Eötvös Loránd University Faculty of Social Sciences
Doctoral School of Sociology
Social Policy Program

Németh Zoltánné Lőrincz Zsuzsa

„Basically Nothing Has Changed”

All-day School or All Day at School?

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Supervisor: Ágnes Darvas associate professor
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1. The history of the research and the hypothesis

Over the past centuries, the role of the school has changed, and more and more people are taking part in schooling for a longer period of time. At the same time, the role of the family in transferring knowledge has decreased. In post-industrial society, knowledge is considered as a driving force for development, and school education is becoming increasingly important. Until recently, learning has been completed in the years of youth for the majority of society, but people who live today can expect that they will have to take part in some sort of organised education from time to time. Lifelong learning fits into the theoretical framework where the main role of education is to promote economic and social development. The economic theory of the human investment school is also closely related to this approach, according to which economic development needs as many highly qualified people as possible. (Polónyi 2002, Tóth 2011). These theories emphasise extending of education and, more precisely, the extension of the time of participation in education. Since the mid-nineties, there has been a consensus that lifelong learning is important not only for the development of the individual, the competitiveness of the economy and for better employability, but it is also as an effective tool for combating social exclusion. According to a memorandum issued by the European Commission in 2000, good quality elementary education is indispensable for lifelong learning and should be provided for all from an early age (Harangi 2009).

According to a research by Kertesi-Varga (2005), Hungarian school system is constantly producing supply for long-term unemployment, i.e. low-educated population. The first PISA survey showed that in the Hungarian school system the differences in the social situation of students are big. According to the 2015 PISA survey, the social determinants of students’ performance remained significant, and the correlation between the socio-economic situation of families and the
students' educational performance also remained significant (Ostorics és munkatársai 2016). The operating system of the school system is blocking the way the children of the less educated parents can rise up. This anticipates employment problems and social integration disorders in the future.

Today, the most important tasks of education are to reduce inequalities arising from economic, regional, ethnic and cultural differences in society and to increase the equity of education. The goal of creating opportunities is to increase the social and labour market chances of disadvantaged groups (Radó 2007). A characteristic feature of the education policy of the last decade was the appearance of the so-called all-day school concept. According to Darvas - Kende (2010), the all-day school is one of the means that can help to overcome the disadvantages and increase equal opportunities. The authors emphasize that the effectiveness of the all-day school depends on its internal content and quality. In some European countries, children have been involved in all-day education for decades, whereas in other countries it was the "PISA shock" that has led to the establishment of complex institutions. Researching the effectiveness of all-day school education has begun, but there is still no clear answer to whether the all-day school with quality lessons and leisure activities is suitable for making education more effective, and how it can promote equal opportunities.

In Hungary, extra-curricular but school-based activities have long traditions, the most common forms being day care and study rooms organised on the basis of parental request and permission from educational authorities. On September 1st 2013, the Public Education Act introduced the all-day school as a new concept, an optional form of education, and required public education institutions to be open until 4 p.m. or 5 p.m. According to my initial idea, I was planning to explore and investigate "good practices in all-day schools" in Hungarian public education for a later development of the all-day school. However, in 2011, the all-day school system became part of the concept of public education law as a form of education planned to be introduced. It has become a major trigger for most debates and got the greatest press coverage. Due to legal changes, I redesigned my research, adapting
it to the introduction of the all-day school and the school open all
day. For this reason, I use two basic concepts in my dissertation;
besides the all-day school, the concept of the school open all day is
also discussed.
In Hungary, the introduction of the all-day school and the school
open all day is in line with the international process of extending
school time in many countries and offering other programs during
the afternoon in addition to the lessons. According to Farbman's (2015) research, extended school time is
still not enough; excellent schools achieve outstanding results not
only because they are open for a longer time daily, but because they
incorporate methods and techniques in their work which help make
use of the time at its best. There is a close link between the extra
time spent at school and the better results for those students who
have no opportunity to learn outside the school.

2. The Methodology Followed

2.1. The Aim of the Research

The focus of my exploration and evaluation research is on the
sociopolitical analysis of the all-day school and the school open all
day. The aim of my research is to analyse how the all-day school
and the school open all day function in Hungary, in order to
discover the circumstances and causes of their failures. I also aim to
examine to what extent the Hungarian system is compliant with or
different to the concept of the all-day school as it is defined in
literature, and to compare it to the examples of the all-day school
which work successfully abroad. My aim is also to examine the
effects, results and failures of the introduction of the all-day school
as a public policy intervention. In this sense, my research can also
be considered as an impact assessment, but due to the limitations
and methods of my research, it cannot be considered a classical
impact assessment. At the same time, my research seeks to explore
the effects and consequences of the new measure, the reasons
behind the failures, and in addition, what the system needs to work
well.
According to my hypothesis, the history of the all-day school in Hungary in recent years can be described as a public policy failure; the all-day school supporting disadvantaged children and aiming at the equalisation of opportunities does not characterise our efforts in the country; all-day-school related educational and professional-methodological developments do prevail in a smaller proportion of primary schools; and the elements required for the implementation of the original goals (equalisation of opportunities, reduction of learning failures) may appear in the operation of the educational institutions.

My research basically examines
- what characterises the process of the introduction of the all-day school and its legal regulation and framework, and its implementation,
- the extent the chances of one’s school career, their equalisation and the support of disadvantaged groups are targeted in this process.

2.2. The structure and methods of research

In the dissertation, the qualitative approach is decisive, which does not mean exclusivity but priority. The methodological tools of the research are mixed, I use both qualitative and quantitative methods. In accordance with the structure of the research, I chose the methods of it depending on the study levels. The macro-level research means the analysis of statistical data from primary schools, and statistical data from 15 percent of all-day schools in the country. I study the operation of all-day schools and schools open all day in five places in five case studies. The case studies are based primarily on structured interviews, to a lesser extent on secondary analysis of statistical data and school documents, and on their small-scale questionnaire survey. The first case study examines the circumstances of introduction in a medium-sized town in Northern Hungary. The other four case studies, along with similar criteria, reveal the detailed characteristics of working practices in four different schools.
I. NATIONAL LEVEL
ANALYSIS OF STATISTICAL DATA and QUESTIONNAIRE TESTS
(Analysing the statistics of primary schools and studying the programs of all-day schools)

II. SETTLEMENT LEVEL
Urban Case Study
(primary schools in a settlement, focusing on afternoon programs)

III. A. SCHOOL LEVEL (IN HUNGARY)

1st CASE STUDY IN A SCHOOL
2nd CASE STUDY IN A SCHOOL
3rd CASE STUDY IN A SCHOOL
4th CASE STUDY IN A SCHOOL

(four school case studies to show how all-day schools work: based on school statistics, school documents, interviews, personal impressions)

III.B. SCHOOL LEVEL (A SCHOOL ABROAD)

OUTLOOK
(a concept of an all-day school in Germany)

(literature, school documents, interview)

Source: edited by the author
2.3. Investigation of public policy interventions

According to Gajduschek (2016), public policy intervention responds to a social need or problem, aims at addressing it including the most accurate definition of goals and the tools serving them, as well as the implementation and organisation of the decision. According to Hajnal (2008), public policy means action related to government goals, policy decisions and their implementation. Based on Gajduschek and Hajnal criteria, a government measure aimed at introducing all-day schools can be regarded as a public policy intervention. At the same time, it is an characteristic feature that the government did not allocate special resources and tools for this intervention; the measure was only published in the Public Education Act. This in itself makes the success of the examined public policy intervention and the actual political intent and commitment of the government challenging.

3. The new results

Based on the above, the answers to the research questions are as follows.

1.) Is there a standardised definition of the all-day school in Hungarian pedagogy? To what extent does the concept of the all-day school regulated in the law overlap the concept of the all-day school used in literature and by teachers?

With the introduction of the "all-day school" the time spent at school will be longer, and besides that the concept of organisation of education will be different, interpreting the functions of the school more broadly than the concept of the school open all day in the present thesis.

In a school that is open all day, education is organised in half-day education. According to the Public Education Act, these schools should be open during the afternoon, and children should have the opportunity to take part in different activities of the school depending on their interests and school supply. Children can go home from the school after the lessons.
only at the parent's request, with the permission of the head of the institution.
During my research, when contacting the schools, I noticed that it was very important to clarify which form of education we are talking about, using the term 'all-day school' was not enough to define it. Since the introduction of the Public Education Act, and the introduction of the new system, according to which pupils have to stay in the school until 4 p.m., there has been a kind of uncertainty among teachers, with the exception of those who have been involved in the development of the new concept during their professional work.
The interpretative provision of the Public Education Act calls the all-day school a form of school organisation, where the lessons and other activities are organised evenly, and on the other hand the regulation of the operation and conditions of the all-day school education are delegated to the minister responsible for the sector. The Government Decree defines the need for developing a program for all-day education.
The literature considers all-day education as a conceptual term and incorporates schools based on different schedules. The definitions given here, like in everyday life, approach the all-day school from different points of view, which makes it necessary to clarify the concepts.
Some teachers completely identify the all-day school with a previous form of all-day education (iskolaotthon), while others see it as a precursor.
The interviews confirmed my assumption that the heads of the institutions and their deputies, who were implementing the law, were not completely aware of the new concepts and contents, and the opportunities and tasks provided by the planned school time frame.
The uncertainty surrounding the all-day school concept in Hungary was further exacerbated by the fact that the all-day school and the system of the school open all day were introduced at the same time, their time frame is the same, and only the EMMI regulation, which decides about its introduction contains elements which are characteristic only of the all-day school. It also makes the situation difficult that there are no criteria that define the minimum. That makes it hard to say exactly which form of education can be
considered as an all-day school. In the EU development project, Varga et al. (2015) mentioned two possible all-day school models. Based on their work, it can be made clear for educators that the concept of all-day school does not depend on whether the lessons and other activities alternate or they happen one after the other during the day. In this sense, therefore, the question is not in what order the lessons and other activities are organised in the school, whether the lessons are in the morning and the other activities are in the afternoon or the lessons and preparation alternate, but rather how they regard the pupils and the process of learning and how they interpret the function of the school.

2.) According to statistics, in what way do the schools operating according to the all-day school program fulfil the statutory requirements for the all-day school, and to what extent do the schools take on roles beyond the narrowly interpreted educational tasks?

In the 2017/2018 academic year nearly one-quarter of primary schools in Hungary worked with some kind of all-day school system, and children educated in this program accounted for 12 percent of the annual student population. Based on the questionnaire surveying all-day school programs in Hungary, I have non-representative but detailed information on 15% of the all-day schools in the country. On the basis of the data returned, it is clear that half of all the institutions having an all-day school system are located in small settlements, i.e. villages, and another 14% of the settlements are in larger communities, i.e. in small towns with a population of less than 10,000. Only one third of the educational institutions having an all-day school system examined in the sample operate in major cities, county administrative centres or in the capital.

A high proportion of small schools in small villages with an all-day school system are characterised by the fact that the smaller the number of the pupils (a quarter of them have less than 150 students) is, the more students study following the program. The proportion of disadvantaged students with multiple disadvantages and special needs in these institutions is much higher, than the national average,
or where there is a lower proportion of all-day education, or there is no such program in the institution. If we look at what the proportion of students involved in the all-day school program is, we can see that the most common is to involve 25.1-50% of all pupils in the all-day program, which generally means the whole of the junior section (from Grade 1 to Grade 4), or most of it. Only in 20% of the institutions returning the questionnaire does the all-day program appear in the senior section as well. Even less than that, only 15% of schools returning the questionnaire have all-day schooling throughout their entire senior section. Most all-day schools (over 90% of them) have talent management and remedial tutorials, help their pupils to learn and do homework. They take the proportional burden of pupils into account, the lessons and other sessions are arranged throughout the day, and the old system of one teacher in the morning and the other in the afternoon is a thing of the past. Both teachers teach a subject and organise other activities as well. 80-90% of the schools running an all-day program have created the conditions for storing school supplies, do not give homework, provide relaxation time, and organise study circles and other activities in the available leisure time. It is, however, worrying that only 54% of schools have a curriculum developed for an all-day school program. In all-day schools a high proportion of students (70%) are exempted from the afternoon lessons at the request of their parents, despite the fact that the public education act does not provide this opportunity in this form of school organisation. In most all-day schools, there used to be a previous form of all-day education (iskolaotthon), and it was further developed into an all-day school system. Among the benefits of the all-day school, the opportunity to work more effectively with disadvantaged children (four out of five respondents mentioned it) is most often highlighted, and a better relationship with parents and a better and a deeper knowledge of the children also appear in the responses. Besides the fact that teachers like this form of teaching, they are more likely to experience increased fatigue (25 schools).

3.) How did schools with a non-all-day program adapt to the regulations of the new time-frame? What do they use the increased
amount of time spent at school for? How did the range of afternoon activities at primary schools evolve as a result of compulsory afternoon school programs set out in the Public Education Act? To what extent do elements of the all-day school appear in schools that do not work according to the all-day system?

After September 1st 2013, the weekly working time frame for primary school pupils expanded and schools are now required to organise different afternoon activities. Pupils have to attend these sessions, but they can get an exemption from these activities if the parents have a justified reason. The experience of the interviews conducted for several years in a small town in Northern-Hungary suggests that schools have adopted different strategies to respond to the legal changes. Summarising the experiences, the precursor, the adapting and go-slow school models were applicable to all the primary schools in the examined town (Németh 2019).

Strategies as a response to changes in the law within a particular type of school were similar. Precursor schools were characterised by continuing their work based on their traditional form of all-day education, and did not significantly change their institutional life as a result of statutory regulations. Their concept mainly was to meet the children’s needs and to organise independent learning at school. I called schools adapting schools in cases when they tried to comply with the statutory requirements and fill their new time-frame with content although they had had no previous form all-day education (iskolaotthon) before. These institutions have changed most of their education as a result of the law. The number of pupils spending their afternoons at school has increased and many more and more varied afternoon activities have been organised than earlier. These schools are more conscious of their pupils’ needs, including those that may not have been important so far. The third type, the go-slow schools, were the ones that modified their system only as much as was required by the law, and they are not prepared to introduce substantial changes. They gave an exemption from afternoon activities to every parent. It also happened that in some schools, the number of pupils in a group increased in senior section, but there was no breakthrough in any of the go-slow schools relating afternoon activities.
Change in teachers' attitudes and provision of equipment in primary schools did not happen based on standardised concepts but rather on the basis of the existing traditions of the school, or there was no change at all. Teachers and a smaller part of parents regarded compulsory extended school day as an obligation to fulfil rather than an opportunity. In all three school types, I had a general experience that educators think in terms of 'lessons', 'teachers', 'pupils' and 'curriculum', whether it is about improving talented pupils or organising remedial tutorials.

There is no breakthrough as for afternoon activities in the primary schools of the town. Anyone who does not want to spend the afternoon at school, asks for an exemption and leaves after the lessons. In the schools of the town, they have kept the system that there are afternoon activities in the institutions but for a fee Conducting interviews in the academic year 2016/2017, I found that schools no longer want to enforce day-long staying, but rather leave it to the parents' decision, and they organise programs only for children who need them.

During the interviews, I had the experience that the word "mandatory" had the opposite effect. Comparing the statistics of participation in afternoon activities in the schools of the city, it turned out that despite all kinds of measures, the proportion of children staying in the school has decreased. If we compare the number of pupils staying in the school in the afternoon in the academic year of 2010/2011 to the number of pupils who stayed at school for the afternoon activities in the academic year of 2016/2017, we can see that their number decreased as opposed to the national average. If we compare the local figures of the settlement with the national figures, it can be seen that before the introduction of the school open all day, the proportion of those staying in the school was 17.5 % higher than the national average. After optional afternoon sessions and school supervision organised on parental request earlier became compulsory, there was a decrease in student participation. The formal, "mandatory" realisation of the current change does not yet reflect the shift towards experiencing it as an "opportunity" of change.
4.) How are professional expectations towards all-day schools realised in everyday practice? What kind of educational organisation is used by these schools? How do teachers relate to disadvantaged learners? To what extent do all-day schools provide different services (social services, teaching languages, IT knowledge, personal consultation, cooperation with parents)?

I have presented the daily practice of all-day school education in four case studies, in which it was an important aspect whether the school used to have a previous form of all-day education (iskolaott-hon). One of them also defines the school’s approach, its pedagogical practice and the methodological culture of the teachers working at the school. Participation in an EU-project relating all-day school development (ENI development) and the work in the project have brought many new valuable methods, procedures and ideas into the pedagogical practice of the institutions, or taken them out of the school for the use of the public. One of the institutions involved in the development (Case Study / 3 /) adapted the methods and good practices previously used in the school to the ENI model within the framework of the project in the form of modules and other activities. The goal of the head of the institution was to bring the development that was previously put into practice into the framework of public education. The experiences gained in the institution are unique in that their staff were active participants in the development process of the all-day school not only in junior section but also in the upper classes. In addition, the expansion of the school's function is realised with an innovative approach and a new methodological toolkit in Hungarian public education system in order to carry out the integrated education of disadvantaged pupils.

In another institution, participating in the project (Case Study / 1 /), the development and innovation started in the school as a result of their participating in it. The head of the institution stated that the aim of their participation in the all-day school program is that all the children should have access to services that they would otherwise receive only for money. In this institution, this is a priority since one in five children attending the school is disadvantaged or cumulatively disadvantaged. The third institution (Case Study / 2 /) did not participate in the development process, but its head teacher and teachers believe that the all-day school, if organised well and
providing the necessary conditions, will help the socialisation of the learners as well as progress in their studies. Based on the decision of the staff of the school, they introduced a previous form of all-day education (iskolaotthon) in 2005, and after the introduction of the public education law, they again decided together to work as an all-day school. The organisation and methodology of all-day school education in the institution's documents are well thought-out and elaborated. All-day education was introduced in an environment where the proportion of socially disadvantaged students is significant. The methods applied in the institution and the forms of organisation of education have brought a positive change in the life of the school, and the competence measurements have proved to have a good disadvantage compensation effect. In the fourth institution (Case Study / 4 /), similarly to the others, they built on the tradition of a previous form of all-day education (iskolaotthon), but here they focused on teaching the English language in special classes. All-day school education is provided only in their junior section, but the school is bilingual in both the junior and the senior section. Therefore, the alternation of lessons and other activities that can be used in all-day education can provide an opportunity for specialised education to be organised.

Education in schools is determined by their pedagogical program. This is particularly important when it comes to introducing a new program. Only two of the four schools have developed their own all-day school program, and the third is waiting for a program published by the minister. The fourth school works as an all-day school although this is not mentioned in its pedagogical program. Another important criterion is the organisation of work at school, the timing, the learning process and the alternation of different activities, how the time spent at school is used, and how they view and organise the process of learning. This also includes managing student and teacher resources. In three of the four schools, a so-called 'rolling method' known from the previous form of fall-day education (iskolaotthon), while the dual-school model in the fourth school suggests that education is tailored to the needs of the pupils. In all-day school programs, unless it only exists in theory, there is no need for homework, and exemptions from afternoon sessions are not allowed due to the law.
As a result of the high number of lessons, children's desire for independence and the declining need of parents, there is hardly any all-day education in the upper classes. Of the four institutions in the case study, only 9 to 16 % of the pupils prepare for the next day at school in the afternoon. In all four schools, storage of school supplies has been solved and homework is not given. The proportion of pupils having school meals is around the national average or above in the schools involved in the case studies – it means almost all of the pupils in the junior section and most of the pupils in the senior section, mostly the ones staying in the school during the afternoon as well, and with the exception of those who have a special diet or food allergy.

What must be discussed in connection with the introduction of all-day education is the facilities in schools. Recently, they have not changed. All-day education was introduced without the investment programs needed: building conversion, provision of playrooms, playgrounds and equipment for leisure facilities. In the institutions studied, the equipment in the extra time was provided by the teacher. This is important to note, as there are not enough qualified SEN-teachers in more and more rural schools.

After summarising the statements relating the attitudes of teachers, we can state that they do not consider the role of the school important in integrating socially disadvantaged children. However, the role of the family and the need for family and school to cooperate in order to achieve success and progress in education is considered of paramount importance by teachers. In case of learning and behavioral problems, teachers turn to parents, almost all the teachers regularly provide help for pupils outside the classroom and on official occasions, keep in touch with the families of the children attending the school, but visiting families is not typical with the exception of one school.

Summarizing the experiences of the questionnaires, it can be stated that teachers in junior section mostly see the lack of schooling ambition as a barrier to the pupils' school progress.

5.) *Taking the literature into consideration, how can we describe the measure of public policy intervention studied in the thesis, to what*
extent can it be considered a success or a failure, and what are the factors behind it?

During my research revealing the precedents and circumstances of the introduction of the all-day program, we can declare that public policy failure could be predicted at the time of implementation due to the lack of proper prior preparation, unclear conceptual issues, and the fact that no educational program or additional resources have been allocated.

Communication related to the subject was contradictory, there was no standardised interpretation of the concept at decision-making level, and the explanations following the amendments of the law were characterised by similar conceptual unclearness as well. The concept of the all-day school and the school open all day were mixed up, in addition, the all-day school was regarded as an equivalent of the previous form of all-day education both by some of the decision-makers and educators.

Through the adoption of the new Public Education Act in 2011, and subsequent amendments to it, the concept of the all-day school consistently lost its essential elements, which at the same time indicated the political backing from behind the primary objectives of this new way of organisation in education. The concept called all-day school in everyday Hungarian, but which I explained as a school open all day in my dissertation earlier has still remained unclear for ordinary people. That’s why it had one of the biggest reverberations.

According to the reasoning of the Public Education Act, it is the attitude that has changed. Earlier, afternoon sessions were organised on the basis of parental requirements, however, the school is now obliged to arrange afternoon sessions for pupils. They have become mandatory, but if the parents ask for their children to be exempted, there is no one to take part in the programs. According to heads of institutions, there is no significant change in afternoon programs.

In the first political and later on professional debates, it was emphasised that the main reason for the introduction of the all-day school was to reduce educational disadvantages and to provide the opportunity for equalisation of chances. The same objective characterises similar international developments. However, my
research on this topic suggests that this aspect is only a declared objective, rather than a related professional methodological and educational organisation issue in Hungarian developments. Based on the findings of the research on the all-day school, the aspect of supporting disadvantaged children does not characterise domestic attempts. The author of the editorial of the New Katedra (2011), which is a public education news portal, called the all-day school a "great opportunity", but also noted that its introduction implies many risks. A project that has not been properly prepared can make a humane, opportunity-creating, child-centered educational organisation unreliable for a long time. The analysis of the educational data of the Hungarian Central Statistical Office also shows that the change in legislation has not brought a breakthrough. Although over the last 10 years, the biggest increase occurred in the year of the introduction of the school open all day (3.3 %), in my opinion, this does not reflect the optional afternoon sessions’ becoming mandatory.

In summary, the law has created a framework, however, it has not decided about its detailed content, resources and tools. The reason for the introduction of the all-day school was to reduce disadvantages and to equalise opportunities, as this objective also characterised international developments. The results of my research suggest that this aspect appeared only as a declared objective in the Hungarian system.

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