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**THE HISTORIOGRAPHY, THE SITUATION AND THE MENTAL STATUS
OF THE HUNGARIAN ROMA /GYPSY INTELLIGENSTIA**

Doctoral (PHD) THESIS

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INTRODUCTION

Similarly to other symbiotic nomadic people, the Roma population that arrived to the territory of the historical Hungary at the end of the 14th century adapted itself to the resident population to some extent, though the Roma used to live in isolation and on the margins of society during centuries. They earned a living by providing services to the majority (especially day labour, auxiliary works, occasional music), as well as peddling their wares which were produced using traditional wood and metal working technique, and selling them in the market.

As a consequence of the economic, social, political and cultural changes, the distance between the settled Roma population and the majority population started to reduce. This process accelerated occupational differentiation within the Roma from the end of the 18th century on, resulting in the emergence of a layer that due to its services was gradually getting closer to the majority population and more or less it assimilated to it. This group of Gypsy musicians deviated from the other that preserved traditions and gave up their language and most of their customs.

The distance was significantly decreasing in the fifties and sixties of the twentieth century, when Gypsies became workers in manufacturing, mining, construction and industrial production. Leaving their traditional communities, they increasingly became part of the mainstream society. As a result of the targeted but highly controversial policy measures for the Roma redevelopment at the time of the state socialism, education indicators of the Roma have improved and by the mid-seventies, a very thin layer of intellectuals was formed among them. In the nineties, however, this process slowed down, and although the number of Gypsy students at higher education institutions is steadily increasing, their number is nowhere near the rate within their community of almost seven hundred thousand inhabitants, which could provide the pulling power or serve as an example.

The social importance and the impact of the Gypsy intelligentsia are still slight, and according to the stereotypical image of the majority, the Gypsies are “uneducated, unskilled, work-shy, lazy, criminals”. At the same time, the multilingual Gypsies with several college degrees, who are the lesser-known members of society, stay hidden.

The vast majority of Hungarian Gypsies is still under-educated, even the eight-grade education is not always completed. Entering the labor market without a marketable profession and a degree is impossible, therefore most of them end up in misery, despair and living on subsidies, as well as they are expected to get only casual employment and black work, lead unhealthy lifestyle and live in unhealthy living environment that provoke illnesses, deviances and early death, what is more, these features tend to be transmitted to subsequent generations as well.

Understandably, we must show increasing interest for those who managed to graduate despite their multiple disabilities. During analyzing their carriers we hope to find the answers to the questions like how we can help the young Gypsy people in graduating and acquiring profession or which obstacles are to be overcome in order to rise up and how much it costs for them, furthermore, whether their identity, kinship and friendship relations are transformed as a result, and finally, how they can make use of their knowledge and diploma.

The topic selection of the thesis has a current political significance; finding solution for the "Gypsy issue" is an overall interest of the society, therefore one of the most important question of today's and tomorrow's Hungary is if we manage to make the unemployed, destitute growing population of the Roma masses and their children who live without any positive vision of the future, acquire profession and college or university degree. (Szabóné 2010) In addition, this is not only an important economic issue but also a condition for social peace.

THE TOPIC OF THE THESIS

My thesis about the Hungarian Roma / Gypsy intellectuals covers two research areas, a research in the history of education and an empirical research, according to that the thesis is based on several pillars.

The main pillars, and therefore the research objectives:

- exploring and description of the history and the development of the Roma/Gypsy intellectuals
- comparing the history of the Hungarian majority intellectuals and the Roma/Gypsy intellectuals, the similarities and differences as well as searching for contact points
- the research of the life paths and position of today's Roma/Gypsy intellectuals, and the price they paid for becoming intellectuals.

According to the above objectives, a major area of the research is the historiography of the Hungarian Roma intellectuals; one of the novelties of the thesis is the description of the development and history of the domestic Roma intelligentsia, which have not yet been presented in either research on the intellectual or the Gypsies. Besides the exploration and description of the history, I find it important to do research on the history of education of this minority embedded in the of history Hungarian intellectuals, as well as to find, explore and describe the points of contact, the similarities and differences between the two intellectuals.

The following pillar of the thesis is a questionnaire survey based on a sample of about 100 people, aiming to explore the articulation and the current situation of today's Roma population as well as the causes, the course and the consequences of their social mobility.

In order to define the profile of today's Roma intellectuals in a more authentic and thorough way, I also carried out a semi-structured interview research of a twenty-five-person sample besides the questionnaire survey.

Another novelty of the dissertation is the mental research conducted among Roma/Gypsy intellectuals; combining social mobility and mental health test is a new research method in the Hungarian Roma/Gypsy researches, hopefully it will broaden our knowledge about the Roma/Gypsy intellectual, as well as widen our views and information on supporting, helping them and providing them with incentives. The mental status examination based on the sample of about 100 people, similar to the Hungarian overall researches of the state of mind and the Hungarostudy (Kopp-Skrabski 1995, Kopp 2008) based on samples representing the whole population can contribute significantly to understanding the small number of domestic Roma/Gypsy intellectuals and facilitating their numerical growth.

THE COURSE AND HYPOTHESES OF THE RESEARCH

The research exploring the development, the history and the situation of the Hungarian Roma/Gypsy intelligentsia was carried out in two phases in a slightly different way.

The questionnaire survey considered a reconnaissance (Research 1.) began in the spring of 2004 with the students of the Department of Romology, Faculty of Humanities at University of Pécs, and then, using the snowball method the research reached further respondents through them. During the research carried out among the 51 people who declared themselves as Gypsies with college or university degrees I was trying to find the answer to what the situation of the Hungarian Gypsy intellectual is, what kind of problems they have to face, how their way to graduation was and whether they take on further roles of intellectuals beyond the degree and whether they have a sense of mission towards the Roma.

I also examined what factors and who were the motivators for taking part in higher education, and whom they could count on in difficult situations, and whether the traditional family-kin network of Gypsy communities still works within the Roma community. I studied whether they suffer atrocities these days or suffered in the past due to being a minority, whether they experienced any discrimination, and what was the response of their Gypsy or non-Gypsy environment to their being graduates and intellectuals. I wanted to give an answer to what kind of opportunities a stigmatized minority like the Roma has in our society for an intellectual ascension, and what price they have to pay for it. After a personal contact, the self-completion questionnaires were received by the Roma/Gypsy graduates in different areas of the country (Szabóné 2005).

The second phase of the research (Research 2.) during the period 2010 -2011 consisted of three parts; a questionnaire survey based on a forty-seven-person sample including issues that are slightly different from the previous study, an interview research with twenty-five people, and a library or archival research for exploring the history and the development of the local Roma/Gypsy intellectuals.

This questionnaire and the interview study focused mainly on the research of the way leading to attaining college or university degree, the intergenerational mobility, the intellectual life, as well as the classification of their own group and the majority, relationship issues, and the relationship of the Roma/Gypsy community and the intelligentsia.

Both researches (Research 1, 2.) are an essential part of mental health status survey carried out using mental measurement tests applied in the national and international practice; based on the results I received a real, objective picture of the mental status, aspiration and social support of the Hungarian Roma/Gypsy intelligentsia.

Before starting the research I created the following hypotheses:

1. I assumed that during becoming an intellectual the support of an external person (a teacher, a priest/pastor, a friend) and the importance of their being a role model.
2. The majority of today's Roma/Gypsy intelligentsia are first-generation intellectuals, there is hardly a role model for them or there is not at all, which can result in difficulties of different types and degree.
3. The Gypsies who became intellectuals still differ from the traditional Gypsy image of their community and the majority as well, therefore the response to their being intellectuals was not clearly positive in either environment.
4. It was difficult for the majority of Roma/Gypsy intellectual women to find a partner after graduating and breaking with the traditional role of Roma/Gypsy women, furthermore relationship problems, divorce and loneliness are more common among them than among Gypsy men with similar qualifications.
5. Due to the above reasons I assumed that the mental status of the Roma/Gypsy graduates is not satisfying; the syndrome of neurosis and depression is common among them, which can be measured.
6. Only few among the Roma/Gypsy graduates preserve their traditions and language; culture change and language loss are more common due to splitting the family in favour of getting into the majority society.

THE RESEARCH METHODS, THE SAMPLE

During the research both quantitative and qualitative methods were applied; questionnaires made up of open, closed and combined questions, health status measurement tests were applied as well as semi-structured interviews and historiography were carried out. In the historiographic research I relied on literary history, educational history, social and legal

history works, documents and sources, as well as I studied the contemporary press, the major literary magazines and the writings of dailies and weeklies.

The questionnaire applied during Research 1 contained 31 questions from which 13 are closed, 11 open and 7 combined. The closed questions focused on the sociological background variables (gender, age, residence, marital status and similar hard data). Combined questions were applied for explaining the quality of relations and for questions that might be answered clearly but they give more detailed answer if they are explained in a more detailed way (disadvantages of minority, description of sense of mission). Open-ended questions were applied in case of the most preferred questions in the research; during studying the discrimination that they suffered in the past or during the research, the motivation of their becoming intellectuals and the response of the Gypsy and non-Gypsy environment. During Research 1 the valid questionnaire of the 51 respondents were processed.

During the second research I wanted to learn more about the background and intellectual lifestyle of the respondents and the way of acquiring the college or university degree, as well as the qualification and profession of their partner and the educational background of their parents besides the hard data assumed in the previous study. Research 2 included some questions about their group affiliation within the Gypsies, the use of language and the preservation of the traditions. I also asked plenty of open questions in which their habits associated with their intellectual life, their lifestyles, the male and feminine role as well as their views and practices of maintaining a relationship in addition to their political, role in public life were researched and studied. I also considered it important to include a question on how they think about the Roma and the majority society, i.e. whether they, as intellectuals, realistically see the shortcomings of their own people and the positive aspects of the majority, and whether and to what extent a prejudiced way of thinking is typical of them. During the second phase of the research, questionnaires of forty-seven respondents were processed.

The interview research based on the sample of twenty-five people was modestly formalized; by means of the semi-structured questionnaire it was possible to learn more about the various aspects of the lives, the living conditions, the life paths and the thoughts of Roma/Gypsy intellectuals in response to the questions. Making most of the twenty-five interviews took 3-4 hours on average and they were carried out at the home of the respondents, therefore I got acquainted with their living conditions, their families and family relationships as well.

For the mental status assessment I applied tests, scales that were already mentioned above, and similarly to the questionnaires they were filled out by the respondents themselves, anonymously. The tests for the mental health status examination of the whole sample of nearly 100 people are as follows:

The abridged version of Beck Depression Inventory (BDI) created by Kopp Skrabski (Skrabski Kopp, 1995), the options given to certain claims of the scale are applied for diagnosing depression and for measuring the severity of depressive illness among the respondents.

Based on the abridged version of aspiration inventory with only four items, developed by Kopp and Skrabski (Kopp-Skrabski 1995), the original of which was created by Crumbaugh & Maholick (Crumbaugh, Maholick 1964), clearly eliminates and removes the respondents who are at risk of depression and neurosis from the sample.

Based on the responses given to the questions in the revision of the Caldwell Social Support Questionnaire (SSQ) (Caldwell 1987) adapted to domestic conditions (Skrabski Kopp, 1995), information on the presence, absence or strength of social relationships is obtained.

Regarding the Juhász Neurosis Rating Scale (Juhász-Veer-Kopp 1978), on the basis of the obtained data, that implies distress, mood disorder, reduced working ability and physical

autonomic dysfunction, respondents who are at risk of neurosis or to some extent affected by it could be filtered out.

THE SAMPLE, THE METHODS OF SAMPLING

The research sample was made by random sampling procedure, the so-called snowball method, since applying probability sampling procedure is not possible in case of the domestic Roma population; only estimations concerning the number, composition (age and gender), geographical location and the qualifications of them are available, while there is not even a single estimation regarding the number and the proportion of the Roma intellectuals.

The first questionnaires were filled out by the students of the Department of Romology, Faculty of Humanities at University of Pécs, and with addresses given by them, i.e. using the snowball method, the questionnaire arrived to further respondents. The research included ninety-eight respondents living in villages of various type and size from different regions of the country, among them there are respondents from each group of the domestic Roma/Gypsy population (except for very small Sinti or Sinto groups temporarily living in Hungary) of very different ages and both sexes.

The questionnaires were sent by post and they were preceded by personal contact each time, during which the introduction of the research with the description of its aims took place. No questionnaire was sent to an unknown destination. Most of the research participation requests were successful; the Roma/Gypsy people who we visited were very open and honest, we faced no harsh rejection. Certainly, the positive attitude is due to the snowball method, since the new respondents were recommended by an acquaintance, a relative or a friend recommended each time, and I was always referring to them while visiting the new respondents. The survey respondents often returned the answered questionnaire in the self-addressed stamped envelope adding further addresses of potential participants, moreover they even wrote letters, detailing their opinions related to the Roma/Gypsy-related intellectual. Many people asked for being informed about the results of the research. The wide and strong network of contacts within the Roma/Gypsy population was a great help during the research.

On the basis of the composition and the number of my samples, even if they are not representative, they provide, I presume a realistic picture of today's Hungarian Roma/Gypsy intelligentsia.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

Besides the introduction, in which the actuality of the chosen topic and the objective, the direction and the methods of my research are described, the thesis consists of two major parts, a theoretical and an empirical unit.

At the beginning of the theoretical module, a brief overview is given about the composition, condition and main features of the domestic Roma/Gypsy population as well as the situation of the educationally most endangered groups, namely the women and the children. In order to understand the life, tasks and the background of the Roma/Gypsy intellectual, it is essential to know these indicators and facts. It is also essential to discuss the identity, the forms and the development of the minority elements. A separate chapter discusses the findings of the intelligentsia researches, the definitions, typology and functions of the intelligentsia.

The theoretical part consists of chapters about the history of education and research. The former contains the exploration and the detailed description of the historiography of the Hungarian Roma/Gypsy intellectuals from the 17 century to the present. The module on

historical research will review the domestic researches related to the topic, and due to the lack of foreign researches, some international studies with similar subject as well as are described.

The second part of the dissertation deals with the empirical studies and their analysis in addition to the analysis of the studies carried out with questionnaires and mental state assessment tests on the basis of a sample of about 100 people in 2004 and between 2010-2011, and the results of interviews made with twenty-five participants.

The final part of the thesis summarizes the results comparing the path, the similarities and the differences of the majority and minority intellectuals as well as it makes statements and it attempts to draw the profile of the Roma/Gypsy intelligentsia in the early third millennium on the basis of the research results.

Based on the results of the educational history and empirical researches, recommendations are formulated as to how quantitative and qualitative indicators of the local Roma/Gypsy intellectuals could be substantially and effectively increased, and further possible research directions are suggested.

THE RESULTS OF THE RESEARCHES

A partly questionnaire and interview research was carried out among Hungarian Roma/Gypsy graduates in the spring of 2004 and between 2010 and 2011, based on a sample of 98 people. The exploration of the historiography of the Roma intellectuals, as well as the data collection and its description were prepared in the second half of 2011, which was then compiled in January 2012.

Both during filling in the questionnaires and making the interviews I experienced the helpful cooperation, openness, and the interest of the respondents.

The answers for my hypothesizes created at the beginning of the research, which examine the present and past situation, the general characteristics as well as the mental status of the Roma intelligentsia, are reviewed.

My hypothesizes and the answers:

H1. I assumed that an external person (teacher, priest/pastor or a friend) as an exemplary role model and his/her support are crucial on the way to becoming intellectuals.

My hypothesis was only partially confirmed; according to the data obtained, it is true that the teachers (19%) and sometimes employees (3%), a friend, a priest, an acquaintance (1-1%), play a significant role in motivating them to learn, but the main and the most common motivator is the family itself (58%) while becoming a graduate is often the result of their own determination (18%). It should however be noted that on the basis of the data obtained from Research 2, none of the children of parents with low education levels, or those who completed only a few classes, or the children of illiterate parents mentioned the family but their teacher and themselves to be motivator of their studies. It was mentioned during the interviews and also on many of the questionnaires that the parents not only failed to motivate them to learn, but did not even understand why they want to study. Occasionally tension arose in the family because of that, but there are also some who are grateful to their parents for not forcing them to marry, and despite not understanding them or not being able to support them, they let them learn.

H2. The vast majority of today's Roma/Gypsy intelligentsia is first-generation intellectual; there is hardly a role model for them, which can result in difficulties of different types and degree.

My hypothesis was confirmed, the sampled were all, except for three graduate fathers, the children of parents with low education levels, and there is no one with post-secondary qualification among their ancestors except for these three parents. According to the data of Research 2 the 84% of the parents of the sampled (n=47) completed eight classes or less, and a further 16% of them are illiterate.

Regarding their brothers: 20% of them are illiterate and another 30% completed eight classes or less. The lack of role model among Roma intellectuals was mentioned several times, in fact, there was no one to ask or consult in connection with their school life, exams, exam scheduling and university life, moreover, their families did not even understand their concerns. As many first-generation intellectuals the respondents emphasized their defects and fallbacks to other students and the teachers' requirements. Some of them wrote and said that they did not think they would ever catch up to their non-Roma mates in knowledge, education and communication.

Another three second-generation intellectuals included in the sample did not mention such concerns. Analyzing the responses of two participants with graduate fathers from the sample of Research 1, the following conclusions can be drawn: both are young (27 and 30 years old), single women, living in the capital with parents also living there. Regarding their measured mental status they are mentally healthy, balanced, with a positive view of life and a wide social support, they experienced no disadvantages due to their minority status. They feel a sense of mission towards the Roma or work in fields related to Roma affairs; one of them is the head of an institution, the other is a media professional. It is likely that the well-trodden path and the social capital of the intellectual father, as well as the opportunities offered by the capital city made it possible for both of them to make their way in the world and maintain a healthy, confident mentality.

The sample of Research 2 includes a middle-aged Gypsy woman with three degrees, whose ancestor, namely the father is a graduate. She is divorced, and alone in raising her two children who attend college. It used to be easier for her to overcome the obstacles than for first-generation intellectuals, but due to her studies her marriage deteriorated, as she said her husband of Gypsy extraction could not tolerate her studies and higher qualifications.

H3. The Gypsies who became intellectuals still differ from the traditional Gypsy image of their community and the majority as well, therefore the response to their being intellectuals was not clearly positive in either environment.

This hypothesis of mine was also confirmed. Although, the attitude of both the Gypsy population and the majority for the most part is positive, there are people in both environments who treat the Gypsies who deviate from the general Gypsy-image with mixed feelings, envy and consider them odd. Most of them end up being isolated:

„I am too Gypsy for the Hungarian, and too Hungarian for the Gypsy.”

Many people have expressed their disappointment because they hoped that it would be easier for them as graduates to be accepted better by the majority population; *"Despite being a graduate, the professionals treat me only like a Gypsy."* Others: *"Regardless of whether he is an unskilled worker or a graduate, he remains a Gypsy."*

H4. It is difficult for the majority of Roma/Gypsy intellectual women to find a partner after graduating and breaking with the traditional role of Roma/Gypsy women, furthermore relationship problems, divorce and loneliness are more common among them than among Gypsy men with similar qualifications.

This hypothesis is fully justified. The rate of the divorced women among the sampled is twice the rate of the divorced men (22.9%: 10.0%), while only 6% of the men and 14.6% of the women live in cohabitation. During the interviews, women often said that it is extremely difficult for the Roma men to accept if a Roma woman becomes an intellectual with free will and opinion, who mainly rejects the traditional subjected female role. Many claimed that: *"I know many more women graduates who are not happy."* The poorer mental health status of women was also confirmed by several results obtained.

Evidence for their loaded relationships and the lack of their supportiveness is that 45.5% of the married men show symptoms of mild depression, while 70% of the women, and a further 5.1% show symptoms referring to moderate depression. Among cohabitating women, the rate of those affected by depression is 100% while it is 33.3% in case of the men.

The following comment of a male respondent tells a lot about the attitude towards the education of women: *"I can now accept that a woman also has an opinion."*

H5. For the above reasons, I assumed that the mental status of the sampled Roma/Gypsy graduates is not satisfactory; neurosis and depression are common among them, and it can be measured.

My hypothesis was confirmed. Based on the obtained values measured with the Crumbaugh & Maholick aspiration inventory, the Juhász Neurosis Rating Scale and the Beck Depression Scale clearly say that the majority of Roma men and women graduates in the two samples are affected by neurosis and depressive symptoms. The 8% of the respondents do not have positive aspirations in life. Regarding neurosis 26, 3% of the sampled (n = 95) showed mutation, while 13.7% turned out to be at risk, and in case of 12.6% visible signs of neuroticism emerged. Mild depression was detected in 62.4%, and moderate depression in 1.1%.

The mental status changes like frustration, increased repression, continuous compliance constraint, stress, anger, overcompensation, frustration and 'glass ceiling syndrome' resulting from being a minority are confirmed in case of the most intellectuals based on the results of the test-examinations as well as the responses obtained during the interviews.

H6. I thought that only few among the Roma/Gypsy graduates preserved their traditions and language; culture change and language loss are more common due to splitting the family and in favour of getting into the majority society.

This hypothesis was not confirmed. This hypothesis was not confirmed. The graduates in the sample of my first research entered higher education without bringing their traditions from home; or not even their families preserved them or they deliberately kept their children away from it in favour of their future career. Based on the results of Research 1 it can be stated that most of them do not preserve their traditions, but this has nothing to do with their college/university studies, since no loss of tradition that can be attributed directly to the learning occurred.

In Research 2, while asking them about their group affiliation, language use, and preservation of traditions, the respondents showed a remarkably high proportion of preserving traditions and using the Gypsy language. 79% of the Vlach Gypsies in the sample indicated to preserve traditions, and 64% of them to speak Romany, while 31% of the Beas claim to preserve tradition, and 62% of them to speak the Gypsy language, furthermore 18% of the Hungarian Gypsies reported to preserve traditions, while no one reported to speak the Gypsy

language, and from the Carpathians only a Roma young man preserves tradition and speaks the language of the Carpathian Roma.

66% of my hypotheses were fully, 17% of them were partially confirmed, while I expected the opposite response for 17% of the hypothesizes.

THE CONCLUSION OF THE THESIS

As the topic of my PHD dissertation I chose the description and exploration of the history of the development of the domestic Roma/Gypsy intelligentsia and the introduction of the thin educated layer of the Gypsy population with college/university degrees.

The objective of the questionnaires and interviews in my researches was to present an image of the Gypsy intelligentsia and to study their life paths, problems, lives and plans. The following profiles can be drawn on the basis of the responses:

Despite the assumptions, 29% of my samples also confirm that Gypsy intelligentsia does not only consist of young graduates who were put into advantageous positions (like being discovered and supported) in recent decades and graduated before 1990. The fact remains that most of them are among those who were given the opportunity to enter higher education before the nineties due to the favourable educational politics, mainly the changes introduced in 1989, when admission quotas were replaced by target numbers, as well as the abolition of admission requirements from 1990/1991. The expansion of higher education, whereby the total number of students between 1990 and 2000 rose to 232% (the increase was 187% for the full time education, 210% for the evening and correspondence courses) (Ladányi 2002), and associated support systems made it possible for the majority of graduates to enter higher education.

In the examined samples, the male-female ratio was balanced, which seems encouraging despite the subjected position of Roma women, although, in younger age groups male predominance was observed according to the data obtained.

Studying the qualifications and the current occupation of the respondents, it can be concluded that regarding education and occupation, most of the domestic Roma intellectuals are still stuck in traditional fields, while they began to increasingly appear in social care, education, church service, and in more prestigious professions like doctors, lawyers, engineers, economists. Although not everyone found a job that suits their qualifications, teaching degrees can be converted easily, and may be sufficient to get a position in media or public administration. It is also significant fact that only 2% of them are unemployed, therefore it seems true that a college/university degree can help find a better job.

The Hungarian Gypsy/Roma intellectuals may be considered a prominent social class of the domestic Gypsy population, since only 0.7% of the Hungarian Roma population has a post-secondary education according to the 2001 census data. Most of them feel also a sense of mission towards their own people, and while only 20% of the majority society participates in civil organizations (Kuti, 2008), 64% of our sample participates primarily Roma/ Gypsy organizations.

In terms of their social relations, though many of them have a large circle of friends, the social safety net is incomplete (30%) - mainly among Gypsy intellectual women living in the capital city, but this rate is considerably more favourable than the lack of social support of 71% measured in the majority population. (Skrabski Kopp, 2008)

Measured on a small sample (n = 47, R 2.), 62% of the Roma graduates clearly expect their partners to have a similar level of education, and therefore 60% of the Roma graduates have a partner with a university/college degree. Regarding the total population, this ratio is lower; the census data from 2001 indicates that 50% of the graduates living in relationship has a partner with a degree. (HCSO, 2004)

Relationship problems and the lower tendency of the sampled Roma intellectuals to get married is similar to those of the majority, such as, the rate of divorced and single persons living in cohabitation is high among them, just like in the majority society. Their mental status is much poorer compared to the total population, 33% of men, and 41% of women are affected by the syndrome of depression in the entire population (Purebl-Balog 2008), in case of the graduates included in my research, however, 57% of men and 74% of women show signs referring to mild or moderate depression. The gender proportion of the depression is typical in both communities since women have a significantly worse status but its frequency among the Roma/ Gypsy women graduates is outstanding.

The obtained research results suggest that the Hungarian Roma/Gypsy intelligentsia is slowly growing, developing and seeking further types of training. Most of them are first-generation intellectuals, with parents with low levels of education in the background, and often their brothers have lower qualification. Each group of Gypsies can be found within the domestic Gypsy/Roma intellectuals; the preservation of traditions and language, even if to a smaller extent than in their parents' generation, is still present among the members of the traditional groups. Signs that indicate that higher education would deprive the minority members of their traditions cannot be detected is, what is more, it is rather typical that many of them just fail to bring them from home, or in some cases, a tendency to relearn language and preserve traditions can be detected among young intellectuals.

Based on the sample, it is also clear that the main motivator for further study is family, which releases (Forray R 2008) and encourages its members to study as well as the supporting and encouraging collaboration and guidance of teachers are also determining.

The increasing participation of the Beas in tertiary education is also remarkable in the sample, and as I indicated, it is in line with the data obtained from Keménys' research, which can be explained only with the clearly encouraging, motivating impact of the mentioned "Pécs-Baranya model", in other words the implemented model of study hall-high-school-higher education.

The lack of intellectual model is general among today's Roma intellectuals, and probably the lack of intellectual lifestyle (regular reading, different forms of continuous cultural education, the responsibility for the community and its responsible fair demonstration, critical expression against its own people as well etc.) is a result of that among 55% of the sample. (It is feared, however, that we would find the lack of a similar proportion within the intelligentsia of the total population as well!)

CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS, DIRECTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCHES

Conclusions

Being aware of the history of the domestic non-Roma intelligentsia, the following conclusions can be drawn:

- In favour of the existence, survival and rising of the Hungarian society, though in a way which is dependent on politics and ideology manner, but it has always been a very important objective to increase education and raise educated children.
- Young people coming from the bottom and born into worker class and peasant families were never educated and tutored in separated "catch-up", "special", "M" or "P" classes or schools.
- In favour of their catching up a broad social cooperation was launched and several movements and associations like KALOT, KALÁSZ, NÉKOSZ, and the movement of 'the bright winds' have emerged.

- A college network was established throughout the country to assist the development lowborn, first generation intellectuals; Eötvös, Bolyai-Györffy, Horthy College and the Community of Peasant College Students.
- Those from difficult conditions received the assistance of patrons and foundation grants from the early centuries.
- The Hungarian wealthy nobility also considered it important to take part in the intellectual development of the poor and the needy; in addition to financial support, they demonstrated their engagement in the establishment of institutions and practical activities. (Brunswick, Bezeregy, Hugonnai)
- Establishing own institutions contributed much to the mental and spiritual improvement of Hungarian intellectuals; the National Museum, Library, Theatre, Casino.
- In the 20th century history of the intelligentsia, the strong political interference in higher education, both its *numerus clausus* and *numerus politicus* methods, i.e. deciding who is qualified to enter higher education on the basis of origin instead of knowledge, caused immense damage.
- The politically motivated, forced enrolment for creating a group of intellectuals of worker and peasant origin, the minimization of academic requirements, a university entrance without a technical baccalaureate, crash-courses etc. were clearly doomed. The low level of knowledge and the lack of real motivation for learning led to serious drop in standards.
- The apparent mobility in the life of individuals resulted in a massive failure.
- In the history of Hungarian intellectuals, the separation, the division of the intelligentsia and the inability to cooperate can already be tracked from the 1780s.
- The interlocking of today's intellectuals with the political classes is unforgivable, the greatest problem according to Szalai: *"Most of the topics discussed by the intelligentsia are actually not discussed by it, but by the politics."* (Szalai, 2008)

Suggestions for the significant expansion of the domestic Roma/Gypsy intelligentsia

1. Quality education

Considering the edification of the history and articulation of Hungarian intellectuals, it seems clear that the rise of Gypsies and their catch-up to the majority can only take place by means of education, i.e. quality education. Instead of separation, integrated (inclusive, mosaic, cooperative and differentiated) education (Varga, 2009 / b) is a viable and successful way (Aronson 2009), where there is still potential for this, i.e. there are other schools and non-Roma children as well.

2. Study hall - High school - Romology, the Pécs-Baranya model

A wide range of social cohesion, political will and professional cooperation are necessary for establishing and operating study halls, dormitories, and assisting foundations in the country.

Considering the results and its success, the 'Pécs-Baranya model' could be an example in several regions of the country; more study halls should be established in a region, which would provide education for the motivated youth in minority high schools.

The department of Romology and Romology specialization at a university or a college are a very strong driving force, partly because it allows for non-Roma students who attend different courses to acquire knowledge on the Roma/Gypsy population and secondly, it could

be inspiring and motivating for the Roma/Gypsy youth. The integration of the Romology course in the higher education result in the coexistence and mutual respect, as well as the training of professionals who are qualified to give a targeted, fair and effective solution for problems.

The establishment of Roma College Network which was founded to support the disadvantaged Roma/Gypsy students in higher education and strengthen their dual identity should be continued to meet the objectives above.

3. Scholarship programs, foundation grants

Providing scholarship programs and foundation grants are essential in order to support not only the development of non-Roma intellectual but the Roma intellectual as well. It would be important for the wealthy and well-known members of the Roma population to be forerunners in financing assistance, and more people should participate in such activities. Certainly, it would assist the social reconciliation if the members of the Roma elite did not just step up as defenders, but more and more protectors and supporters took part in the development of Roma/Gypsy intelligentsia and the middle class.

4. Maintaining standards in order to avoid enrolment failure

Being aware of the accelerated and forced enrolment failures powered by political interests during the state socialism, it must be avoided that young Roma students enter higher education without actual knowledge and adequate motivation exposing them to the hostility of the majority and failure experiences, which they have to face due to their inadequate readiness and knowledge. But by all means we should seek to create equal opportunities; in favour of this a country-wide study hall program and quality education, as well as other support for enabling them to prepare using their own skills and become university or college students must be provided.

5. Strengthening the positive image of Gypsy in the society and the Roma/Gypsy population

In favour of the social peace and the successful cooperation, it is extremely important that a positive image of the local Roma/Gypsy population is formed instead of the stereotypes, and the majority and the minority also learn the successes and successful life paths besides emphasizing the negative aspects. For this reason, the legitimate request of the Roma intellectuals for centuries are unavoidable, like the establishment of a Gypsy Museum in Hungary, which could be an excellent meeting point for the educated and less educated members of both the Roma/Gypsy and the non-Roma intellectuals, and last but not least it could be a mean of social reconciliation and the recognition of Hungarian Roma intellectuals' emancipation efforts for half a century.

Further research

Having finished my present research, new research questions have arisen, new research directions may be recommended. Areas for investigation include:

- a comparative analysis of the situation and mental state of Roma/Gypsy and non-Roma intellectuals
- the examination of the educational history and the first generation intellectuals of other national and ethnic minorities

- a comprehensive research on the exploration of the European Roma intellectuals to introduce their life paths, situation and mental state
- exploring possibilities of cooperation for Hungarian Gypsy/Roma and non-Roma intellectuals.

A similar examination would be a significant research area among young Roma/Gypsy intellectuals. The average age of my sample is 38.9 years; it can be assumed that today's young, fresh Roma/Gypsy graduates have different backgrounds, motives and expectations as well as they face different types of difficulties on their way to becoming intellectuals. During a comparative analysis, changes can be revealed and the modern, young Roma/Gypsy intellectuals' profiles can be defined as well.

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