

SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS IN THE CHOICE OF THE RIGHT EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION

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Abstract:

More than 1000 public educational institutions maintained by the church work in Hungary currently, therefore recently the denominational public education has turned into a current question again. The expansion can be originated in several reasons, to which as a starting point the law of 1990 may be considered which takes action on the freedom of conscience and religion. As a result of this since the change of the regime, the church has become a school maintainer, too, which means new challenges and continuously sets new expectations to it. Denominational schools as publicly financed institutions have to meet their educational mission with the state's and the school selectors' expectations. Several researchers have examined the determinants of school selection on both international and national levels (Bell 2009, Denig et al: 2009, Dronkers 1995, Ferenc-Séra 2001, Kertesi 2014, Korzenszky 1997). We may presuppose that the school - as the device of social mobility - shows the opportunity of the child's prosperity in the parents' eye. The determinants of selecting a school may be changing in each country and age, yet there are factors which can be considered relatively constant like the residential area, the parents' social status and educational level, their piety and cultural capital, their faith in the school as the device of social mobility, their image of the future and their knowledge on the opportunities of selecting a school. Furthermore, the content and coherence of the family may also be determining. We may assume that the motivation of the school users selecting either a denominational or a state or a foundation school can be different. Also, it can be probable that the school level –primary or secondary– influences the attitudes of school selectors.

The aim of the present study is both to show the results of a questionnaire empirical research conducted among students choosing schools maintained by the church, and by putting the results in an extended

conceptual framework to find such social correlations that may help to recognise the expectations and scruples drawn to the churches as school maintainers.

Keywords: denominational public education, school selectors, social mobility

Discipline: pedagogy

*A MEGFELELŐ OKTATÁSI INTÉZMÉNY KIVÁLASZTÁSÁNÁL MEGJELENŐ
TÁRSADALMI ELVÁRÁSOK*

Abstract:

Több mint 1000 egyházi fenntartású köznevelési intézmény működik jelenleg Magyarországon, így a felekezeti oktatásügy napjainkban újra igen aktuális kérdéssé vált. Az expanzió számos okra vezethető vissza, amelyhez kiindulópontként azt az 1990-es törvényt tekinthetjük, amely a lelkiismereti és vallásszabadságról rendelkezik. Ennek eredményeképpen a rendszerváltás óta az egyház iskolafenntartó is lett, ami új kihívásokat jelent, illetve folyamatosan új elvárásokat is támaszt vele szemben. A felekezeti iskoláknak közfinanszírozású intézményként egyeztetni kell saját oktatási/nevelési küldetését az állam és az iskolaválasztók elvárásaival. Az iskolaválasztás determinánsait számos kutató vizsgálta nemzetközi és hazai szinten is (Bell 2009, Dronkers 1995, Ferenc-Séra 2001, Kertesi 2005, Korzenszky 1997). Feltételezhetjük, hogy az iskola a társadalmi mobilitás eszközeként a szülők szemében gyermekük boldogulásának lehetőségét villantja fel. Az iskolaválasztás determinánsai országonként és koronként változóak lehetnek, mégis vannak viszonylag állandónak tekinthető faktorok. Ilyenek lehetnek a lakókörnyezet, a szülők társadalmi státusza, iskolai végzettsége, vallásossága, kulturális tőkéje, hite az iskolában, mint a társadalmi mobilitás eszközében, jövőképe, illetve tájékozottságuk az iskolaválasztási lehetőségekről. Meghatározó determináns lehet továbbá a család összetétele és koherenciája. Feltételezhetjük, hogy a felekezeti-, az állami-, alapítványi iskolákat választó iskola felhasználók motivációi eltérők lehetnek. Az is valószínűsíthető, hogy az iskola szintje – alap vagy középfok – is befolyásolja az iskolaválasztók attitűdjeit. Jelen tanulmány célja, hogy a görögkatolikus egyház által fenntartott iskolák választói körében végzett kérdőíves empirikus kutatás eredményeit ismertessem, illetve azokat tágabb értelmezési keretbe helyezve olyan társadalmi szintű összefüggéseket keressek, amelyek segíthetnek megismerni az egyházakkal, mint iskolafenntartókkal szemben megfogalmazott elvárásokat, illetve aggályokat.

Kulcszavak: egyházi és világi oktatás, iskolaválasztók, társadalmi mobilitás

Diszciplína: neveléstudomány

Introduction

The relationship between religion and school has been examined by several educational researchers from several aspects. Tomka (2008) highlights that the feature of the relationship always depends on the particular historical context. According to his approach, the world around man offers lots of choices, but it does not determine the principle of decision-making.

Thus, a person's life, behavior and possibilities are less and less determined by the norms of the micro-environment of society and the individual, but rather by the individual himself. In his opinion, the nature of modernity includes the diversity of choices, the only stable point for the individual himself, the individual getting into the centre, and this way shapes his own world according to his own taste (Tomka 2005).

This freedom of decision-making accompanies the individual throughout his or her life, which is initially the parents' privilege. The individual's choice of school also falls during this period. Parents need to make a responsible decision about which educational institution is the best for their child. Several documents and recommendations of domestic and international laws regulate the parents' rights in connection with their child's choice of school, based on Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) which states that "every person has the right to education", furthermore „parents have a priority right in the choice of education for their children”.

No matter how ideal this starting point may seem, we still have to take some factors into consideration (parents' personality, level of information about the school system, their socio-cultural and economic environment, etc.), which can sometimes shift a decision situation towards inequality.

Do parents choose a denominational school in a special situation? It is also true in their case that

the uniqueness of the individual is in the focus in the choice of school or is the choice of school made according to the norms represented by the ecclesial community? What do parents who believe in Catholic education expect from the school? Rather, the perpetuation of universal, humanistic values or the appearance of the charisma represented by the Catholic Church during the teaching and educational work?

Pusztai (2004) examined the expectations of those who choose a denominational secondary school, highlighting that the types of expectations can be very different even when choosing the same type of school. In the focus of the present research the expectations of those who choose a primary denominational educational institution regarding educational principles can be found.

The focus of our study is on the schools maintained by the Greek Catholic Church, which are members of Catholic public education. Their number has been increasing continuously since the change of the regime. According to the data of KPSZTI (Catholic Institute of Pedagogical Organizational and Further Education), in September 2014, there were already 584 Catholic public educational institutions in Hungary, of which 20 Greek Catholic institutions operate predominantly in one of the most disadvantaged regions of the country, Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg and Hajdú-Bihar counties.

Social expectations and denominational education

The aim of our literature outlook is to present an interpretation framework that may influence the Catholic parents' school choice motives. We do not intend to present every single effect, primarily the legal and ecclesiastical framework beyond the educational-sociological approach.

First of all, we examine in general what laws and regulations regulate the aspect of free choice of school. Can parents really freely choose which school they would consider ideal for their child? Another interesting question may be, what are the documents formulated by the Catholic Church that may influence the Catholic parents' school choice motives? That is why we considered it necessary to examine what recommendations and directives the Catholic Church formulates for Catholic parents when making their decision related to the choice of school. In the third part of the introductory part of the literature, we analyze what educational-sociological motives may have a specific impact on parents when making their decision about their child's choice of school.

The practice of the right to free choice of school in Hungary

At the international level, Art. 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights clearly states that "parents have a priority right in the choice of education for their children". At the level of Hungary, Point 2 of Art. XVI. of the Constitution regulates this issue at the highest level. It states that "parents have the right to choose the education to be given to their child", that is, it is regarded as a constitutional right. Paras. 2 and 24 of EMMI Decree 20/2012 (VIII.31) regulate the beginning of compulsory schooling, the enrollment in primary school and the establishment of the student status. According to Para. 2, "a child entering compulsory school age in a given year must be enrolled in the first year of the school of his or her place of residence or of his or her choice between 1 April and 30 April, at a time published in a statement or announcement by the local government".

Furthermore, Para. 24 regulates the establishment of enrollment districts and the proportions of disadvantaged students. Para. 31 of Act CXC of 2001 regulates the admission

procedure of educational institutions maintained by denominations, according to which, "the regulations concerning the compulsory admission of children and pupils are not compulsory to be applied...", and as a precondition for admission ecclesiastical institutions "may require the acceptance of a religion or worldview as a precondition for admission, and this may be examined in the admission procedure."

The issue of the right to free choice of school in the documents of the Catholic Church

In its several documents, the Catholic Church clearly expresses its opinion about the free choice of school for parents. This issue is described the most significantly in the document *Gravissimum Educationis Momentum* (1965) of the Second Vatican Council which states the universal right to education in the very first chapter: "Due to their personal dignity, everyone - whatever their race, social class or age - has the inalienable right to an education which suits their purpose, and adapts to their individual abilities, gender, the given culture and national traditions, and at the same time they are open to fraternal relations with other peoples and thus it serves true unity and peace on earth."

Tózsér (2002) compares this document with Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and points to the fact that although they are two different styles of text, in them it is easy to see the endeavour showing into the same direction.

In point 1, the fathers of the Second Vatican Council state that true education shapes the human by keeping the ultimate goal in mind, that it also benefits the society of which the person is a member and in whose life he or she will play an active role as an adult. The school educates for society, since students can experience the community in the school environment, and then, by learning its norms and by expanding this space,

they can get to the society as a whole. In point 3 of this document, he emphasizes that education is primarily the responsibility of the family, but for that it needs the support of society as a whole. If the parents or other communities should fail to do so, it is the responsibility of civil society to organize the work of education in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity and the wishes of the parent. Point 6 of the decree emphasizes that “the parents, whose primary and inalienable duty and right to bring up their children, must be really free to choose their school. Thus, the public power, which is responsible for ensuring and protecting the freedom of citizens, must take care of distributing state aid in connection with the requirements of distributive justice, so that parents can follow the word of their conscience and can freely choose the school for their children.”

Point 7 states that the Church commends those states and authorities which take into consideration the pluralism of today's society, realize true freedom of religion, and help families to educate their children in all schools related to the family's religious and moral principles.

In Hungary, on behalf of the Catholic Church, Lajos Pápai issued a resolution in October 2009 as the vice-president of the MKPK (Hungarian Catholic Episcopal Conference), according to which the Hungarian Catholic Church, based on the current legislation, can enforce its right to know the religious commitment and beliefs of parents/children/pupils at the time of admission to kindergarten/school.

It can be a really exciting question whether only those parents send their children to Greek Catholic schools who are committed to the faith and are regular practitioners of religion or not.

Motivations of school-choosing parents

When examining this issue, an interesting dilemma arises considering the fact that how much the parents' conscious choice is to choose a school,

or rather it is a decision already predestined by their social status. Researches on school-choosing parents' motivation, which examines the preferences of families and parents, date back to the 1990's (Pusztai, 2004). According to Pusztai (2009), there is no tradition of research on this issue because, according to the “reproduction theory”, which is the defining direction of European sociology of education in this matter, it is the habitus defined by social affiliation and social layers that influences school choice rather than the deliberately expressed intention of the parent.

During researching the motivations for choosing a school, Pusztai (2009) drew attention to the Weberian theory of action and decision and its typology Weber (1982) which prioritizes the individual, and Coleman (1987), who continues to think of the rational type of action from Weber's theory of action. At the same time, in the research on the motivations for choosing a school, Sági (2003) also emphasizes the fact of relative risk-taking, highlights the “theory of the relativity of aspirations” and the possible status-dependence of the risk-taking willingness of school-choice. He highlights Boudon's theory (1974) that the primary and secondary influences of the family prevail in school choice.

The primary effect is the inheritance of cultural capital, and the secondary effect is when parents choose the school which is the best for their child and the most appropriate for their future. Parents make a conscious calculation when choosing a school and consider investment and return. According to Sági, Goldthorpe (1996) came to a similar conclusion with an approach of rational action theory. In his opinion, it is in the interest of families to let their class status be maintained from generation to generation, and let their child achieve at least the same social status as the parent. The goal of parents when choosing a school is not to reach a school level, but to maintain a certain social status.

It may be a particularly interesting question what the parents choosing a denominational primary and secondary education institution consider to be an investment, and what return they expect. Can the decision of parents choosing a denominational school be predestined based on their religious and social affiliation? Is the choice of religious education class dependent? Is there an overlap between the social group dominated by the Greek Catholic Church in that area and their school-choosing parents?

The literature analyzes the issue of school choice embedded in several interpretive frameworks, according to one view it is simply the result of the situation in the vertical social structure, and the choice of school enables children with advantageous social status to preserve their parents' one, and it results in social segregation (Kertesi-Kézdi 2014, Andor-Liskó 1999). Others emphasize that all this is a consequence of individual decisions (Boudon 2003), which can be value-rational, and that "all these are strongly modified by the impact of the specific social environment on individual behaviour" (Pusztai 2009).

Historical features of the school system maintained by the Greek Catholic Church

According to the census of 2011, the Greek Catholic Church in Hungary has 179,176 believers who mainly live in the most disadvantaged micro-regions in the northern and eastern parts of the country. 78% of the believers (140,594 people) live in the three particularly disadvantaged counties of the country: 34,816 people in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county, 73,419 people in Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county and 32,359 people in Hajdú-Bihar county. In total, 11% of the believers live in the capital, 20% in cities with county status, and 71% in smaller towns and villages.

Considering the fact that the proportion of those with a low level of education is very high among

the faithful of the Diocese of Hajdúdorog, the issue of school-based education, catching up and integration has been in the focus of the mission of the church from the very beginning, which was emphasized by Bishop Miklóssi, the first bishop of Hajdúdorog and was followed by Bishop Miklós Dudás who also emphasized in his dedication speech that the most urgent task of the diocese is to build a system of educational institutions. A folk college was established in Hajdúdorog in 1941, and the chief pastor also started the Teacher Training Institute in Hajdúdorog in 1942.

In 1946, the Greek Catholic Church in Hungary was responsible for the operation of 52 elementary schools, 81 primary schools and 2 kindergartens, but in 1948 the operation of all Greek Catholic schools was made impossible. The restart of the Greek Catholic education system began in 2002 after the change of the regime. At present, teaching and education work is done in the Hajdúdorog Archdiocese at primary, secondary and tertiary levels, under the direction of Metropolitan Fülöp, who regards the catching up of disadvantaged students as a priority. Kindergarten education and primary education take place in 20 institutions, while secondary education takes place in four locations.

Research

More domestic and foreign studies have been conducted (Coleman-Hoffer 1987; Dronkers 2015; Pusztai 2004, 2009) that investigate the motivations of denominational school choice, but the uniqueness of the present research is that it aims a comparison with full sampling within one denomination, pointing to the differences in motivation which do not originate from denominational specificity. In 2015 a questionnaire survey was conducted among parents who chose a school maintained by the Greek Catholic Church.

Table 1. Number and proportion of the basic population and respondents. Source: Own editing

Name of school	Basic population (number)	Respondents (num and percent)
Szent Miklós Görögkatolikus Általános Iskola, Óvoda és Gimnázium – Nyíregyháza	170	93 (54,7%)
Sója Miklós Görögkatolikus Óvoda és Általános Iskola - Nyíregyháza, Huszár telep	28	15 (53,5%)
Istenszüdő Oltalmáról Elnevezett Görögkatolikus Óvoda és Általános Iskola – Újfehértó	114	92 (80,7%)
Szent Bazil Oktatási Központ-Görögkatolikus Gimnázium Szakközépiskola – Hajdúdorog	121	90 (74,3%)
Szent György Görögkatolikus Óvoda és Általános Iskola – Kisvárda	70	57 (81,4%)
Szent Efrém Görögkatolikus Óvoda, Általános Iskola és Alapfokú Műv. Iskola – Debrecen	125	75 (60,0%)
Szent Mihály Görögkatolikus Általános Iskola Gimnázium – Nyíradony	154	109 (70,7%)
Szent Piroska Görögkatolikus Általános Iskola – Nyíracsád	124	96 (77,4%)
Szent Tamás Görögkatolikus Óvoda és Általános Iskola – Szolnok	60	57 (95,0%)
Szent Miklós Görögkatolikus Általános Iskola, Óvoda és AMI – Edelény	245	212 (90,2%)
Homrogdí Görögkatolikus Általános Iskola – Homrogd	94	66 (70,2%)
Miskolci Görögkatolikus Általános Iskola – Miskolc	218	185 (84,8%)
Σ:	1523	1147 (75,3%)

The research concerned the regions of the Northern Great Plain and Northern Hungary regarding the geographical extent of the Greek Catholic school network. During the data collection, we first took into account the institutions of the education system maintained by the Greek Catholic Church, which in the school year of 2014/2015 consisted of 12 primary schools

and 3 secondary schools. The number of diocesan institutions building from the bottom up is A, the number of institutions taken over is B, but there are also significant differences between schools within the same category, as they got into different roles locally depending on whether their denominational identity or other mission came into view. The institutional system shows such diversity

that we did not consider it expedient to take a stratified sample from the schools, but we strove for a complete inquiry at the organizational level.

We wanted to reach the parents of first-, third- and sixth-grade students in Greek Catholic educational institutions with our study. We targeted a full survey among parents, i.e., we are not talking about sampling. We compiled our own questionnaire based on the results of previous research and the experience gained during our fieldwork before the quantitative research. Our cross-sectional examination was performed during September-October of 2015. Parents were reached through schools, and most of the questions in the self-administered questionnaire were answered independently, but the illiterate parents answered with the help of an interviewer.

Hypotheses

Theoretical basis of H1

The integration of the individual into society appears at several levels. The family as the basic cell of society has manifested itself in many different forms throughout history by adopting the individual, the importance of which has always been highlighted by leaders throughout history. The definite expectation of the current Hungarian government towards schools is to educate children about family life, which is stated in the Act of Public Education and the Government decree 110/2012. (VI. 4.) “the prominent task of public educational institutions is to convey harmonious family patterns and to appreciate family communities”. Even, it emphasizes that “the key role of the family is also indicated by the fact that the institution has to involve parents in school life as actively as possible”. According to the current regulations of the government, it is expected that education for family life will play a key role in the educational work of all schools. Furthermore, 3 of

the Synod documents of the Catholic Church give specific guidance to Catholic schools, emphasizing the importance of educating children for family life (Gravissimum Educationis (the ones responsible for education, tools of Christian education), Gaudium et Spes (the appreciation of the dignity of marriage and the family)) Ad Gentes (the assertion of love). The apostolic exhortation Familiaris Consortio of John Paul II confirms this within the chapter on Education. According to Vatican regulations, it must be an explicit mission for Greek Catholic schools to educate children about family life. We assumed the appearance of a reference to this intention in H1.

H1. The parents of students attending a Greek Catholic school expect Greek Catholic schools to provide education for family life, which is the most important educational value regardless of social status and qualification.

Theoretical basis of H2

The second hypothesis is based partly on the assumption that the Catholic school is an educational community that should provide protection and security for its students and that provides space for students from different social groups to experience a sense of community and thus, the embracement of marginalized groups has a special emphasis. For this a network of contacts is available, which clearly has a protective function (Pusztai 2004). Furthermore, the idea emerges in this hypothesis that Catholic parents assume that Catholic schools have the same system of moral norms as the Church draws up, which means a kind of “Catholic value system”. A number of Vatican documents deal with the school as a protective educational community. The following Vatican documents: The Catholic School (EC), Lay catholic in Schools: Witnesses to Faith (LC), Educational Guidance in Human Love-Outlines for Sex Education (OEAH), Consacrated Persons

and their Mission in School (PC), Educating Together in the Catholic School (EE), The Religious Dimension of Education is a Catholic School (DR), and The Catholic School in the Threshold of the Third Millennium (ECAS) deal with the realization of the school as a protective educational community.

Among others, Gabriella Pusztai (2009) wrote about the significance of the framework of protective networks in denominational schools, in their work Sergiovanni, T. J. and Starratt, R. J. (2007) believe that relationships are the “glue” that holds people together in schools. In 2010 Erdő wrote about the expectations of parents in higher status whose children study in Catholic schools. He highlights that many parents do not take their children there because of religious motives, but because of its careful, loving upbringing of high quality. Neuwirth's study was published in 2005, in which he examined the effectiveness of denominational secondary schools with value-added indicators, comparing them with schools maintained by the county, the local government, the central budget and foundations. He points out that “the average added value is positive in the grammar schools and vocational schools of church denominations and central budget bodies”. When calculating the “added value”, he took into consideration the socio-cultural and performance indicators that are most closely related to each other. To this idea Frigy's work (2012): The added value of school in the light of social mobility is strongly related, which emphasizes Bourdon's (2003) opinion on this issue, according to which the lack of school inequality can be manifested in the fact that students from different social categories are less likely to get a higher qualification. He emphasises that the school can positively discriminate the socialization of students from higher social strata, while students from lower strata may be disadvantaged because of the cultural background they bring from the family.

In his opinion in contrast to this mechanism, denominational schools try to make the child's performance independent from the family background and to reinforce family values where they harmonize with Christian values.

Based on the above, the second hypothesis was formulated the following way:

H2. The protective role of Greek Catholic schools is interpreted by higher social parents as a “highlight” and by lower social parents as a “lift”.

To check the above hypotheses, we used the answers to question 16 of the questionnaire.

“What expectations did you have considering the educational goals / principles of the school when enrolling the child? (Please rank the 3 most important aspects so that you write 1 for the most important, 2 for the second most important, and 3 for the third most important answer!)”.

The Analysis

The process of the analysis

In order to make the analysis, it was necessary to analyze the data related to the parents' qualification and employment, as well as to group the institutions according to the organizational operation of the school and the type of settlement in which the school is located. To these data we added what kind of religious/denominational dominance of the population of the school's settlement is present, and whether the Greek Catholic school is the only public educational institution in the given settlement where parents can enroll their children or there are several schools parents can choose from. We also examined whether the education and upbringing of students take place in a mission-oriented school with a catching-up feature where disadvantaged children are embraced or the education and upbringing of students with average abilities in the given institution. Finally, we also looked at whether the institution has any specializations.

Four groups of institutions maintained by the Greek Catholic Church

We distinguished four groups of the institutions in the database based on the criteria below:

- a. Metropolitan school building from bottom-up (dominantly tertiary education, very high employment, school building from bottom-up)
- b. School around Segregation (dominantly elementary education, very high proportion of the inactive and supported)
- c. Taken over school with an evolving spirit in a small town (dominantly secondary education, with 1 exception)
- d. Taken over urban school (dominantly secondary education, high employment, taken over institutions)

Social background of parents of children attending a Greek Catholic school

Another cardinal point of the analysis was the characterization of parents choosing the Greek Catholic school by education and employment. First of all, we compared the samples of Greek Catholic schools in each county by gender, and then we compared these results one by one with the county average. Finally, we compared the gender average of Greek Catholic schools with the county average.

Results of the analysis

Among parents of children attending Greek Catholic schools, the proportion of both men and women with tertiary and secondary education is higher than the county average. Considering employment, the proportion of people in employment is exceptionally high, especially in the metropolitan Greek Catholic schools building from bottom-up. The analysis was performed using the SPSS 22 program.

977 people answered the question, of which 225 from the metropolitan school building from bottom-up, 109 from the schools around

segregation, 373 from the small-town school with an evolving spirit and 260 from the urban taken over schools (Table2). Generally speaking, the expectations of parents attending a Greek Catholic school are relatively heterogeneous in terms of educational values. Only in schools around the segregation did we experience that nobody chose three educational values (elite education, educating the child for critical thinking, 'protecting and' arming 'the child against the dangers of the outside world). It is not surprising that elite education is not expected by parents with a lower social status, even they do not consider themselves to belong to the social elite. It is interesting, but not surprising that they do not expect the school to arm the child against the dangers of the outside world. Perhaps because they themselves experience the dangers of the outside world in the housing estate around the segregate in their daily lives, into which their child socializes. The third educational value that nobody chose is education for critical thinking. Perhaps, it was also to be expected because lower-status parents are more likely to accept a more unfavorable life situation without formulating criticism of the circumstances. In this group, the highest values were given for 'education for family life' and 'no difference between rich and poor children, later rich and poor adults'. In the schools around the three segregations, the proportion of Roma people is very high in the surrounding housing estate, where the family is a very important value. And it is not surprising that they as lower-ranking members of society expect schools to receive the same treatment and "judgement" by their children as the children of richer parents, who are very different in their clothing from their poorer counterparts. This can be interpreted as a kind of "lifting" into the average social conditions. This is confirmed by the fact that 'education for the acceptance and esteem of others' and 'education for the equal view of all in the eyes of God' were also highly valued.

Table 2. Evaluation of results, conclusions

What were your expectations towards the educational goals of the school?	School type				Σ
	Metropolitan school building from bottom-up	School around the segregation	Small town school with an evolving spirit	Urban taken over school	
education for family life	35 13,7%	25 22,9%	77 20,6%	48 18,5%	185 18,6%
conscious environmental education	9 3,5%	4 3,7%	12 3,2%	10 3,8%	35 3,5%
let there be no difference between a rich and a poor child, later a rich and a poor adult	6 2,4%	23 21,1%	48 12,9%	23 8,8%	100 10,0%
educate the child for critical thinking	8 3,1%	0 0,0%	4 1,1%	9 3,5%	21 2,1%
more emotional education	28 11,0%	1 ,9%	17 4,6%	8 3,1%	54 5,4%
protect and arm the child against the dangers of the outside world	25 9,8%	0 0,0%	24 6,4%	17 6,5%	66 6,6%
education of the whole person, art education is also given great emphasis	35 13,7%	1 ,9%	30 8,0%	50 19,2%	109 10,9%
good catholic education which brings my child up to be an esteemed member of society	9 3,5%	4 3,7%	38 10,2%	21 8,1%	117 11,7%
elite education	6 2,4%	0 0,0%	4 1,1%	2 ,8%	9 ,9%
education for the acceptance and esteem of others	8 3,1%	16 14,7%	50 13,4%	28 10,8%	115 11,5%
education for the equal view of all in the eyes of God	28 11,0%	13 11,9%	42 11,3%	24 9,2%	110 11,0%

In the case of metropolitan schools building from bottom-up, such educational values as 'no difference between rich and poor children, later rich and poor adults' and 'elite education' were given the lowest values. Perhaps the difference

between rich and poor was not mentioned as an important educational value because the employment rate is above 80% and the rate of people with tertiary education is above 60%. 'Elite education' is far from the parents of children in all

four school types. This proportion is the highest in the taken over urban schools, and these institutions have a specialized class, which may indicate a bit of elitist ambitions. It is a bit surprising that education for family life is a less important value here, which may reflect the emergence of metropolitan postmodern values. The highest value was given to 'good catholic education which brings my child up to be an esteemed member of society'.

In the case of taken over schools with an evolving spirit in a small town, the parents' expectation is very heterogeneous. The lowest values, like in schools around the segregation, were given to such values as 'educate the child for critical thinking,' protect and 'arm' the child against the dangers of the outside world, but there is a very high demand for education for family life. The pattern of values is rather similar to that of schools around the segregation.

In the urban taken over schools where there is a specialization, the value of 'educating the whole person, art education also gets a lot of emphasis' received the most support, which is not surprising as one of the institutions is a music school with a famous choir. Another significantly important value is education for family life. There is very little support for elite education and an expectation of educational values for critical thinking.

In short, regarding all four schools, education for family life received the highest value and education for critical thinking received the lowest.

Summary

Hypothesis H1 was partially confirmed. Overall, 'education for family life' received the highest value, but is not the only one in two types of school (school around the segregation, a small town school with an evolving spirit).

Hypothesis H2 was confirmed because in schools around the segregation parents expect Catholic institutions to "incorporate" children into society,

and it is justified by its remarkably high presence of the following four educational values ('education for family life', 'no difference between rich and poor children, later between rich and poor adults', 'education for the acceptance and esteem of others', 'education for the equal view of all in the eyes of God') The other part of the hypothesis concerns the expectations of high-status parents. Clearly, the highest value was given to the value of 'good catholic education which raises an esteemed member of society from my child'.

The next step of the research will be to examine what expectations the parents had about the educational and upbringing conditions provided by the school when they enrolled their child in the school.

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