Ready for Inclusive Education? Ethnographic and Survey Perspectives[1]

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Ready for Inclusive Education? Ethnographic and Survey Perspectives. Endeavours to integrate children of different abilities in mainstream education have been present for more than two decades, but the principles of inclusive education have gained legislative support only recently. This paper is an attempt to contribute to an understanding of day-to-day interaction among pupils and their classmates with special educational needs and to examine conditions that might have an impact on an inclusive atmosphere in the class. The paper is based on findings from a representative survey of inclusive attitudes of fifth graders and ethnographic observation in the subsample of classes covered by the survey.
The paper begins by outlining its theoretical framework, which suggests the relevance of classic sociological ideas about the role of schools in promoting societal peace and solidarity and presents a theoretical reflection on inclusive education policies. The paper then introduces its methodology and the results of two interconnected research projects – the representative survey of pupils' inclusive attitudes and the ethnography of daily life in regular school classes with integrated children who have special educational needs. The results of both projects are mutually supporting and show rather lukewarm attitudes towards classmates with SEN, who are often isolated and sometimes openly brushed aside. Finally, the authors try to elucidate why cultivating friendly and inclusive interactions among children has held a marginal place in teachers' work.
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In this paper, we use the term "inclusive education" in its wide sense, referring to the education of all children, not just those with disabilities. (Thomas 2013: 473) We approach inclusive education from a perspective that sees schools as the essential space for learning to embrace diversity in society and that considers cultivating inclusive competencies among children as crucial for sustaining societal solidarity, stability and social peace.

Emphasis on inclusion and participation as essential to human dignity and to the enjoyment and exercise of human rights can be found in all international human rights documents. It is also prominent in the Salamanca Statement (1994), which claimed the right to (common) education for all and eventually led to the adoption of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Disabled Persons and its Optional Protocol (2006). By signing these documents, countries (Slovakia 2007, 2010 in force) have committed themselves to an

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equalization of educational opportunity and to school integration as a general principle of educational policy. Education jurisdictions around the world have adopted the vocabulary of inclusive education in an astonishingly short period of time, and in many countries, significant resources have been invested in the production of policy texts, the development and renewal of capital and human infrastructure, and modified curriculum programmes. (Slee 2013) Many critics point out, however, that there is a considerable gap between these formal moves, ostensibly toward inclusion, and the reality in which inclusive education is still like an island, considered a separate territory from mainstream education, with its own discourses, policies and practices. (Graham – Jahnukainen 2011, Thomas 2013: 475) They also note that the desegregation and integration of pupils with specific educational needs (SEN) into mainstream education is proceeding at a considerably slow pace. (Kiuppis – Haußstätter 2014, Ashurst – Venn 2014) In Slovakia, most criticism has focused on the overrepresentation of Roma pupils in special education. (Tomatová 2004, Kriglerová – Najšlová 2009, Kriglerová – Gažovičová 2013, Kriglerová et al. 2015, Petrasová – Porubský 2013, Salner 2004, 2013 among many others) Although the number of pupils with special educational needs (further SEN) integrated in regular schools has increased during the last two decades – from 0.4 % in 1996 to 6.6 % in 2015 – the number of pupils in the special stream of education has also increased – 3.6 % in 1996 and 5.7 % in 2015 (CVTI, own calculation).

This paper attempts to elucidate the daily practice of (inclusive) education in regular school classes with individually integrated children and visibly minority (Roma) children. Similar to the research it is based on, its main goals are explorative, and its focus is on the interactions of children with SEN and socially disadvantaged children and how they are accepted within the class community. We follow E. Goffman (1959) and J. H. Turner (1988) in assuming that the feelings of personal worth and self-esteem matter most for experiencing inclusion and that the character of interactions has a decisive impact on creating, maintaining or hindering these feelings. In this assumption, we are joined by many others who consider that the social interaction of pupils and the social position and participation of pupils with special educational needs (further SEN) in the class are the touchstones of a successful inclusive education. (Aincow 2002, Slee 2013, Thomas 2013)

The paper begins by outlining a theoretical framework and suggesting that classic sociological ideas which link the inclusion of individuals and groups with societal cohesion and promoting solidarity and stability in society are closely related to the human rights background of inclusive education policies. It then introduces the sampling and methodology of two interconnected research projects mapping inclusive attitudes and the interaction of children

towards their disadvantaged classmates. The results of the CATCH-R survey of the inclusive attitudes of pupils and the findings from ethnographic research on everyday life in classes with diverse children are presented in the next part of the paper. Finally, the authors try to elucidate why cultivating friendly and inclusive interaction among children has held a marginal place in teachers' work and inclusive education, in the sense of supporting inclusive interactions and culture mong children, has remained largely "notional" in Slovak schools.

Theoretical reflection on inclusive education

Though the term "inclusion" has entered Slovak social sciences quite recently with the European Commission's efforts in the area of poverty and social exclusion (Džambazovič et al 2004), it had its place in sociology long before. As Peter Kivisto (2004) and Dilbar Alijevová (2006) have noted, Talcott Parsons used this term already in the 1960s in his elaboration of Durkheim's concept of organic solidarity and his analysis of the conditions required for the stability of ethnically diverse societies with consideration for the growing rights of their individual members. The term "inclusion" was formulated by Parsons as the positive alternative to Hobbes's "war" – "from the point of view of the status of structural units in their relation to a system; that is of their state of integration in a social system". (Parsons 2007: 73) "Inclusion" can be also found in micro-sociological and interactionist writings, where it designates the subjectively experienced acceptance and self-worth sustained by partners in interaction (Goffman 1956, 1959) which motivate them to participate in interaction and which influence its stability and continuity. (Turner 1988: 59-60) Both of these sociological traditions can be seen as linked by their concern for the stability of social systems while preserving the autonomy of participating "units". This concern makes them related to transnational and national policy initiatives aimed at social integration and promoting an education inclusive of all children.

UNESCO views inclusion as a process of "addressing and responding to the diversity of needs of all learners through increasing participation in learning, cultures and communities, and reducing exclusion within and from education. It involves changes and modifications in content, approaches, structures and strategies, with a common vision which covers all children of the appropriate age range" and a conviction that "it is the responsibility of the regular system to educate all children". (UNESCO 2005: 13)

Our focus here is precisely on this dignity-for-all mission of education[4] or, in other words, an education in which "tolerance, diversity and equity are

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[4] Such a mission – to cultivate mutuality and solidarity – was also expected from school by sociological and pedagogical figures such as Émile Durkheim (1973) and John Dewey (2007) some time ago.

striven for". Such a mission necessitates "comprehensive changes in the systemic, community, and interactional conditions of education." (Skidmore 2004: ix) According to leading Australian pedagogical researcher Roger Slee, the prerequisite of such changes has been a sociological turn in educational research – a turn from the essentialisation of school failures and situating disadvantage in the body/brain of the pupil, to a focus on the systemic failures of education. (Slee 1998: 445-446) The main representative of this turn is considered Mel Ainscow. His research (1999, 2002 with Tony Booth), which also has had a substantial impact on the interconnection of inclusive education research and policy making, focuses on school organisation and the interaction of teachers and students as crucial influences on students' learning ability. Ainscow emphasises technical and cultural considerations in inclusive education and sees inclusion as a value and set of practices at the same time. (Booth – Ainscow 2002/2007)

According to Booth and Ainscow, the true criterion for successfully implementing a more inclusive school "ultimately depends on what goes on in schools and classrooms". (Booth – Ainscow 2007)

Průcha, Walterová and Mareš emphasise the importance of an inclusive orientation in regular schools for combating discriminatory attitudes, promoting welcoming communities and helping to create an inclusive society. (Průcha – Walterová – Mareš 2009: 105) Slee also approaches inclusive education as a cultural and political project. He states that "inclusion, and social justice with it, cannot be reduced to technical solution and 'absorption' pupils with disabilities into the regular schools". We need to understand inclusion "as cultural politics and commitment to the protection of rights of citizenship for all". (Slee 2001: 173) Following Alain Touraine (2000), Slee stresses the importance of school as the only place where it is possible to learn democracy. Democracy and the democratic ideal are "the heart and head for inclusive education. Inclusive education must be a framework for institutional and cultural reform – a democratic apprenticeship". (Slee 2004: 65)

There are various competing discourses in the field of inclusive education and many simplifications in its practice. The development of inclusive education brings it into conflict with the barriers of its wider societal and economic context. Inclusive education also faces complications because of the parallel process of the marketization of education. (e.g. Kenway 2013, Ainscow 2014, Giroux 2015) A growing number of countries are using the idea of educational "market place" that emphasises increased school autonomy, competition between schools, parental choice and accountability as the central strategies for improving schools. (Ainscow 2014: 42)

Ainscow notices that the sections of the Salamanca Statement which have been the most influential are those that argue that regular schools with an

inclusive orientation can "provide an effective education for the majority of children and improve the efficiency and ultimately the cost-effectiveness of the entire education system". (Ainscow 2014: 41) Discourse which connects inclusive education and cost-effectiveness can be risky, as it might lead to inappropriate expectations and disappointments.

A narrow research focus (and the absence of research) might contribute to neglecting to address systemic barriers against inclusive education. According to Marianne Larsen, institutional inequities include, but are not limited to, inequitable funding policies; streaming/tracking of working class and visible minority children; systemic racism, sexism, classism and homophobia; and the absence of positive images of minorities in school texts and other curricular materials. (Larsen 2010: 217) These wider socio-cultural and economic conditions are often ignored or trivialised by policy-makers and the mass media. (Slee 2004: 62) Budgetary considerations also limit political commitments. In many countries, including the Slovak Republic, a lukewarm approach in fact hampers understanding inclusion in terms of enabling disabled students' "participation in all aspects of ... academic and social life". (Slee – Allan 2001: 182)

An institutional framework seems to be particularly important in analysing the situation in Slovakia. Though the term "inclusive education" first appeared in the Slovak Ministry of Education Strategy *Konštantín* in 1994[5], the task force for Inclusive Education was only established in 2011 (Kriglerová et al 2015: 15) and a recommendation to "consider" inclusive education appeared in the Ministry Pedagogical-organisational guidelines for the given school year only in 2014. (MŠVVaŠ SR 2014)

The development of inclusive education is, as in other countries, hindered by the marketization of education and a strong emphasis on competition. The underfunding of education and the high level of its stratification have also complicated the development of an inclusive culture. Admission examinations and early tracking reduces the diversity of classes at the second stage of compulsory education. (OECD 2013a, 2016b) The phenomenon of so-called white flight from rural schools where pupils from a disadvantaged background are concentrated indicates that public opinion is not in favour of social and ethnic diversity[6]. Demanding school curricula which require a fast teaching pace, relatively big classes and a shortage of assistants might make it more difficult for teachers to use their competencies for inclusive teaching and

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[5] *Konštantín* was approved in September 1994 and was clearly informed by the Salamanca Statement. However, due to a change in the Government and the subsequent discontinuity in staff, the process was halted, and its scope was later narrowed.

[6] Representative surveys of pupil opinions held in 2007 and 2010 recorded increase in the occurrence of the expressions of discomfort for having a classmate with SEN (for mentally disabled from 21.6 % to 30.7 %, for physically disabled from 11.3 % to 18.3 %, and for "other race" from 12.0 % to 16.0 %. (Bieliková et al. 2013: 154) For public perception of inclusive measures in education, see Miškolci et al (2017).

approaching children individually. In most cases, inclusion is only a formally declared educational goal in school educational programmes without any further specifications. (Petrasová 2014, Petrasová et al 2015)

Methodology: description of the projects

The findings presented here come from two research projects. The first is the multi-survey project *Increasing the Quality of Primary and Secondary Education with the Use of Electronic Testing* run by the National Institute for Certified Educational Measurements (further NÚCEM) in 2013 – 2015. This project combined several surveys of teachers and pupils: a teacher inclusive education attitudes test-MATIES[7], a school climate test, an assessment of the leadership style of the headmasters, pupil achievement tests, a pupil ESCS test, tests of pupils' inclusion attitudes and their perception of class climate[8], etc. (For a detailed description see Gálová et al 2014, Valovič 2015, Juščáková 2017) The second is VEGA project No. 2/0157/14 *Social Inclusion in School from the Perspective of Sociology of Everyday Life* (2014 – 2016). This project was based on ethnographic research in classes and also included a study of legislative and organisational documents that frame educational processes and policies of social inclusion as well as providing opportunities and establishing boundaries for pedagogical action. These projects were not coordinated from the start but are connected by an interest in the day to day practice of inclusive education and the character of pupils' interactions in regular school classes which include pupils with SEN. Both projects also mainly pursued explorative goals – to map the existing situation

Sampling
The schools for the NUCEM project were sampled from the 2,193 elementary schools which existed in the country in 2013. To be sampled, schools had to meet criteria that were important for the project: they needed to have adequate ICT equipment, a sufficient internet connection speed and more than 50 pupils. Due to these preconditions, the sample cannot be representative for small village schools. The schools' consent was also needed. These requirements reduced the basic population to 1,079 schools. Out of these, 78 schools were randomly selected to represent elementary schools with a quota for the Slovak regions and schools with higher proportions of socially disadvantaged (SD)

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[7] MATIES examines teacher attitudes towards instruction in classes with pupils with SEN. It does not deal with their role as cultivators of good interactions and relations among children. For this reason, we have not analysed its results here.
[8] The survey of social climate only involved eighth grade pupils and grammar school students of the same age.

pupils[9]. The sample of schools was representative of the NUC3 region (χ^2 =0,484).

The sample covered all pupils from fifth-grade and eighth-grade classes of the chosen schools: 7,486 pupils in total, 3,697 being 5th graders. The analysis presented here only deals with the fifth grade pupils (sixth grade during the ethnographic part of the research). There were two reasons for focusing the research on lower grades. The first relates to the goal of researching regular school classes which have socially and ethnically diverse pupils and pupils with SEN[10]. In Slovakia, there is higher likelihood of finding ethnic and social diversity in lower grades than in higher ones since socially disadvantaged pupils repeat a grade significantly more frequently and thus finish compulsory education before the 9th grade. (MŠVVaŠ SR 2013; OECD 2013a, 2016b) The second reason relates to the transition from the primary to lower secondary stage of elementary school. (OECD 2016b) We assumed that in freshly recomposed classes, there would be more opportunity to observe teachers working on cultivating inclusive patterns of interaction among pupils as they would probably be less settled and taken for granted than in the higher grade.

The attempt to identify socially diverse classes from the pupil ESCS survey was not successful due to the high proportion of missing information (25 % on average). Instead, we ultimately used the survey of pupil inclusive attitudes, CATCH-R, as the main sampling criterion. We selected classes in which three or more pupils responded that they have a classmate with SEN (more in the next section of the paper). Out of these classes, we selected the classes (schools) from districts differing by economic prosperity (indicated by the unemployment rate and proportion of minimum income beneficiaries) and schools with Roma pupils (indicated by the occurrence of pupils speaking Roma at home). Ethnography was conducted in 12 regular schools and 15 classes over four to eight days and covered lessons, breaks, lunch and playtime.

Quantitative survey of pupil inclusive attitudes – design and results
Pupils' attitudes regarding inclusiveness were examined by the *Chedoke-McMaster Attitudes towards Children with Handicaps* (CATCH-R) scale developed by Rosenbaum et al (1986). The CATCH-R scale consists of three attitude domains – cognitive, affective and behavioural – each containing 12

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[9] For the purpose of selection, a narrow definition of "social disadvantaged" pupil, one from a minimum income beneficiary household, was used. Schools have such information at their disposal as they decide whether pupils are entitled to cheaper lunches and free school supplies.
[10] For the same reason, we exclude the classes that consist of more than 40 % socially disadvantaged children according to the school information.

items[11]. They refer to social closeness, communication, friendly relations and cooperation. Item responses were scored on 5-point Likert scales where 1 indicates the most negative and 5 the most positive response towards inclusion. The minimum raw score for each domain was 12 and the maximum was 60.

The Slovak version of the CATCH-R questionnaire was slightly adapted to cover three categories of special educational needs recognized by the Slovak School Act. The questionnaire was introduced with short stories about boys with a health disability, behavioural disorder or precarious social status.

Imagine that Adam, Bohuš and Cyril are pupils of your age and attend the same school as you do.

Adam has health problems: sometimes he has an asthmatic cough attack and has to use an inhalator. He often misses school because he is sick or went for a treatment. He is not doing well in his studies. The MS Teacher makes exceptions for him – there are a lot of duties that the students have to do at school which he does not need to do.

Bohuš is very noisy and often shouts. He has ants in his pants and walks around the classroom all the time. He has trouble listening, and he speaks without being given permission. He has problems working with the other children, and he wants do everything his way. Bohuš likes to play football and he is good at it. If he is angry, he starts screaming, throws things on the floor and leaves the class.

Cyril almost never has a snack and often comes to school dirty. Conditions in his home are so poor that he cannot prepare for school properly. He has missed many hours due to absences. He does not carry books and school supplies, but he shines at physical education, he dances well and is witty. During the breaks, he is playful and likes to incite crazy activities. He wishes he had the things his classmates have, and he sometimes makes things up.

Responding pupils were asked to specify which child they will refer to in their responses and how close they are to such a child (he is their classmate, a relative, or they themselves are similar to him). Those who did not have a classmate similar to any pupil from the stories had to select one that they would refer to when filling out the questionnaire.

In relation to this modification, the term 'handicapped child' was replaced by 'such a child'. After the pilot testing, some questions were changed from the negative to positive form to remove ambiguities and misunderstandings caused

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[11] In the original scale, items were divided into an equal number of positively and negatively worded statements. After a pre-test of the Slovak translation of the scale, the number of negatively worded statements was decreased, as they were harder to understand (due to the problem of double negation in Slovak).

by the double negative in Slovak. The sequence of the items in the CATCH-R was preserved.

Here we only analyse the results of the behavioural component of CATCH-R (further BEH), as these data are most apt for comparison with the data from the ethnographic observation in the classes. BEH also turned out to have the best psychometric properties of all the components according to the compliance testing.

Table 1: **Modification of the items of CATCH-R BEH in its Slovak adaptation**

| Original CATCH-R BEH	Regressive translation of the Slovak adaptation
I wouldn't introduce a handicapped child to my friend	I would like to introduce him to my friends (2)
I wouldn't know what to say to a handicapped child	I do not know what to say to such a child (4)
I would stick up for a handicapped child who was being teased	I would stand up for such a child who was being teased (7)
I would invite a handicapped child to my birthday party	*I would invite him to my birthday party* (9)
I would talk to a handicapped child I didn't know	I would talk to such a pupil even though he was not my friend (11)
I would try to stay away from a handicapped child	I try to stay away from pupils like him (16)
In class, I wouldn't sit next to a handicapped child	In class, I would not like to sit next to him (20)
I try not to look at someone who is handicapped	I am attentive to pupils like him (22)
I would invite a handicapped child to sleep over at my house	I would invite a pupil like him to sleep over at my house (25)
I would tell my secret to a handicapped child	*I would tell my secret to him* (29)
I would not go to a handicapped child's house to play	*I would go for a visit to such child's house* (32)
I would miss recess to keep a handicapped child company	*I would miss recess to keep such a pupil company* (35)

Items 9, 29, 32 and 35 (italics) turn to be the most indicative and were used in the following analysis. The results were processed by statistical description and analytical procedures such as factor analysis (Varimax), t-test, ANOVA (Duncan) and effect size using SPSS.

Results – Quantitative data
Individual CATCH-R BEH scores may vary from 12 to 60 points. Prevailingly negative responses are reflected by scores of 12 – 27 points. Mixed responses – "restrained inclusive attitudes" – fall within the 28 – 48 points interval. Fully inclusive attitudes are reflected by scores of 48 – 60 points. The BEH t mean of the total 5th grade pupil sample and the distribution of BEH scores (Figure 1) suggests that the pupils had rather restrained attitudes towards classmates with SEN. Pupils who declared fully inclusive attitudes are in the minority (the right grey column).

An examination of the BEH items as well as the boys' portraits introducing the questionnaire suggests that their wording could contribute to the observed restraint in attitudes. Pupils with disadvantaged background may respond hesitantly or negatively to some BEH items (9, 25, 32) since they lack material conditions. (They are less likely to be able to organise a birthday party, and may not have a kid's room or decent pyjamas.) Boys' portraits as the examples of pupils with SEN can "coproduce" the finding that 5th grade boys tend to have more pro-inclusive attitudes than the girls (B: 108.4 verzus G: 102.7 the total of components) as the distance between girls and boys in the 10 – 11 age is noticeable. Limited interaction between girls and boys and the exclusion of boys trying to join girls' discussions were recorded by ethnographic observation in the majority of classes. With growing age, this gender distance weakens: the results of the 8th grade pupils do not indicate gender differences in the BEH component with exception of more inclusive attitudes of girls towards the classmate with health problems. (Juščáková 2017)

Figure 1:

Distribution of Inclusive attitudes - Behavioural component (the Pupils Questionnaire CATCH) - total sample
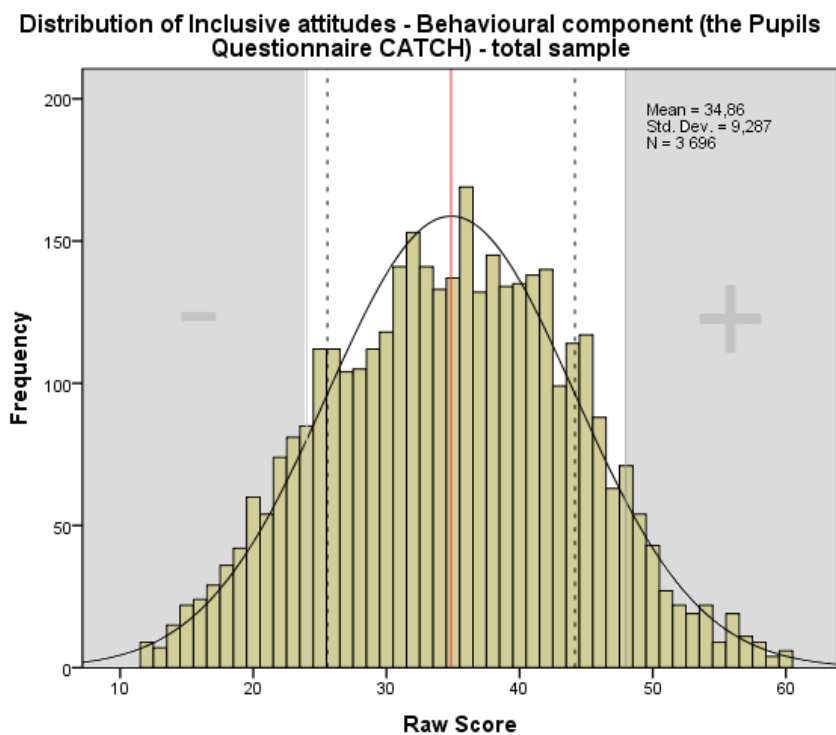
The type of disadvantage matters: pupils who referred to classmates with health problems in their responses have more inclusive attitudes than pupils that responded with reference to classmates with behaviour or learning disorders ($\Delta = 5{,}96$; p<0,001) or to classmates with social disadvantages ($\Delta = 4{,}93$; p<0,001). Pupils who referred to children with behavioural or learning disorders have the most negative attitudes.

Of all the variables, personal experience matters most. (Table 2). Merely having a classmate with SEN does not count as personal experience. Paradoxically, pupils who have a classmate with SEN show less inclusiveness than pupils who refer only to a fictitious one ($\Delta = 2.87$).

Table 2: **Inclusive attitudes of pupils by types of closeness to pupils from the story**

Behavioural component (CATCH-R)		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	sig. (2-tailed)
Is he your classmate?	No	496	35,0	9,5	,000
	Yes	1870	32,9	9,4	,000
Did you talk with such a classmate recently/ this week?	No	974	30,7	8,9	,000
	Yes	1392	35,2	9,4	,000
Are you similar to a pupil from any story?	No	3259	34,5	9,2	,000
	Yes	437	37,2	9,8	,000
Have you a relative who is similar to such a pupil?	No	2138	32,9	9,3	,000
	Yes	228	37,9	9,9	,000
Family of the pupil lives on social (MI) benefit	No	3045	34,6	9,3	,000
	Yes	230	38,0	8,1	,000

Intimate experience with a disadvantage had the most significant positive impact on inclusive attitudes (Table 2). Pupils having personal experience with marginalisation or social exclusion (low ESCS) tend to reach a significantly higher score of inclusiveness than those without such experiences[12].

The findings that closeness and similar experience matter most might seem trivial. In our view, they deserve attention as they might signal existing problems with cultivating inclusive attitudes of those "more happy", that is, those without personal experiences of lacking friendly contacts and being marginalised.

The results of the BEH component of CATCH for the all surveyed classes and the classes covered by the ethnographic observation show that differences within classes are higher than the differences among classes and schools and that the differences among classes are not statistically significant. The high

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[12] Further analysis by one of the authors revealed an inverse relation between the parents' ESCS and inclusiveness of pupil attitudes: pupils with the low (under average) ESCS have significantly more positive inclusive attitudes that the pupils with an average or above average ESCS. (Juščáková 2017)

variance of inclusive attitudes within classes, together with the significant impact of personal resemblance to a pupil with SEN, might also suggest that the pedagogical effort to cultivate deliberately inclusive interaction patterns and promote a friendly and accepting atmosphere among diverse pupils might be weak or even lacking. Identification of this absence seems to be the crucial finding of the CATCH-R survey.

Figure 2:

The Results of the Bahavioral Component of Pupil Questionnaire CATCH by observed classes
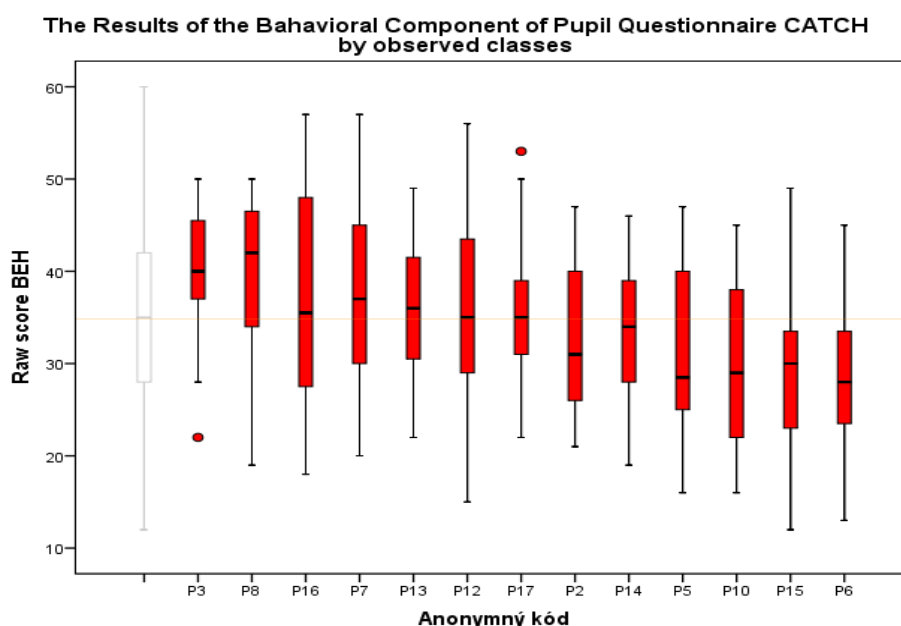
The box plots in Figure 2 display the results for the classes observed in the ethnographic part of the research. They are arranged in descending order by raw score in the CATCH-R BEH. The scores of the observed classes do not differ significantly from the rest of the pupils from non-observed classes (the white box plot with a very wide dispersion). All classes are in the restrained inclusion interval (28 – 48 points). The classes P3 and P8 appear to have the most unified and pro-inclusive opinions. These classes will be briefly introduced and compared in the ethnographic part below. We will also briefly discuss whether and how early tracking influences the class profile (diversity or similarity) of inclusiveness towards the classmates with SEN.

Daily work on inclusive culture in class – ETHNOGRAPHY – results
As has been described above, the aim of the ethnographic research was to observe how inclusive interaction patterns ̶ continuous concern for outliers, overcoming any pupil's isolation ̶ are promoted and sustained on a daily basis in classes with pupils with SEN and Roma pupils. Special focus was on teacher intervention in children interactions, particularly on how cooperation was promoted.

Ethnographic observations began in autumn 2014, when the former 5th grade class had already advanced to the sixth grade. It covered all lessons, breaks and lunch time for a minimum of five days in one class. Ethnography was supplemented by semi-structural interviews with class teachers and headmasters, and by ad hoc ethnographic conversations with other teachers. The schools' educational plans and annual reports were also examined. Detailed transcripts cover 80 school days in total. The analysis of ethnographic records and legislative and organisational documents was done with the support of the ATLAS.ti programme. An extensive report based on the ethnographic research was sent to the schools and class teachers for comment and participant verification. (Denzin et al. 1994)

As we had expected, the classes covered by ethnographic observation had changed since the survey. The composition of 10 classes more or less changed in the fifth or sixth grade. Several bigger schools tracked pupils according their school results (P2, P 12, P14) or according to their sport talents (P13 class) in parallel classes. In other schools, there were changes in the sixth classes since many pupils had left for eight-year grammar schools. For example, parallel P6 and P7 classes were recently formed from three fifth grade classes because so many pupils had left. The composition of P18 (as well as its atmosphere, the teachers commented) also substantially changed due to the departure of six classmates for eight-year grammar schools and the arrival of four newcomers who repeated the grade. P10, P15 and P8 also got new classmates who repeated the grade. P3, P5 and the parallel P16 and P17 from the same school were the "oldest" communities: classmates have attended the same class since the first year of schooling. There were only a few newcomers: Jurko[13], a Vietnamese boy from a disadvantaged background, appeared in the P5 class in the 4th grade, and Ľuboš (ADHD) came to P17 in the 5th grade from a school where, according to his present class teacher, "they failed to cope with him".

We expected that the pupils in classes that continued unchanged would behave more inclusively and "different" pupils will be less isolated than in the classes that were recomposed recently. However, as is shown below, the ethnographic observations do not support this assumption unambiguously.

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[13] The name Jurko is a pseudonym. However, teachers and classmates did not use the boy's real Vietnamese name "as its pronunciation was difficult" and called him by „a European" name.

Visible separation

During our ethnographic observations, most pupils with SEN were seldom involved in interaction with their classmates. Some were also temporarily isolated by their individual teaching or joining parallel special class for some subjects.

(Joint lesson with the parallel class) There are two health assistants in the class now. In the last desk in the row near the door, the health assistant works with Táňa (pupil with SEN). She has worked with her since September this school year and teaches her all subjects individually. Táňa communicates with her assistant only. Or more precisely, the health assistant addresses her. I did not notice Táňa speaking during two days of joint lessons (P13 Tuesday 2 June 2015)

Some pupils with SEN or a disadvantaged background sit at their desks alone: the Vietnamese boy Jurko and Roma girl Sofia in P5, the Roma boy Denis in P17, and the Roma girl Lenka with SEN in P14.
In most classes, pupils with SEN were also alone during breaks, when their isolation was most visible (and experienced). They often sat alone in their desks or walked alone.

During ethnography in P5, no pupils addressed Jurko, the Vietnamese boy from a very poor family. He himself was trying to join conversations, came near classmates and listened to their discussions. During the breaks, he would sit alone or come up to the researcher to have a chat. (P5)

Some pupils with SEN were not even included in the groups formed for collaborative work in class though the teachers asked to include them (Lenka P14). Roma pupils communicate with Roma only if there were more in the class (P10, P15, P13) or tend to leave the class during the breaks and meet (Roma) friends from other classes outside (P14, P17 and the Roma girl Zorka repeating the grade in P18). Most recorded communication between pupils and pupils with SEN, Roma and socially disadvantaged pupils has a "technical" or logistic character. Except during sport activities (only boys), they were not engaged in spontaneous friendly interactions nor did anyone "pull them in".
This situation differs from information we received from some class teachers.

During the ethnography week, Hanka, a good student whose wheelchair is the only sign that she is different, did not talk to any classmate. She was alone all the time. According to the class-teacher, the Roma girl Sylvia and Hanka spend a lot of time together, they talk to each other, and Sylvia pushes the wheelchair. However, no such contacts were observed. Sylvia did not talk to Hanka or anyone else in the class. (P10: researcher summary).

In P5, we observed that Noro sits alone during most breaks, and he is rarely addressed by any of his classmates, including Marek, who shares the desk with him. The class-teacher explained that Marek and other children shy away from Noro because he has psoriasis (hardly noticeable according to the ethnographer). According to her, the main reason why pupils do not wish to have closer contact with Noro might be that… *Noro is oversensitive and often cries for nothing. Fortunately, Marek is very smart and does not complain about sitting with him.* (P5 Interview with the class teacher)

In the classes (P13, P16/17, P18), pupils were separated during school excursions: None of the socially disadvantaged pupils and Roma classmates took part during the two-day school excursions (in the High Tatras) or an excursion to Vienna (P16/17, P18).

Pupils' interactions can be influenced by the teachers' *seating plan*. Teachers used a seating plan in the majority of the observed sixth classes. During most lessons, pupils sit in pairs and most collaborative work is between desk partners. In some classes, the seating plan is changed quarterly. It seems that it serves mainly as a means of avoiding disturbances since teachers often change the sitting order and separate problematic pairs during the lessons. In P13, order is maintained by pairing boys and girls as they have fewer common topics of conversation. Higher achievers also sit with lower ones. There is no ethnic mix in the seating order: Roma pupils only sit with Roma. There are temporary exceptions however:

When Jarko, a Roma pupil with SEN (learning disorders) expressed his problem with reading the map, teacher sent Karol (high achiever, non Roma) to sit with Jarko and help him. Karol changed his place promptly without embarrassment and worked with Jarko till the end of lesson. (P13)

Karol's quiet obedience can indicate that he is used to mutual cooperation and to helping Jarko. The ease with which this help and cooperation occurs also seems to come from their being team-mates in the football team. As it turned out, Jarko is an exceptionally gifted and admired football player, the best in the school (and a big national talent according to the football couch).

In P5, the class teacher tries to pair good and low achievers, quiet and lively students.
"P*upils do not object. However, parents sometimes do. We have a Roma girl Sofia, Ramon, whose father is Albanian and two Vietnamese boys in the class. When I put Ramon and Sofia together, his father came to school and asked why his son had to sit with a Roma girl. "I told him that he is so intelligent that he*

could do it. They sat together then for a long time and everything was OK". (P5 Class teacher)

Unfortunately, this tolerant attitude proved to be only temporary. During the ethnographic observations, Sofia sat alone for most lessons. Jurko, the Vietnamese boy from a very poor family, also sat alone. Last year, he had problems with cleanliness and not bringing snacks. The class teacher claimed that he had to sit alone as *"he had a tendency to take up all of the space and push his neighbour out of the desk."* The observers did not notice any evidence of this.

Cooperative learning is not dominant in Slovak schools. Besides assignments to work in pairs at math (P5) and languages (P5, P13, P17), pupils were advised to cooperate on science and history projects (P18), while staging a ballad for literature (P5, P3, P17) and during games in Ethics and Civics (P2, P14). During the latter occasions, some children were denied inclusion in the teams. Teachers did not discipline pupils who rejected their classmates, and after making two or three rebukes, they gave up and ignored these cases of exclusion.

The math teacher in P5 was impressively competent in encouraging cooperation. She assigned work in pairs at almost every lesson. However, some pupils did not cooperate.

Noro can hardly overlook that Marek again pulls himself away. Marek's aversion to cooperate with him during the Math lessons appears regularly. The teacher repeatedly reminds Marek that he has to cooperate with Noro. Marek turns to Noro only when he himself has finished the assignment. The teacher loudly castigates him for non-cooperation: "You did the assignment alone and quickly as always, and you made a mistake! Cooperate!" (P5: 579)

The math teacher's reaction to Marek's behaviour suggests that the barrier to cooperation is his immoderate competitiveness and fear that working with a partner would delay him. We observed that Marek was active during all lessons. He was always among the first to raise his hand in response to the teacher's questions and to run to the teacher's desk with the finished exercise.

Teacher interventions in interaction patterns
Teachers can influence their pupil's interactions by arranging the seating plan/order and by various direct and indirect interventions [14]. The

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[14] The class teacher in P17 requested that pupils who had a conflict report to her office to sit in the "truthful armchair". In front of class, she dealt with disturbances by pupils directly.

majority of interventions focused on keeping the attention of pupils on the lesson. This emerged as a crucial part of day-to-day teaching, and teachers devoted a considerable effort to this task. Their individual work with pupils with SEN was often a signal for other pupils to stop their work, take a break and have fun. Several teachers spontaneously expressed the fear that their attention to SEN students might be at the expense of attention to the other students. Distribution of attention to all pupils seems to be their biggest practical problem in diverse classes. Having a teacher assistant separately working with pupils with SEN is considered by teachers to be the best working solution. Teacher assistants were, however, not regularly present in the classes, and in some classes and schools, they were not on the staff or did not appear in the observed classes (P6/7, P10/15, P18).

Some teachers face difficulties in ensuring that all pupils are concentrating and follow the lesson. (P2, P6/7, P17, P18) They loudly and repeatedly rebuked pupils who did not react to their "open your books" instructions, or did it too slowly. As we will show later on with the case of Denis (P17), this way of maintaining the concentration of the class might have a humiliating effect and strengthen the marginalisation of these children in the class.

The surprising distance and repulsion expressed towards SEN children in some classes did not trigger teacher interventions. Aversion to a pupil with SEN was most unconcealed in the village class P14. Lenka, a Roma girl with combined health and learning disabilities, was permanently rejected by her classmates. She sat alone and the space between her desk and the desk before was bigger than space between all other desks. Her desk was called the "gypsy desk" and considered "untouchable". The ethnographer was spontaneously and loudly informed by her classmates that they play "dirt" with it [15]. They apparently did not consider their play to be something they should be ashamed of. They played the game several times during the ethnographic observations, always in Lenka's presence. When the class moved to another room, Lenka often had trouble finding a seat. Teachers did not intervene.

The class moves to another room. Lenka stands nearby the door and does not know where to sit. There is no empty desk, only empty places at some desks. Daniela and David sit alone. The teacher asks Lenka to sit with David. David twists his head and hints to Lenka that she has to sit with Daniela. Daniela hisses no. Lenka stands in the door and looks at the class. Finally, she goes to the researcher's desk and sits with her. (P14:176)

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[15] The game had the following rules: He who touches the "Gypsy desk" has "dirt" and should run and catch somebody to transfer "dirt" to him. Dirt was played during the breaks in Lenka's presence.

As was mentioned above, teachers' rebukes were aimed mostly at pupils' behaviour (loss of concentration, disturbance, etc.). In such moments, they also mobilised the negative attention of pupils toward a classmate with SEN.

Slovak literature. The substitute teacher notices that Lenka's textbook is not on her desk. "Lenka, wake up! Take your book and put it on the desk!" The teacher turns to the pupils: "Is Lenka always so dreamy?"
Konrád: "Yes she is, and during all lessons". (P14:200)

It is apparent that Lenka is not taken here as an equal, but as "other", as a (strange) object in the teacher's presence. She is not recognised to be competent to explain her behaviour – this right is given to her classmates. It is likely that such "common class care" for a disadvantaged classmate may have alienating and humiliating effects.

In P2, Franka (learning disorder) is an overtly rejected classmate. When she fights for the teacher's attention, her classmates openly express their dislike of her efforts. In the first day of ethnography, three boys came to the researcher (whom they saw for the first time) and *"on their own initiative informed me about the lesson schedule and that Franka had the IQ of rocking horse".* Such degrading information about one's classmate provided to an unknown adult without any fear of criticism indicates that expressing dislike towards Franka is considered acceptable in this class. The taken-for granted legitimacy of open expressions of negative feelings towards a classmate was also demonstrated in this class during a special session with the psychologist, who had been invited there. The P2 class teacher explained the reason for this extra session to the children: "*it is because you do not behave properly*".

The session began by the psychologist's reading a story about a girl who has been excluded by her classmates. "By chance" the girl's name was Franka. Franka smiles. She looks flattered that the story is about her. The psychologist finishes reading and asks pupils how they would help Franka make more friends in class.
Pupils answer promptly and vividly in chorus: No how!
Psychologist: And would you like to be friends with her?
Pupils in chorus: No!
The psychologist discusses the situation and attempts to sensitise pupils to feelings of the fictitious Franka. The real Franka looks offended and angry.
(P2: 259-261)

Here the pupils are directly challenging the authority (or at least the values) of the psychologist. Such situations, considerably difficult for teachers, were not

rare. We will touch this issue later, when dealing with the case of Denis from P17.

Paradoxes – Questionnaire and ethnography findings
We now turn to the two classes with more intensive and homogeneous inclusive attitudes of pupils. According to the results of the CATCH-R survey (Figure 2), these are P3 and P8. Ethnographic observations also confirmed that these classes are considerably different.

P3 is a settled group of pupils that have been together since the first year of elementary school. Some of them even attended the same kindergarten. Two pupils, Oliver and Sebastian, have SEN – they are slow learners. The class teacher spoke highly about the class solidarity, which has also been supported by parents. Last year, some parents organised a financial collection to support the participation of Oliver and Sebastian in the class excursion. This had been a recent occurrence at the time of the CATCH-R survey and might have reinforced the class' view of their own inclusive attitudes and influenced pupils' responses. However, such inclusive interaction patterns were not observed during the ethnographic observations. The boys seemed to be passively tolerated. No serious incidents were recorded, but during a cognitive competitive game, pupils manifested their disappointment when they could not count on Oliver's failure or when the teacher helped him to answer.

Pupils review their knowledge by playing a game with a ball. The teacher asks a question and the pupil to whom a ball is thrown has to respond. There are two rival groups. They can give advice (good or bad) to each other. The children are active. Hanka throws the ball to Oliver (SEN) from the rival group to make him respond to a difficult question. She looks disappointed with when Valér catches the ball instead of Oliver and responds correctly. The teacher then adds new rules. Oliver has the ball and has to answer. The teacher tries to help him. The children look disappointed but they are silent and do not object. (P3:134)

During the breaks, no classmates interacted with Oliver or Sebastian. They were not invited to take part in a group activity – the dramatization of a ballad. They were not helped by others when they began to tidy up the class, and the teacher did not intervene.

The teacher asks pupils to put desks and chairs in their place. Sebastián puts chairs in their place, and he alone pulls the desk. No one joins in and Sebastián does not ask anyone for help (P3:332)

The last lesson: the bell rings. The pupils immediately jump from the desks and run away. Oliver stands up and quietly puts chairs on desks. The boys shout over each other refusing to put chairs on desks since it is not their classroom. (P3:235)

P8 is the next class with above average inclusive and homogeneous attitudes. Ethnographic observation showed that the class is also homogeneous socially and ethnically. The first language of all pupils was Romani. The majority of their parents were unemployed. All pupils are low achievers. Except two, all had repeated a grade one or more times. They have difficulty in focusing and understanding abstract terms in the language of instruction. However, no pupil has SEN[16]. According to the class teacher, no pupil was screened for learning disorders as their parents did not agree since they feared their children would be placed in special schools. On the other hand, despite having a disadvantaged background, no pupil had the look of the socially disadvantaged child portrayed in the CATCH-R story: they looked tidy and their clothes were clean.

More homogeneous and pro-inclusive attitudes (Figure 2) in this class might be supported by their personal resemblance, closeness (some of children were siblings and cousins) and the language community. As the CATCH-R survey indicates, socially disadvantaged pupils have significantly more inclusive attitudes towards pupils that resemble them or those close to them. (Table 1)

The question then is whom children identified in this class as a classmate with SEN. According to the class teacher, he might be the pupil who left for a special school recently. He was behind the others and from a very poor background and not always clean.

Though in this class nobody seemed systematically isolated, Igor, a scrawny boy who seemed to lack energy, was involved less in interactions with other boys. Several classmates ignored him. During the breaks, Igor does not play hockey with other boys. During lessons, he has difficulty focusing; he often looks into space or lies on his desk.

The assistant teacher told me that Igor has only bare slices of bread for snack. As his classmates mocked him for his poor meal, he did not eat it but threw it in the trash. The teachers noticed it and advised Igor to leave the class during the break and have his snack outside. (P8: 101)

It turned out that Igor was the poorest boy in the class. He lived in a street of public housing with several undocumented shacks and no connection to sewerage or drinking water. It was obvious that Igor was being mocked during

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[16] The Slovak School Act does not consider the language of instruction differing from the child's first language to be a disadvantage and SEN.

the lessons[17]. The main source of his degradation was where he lives. As the class teacher told us, Roma pupils divide themselves into castes according their residence. All other pupils in the class live on "decent" streets.

> *(History Lesson) The teacher reads from a textbook about middle age towns – poor hygienic conditions are described such as chamber pots poured out of the window. Matúš and Krištof interrupt the reading: "Teacher, but such problems with hygiene still exist in Slovakia!" Krištof: "Teacher, let's ask Igor how it looks like at their home, their street!" The teacher continues reading.* (P8: 124)

In P8, we observed attempts of teachers (rare, in general) to intervene in pupils' relations and promote their ability to empathise. Teacher of history and literature reproached boys for ridiculing Igor and reminded them (by storytelling) that we should not judge people according to their appearance.

Inclusion in classes with children with behavioural disorders
For teachers, the most demanding is teaching in a class with pupils with behavioural disorders. A common tactic is for teachers to not respond to impertinent statements of pupils with diagnosed behavioural disorders. Teachers also ask other pupils to ignore their remarks "so as not to pour oil on the fire".
English lesson. Pupils have to create sentences with "I play". The teacher asks Sebastian to write in his exercise book.
Sebastian: I do not have any.
Teacher: Somebody will pass paper to you.
Anna pulls out paper from her exercise book and passes it to Sebastian.
Sebastian: I do not want that. And I have no pen.
The teacher passes Sebastian her pen: That's mine.
Sebastian: I do not want such a cheap one.
The teacher is silent. Sebastian turns back and pulls an exercise book from his bag. Andrej says something critical that makes Sebastian angry.
The teacher asks Andrej not to comment on the situation. (P17:336)

Indeed, peace in the class seems to be an important prerequisite of teachers' work.

In face-to-face interactions with a child with behavioural disorders, teachers trained other children to refrain from responding to the offensive acts of short-tempered classmates (ADHD) so as to nip conflicts in the bud.

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[17] During the breaks, conversation was in Romani, and the language barrier reduced possibilities for ethnographic observation.

Ľuboš sits in the first desk just near the teacher's table. He turns back to the classmates sitting behind him and mocks them for being too slow. The teacher asks Ľuboš to sit properly – facing the blackboard. Ľuboš turns to the blackboard and watches Tomáš who stands in front of the blackboard and hesitates in filling in the pronoun in a sentence. Ľuboš screams out: It is totally easy, so simple! The teacher says nothing and Tomáš continues his task. (P17: 139-141)

Teachers trained children to consider the consequences of their reactions/interactions with children with SEN, who tend to overreact to opposition or dissent. Without doubt, maintaining a peaceful atmosphere always requires a proper dose of self-restraint. However, learning to avoid problems by passing them over in silence deepens the risk of the exclusion of children whose problem is that they are too quiet, shy or timid to initiate interaction. Moreover, disturbing comments or other types of humiliating behaviour were passed by in silence when the pupils concerned had fragile self-worth – socially disadvantaged pupils or pupils with health problems[18]. During 80 days of ethnographic observations, we did not record any successful attempt of teachers to overcome the dislike of pupils to involve a disadvantaged classmate in solving a task or another type of cooperative interaction.

As we suggested earlier, teachers more often rebuke pupils who do not focus on instruction, do not have their textbooks prepared, or who did not bring school supplies. These were mostly pupils without an SEN certificate, that is, without entitlement to a teacher's special attention, or to any form of assistance[19].

Denis, the only Roma in P17, tended to be the most frequent target of teacher criticism. His class teacher said that there were no problems with him in the past but that he had changed recently: *"He does not concentrate, and has begun forgetting homework and pens."* Teachers tended to castigate Denis loudly for the smallest infraction:

"Y*ou drink from your bottle like a baby. Drink normally!"*

"You are already starting to make trouble at the beginning of the lesson!" (in response to his request for a less shabby textbook when they are handed out).

"Denis, last week we talked about how the class is fed up with you! You are disturbing others. They cannot concentrate!" (in response to Lucia´s report that Denis was using a ruler to shoot small pieces of paper or rubber)

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[18] To sustain and protect the face of others and one´s own are important rules of any interaction, and a moral duty according E. Goffman (1959). ADHD children often do not respect this and attack the self-esteem of other children, for example, Roma children, whose self-esteem is often fragile due to prevalent negative stereotypes.

[19] Sending a pupil to the school psychologist was considered a correctional measure.

Denis sat alone at the desk during the lessons. His classmates imitated teachers and reported on him, both girls and boys. His classmate Luboš (ADHD) took the lead in this.

German lesson. The teacher dictates. Teacher: "Denis, are you writing?"
Denis nods.
Ľuboš with irony: "Let´s celebrate!"
Teacher: "No comments..."
Then pupils had to read article together and aloud. They all read. When they finished, Ľuboš tells the teacher:
"Denis was also reading with the others".
Teacher: "I know. I am watching him."

In their exchange, the teacher and Ľuboš speak about Denis similarly as in the above example of speaking about Lenka (P14): not as about equal member of the class but in third person, about "him" – a passive object of their observation.

The negative attitudes of classmates towards Denis were strikingly displayed during a Slovak language lesson on describing a person:

The teacher introduces the description of people by playing the game 'Who is it in our class'. One pupil should describe a classmate with three or four characteristics, and the others should guess his or her name. Pupils like the exercise. They want to take part and describe a classmate. They are laughing. Now it is Ľuboš's turn.
Ľuboš: He has black hair, a blue windbreaker and three quarters of the class hate him because he cheats.
Pupils cry in chorus: It's Denis!
Teacher: That is very rough...
Several pupils butt in loudly: It is true!
Teacher to Denis: Denis, do you think it is true? Do you agree? Tell us why they do not like you. What do you think?
Denis quietly: Because I am a lazy and dark?
Pupils cry: It is not because of that or bad marks, but how he behaves.
Martina: You speak about us badly in other classes!
Ľuboš: You have your bunch and this is we do not like!
Denis is smiling during this conversation as if it is meant as a joke. (P17:174)

In the above example, instead of calming down the class and halting ostracism of Denis, the teacher began to examine Denis' opinion about the reasons his classmates might have for criticizing him. She did not try to doubt the appropriateness of identifying Denis as "hated" and to draw children's

attention to how he could experience the situation[20]. However, as we suggested earlier, such the situations are very demanding. Some teachers may have the (fairly understandable) concern that they may lose their authority over the class if they side with an unpopular pupil too directly (or too often).

This event has dramatic features and looks exceptional, but it was not out of the norm; it follows a common script. Though it is not easy to tell precisely its content, ethnographic experience allows us to state what it does not include. The common script of education does not include cultivating an inclusive ethic in class and sanctioning deviations from inclusive interaction patterns such as distancing, mocking or excluding classmates. The lack of inclusive education in a cultural sense combined with the lack of a specific school inclusion philosophy [21] can explain the diversity of pupils' attitudes towards their classmates with SEN recorded by the CATCH-R survey.

Closing discussion

In this paper, we have examined the everyday experience of inclusive education in Slovak elementary schools. We did this by combining two types of research, a quantitative survey of pupil attitudes and class ethnography, and from the classic view that school is the decisive and almost only place for promoting and practicing *universal* morality and interactions that respect the dignity of every person.

We show that inclusive education in a cultural sense still has only a notional existence in Slovak schools. Despite the appearance of the concept of inclusive education in educational strategies more than 20 years ago, a full-fledged understanding in educational practice is still lacking. Particularly, the promotion of inclusive interaction patterns among children and an inclusion ethic in the sense of embracing all children and their sensitivity for the self-worth of all rarely occurred in the classes under study.

Results from the representative survey of pupil attitudes suggest rather restrained support of inclusion. The high diversity of attitudes within the classes and the significant positive impact of personal experience with disadvantage indicate that schools and teachers are largely failing to cultivate inclusive attitudes and an inclusive class culture where no one is left behind. Ethnographic observations of the subsample of classes provided supporting

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[20] The day after his verbal exclusion from the class, Denis did not come to school, and he was also absent all the other days of ethnographic observation. His school absences continued and resulted in the repetition of the grade.

[21] The results of our analyses of the educational programmes of schools covered by our ethnographic observations are similar to those of Patrasová's (2015) more extensive research. She found that educational plans do not sufficiently account for the educational needs of pupils with SEN; they do not set concrete educational goals, pedagogical strategies and organisational forms. They also fail to put emphasis on developing an inclusive culture among teachers and pupils.

evidence that teachers are very rarely engaged in cultivating solidarity and inclusive patterns of interaction with classmates with SEN.

However, teachers and schools in Slovakia were not charged by this mission formally and do not have enough organisational support for this work (i.e. assisting staff). They can only consider taking on this mission. There is no special support given to the development of friendly relations among children, although school is often the only space now where "diverse" children could meet. Such a situation is after all, in harmony with the Slovak school legislation that understands inclusion in the sense of fulfilling an individual right to education and personal development and does not charge schools with the mission to support cooperation and solidarity between pupils. Schools have to promote "tolerance" and "plurality". As ethnographic research might suggest, both concepts provide problematic orientation in relation to inclusive education. Tolerance is a vague term that also covers the observed practice of isolating and marginalising a child with SEN in the class, whose presence is merely "tolerated". The explicitly required support of a plurality of opinions might be considered by teachers as being in direct conflict with cultivating common inclusive values, mutuality and solidarity. Requiring plurality without including a resolute claim of inclusive value in the core documents of the education system may be why teachers do not stop, for instance, children who make defamatory comments about lazy Roma devastating apartments they received free of charge in the presence of their Roma classmates…

There are more questions than answers in regards to the current state of inclusive education in Slovak schools. We need more ethnography of daily life in schools and more participatory research involving all actors of education, including students of pedagogy and parents. A voice should also be given to children with SEN, with maximum sensitivity and respect to their rights. In our view, crucial attention should be given to the competence of teachers to cultivate pro-inclusive attitudes and inclusive interaction patterns among children and particularly their "thirst for social justice" as Durkheim emphasised more than century ago, but which remains both timely and urgent.

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