

1 Article

2 Social (in) Mobility and Social Work with Families 3 with Children. Case Study of a Disadvantaged 4 Microregion in Hungary

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7 **Abstract:** The aim of our study is to analyse the perception of the families and concerned social
8 workers. The research was conducted in an underprivileged and disadvantaged microregion in
9 North Hungary. The main focus was the perception on the available health, educational, child
10 welfare and social services and supports. The starting point was to enquire the target group's
11 knowledge of these services. The study examines the extent to which social work is able to provide
12 support to disadvantaged, marginalized families with children, and the way how the dysfunctional
13 operation of the system contributes to the perpetuation of the clients' life conditions. Analysing the
14 quality of these services and supports is crucial to understand the social mobility chance of the
15 children living in this microregion. The results show that without capability and talent development
16 for the children and given the lack of welfare services, the mobility chance and opportunities of
17 these families are extremely low in Hungary.

18 **Keywords:** social work; families with children; child welfare services; social mobility
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20

21 1. Introduction

22 The Hungarian Child Protection Act of 1997 represents a milestone in child welfare and child
23 protection in Hungary. When examining the history of domestic child protection, it appears that alike
24 Western-European trends, the legal background, institutional system and services of child protection
25 were shaped in the 19th century along education, then, in the 20th century along the development of
26 children's rights. It was also in this era that the image on children and orphans, the notion of
27 childhood appeared in Hungarian public thought. The first coherent legislation in 1901 was ground-
28 breaking, as it held the state liable for children's wellbeing. Article 8 of the Act from 1901 includes
29 the view that the child represents a social value, and needs to be treated differently from adults. In
30 the interwar period, besides the protection of orphan children, the protection of the mother and infant
31 was also included in the legislation (Czirják 2008; Révész 2007). At the beginning of the 20th century,
32 along with the development of the Hungarian public health system and the improvement of hygiene
33 conditions, the health condition and life prospects of children were also substantially improved. The
34 development path, which was similar to the international trend, especially the one prevailing in
35 English-speaking countries, was broken by the communist dictatorship following World War Two.
36 In line with the era's ideology, the previously functioning foster care network was curtailed, and
37 according to the Hungarian Family Act of 1952 all children who for some reason could not be brought
38 up within their families, were raised in institutions. Prior to the system change in 1989 already,
39 institutions hosting large numbers of children were criticised severely, since these could not ensure
40 proper services to 24 thousand children from the perspective of the children's socialization and
41 future. (Révész 2007)

42 Before 1989 the first initiatives of child welfare services can be noticed already, along the slow
43 disintegration of the dictatorship. Simultaneously with the advancement of social sciences in

44 Hungary, social issues, poverty and the situation and problems of children could be discussed and
45 researched increasingly. Following the regime change, between 1990 and 1997, when the Child
46 Protection Act was issued, family supporting services were in charge of child welfare issues on the
47 level of settlements. This period was one of regime change and economic recession, when the
48 Hungarian economy and society underwent a serious crisis lasting until the beginning of the 2000s,
49 when the institutional structure of social services and child protection and the system of professional
50 education were built up. Due to the increase of social disparities, besides the network of child care
51 officers and education counsellors, there was a need to develop a new institutional system centred
52 on social inequalities and social problems. One of the aims of the institutional framework created by
53 the Social Act of 1993 was a shift in strategies: instead of charitable support, social work with a
54 mobilizing and empowering feature started to prevail. Then, in 1997, when the Child Protection Act
55 was born, the main purpose was to delimit administrative work from supporting services. The basic
56 value of volunteer participation was of a great importance for professionals struggling to set up the
57 system of child protection. (Domszky 2013) The aim of the Child Protection Act was to create a
58 comprehensive system, which is able to ensure equal opportunities to disadvantaged children, and
59 in which the services supporting, or, if needed, replacing the families build on each other along the
60 rights of children. (Herczog 2001, p. 25) Soon after the act entered into force, professionals formulated
61 criticism, stating that there were not enough resources, professionals and expert knowledge available
62 in order to put into practice the principles the act was based on. Due to financial reasons, it was an
63 important objective to limit, respectively prevent the practice of removing the child from their family.
64 (Herczog 2001) The core element of the act was the introduction of new service types. It is rightful
65 to say that the Child Protection Act foresees in a modern structure cash and in-kind benefits for the
66 welfare of children, basic child welfare services and administrative measures targeting the protection
67 of children, and home care services.¹ The question is how compelling the welfare functions of child
68 protection are, to what extent is the system able to create chances, ensure wellbeing for the families
69 and opportunities for disadvantaged children or children at risk, while serving their becoming
70 successful adults.

71 According to the Global Definition of the Social Work of the IFSW (2014), the aim of the social
72 work is to promote social change on behalf of an enhanced wellbeing. Thus, social work type
73 intervention is needed when in a certain situation switch towards development is unavoidable on the
74 level of the individual, family, group and community. In our study, keeping in mind the above
75 mentioned values, we examine the views of families with children living in the northern part of
76 Hungary in a disadvantaged microregion about the accessible provisions and services related to
77 child-raising, and whether they are informed at all about such services; we also inspect the views of
78 professionals working with the families about the professional quality of the provided services. The
79 central topic of our study is to discover to what degree social work with families with children and
80 dedicated provisions and services are able to serve the wellbeing of families and to enhance their
81 chances of mobility.

82

83 **1. Child welfare and social mobility**

84 When we reflect on childhood as a social construct, the perception on childhood often entails
85 associations with poverty, exclusion, abuse and neglect. Child protection and child wellbeing are
86 intricately connected with the issue of social mobility. If in a society, opportunities of mobility are
87 open to its members, especially to children, then child protection applying a preventive approach,
88 and the child welfare system treating families as part of a system are able to bring about positive
89 changes in the lives of families and children struggling with difficulties and blockages. The mitigation

¹ More on the structure and functional specificities of the Hungarian child protection system see at: RÁCZ (2015) and BALOGH et al. (2018).

90 of eventual disadvantages through appropriate interventions, the measures aiming at the reduction
91 of different social inequalities – aligned with the basic objectives and preventive approach of child
92 protection – are of an utmost importance from the perspective of social integration and mobility as
93 well. (Stryker et al. 2019) Exclusion and the limitation of mobility chances are the result of a process:
94 the affected families and households pass down to future generations their disadvantages in many
95 important dimensions of life, like education, labour market condition, place of residence, housing
96 conditions, access to cultural properties etc. (Messing and Molnár 2011a) The impact of passed-on
97 deprivation, poverty and exclusion can be counterbalanced with social relationships, which connect
98 excluded communities, and constitute a bridge between the individual and different social
99 organisations and state institutions. If there are not such formal and informal relationships in the
100 fields of health, education, labour market etc., then inevitably social mobility becomes unachievable,
101 and the exclusion of already marginalized communities deepens. (Messing and Molnár 2011b; Váradi
102 2015). According to an OECD research (2009) factors related to education and labour market
103 determine the most the efficiency of mobility channels. An OECD report (2018) also confirms that the
104 life prospects of children and the mobility of families are closely linked to the socio-economic status
105 of the family and the quality of the available social and child welfare services.

106 Concerning Hungarian child protection, several researches (Pataki and Somorjai 2006; Rubeus
107 Egyesület 2015; Darvas et al. 2016) revealed that the professional goals are properly established, since
108 in theory the Child Protection Act emphasizes prevention, accordingly it sets as a basic task of
109 professionals working with children and youth their information on the rights of the child and their
110 possibilities regarding social participation; yet, the putting into practice of prevention has always
111 been neglected. Professionals were able to work almost only with children at risk, which is entirely
112 irreconcilable with the approach relying on prevention. A major part of the clients is obliged to
113 cooperate, instead of voluntarily requesting the services. The high number of cases, the lack of proper
114 resources and burn-out are permanent features of this field. The high number of cases allows only
115 for emergency interventions, not for the exhaustive, intense family care or prevention. (Rubeus
116 Egyesület 2015) Thus, it is exactly that part in the Child Protection Act that is unfulfillable, which
117 would serve prevention and continuous, good quality support. However, the mobility chances of
118 children greatly depend on the accessibility and quality of services.

119

120 1. Data and Methodology

121 The research was based on a combined methodology, and consisted of a qualitative and a
122 quantitative part. Initially 10 interviews were conducted in the disadvantaged microregion with
123 professionals working in social field and involved in family support, and with a local decision-maker
124 from the part of the local authority. The aim of the semi-structured interviews was to map the care
125 and services available in the region, and to find out the views of professionals about the quality of
126 care, the situation of clients, and how the provided services can contribute to the addressing of social
127 problems and in wider sense to the increase of chances of social mobility. We wanted to find out what
128 deficiencies they see in the institutional structure, what services they provide, and what would be
129 needed in order to solve the problems of families with children and to promote their wellbeing. The
130 main topics of the interviews were: 1) the presentation of the institutional structure; 2) the range of
131 provisions and services; 3) the presentation of the system of clients; 4) professional challenges, fields
132 requiring development; 5) the interpretation of the effect of a given service on social mobility and
133 quality of life.

134 The questionnaire-based research was carried out on the basis of the results of the interview-
135 based research, with the aim to explore the views of families with children. Data collection was
136 carried out on a representative sample among families with children aged 0-17 (according to the
137 number of children and place of residence) in a disadvantageous microregion of the North-
138 Hungarian region, based on stratified random sampling. The gathered data was weighted according
139 to the composition of the households, the size of the sample in the weighted database consisting of
140 260 persons. The aim of the questionnaire was to map how healthcare, educational, social provisions

141 and those related to child-raising are known and used. In what follows we present the opinions
142 regarding the most important provisions determining the wellbeing, social integration and mobilities
143 chances of families, in the above-mentioned four areas of services. Linked to the survey, in 40 cases
144 we conducted short, semi-structured interviews as well. The length of the interviews was 5-15
145 minutes. Through these interviews with the population, we attempted to find out what they think
146 about the situation of the local social, public health and educational system, the eventual
147 interventions of social work.

148 First we summarize the views of professionals on the functioning of the child protection system,
149 then we present the main results of the questionnaire-based survey on how known and used
150 provisions related to child-raising are. Finally, we briefly present findings of the interviews with
151 residents.

152

153 1. Results and Discussions

154 4.1. Services supporting families with children from the perspective of professionals

155 According to the views of the interviewed professionals, small settlements are in a difficult
156 situation, the quality, or even the availability of services lag far behind from services available in
157 towns. Neither the local services, nor regional services are able to address complex family problems
158 typical for small settlements linked to poverty, unemployment, addiction, school issues, teenage
159 pregnancy. The main reason to this is the lack of professionals. The high number of cases and the
160 difficulties arising from this were mentioned by each interviewee: the large number of cases is an
161 impediment to quality work, and significantly contributes to early burn-out. Perplexity and the lack
162 of resources cause problems to everybody. *“Several solutions were formulated. One says that the system
163 needs more money. The other says that more possibilities and more access are needed.”* (Case manager in a
164 settlement in North Hungary)

165 Undoubtedly, the main social issues the professionals are confronted with are poverty, financial
166 difficulties and school absenteeism: *“(…) in fact the really difficult situation is when there isn't a supportive
167 family behind the child. And when there isn't such a supportive family, and there isn't anyone to say: son, you
168 need to study, or son, you should acquire a profession.”* (Family carer in a settlement in North Hungary)
169 Besides school absenteeism, bullying and in many cases domestic violence are also weighty problems.

170 Regarding support to families, the lack of nurseries and alternative child care institutions poses
171 a further problem. An issue typical for all services is the uncertainty of resources and
172 available/awarded tenders and the ensuing unpredictability of service providing, which is a burden
173 for both the users of services and for professionals. *“What is painful, well, these programs. Meaning that
174 within x years, it would be stopped. And I'm not sure that this is a good solution, since if they had already
175 grabbed their hands and set off on a road together, it is really terrible that they are left alone again.”* (Deputy
176 mayor of a settlement in North Hungary)

177 According to professionals, work and service providing conditions are deficient; the institutions
178 and services functioning in small settlements typically are not able to ensure even the basic services
179 for locals as stipulated by the law. *“We should have three case managers here; at present we are to fill in the
180 positions, and it's the same with family carers and the centre.”* (Case manager in a settlement in North
181 Hungary)

182 The professionals think that the current services do not have positive impact fostering social
183 mobility. The means available to those providing the services are not sufficient for substantially
184 changing the social condition of families with children. They typically have the power and resource
185 only to fire-fighting. Services which can achieve development and promote wellbeing are entirely
186 deficient or accessible only limitedly both for the adult and underaged population. *“From the point of
187 view of mobility, the centre or the local or regional institutions aren't really able to enhance the mobility of
188 children affected with various problems, the reason for this being the lack of professionals, and the lack of
189 motivation of children and parents regarding learning. There aren't good teachers, child development
190 specialists, psychologists.”* (Case manager in a settlement in North Hungary)

191

192 **1.2. Views of the population concerning family supporting provisions – the main results of the**
 193 **survey²**

194

195 *4.2.1. Knowledge and use of healthcare services*

196 The aim of the questionnaire-based survey was to find out which healthcare provisions and
 197 services are known to families with children. It is striking that the hospital is known by less than 3%,
 198 while specialised health care is known by approximately two-thirds of the respondents. The lack of
 199 information on the availability of care is especially high in the case of families with children, if we
 200 think of paediatricians. In turn, a positive aspect is that the network of child care officers is well
 201 known. We also asked whether they drew on the examined services. The high number of visits to the
 202 general practitioner might indicate the poor health condition of the population; a low number would
 203 point to a deficiency in provision.
 204

205 **Table 1. What kind of healthcare services or institutions exist in the place you live or in the**
 206 **surroundings you know about, and which ones do you use? (%; N=260 individuals)**

	Percentage of individuals being aware of the service in the disadvantaged microregion (%)	Percentage of individuals using the service in the disadvantaged microregion (%)
General practitioner	95.6	87.3
Paediatrician	43	65.4
Child care officer	93,7	78.4
Pharmacy	76.3	76.7
Specialised doctor	32.6	48.9
Hospital	2.7	41

207

208 *4.2.2. Awareness and use of services related to child-raising*

209 Related to child-raising we examined how known and used 5 services are. It is important to note
 210 that although the kindergarten is a public education institution, due to its role in child-raising and
 211 socialization, we included it in the range of services supporting families with children.

212 The kindergarten is widely known in the settlement or in the surroundings. In turn, other
 213 services are hardly known, nursery and educational counselling are known by every third
 214 respondent, and 12% are aware of services provided by the psychologist. The Sure Start House, which
 215 is a service established for disadvantaged children, is an exception, since it is embedded into the
 216 population's perception to 71% in the examined deprived microregion. Regarding use, we can
 217 conclude that with the exception of the kindergarten, all services supporting child raising are used to

² The survey was carried out with the contribution of sociologist Zita Éva Nagy (ELTE).

218 a low extent. Almost one in five respondents (19.4%) uses the nursery, approx. every tenth
 219 respondent (12%) has recourse to educational counselling, and one in twenty (4.8%) turns to a child
 220 psychologist. Regarding the Sure Start House, every third parent (35.7%) indicated that they are
 221 attending it.

222 **Table 2. What kinds of services or institutions related to child raising exist in the place you live**
 223 **or in the surroundings you know about, and which ones do you use? (%; N=260 individuals)**

	Percentage of individuals being aware of the service in the disadvantaged microregion (%)	Percentage of individuals using the service in the disadvantaged microregion (%)
Nursery	36.7	19.4
Sure Start House	71.1	35.7
Kindergarten	96.2	70.4
Educational counselling	32.4	12
Child psychologist	12.3	4.8

224

225 4.2.3. Awareness and use of educational institutions

226 The extent to which educational institutions are known and used largely determines the life
 227 prospects of children. In this section of the research, we chose five forms of support and institutions,
 228 including opportunities to secondary education and language learning as well. While primary
 229 education is known by practically the entire population, it is interesting that schools specifically
 230 aiming at the inclusion of disadvantaged children are known only to nearly 20%. The possibilities to
 231 continued education so crucial for social mobility are also known to a low extent (to 20.8%).
 232 Nevertheless, one in four respondents are aware of the accommodation possibility ensured by
 233 colleges, though it is well-known that it is an excellent solution also to prevent the removal of a child
 234 from the family, even if the domestic system of colleges provides a small number of places. Language
 235 learning as a mean to ensure grounds for the future of the children is known by more respondents
 236 (32.6%). In turn, the opportunities provided by the school for disadvantaged children and by the
 237 college as well are used to a very low extent. Despite being known by almost 20%, the school for
 238 disadvantaged children is attended by approximately 7%, though it could have a significant role in
 239 compensating disadvantages, just as it could have an outstanding role in the promotion of talented
 240 children too.

241

242 **Table 3. To your knowledge, are there educational institutions and learning opportunities in**
 243 **your settlement or in the surrounding area? Which ones do you use? (%; N=260 individuals)**

	Percentage of individuals being aware of the service in the disadvantaged microregion (%)	Percentage of individuals using the service in the disadvantaged microregion (%)
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Primary school	97.4	62.2
School for disadvantaged children	19.7	6.8
Continuous learning	20.8	17.1
College	22.5	6.6
Language learning	32.6	19.8

244

245 4.2.4. Awareness and use of social services

246 We have examined a few social services as well. Three of these are focused on special life
 247 situations, but in our view, from the perspective of chances to mobility, it is very important whether
 248 a family with children has recourse to care for elderly people, for people with disability or with
 249 addiction. Family and child welfare service, and debt management are destined to contribute to the
 250 solving of difficult life situations of a family, including the management of the financial situation, just
 251 as meals for children are tools of poverty reduction. Of course, the child welfare service is able to
 252 react to a wider range of issues, its focus being the prevention or ceasing of a child being at risk within
 253 the family, and its aim is that a child could be raised within their family.

254 Concerning the examined six services, we can conclude that three of these, namely the family
 255 supporting service, the centre for the elderly and the summer meals for children are widely known.
 256 In turn, awareness of the services supporting people with disabilities and with addiction shows that
 257 the respondents do not have much information on these. It is a positive aspect though that families
 258 with children are aware of the child welfare service even if only one in five respondents has
 259 information on debt management, which has an outstanding importance in managing financial
 260 problems and indebtedness. One quarter of the families with children has recourse to family support,
 261 such cases referring to child protection situations within the family, where social work intervention
 262 is required. Summer meals for pre-schoolers and school children are extremely important in
 263 combating child poverty as well; the access to this type of information can be considered adequate,
 264 though this service is used only to 33%.

265

266 **Table 4. Are there services people can have recourse to in case of social problems? Which are the**
 267 **ones you use? (%; N=260 individuals)**

	Percentage of individuals being aware of the service in the disadvantaged microregion (%)	Percentage of individuals using the service in the disadvantaged microregion (%)
Family support and child welfare service	77.3	25
Debt management	16.3	5
Summer meals for children	85.2	33

Support to people with disabilities	8.7	0.5
Support to people with addiction	3.8	0.5
Centre for the elderly	66.1	8.9

268

269 4.3. Main features of households using the child welfare service

270 We considered important to examine who are using the child welfare service, which is in the
 271 centre of our study. We measured the income and deprivation level of the households of the
 272 respondents through several indicators compliant with international standards. By sorting the data
 273 in a cross-table, we examined whether there are differences in the use of the services depending on
 274 the different individual, household and housing specificities of families. We defined the following
 275 three types on the basis of group factors, then we applied further variables: 1) Individual specificities:
 276 we included in this category the gender of the respondents and whether they consider themselves of
 277 Roma ethnicity; 2) Household specificities: income poverty (OECD2)³; severe deprivation⁴; highest
 278 education level within the household; the type of labour market participation of the household⁵; is
 279 the mother an early school leaver; housing conditions are below standards⁶; 3) Specificities of the
 280 place of residence: type of settlement; whether the place of residence is in a segregated area⁷.

281 If we apply the OECD definition of income poverty, 31.7% of the respondents is affected by
 282 income poverty, and 17.4% by severe deprivation. 18.1% lives in a sub-standard dwelling. Social
 283 exclusion is substantially determined by the education level and labour market participation. More
 284 than a third of the respondents lives in a household, where the highest level of education is primary
 285 school (35.9%), almost a quarter has someone in the household, who had learnt a profession (23.4%),
 286 or has completed secondary education (23.2%), while 17.5% has completed post-graduate studies. In
 287 up to 13.3% of the respondents, the mother left school early; in 6.3% of the examined households
 288 there is not any person with employment, while in 21% only casual work or community service work
 289 is provided. Table 5 shows the specificities of households using the child welfare service in the
 290 microregion.⁸

³ Income poverty: 60% of the median income (median income = the entire population is ranked according to the income per 2 consumption units; the average income at the middle of the ranking represent the median income, meaning that compared to that value, exactly the same number of individuals have less income, as many have more).

⁴ Deprivation is assessed by examining that from a standard list of needs (with 9 items) how many elements are ensured in a family. Four or more unsatisfied needs indicate a severe level of deprivation.

⁵ We determined three values: no members within the household with permanent employment; only members doing community or seasonal work in the household; there are members with a job in the household.

⁶ A dwelling is below standards if it does not have running water or toilet/bathroom, or if its floor area is less than 50 sqm.

⁷ While preserving anonymity, it is to mention that in the examined microregion housing segregation is typical to 5 settlements.

⁸ We included in the table the background variables, among the groups of which, following a proper statistical analysis, we found significant difference. We indicated the applied statistical method, the level of significance and very briefly the results of the analysis.

291

292 Table 5. Use of family support and child welfare service on the basis of the features of the
 293 household (N=260 individuals)

Feature of the household	Applied test / value	Sig.	Main results
Family support and child welfare service			
Roma origin	Fisher's exact test	0.000	Compared to their rate in the sample, people in Roma households use the service to a higher rate.
Income poverty	Fisher's exact test	0.03	Compared to their rate in the sample, poor people use the service to a higher rate.
Severe deprivation	Fisher's exact test	0.001	Compared to their rate in the sample, severely deprived people use the service to a higher rate.
Highest level of education in the household	Pearson's λ^2 test (16.622)	0.001	The lower the level of the highest education in the household is, the more the people in the sample use the services, compared to their rate in the sample.
Substandard dwelling	Fisher's exact test	0.000	Compared to their rate in the sample, people living in substandard dwellings use the service to a higher rate.
Type of labour market participation	Pearson's λ^2 test (20.381)	0.000	Compared to their rate in the sample, people in households where none of the members has employment, or where only seasonal or community work is done, use the service to a higher rate.
The mother is an early school-leaver	Fisher's exact test	0.019	The households where the mother left school at an early age, use the service to a higher extent.

Type of the settlement	Fisher's exact test	0.04	Compared to their rate in the sample, people living in rural areas use the service to slightly higher extent.
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294 The examination of the use of child welfare services lets us conclude that these reach out to those
 295 most needing these services: compared to their rate in the sample, these services are used to a higher
 296 extent by Roma, poor, severely deprived people living in rural areas, and by households with
 297 members who have low levels of education, who do not have employment or are doing community
 298 work. On one hand, this might indicate that the service successfully fulfils its goals; on the other hand,
 299 it also reveals the deficiencies of the system, since the range of welfare services and preventive
 300 solutions is very limited, an aspect highlighted by professionals as well. The results confirm the
 301 presumption that the system is typically relying on emergency interventions.

302

303 4.4. The views of parents regarding the quality of provisions available to families with children

304 In connection with the survey, in 40 cases we conducted short interviews as well. According to
 305 the interviewees, only a very few provisions and services are available in the North Hungarian
 306 microregion, which aim at supporting parenting and at contributing to solving the situations of
 307 families. In these settlements, families cannot afford to pay for private services, thus, in lack of
 308 demand, no offer is available within reach and in an affordable manner. Regarding health care
 309 services, locally only the general practitioner is available. Opinions about the general practitioner are
 310 mixed, many people are satisfied with them, but several interviewees complained of the long waiting
 311 time and unpredictable consultation hours. The child care officer goes to the village once in a week;
 312 her presence is acknowledged, she can be asked for advice, she helps whenever any problems occur
 313 with the infants. *"She comes on every Wednesday, she has her own place where she comes. She's really nice,*
 314 *you can talk to her, she's doing her job, she goes to houses to see the conditions children live in, or if a baby is*
 315 *brought home, she goes to visit them, so it's cool."* (Family no 6 living in a village in a North Hungarian
 316 microregion)

317 Regarding the non-emergency medical on-call service, the general opinion is rather bad, the
 318 attending physician does not go on field regularly, of even they do, they are not willing to examine
 319 the patients thoroughly. According to several interviewees, there are attending physicians who work
 320 while drunken, respectively make openly racist remarks regarding the Roma families. The
 321 interviewees have little information on the specialist health care services and screening possibilities
 322 available in the hospital located close to the villages; they are rather reticent against such
 323 consultations, unless they have a serious illness. They have more detailed and comprehensive
 324 information exclusively on child health care and prenatal care. It largely depends on doctors what
 325 kind of experiences they have; in general, their views on these services are rather negative than
 326 positive. *"Well, unfortunately I'm not satisfied with them. And there are quite a lot of small children, there is*
 327 *also a place available where a paediatrician could work, but at present there isn't any. There is only one general*
 328 *practitioner who looks after everybody."* (Family no 6 living in a village in a microregion in North
 329 Hungary)

330 Concerning services for children, the interviewees stated that there are not nurseries in the
 331 villages of the disadvantaged microregion, this fact making very difficult for women to find jobs in
 332 the region where the rate of unemployment is already high. The settlements include a children's
 333 house, a kindergarten and a primary school. There is no opportunity to learn languages or music.
 334 Many people like the children's house very much, they call it dolls' house, and are happy to attend it
 335 with their children; in turn, others have negative opinion, stating that only a few people use the
 336 institution. Several interviewees complained about the fact that the playground in the courtyard of
 337 the children's house is accessible only in visiting hours, since no other playgrounds exist within reach.

338 *“Well, they do attend it, usually around 15-20 children at least, especially when there’s an event, painting eggs*
339 *at Easter, whatever, Women’s Day, they organize events on such days, and many people come. At Christmas*
340 *too, when we were there, there were some 25 people for sure.”* (Family no 4 living in a village in a
341 microregion in North Hungary)

342 Despite the deprivation and severe poverty typical for this microregion in North Hungary, there
343 is no social worker present in these villages to provide substantial support to families with children.
344 They mention the local council they can turn to for cash and in-kind support, and their family
345 relationships and friends they can rely on if they have difficulties. In the interviews, the local council
346 is mentioned as an authority responsible for allowances, while child protection as an authority is
347 clearly associated with the fear that they would be separated from their children. The child welfare
348 service is not delimited in their perception from child protection, which implies that they do not have
349 trustful information on this service. *“Well, in the office, there are people who’re involved, God forbid, with*
350 *child protection, then there’s this housing support, meals for children. There’s a clerk there, who fills in the*
351 *form, ‘cause you have to write down officially your material situation, then they would decide whether you’re*
352 *entitled or not.”* (Family no 10 living in a village in a microregion in North Hungary)

353 Locally, there are limited employment possibilities in the disadvantaged microregion. Many
354 choose to commute to Budapest, which is very demanding for both the employee and their family,
355 since it implies leaving at dawn and returning home late in the evening. In most interviews working
356 abroad was mentioned as a possibility, especially for male members of the families, though being
357 away from the family for several months does mean a strong counterargument when considering the
358 decision.
359

360 1. Conclusions

361 Supporting the chances to mobility of children, and the accessibility and quality of the related
362 services are basically child welfare issues as well. On the basis of the quantitative and qualitative
363 results of the research, we can conclude that territorial disadvantages essentially determine the
364 mobility chances of families and children. A very limited number of services are available locally in
365 the examined microregion in North Hungary, their quality is uneven, the nearby towns are hard to
366 access, since public transportation is inappropriate.

367 It is a striking fact that the system of social assistance is almost invisible to families with children.
368 The few hours a social worker spends in a settlement is not enough for their work to get embedded
369 in people’s lives, it doesn’t integrate into their thinking; it does not occur to them that they could be
370 trustful towards these supporting services whenever they encounter difficulties in their everyday life.
371 The fact that those are excluded from the social supporting services who would need support is very
372 meaningful regarding the way how the underfunded social sector struggling with the lack of
373 sufficient professionals can react to the problems of people living in a given microregion or
374 settlement. In lack of development services promoting wellbeing, the existing services provided with
375 restrained capacities and in poor quality limit the mobility chances of children in the area.

376 In order to achieve real change in the present situation, the quality of the education, health care
377 and social services needs significant improvement, this undoubtedly requiring undertakings at
378 decision-making level as well. The most significant problem of the Hungarian child protection system
379 is that although the Child Protection Act does exist, in the thirty years since its entering into force, in
380 lack of the input represented by appropriate resources, this structure could never be put in real
381 practice and function properly. The Hungarian child welfare and child protection system struggles
382 with the lack of proper resources and professionals, fluctuation and high number of cases. There is
383 no sufficient time, energy, resources and professionals available for prevention, or for impeding the
384 risk factors. It is exactly that part of the tasks formulated by the act which cannot be completed and
385 fulfilled, which serve prevention and continuous, good quality care.

386 Our results show that the wellbeing and successful life of children largely depends on the
387 welfare service accessible to them throughout their socialization, the quality of such services and the
388 opportunities in front of them. When proper social and child welfare services are given and coupled

389 with quality education and health care, children have equal opportunities to social mobility, to
390 achieve a social position adequate for their talents and knowledge, and to prevail in the profession
391 which optimally suits them. Contrary to this ideal situation, currently in Hungary, due to the
392 limitedness of child welfare services, opportunities compensating disadvantages are not ensured,
393 thus mobility channels are narrowed. On the basis of interviews with professionals and families, and
394 the survey, besides the place of residence, the labour market status and educational level of the
395 parents, and the financial situation of the families, as well as the locally accessible services greatly
396 limit the mobility chances of children and families.

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