the labour market activity of people with disabilities. It is a question of how technological and economic innovations affect the employment situation of social groups in different situations. Establishing and maintaining appropriate relationships between employees and decent work, and individuals and their environment, lies at the heart of the success of social, labour market and employment innovations.

Keywords: innovation, employee, people with disabilities, people-centred growth

MECSÉRI, JÚLIA

How Can a Company Take an Active Part in the Social Integration of People with Disabilities?

The employment of people with disabilities at a corporation. The activities of the National Lottery Company (Szerencsejáték Zrt.) in the field of disabilities from the beginning: from employment to an awareness of members of society.

Keywords: employment, awareness raising

RATZKA, ADOLF

National Personal Assistance Policies:What We Need and How to Work for It?

Members of the disability movement need to work for national personal assistance policies in their countries. The paper examines following questions: What features must these contain in order to be empowering and how can disabled activists work for

such policies? What do we expect from such a policy? What can personal assistance do for the lives of people with disabilities? The author outlines a strategy to work for a decent society and comes to the conclusion, that people with disabilities are profoundly ordinary people because, like everybody else, they need to live, love, and work among their friends and family in the community – with personal assistance.

Keywords: Independent Living, Personal Assistance, national policies, direct payments

RóKA, LUCA

Career Guidance for Disadvantaged Students in the Hungarian Education System

During the 20th Century career guidance attracted more attention and in the course of the last hundred years it has became an aim to support it with career counselling, specific activities and other services aimed at helping students find their profession. Students from disadvantaged social groups particularly need further support, as they often do not have adequate support from their family or environment, which makes choosing a career even more difficult. Without the appropriate support they can easily choose a career that is not right for them and not all of them have the chance to choose and learn a new career later.

The aim of this study is to summarise the career counselling, activities and other services that are provided inside and outside schools for students from disadvantaged backgrounds and to map the knowledge and experience that students have of career guidance.

Keywords: career guidance, career counselling, career choice, disadvantaged groups, schools' support

SVASTICS, CARMEN – CSILLAG, SÁRA – GYŐRI, ZSUZSANNA

Entrepreneurs with Disabilities in Hungary: A New Solution for Work Inclusion?

Our paper examines the motivations of persons with disabilities for establishing a business venture as a possible solution to unemployment and to challenges experienced in the labour market. By highlighting the results of an exploratory qualitative research project, with a sample group of ten Hungarian entrepreneurs living with sight loss and physical disabilities, we wish to contribute to the growing body of empirical research on entrepreneurs with disabilities. We suggest that entrepreneurship may provide some of the flexibility, career options and challenges needed by persons with disabilities to fulfil their true potentials and participate in the labour market. While the sample size may represent serious limitations, our aim was to draw attention to the labour market activities of entrepreneurs with disabilities (EWD) and to explore and indicate some initial patterns and insights, which could deepen the academic and professional understanding of their situation in the future and inform both academia and policy.

Key words: entrepreneurs with disabilities, labour market participation, motivation

Török, Réka

The Founding of a Service Centre: The Most Significant Results of the Content and Methodological Developments Conducted by the Kilátó Piarist Career Guidance and Labour Market Development Centre

The Hungarian Province of the Piarist Order has been operating the Kilátó Centre, an institution that has provided career guidance and labour market development in the city of Vác since 2018. The centre provides work diagnostics, career guidance and labour market services to young people who need special attention and care – with a particular focus on young people between 12 and 30 years of age with special educational needs. The Kilátó Centre also serves as an institution for methodological innovation, education, research and development. The main objective of the research and development process, launched in early 2017, was to develop services aimed at meeting the needs of the target groups, also building on results from prior research. The present paper introduces the primary principles, developmental stages and service activities that stem from the methodological and content development process. The institution operates with nearly 25 employees in 2020 and plays a unique role in the professional fulfilment of young people.

Keywords: career guidance centre, career diagnostics, students with special educational needs (SEN), research and development, inclusive career guidance, accompaniment, participatory approach

Vissi, Tímea

'Hello, I am here!': Psycho-Emotional Disablism in the Life Stories of People with Disabilities

Social disablism and its effect on psycho-emotional well-being is a topic that has been examined to some extent within the scope of Disability Studies (DS). Reeve (2004) suggests expansion of the social model through incorporation of the psycho-emotional dimension, which enables a thorough comprehension of disabilities. My investigations have followed this approach by way of secondary analyses of life-stories, focus group interview and field diaries of participant observation. Seven Norwegian persons living with physical disabilities shared their experience and offered insights into their lives, and five parents or personal assistants took part in the focus group interview. The research focused on the presence of direct or indirect disablism in the interviews and the field diary, its effect on the participants' lives, and the analysis of disablism generated reactions. For a better comprehension of the results the analysis was set in a social context.

Keywords: psycho-emotional disablism, complex disability, stereotypes

As Seamus Hegarty elaborated: 'In an ideal world there would be no special schools since every child would receive an appropriate education in a local community school. No country is near achieving that goal, apart perhaps from Italy, and it has to be assumed that special schools will feature on the map of special education for some time to come. But that does not mean they can continue unchanged. Special schools have many advantages – concentration of expertise in teaching pupils with various disabilities, modified curricula and programmes of work, adapted buildings and equipment, training opportunities for staff, and links with local employers and post-school training agencies. These are the very things whose absence from ordinary schools makes them ineffectual in educating pupils with disabilities. The challenge to special schools then is to find ways of sharing their expertise and resources, and of embedding them in a wider educational context. Some special schools have already begun to develop outreach programmes. This can entail setting up working links with neighbourhood ordinary schools where staff and pupils are shared.'

'Some special schools act as resource centres, providing information and consultancy to local schools, organizing support services for families and contributing to in-service training activities. Discharging these functions successfully requires considerable changes within special school staff. New skills must be developed and new attitudes fostered. Transmitting a skill to others is not the same as exercising it oneself, and operating across several schools or in the community is very different from working in the closed confines of a single special school.'

'The most important changes required are attitudinal: staff who are jealous of their autonomy and intent on maintaining lines of professional demarcation will not set up effective collaboration. There must be a willingness to move beyond existing institutional bases and any status that may go with them, and to work co-operatively in whatever new structures may be advised. The upshot of all this is that special schools of the future could be very different from now. Emphasis would move away from educating limited numbers of pupils in relative isolation towards acting as resource centres. The latter could encompass curriculum development, in-service training, the collection and evaluation of equipment and computer software, and specialist assessment, as well as advice and consultation on all matters relating to the education of pupils with disabilities. These resource-centre functions are important in improving the standard of special educational provision regardless of where it is provided. By capitalizing on available experience and establishing a bank of information, materials and expertise, this offers a powerful model for making best use of frequently limited resources. If special schools have to make changes, ordinary schools have to undergo revolution. Ordinary schools have generally failed pupils with disabilities and major school reform is necessary before they can make adequate provision for them.'

'This reform must operate at two levels: the academic organization and curriculum provision of the school and the professional development of staff. The former requires rethinking the ways in which pupils are grouped for teaching purposes, the arrangements that schools can make for supplementary teaching and the modifications to the mainstream curriculum that teachers can make so as to give pupils with disabilities access to it. All of this forces major changes in teacher behaviour. Attitudes, knowledge and skills must all be developed to create and sustain a new kind of school where those previously disenfranchised are given an equal say and narrow concepts of normality are discarded.' (Hegarty, 1994, 16). Hegarty continues: 'Preparing pupils with disabilities for adult life is a particular challenge for ordinary schools that run integration programmes. Many special schools have devoted great efforts to this area and have well-established leavers' courses. They also benefit from the greater control they can exercise over pupils' environments and exposure to the outside world. Ordinary school staff have to find ways of ensuring that pupils do not miss out on the systematic preparation they would receive in a good special school, and they must often do so with fewer resources and in contexts that allow for less control.' (Hegarty, 1994, 45)

The debate persists and has gained new impetus fuelled by the controversial findings of follow-up research conducted on current experience of integration in schools. A UNICEF Innocenti Insight study of 2005 highlights the situation in CEE/CIS countries and the Baltic States: 'The education debate is still very active. There are arguments that integration of children with disabilities into mainstream classrooms can be a drawback for some students, both disabled and non-disabled persons. That may be a question of adequate resources – a persistent and important issue. There is a case in the CEE/CIS region for linking special education schools with local mainstream schools to help to break down the tradition of segregation.

'In some Western countries, there is a trend to co-locate special schools on the same site as mainstream schools in the belief it provides the 'best of both worlds'. Serious efforts towards integration are being made in some countries, notably Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania and Macedonia.

'Where integration has occurred, it is largely accomplished by being at the same location as and/or mixing with mainstream students, rather than integrated or inclusive classrooms. Curricular integration, where children with disabilities learn together in the same classrooms with the general student population, is still seldom seen in the region – and where it is, it is often unplanned and, therefore, unsupported. In Albania in 1996, as the Country Report notes, for the first time 'the integration of pupils with disability in regular school' became a declared policy goal – although the details of how to do this were not specified. A recent survey by the Albanian Disability Rights Foundation found that the integration of children with disabilities was quite limited and done largely in response to pressure from parents of children with moderate disabilities. In Hungary, where the special school system was retained, enrolment of children with

disabilities in mainstream schools started spontaneously in the mid-1990s. However, schools 'did not have the technical, pedagogical and conceptual conditions necessary for the integrated education' of children with disabilities.

'The resistance of attitudes against the integration of children with disabilities in mainstream schools cannot be underestimated. In echoes of the 'charity' treatment of children with disabilities, parents and others may support integration only conditionally, e.g., the proviso that including children with disabilities in a regular classroom does not detract resources from non-disabled students. Additionally, there is substantial passive resistance incumbent in existing education systems and other social services.' (UNICEF, 2005, 20).

In the literature we can find several examples: 'Although parents were happy with the progress of their child at the school, they were disappointed about social outcomes. This was in part due to the fact that many children with disabilities came by bus from out of catchment; they had to make a new friendship base, and [had no] opportunity for carrying it on out of school hours.' (Avramidis, Bayliss & Burden, 2002, 150)

The UNICEF [study] continues with a quote from the Lithuania Country Report of 2002: 'Policy, law and practice have been linked in Lithuania to make strong progress [in special] needs education. The 1991 Law on Education recognized the right of children with special needs to be educated in schools closest to home, [and committees] started using more restrictive criteria for accepting children into special schools – a crucial gatekeeping function. Amendments in 1998 [gave clearer] definitions of the role of pedagogical-psychological services in assessing special education needs and gave parents and children the right to choose the form and place of education. The law stresses integrated education and the right of persons, even those with complex or severe disabilities, to be educated.' The UNICEF study then refers to staffing issues: 'The lack of teachers who are adequately trained to work with children with learning