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Roma educational needs in the pedagogical academic press – educational programs, plans and projects aiming at/preventing the integration of a socially marginalized community between 1978 and 1997

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Introduction

The position of the dissertation has been inspired by Ingram and Abrahams' advancement of the Bourdieusian term *habitus clivé* (often labelled cleft, divided or fragmented *habitus* in English). In Bourdieusian social theory, *habitus clivé* refers to the painfully fragmented self (originating from Bourdieu's own socialization experience) of primary and secondary socialization (double social fields) as a result of social mobility (from working class to middle class) with all complementary "hidden costs". As both on a trajectory of upward mobility from working class to middle class, Ingram and Abrahams identify with Bourdieu's position on *habitus clivé*, but at the same time further develop the term. To a large extent building on Bhabha's theory of hybridity, the authors claim that intellectuals with multiple social fields enter a "third space", namely a hybrid space in which they function as intellectuals but act as 'outsiders within', distanced both from academic sphere 'insiders' and their working-class origins.

The Bourdieusian *habitus clivé* has been decisive in the researcher's own position, in a sense that the researcher himself associates with the fragmented self as a member of a marginalized minority community on a trajectory to majority middle class social space. Thus, the researcher himself has experienced both fields of socialization, furthermore, experienced Ingram and Abrahams' theory of hybrid-academics (taking on Bhabha's theory of hybridity) who distance themselves from both fields of socialization as 'outsider within' – a position that has been of great help during the analysis of nuanced empirical understandings.

The focus and aim of the research

Debates about the methods of bringing about – Hungarian and European – Roma students' and children's success has been widely debated by Roma and non-Roma intellectuals, pedagogy-researchers and scholars, pedagogical experts, academics and practitioners as well as authors in Hungarian pedagogy studies. The dissertation is an addition to the afore-mentioned discourse as it examines theoretical and practical discursal considerations of Roma children's educational problems, its media representation in the period between 1978 and 1997 (e.g. in a 20-year-period).

The NAT of 1995 (Hungary's new national curriculum) has first come into force in 1998, which marks the beginning of an historic era – meaning an extended analysis would have required another, different set of considerations than in the previous, examined period. Throughout the review of theoretical, historical scholarly work, the need fully explore the referenced academic discourse in relation to educational-pedagogical models has become apparent. The researcher mainly relied on the generalization of relevant Hungarian theoretical and empirical research findings and modelled the main results, findings of empirical publications. Later, as the various aspects of the models evolved, unfolded, the previous pieces of research have been particularly of help both as resources and as part of research findings. Accordingly, the objective of the dissertation that has started in 2009 autumn as a project at the ELTE Doctoral School of Education has been to hold a mirror up to the pedagogic profession by a systematic, extensive

retrospective analysis of the considerations, notions related to Roma children's education between 1978 and 1997. The aim of the dissertation is to help better grasp the efficiency, computability and adequacy of educational methods, strategies and models affecting present-day and future Roma children.

The relevance of the research topic

The economic downturn following the regime changes in 1989/90 and the mid-2000s global financial crisis sparked negative economic, social, health, education, socialization and labor market impacts, which particularly negatively affected Hungarian Roma communities. The recession and its effect on the above-mentioned fields enhanced the importance of a widened pedagogical toolbox used to reach Roma integrational targets for the sake of the faster and more effective integration. Hungary will in the foreseeable future be incapable of coping with challenging present-day economic reality without Roma communities' integration into the labor market and mainstream society through the innovative theoretical and methodological work of the pedagogy profession in local educational facilities.

This essay aims to contribute to the realization of latter goal, e.g. the exploration of past educational-pedagogical (school socialization) models. This is for the reason that previously identified best practices are entirely missing from present-day Hungarian academic scholarship on education policy, such as lessons learnt related to Roma communities' social and labor market integration already applied by former Roma and non-Roma pedagogics scholars, education researchers, pedagogues, public authors, education policy-makers. With the aim to fill this scholarly gap, academic publications in the field of education policy were consulted to identify the most relevant models of Roma education policy in the given historic period of education policy. Hence, the media representation of Roma children's school-related, educational problems was thoroughly researched as to account for the well-known and essential intermediary role of media, serving as a bridge between empirical findings and praxis.

The selection of the observed time period

The time frames observed by the dissertation were selected on a basis of definitive eras in the history of pedagogy, which overlap with the emergence of initial alternative, model-type institutional settings of Roma institutions, established following the regime changes in 1989/90. On the one hand, since these institutions have been formed in 1992-1997, the end of the time frame has logically been set until the end of 1997, with 1998 marking the very beginning of a new era hallmarked by Hungary's new national curriculum (NAT) – accepted in 1995, legally applied since 1998. On the other hand, the observed time period logically begins 20 years prior, in 1978, when a key educational reform has been put in place. The research attempts to discover the roots of current Roma education policies targeted at the Hungarian gypsy communities in the observed time period. As the two decades have been extremely relevant from the perspective of pedagogy history, the research aims to grasp continuity in past-and present-day practices which flow through various eras, even throughout the regime change in the field of Roma integration programs.

The selection of academic journals

Throughout the research, 55 pedagogical academic journals have been identified as suitable for the time frame observed in the research project and relevant topics. However, due to technical limitations, the incorporation of all journals did not prove feasible and the number of analyzed journals had to be narrowed. The examined journals have been selected based on their suitability to reflect the most relevant scholarly subject matters in terms of the topic, as well as the general availability of pedagogic discourse about Roma children's educational challenges.

Based on this set of criteria, 10 pedagogical research journals, reviews, weekly and monthly journals and periodicals have been selected.

The 10 journals comprise of disciplinary/methodological mediums (A Tanító/Tanító; Óvodai Nevelés, Gyógypedagógiai Szemle, Pedagógusképzés), general ministerial magazines in the field of educational policy (Köznevelés), the leading organs of Hungarian pedagogic studies (Iskolakultúra, Pedagógiai Szemle/Új Pedagógiai Szemle, Magyar Pedagógia), a well-received pedagogical periodical established in the euphoria of regime change (Új Katedra) as well as the interdisciplinary academic review, active in pedagogic sociological and educational policy narratives (Educatio). The fellow disciplines (social work, public education, child- and youth protection, human rights), subject pedagogy, regional journals as well as Roma minority periodicals are not part of the focus of the dissertation though exceptions were made on a randomized basis regarding some key statements. The topical limitation also reflects to the interdisciplinary nature of the theme, although referring to the safety net of the pedagogic academic sphere to stay in their own discourses.

Methodology of the research

The research design did not involve sampling. The research design relied on the discursive content analysis of 10 previously specified academic journals, searching for the terms Roma, gypsy and “ethnicity” (related to Roma people).

The main method of the research has been content analysis, based on the thorough consideration of Éva Szabolcs's widespread descriptive work on content analysis methodology. As the comparative analysis of relevant academic journals has constituted the focal point of the inquiry, neither monographic analysis (applied for instance by Géczi, 2006) nor iconographic methods were consulted. The sensitive topic of the research and indefinite terminology did not enable the researcher to include recently emerging computer-based motive analysis. Two former studies that have preceded the dissertation have focused on Roma educational-integrational aspects' media representation (in other journals, based on other sets of criteria) with similar methods.

Through this method of selection, 1117 publications have been identified as relevant to come under further scrutiny (the first number refers to the total number of publications in a given (Hungarian). Academic journals that have included relevant terms, such as Roma/gypsy in the title, while numbers following the / indicate the number of extensive articles that have proved to be relevant even in terms of further content analysis – from which a number shorter pieces

have been deducted, such as news pieces, necrologies, statements etc. and were only taken into account when of relatively informative nature):

Tanító/Tanító: 39/8 articles, Educatio: 67/9 articles, Gyógypedagógiai Szemle: 35/4 articles, Iskolakultúra: 116/22 articles, Köznevelés: 552/53 articles, Magyar Pedagógia: 16/4 articles, Óvodai Nevelés: 69/26 articles, Pedagógiai Szemle/Új Pedagógiai Szemle: 145/27, Pedagógusképzés: 2/0 articles, Új Katedra: 76/17 articles.

Throughout the research, the ‘Research Data Collection Sheet’ has been used to create records of the title of the academic periodical used (for bibliographic purposes), periodical type (for the identification of academic topics), the volume of publications (to denote timeliness), author/s (for bibliographic purposes), title/subtitle of the piece (for bibliographic purposes and topical analysis), year of publication (for bibliographic purposes), volume and issue numbers (for bibliographic purposes), pages of article (for bibliographic purposes).

Furthermore, the ‘Research Data Collection Sheet’ included a categorical system (incorporating the 8 educational-pedagogical model, to identify concrete programs, plans and projects), as well as further columns comprising of relevant quotes, typical problem setting, necessary research notes for the dissertation for several purposes. The typical problem setting column served to provide information about the content of the given piece (prior to deep content analysis). The relevant quotes section oriented the analysis and, in some cases, got incorporated into the review of a given piece, besides its role as a textual manifestation of the researcher’s impressions during the data collection/reading stage.

The identified 1117 relevant statements have been analyzed with qualitative methods, additionally complemented by quantitative methods manifested in quantitative statistics and data tables incorporating the genre and content relevancy of the statement in terms of the research. This has been gathered following content analysis and data collection of educational programs, plans, projects regarding Roma education.

Throughout the research process, the history of each periodical impress has been recorded. Particularly, informative changes about the publisher, place of publication, year/date of publication, subtitle, editing committee presidents, editing committees, chief editors, publishers, editors, guest editors and primary editors served as focal points.

Several pieces of writing have been highlighted in each periodical as “important articles” (in some cases, with reference to models), besides the detailed analysis of some more significant pieces by periodical. Stemming from the researcher’s own research position and background – outlined above –, exceptional attention has been devoted to Roma writers. It has become a central aspect of the dissertation to reflect Roma education policy thinkers’ work, to re-gain their already forgotten voices, orient attention towards them in relevant pedagogical narratives besides non-Roma perspectives, authors and interpretations (even if recognizing Roma features, or representing discriminatory thoughts similarly to majoritarian societal perspectives). E.g. this has served to reinforce Roma narratives, Roma voices in the topic of Roma educational challenges. Naturally, this perspective is relevant in terms of forgotten non-Roma authors as well, who have been highlighted in several cases reflecting the researcher’s own considerations and one of the main values of this dissertation: the central incorporation of often voiceless and nameless educational actors besides the illustration of prominent, well-known researchers’ work.

Definition of conceptual frames, approaches

8 conceptual frames, themes were defined and distinguished that strictly concern the inquiry of this dissertation, and which have been applied accordingly in the classification, which are the followings: the *assimilation-model* (relying on the elimination of Roma children's Roma identities), the *segregation-model* (putting forward Roma children's ethnic segregation), the *integration-model* (aiming to educate Roma and non-Roma children on a joint basis), the *segregation-integration-model* (1. the initial ethnic segregation of Roma children under the claim of "catching up to the others" followed by recommendations to use education to reach desired competencies/norms and 'socialization' (meaning middle-class social and behavioral norms), 2. The co-appearance of segregationist and integrationist thoughts in a given text), *multiculturalism-model* (references to Roma children's cultural characteristics as respectable, taken into account even as a basis for identity development), *interculturalism-model* (besides respecting and taking into account Roma children's cultural characteristics, incorporating mutual cultural integration with non-Roma children), *Roma issues as ethnic themes model* (1. Schools operating on national minority basis 2. Roma students' problems are conceived of as originating in Roma cultural (socialization and socio-cultural) features and deficits 3. Roma children's education hardships are conceptualized as stemming from genetic attributions – resembling a nearly racist thinking), *Roma issues as social themes model* (Roma students' problems are envisioned as rooting in Roma families' social deprivation and deviation, considering Roma cultural and social characteristics as social deficit).

Education policy – historical background

The general features of education policy have been identified throughout the thorough analysis of several key authors' works. While in terms of the historical background, József Kardos' work has been extremely useful (*Iskola a politika sodrásában, (1945-1993)*), other authors have proved to be relevant in terms of historical accounts of Roma education policy (Barna Mezey, László Pomogyi, István Tauber: *Magyarországi cigánykérdés dokumentumokban, 1422-1985*, and regarding the period 1986-1999, Katalin Forray R., András Hegedűs T., *Cigányok, iskola, oktatáspolitiká*). The points of connection – and perhaps more accordingly, the lack of those connections – have formed a central emphasis of the research.

About the authors of examined academic journals

The 507 – quoted and unquoted – authors published in the 10 pre-specified and observed pedagogic journals have been assembled into 6 categories according to "quotation", diverse "employment", "journal-adherent" in alphabetical order. Quotations were taken into account based on the 'Pedagogics Who is Who'/Pedagógiai Ki Kicsoda' published by Keraban Publishing. The results of the interview with László Trencsényi (even serving as a control for the research) have been used additionally to this source.

According to the data, the 10 most frequent authors are the followings: Gábor Novák (54 pieces), Lajos Miksa (40 pieces), Szabolcs Szunyogh (22 pieces), Béla Csillei (18 pieces), Katalin Forray R. (16 pieces), Imre P. Kovács (15 pieces), András Hegedűs T. (11 pieces), Ilona

Liskó (10 pieces), László Trencsényi (9 pieces), Elemér Várnagy (9 pieces). From the listed authors, Novák, Miksa, Szunyogh and P.Kovács were staff members at the given journal, while other listed authors are researchers and academic professors. The list of authors was further quantitatively and qualitatively analyzed.

Roma authors statements about the Roma community's educational needs in terms of the pedagogic academic field

Out of the total 507 authors, only 12 have been of Roma origins (2,37%), who wrote only 27 pieces of the total 1117 (2,42%). The 12 Roma authors were the followings: 1. János Bogdán, 2. Pál József Burai, 3. József Choli Daróczi, 4. Tibor Czuczu, 5. Imre D.Magyari, 6. Kálmán Farkas, 7. Aladár Horváth, 8. Béla Lakatos, 9. Mrs. Mária Nagy Volopich, 10. Gyöngyi Rác, 11. Imre Vajda, 12. Gusztáv Varga.

Research findings

Altogether 1117 pieces have been identified in the 10 observed pedagogical academic journals/periodicals that have included the words “Roma”, “gypsy” or “ethnicity” (in reference to Roma people), incorporating 29 genres. At the same time, only 170 publications were identified as relevant in terms of Roma educational-pedagogical models. Hence, 947 papers (in 5 genres) have not been closely relevant in terms of the dissertation's main inquiries.

The 1117 research papers are characterized by the following general features: in 1978, 1983 and 1985, topics related to Roma educational needs have gained significant scholarly attention, more so than in other years. The increased academic interest towards the topic has been continuous since 1986 (fluctuating to some extent), culminated in 1990 and slightly dropped in 1991. In 1992, a radical increase has taken place compared to the period between 1978-1991, as is illustrated by the extreme growth in the number of statements (related to Roma communities) in 1992 – 70 pieces in contrast to 40 in 1990. In 1992, when the new educational legislation has been accepted, 102 pieces have referred to Roma people. The attention devoted to Roma people's educational needs has been sustained in the second half of the 1990s as well: in the year of the new national curriculum there have been 142 relevant pieces, 119 pieces in the year of the Roma Education Development Program while in 1997, with the establishment of basic principles, there have been 147 relevant statements. Data also indicates that under the socialist regime, Roma's educational problems have been dominantly present. While the topic has been slightly sidelined in the short period of regime change (presumably due to the general challenges related to the foundations of the new political system), from 1991, scholarly attention towards the topic has extremely increased (particularly between 1993 and 1997).

In general, presumed 8 conceptual categories can be identified in the 170 academic pieces (referring to educational models, reflecting interpretative frameworks).

The conceptual frameworks offered by the observed pieces vary – and often, oppose – greatly in 1978, 1983 and 1985. While between 1986 and 1990, general attention towards Roma's school problems have increased, this has not been reflected by the conceptual frameworks among authors. This is reflected by the fact that in 1990, 40 pieces referred to Roma people,

with only 4 statements have been issued interpreting Roma school problems in educational frameworks.

The collected data clearly indicates that during the regime change, both general attention towards Roma youngsters' educational problems and modeling has rolled back, mainly because attention has been devoted to general political happenings rather than Roma's education needs.

From 1992, the number of articles offering some kind of modeling in terms of the topic has increased. When the new national curriculum (NAT) has been accepted, the number of writings skyrocketed which has persisted through the Roma Education Development Program and subsequent years. Quantitative data also indicates that Roma communities' education problems have been prioritized during the socialist era, and has been even further accentuated after the regime change.

In summary, the majority of publications related to Roma people's educational needs have approached the topic from an ethnic point of view in the observed period. Strongly connected is the fact that the second most relevant approach has been the segregation-model.

The academic field and elite have been numerically almost equally divided between the integration-model and the segregation-model. This is further showcased by the fact that the segregation-integration-model and the interculturalism model has to a similar extent been put forward as recommendations in terms of Roma children's education.

Numerically, the social thematic framing model has been sidelined to a great extent, similarly to the assimilation-model. In the given period, Roma communities' attempts to assimilate into non-Roma education (among many other attempts) have been mainly rejected in the given period, which reinforce the tendency to consider Roma people's educational problems along ethnic lines. At the same time, academic thinking regarding Roma's educational needs has undergone continuous change and development between 1978 and 1997. Clearly showcased by the research material, integrationists continuously critiqued the initially dominant ethnic and segregationist perspectives. Even though there have been thoughts about segregating integration, in time multi- and inter-culturalism has gained more and more ground, which is exemplified by education policy documents and mainstream frameworks of pedagogics research papers. The mainstream viewpoints of academic press have been more or less synchronized with education research views, in some cases even preceding it.

It is quite peculiar that none of the models is strongly linked with any of the observed periodicals. This may be explained by the fact that the most important authors publish in several academic journals parallelly. Thus, lack of direction is characteristic of the observed pedagogical press in the given period.

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