

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 OR ALLOCATED TO LESS PROFITABLE JOBS. 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 THE INDIVIDUAL. 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 FULL-EST POSSIBLE LEVEL. SUFFICIENT OUTPUT IS ACHIEVED TO ALLOW FOR THEM TO EARN THEIR LIVING ON THE BASIS OF THIS SUBSISTENCE, THAT IS, TO DEVELOP WORKING ABILITIES AND FINE-TUNING THOSE AS FAR AS POSSIBLE. ALL THE DISABLED PERSONS' SOCIAL

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SPECIAL ISSUE



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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

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 AN 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 MEETING SPECIAL NEEDS EDUCATION. THE 1991 LAW ON EDUCATION RECOGNIZED THE RIGHT OF CHILDREN WITH SPECIAL NEEDS TO BE EDUCATED IN SCHOOLS CLOSEST TO HOME. SINCE 1991 SCHOOLS STARTED USING MORE RESTRICTIVE CRITERIA FOR ACCEPTING CHILDREN INTO SPECIAL SCHOOLS — A CRUCIAL GATEKEEPING FUNCTION. AMENDMENTS IN 1998 SET OUT 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

