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## HOW CAN WE STUDY EDUCATIONAL INEQUALITIES IN DIFFERENT CULTURAL CONTEXTS? INTERDISCIPLINARY RESEARCH METHODS IN EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION AND CARE

### Abstract

The increasing diversity in cities and schools is a pan-European experience. Concurrently, the time of subsequent crises (migration/refugee crises) has had severe impacts on the key institutions safeguarding the rights and needs of citizens. This also concerns the youngest generation in the education system, especially in the light of data concerning the still high and even growing rates of child poverty in Europe. Therefore, focusing on finding common solutions to early educational inequalities has become one of the key issues of research in the area of early childhood education. Diversity enables us to learn about conditions that may increase the effectiveness and desirability of early childhood education and care (ECEC) for children at risk, be it due to economic strain, possessing a migration background, disability and so forth. At the same time, however, it poses a methodological challenge due to the different construction of child welfare and education systems, the different policies and social solutions promoted and, last but not least, the different dimensions of the aforementioned diversity, namely ethnic, social or disability. This article discusses methodological challenges and strategies in an international and interdisciplinary project on combined inequalities among children in ECEC settings. The objective is to demonstrate how mixed-methods can be used for interdisciplinary interventions, connecting social research to the broader impact on the community.

Keywords: early child education and care (ECEC), interdisciplinary research, intercultural context

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## INTRODUCTION

The problem of universal access to the education system and equal opportunities is perhaps one of the most important demands of all educational reforms (Lazzari & Balduzzi 2020). As modern states constitutionally guarantee the right to education for all, the important question concerns what disparities we face. This applies both to the dimension of origin (race, ethnicity, social background), health (disabilities) and environment (place of residence – urban vs. rural). Inclusive education can be seen as a solution to these problems, although it has both supporters and opponents. Regarding the issue of disability, this leads to support for the demand to recreate special schools (Warnock 2005; Szumski 2014). The challenge of integrating children from a migrant background, on the other hand, results in the suggestion of a separation model of school integration (Todorovska-Sokolovska 2010). Inclusive education has its weaknesses and can sometimes even seem impossible to implement. However, in a sociological context we should not abandon this goal, as it has too much to contribute to increasing equality of educational opportunity. It is also necessary to emphasise its importance in the construction of educational policies and the training of teachers and caregivers. Inclusion is a process – that is to say, inclusion has to be seen as a never-ending search to find better ways of responding to diversity. It is about learning how to live with difference and learning how to learn from difference. In this way differences come to be seen more positively as stimuli for fostering learning, amongst children and adults. Inclusion is also concerned with the identification and removal of barriers. Consequently, it involves collecting and evaluating knowledge and skills from a wide variety of sources in order to plan for changes in policy and practice. It is about using evidence of various kinds in order to stimulate creativity and problem solving. In this article, I present one possible way to support and develop inclusive education, using the example of the research project entitled *Tracks: Transitions Children and Kindergarten* (Erasmus+).<sup>2</sup> Although the ultimate aim of the project was to provide

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professionals in the field of early childhood education and care (ECEC; pre-school and early childhood education) with a tool to stimulate inclusive work, an equally important outcome is to reflect on the results of such an intervention.

## INCLUSION, INTEGRATION, PARTICIPATION AND AGENCY – LITERATURE REVIEW

The issue of inclusive education is one of the key challenges for contemporary school systems around the world. In some countries, inclusive education is still seen only as an approach to serving children with disabilities/ some other “problems” (e.g. possessing a migration background) in general education. However, internationally, it is increasingly seen more broadly as a reform that supports and welcomes diversity among all students:

Inclusive education has been defined as a process of focusing on and responding to the diverse needs of all learners, removing barriers impeding quality education, and thereby increasing participation in learning and reducing exclusion within and from education (UNESCO 2005).

It presumes that the aim of inclusive education is to eliminate social exclusion that is a consequence of attitudes and responses to diversity in race, social class, ethnicity, religion, gender, and disability (Vitello & Mithaug 1998). Thus, there is a gradual shift away from medicalisation, towards social understanding, away from inclusive education being seen as a tool for – to put it in colloquial terms – “fixing students” towards building a specific kindergarten or school environment (Wiszejko-Wierzbicka 2012). However, Peter Senge (2000, after Carrington & Robinson 2006) warns against the phenomenon of illusory change. He notes that there is often a dissonance between teachers’ declarations of inclusive assumptions and the actual implementation of traditional, deeply held personal beliefs, values and attitudes expressed in interaction with students, incompatible with ideas of inclusion. Krzychała and Zamorska (2012) also described a similar phenomenon, calling it the closed changes of school culture. It consists of modifications, even developments, in the organisation of schools that, change the ways in which the teaching process and educational work are structured, but only marginally affect the most essential dimensions of

school culture. These changes are encapsulated in the already ingrained pragmatic patterns of action and orientation of a given school community (Krzychała & Zamorska 2015, 58).

We believe that kindergarten or school doors constitute a metaphor of integration into a new society and of questions about one's own identity as well as the confrontation of mutual expectations of a receiving state and migrants (Adams & Kirova 2007; D'Angelo & Ryan 2011). The adoption of rules of egalitarianism and inclusiveness in the education system structure denotes the fact that the emphasis is placed at least partially on avoiding the traps of institutional discrimination. Such discrimination can be found in legal regulations (even when they formally guarantee equal opportunities) and individualised aspects which are much easier to identify. Moreover, one of the essential problems is the fact that this may occur despite the will of social actors (Kristen 2006), and even as an unpredictable side effect of actions that are aimed at the improvement of the situation of students with special education needs, including those with a migrant background (Gomolla 2010; Gomolla & Radtke 2002). Research shows also that depending on the national/ ethnic group, the risk of discriminatory behaviour of that type may be higher or lower, it may also change with the arrival of children from an ethnic group defined as being more problematic (Wærdahl 2016). Another dimension is the environment at kindergarten or school, therefore one involving specific solutions for migrant children (or for all the students as well), but also the engagement of parents and the dynamics of the functioning of peer groups and solutions, applied, for example, to ensure actions in favour of inclusiveness, avoiding discrimination, or emphasising values of different cultures (Senge 2000, in Carrington & Robinson 2006). To foster an inclusive culture, the development of the school's ethos and culture must thus be considered as an important goal of reformation efforts, while taking into account the existing values and beliefs (Zollers et al. 1999).

Hence, it is important to define what is meant by inclusion and integration of children in kindergartens and schools. Ainscow (2005) distinguished the following six different understandings of inclusive education: a) caring only for disabled children and young people with so called "special educational needs"; b) caring for pupils who drop out of school for disciplinary reasons; c) caring for the diverse needs of pupils resulting from problems in groups at risk of social exclusion; d) caring for the educational conditions and preparation of the school for pupils with diverse needs, i.e. creating

a so-called “school for all”; e) caring for the needs of all pupils, so-called “education for all”; and f) caring for the development of a systematic approach to education and society. Depending on the inclusion model adopted, activities are designed accordingly. A significant part of the practice still, unfortunately, only implies the use of a “top-down” approach, meaning the activity of the pre-school and school staff, but without attaching “bottom-up” activities meaning the participation and agency of the children themselves. Following Baraldi, I define children’s agency as:

(...) children’s active participation enhanced through the availability of choices of action, which subsequently enhance alternative actions, and therefore change in the interaction. Migrant children’s agency may be analysed in terms of various dimensions and within socio-cultural contexts, institutional and legal considerations, traditions of countries concerning the reception of different category migrants, and in terms of experiences relating to the integration of migrants, including children and adjusting of the educational system (Baraldi 2014, 68).

The concept of children’s agency (see also Baraldi et al. 2020; James 2009; Larkins 2019) relates to children’s actions that are not simply reactions to adults’ inputs. Promoting children’s agency consists in enhancing children’s availability of choices for action. The facilitation of agency can be interpreted as facilitation of dialogue, a specific form of communication that “implies that each party makes a step in the direction of the other” (Baraldi et al. 2023). At the centre of this framework is the concept of a “community of practice”, a social group engaged in the sustained pursuit of a shared enterprise. The methodology for developing inclusive practices must, therefore, take account of these social processes of learning that go on within particular contexts. It requires a group of stakeholders, especially teachers and educators, within a particular context to look for a common goal. Although proper legal regulations and material resources are obviously of importance, the key factor is the abovementioned kindergarten/school culture. Kindergarten or schools that promote a holistic approach to children, considering all of their needs, including their needs of expressing agency and being responsible for themselves, but also focusing on the needs of other school actors, or ones where the needs of all stakeholders are considered and satisfied, will have greater chances of becoming successful in integrating students with a migrant background (Hamilton 2013). In order to attain this goal, it is necessary to plan and pursue meticulously

actions that are focused not only on supporting migrant children themselves, but on building coherent classroom groups and training teachers (e.g. Weare 2003; Cefai et al. 2014; Hunt et al. 2015). This article presents one of the possible approaches enhancing teachers' and carers' reflexivity through visual tools – in this case – video-coaching and analysis. A review carried out by Migliarini and colleagues (2019) indicates that video-analysis has been largely used to enhance teachers' reflection on the efficacy of their own practices in primary and secondary education (Blomberg et al. 2014; Borko et al. 2008; Meyer 2012; Rossi et al. 2015; Santagata 2013; Seidel et al. 2011; van Es et al. 2014; Xu et al. 2018), as a tool to promote teachers' empowerment and consciousness, as well as those of other subjects involved in the educational relationship (e.g. children, parents, community), (Bove 2009; Cescato et al. 2015; Tobin & Davidson 1990; Tobin et al. 2010). Although early studies presented the use of visual analysis in individual work, for the creation of an inclusive culture in ECEC settings, it is worth noting a shift in the paradigm of teacher training and teacher education. The latest studies promote the use of videos to develop critical thinking collectively with regards to teachers' daily practices (Migliarini et al. 2019). Findings from a study by Cescato et al. (2015) highlight that video recording is an effective tool to analyse the daily practices, interactions, and educators and children's positionality. Attention being devoted to how such aspects intersect within the setting (kindergarten or school) is crucial to foster practitioners' professionalism, in terms of observation, description and critical thinking about their daily practices.

## METHODOLOGY

The empirical basis for the study is the research of the Tracks: Transitions Children and Kindergarten (Erasmus+) project, implemented between 2017 and 2020 in a consortium of educational institutions in Poland, Italy and Belgium. The main aim of the project was to analyse the concept of inclusion and integration of children in early childhood education from a perspective that goes beyond the simply adjustment model (e.g. assimilation), giving the potential for inclusion to all pupils. This means, therefore, not only identifying problems or challenges and working to mitigate them, but also building situations that foster the realisation of the potential of all children, i.e. not only accepting but also valuing diversity. Finally, an essential

purpose of the project was providing high quality learning opportunities and nurturing environments for all children, especially those coming from multiply marginalised backgrounds, and who are experiencing social inequalities, poverty and racism (Migliarini et al. 2019). In this article, I focus on one of the project's partner countries, Poland, and with an awareness of the many dimensions and particularly intersectional dimensions of inequality, I refer primarily to the dimension of ethnicity/nationality. This was chosen as one of the key issues in the project because of the growing challenges in these area in all project countries. Nowadays, with a significant increase in the number of children with a migrant background in the Polish educational system due to the Russian-Ukrainian war, preparing teachers and caregivers to work in an already multicultural milieu has become particularly important.

#### POLAND AS STUDY CASE

In all discussions that attempt to tackle the situation, problems and challenges faced by the Polish educational system, one must first look at how this particular social and institutional system has developed in context. Namely, for years this educational system has suffered from an extremely high levels of political instability. Instead of proceeding with due caution and care in developing educational policies over time, in periods that should optimally greatly exceed a government's electoral term, educational policies and reforms constitute a political battlefield (Ślusarczyk 2010). What is meant here is that education – from ECEC (kindergartens and the first years of primary school) through schooling at various levels – suffers from the absence of sufficient funding. Moreover, in past years we have witnessed a process of rolling back the state, as the governance appears to pull back social support and, little by little, moves the country to becoming a post-socialist state with limited welfare support. Observing the fact that pursuing education at the secondary and tertiary levels has become an almost obvious choice for younger generations of Poles (Długosz 2013; Szafraniec 2013; Inglot-Brzęk 2012), we can understand that parents began to think about the best possible educational pathways for their children very early on, insisting that high-quality instructions and curricula must be present in middle-schools, primary school and kindergartens. Correspondingly, the economic situation became conducive to more and more privately-run ECEC centres emerging and offering more and more tailored

and ambitious programmes. Such changes have been observable in recent years, with significant progress having been made by municipalities and communes legally guaranteeing access to five, four and three-year-olds in turn. As a result of a process lasting several years, every child should be able to attend pre-school, while access to nursery care is also gradually improving (albeit much more slowly). However, there is still much to do and one of these burning needs comprise issues concerning disabled children, children from socially/economically disadvantaged families or children with a migration background, which is particularly relevant in the context of the current situation of a large influx of refugees. The situation after 24 February 2022 (the beginning of Russia's invasion of Ukraine) has posed a particular challenge to the Polish education system, although it should be remembered that the number of migrant children in Polish kindergartens and schools had been steadily increasing for some time (Slany et al. 2021) with the need for systematic integration work having already been pointed out. In 2023, there were 187,900 children and young people from Ukraine in Polish schools and kindergartens, who arrived in Poland after the Russian invasion of their country. More specifically, in kindergartens, their number was 43,800 while in primary schools there were 116,800, with the remainder attending secondary school.<sup>3</sup>

#### RESEARCH PROCESS – INTERVENTION THROUGH VIDEO COACHING

The aim of the preliminary research (structured interviews) and intervention carried out here was to explore the cultural and pedagogical dimensions of implementing video analysis in early childhood education and care settings through an approach referred to as action research, a method of participatory study of education that includes beneficiaries at each stage, an approach that I refer to as “collaborative inquiry” (Ainscow 2005; Asquini 2018). This approach advocates practitioner research, carried out in partnership with academics, as a means of developing better understanding of educational processes. This means moving away from the paradigm of conducting research “on” selected issues and changing to conducting research “with” educational practitioners. This methodology makes it possible to intervene in the field of ECEC by analysing educational practices and

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<sup>3</sup> <https://samorzad.pap.pl/kategoria/edukacja/mein-w-polskich-szkolach-i-przed-szkolach-jest-1879-tys-dzieci-i-mlodziezy-z>.



contexts and implementing innovative actions (Balduzzi & Lazzari 2018). The action research approach is based on different theoretical frameworks, the first and most influential being Barbier's (2008) model. In addition, the model is inspired by critical action theory (Davis 2008). Davis emphasises the importance of collaboration between ECEC professionals (teachers, caregivers), educational institutions and academic researchers in order to reflect not only on pedagogical content and practices, but also on the socio-cultural and ethical aspects of meaning-making processes. Davis's critical action research places particular emphasis on the importance of social and political context in processes of sharing knowledge, values and assumptions:

The critical action research process turns the traditional power hierarchy between "professional" researchers and research "subjects" upside down and invokes a commitment to break down the dominance and privilege of researchers to produce relevant research that is able to be sensitive to the complexities of contextual and relational reality [...]. This process empowers both the researchers and the research participants. (Davis 2008, 139)

Two locations were chosen for conducting research in Poland, the first of which contained two establishments we worked with, and the second which contained four (16 teachers and 55 children involved). This was due to the following rationale: the socio-economic diversity of Poland, also taking into account differences between (large) urban (Krakow and Warsaw, then Katowice) and rural areas (small towns in the Podkarpackie region), diverse organisational forms and funding (private kindergartens, public kindergartens run by local authorities and kindergartens run by the Comenius Institute (project partner), together with local municipalities. We opted for the case-study methodology as "an in-depth and intensive study of a specific situation or place" (Bryman & Bell 2001, 47), offering "tools to explore complex and diverse phenomena in their context" (Baxter & Jack 2008; Campbell & Ahrens 1998; Scheib 2003). This approach enables researchers to analyse both the similarities and differences between individual cases and to verify hypotheses in different contexts. The next step in our work was to carry out qualitative research. We used the following research techniques: semi-structured, individual or group interviews with teachers, kindergarten directors and parents, as well as observations in kindergartens. We therefore focused on the history of the settings, the professional

pathways of the staff, the socio-economic status of the families benefiting from early childhood education and care, the experiences and challenges they faced, and especially the experiences of inequality. For each case study, we also collected available documentation, i.e. brochures or leaflets about the setting or, in one case, the pre-school newspaper. We also collected photographs taken during the observations (after obtaining the consent of those involved).

A key part of the intervention was the making of recordings and their analysis. We followed the procedure according to the five steps indicated below:



In each case, we recorded a few shorter films, and then after the team discussion, we chose film clips suitable for video coaching. Our analysis is based on six aspects of children's development, namely: 1) attention and emotional support; 2) safety and rules; 3) opportunity to experiment; 4) interaction (opportunity to share, reflect, and be recognised); 5) learning about and understanding the world; and 6) playing and interacting with others (Lazzari & Vandebroek 2012). The final stage of our work was to conduct coaching meetings and collect feedback from our participants and, in some cases, also from other teachers in the given setting. We referred to this as the deconstruction phase: problematising and analysing emerging themes, along with stimulating reflection by inviting practitioners to share different perspectives on the same phenomenon (Verschaeve et al. 2020). The coaching scheme was as follows: 1) shared viewing; 2) emotions and first reflections (time for those who took part in the video); 3) reflections, comments, summaries (everyone; structured reflection, starting with an analysis of the situation, the children's activities to reflect on the proposed (described above) six dimensions of children's needs). An important methodological innovation of the research project was the recording activities during which children could tell their personal stories of migration and integration. In particular, the analysis of narratives includes teachers' ability to support children's exercise of agency as authors of knowledge (Shier 2001).

## FINDINGS

In each of the analyses, the first and important finding was the observation that a situation in which a teacher and children were involved, looks different when viewed “from the outside”, after it has been completed. This had several different dimensions, the first being the observation that some events were simply being missed due to teachers’ engagement in the activity and limited perception capacity:

After watching the film, I realised that the children were calmer than I thought and felt during the class. I think I have too high an expectation of perfect order and calm in the classroom.<sup>4</sup>

Sometimes you don’t see some positive actions of the child because you are stuck in the middle and busy watching, doing something, etc... When you watch the film, F. [the child] is actually doing some good things, trying out materials and so on.

By analysing the verbal and non-verbal interactions, we find that teachers unconsciously pay less attention to bilingual children: consequently, they give migrant children fewer opportunities to interact. In recent years, language has become one of the most debilitating and polarising cultural practices embodied by migrants, while we are concerned that it should become a tool to drive integration rather than social and educational exclusion (Peleman et al. 2020; Balduzzi et al. 2020):

Y. and B., both from immigrant backgrounds, are sitting at a table with their three fellow children and the educator, leading a game of cake-making. Y. sits next to educator, while B. sits in front of her. All the children are involved in the activity. The teacher leads the activity: she describes to the children how the dough can be handled and tries to encourage the children to say what shapes they make. Her attention is particularly directed at T., the youngest toddler in the group, who is just beginning to speak (with no migrant background): “What did you make, a ball? Tell me!” She waits for his answer for a few seconds until the child repeats the word. Y. and B., migrant children, are less present in the conversation, even though that they are involved in the activities and intensely observe the activities of the teacher (in contrast to other children).

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<sup>4</sup> All quotes are from interviews with teachers and caregivers in kindergartens during a joint analysis of the recordings.

Analysis can also be a moment to discover moments of missed opportunities (e.g., when a child needed attention) or situations where the teacher was unable to respond. Again, this is contextual and situational: *“I couldn’t know that. The mother came in, and I talked to her”*. Although this can sometimes be irrelevant, it can sometimes allow you to see that a child who is struggling to make contact has actually tried to communicate, but for some (often understandable or relevant) reason has been ignored, thus remaining “invisible.”

The second dimension comprised reflections on activities and tasks and the ways of performing them:

I could only give a few pictures of animals to the basket – enough to make sure there were enough for all the people who wanted them, but not as many as I had. The activities took a long time, and it was difficult for the children.

Watching the films brings us back to one of the main goals we set ourselves at the beginning of the project, which is to think about what actions to take in the realm of language to stimulate language learning. (...) So this question becomes absolutely fundamental for our kindergarten. This is what I think about when I watch this video. We say something, but look at A.’s [migrant child] face – does she understand us?

In all places, we ask ourselves questions about what might help us to understand the question of the distance and, for example, where the teacher sits, and how this affects the achievement of goals. So, we wondered whether it is better to sit on the ground, or to sit higher up, in a chair, or would it be better to stand? Experimenting is interesting because it brings back some potential alternatives.

The third dimension was constituted by reflections and comments on children’s achievements, relationships and well-being:

I paid attention to the boys who disengaged from the group during class: M. [child] interrupted because he was overloaded, P. left as soon as he had finished sorting the photos, A. also withdrew after a while – he basically does this every day. I think that if I could, I would go up to them and try to make contact again, but I also know them and I know that P. tires quickly of such tasks and today he tried very hard, and M. is regulating himself and calming himself down in this way.

Everyone had the opportunity to attach their photo, to try the sorting out task, but I never push everyone to take part because I know it causes emotional tension in children like P... I also think that the layout of the activities

is important, a fixed structure, especially for F. and S. They are very attentive to the order, e.g., that the presentation of a new topic on the carpet is always followed by a, for example, that a presentation of a new topic on the carpet is always followed by a movement break, then they sit down at a table, and then there is loose play. That way they know what stage of the class we are at.

Finally, the fourth dimension was a reflection on the teacher's own work:

When I assist [the teacher also works as a support teacher], I always make sure that rules and arrangements are followed, I explain inappropriate behaviour in private so as not to disrupt or interrupt the teacher and other children. When I am the one leading the class, I am very concerned about the lack of reaction from the other person who is in the room with me because when I have to intervene, the other children get upset.

Let's talk about intentions. Here, the focus is on the relationship, on an action that was not meant to be evaluative. But we need to look at the context, for example, how we construct our statements at the start of the day and after six hours of work. It's still a balancing act between intentions and what we have the resources for.

This [analysing the situation and drawing conclusions] is crucial, otherwise there is a risk of [the children] going from the >side line< quite somewhere >backward< in an unintended way. The teacher's intention was to put them back >in the middle<.

Teachers and carers are able to relate to their own actions in a non-judgmental, solution-seeking way. They can also notice which solutions to continue with and – something that cannot always be seen in the course of a class – how other children react in a given situation:

I didn't realise how much progress we had made. It was like we were trying and nothing was happening. But K. [child] actually managed to get all the way to the middle of the room. And he was playing with Anna [support teacher], she showed him how to ride the "horse".

The situation involved a child who was spending his playtime in a corner of the room, not wanting to go out to the other children; the teacher analysing her own behaviour, as a carer, she should try to make sure that "the boy has a nice time and plays with others", along with the realization that it must be his own decision. In the first moment after the class, she felt that nothing was changing and that K. did not want to integrate more

deeply or participate in the class. Observation afterward allowed her to see that quite a lot of changes had taken place during the hour of play, and she also noticed that trying to put pressure on the child does not give as good results as explaining the situation and giving him time to decide. This involves ensuring that children are causal, are experts in their own affairs, their needs and abilities, and that their intentionality is recognised:

When I didn't try to push, then K. would come back [encouraged to leave his hiding place and join in the play], but then approached again (...) Here I tried to force it, to do it quickly, so he ran away.

The teachers also noticed that the children themselves show him how to do an activity (e.g., go down the slide), but they do not insist that he do it too. In addition, some of them were happy to participate in "his" form of play by accepting the rules (e.g., no verbal communication because of the language barrier).

## NEW PATHS?

Video coaching and, more broadly, visual tools, is just one possible tool or way forward. With older students there will be, for example, the possibility of narrative facilitation or granting epistemic authority (Baraldi et al. 2023). The key is the potential for facilitating the processes of inclusion (inclusive education and pedagogy). This can provide practitioners with insights into interactions that may go unnoticed and that may lead children to change their behaviours and attitudes when they feel they have not received enough attention (Tobin et al. 2010). Teachers and childcare workers can identify their best practices and have an opportunity to observe how their decision has influenced the whole group. Analysing the results of the research, we propose a model for balancing acceptance and expectations, and identify its key features (see fig. 1).

The first of the components we can identify is freedom and agency in decision-making (the child could make progress if it was her/his decision to do so). The second is *time* – one of the most important things being the teacher's acceptance that the process needs time. Systematic attention is also of importance. Teachers were often surprised to see that they dedicate too much/too little time to communicating with children who

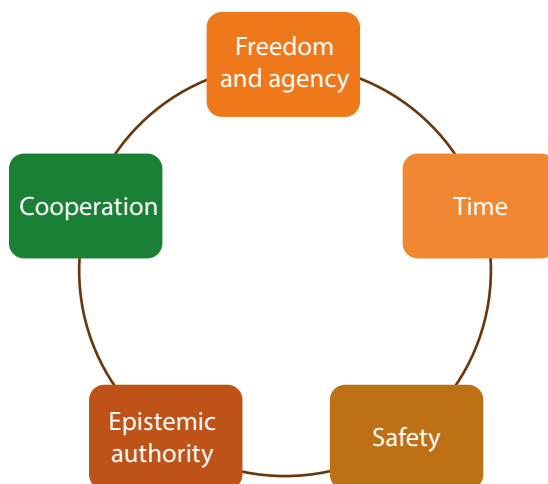


Fig. 1. Acceptance – expectations model

struggle, e.g., due to the language barrier. The third component is *safety* (the child could progress if she/he felt safe). Then we have *epistemic authority* (even in the case of small children) – children as experts – the teachers have to accept children could play expert roles in situations that concern their wellbeing and potential for action. The last feature is *cooperation* – between the teacher and the child but also cooperation between the teachers themselves (e.g., in a specific case, one of them concentrated on the child's needs, and the second took care of the rest of the children). Macro-social factors, political will or the involvement of other actors (parents, the local community) remain outside the model. As Moss points out, change does not happen in a social vacuum:

Lasting public innovations are invariably deeply collaborative undertakings, which succeed only with the mobilizations and collaborations of many different participants. In the case of changes to education, these players involve at least children and parents, teachers and governments, politicians and policymakers, both national and local, as well as related public agencies, employers, and the community. Shared innovations are more like mobilizing a social movement... (Moss 2014, 137).

This is extremely important, but even if it does not take place or only to a limited extent, there are still possibilities to act within the system itself to promote participation, integration and the reduction of educational and social inequalities.

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