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Intercultural Communication in an Educational Context: A model for practitioners addressing negative relationships between teachers and Roma families

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CHAPTER 1.
INTRODUCTION

1.1. INTRODUCTION

The world is becoming increasingly interconnected due to technology and communication systems. Frequent contacts between different cultures raise significant issues, and this complexity in societies' demands answers for more and more questions.

Communication between cultures is not a new phenomenon - it has existed since human history began (Jiang, 2006; Niedermüller, 1996). "What new is the systematic study of exactly what happens when cross-cultural contacts" and interactions take place (Samovar & Porter, 1985, p.1).

Though both intercultural and cross-cultural communication research have long been related to understanding ecologically separated cultures with clear boundaries, these boundaries are rapidly disappearing as technology and economic integration, often called globalisation, has brought about two opposite processes. There is a process where people more closely identify with each other, through global branding, shared media, and the possibility of gaining knowledge about one another (Rosengren, 2004). At the same time, there is what Featherstone (1990) calls a "localisation process", with intensifying identification with nationality and ethnicity, resulting in conflict and misunderstanding, and leading to deep concerns about physical violence and racial hostility (as cited in Jensen, 2004, p. 2).

A scientific study of communication is essential for several reasons. First, the desire to make ourselves understood and to achieve our aims through communication is a universal human trait and therefore it is necessary to understand how communication influences people's lives, their beliefs, attributions, attitudes and behaviour, and how these factors are interrelated. Secondly, there is a need for more effective communication in institutions (schools, hospitals, offices etc.), and we should know how communication can contribute to or hinder the successful operation of these

institutions. Finally, scientific approaches can help us understand how cultural diversity can affect the efficiency of communication.

Whether intercultural encounters have distinctive characteristics, namely if there is difference between intercultural and intracultural communication, has been much debated. From communication point of view, some workers argue that there is no difference at all (Ma, 2003; Gudykunst, 2005a; Sarbaugh, 1988), while others (Jensen, 2004; Bennett, 1998) claim that cultures – including ethnicities or social groups - include such patterns of perception and behaviour, along with approaches to communication that make encounters "difference-based", unlike monocultural encounters which are "similarity-based" (Bennett, 1998, pp. 2-3).

With the current rapid pace of transformation in society, and continued conflict between culturally defined groups of people, researchers seem to agree that culture is a key factor in the process of understanding human behaviour, and within that, communication (Kim &Hubbard, 2007). In spite of this, as Craig (2007) argues, mainstream communication theory still appears reluctant to recognise cultural differences, and there is similar criticism of the discipline of psychology (Segall et al., 1998). The "acultural or unicultural stance" in social sciences can not be assumed any longer (Kim & Hubbard, 2007, p. 225) as it does not satisfactorily promote an understanding of the nature of differences.

Intercultural communication research generally has an "intrinsic interest for diverse people and offers new frontiers to cross and explore" (Kim & Hubbard, 2007, p. 224). As will be seen, this exploration can be conducted with various epistemological and methodical approaches and theories, with culture defined either as characteristic of countries, or "based on gender, social class, age" etc. (Gudykunst & Kim, 1997, pp.18-19). Intercultural communication research is an interdisciplinary field applying theories from other social sciences e.g. pragmatics, psychology, social psychology, and sociology. This is why as a research discipline, the field of intercultural communication is thought to offer much insight into exploring people's relationships in socially and culturally diverse societies.

Schools are the mappings of the social milieu of a society and as such often face difficulties in coping with cultural diversity. International and national publications show that the implementation of intercultural education – an approach to education which is based on mutual appreciation and acceptance of cultures - is thwarted by systemic problems such as the underachievement of minority students, poor discipline, and a lack of cooperation with parents. Effective education for cultural diversity is largely dependent upon successful classroom practices, and most important of all, on effective communication between teachers, parents and their children. The problem is that those involved, in many cases, lack social insight and knowledge of the processes of intercultural communication.

1. 2. BACKGROUND AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE THESIS

My motivation and interest in writing this dissertation derived from personal experience. Being a head teacher of a rural school where more than 60% of learners were Roma, made me realise how important it is to get deeper knowledge of the process of communication in everyday professional practice, particularly in an intercultural context. The school I joined was characterised by a low standard of educational achievement, a lack of communication between parents and teachers, and regular physical violence and conflict. During my work I felt that I could get on well with Roma families and I managed to handle conflict situations between learners, and between parents and teachers. A year after leaving the school I returned to the village as a researcher. My specific intention was to provide help for teachers, and to enable them to improve their relationships with Roma parents by revealing those factors which undermine cooperation and communication.

Realising that literature on intercultural education very rarely refers to findings concerning intercultural communication research, my aim was to show how this discipline can contribute to the field. My research findings interwoven with elements of research literature will be presented in a model for practitioners addressing negative relationships between teachers and Roma families. The sub-model will offer a possible approach to conflict management based on the conclusions drawn in connection with cultural frame switching.

This dissertation does not aim to find solutions to "Roma questions". Roma parents in this research context will be viewed as people belonging to one minority group among many possible ones, who face problems finding their place in the majority society. For this reason the research literature referred to here will be drawn from both Hungarian and international publications.

The dissertation proposes a polydimensional approach to understanding intercultural communication. This constructive, rather than reproductive approach, will inevitably fail to fully exploit many of the important points provided by the literature, simply because a comprehensive presentation of all theories would have exploded the frames of this dissertation. Instead, only those theories and models will be reiterated and explored over the course of the investigation which were found to be relevant and able to contribute most directly to my research aims.

1.3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research question one (RQ1) aims to explore Roma parents' and teachers' understanding and interpretations of the causes of their negative relationships. The purpose is to identify factors teachers and parents find most salient in the forming of this relationship. Furthermore, these factors will be examined in terms of whether they can be interpreted as relating to perceived cultural differences (RQ2). A third research question (RQ3) aims to uncover the actual realisation of these factors in communication and examine how these factors operate as variables in the intercultural communication process generally, and in conflict situations specifically. The research questions of the dissertation are:

RQ1: What defines the negative relationships between Roma parents and school, what factors affect them and how do parents and teachers account for them?

RQ2: To what extent these factors are related to perceived cultural differences?

RQ3: How is this relationship manifested in the communication between Roma families and teachers?

Throughout the research the emphasis is on how teachers and Roma parents construe their own realities (Berger & Luckmann, 1966), and how they construct meanings and their own identities as they interact (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This study will take the ontological stance of constructivism alongside an epistemological stance of interpretivism. Doing so, social entities will be seen not as predetermined, but rather as collections of individuals actively attaching meaning, and attributing significance to their conditions. The investigation will focus on how people "construct reality while interpreting the acts of others and the world around them", and how they interpret their own behaviour within this context (Boeije, 2010, p. 6).

Qualitative research methodology seemed to be the most suitable for answering the research questions. Therefore, to analyse the collected data, I have relied on qualitative processes, which are typically descriptive, analytical, and interpretative (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002; Mackey & Gass, 2005). As a result, the research presented here is open-ended, focused on process rather than outcome, and unlike the carefully defined research questions of quantitative studies, these hypotheses were generated during research (Creswell, 1998). Qualitative data was collected relying on semi-structured interviews with teachers, observations, research and personal diaries, documents, and in-depth interviews with Roma parents.

1.4. STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION

The dissertation is organised in two major parts. In the first I provide a critical survey of the relevant literature in the fields of intercultural education and intercultural communication, followed by empirical research focusing on Roma parents and teachers.

Chapter Two aims to provide a comprehensive introduction to the schools of thought concerning the concept of 'culture' - from the sociocultural school to critical theories - since the way this notion is conceptualised can affect the approach applied to understanding its role in communication. Special emphasis is put on cognitive and semiotic theories with special attention given to how the role of language in cultural transmission and interaction is conceived. Language socialisation as a theoretical and

methodological paradigm is introduced, and the consequent examination of 'cultural awareness' as a concept will lead to the notions of intercultural competence and cultural intelligence which will prove to be essential elements of effective intercultural encounters.

Following the argument on the importance of intercultural competence, the concept of intercultural education (ICE) is examined. The introductory part of Chapter Three gives a brief overview of different educational approaches to the handling of issues of cultural diversity with special reference to the schooling of ethnic minorities in Europe. The chapter then goes on making a clear distinction between the concepts and underlying practices of multicultural and intercultural education. This is followed by a detailed overview of ICE research literature, and the identification of the most frequently raised issues undermining successful implementation of intercultural education practices. A separate part is devoted to the situation of the Roma as an ethnic minority to provide a wider context for my research.

Chapter Four starts with an investigation of the extent communication presents challenges for participants from different cultures, and examines how intercultural communication (ICC) research approaches these theoretical issues. After defining closely related terms, the chapter gives a thorough description of the metatheoretical grounding of the research paradigms usually employed in ICC theory construction, and systematises its inquiries along three major scientific approaches. Implications are drawn for possible theories relevant to problems identified in intercultural education, and criteria are set for further investigation.

The content of Chapter Five is guided by issues identified as problem fields in intercultural education, as well as by the categories identified in my research findings. The chapter aims to focus on the questions of values, identity, and trust, which all contribute to deeper insights about the intercultural conflict process. All the theories and models introduced add to the knowledge necessary to understanding the factors which play a crucial role in the development of negative relationships between parents and teachers. Throughout the chapter the applicability and merits of the highlighted theories and models are examined through a critical lens. Though the discussion of these concepts offers several insights related to intercultural educational encounters,

the chapter concludes that this understanding cannot be translated into effective practice. Finally, the chapter advocates for a practical model to be developed which enables teachers to reflect on their relationships and ICC with Roma parents, and to manage intercultural conflict situations.

Chapter Six begins with the overview and justification for the approach selected for this research. It then moves on to a more focused presentation of the research questions and the methodology chosen to address them. Descriptions of the context, participants, and the research instruments selected are provided, as well as an exploration of the limitations of this approach.

Chapter Seven presents the findings from the field work and also indicates how these relate to the research questions. Several categories and schemes are used to help locate, understand, and compare the various responses provided in the recorded interviews.

Chapter Eight attempts to synthesise the research findings, using both intercultural education and intercultural communication research literature to draw conclusions and more easily explore the operation of crucial elements in the intercultural conflict communication process. Discussion starts from a macro approach and analyses the wider context of intercultural encounters as a way of getting deeper insights into their political and social realities. The next part of the discussion focuses on intercultural communication in conflict. It describes how multiple identities operate in conflict situations and how the process of identity construction depends on the participants' assumed cultural and personal knowledge of one another. This chapter also focuses on the key factors identified in intercultural conflict situations. Special emphasis is put on identity, values, uncertainty reduction, attributions, and interpretation of messages and goals.

Chapter Nine introduces a process model based on the research findings. The model depicts the operation of factors contributing to forming the relationship between Roma parents and teachers, then by extracting the element of 'Interaction', it also demonstrates a possible approach to conflict management in a context where the participants (teacher and parent) share a cultural identity (Hungarian), but in which the parent is bicultural (Roma and Hungarian). Finally, implications are drawn, and the

limitations of the research as a whole are discussed, and suggestions for further research are made.

Chapter Ten provides a summary and conclusion for the dissertation. It begins with a brief synopsis of the literature review and then returns to the research questions and offers a summary of the answers this research has provided. The chapter also discusses further the specific limitations of the research, and offers scopes for addressing these issues in future works.

CHAPTER 2.
CULTURE AND COMMUNICATION

2.1. INTRODUCTION

Culture is a crucial part of who we are and how we communicate with others, yet there is no consensus on how it can be defined or to what extent it influences our actions and communication. Before examining issues and problems faced by intercultural education, and how intercultural communication research can contribute to the issues within the field, it is advisable to obtain some insights into different interpretations of the concept of 'culture' since the way this notion is conceptualised can affect the approach applied to understand its role in communication.

2.2. CONCEPTS OF CULTURE

More than a century of exploration within the basic domain of anthropology, and decades of sociology, psychology and management study have produced no fixed or broadly agreed meaning of culture. Considered to be the antecedent of modern definitions of culture, and the prevailing definition until the 1900s (Topcu, 2005), Tylor (1871) says that "Culture or civilization, … is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (as cited in Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952, p.43).[1]

Modern anthropologists approach the concept of 'culture' in two different ways. Some interpret culture as being mainly symbolic; "relating to ideas, norms and values", while others extend the concept to "behaviour and material objects" as well (Alvesson et al., 2004, p. 276). The first view refers to a kind of organised system of knowledge

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[1] The dissertation is not aimed at dealing with the different interpretations of the terms 'civilization' and 'culture'. Though Tylor uses these interchangeably, Elias (1998) gives a thorough explanation of various interpretations.

(Keesing & Strathern, 1998), while the second sees culture as the "pattern of life within a community - the regular recurring activities and material and social arrangements characteristic of a particular human group" (Goodenough, 1961, p.521). Culture is in the realm of observable phenomena 'out there' in the world (Keesing & Strathern, 1998).

These different approaches raise issues of whether culture should be seen as public or private, where it can be found, and its relationship to language. Below, the different concepts of culture presented by various schools of thoughts are introduced to show how they approach these issues.

2.2.1. Sociocultural systems

As indicated above, theorists are divided as to whether they view culture as an integral part of the social system or as a "conceptually separate, ideational system" (Allaire & Firsirotu, 1984, p. 195). The first typology claims that "the cultural and social realms are integrated into a sociocultural system" (Allaire & Firsirotu, 1984, p. 195), and behaviour is actually the manifestation of these. The sociocultural school views culture as "the man made part of the environment" (Herskovits, 1948), which means culture entails not only material man-made objects, such as houses and cars, but also social institutions, for example marriage and education, each regulated by laws, norms and rules (Smith & Bond, 1993). These, as well as values, beliefs and social schema are transmitted from one generation to another as part of cultural socialisation (enculturation), and affect ways of thinking and behaviour. As Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) claim, culture constitutes "patterns explicit of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups' (p.13).

The scholars viewing culture as a sociocultural system can be divided into four schools. In the *functionalist* conception, culture is an "instrumental apparatus" which helps "to cope with specific problems in the course of basic human need satisfaction", and manifestations of culture, e.g. institutions, function to serve the same aim (Allaire & Firsirotu, 1984, p.197). Treating culture as an essence, functionalists strive to find those subconscious fundamental assumptions and beliefs which control the members

of a society (Schein, 1985). Hofstede (2003) calls these patterns "the software of mind" with sources that "lie within the social environments in which one grew up and collected one's life experiences" (p.4).

Structural-functionalists see culture as an adaptive mechanism involving the acquisition of values, beliefs and customs with the help of which people can live a social life in a given environment (Allaire & Firsirotu, 1984).

Ecological-adaptationist and *historical-diffusionist* schools examine what processes take place as cultures develop (Allaire & Firsirotu, 1984). Ecological-adaptation puts emphasis on "socially transmitted behaviour patterns that serve to relate human communities to their ecological settings" (Allaire & Firsirotu, 1984, p. 197). In this view, sociocultural systems and their environments reciprocally affect each other. The "historical-diffusionist school" views culture "as consisting of temporal, interactive, superorganic and autonomous configurations or forms produced by historical circumstances and processes" (Allaire & Firsirotu, 1984, p. 197). The main concern here is the migration of cultural traits from system to system due to "acculturation and assimilation processes" (Allaire &Firsirotu, 1984, p. 197).

2.2.2. Culture as Systems of Ideas

The opponents of the sociocultural school emphasise a difference between social and cultural systems, though they acknowledge their interdependence (Allaire & Firsirotu, 1984). This conceptualisation sees culture as a system of ideas or as "inferred ideational codes lying behind the realm of observable events" (Keesing, 1974, as cited in Allaire & Firsirotu, 1984, p. 197). The *ideational system* uses culture to refer to the "organised system of knowledge and belief whereby people structure their experience and perceptions, formulate acts, and make choices between many alternatives. This sense of culture refers to the realm of ideas" (Keesing & Keesing 1971, p. 20).

The four schools which will be examined have different concepts of culture, though they share the view that the cultural realm can be found in cognitive structures and products (Allaire & Firsirotu, 1984). Thus the advocates of the cognitive, structuralist

and mutual equivalence schools believe that culture is "located in the minds" of its members (Allaire & Firsirotu, 1984, p. 198).

The cognitive school views culture as a "system of knowledge" (Keesing & Keesing, 1971, p. 20) that includes "learned standards for perceiving, believing, evaluating and acting" (Allaire & Firsirotu, 1984, p. 198); namely what people in a society must know to function well. As an early representative of this tradition Goodenough (1964) claimed:

"A society's culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members… Culture, being what people have to learn as distinct from their biological heritage, must consist of the end product of learning: knowledge … by this definition, we should note that culture is not a material phenomenon; it does not consist of things, people behaviour, or emotions. It is rather an organization of these things that people have in mind, their models for perceiving, relating and otherwise interpreting them" (p.36).

More recent cognitive conceptions of culture retain the tenet of culture as knowledge. This kind of knowledge is not a collective one, but is comprised of the knowledge of the individuals belonging to the same community. This ideational order is located in people's minds.

Applying concepts from schema theory, culture is seen as internal mental organisations or schemata used for interpreting the world and deciding how to behave or how to say things (Holland & Quinn, 1987). Schemata are built up from discrete items of knowledge gained from experience (Holland & Quinn, 1987). Cultural schemata are created through socially mediated experiences e.g., schooling, place of living etc. which enable members of the same culture to make similar interpretations of social interactions (Holland & Quinn, 1987). As Holland and Quinn (1987) claim, language is the primary means of understanding and uncovering these models. For example, metaphors and jokes express the shared beliefs of a culture, and understanding them is only possible by way of the cultural schemata that underlie them. This belief that cultural meanings reside in the individual members of a culture, has been criticised (e.g. by Geertz, 1973) for focusing too narrowly on internal mental processes and for

the assumption that internal meanings could exist separate from external interaction. In addition, critical cultural theories negatively reflected on the static and fixed bounded view of culture characteristic of these cognitive theories. Nevertheless, cognitive theories are relevant to understanding ICC as they emphasise the role of shared schemata in creating meaning, as well as raise the issue of the extent to which these schemata or frames may be shared in intercultural encounters.

According to the advocates of the *structuralist school* (e.g. Lévi-Strauss) "culture is made up of shared symbolic systems" that are products of unconscious mind processes (Allaire & Firsirotu, 1984, p. 198). In their view, though cultural artefacts vary between cultures, they are manifestations of the same, universal mechanisms of the human brain. Structuralists are interested in revealing the universal structures and processes of thought underlying cultural manifestations (Allaire & Firsirotu, 1984). As Trompenaars (1993) puts it, there are no universal answers but universal questions and dilemmas and researching culture should aim at finding these.

In the *mutual equivalence school* culture is also interpreted as a set of standardised cognitive processes but its function is explained in terms of creating the "general framework for the mutual prediction of behaviour among individuals interacting in a social setting" (Allaire & Firsirotu, 1984, p.198). Mutual dependence in social interactions means that the communicators construct a connected system of shared meanings, and they have a shared belief in the situation. Wallace (1970) explains that culture is made of "policies tacitly and gradually concocted by groups of people for the furtherance of their interest, and contracts established by practice between and among individuals to organize their strivings into mutually facilitating equivalence structures" (as cited in Allaire & Firsirotu, 1984, p.198). Based on these, Gudykunst and Kim (1984) provided a model of intercultural communication in which they conceptualised the common underlying process of communication with people who are unknown to each other, as is the case with communication with strangers. The unknown and unfamiliar qualities of strangers in this case are culturally based, which in turn, permeates all other sources of interpersonal differences, including sociocultural, psychocultural, and environmental influences (see 5.5.1.).

The fourth concept of culture, the symbolic or *semiotic school* provides "an interpretive view of culture as a system of shared meanings and symbols" (Allaire & Firsirotu, 1984, p. 198). It views culture as a public creation, saying that meaning is created in public (Geertz, 1973). Therefore the semiotic school rejects the internal private view of culture. For Rohner (1984) culture is an organised system of meanings attributed by individuals to the persons and objects which make up the culture. It is through culture that people can "communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about attitudes towards life. Culture is the fabric of meaning in terms of which human beings interpret their experience and guide their action" (Geertz, 1973, p. 145). This implies that culture is not in "people's heads but in the 'meanings' and 'thinkings' shared by social actors" (Allaire & Firsirotu, 1984, p. 198). "Man" says Geertz, "is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun; I take culture to be those webs' (Geertz, 1973, p.5). For the semiotic school, to understand human thought it is necessary to focus on the "public traffic in significant symbols" (Geertz, 1973, p.45). Therefore, if the aim is to understand cultural meaning; behaviour and social institutions, it should be understood in the context – in the symbolic systems (Geertz, 1973) - in which they occur. Geertz (1973) argues that this involves an interpretative process rather than the 'hard science' of looking for rules and laws, so typical of cognitive theories. For Geertz (1973), ethnographic 'thick description' is the appropriate method of investigating cultures. This means that instead of searching for cultural universals, researchers should find the variety within culture. The advocates of the semiotic approach claim that it is the way in which concepts or patterns of a specific culture are organised that should be of interest. Geertz rejects a "stratographic account of man" (1973, p.44) and believes that if we are to give a full account of human existence, it is impossible to separate the neurological, the psychological, and the cultural. As for the relationship between culture and social structure, Geertz (1973) acknowledges that they are capable of integration, but emphasises that this isomorphic mode is only true for relatively longlasting "stable" societies (p. 144). However, in most societies where change is characteristic, "discontinuities between the two…" structures prove more evident (1973, p. 144).

Halliday (1975), who also takes a semiotic view of culture, sees language as the main symbolic tool of cultural transmission and interaction. Halliday believes that it is

through language that we "learn how to mean" (1975; 1993, p.93), or rather, how to perform acts of meaning. In the dynamic two way interaction between language and culture, Halliday (1993) is interested in the role environment (especially social structure) plays in children's language development, and believes that "social structure … is an essential element in the evolution of semantic systems and semantic processes" (Halliday, 1979, p. 114). Society is seen as providing a range of possible meanings from which choices are made (Cattell, 2004). Halliday refers to this as a "meaning potential" (1993, p.113):

"The child's task is to construct the system of meanings that represents his own model of social reality. This process takes place inside his own head; it is a cognitive process. But it takes place in contexts of social interaction, and there is no way it can take place except in these contexts" (Halliday, 1975, p.139).

Yet, Halliday stresses, that the child should not be seen as "a passive recipient of the language, but an active participant in the processes that develop it" (Cattell, 2004, p. 132). During conversations, the child builds a "picture of reality" and this is a salient part of constructing a "social semiotic" (Cattell, 2004, p. 134). Social semiotic is "the system of meanings that defines or constitutes the culture" (Halliday, 1975, p.139). Cattell (2004) argues that it is not evident that a culture consists of a system of meanings and proposes that social semiotic would be better defined as "the system of meanings that is *derived* from the culture" (p.134). Halliday (1978) goes on to elaborate the concept as "a reality in which things are because people are, and people construe them in certain ways… He (the child) is not taking over a meaning potential or a reality, that is ready made for him "out there", on the contrary … a child is *creating* meanings, not imitating those he finds around him" (Halliday, 1978, as cited in Cattell, 2004, p. 134).

According to semiotic perspectives, language and culture are closely intertwined, but they are not viewed as synonymous, because there are other semiotic systems within a culture, for example non-verbal communication or visual art, which are non-linguistic. Nevertheless, language plays an important role "in that it serves as an encoding system for many (though not all) the others" (Halliday, 1979, p.2).

2.2.3. Vygotsky's socio-cultural theory

Vygotsky's (1962; 1981) psychologically derived socio-cultural theory also takes a semiotic view of culture and describes how external social practices operate with internal mental functions (Wells, 1999). Vygotsky (1962) focused on the internal processes of human consciousness and their relation to the sociocultural context. Thus the Vygotskian approach to understanding culture, with its focus on the psychological aspects involved, complements sociolinguistically based theories (Wells, 1999). For Vygotsky, language is considered to be the prime semiotic system for maintaining culture, and he also provides a theory of how they are learned, and how they develop together (Lantolf & Appel, 1996). He claimed that the different abilities and capacities (e.g. perceptual, attentional, memory) children are born with are strongly influenced by culture, socialisation and education (Davidova, 2008, pp. 58-60).

An essential element of Vygotsky's theory is that all human interaction is mediated (Lantolf & Appel, 1996). Vygotsky (1981) introduced the term "psychological tools"; artefacts, symbols (with language as the most significant symbolic tool), and schemes, which serve as mediators for the individual's mental activity (p.136). By learning to use these tools an individual also acquires the cultural meaning embedded within them (Lantolf & Appel, 1996). Vygotsky's (1981) claim is that individuals use psychological tools for directing and controlling their physical and mental behaviour, the same way as technical tools are used for manipulating the environment.

In Vygotsky's theory (1978), the biological (internal) and the social (external) are united by the mechanism through which the process of development occurs. Known as the zone of proximal development (ZPD), ZPD is defined as "the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers" (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 86). The basic assumption behind this concept is that the child learns from society those activities (for example work, play, education, literacy etc.) that the society has constructed and placed value on. The child's immediate environment provides challenges for the child to solve, principally through the use of language (Vygotsky, 1978). When a child (novice) faces a problem, s/he is able to utilise the problem

solving mechanisms offered by an 'expert' (adult or a more experienced peer) to successfully complete the activity. After such experience, the learner gradually begins to utilise the problem solving mechanisms with increasing independence until the task can be solved without the presence of the 'expert'. Overall, Vygotsky's theoretical framework emphasises the central mediating role that language plays in the development of the individual consciousness in sociocultural processes (Davidova, 2008).

2.2.4. Critical theories

Critical post-modernist theories generally reject the notion of culture as a static, homogeneous entity. Advocates question whether there are clear boundaries between cultures, as individuals can be members of many different communities and can have multiple identities. Consequently, talking about national characteristics becomes questionable. Critical theories of culture take a more dynamic perspective on culture and reject the ide that language, culture and national identity should be treated as one (see e.g. Scollon & Scollon, 2001). As, for example, Jensen (2004) argues, the poststructuralist approach places the individual, rather than the culture in the centre of attention. "It is the interpretations of the participant that determine what culture the person belongs to" (Jensen, 2004, p. 4). Critical views on culture generally claim that research should not focus only on describing and explaining interactions, but should examine the underlying power relations (e.g. Bourdieu, 1991), the positions of experience (Berger & Luckmann, 1966), cultural self-perception, and identity (among others Collier & Thomas, 1988) etc. This influence of critical cultural perspectives on many issues will be elaborated upon later.

2.3. LANGUAGE SOCIALISATION

The above theories concerning culture and its relationship to language have highlighted the intertwining of the two concepts. Irrespective of schools of thought, it can be claimed that it is through communication that culture is transmitted from one generation to another and thus preserved. Charon (1999) sees culture as a "social inheritance" since: "it consists of ideas that may have developed long before we were born. Our society, for example, has a history reaching beyond any individual's life, the

ideas developed over time are taught to each generation and 'truth' is anchored in interaction by people long before death." (p. 4) Values, norms and rules which are considered central to a society are shared with each new generation. Transmission can take various forms (e.g. stories, art, education etc.) and can have several 'carriers' (e.g. families, teachers, friends, and media) but fundamentally culture is transmitted through language and communication (Smith & Bond, 1993). "Communication makes culture a continuous process, for once cultural habits, principles, values, attitudes, and the like are "formulated", they are communicated to each member of the culture" (Samovar & Porter, 2004, p. 41). Culture and communication are intertwined so closely that Edward T. Hall (1959) has claimed that "culture is communication" and "communication is culture" (p.186). Imparting language to children and assisting their language development is a part of their socialisation and a means of transmitting culture (Réger, 2002). This learning process happens through interactions (first with parents, carers, and family members, later with others) in which meaning is a mutual creation between child and adult (Donaldson, 1987).

Language socialisation as a theoretical and methodological paradigm was developed in the 1980s (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984) with the aim of responding to – as Kulick and Schieffelin (2004) say – "two significant absences" in "the developmental psycholinguistic literature on language acquisition", and "the anthropological literature on child socialization" (Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004, p. 349). One of these was the lack of consideration of culture in language acquisition literature which was predominantly concerned with sociolinguistic practices, universal and necessary conditions, which facilitated children's first language acquisition (Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004). Yet, Kulick and Schieffelin (2004) also note that the majority of these studies were carried out on white, middle-class mainly North American and European children, who shared the same linguistic and sociocultural backgrounds. That is why "culture remained invisible" (Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004, p. 349) in these studies. Despite this, studies on language acquisition in non-Western communities threw light on the fact that aspects which were supposed to be universal were actually culture dependent (Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004).

The problem with child socialisation studies was that researchers usually did not consider language a crucial aspect of the process. 'Enculturation' as a concept used by the Personality School, too often implied that there was no "agency" on the part of the child, "who was simply an empty vessel into which culture was poured" (Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004, p.350) and that enculturation of children was completed by the time of puberty.

To compensate for the shortcomings mentioned above, the language socialisation paradigm focuses on culture in language acquisition studies, and on language in child socialisation studies. It is claimed that language acquisition is closely intertwined with the process of becoming a member of a particular group (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1996), which means that children experience "socialization through language and socialization to use language" (Ochs, 1986, p. 2). During this process they gain knowledge of how language functions in different situations (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1996). This tacit knowledge is acquired through exposure to and participation in language-mediated interactions, thus language becomes a source from which children 'learn' their culture (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1996).

While the kinds of interactional routines that occur are similar across cultures, their frequency and context, and the procedures for language socialisation can be different. The social environment provides language patterns for children, which, as Réger (2002) emphasises, are largely influenced by values and beliefs, as well as traditions of interaction that a particular culture applies. Another very important element of the language socialization paradigm is that interactions are considered to be "potentially socializing contexts" (Schieffelin, 1990, as cited in Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004, p.350). This means that socialisation can be seen as a continuing process (so it does not end by puberty), and leads to further questions about how language socialisation works when learning a second language as an immigrant.

The anthropological grounding of this paradigm is different from the psychological basis of socio-cultural theory, but both see the relationship between novices and experts as a key to learning development. During this process, the novices are socialised into practices of their group with the help of more experienced members. This happens mainly through language.

2.4. INTERCULTURAL COMPETENCE AND INTELLIGENCE

There seems to be a general agreement that people learn cultural perceptions, rules, and behaviours from a large variety of sources without being aware of it, and the essential message of culture gets reinforced and repeated. However, awareness may rise when one meets someone from a different culture and faces misunderstanding or conflict. "Cultural distance" is created by different languages, social background or different lifestyles (Triandis, 2003, p.18).

How people manage to communicate in intercultural encounters is often related to the concepts of intercultural competence, (inter)cultural intelligence (CQ)[2] and cultural awareness. The "components of intercultural competence are knowledge, skills, and attitudes, complemented by the values one holds because of one's belonging to a number of social groups, values which are part of one's belonging to a given society" (Byram, Nichols & Stevens, 2001, p. 5). Skills refer to comparison, interpretation of the situation and generally to the "ability to acquire new knowledge of a culture" and its "cultural practices" (Byram et al. 2001, p. 5). Attitudes involve curiosity, openness, and avoiding the assumption that one's own values and behaviours are the only appropriate ones (Byram et al., 2001; Byram et al., 2002).

Being aware of differences is a necessary but insufficient condition for understanding a culture. Cultural relativism states that there is no good or bad, higher level or lower level culture, rather that cultures are just different and unique (Herskovits 1973; Falkné, 2008; Hidasi, 2004). However, familiarising ourselves with world views, beliefs, traditions, and customs differening from our own culture as a reference point, does not necessarily lead to acceptance. It cannot ensure objective observation, least of all understanding, because as Sumner (1940) points out: "Ethnocentrism leads people to see their own culture's ways of doing things as 'right' and all others as 'wrong'" (as cited in Gudykunst & Kim, 1984, p. 5). [3]

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[2] CQ stands for cultural quotient.

[3] The roots of cultural relativism go back to Herder's work "*Ideas for the Philosophy of History of Humanity*" (1784-91). The anthropologist, Franz Boas developed Herder's ideas when he worked out

Bakhtin (1986), in his "dialogue of cultures" perspective provides an approach to understanding other cultures leading to a deeper knowledge of our own culture. With Geertz (1973), he argues that while we need to interpret a foreign culture from the perspective of that culture, this will give only a one-sided interpretation. It is also essential to take an 'outsider' position, and examine the culture from our own perspective. This will enable us to see aspects not evident to those in or of the culture. In this way cultures enter into a dialogue, and this process promotes each culture to have a deeper understanding of 'itself' and 'others' (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 7). Cultural awareness generally involves a process whereby the exploration of other cultures, in which knowledge of another culture will eventually be modified and developed based on experience and information (Jones, 1995), results in an ability "to evaluate critically and on the basis of explicit criteria perspectives, practices and products in one's own and other cultures and countries" (Byram, 1997, p. 53).

Tomlinson and Mashuhara (2004) differentiate cultural knowledge from cultural awareness claiming that the former is often equated with a stereotypical and static view of a culture's characteristics, while cultural awareness involves "perceptions of our own and other people's cultures" (p. 6). They argue that due to changing experiences and perceptions, cultural awareness is dynamic and variable. Byram and his colleagues (2001) claim that knowledge is not comprised only of primary knowledge about a culture, but "knowledge of how social groups and identities function" (p. 5), how they construe their social world, and the same kind of knowledge about one's own culture.

In the process of developing intercultural competence, one can achieve (as the term quotient implies) a certain level of intercultural or cultural intelligence (CQ), which can be further developed by reflective communication practice. This is a relatively new concept in the field of intercultural communication (though it shares a lot of common features with intercultural competence) which includes the ability to interact

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the basic methodology that underlies modern anthropological research (Nguyen, 2003). Boas claimed that "one could only begin to understand a culture by taking on a complete survey of its mythology, religion, social taboos, marriage customs, physical appearance, diet, handicrafts" etc. (as cited in Lowie, 1947).

successfully across cultures (Thomas & Inkson, 2004). CQ can be achieved through continuous learning about other cultures in interactions, the result of which is a skilled and flexible communicator (Thomas & Inkson, 2004). Like intercultural competence, the concept CQ involves attitude, but the emphasis is rather on attitude change: "reshaping your thinking to be more sympathetic to the culture and your behavior to be more skilled and appropriate when interacting with others from the culture" (Thomas & Inkson, 2004, p. 15). Thomas and Inkson (2004) argue that efficiency in multicultural "environments is based on three components: "the *knowledge* to understand cross-cultural phenomena", the "*mindfulness* to observe and interpret particular situations", and "the skill of adapting *behavior* to act appropriately and successfully in a range of situations" (p. 20). Mindfulness means "switching off one's cultural cruise control" (Thomas & Inkson, 2004, p. 14) which, as Thomas and Inkson (2004) argue, would be necessary as there is a tendency of most humans to follow cultural norms and "scripts" that may not be helpful to rely on when interacting with people from another culture. Thus the practice of mindfulness is the ability "to pay attention in a reflective and creative way to cues" in the intercultural situation (Thomas & Inkson, 2004, p. 15). Behavioural skills are developed by going through a cycle of constant repetitions in which each situation presents a new challenge on which the participant can build until cultural intelligence is ultimately achieved (Thomas & Inkson, 2004). The actions each situation involves are: studying, observing, reflecting and experimenting (see Figure 2.1.).
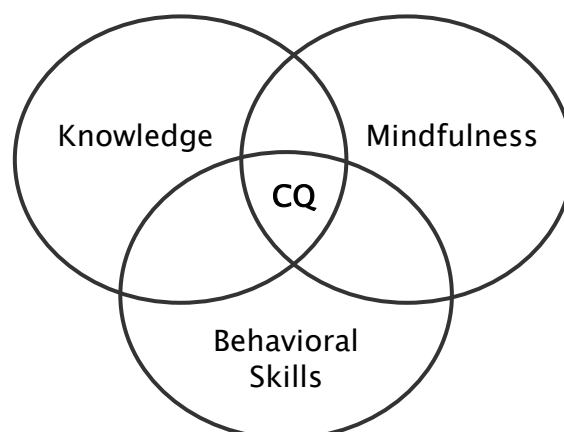
Figure 2.1. Components of Cultural Intelligence (CQ) (Thomas & Inkson, 2004, p. 16)

Triandis (2006) summarises the essence of CQ by claiming that being culturally intelligent means that one only draws conclusions about a particular situation when the necessary cues are given, and is able to apply this gained knowledge in other situations as well.

2.5. SUMMARY

Different interpretations of culture have shown that theorists are divided as to whether they see culture as a component of the social system, or as an ideational system. The four schools of thought – viewing culture as systems of ideas - differ on whether culture is public or private: the question of whether culture 'can be found' in the minds of its members or in the products of minds (shared meanings and symbols) (Allaire & Firsirotu, 1984).

Cognitive theories have been criticised for focusing too narrowly on internal mental processes, and for that they tend to think of culture as a static and fixed bounded entity. On the other hand, their merit is that they draw attention to the role of shared schemata in creating meaning, as well as the extent to which these schemata or frames may be shared in ICC.

Semiotic theories have emphasised the primary role language plays in both expressing and constructing sociocultural context. Vygotsky's (1962, 1981) sociocultural theory highlights how both internal psychological processes and external social practices are intertwined in the development of language and culture. Work on language socialisation has provided a complementary perspective to this, emphasising the central role of language, close environment and society play in promoting children's language development to become successful communicators and efficient members of communities. Intercultural competence, cultural awareness and intercultural intelligence have shown what the criteria of successful interactions might be. The next chapter examines how schools cope with cultural diversity and what difficulties and opportunities cultural heterogeneity may present to teachers, parents and learners.

CHAPTER 3.
INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

3.1. INTRODUCTION

There are different educational approaches to the handling of issues of cultural diversity and especially the schooling of ethnic minorities in Europe. Minority education programmes or schools that target cultural and language diversity can be found in all EU Member States, but "school legislation and practices concerning minority rights and their implementation in education frequently differ" to a great extent (Luciak, 2006, p. 74). The reasons for these differences are influenced by the relationship between the minority and majority groups and their relative status. "While the ethnic composition in the new Member States has remained more stable", the old Member States have long been countries of immigration (labour migration, refugees, family members that followed etc.) (Luciak, 2006, p. 74). Increasingly multiethnic societies have put intercultural education on the agenda. The school as an institution, and teachers specifically are expected to ensure social development "in an environment where traditional values and cultures are challenged on a daily basis" (Le Roux, 2001, p.42). However, the issues "confronting education systems in the twenty-first century are far deeper than the political elites from dominant and majority populations tend to project. These are not problems and issues emanating from immigrant minorities, but are issues for all groups in society" (Gundara & Portera, 2008, p. 465). To understand and actually live with cultural diversity has thus become a crucial issue in education. Education is generally considered to be the key source of eliminating social inequalities, prejudice and discrimination. If the role of education is to ensure a socially just and equal society, which grants opportunities for learning and provides "access to available resources for all its citizens", (Le Roux, 2001, p. 42) then the school as an arena of intercultural encounters could play a vital role in empowering students to meet the challenges and requirements of diverse societies. However, as will be shown, there are many questions concerning the practical fulfilment of this task, which hither to remain unanswered.

This chapter examines how effective intercultural education (ICE) can contribute to creating equal education opportunities for all learners, and identify factors undermining successful implementation of intercultural education practice. A separate part will be devoted to the situation of Roma as an ethnic minority to provide a wider context for my research. Finally, it will be argued that intercultural communication research can contribute to a field where effective schooling is largely dependent upon successful classroom practices and most importantly, on effective communication practices between teachers, parents and their children.

3.2. DEFINITION OF TERMS

In intercultural education literature the terms 'multicultural' and 'intercultural' education have been used both interchangeably and for quite different approaches. Leeman (2003) observes that the documents and reports of UNESCO and the Council of Europe tend to use the term 'intercultural', whereas the OECD and workers in the US, Canada and Australia usually opt for the 'multicultural' term. The underlying principle behind their usage may be found in different interpretations of these terms. In research literature they more often represent different approaches to education, and it is this differentiation that will be used here.

"Multicultural education is neither a well-delineated field, nor a conceptually clear area" (Le Roux, 2001, p.43) thus it should be defined as the philosophical and practical antecedent of intercultural education. While multicultural education is often associated with a "mere approach pertaining to the education offered to various ethnic groups" (Le Roux, 2001, p. 44) and is often considered to be a one-sided, static approach (Leeman, 2003; Gerganov et al., 2005), intercultural education conveys the message that cultures should "have a reciprocal influence on each other within society", and that intercultural education is necessary for both minority and majority groups (Leeman, 2003, p. 32).

The terminological change from multicultural to ICE in the 1980s was due to the fact that the practices and the philosophy behind the multicultural approach were fiercely attacked (Coulby, 2006). First of all because of its "familiar nationalist concern that

school practices and knowledge should embody those of the state and only the state in terms of language(s), religion, culture or values, according to the context" (Coulby, 2006, p.246). Secondly, because multicultural education "did not sufficiently and directly address issues of racism" (Coulby, 2006, p. 246), and provided only a limited and often stereotypical description of different cultures in its programmes. Although the shift from multi to intercultural education did not result in a profound change, it represented a change in thought concerning the education of learners from different cultural backgrounds or, as they are often termed, ethnic minorities.

The main aim of ICE should be to help students learn how to "live in an ethnically and culturally diverse society" on a national and global level (Leeman, 2003, p. 31). Therefore, intercultural education is not a subject which can be taught according to timetable (Le Roux, 2001). Luciak and Khan-Svik (2008) point out that the content of intercultural education often reflects the different interpretations of the concept of 'culture'. The suggestion that getting to know a culture would mean covering topics like habits, customs, or traditions, reflects a functionalist understanding, which would mistakenly imply that culture is stable, and cannot be shaped by individuals and circumstances. Furthermore, it would appear that being the member of a culture is a determining factor which "distinguishes group members from members of other cultural groups in all respects" (Luciak & Khan-Svik, 2008, p. 496). "An information package on other cultures" is less than enough for enabling people to live in an ethnically and culturally diverse society (Leeman, 2003, p.32).

Diversity has to be valued and used as a tool to strengthen classroom dynamics. Unfortunately, as Luciak and Khan-Svik (2008) observe, "the embedded issues of power, justice, and inequality" are often ignored in educational practice though they are essential elements to foster students' understanding "how prejudices and stereotypes develop and to learn to recognize consequences of racism" (p. 497). Luciak (2006) claims that intercultural education will foster diversity if we

- "integrate different perspectives into our teaching rather than always teaching the majority view;

- teach about minority cultures without using an 'us' and 'them' dichotomy;

- avoid nationalistic views that do not take account of cultural diversity;

- allow minority and majority members to take a critical view of their own culture and to recognize its complexities; and

- pinpoint discrimination and social inequalities" (p.79).

To achieve all these requires social insight; insight into prejudices and stereotypes, manipulation of thought, intercultural sensitivity, and intercultural communication skills (Leeman, 2003).

3.3. MINORITIES IN EDUCATION

Before the 1980s, many countries developed multicultural initiatives in education to react to 'problems' within classrooms that were perceived with the presence of increasing number of immigrants. At the beginning, the main focus was to ensure the opportunity for immigrant children to learn the host country's language for the time of their parents' residing and working in the given country (Gundara & Portera, 2008; Luciak & Khan-Svik, 2008). The purpose of this dual approach was to support the preservation of the immigrant children's mother tongue and culture, and at the same time offered the chance to learn the language and culture of the country in which they were expected to live for a certain period of time (Luciak & Khan-Svik, 2008). Gradually, families decided to stay and settle down in the host countries and, for example, in the Netherlands, Austria, France and Britain many of the immigrants and their offspring became nationals or citizens. It soon turned out that this dual approach did not always result in a desirable outcome: neither the children nor their teachers seemed to be able to overcome certain difficulties mainly related to learning and behaviour problems. More and more learners were given the label of "being disadvantaged and issues of difference became constructed as 'deficit'" (Gundara & Portera, 2008, p. 464) instead of being accepted as an asset. As such measures and policies led neither to solving educational problems and conflicts, nor to the improvement of social and economic conditions of minority groups, majority groups' feelings of helplessness in finding solutions led to increasing racism and intolerance in many countries (Gundara & Portera, 2008). The situation called for new initiatives in

educational provision for minority groups. More and more argued for new approaches which would assist changes in societies, and would be suitable to "respond to the increasing trend towards societal heterogeneity and recognition of cultural diversity" (Luciak & Khan-Svik, 2008, p. 494).

For a long time (and it is still in practice in many places in the world) the assimilatory approach seemed to be a solution to the problems of educating ethnic minorities with its focus on learning the host country's culture and language, but as Luciak and Khan-Svik (2008) observe, it was carried out by ignoring the migrant learners' language and culture. Recently the inclusive approach has found favour in many countries, in which institutions ensure that minorities benefit from learning and participation without "surrendering their own cultural identity and language" (Luciak & Khan-Svik, 2008, p. 494). This approach often includes teaching children's mother tongue in schools (Luciak & Khan-Svik, 2008).

Though education is often seen "as a means for promoting equality among different strata, there is little evidence that this is indeed accomplished" (Kalekin-Fishman, 2004, p. 414). Educational attainment is closely related to later success in life but results show that learners' school achievement tends to reflect inequalities found in society and the school as an institution tends to reinforce and enlarge social divisions (Bourdieu, 2003). This produces a sense of failure not only among pupils and their parents, but also among teachers and policy makers (Kalekin-Fishman, 2004). Families see failure at school as a threat to their future hopes, while educators interpret it as a sign of their inadequate professionalism. In response to the situation, educationists have tried to identify the causes of problems and apply remedial procedures.

The most often dealt with issues concerning ethnic minorities in intercultural education literature are:

- *Low achievement in schools* - (Luciak, 2006; Luciak & Khan-Svik, 2008; Leeman, 2003; Andriessen & Phalet, 2002; Foster, 2004; Kalekin-Fishman, 2004; Bhatti, 2006; Kyuchukov, 2000; Cozma et al., 2000; Kurucz, 2004)

- *The school system*- selective school system, the phenomenon of segregation, special schools, (Luciak, 2006; Gerganov et al., 2005; Igarashi, 2005; Havas et al. 2001, 2002; Pik, 1999; Kurucz, 2004; Radó, 2001)

- *Discipline problems, conflict* – (Leeman, 2003; Igarashi, 2005; Cozma et al., 2000)

- *Parental involvement* - lack of communication with parents (Foster, 2004; Gerganov et al., 2005; Igarashi, 2005)

- *Identity* - value conflicts, segregation, first language teaching (Coulby, 2006; Andriessen & Phalet, 2002; Foster, 2004; Bhatti, 2006; Borgulya, 2008; Kyuchukov, 2000; Day Langhout, 2005; Hedegaard, 2005; Katz, 2005; Szabó & Radó, 1993)

- *Negative stereotypes, discrimination* - (Leeman, 2003; Portera, 2004; Gilbert, 2004)

- *Lack of teachers' knowledge about cultures, lack of intercultural communication competence* – teacher training, attitude etc. (Luciak & Khan-Svik, 2008; Le Roux, 2001, 2002; Kyuchukov, 2000; Cozma et al., 2000; Leeman, 2003; Emerson, 1999)

Insights into difficulties faced by intercultural education will help to support my research findings, as well as underpinning my argument for an opening towards intercultural communication as a key to solving these problems.

3.4. UNDERACHIEVEMENT OF MINORITY GROUPS

The problem of the underachievement of certain minority groups or social classes has been a long debated issue. Efforts to find remedies go back to the 1950s, when researchers tried to find the connection between motivation, subculture and education (see Lawton, 1974) as a possible answer concerning the underachievement of lower social classes. Apart from intelligence quotient (IQ) studies (Lawton, 1974), Bernstein's (1971) theoretical frameworks became influential, in which he suggested that children who are exposed to "restricted codes" in their families are at a disadvantage when required to use and take part in interactions (e.g. in schools) where

"elaborated codes" are applied. Furthermore, Bernstein believed that these disadvantages (which are class system specific) are cumulative in adulthood as they have an effect on employment, and finally result in a self-perpetuating cycle. Though Bernstein's theories have been criticised on many grounds, his idea of language disadvantage still offers a model to consider especially if we take language socialisation into account.

Leeman (2003) claims, that the ideological essence of intercultural education generally gets less attention, and is given lower priority than the issue of school achievement. He observes that the reason for the one-sided attitude of the majority is based on the assumption that school achievement is the key to a minority group's more active participation and adjustment to the majority (Leeman, 2003). Leeman's (2003) research in the Netherlands underpins this by claiming that instead of intercultural issues (e.g. inequality, racism, prejudice etc.), it is the equation of "success at school = social success = prejudices disappear = intercultural education is no longer necessary" that is most widely supported (p. 36).

There is extensive research on the factors causing the underachievement of certain minority groups. Some are concerned with school adjustment (Andriessen & Phalet, 2002) others with the socioeconomic status of families (Babusik, 2001; D'Angiullia et al., 2004). John Ogbu's (1978) theory of minority academic school performance often cited as the "cultural-ecological theory" has had a great effect on educational research.[4] "Cultural ecology" is "the study of institutionalized patterns of behavior interdependent with features of the environment" (Ogbu, 1990, as cited in Foster, 2004, p. 369).

Ogbu (1978) differentiates *voluntary minorities* (immigrants) who settle down in a new country in the hope of gaining better opportunities than in their homeland, and *involuntary minorities* (non-immigrants, "caste-like minorities") who were born in the country and still face problems of deprivation, prejudice, and unequal access to public

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[4] Ogbu (1978) in his work analysed the situation of African Americans in the USA

resources. According to Ogbu (1978), children (and parents) of voluntary minorities have a strong belief in the education system (and opportunities in the host country), irrespective of the linguistic, and cultural difficulties they face that are often accompanied by the racist attitude of the majority society. In contrast, involuntary minorities tend to see school as a hotbed of racism and prejudice; they have a strong mistrust of school policies as well as in the dominant society. Ogbu (1999) claims that there are two sets of factors that shape minority students' school adjustment and academic performance:

1. "how society at large and the school treats minorities (i.e. the system), and

2. how minority groups respond to those treatments and to schooling (i.e. community forces)" (as cited in Foster, 2004, p. 369).

"Community forces" can be seen as ways in which minorities interpret the world, and the society around them (their place in it), which include their explanations and responses given to how the majority society treats them. Ogbu (2003) differentiates five community forces that he finds to be influential concerning minority school adjustment and performance and which, he believes, explain the sources of voluntary immigrant learners' better school results. These community forces have implications for my research concerning Roma minorities, so a brief summary and description of these forces are provided bellow.

- *"Frame of educational comparison"*. This means that voluntary minorities compare the educational opportunities of the host country with their original country. "The frame of comparison of non-immigrants are the educational opportunities and benefits available to White Americans" i.e. the majority (Ogbu, 2003, p. 52).

- *"Beliefs about the instrumental value of school credentials"*. Immigrant minorities believe that good education is the key to later success in life. Involuntary minorities doubt that education would promote their getting along in their country. They rather believe in "alternative strategies that require little formal schooling" (Ogbu, 2003, p. 53).

- *"Relationship with the 'system'"*. Though both groups experience conflict and have little trust in the majority society, immigrants are not as "concerned about social and residential segregation" because of – as Ogbu (2003) puts it – their "optimistic, pragmatic attitudes toward schooling" (p. 53). Involuntary groups are believed to be "more concerned with how they are treated or represented in the curriculum" (Ogbu, 2003, p. 53) than with how well-trained and experienced the teachers are. For voluntary minorities teachers are viewed as experts with "the knowledge, skills and language" necessary to succeed in society (p. 53).

- *"Issues of identity, culture, language and ability"*. While voluntary minorities do not tend to feel the threat of losing their culture and language during the process of adjustment, "non-immigrants are suspicious of the intentions of the school curriculum and perceive their collective identity and culture as oppositional" (Hermans, 2004, p. 433).

- *"Educational strategies for achieving in school"*. Voluntary minorities trust schools and teachers and expect their children to meet the school requirements e.g. good results, good behaviour. The educational strategies of non-immigrants, because of the lack of trust, can be characterised by blaming schools and the teachers for their children's school performance. (Ogbu, 2003, pp. 52-55).

Ogbu's cultural ecology theory and the operation of community forces have been criticised because of his generalised depiction of different minority groups. Furthermore, Hermans (2004) and other researchers have found examples which contradict with Ogbu's theory, namely that voluntary minorities would be academically more successful than involuntary minorities. In Belgium or in the Netherlands, children of Moroccan families - who migrated to Europe and thereby considered voluntary immigrants - do not tend to do well in schools. Hermans (2004) in his ethnographic research found that the community forces, which in Ogbu's theory operated for only involuntary groups, were in many ways similar to those effecting Moroccan voluntary minorities. Hermans (2004) states that the reasons for this is that "as long as a minority's community forces are characterized by distrust and opposition, whatever measures the system develops will have little impact" (p. 432).

Ogbu's theory is thought provoking as it goes beyond explaining and examining how schools as institutions operate, and how families of different ethnic minorities relate to them, but finds the roots of problems in the social order. His research provides "a many-stranded contextual analysis of the factors that are likely to undercut children's chances at success in school" (Kalekin-Fishman, 2004, p. 415). The question of what practitioners can do with this knowledge and how effective communication can relieve this conflict remains open in intercultural education research.

3.5. IDENTITY AND CONFLICTING VALUES

Identity is an important concept in research on ethnic minority children's development but as Hedegaard (2005) warns, "it should not be given the status of an explanatory principle for personal development" (p. 193). In spite of this, cultural identity is often seen by schools as a factor that relates the individual to a specific society, its culture and values (Leeman, 2003; Igarashi, 2005; Cozma et al., 2000). Unfortunately, this view can easily lead to associating the person with a specific life style (Malik, 1996, as cited in Hedegaard, 2005, p. 193). Family homes may hold different values and expectations than the school, but as shown in the previous chapter, learning can take place in all social interactions, so different settings should not be problematic if conflicts between practices and value systems are settled in a mutually comforting way. Hedegaard (2005) claims that conflict between school and home can affect children's motives and identity, both crucial for his or her personality development. "Motives are related to persons' dynamic relations with social others, while cultural identity pertains to the individual's relationship with one or more societies or social settings, complete with institutional practices, values and traditions" (Hedegaard, 2005, p. 192). Hedegaard (2005) examines value positions in both school (e.g. everyday practice) and the family traditions of Turkish immigrants in Denmark. She observes that expectations for children's work both in home and at school are closely related to "value positions connected to different traditions" (p. 188). For example, some families do not allow their children to go to camps and are reluctant to approve P.E. lessons. The Turkish immigrants' value positions become associated with both the Danish and the Turkish forms of life. Hedegaard (2005) finds that Turkish families have "their own community and family practice, which distinguishes from the

imagined Danish life form and from the imagined Turkish life form in Turkey" (p. 188). How the knowledge of the Danish form of life is constructed is partly based on imagination and mostly on experience. As a consequence of maintaining their own cultural values, young people constantly feel that they are perceived as foreigners and often feel stigmatised because of their Turkish background, in spite of the fact that they have grown up in Denmark and they show "no sign of opposition to Danish culture" (Hedegaard, 2005, p. 194).

The experience of being perceived negatively as an ethnic person may generate repression and opposition, as pointed out by Day Langhout (2005). A study carried out in a school in Woodson (Kansas, USA) tried to find out how schools attempt to make different ethnic groups "invisible". Day Langhout (2005) examines the different forms of resistance; verbal, non-verbal, symbolic, facilitative, or oppositional etc. children practice in reaction to feeling that their identities are threatened by other's control of their values, goals or assumptions. As a result of the oppressive attitude of the school towards African-American and working class students, for example, as well as the dominant narratives based on stereotypes and discrimination, she concludes that teachers will constantly face and struggle with discipline and behaviour problems as the children resist these pressures. Because of the attitude of the school, the children either become withdrawn or belligerent, which both affect how they make their way later in society (Day Langhout, 2005).

However, conflict does not only stem from different value positions or resistant behaviour but also from the majority's persistent negative view of ethnic minorities, even in cases where the younger generation is ready to accept values of their host country. Bhatti's (2006) study examines the situation of the South Asian ethnic groups in the UK and finds that clashing perspectives and attitudes make the two-way communication between school and families impossible. On one hand, parents want an education for their children that prepares them for the British job market, while on the other hand they want to maintain their traditions which may seem old-fashioned, but which represent values "built on knowledge passed on from generation" to generation (Bhatti, 2006, p. 138). The striking finding of Bhatti's work is that young people, who would be willing to accept and adjust to different "forms of life", are left alone to cope

with the puzzled feelings of belonging to their own and at the same time to the majority group. They get stuck between their parents' expectations and their teachers' perception of them, the latter based mainly on how teachers constructed their knowledge and assumptions about their parents and their culture as a whole.

3.5.1. First language use

There are several factors that determine whether the language of an ethnic minority survives or decays "in the context of more prestigious languages" (Giles & Franklin-Stokes, 1995, p. 118). The pressure of acculturation, the low political, social, and economic status, and poor institutional support for mother tongue preservation, all tend to condemn ethnic minority languages to extinction (Giles & Franklin-Stokes, 1995). There may be mobilising forces on side of minorities to maintain their own language which are manifested in either refusing to accommodate to the language of the dominant group, or in 'failure' to become proficient in the dominant group's language (which is due to the reluctance to manifest characteristics of the dominant group) (Giles & Franklin-Stokes, 1995). Another form of resistance can be diglossia; for example, different usage of "Standard" and "Black" English in public or in home settings (Rubin, 1986). These are sociolinguistic actions conducted on behalf of preserving ethnic language and identity, which have been the focus of much research on second language learning (Giles & Johnson 1987; Gardner, 1985; Lambert, 1974; Garner & Rubin, 1986). However, in some settings, the more pressing need for economic survival dictates that the minority language becomes hidden (i.e. not used in public). Similarly, there are cases when people face pressures to deethnicise their discourse before higher-power position (see Banks, 1987), or when second and third generations assimilate to such an extent that their speech sounds identical to the dominant language (Giles & Bourhis, 1976 on West Indians in Britain). Some argue that ethnic identity and language are so intertwined that "loss of the ethnic language can lead to cultural suicide" (Giles & Franklin-Stokes, 1995, p. 118; see also Fishman, 1977), while others question this correlation between language and identity, claiming that the loss of the former does not necessarily occur at the expense of the other (Edwards, 1985).

However, when children's mother tongue development is at stake, there is much more to consider. The 29[5] article of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989)[5] states that the education of the child shall be directed to "The development of respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity, language and values, for the national values of the country in which the child is living, the country from which he or she may originate, and for civilizations different from his or her own".

As for mother tongue learning, its realisation varies within countries and according to which minority is concerned. For example, in the case of Roma minorities, schools and the majority at large seem to be reluctant to accept Roma language teaching in schools (Cozma et al., 2000; Igarashi, 2005; Kyuchukov, 2000), while some countries, for example Finland, follow the policy of representing the minority group's presence (in this case Swedish) by teaching its language as the first compulsory foreign language (Coulby, 2006). Still, even in Finland, as Coulby (2006) notes, there are other minorities (recent immigrant groups) whose languages, history or culture are not part of the curriculum. In her overview of ethnic minorities' situation in Britain, Bhatti (2006) posits that although there was a considerable effort taken in the 1980s by the Government to provide mother tongue instruction for minority children such as South Asians, these lessons were mainly limited to after school activities, and after a while both focus and funding of these programmes faded away. In response, South Asian communities have organised their own language classes in mosques, which again may lead "children to feel that their home languages are not accepted in schools" (p. 138).

Similarly, Denmark used to have a policy of providing native language instruction to all migrants, however in 2002 local municipalities became obliged to offer this kind of instruction only to pupils coming from certain countries e.g. members of the European Union (Luciak, 2006). Possible reasons for these failures in native language instruction could be the low level of teacher training, the lack of native teachers (Luciak, 2006; Kyuchukov, 2000) and as Bhatti (2006) observes that "bilingualism is not always seen as an asset by monolingual teachers" (p. 137).

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[5] http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/crc.htm

3.5.2. Segregation or integration

Prejudicial attitudes and practices are embedded in societies and are very difficult to change (Gilbert, 2004). Macpherson's (1999) definition of institutional racism has been used as a starting point in constructing anti-discrimination policies in many organisations and schools. He identified institutional racism as:

"The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their skin colour, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in the processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people" (as cited in Gilbert, 2004, pp. 254-55).

Closely related to the issue of identity is the organisation of education for migrants and ethnic minorities within the school system which can be realised in segregation, assimilation and integration. Segregated schools can be seen as the result of inappropriate educational provision. Luciak (2006) discerns five types of segregation:

1. "intra-class segregation" (differentiation within a class)

2. "intra-school segregation" (separating minority groups or classes for remedial purposes)

3. "inter-school segregation" (predominantly rural schools becoming segregated due to segregation of ethnic groups)

4. "inter-school segregation" (different school systems: mainstream and special schools)

5. "inter-school segregation caused by organizing private, foundation or faith schools in addition to the State school system" (p. 76).

Luciak (2006) finds that despite every effort to "improve schooling of minorities and to introduce intercultural education", there is still a "trend towards segregation" (p. 77). Segregation in some instances can be interpreted as voluntary separation of minority groups, e.g. Hungarian minorities' educational separation to avoid

assimilation in Romania, or the establishment of the Gandhi Secondary School in Hungary with the purpose of cultivating talented Roma students. Although educational success in the above cases does not depend on integration, as Katz (2005) notes, these separate systems do not promote intercultural dialogue and understanding.

As Hedegaard (2005) claims, identity is a key to children's personal development which can be promoted by ensuring children's feelings of belonging to the group they share common values with and get positive reinforcement from. In striving for belonging to a group which is actually rejectionist, many valuable assets can be lost; one's culture with its traditions and values, language, and most importantly one's identity. A real integrative approach to education would suppose mutual acceptance of each other's cultures, and an awareness that people can belong to various social categories at the same time (Forray, 1997). A supportive school environment can provide the basis for changing attitudes and handling prejudice and discrimination. Teachers can be the key factors of this long lasting process.

3.6. TEACHERS

The attitudes, values and commitments of classroom teachers can be identified as among the most essential factors governing the progress, problems and prospects of intercultural education (Banks & Lynch, 1986). A teacher's effectiveness within a classroom of culturally diverse students and in teaching multicultural curriculum content is directly correlated with the quality of their professional preparation for this task (Le Roux, 2001). Yet despite the fact that school populations are becoming increasingly diverse, the "predominantly white middle-class teaching force" is proving ill-equipped to cope with this fact (Le Roux, 2001, p. 46). Many researchers argue that teacher training programmes neglect or ignore diversity issues in formal education with only a few exceptions (Le Roux, 2001; Luciak, 2006; Etxeberria, 2002; Luciak & Khan-Svik, 2008). This fundamental failing on the part of professional training in education is often obvious to the teachers themselves, who recognise the gap "between their own life experiences" and the "cultural backgrounds of most of their students" (Le Roux, 2001, p. 45). However, regardless of this awareness, teachers prove only prepared to change their methods when short-term results are guaranteed, and even

then, to only make alterations that are compatible with their personal ideas, and which are suited to solving problems that they have experienced themselves (Leeman, 2003).

Confronted by educators with a limited understanding of their situation, students are unable to develop a sense of trust in their teachers. While it is true that a teacher who actively opposes discrimination in the classroom will win the respect of their pupils, in cases where the classroom environment is one of distrust, discrimination is mistakenly attributed by both students and parents as the cause of the student's low grades and behavioural problems (Gerganov et al., 2005). The Roma tend to be particularly vulnerable to this rationale, as it supports the prevalent belief that the majority of the Roma's negative experiences can be directly attributed to racism and societal misunderstandings (Etxeberria, 2002). Rather than recognising their own culpability, both parents and teachers are more inclined to find faults in each other's attitudes: the Roma parents' tendency to shift all negative responsibility to the teachers is reciprocated by the teachers themselves, who tend to accept the stereotype that Roma parents have little to no interest in their children's academic progress, and are unwilling to cooperate with schools (Domingez, 1999). Without a sense of mutual trust, parental involvement remains limited, and without the essential interactions, a severe lack of communication develops between the teachers and guardians (Etxeberria, 2002).

The breach between teachers and parents may stem from misdirected culpability, but its consequences are far reaching. Not only does the lack of communication between the two groups discourage parental involvement among the ethnic minorities, but it even succeeds in broadening the gap between the parents' and teachers' perceptions of one another's roles in the problem (Hughes & Kwok, 2007). As isolated groups, both parents and teachers are able to consolidate their conflicting views and fuel one another's: the teachers' maintain that the parents are uninterested in participating at school and do not value their children's educations (Etxeberria, 2002; Hermans, 2004), and as both a cause and a consequence, minority parents feel uncomfortable at schools until eventually their involvement is reduced to compulsory meetings with principals and teachers about the problems faced by their children such as the inability to "keep up in class, hygiene issues" etc. (Fernandez, 2006). In such cases the parents'

experiences of school are purely negative ones, and often communication on such contentious issues serves to "widen the gulf between parents and the school" (Fernandez, 2006, p. 377) rather than mend it.

In a survey conducted by Domingez (1999), 83.5% of teachers claimed that all parents should participate in school activities, but made a distinction between involvement and intrusion when 45.9% strongly agreed that parents should not interfere with the actions of the teacher. Several other distinctions are also held; parental involvement is said to take the form of volunteer work, assistance with homework and attending school functions, while the parent-teacher relationship is characterised by the levels of respect, mutuality, warmth and trust demonstrated between the two groups (Vickers & Minke, 1995). Further advantages of a good relationship between the parents and teachers can be seen during a child's early school adjustment period, and leads to children exhibiting higher levels of emotional, social and behavioural development, (Hughes & Kwok, 2007) as well as increased academic engagement and achievement over the course of their school careers. These forms of academic socialisation include changes in parental expectation as families become more involved in their children's lives at school. It has been found that the expectations of parents concerning their children's attainment can have an important influence on subsequent academic achievement (Hill & Craft, 2003), and as such provide a good example of the importance of communication, trust and respect between parents and teachers.

After elaborating upon these crucial aspects, the situation of the Roma as an ethnic minority will be outlined. Though this chapter aims to portray the conditions of ethnic minorities in education in general, the Roma people are the main participants of my research, and as such it may be helpful to explore their past and present situation in education.

3.7. THE ROMA ETHNIC MINORITY

The number of European Roma is estimated to be about 7-9 million people (Liegeois, 1994, as cited in Ringold, 2001). Around 70 per cent of the European Roma population live in Central and Eastern Europe, and in some countries within the region, the

percentage of self-described Roma exceeds 5 per cent (Ringold, 2001, p. 21). The estimated figures show that concerning the population density of Roma residents in 38 European countries, Hungary lies in the fourth place (7%), after Romania, Bulgaria and Spain (Katz, 2005; Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2004). However, this number is largely dependent on the methods by which data is gathered; for example in the census of 2001, around 190,000 people[6] identified themselves as Roma, despite the sociologists' estimate placing the Roma population at 500.000 people (Radó, 2001). The former number is considered to be an underestimate since many Roma do not want to be identified publicly (Forray & Mohácsi, 2002). The reason for this reluctance may lie in the Roma's subjection to distrust, rejection, and other forms of discrimination within their communities. Findings related to negative attitudes towards the Roma in Central Europe reinforce this hypothesis (European Values Study (EVS),[7] Open Society Roma Initiatives, 2005)[8].

Posavec and Hrvatic (2000) identify two characteristic forms of coexistence that have led to the current situation of the Roma: (1) "if they have lived in a relatively isolated and separated rural (or suburban) settlement, they tend to have preserved their national and cultural self-awareness, but have been left permanently underdeveloped and impoverished in comparison with the rest of the population; (2) in those instances where they have coexisted or intermarried with the majority population, they have gradually lost their specific ethnic identity through the process of assimilation, but they have been able to significantly improve their standard of living" (p. 93). As a consequence of this separation and assimilation, the majority still know little about the Roma language, culture or history and the same lack of knowledge characterises "assimilated" Roma students as well (Kyuchukov, 2000). Kyuchukov (2000) after examining the mainstream curriculum in Bulgaria concluded that:

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[6] http://www.nepszamlalas.hu/hun/kotetek/kotetek.html

[7] www.europeanvalues.nl

[8] Attitudinal Study of Roma and non-Roma Citizens in Central Europe 2005. Countries involved: Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Hungary, Macedonia, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia. Source: http://www.soros.org/initiatives/roma/focus/matching

- "nothing is written about the Roma and their history in history textbooks;

- nothing is written about the Roma and their influence on world music and culture in music textbooks;

- nothing is written about Roma writers and the influence of Roma on world literature in literature textbooks" (p. 276).

It can be assumed that similar tendencies would be found in many Eastern and Central European countries. Kyuchukov (2000) concludes that "the Roma and their culture are invisible in the textbooks that the majority of children read" (Kyuchukov, 2000, p. 276).

The problems most often mentioned in research literature in connection with educating Roma children seem to be universal, the source of which may be the common history of the Roma throughout different countries of Europe (e.g. Bulgaria, Romania, Czech Republic, Hungary, and Croatia etc.). In the communist era, the education system claimed to ensure equal access to education for all, which in reality meant that Roma culture and traditions were not respected and that the "Gypsy question" was considered "a social problem rather than a minority issue" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2004, p.3). A decree issued in 1961 by the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party declared that:

"Policy directed at the Gypsy population shall start from the principle that despite certain ethnographical characteristics they do not constitute a nationality." "Many people see this as a minority issue and recommend developing the 'Gypsy language' and setting up Gypsy-language schools and colleges, Gypsy agricultural cooperatives, etc. These views are not only mistaken but also harmful as they preserve the segregation of Gypsies and slow down their integration into society" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2004, pp. 3-4).

The communist philosophy of 'equality' was realised in a unified educational school system which required compulsory schooling and standardised worldviews. Though the increased enrolment reduced illiteracy among Roma (Igarashi, 2005), this assimilatory view emphasised standardisation and deeply affected disciplinary measures in schools; it did not tolerate children's different attitudes, beliefs, and

deviant behaviour (Igarashi, 2005). As a consequence, "individual differences were regarded as deficits or defects" (Igarashi, 2005, p. 444) and the use of special schools (although originally they were established to cater for children with disabilities) to address these problems became widespread. Ringold (2000) claims that this (the establishment of special schools) is "one of the most damaging legacies of the socialist era for the education of Roma", as "it has resulted in the continuous exclusion of Roma children from mainstream education" (as cited in Igarashi, 2005, p. 444).

The high ratio of Roma children in remedial special schools is still a phenomenon in many countries despite having nothing to do with the capability of Romani children (Kurucz, 2004). Special schools form just one type of segregation in the education system. Learning difficulties and discipline problems are often reasons cited for schools to exclude Roma students and give them private student status. Those who exit the education system have almost no chance returning to it (Kurucz, 2004). Research focusing on schools attended by a high percentage of Roma children found that segregation may take form spontaneously and unintentionally where the proportion of Roma children in school is the consequence of majority children being withdrawn to other schools (Kurucz, 2004, Havas et al., 2001, 2002). More Roma students are often perceived to present more conflict and difficulties for majority parents and teachers alike, so in many rural schools in Hungary, this kind of segregation tendency seems to be a rather irreversible process.

Case studies on Roma minorities in Czech Republic, Bulgaria, Croatia and Romania examined the effects of integration on learners and their parents, and the factors which can undermine the successful implementation of intercultural education. Gerganov and his colleagues (2005) conducted comparative research in two schools following the implementation of a desegregation programme in Bulgaria in 2001. They examined the adaptation processes of Roma children in a homogeneous Roma school run by the local Roma organization and in an ethnically mixed school. In the structured interviews, children's self-efficacy and self-esteem, attitudes towards the school, behavioural management, cognitive engagement and future goals, optimism, and peer relationships were examined. Roma children were found to adapt better in school when they study in ethnically mixed classes with the support of a Roma teacher assistant.

Roma children in mixed classes showed greater independence and were more cooperative in class and benefited from the "dynamics of mastering and performing different roles" (Gerganov et al., 2005, p. 504).

Igarashi (2005) conducted an ethnographic case study at two primary schools in the Czech Republic. Both schools offered support programmes for Roma students but the underlying beliefs and practices were different. One school was a Roma community school, the other an old school with a large percentage of Romani students. Igarashi's (2005) examination of the rationale behind the schools' policies and their practical realisation has interesting implications. In the community school, Roma teaching assistants, in partnership with the Roma community, implemented Roma culture and history to the curriculum and successfully promoted children's positive attitude to school. Teachers were aware of the importance of building trust, and they were concerned of the school's protective yet segregated environment. The principle in the other school was not to provide any specific measures for the Roma students. Equal education was understood by the practice of treating Roma as non-Roma. Though practically there was almost no contact between school and families, Roma parents evaluated the school's non-differential policy positively (Igarashi, 2005, p. 449). Parents in both schools were concerned about their children's education, but they tended to be indifferent to their children's studies of Roma culture and they were uncommitted towards the Romani language. Students shared their parents' opinions.

This strong intention of integration in the majority society was shown in the study of Cozma et al. (2000) in Romania. The research aimed to understand how Roma children perceive school and how ethnic Romanian and Roma children perceived each other in that school environment. The findings showed that more than half of the Roma children did not want to attend an all-Roma school or learn Romani, while 70% of the Romanians thought the Roma should have their own institutions.

Seemingly Roma students approve of the idea of attending integrated schools but support for this is lacking on part of the majority. The attitudes of Croatian high school students were investigated in the frames of an empirical study in Croatia (Posavec & Hrvatic, 2000). The topics focused on in the study were: values, national stereotypes, the acceptance of different cultural behaviours, and the "desired social distance" to

certain national and ethnic groups, religions etc. (Posavec & Hrvatic, 2000, p. 101). One subpart of the study was to gain insight into stereotypes regarding Roma and the desired social distance from them. Findings showed that negative stereotypes about Roma people prevailed with the exception of the positive stereotype that the Roma are resourceful (71.6% agreed with this statement) (Posavec & Hrvatic, 2000, p. 101). The results again demonstrated the widespread negative attitude toward the Roma.

The disadvantaged status of the Roma is also reflected in their school achievement. Furthermore, Kurucz (2004) points at issues such as the high drop-out rate, and the extremely low number of Roma students studying in secondary schools and universities. Hungarian sociological research claims that the above mentioned problems are consequences of several factors. Pre-school education in kindergartens, rural underdevelopment, the low expectations of teachers, and discriminative attitudes can be crucial factors contributing to the failure of Roma children in schools (Kertesi & Kézdi, 1996; Radó, 2001; Babusik 2001; Havas et al., 2001, 2002). The limited involvement of Roma parents in their children's school activities, the "parents' general apathy towards their children's schooling" (Fernandez, 2006, p. 376) and a lack of cooperation and communication between the school and the family (Posavec & Hrvatic, 2000) are also frequently mentioned problems.

The issue of retaining Roma culture and in particular teaching and learning Romani seems to be even more controversial. Though there are well supported arguments for mother tongue language instruction, for instance that introducing Romani language into schools would "make the educational process more interesting and attractive for Roma children (Kyuchukov, 2000, p. 275) and the scientific evidence is that supporting mother tongue development would promote second language acquisition (Cummins, 1981), studies have shown that in many countries not only the representatives of the majority group but also Roma people tend to question the necessity of learning Romani in schools. The reason for this may lie in the lack of value attributed to Roma language in succeeding in society. Research in Bulgaria (Kyuchukov, 2000; Gerganov et al., 2005), Czech Republic (Igarashi, 2005), Romania (Cozma et al., 2000) have found the same results. One student taking part in Igarashi's (2005) case study expressed this the following way:

"My father wants us to belong to white people. So he never taught us *Cikansky*. He does not see the value of being Roma in Czech society. My father has been unemployed. He speaks Czech with a Roma accent and every time he applies for a job he is told that the position has already been filled. I know my father left school after the sixth grade but he behaves as if he were a university graduate. He can't get a job because he is Roma. Learning Romany is useless. Why do I have to learn about Roma culture or history?" (p. 450)

As described above, policies towards Roma have for a long time been policies of negating their culture and existence as a group. These policies have taken a variety of forms (from exclusion to assimilation) and resulted in the present conditions. Posavec & Hrvatic (2000) conclude that "the existence of prejudice, and negative attitudes toward Roma, as well as the limited knowledge of Roma culture and lifestyle are some of the reasons for the failures to improve the educational level of Roma children" (p. 104).

There are human and cultural costs of long lasting discrimination. Many Roma seem to be willing to sacrifice their language and culture for the sake of being treated and perceived as equal. The question is to what extent schools as institutions are responsible for this happening.

3.8. SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

This chapter has argued that intercultural education is strongly recommended for all schools irrespective of whether they deal with children of multicultural background or are seemingly homogeneous. However, as it has been shown, effective intercultural education does not mean only teaching and learning about other cultures, but it involves concepts like discrimination, prejudice, inequalities and awareness of others' values, feelings, beliefs and attitudes. Despite steps being taken from the assimilatory view towards integration, most countries continue to find it difficult to cope with some of the issues that diversity presents. Underachievement of minorities, discipline problems, and a lack of parental involvement have been found to be crucial problems, the solutions of which are often hindered by the organisation of the school system,

teachers' inappropriate training, negative stereotypes and discrimination, and a conflict of values between school and home.

"The policies, practices and perspectives of the prevailing dominant culture influence educational content and approach" (Le Roux, 2002, p. 37). Minorities' culture must not be sacrificed for the sake of maintaining the dominant culture as has been the case for Roma in many countries. Intercultural education programmes should aim at boosting the self-esteem of minorities, as pride in one's identity and strong affiliation to a group or groups would motivate students to become more successful. This would promote the final goal of eradicating prejudice (Banks, 1981).

The problems have been identified, but the question raised in the introductory part of this chapter has not been answered in its entirety. One crucial aspect concerning the practical handling of these sensitive issues seems to be lacking from intercultural education research as a whole, and that is the role of communication. Effective teaching and learning in classrooms can be achieved through effective communication (Le Roux, 2002). Successful intercultural communication would promote intercultural knowledge and mutual acceptance (Le Roux, 2002). In contrast, miscommunication can be a source of frustration, lack of parental involvement, conflict, and underachievement. Thus effective education presupposes effective communication skills from teachers, parents and students as well. Teachers therefore have to "be sensitive to the potentially problematic outcomes of intercultural communication" (Le Roux, 2002, p. 37) and this entails an adequate knowledge of the intercultural communication process. Though Coulby (2006) argues for the need for dialogue between social sciences and intercultural education research to be reinforced both thematically and theoretically, the field appears to ignore the findings of intercultural communication research. My assumption is that intercultural communication research can contribute to more efficient communication between parents, students and teachers.

CHAPTER 4.
INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

4.1. INTRODUCTION

At the end of the previous chapter I argued that the solution to the difficulties faced by intercultural education; identity and value conflict, integration of minority students, underachievement, and lack of cooperation with parents is largely dependent on communication. The aim of this chapter is to investigate to what extent communication presents challenges for participants from different cultures, and examine how intercultural communication (ICC) research approaches these issues. This will be achieved through studying inquiries of ICC research in general, then discussing theories relevant to intercultural education in particular based on certain criteria. Before discussing the issue of values, identity, trust and conflict in intercultural communication theories, an examination of the systems of beliefs and practices that guide the field of study is crucial. This will help support the argument for applying qualitative research in my study.

4. 2. DEFINITION OF TERMS

There are different approaches to researching culture and communication, among them: international, developmental, cross-cultural, and intercultural. International, intercultural and development communication inquiries have developed as separate but interrelated areas of research. The tie that binds the three areas of research together is that each is concerned with the interrelationship between communication and culture (Asante & Gudykunst, 1995). International communication has been used to refer to the study of mediated communication, comparative mass communication systems, and to the study of communication between national governments (Jandt, 1998); while development communication is "the application of communication with the goal of furthering socioeconomic development" (Rogers, 1995, p. 67). Nowadays the terms transnational and transcultural communication have become more widespread in response to globalisation and increasingly multicultural societies, which have

challenged the traditionally established monolingual communication standpoint, and offered new perspectives on researching multilingual communication, code-switching or applied communication strategies (Block, 2004; Sandra, 2001). The fields of research most relevant for this work, however, are those described as cross-cultural and intercultural communication.

The concepts of intercultural communication and cross-cultural communication reflect the two major areas of ICC research. Because they are related to one another and share all but a prefix they are often used as synonyms but they are not interchangeable terms.

The term 'cross-cultural' traditionally means a comparison of certain phenomena across cultures (Gudykunst & Kim, 1984; Jandt, 1998), for example, "comparing and contrasting the communication patterns of people of one culture with the communication patterns observed in people from a different culture" (Levine et al., 2007, p. 208). This approach is grounded in terms of nations, and tends to treat cultures as stable, static (or at least slowly changing) phenomena (Topcu, 2005). Its research methodology tends to apply standardised tests in which findings are statistically analysed and compared and general, universal conclusions are drawn (Levine et al. 2007). Cross-cultural research is often criticised for working with definitions and constructs which are not equally valid across each of the cultures compared, and for the way it interprets the effect of culture. Culture in research is often seen as the "main effect" on communication (i.e. direct cause for observed differences) instead of as a "moderator" (i.e. exists for a "relationship between culture and a variable") (Levine et al., 2007, pp. 210-211).

Stewart (1973) defines intercultural communication as "communication under conditions of cultural differences" (p. 13). A more current view holds that "intercultural communication generally involves face-to-face communication between people from different national cultures" (Gudykunst & Mody, 2002, p. ix). These rather broad definitions have initiated two issues being discussed among scholars: firstly, whether cultures should be seen and studied as abstract entities with clear boundaries; and secondly, whether there is enough evidence for putting such a great emphasis on differences between intercultural and intracultural communication.

Lin Ma (2003) argues that definitions of intercultural communication easily and mistakenly imply that individuals from different cultures would be dissimilar simply because of the difference of their cultures. She notes that every communication involves the elements of uniqueness and difference whether intracultural or intercultural. Furthermore, she argues that it is wrong to assume that cultural difference would affect the pragmatic success of communicative interaction between participants (Ma, 2003). [9]

Undoubtedly there is a certain universality of people and situations, since it is the elements of similarity that enable people to communicate as well as they do. That is why most theorists in ICC claim not to view this intercultural-intracultural communication difference as a qualitative one; but instead aim to define the nature of divergence. Gudykunst and Kim (1984) argue that though the variables influencing intracultural and intercultural communication are the same, in certain situations some variables have a greater impact on the communication than in others. Sarbaugh (1988) claims that the differences lie in "those of prescribed or accepted ways to deal with the physical survival needs and accepted or prescribed ways of relating to other people in the activities of surviving together" (p.28). He assumes that "as the level of interculturalness increases, the energy required to communicate increases, and the likelihood of achieving the intended outcome decreases" (1988, p. 30). Sarbaugh (1988) views the degree of 'interculturalness' as being dependent "on the degree of heterogeneity" between the experiential backgrounds of individuals (as cited in Kim, 1988, p. 13). Throughout this dissertation the nature of intercultural communication will be seen as a question of perception (Niedermüller, 1996), and will be defined as "a

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[9] Ma's argument stands mainly on the grounds of language philosophy, especially that of Wittgenstein. Her paper criticises intercultural communication theories along three dimensions; claiming that ICC theories generally treat cultures as abstract entities, most scholars still base their theories on the code model and they have a mechanistic view of communication, and finally questions the thesis that 'language and cultures are intertwined'.

contact between persons who identify themselves as distinct from one another in cultural terms" (Collier & Thomas, 1988, p. 100). Thus the emphasis will be put on how people construe one another and to what extent this construction affects their communication behaviour. It will be argued that this largely depends on the context and individuals themselves.

4.3. THEORIES OF INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

If theory construction is determined by how research attempts to "describe, understand and explain a certain social phenomenon" (Boeije, 2010, p. 5), then theories "are nets cast to catch what we call the "world": to rationalize, to explain, to master it. We endeavour to make the mesh ever finer and finer" (Popper, 1968, as cited in Gudykunst & Nishida, 1995, p.17). Dubin (1969) claims that theories have two distinct goals in science: first to understand and then to predict the phenomena being studied. In prediction the focus of attention is on outcome, while understanding constitutes processes of interaction among variables in a system. All theoretical perspectives in intercultural communication strive for understanding; however, researchers tend to interpret what constitutes 'understanding' in different ways (Gudykunst & Nishida, 1995). This tendency is manifested in various approaches to and different forms of theory construction resulting in diverse goals, and a focus on levels of analysis.

4.3.1. Metatheoretical grounding

Gudykunst and Nishida (1995) claim that "the assumptions theorists make regarding social science are a function of the paradigms they use" (p.18). By paradigms Kuhn (1970) means "accepted examples of actual scientific practice – examples which include law, theory, application, and instrumentation together – provide models from which spring particular coherent traditions of scientific research" (p.10). "Paradigms reflect issues related to the nature of social reality and to the nature of knowledge" (Boeije, 2010, p. 6). The paradigm referred to as ontology investigates "whether the social world is regarded as something external to individuals or as something that people are in the process of fashioning" (Boeije, 2010, p. 6). Epistemology - the nature of knowledge - is "concerned with whether there is one single route to truth or that diverse methods are needed to grasp the meaning of social experience" (Boeije, 2010,

p.6). Based on these metatheoretical assumptions regarding the nature of science and society, theories tend to be categorised mainly along two dimensions; objectivist and subjectivist (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). Burrell and Morgan (1979) present these two basic positions on four issues (ontology, epistemology, human nature and methodology) as dichotomies. This distinction (see Table 4.1.) has been argued by many scholars as presenting statements that are too extreme (Deetz, 1996; Willmott, 1993; Gudykunst & Nishida, 1995), suggesting that it is more sensible to view them as the end points of continuums (Gudykunst & Nishida, 1995, p.18).

SUBJECTIVE APPROACH	OBJECTIVE APPROACH
Ontology:	
Nominalism: There is no "real" world external to individual; "names", "concepts", and "labels" are artificial and used to construct reality.	Realism: There is a "real" world external to the individual; things exist, even if they are not perceived and labelled.
Epistemology:	
Antipositivism: Communication can only be understood from the perspective of the individual communicators; no search for underlying regularities.	Positivism: Attempts to explain and predict patterns of communication by looking for regularities and/or causal relationships.
Human nature:	
Voluntarism: Communicators are completely "autonomous" and have "free will."	Determinism: Communication is "determined" by the "situation" or "environment" in which it occurs.
Methodology:	
Ideographic: To understand communication, "firsthand knowledge" must be attained; analysis of subjective accounts.	Nomothetic: Research should be based on systematic protocols and scientific rigor.

Table 4.1. Burrell and Morgan's assumptions about the nature of social science (1979, pp. 3-7 presented in Gudykunst & Nishida, 1995, p. 19).

In intercultural communication theories three major scientific approaches are differentiated; positivist, humanist and systems (Kim, 1988; Jiang, 2006).[10] A positivist approach generally takes a realist position related to ontology, saying that there is a "real" world external to individuals" (Gudykunst, 2005b, p. 62). Reality is seen as singular and objective, independent of the knower. Research is required to be based on scientific rigour, and should aim at explaining and predicting patterns of communication by finding "regularities" and "causal" relationships (Gudykunst, 2005b, p. 62). Positivists assume that practical reasoning and pragmatic logic helps scholars simplify and predict or "even manage real phenomena" (Jiang, 2006, p. 410). The objectivist perspective believes that behaviour is determined by the situation or environment, and 'culture' is treated as an independent variable which impacts behaviour, beliefs and values (Burrell & Morgan 1979; Topcu, 2005). Theories constructed by the objectivist approach are thought to be best developed deductively and incrementally (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The task of researchers is to systematically propose then test explanations based on existing, verified knowledge (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

The subjective approach challenges positivist notions by claiming that "there is no 'real' world external to the individual" (Gudykunst, 2005b, p. 62) as "concepts' and 'labels' are artificial and used to construct reality" (Gudykunst & Nishida, 1995, p. 19). The subjective approach does not strive to reveal underlying regularities and causal relationships; it tries to "understand the nature of the phenomenon as it unfolds" (Jiang, 2006, p. 411).

Realities are seen to be "socially constructed by and between human beings in their expressive and interpretive practices", thus communication as well as behaviour can be understood from the perspective of the individual (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002, p. 11). The interpretive approach mainly focuses on the "historical meaning of experience and its

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[10] The terms "objectivist", or "positivist" are distinct yet related labels to research as they are usually characterised along the same dimensions (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002), so these terms will be used interchangeably as will the terms; "subjectivist", "interpretivist" or "humanist".

developmental cumulative effects" at social and individual levels (Kim, 1988, p. 17). "Knowledge of social realities is constructed from the interdependent nature of researcher and researched" (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002, p.11). The analysis of subjective accounts, experience and deep understanding of human actions and their motives are the focus of research. Guided by these goals, theorists endeavour to maintain the original context of the situation with the participants involved. That is why "knowledge is gained through prolonged immersion and extensive dialogues practised in actual social settings" (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002, p.11). As a consequence, theories are developed inductively by testing "tentative explanations" (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002, p.11).

As for the aims, the objectivist tradition tends to emphasise the goal of prediction, while the subjective approach focuses on the goal of understanding (Kim, 1988). Objectivists argue that the purpose of social science is to develop "universal generalisations", subjectivists, in contrast, claim that social scientists should understand specific instances and not generalise across cases (Geertz, 1973; Gudykunst & Nishida, 1995, p.19).

The objective/subjective dichotomy is present in communication research as well as in psychology and sociology. When these two approaches to theory are contrasted with approaches to cross-cultural research, the objective approach often seems to be equated with "etic" cross-cultural research and the subjective approach, with "emic" research (Gudykunst & Nishida, 1995, p. 19).[11]

Brislin (1983) argues that this distinction should be used rather as a metaphor for culture specific (emic) and culture-general (etic) approaches (as cited in Gudykunst & Nishida, 1995, p. 20). Berry (1980) presents a summary of the distinction as follows:

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[11] The distinction between emic and etic approaches to cross-cultural research goes back to Pike's (1966) discussion of phonetics (vocal utterances that are universal) and phonemics (culturally specific vocal utterances).

EMIC	ETIC
studies behavior from within the system	studies behavior for a position outside the system
examines only one culture	examines many cultures, comparing them
structure discovered by the analyst	structure created by the analyst
criteria are relative to internal characteristics	criteria are considered absolute or universal

Table 4.2. Berry's summary of the etic-emic distinction. (in Gudykunst & Nishida, 1995, p. 20).

An etic approach to research assumes that there are universal types of problems people have to face and solve throughout the world. The aim is to compare cultures based on categories of universal behaviour in an attempt to draw patterns of similarities and differences across and between cultures. More specifically, etic constructs consist of accounts, descriptions, and analyses that are considered to be meaningful and appropriate by scientific observers, so the revealed constructs must meet the criteria of being precise, logical, replicable, and observer independent (Brislin, 2000; Yeganeh et al., 2004). In contrast, emic research is generally subjective in nature and considers members of different cultures as unique. It claims that cultural phenomena can be understood from within the system, namely from the context and from the viewpoints of its members (Nguyen, 2003). Findings of emic research are analyses and descriptions drawn by eliciting interpretations and meanings created by the members of the researched culture (Brislin, 2000; Nguyen, 2003; Yeganeh et al., 2004).

Advocacy for a combined emic-etic approach is increasing. This would enable researchers to gain knowledge about the culture in the given investigation, while avoiding cultural bias in such a way that would allow them to deal with 'real' cultural differences (Berry, 1990; Brislin, 2000; Yeganeh et al., 2004).

A similar distinction is applied when comparing approaches to cross-cultural psychology and cultural psychology. While cross-cultural psychology deals with cultural similarities and differences across cultures, cultural psychology focuses on

human behaviour in the given cultural milieu (Nguyen, 2003). Cultural psychology generally maintains that culture and mind are intertwined, so it is not possible to find universal laws for how the mind works. That is why psychological theories elaborated in one culture are likely to be questionable when applied to another (Nguyen, 2003).

The systems approach integrates the "external 'objective' patterns and the internal 'subjective' experiences of individuals" (Kim, 1988, p.18). The systems approach views human communication as a transactional, dynamic phenomenon and argues against the "insensitivity" of the positivist approaches (Kim, 1988, p.18). This perspective emphasises that communication is interactive and that "interactive elements of a given entity (system) must be viewed as codetermining the outcome being investigated" (p.18). The "structure of a system" and the "modes of information exchange" within the system as well as between the system and its environment are examined (Kim, 1988, p. 18; Jiang, 2006). The systems approach is similar to the positivist tradition in the sense that it strives to identify law like "principles and patterns of interaction" among system elements (Kim, 1988, p. 18). At the same time, it has commonalities with the humanist approach in that it views communication as "an emergent and interactive process" and emphasises "the whole of a communication system" (Kim, 1988, p.18). Therefore, the systems approach integrates both the "external" and the "internal experiences of individuals" (Kim, 1988, p. 18).

4.3.2. Issues of intercultural communication theories

Gudykunst (2005b) delineates three major approaches that have been used in theorising about intercultural communication:

1. theories in which "culture has been integrated with the communication process in theories of communication",

2. theories that have been "designed to describe or explain how communication varies across cultures",

3. theories that have been "generated to describe or explain communication between people from different cultures" (pp. 61-62)

The first category refers to theories adapted or applied from the field of communication research to explain intercultural communication. These theories vary in respect to whether culture is viewed as part of the communication process (e.g. Applegate & Sypher, 1988; Cronen, Chen & Pearce, 1988) or whether communication is seen as creating culture (e.g. Philipsen, 2002). The second category covers theories mainly from cross-cultural research which are based on research findings in one culture generalised to other cultures (e.g. Gudykunst & Nishida, 2001), or theories which are designed to explain in what sense communication is different across cultures (e.g. Kim, 2005; Ting-Toomey 1988, 2005a). The third category represents theories designed for the purpose of explaining intercultural encounters in terms of exactly what happens when people from different cultures communicate (e.g. Gudykunst, 1988, 2005c; Y.Y. Kim, 2005a). The table (see Table 4.3) below provides a summary of these categories and the scientific approaches to theory construction and more.

THEORIES IN WHICH CULTURE HAS BEEN INTEGRATED WITH COMMUNICATION THEORIES		
Positivist	**Humanist**	**Systems**
Expectancy Violation Theory (Burgoon, 1978)	A Constructivist theory of communication and culture (Applegate and Sypher, 1988) Coordinated Management of Meaning (Cronen, Chen & Pearce, 1988; Pearce, 2005) Speech Codes Theory (Philipsen et al., 2005) Cultural Communication Theory (Philipsen, 2002)	Cultural Convergence Theory (Barnett & Kincaid, 1983; Kincaid, 1988)

THEORIES THAT HAVE BEEN DESIGNED TO DESCRIBE OR EXPLAIN HOW COMMUNICATION VARIES ACROSS CULTURES		
Positivist	**Humanist**	**Systems**
Dimensions of cultural variability (Hofstede, 1980, 2003) Face Negotiation Theory (Ting-Toomey, 1988, 2005a) Conversational Constraints Theory (Kim, M.S., 2005) Interaction Adaptation Theory (Burgoon & Hubbard, 2005)	Self-Disclosure (Wolfson and Pearce, 1983) Rules Theory (Pearce and Wiseman, 1983)	Coordinated Management of Meaning (Pearce & Cronen, 1980)

THEORIES THAT HAVE BEEN GENERATED TO DESCRIBE OR EXPLAIN COMMUNICATION BETWEEN PEOPLE FROM DIFFERENT CULTURES		
Positivist	**Humanist**	**Systems**
Anxiety/Uncertainty Management Theory (Gudykunst, 1988, 2005c) Integrative Theory of communication acculturation (Y.Y. Kim, 2005a)	Cultural Identity theory (Collier and Thomas, 1988)	Intercultural Transformation: A Systems Theory (Kim & Ruben, 1988) Network Theory (Yum, 1988) Theory of Intercultural adaptation (Ellingsworth, 1988)

Table 4.3. Focus and scientific approaches to theory construction

Concerning their inquiries, theories can be grouped (Gudykunst 2005a) as focusing on:

- *the effective outcome of encounters* – e.g. Cultural Convergence Theory (Barnett & Kincaid, 1983; Anxiety/Uncertainty Management Theory (Gudykunst, 2005c);

Effective Group Decision Making Theory (Oetzel, 1995); Integrated Theory of Inter-Ethnic Communication (Y.Y. Kim, 2005a)

- *accommodation and adaptation* – e.g. Communication Accommodation Theory (Gallois et al., 1995, 2005); Intercultural Adaptation Theory (Ellingsworth, 1988); Co-cultural Theory (Orbe, 1998)

- *identity negotiation and management* - Identity Management Theory (Imahori & Cupach, 2005), Identity Negotiation Theory (Ting-Toomey, 2005b); Communication Theory of Identity (Hecht et al., 2005)

- *acculturation and adjustment* – Communication Acculturation Theory (Y.Y. Kim, 2005b); Anxiety/Uncertainty Management Theory of Adjustment (Gudykunst, 2005c); Communication in assimilation, deviance, and alienation states theory (McGuire & McDermott, 1988); Schema Theory of Adaptation (Nishida, 2005)

- *communication networks* – Outgroup Communication Competence Theory (Y.Y. Kim, 1986); Intracultural versus Intercultural Networks Theory (Yum, 1988); Networks and Acculturation Theory (Smith, 1999).

It can be seen that the spectrum of inquiry is wide, and is extended further by new research findings due to changing needs and more complex questions emerging from issues concerning multiethnic diverse societies, which in turn require varying research methodologies. Referring back to the issues identified in Chapter Three, it seems to be promising that intercultural communication research can contribute to the field of intercultural education. However, finding the right answers needs careful selection and critical analysis if applicable theories, research methodology and findings, and tools for professionals in education are to be established.

4.4. IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER EXAMINATION

Jensen (2004) divides the field of intercultural communication into two main traditions: the functionalist and the poststructuralist approaches. Traditionally, functionalist research has conceptualised the culture of a nation as relatively stable, and based on this assumption supposed that culture has an influence on people's

behaviour, concepts and communication (e.g. individualist vs. collectivist traits, see 5.2.1.). However, Levine and his colleagues (2007) doubt whether this concept can be justified, as: "Treating nations and cultures can be either extremely useful or highly misleading" as "nations can have multiple cultures and be comprised of peoples with many different cultural groups" (Levine et al., 2007, p. 208). The functionalist tradition has put emphasis on predicting how culture would influence communication and tended to identify "culture as a barrier" against effective communication (Jensen, 2004, p. 3).

The postsructuralist approach uses a rather philosophical attitude to intercultural communication. This approach is different from dominant functionalist thinking in the sense that it stems from the individual rather than the culture (Jensen, 2004). The focus is on the "importance of labelling and constructing 'the other'" (Jandt & Tanno, 1996, as cited in Jensen, 2004, p. 4). The postsructuralist tradition offers insights into participants' positions of experiences, power related issues, cultural presuppositions, cultural self-perceptions, identity etc. (Jensen, 2004).

Both traditions will play an important role in the present research as the ultimate aim is to find a model for professionals which can be used as a tool in specific, everyday contexts. Thus it is necessary to set the criteria of further analysis. Theories, models, and research findings will be examined according to the parameters below:

- *how culture is examined*; as a fixed national entity or treated flexibly;

- *how culture is perceived*; as a dynamic or a static phenomenon;

- *the aim of research*; cross-cultural comparability or by gaining deeper knowledge of a culture;

- *consideration of micro and macro factors influencing communication*;

- *emphasis put on the individual*;

- *to what extent theories or research findings can promote everyday interaction or conflict resolution*; how theories and research can be built on and applied in specific contexts;

- *whether or not theories or findings are applicable to intercultural education.*

The set parameters for examination suggest that the dissertation will focus on individual subjective interpretations, and examine social relations between individuals. Furthermore, instead of predicting behaviour based on patterns (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) or cultural traits, the emphasis will be put on how teachers and Roma parents construe their own realities (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) in a specific context; how they construct meanings and their own identities as they interact (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). To understand these factors, it is essential to examine the impact of both the micro and the macro environment on the participants (Jiang, 2006).

Consequently, the proposed theoretical framework of the dissertation is grounded in the ontological stance of social constructivism and in the epistemological stance of interpretivism. The terms; social constructionism and social constructivism are often used interchangeably - as Tsetsura (2010) referring to Yerby (1995) notes –both terms "share the idea that knowledge is not absolute and cannot be separated from the knower" (Tsetura, 2010, p. 164). Despite being aware that constructivism emphasises mainly "personal subjectivity" (Burleson, 1989, as cited in Tsetsura, 2010, p. 164), while social constructionism focuses on "the social, interactive, and complex performative relations between individuals' identities" (Shotter, 1992, as cited in Tsetsura, 2010, p. 164), and since both focuses are of interest, I intend to use these terms interchangeably.

4.5. SUMMARY

This chapter first established the concepts of intercultural and cross-cultural communication and opted for Collier and Thomas' (1988) definition. Then it examined the metatheoretical grounding of intercultural communication research and found that paradigms related to the nature of social reality tend to be categorised mainly along two dimensions: objectivist and subjectivist. After describing how scholars in research

practice approach this social reality by emphasising either the goal of prediction or the goal of understanding (Kim, 1988), a similar dichotomy was shown to be found in psychology and culture related research as well as in etic-emic and cross-cultural - cultural psychology approaches. Finally, the systems approach was introduced presenting a merged form of the objective-subjective dichotomy.

Research approaches to theory construction were presented in a table delineating the most prominent theories in the field. Some parameters for further examination were set and it was argued that for the ultimate aim of the present study - to provide a model addressing the negative relationships between teachers and Roma parents − the assumptions of the social constructivist school of thought and the research practice of qualitative methodology appear most appropriate.

CHAPTER 5.
BRINGING THE FIELDS TOGETHER

5.1. INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter set the criteria based on which theories and models will be examined. Their selection has been guided by issues identified as problem fields in intercultural education, and has been reinforced by my research findings. The chapter aims to focus on the questions of values, identity, and trust, which all contribute to deeper insights about the intercultural conflict process. All the theories and models introduced will add to the knowledge necessary to understand what factors play a crucial role in the development of negative relationships between parents and school (teachers). Throughout the chapter the highlighted theories and models will be examined through a critical lens as their applicability is emphasised.

5.2. VALUES

The aim of this section is to explore what role cultural values identified as a source of conflict in schools play in intercultural encounters. The concept of 'value' in the functionalist approach to culture appears as a determining factor that shapes people's initial expectations, attitudes, and behaviours toward approaching for example work or conflict (e.g. Hofstede, 1980; Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001; Ting-Toomey 1988, 2005b; Schwartz, 1994,). Thus values are inevitable elements of traditional models of culture (e.g. Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952; Hofstede, 1991; Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1997). In the most elementary model, often referred to as the 'iceberg model', culture consists of two levels: level of values as an "invisible level", and a "visible level of … behaviour and artefacts" (Dahl, 2004, p. 4). Hofstede (1991, 2003) in his 'onion model' (see Figure 5.1) outlines four layers with values at the core which form the most hidden layer of culture. Values are defined as "broad tendencies to prefer certain states of affairs over others" (Hofstede, 2003, p. 8), as they are seen as "a learned organization of rules for making choices and for resolving conflicts" (Rokeach, 1973, p. 161).
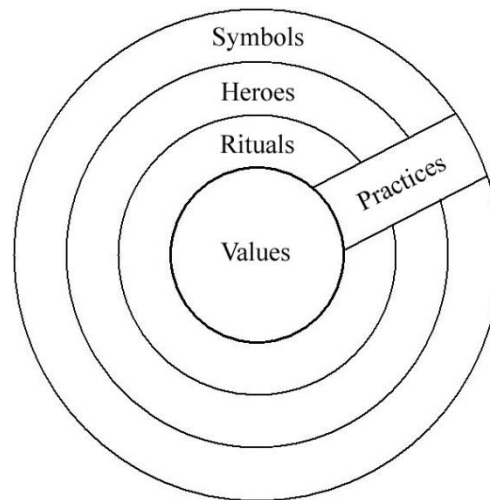
Figure 5.1.Hofstede's 'onion' diagram (2003, p. 9)

In Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner's (1997) model, basic assumptions are at the core level. These core values are thought to influence other visible values in the above layers. Spencer-Oatey (2000) proposes to combine basic assumptions and values claiming that it is difficult to separate the two. In her model, the inner core of culture (basic assumptions and values) is encircled by the level of beliefs, attitudes and conventions. Samovar and Porter (2004) put values and beliefs, under the umbrella term of cultural patterns by which they mean "a system of beliefs and values that work in combination to provide a coherent, if not always consistent model for perceiving the world" (p. 50). Beliefs are viewed that "serve as the storage system for the content of our past experiences, including thoughts, memories, and interpretations of events" (Rogers & Steinfatt, 1999, as cited in Samovar & Porter, 2004, p. 48). They are accepted as truths claimed to affect individuals' actions and behaviour in communication. Beliefs are viewed as the basis of a person's or a nation's values (Samovar & Porter, 2004). However, the functionalist view emphasises rather the domain of the collective. On these grounds, values are seen to be transmitted by family, media and school, therefore tend to be relatively stable (Samovar & Porter, 2004). Thus functionalists believe that cultures can be characterised by holding specific values.

The post-modern and constructivist traditions, as well as modern philosophy of language criticise the assumption that the term 'value' would refer to one specific concept, namely that there would be a standard, normative meaning of this word. Below, two entirely different approaches to understanding meanings of values; Hofstede's (1991, 2003) value analysis and Nordby's (2008) philosophical analysis will be discussed and their implications will be drawn out.

5.2.1. Hofstede's approach to value analysis

Hofstede's (1980) initial work aimed at addressing the lack of a "universally applicable framework for classifying cultural patterns" (Dahl, 2004, p. 14). Applying the inductive technique, first he surveyed a great number of participants from various cultures about their work related values and preferences in life. After this, he rank-ordered the cultures in terms of each dimension and outlined a map of clusters of cultures based on these dimensions. The first four identified dimensions of cultural variability were: *low-high power-distance, masculinity-feminity, individualism-collectivism,* and *low-high uncertainty avoidance* (Hofstede, 2003). In later studies (1991) he added the dimension of *Confucian Dynamism* or *Long-Term Orientation*.

Hofstede (2003) argues that both ends of each dimension exist in all cultures, but one tends to dominate. "*Individualism* pertains to *societies in which the ties between individuals are loose: everyone is expected to look after himself or herself and his or her immediate family. Collectivism* as its opposite pertains to *societies in which people from birth onwards are integrated into strong, cohesive ingroups, which throughout people's lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty*" (Hofstede, 2003, p. 51, italics original). Communication in individualist-collectivist cultures is claimed to be influenced by norms and values. Uncertainty avoidance expresses how people of a certain cultural group can tolerate ambiguity and uncertainty (Hofstede, 2003). Cultures' *high or low-uncertainty avoidance* defines the roles of norms and rules to guide behaviour (Hofstede, 2003). Hofstede (2003) claims that in low uncertainty avoidance cultures norms and rules are not followed as strictly as in high uncertainty avoidance cultures. Deviant behaviour is not acceptable in high uncertainty avoidance cultures, and members tend to strive for consensus in, for example, conflict situations (Hofstede, 2003). *High-power distance* cultures tolerate

inequality, with people accepting power as part of the social order. *Low-power distance* cultures, in contrast, value equality (Hofstede, 2003). Members of low-distance cultures believe in the legitimate use of power. The major difference between *masculine and feminine* cultures is how gender-roles are perceived in a culture. Members of cultures high in masculinity value "recognition", ambition, and "assertiveness" (Hofstede, 2003, pp. 79-85). People belonging to cultures high in feminine value, show preference for good "relationship", "cooperation" and "security" (Hofstede, 1980, 2003, p. 82). Hofstede developed the *long-term orientation* in life dimension with Michael Bond (Hofstede & Bond, 1988). In this fifth dimension, which is linked to Confucius, long-term orientation is characterised by "persistence, ordering relationships by status and observing this order, thrift, and having a sense of shame", whereas short-term orientation is characterised by "personal steadiness and stability, protecting your 'face', respect for tradition" and "reciprocation of greetings, favours, and gifts" (Hofstede, 2003, pp. 165-166).

Hofstede's merit is - as Dahl (2004) notes - that his work "reduces the complexities of culture and its interactions into five relatively easily understood cultural dimensions" (p.14), but it offers only a general analysis. It treats cultures as nations, so the possibility to get to know more about, for example, different ethnic groups within a culture, is limited. Furthermore, these dimensions suggest that cultures are relatively stable and static. Hofstede's (1980) concepts, particularly individualism/collectivism, have become the most frequently discussed and researched concepts (e.g. Intercultural Conflict -Oetzel et al., 2007, Ting Toomey's Face Negotiation Theory 1988, 2005b; Kim's Conversational Constraint Theory 1993 etc.), so Hofstede's work has undoubtedly had a great influence on cross-cultural research, which - as has been argued above - tends to rely on comparisons of cultures ignoring individual differences.

5.2.2. Nordby's modern philosophical approach to values

Nordby (2008) applies a rather different approach in examining the role values play in intercultural communication. Relying on modern philosophical discussions on language and communication (i.e. Wittgenstein's philosophy of language), he argues that "intercultural communication typically fails when communicators have different

values and do not acknowledge that culturally shaped values are different from beliefs and thoughts" (Nordby, 2008, para. 1). Furthermore, he claims that being aware of this difference is crucial to understand challenges in intercultural communication.

To support his arguments, Nordby (2008) states that factors that make successful communication difficult are; people's differing beliefs about the world, and lack of knowledge about each other's beliefs. In specific situations these can provoke different reactions. One possible reaction is ignoring the other person's beliefs and experiences by simply ascribing beliefs to the person s/he would not have. Another reaction - quite typical of those who "have the power to act in the way they think is reasonable" (2008, para. 7) - is to attempt to change the other speaker's belief by providing information in the hope of rearranging the person's factual beliefs and existing knowledge. Nordby (2008) claims that in many conflict situations, those in power believe that it can be rationally explained how to "conform to new ways of living" (para. 7). However, as Nordby (2008) argues, it is people's personal values shaped by specific social and cultural history, not beliefs, that tell how they want to live their lives, and "these values are not subjects to rational discussion" of what is true and what is false (para. 7). To support his argument, he has interpreted the word 'value' in three different ways.

In the first interpretation, "values are properties we ascribe to actions we think of as ethically good or wrong" (Nordby, 2008, para. 16). However, when people make "ethical statements", they "do not believe that actions are good or bad" in relation to some ordered rules (para. 17). In this formulation, values are very similar to beliefs about what norms to follow and what behaviour to expect from others in interpersonal relations. Nordby (2008) argues that the fact that people may ascribe different values to actions, which can cause cultural disagreement, does not present such a great challenge in communication, as these values are closely related to beliefs.

In the second interpretation, values can be understood as "general concepts people believe in" (Nordby, para. 18). These concepts of value (e.g. justice, democracy, etc.) are norms which are approved by most people. These fundamental concepts of value "are always experienced as valid from a particular point of view, woven into a person's social and cultural context" (Nordby, 2008, para. 18). Again, these values do not present a communicative challenge that is different from communicating beliefs, as

understanding what general concepts a person believes in is "equivalent to understanding what beliefs he has" (para. 19).

However, in Nordby's opinion, the third concept of value may present real communicative challenges, as it is "intimately connected to the ways individuals wish to live their own lives" (Nordby, 2008, para. 19). This personal feature, as he argues, is quite the opposite of those values which are understood as abstract concepts people generally believe in. Personal values are fundamentally connected to 'forms of life', e.g. "the activities in which we like to participate" (Nordby, 2008, para. 19). This means that "understanding what personal values an individual has is not equivalent to understanding what general values he believes in" (para. 20). Consequently, to understand an individual's personal values means being aware of "how he wishes to live his life" (Nordby, 2008, para. 31) and this has nothing to do with understanding what thoughts and beliefs that person has. As Nordby (2008) claims, in order to communicate successfully, participants in interactions must share many beliefs. However, personal values are subjective in nature, so they are not related to general beliefs about the world, rather to individual preferences. So they cannot, and do not necessarily have to be shared.

5.2.3. Implications

Within a hermeneutical approach to understanding, Nordby (2008) has argued that personal values cannot be "directly subject to rational criticism", as "trying to *explain* why it is rational to conform to a culturally shaped specific way of living therefore involves, in a fundamental sense, oppression of *value* meaning" (para. 46. italics original).

Nordby's (2008) analysis is particularly thought provoking for the educational context as it shows that the assumption behind the attempt to make minority groups realise that they should conform to the majority's way of living, this way giving them 'new beliefs' about how they should 'like' to live their lives, is fundamentally mistaken. The other problem with this type of strategy, as Nordby (2008) argues, is that it ignores individuals' personal values as well as "the way these values underlie their form of living" (para. 37). Criticising one's personal values can be experienced as offensive,

since the way people live their lives, and the way they want their environment to be is an important part of the their personal identity. In real-life it is crucial to focus on these values, as it is these that people express while communicating with others.

Nordby's (2008) arguments, grounded in philosophical views, provide practical insights into everyday intercultural interactions. They focus on the individual, thus avoid generalisations about cultures. The issue of how participants in the interaction can become aware of each other's beliefs and personal values will be further elaborated when discussing the role of trust and self-disclosure in intercultural communication. As has been shown, personal values are communicated in interactions, and they tell a lot about how people want to live in their environment. The other important feature of personal values is that they are part of personal identity.

5.3. IDENTITY

Traditionally, social sciences have been concerned with what are considered primary identities (whether ethnic or national), and how these affect behaviour and attitudes towards minority and majority groups. In recent research literature however, there has been a considerable ideological shift away from this "melting pot" assimilatory standpoint towards a "more pluralistic", integrative perspective on intercultural relations (Kim, 2007, p. 238). This shift has resulted in a more flexible and liberal view of one's identity, and assumes that people adopt identities dependant on social situations rather than intrinsic tendencies (Woodward, 2004). In the post-modern models, the self is "fragmented" (Fornas, 1995, p. 222; Hall & McGrew, 1992) and "contains multiple, often contradictory identities which do not constitute a coherent self" (Durovic, 2008, para. 10).

5.3.1. Cultural and ethnic identity

Identity was long supposed to have one affiliation that really matters, a kind of "fundamental truth" (Maalouf, 2001, p. 2), an essence or inner core determined once and for all at birth which never changes and dictates one's identity. The investigation

of cultural identity is hallmarked by Erickson's (1950) psychological work, which described identity development as a process during which the identities of the individual and of the group become one. He claimed cultural identity to be an essential part of the individual. As De Vos (1990) states, cultural identity "provides a sense of common origin, as well as common beliefs and values…" and serves the basis of "self-defining in-groups" (as cited in Kim, 2007, p. 240).

In intercultural research, the functionalist approach focuses on finding a "national mind", a "particular characteristic identity" of a given nation (Rogilds, 1995 as cited in Jensen, 2004, p. 87). Contrastingly, the post-structuralist approach proposes an extended view, which can include ethnicity, nation, gender, profession and hobby as well (Jensen, 2004). As Jensen (2004) claims, this approach avoids the concept that people have a single, determining identity. The constructivist perspective represents a general view namely that "cultural identity is a form of social identity constructed in relation to other people" (Jensen, 2004, p. 11). According to the post-modern, entwined with social-constructivist understanding, identity is a social construction (Campbell 2000; Jensen 2004; Durovic, 2008). Therefore, identity involves the interrelationship between the personal and the social. According to this view, people can belong to more cultures at the same time, depending on context and sometimes on free choice (Meyer, 2009). The context may involve the topic the participants are talking about, how people position themselves in the interaction, and how they perceive and how they are perceived by others. This way, conversations will actualise what identities people in an interaction find salient.

Ethnic identity theory emerges from social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) which is concerned with the crucial role group membership plays in developing individual identity, as this kind of membership influences social categorisation and comparison, this way having an effect on self-esteem (Hargie et al., 2008). Social identity is seen as "*that* part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel, 1978, p. 63 italics original). Therefore, "self-concept is shaped and reinforced by membership of social groups and categories" (Hargie et al., 2008, p. 794). Categories and social groups can

be such as: class, gender, occupation, ethnicity, nationality. Individuals divide people into social categories that are usually evaluated positively or negatively according to values attached to them (Tajfel, 1978). These "value differentials" tend to enhance further "the subjective differences on certain dimensions between categories and the subjective similarities within categories" (Tajfel, 1978, p. 62). This process results in all social divisions between the in-group and the out-group, according to which people maintain a distinction between social groups they feel they belong to and those to which they do not (Hargie et al., 2008). The motivation behind this proclivity may be related to and explained – as Harwood and his colleagues (2005) say - by the "need for positive self-esteem, positive identity, and the reduction of uncertainty" (as cited in Hargie et al., 2008, p. 794). However, while people claim to have a shared cultural identity, or as Bourdieu (1991) puts it "identity-as-sameness" (p. 37), they also define themselves as unique and different from their own groups, claiming "identity-as-uniqueness" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 37). This means that when people identify with many different groups, they can alter their group affiliations depending on context (Joseph, 2004).

5.3.2. Constructing identities in interactions

Identities are formed through interactions (Woodward, 2004; Durovic, 2008) since as people position themselves in social encounters, they take up different identities thus they are "defined and redefined" throughout a life-time (Jenkins, 1997, p. 142).

In claiming that identity is a social construct, Joseph (2004) means that people have an "instinctive capacity to construct identities" by interpreting inputs like language, voice, dress etc. (p. 2.). Based on experience of meeting people, making and testing hypotheses, individuals gain knowledge, and put this knowledge "to work in every social encounter" (Joseph, 2004, p. 3). Both experiences from the past (childhood) and experience by the present define how individuals construct identities (Woodward, 2004). This knowledge, being subjective in nature, can imply two consequences. Firstly, the interpretations people make can be based on presumed knowledge resulting in negative stereotypes toward the other, secondly, individuals can never be conscious of the other person's self, as the other's experiences are not known. This argument can be best supported by Joseph's (2004) words about knowledge: "It is as unique as our

own life experience, and when we put it to work to construct the identity of someone else, we are constructing something that involves who *we* are at least as much, and often much more, than who *they* are" (p. 3 italics original).

By multiple identities Joseph (2004) understands individuals' "various roles with regard to others" that shift according to the context (p. 8). Identity, as a complex phenomenon, combines people's self-concept as well as the way they are perceived by others, so it "involves the internal and the subjective, and the external"; "it is a socially recognised position" (Woodward, 2004, p. 7). As Woodward (2004) argues, with their clothes and behaviour, people "symbolise the sort of person" they believe others want to see (p. 12). That is why identities may differ on their salience and intensity in a particular context (Ting-Toomey, 1986; Alba, 1992).

The following three sections will further elaborate:

- on what basis people construct the identity of others,
- how individuals react to the incongruity between the way they identify themselves and the way they are perceived, and
- how cultural frame switching works in case of multiple identities in interactions.

5.3.3. A poststructuralist approach to identity in intercultural communication

Jensen (2004) developed a model for intercultural communication applicable in multiethnic societies, from post-structuralist approach. The aim of the model is to offer practitioners and students analytical tools "to think through an intercultural communication process and reflect upon it from a new perspective" (Jensen, 2004, p. 6). It consists of four basic concepts Jensen (2004) claims have to be taken into account when taking part in intercultural encounters.

One of the analytical tools Jensen (2004) offers is *cultural identity*. Rejecting the functionalist perspective, namely that the national identity will always be the main identity, Jensen (2004) follows the constructivist perspective that cultural identity should be seen as "a form of social identity constructed in relation to other people in a given period of time" (p. 11). Cultural identity is not limited to concepts such as ethnicity or nation but holds different identities such as gender, profession etc. She

claims that the actualised identity has to be examined in context (Jensen, 2004). However, the different fragments of "floating identities" can be analytically distinguished only momentarily (Jensen, 2004, p. 13). The concept of cultural identity is offered for use in two ways. Professionals need to be trained to realise that others have multiple identities, and they have to be conscious of their cultural presuppositions when constructing the identity of others (Jensen, 2004). Furthermore, they should be conscious of their own cultural identity and, in a way, monitor how and when they actualise their different identities in encounters (Jensen, 2004).

Positions of experiences "refer(s) to the fact that all interpretations are bounded in individual experiences, but although the experiences are subjective, they are related to the social position of a person" (Jensen, 2004, p. 6). This concept, as Jensen notes, originates from Gadamer's (1989) term "horizon of experience" by which he meant "the range of vision that includes everything that can be seen from a particular vantage point" (as cited in Jensen, 2004, p. 6). Understanding the other, interpreting signs (see Joseph, 2004) is largely dependent on, and at the same time can be limited by people's previous experience. That is why, as Jensen (2004) claims it is not adequate to see "cultural differences as the only differentiation to interpretation", but the horizon has to be taken into account too (pp. 6-7). This horizon can be limited by the speaker's social position in society. Positioning as a concept is closely related to the social constructivist view, and resembles Bourdieu's (1986) term 'habitus' whereby the self is viewed as a product of the "discourse" and "social field" in which it is located. Davies and Harré (1990) define positioning as:

"the discursive process whereby selves are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced story lines. There can be interactive positioning in which what one person says positions another, and there can be reflexive positioning in which one positions oneself. However, it would be a mistake to assume that, in either case, positioning is necessarily intentional. One lives one's life in terms of one's ongoing produced self, whoever might be responsible for its production" (as cited in Jensen, 2004, p. 7).

For Jensen, *positions of experiences* can be seen as an analytical tool in interactions as it shows:

- that different positions define the "interpretation of the communication",
- people "have different opportunities to give different positions of themselves",
- how individual differences are interconnected with structural differences (pp. 6-7).

In Jensen's (2004) words the concept of *cultural presuppositions* "refers to knowledge, experience, feelings and opinions we have towards categories of people that we do not regard as members of the cultural communities that we identify ourselves with" (p. 8). The knowledge people have about others, irrespective whether it is inadequate or prejudiced will provide a basis for how they are seen, and how their communication will be interpreted. "The cultural presuppositions of an actor will always be part of available discourse in society" (Jensen, 2004, p. 8).

Hall (1997) summarises the meaning of discourse as a "particular type of representation. A discourse is a group of statements, which provide a language for talking about – i.e. a way of representing – a particular kind of knowledge about a topic. When statements about a topic are made within a particular discourse, the discourse makes it possible to construct the topic in a certain way. It also limits the other ways in which the topic can be constructed" (as cited in Jensen, 2004, p. 8).

Cultural presuppositions as a concept raises awareness about how people characterise and categorise others on the basis of their own group values. This concept is in accordance with ethnocentrism and explains why people tend to idealise their own culture, while others' are seen as inadequate. Jensen (2004) argues that "while the actors' understandings are constructed on the basis of discourses in society, cultural presuppositions could be described as the actors' actual use of discourses in society" (p. 8). Observing how the participant describes others may give insights into his or her values. Thus *cultural presuppositions* can become a "practical tool to be aware of the discourses and discursive formations in everyday life" (Jensen, 2004, p. 8).

Cultural self-perception "is the way in which an actor expresses a cultural community as the one he or she identifies with" (Jensen, 2004, p. 9). Cultural self-perception is intertwined with cultural presuppositions, "as it is through the construction of 'the

others' we construct narratives about ourselves" (Jensen, 2004, p. 9).[12] Cultural self-perception is a concept that resembles beliefs as it is often the hidden assumption about "the right way" (Jensen, 2004, p. 9) to organise life. *Cultural self-perception* is a useful analytical tool to understand how individuals see their own cultural group. It can throw light on what other communities the actor identifies with and which communities the actor feels distinct from. It also gives insight about the speaker's ethnocentrism (Jensen, 2004).

In her model Jensen (2004) outlined key concepts speakers must be aware of when taking part in intercultural encounters. Below the focus will be narrowed on what happens when participants feel discrepancy between how they want to position themselves in an encounter (which fragment of their identity is activated) and how the other speaker identifies them.

5.3.4. Perceiving ethnic identity

Durovic's study (2008) focuses on the processes individuals go through when in intercultural communication interactions they feel and experience that their counterparts' perception of their ethnic identity "is not consistent with their self-image" (para. 4). She has identified several reactions and examined how they affect intercultural communication interactions. The participants of the study were individuals with different ethnic backgrounds living in the same country, and the emphasis was on perceived misconceptions of ethnic identity. When conceptualising ethnic identity as a concept, the social constructivist perspective is followed. In the study, Durovic (2008) works with two concepts relating to ethnic identity: ethnic identity values, and ethnic identity salience. Divergent ethnic identity salience expresses individuals' attachment and loyalty toward their own group(s) which "varies in significance depending on time and context and in relation to other group members" (Durovic, 2008, para. 25), whereas ethnic identity values include characteristics people associate with their specific ethnic group(s). Drawing on Berry's (2004) work, it can

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[12] See narratives of the self, Hincham & Hincham, 1997.

be assumed that the extent to which perceived misconceptions of identities affect individuals depends on their ethnic identity salience, namely, whether they:

- identify strongly with their own culture but weakly with the dominant culture – *the ethnic-oriented identity option* ,
- identify weakly with their own culture but strongly with the dominant culture – *the assimilated identity option*,
- identify strongly with both cultures – *the bicultural identity* or integrative option,
- identify weakly with both cultures – *marginal identity* (pp. 176-179).

Irrespectively which category individuals belong to, experiencing negative presumptions about one's ethnic identity triggers certain reactions. The collected data (based on both quantitative and qualitative research) have found reactions such as indifference, surprise, and in certain cases; irritation, frustration or anger (Durovic, 2008). Semi-structured interviews revealed that certain feelings acted upon were situational and contextual dependent. Many participants were found to react with passivity, which was thought a consequence of former negative experience relating to the phenomenon, or neutral relationship with the other person. Furthermore, Durovic (2008) lists bad timing and poor language skills as well, as possible factors. The counterpart's perceived attitudes turned out to be crucial in reactions. Negative attitudes mainly provoke "subtle corrections" or "angry comments", while neutral stereotypes only "result in reprimands when they are expressed in a manner which is found offensive" (Durovic, 2008, para. 63).

In sum, Durovic (2008) has found that reactions depend on the individual's choice; the participant decides whether to be active or indifferent when perceiving misconception. The study did not aim at examining how the response to being corrected influences the further development of the interaction, or whether the manner (polite or offensive) has any effect on the counterpart's behaviour. I am going to elaborate these later in my model.

5.3.5. The mediating role of identification in cultural frame switching

An example investigating the issue of cultural identity is Verkuyten and Pouliasi's (2006) research from the field of cross-cultural psychology. Biculturalism from psychological perspective is fascinating because it deals with the coping skills of the individual in different cultures, as well as how knowledge is construed and organised, and includes issues of identity development, among others (Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2006). Closely related to biculturalism is the phenomenon of cultural frame switching, which serves as an explanation for individuals' variable cultural values and attributions influenced by culture relevant stimuli (Ramírez-Esparza et al., 2006).

The questions Verkuyten and Pouliasi (2006) raise are related to biculturalism and within that to individuals who belong to more than one culture. The study examined cultural frame switching among bicultural Greek participants residing in the Netherlands. The authors' aim is "to show that group identification can mediate, in part, the relationship between cultural frames and perceptions and attitudes" (Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2006, p. 312).

Building on the model of Hong et al. (2000), which brings a "dynamic constructivist approach" to understanding frame switching (p. 709), the authors apply the premise "that culture is not internalised in the form of an integrated …structure" but rather as "domain-specific knowledge structures, such as categories and implicit theories" (Hong et al., 2000, p. 710), and "private and collective self-cognitions" (Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2006, p 312). Furthermore, they claim that individuals are able to acquire more than one cultural frame even if "these systems contain conflicting theories" (Hong et al., 2000, p. 710). "However, these frames are not thought to guide thinking simultaneously" (Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2006, p. 313). Thus cultural specific knowledge gets activated and affects perception and behaviour "only when the relevant meaning systems are cognitively accessible and fit contextually" (Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2006, p. 313). They believe that "when a given cultural frame is salient, culturally specific beliefs, norms and standards govern people's thinking and acting" (Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2006, p. 313). This thought is linked to the social identity perspective and self-categorisation theory in particular. As shown above, the social identity theory is concerned with how groups and categories to which individuals

belong determine the way they see themselves. The main idea of the self-categorisation theory is that "different forms of perception and behaviour arise from different categorical definitions of the self" (Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2006, p. 313). It is argued, that group identity activation (salience) brings about self-stereotypes in accordance with the stereotypic ingroup characteristics (Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2006).

Based on these, Verkuyten and Pouliasi (2006) claim that showing national icons to participants, using Dutch or Greek languages in the questionnaires would activate different cultural constructs and group identities. This way, group identification would lead to different "forms of self-stereotyping, attitudes and attributions" (p. 314).

The research presuppositions were as follows:

- Bicultural individuals will "evaluate themselves and their group differently depending on the cultural frame: Greek or Dutch".[13]

- If the Greek cultural frame is salient, participants will give "a more positive evaluation of the social self", while in case the Dutch cultural frames is salient the "personal self" is rated more positively.

- "Self descriptions would differ between the two bicultural groups".[14] In the Greek context, they would be stereotypical for the Greek traits, whereas in the Dutch context, Dutch stereotypes would be overwhelming for self-description.

- "As attitudes and values endorsed in collectivist and individualist cultures differ substantially", "family integrity and friendship" would be "endorsed more strongly by bicultural participants when a Greek cultural frame is activated" (Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2006, p. 314).

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[13] Based on the cultural variables; individualist/collectivist.

[14] Bicultural participants were presented randomly with either the Dutch or the Greek version of the questionnaire.

In sum, "cultural framing was expected to affect ethnic group identification, and identification, in turn, was expected to affect self-evaluation, self-stereotyping, and attitudes toward family integrity and friendship" (Verkuyten & Pouliasi, p. 314-315).

The research has proved that self-evaluation, self-stereotypes and attitudes toward family integrity and friendship were affected by cultural framing. When the Greek culture was activated, participants evaluated the personal self less positively, but they emphasised family integrity and friendship. The situation was different in case the Dutch culture was activated when participants focused more on personal values. The researchers found that priming one culture considerably affected group identification, which in turn, had an effect on perceptions and attitudes, thus it can be claimed that identification acted as a mediator. Finally, the authors concluded that "social identity principles are important for understanding the experiences of bicultural individuals" (Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2006, p. 312).

The main implications of this research are that in case of multiple identities, context plays a decisive role in activating different cultural frames. The contextual cues in this study partly seem to be artificial (icons on the questionnaires) however, the use of languages, either Dutch or Greek in the questionnaire, supported Joseph's (2004) argument that language plays a primary role in identity construction.

5.3.6. Implications

Different approaches to the issue of identity have been shown. Jensen (2004) following the post-structuralist tradition, provided a model useful for especially retrospective thinking about what factors affect intercultural conversations. She identified four concepts, which serve as analytical tools: identity, positions of experiences, cultural presuppositions and cultural self-perception (Jensen, 2004). Jensen's (2004) model views the communication process from the position of the individual. Furthermore, it avoids treating cultures as fixed entities and puts emphasis on the multiple nature of identity. Jensen's thoughts give further implications for my research, and this is the question of agency. Identities are shaped not only by social structures but also by individuals' participation in forming their own identities (Woodward, 2004). This may result in tension between structure and agency. The question of how much control

people have in constructing identity and how much control or constraint is exercised over them is well addressed in Jensen's (2004) model.

Durovic's (2008) study has drawn attention to the consequences of misconceptions about our partner's ethnic identity, mainly from the point of view of the perceived. She examined what reactions are triggered in such discrepancies. Durovic (2008) examined the issue following a humanist tradition. The study threw light on mainly the first phase of an encounter, and did not deal in depth with the further development of the interaction. However, it shows how relevant it is to construct the other person's identity in accordance with his or her self-identification at the particular moment.

Verkuyten and Pouliasi's research (2006) has provided a step further in seeing how people's cultural frame-switching affects their attitude and self-stereotyping. The work follows the positivist research traditions in the field of cross-cultural psychology, and relies heavily on Hofstede's (1980, 2003) individualism-collectivism cultural dimensions. The research confirmed that cultural framing has an effect on group identification and individuals'self-evaluation, self-stereotypes and attitudes (Verkuyten & Pouliashi, 2006). Furthermore, that group identification, to some extent, mediates the relationship between cultural framing and cultural constructs. In the research, bicultural participants were treated as if they could belong only to the two given cultures, which implied that the concept of culture was equal to that of the traditional definition, and cultural identity was supposed to equate with either of the two. The other shortcoming of the research is that it cannot account for the processes involving cultural frame switching in real-life situations, as the study used icons and language as primes to activate cultural knowledge. However, as will be shown, in real interactions where participants with multicultural identities share a common language, different situations (i.e. changing of the context) may activate different cultural frames according to their salience.

How open individuals are to cultural differences, and to what extent they tolerate the other's misconceptions largely depend on their level of trust. The next part, with its focus on the issues of trust and self-disclosure, links the already discussed concept of identity with the concept of intercultural conflict.

5.4 TRUST

Literature on conflict and negotiation often refers to openness, trust and understanding, three concepts that, according to Grunig & Grunig (1992) are interrelated and inseparable. Trust is a multifaceted concept that has been shown to be essential for good relationships between individuals, and developing positive attachment to one's own group (Burke & Stets, 1999). Tardy and Dindia (2006) claim, that trust is related to disclosure in two main ways. First, trust positively correlates with disclosure, as people are more willing to disclose personal information to a person they trust. Second, in case of disclosure, people tend to think that they are trusted by the other party (Tardy & Dindia, 2006). Without trust, those in conflict may become estranged (cognitively, affectively, and physically) instead of working together to resolve their disagreements (Ting-Toomey, 1997). Paradoxically, while trust can only be achieved through communication, an absence of trust leads to lack of hope in resolving conflict situations constructively, and communication inevitably breaks down.

5.4.1. Trust and social capital

Trust is closely related to the concept of social capital. Social capital is often defined as the individual's connections through a series of networks which yield mutual support and commitment from those they are connected to (Borgulya & Kiss, 2010). Baum and Ziersch (2003) suggest that social networks are the "ties" between people or social groups and they form the structure of social capital (p. 321). Kawachi and Kennedy (1997) define social capital along three dimensions:

- credibility and trust in the environment;
- help received and provided for others;
- civic cooperation in associations (being engaged and fulfilling duties within such communities).

Social capital scholars note three functions of social capital with reference to their context and function: *bonding, bridging, and linking*. Szreter and Woolcock (2004) suggest that bonding social capital involves trusting and cooperative relationships, bridging social capital refers to relationships of respect and mutuality, and linking social capital refers to the norms of respect and trusting relationships (pp. 650-652).

Trust is generally considered a fundamental element of social capital, but it is not obvious whether trust is the consequence of strong social capital or a factor for it (Skrabski, 2008). Luhman (2000) sees trust as a social complexity reducing mechanism while others interpret trust as a belief in the other party's ethical and fair behaviour during interactions. According to Baum and Ziersch (2003), trust relates to the cognitive aspects of social capital, thus understanding the concept can be a key to understanding social capital. At least three forms of trust exist in literature:

- "trust of familiars" – the presence of trust within existing networks;
- generalised or "social trust" – trust that is extended to strangers;
- institutional trust –trust in institutions (Baum & Ziersch, 2003, p. 321).

Siegrist (2001) makes further differentiations between interpersonal and social trust: by the former he means trust in a particular person during face-to face interactions. This type of interaction enables the participants to observe each other and give continuous feedback. Social trust is expressed towards an entity, groups of people, organisations and their representatives.

Wilson and Putnam (1990) point out that all negotiations require a minimum level of trust but that trust is always difficult to obtain when motives coincide (e.g. in conflict situations when both participants want to win over the other). In communication, the significance of openness and understanding is considerable, since "the better the mutual understanding, the better the working relationship" (Fisher & Brown, 1988, p. 64). Interpersonal trust is achieved through the repeated demonstration of reliability and dependability during social interactions. Over time, this mutuality is emphasised and encourages more faith in a contributor's responsiveness to the other's needs (Rubin & Levinger, 1995). Thus "trust building depends heavily on reliable words and dependable actions" (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001, p.41). Conversely, distrust is about violations of reliability and issues of "sustained scepticism" in which those involved "second-guess" each other's intentions and actions (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001, p. 40). "In a tension filled intercultural conflict scenario, adversaries will often view the relationship with distrust because interpersonal faith is broken and the other party is perceived from outgroup-one of the distant 'them'" (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001, p. 40).

5.4.2. Trust and self-disclosure

Foley and Duck (2006) claim that disclosure, which can be viewed as a sign of trust, plays a decisive role in developing and maintaining the relationship and enhancing the success of communication. Allport (1954, 1979) in his Contact Hypothesis argues that relationships between groups can be improved through more contact and information. Contact Hypothesis has resulted in a considerable amount of controversy and further research in the field, from which a consistent finding is that learning and gaining more knowledge about the outgroup promotes contact with it (Hargie et al., 2008). Studies on Social Identity Theory have indicated that maintaining intercultural relationships can reduce negative stereotypes towards the other group; furthermore, self-disclosure is a key element in this process (Brown & Hewstone, 2005).

Turner et al. (2007) list three reasons why disclosure can play an important role in multicultural contexts. "Firstly, the process of listening to disclosures increases empathy for, and understanding of, the other side. Secondly, disclosures from outgroup friends are seen as particularly important and therefore highly valued"; thirdly, self-disclosure is seen as a proof of mutual trust since trust allows more information to be shared and appreciated (as cited in Hargie et al., 2008, p. 796). Thus self-disclosure plays an important role in trust building as well as in deepening relationships and encouraging cooperation.

Finally, the other crucial element of self-disclosure is shaping identity. As Anderson (2000) states, "the self is possible only in the web of connected lives" (p. 2), so the self is shaped and construed again and again in interactions. As Baxter and Sahlstein (2000) claim, it "cannot be separated from other; rather, other helps to construct self in an ongoing dialogue" (p. 293). As summarised by Hargie and Dickson (2004), "Self can be thought of as a social construction and self-disclosure is a process between individuals in which selves are shared, shaped, negotiated and altered" (p. 225). Based on the above written, Hargie and his colleagues (2008) conclude that: "Given that disclosure exchange is central to the formation of identity, it can be argued that, in divided societies, little change can be expected in the sets of ingroup and outgroup ascriptions, together with associated outgroup negativity, when intergroup communication of this nature is absent" (p. 793).

All theories and research findings discussed so far have aimed to get closer to the process of intercultural communication to provide answers to the questions raised by intercultural education research. There is one common thread, though not directly addressed in all of the above notions, namely that they all involve the concept of conflict.

5.5. CONFLICT IN INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

Conflict is an inevitable feature of human contacts but it is not necessarily a determining factor in how the quality of interpersonal relationship is assessed. It can be present in various social situations ranging "from stranger-to-stranger interaction" to interpersonal and intergroup settings (Hammer, 2002, p. 3). In a conflict situation it is rather the applied competencies to manage conflict that contribute to whether the relationship will move "along a constructive or destructive path" (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001, p. 3). If managed competently, conflict can help individuals to express their needs, clarify misunderstandings as well as strengthen common interests and goals (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001).

Ting-Toomey and her colleagues (2000) define conflict as "an intense disagreement process between a minimum of two interdependent parties when they perceive incompatible interests, viewpoints, processes, and/or goals in an interaction episode" (p. 48). Geist (1995) extends the concept with "divergent interpretations, struggles for control, and multiple perspectives" (as cited in Hammer, 2002, p. 4). Fisher (1990) views conflict as "a social situation involving perceived incompatibilities in goals or values between two or more parties, attempts by the parties to control each other, and antagonistic feelings by the parties toward each other" (p. 6). In Hammer's (2002) opinion, the "elements of perceived disagreements" together with "strong negative emotional reactions" can be seen as the two fundamental features of a conflict process (p. 4).

When involved in conflict, people may have different expectations how the conflict should be handled. These expectations, as many argue (e.g. Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001; Gudykunst & Nishida, 1986; Hofstede, 1991), are based on the underlying

cultural values and norms, thus they vary across cultures. Intercultural communication research predominantly approaches the issue of intercultural conflict - within that for example conflict style preferences - under the rubrics of individualism-collectivism (see Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001; Gudykunst & Nishida, 1986; Hofstede, 1991), and high-low context communication systems (see Hall, 1976; Hammer, 1997). These both suggest that "core cultural differences are found in terms of the degree to which individuals use direct or indirect approaches to resolve conflict across cultures" (Hammer, 2002, p. 15). Though emotions are considered to be universal, the extent to which they are expressed in conflict situations is often seen as culturally dependent. Emotional expressiveness in conflict has been shown to vary along masculine-feminine (Ting-Toomey, 1988), high-low uncertainty avoidance (Gudykunst & Kim, 1997) and high-low power distance culture systems. These approaches are rather cross-cultural as they are descriptions or comparisons of conflict situations across cultures, and their underlying assumption is that understanding cultural values would promote successful intercultural communication and conflict management (Gudykunst, 2003; Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001). However, recent research has moved beyond this focus and tends to put greater emphasis on individual and situational factors that are claimed to   influence conflict behaviour (e.g. Oetzel et al., 2003, as cited in Oetzel et al., 2007).

5.5.1. Gudykunst and Kim's model (1984)

Though not designed specifically to explain intercultural conflict, one early attempt at modelling the intercultural communication process is Gudykunst and Kim's (1984) organising model for studying communication with strangers (see Figure 5.2.) The origins of the model go back to the Uncertainty Reduction Theory (Berger 1979, Berger & Calabrese, 1975) which assumes that participants try to reduce uncertainty when they meet a stranger by making predictions about his or her possible behaviour. Uncertainty reduction involves both proactive and retroactive explanations; first predictions about others' attitudes, beliefs, feelings and behaviour are made, followed by explanations for the stranger's behaviour (Berger, 1979; Berger & Calabrese, 1975; Smith & Bond, 1993). In Gudykunst and Kim's model (1984), communicative predictions are based on cultural, sociocultural, psychocultural and environmental influences, which act as filters. Filters influence how people interpret messages

encoded by strangers and what predictions are made about the strangers' behaviour (Gudykunst & Kim, 1984). As they claim: 'Without understanding the strangers' filters, we cannot accurately interpret or predict their behaviours" (Gudykunst & Kim, 1984, p. 35).

Gudykunst and Kim (1984) argue that intercultural communication must be seen as a dialogical process, in which parties involved have mutual influence on each other and both are influenced by their conceptual filters. They claim that intercultural communication can be characterised along the same variables and processes operating as other types of communication.
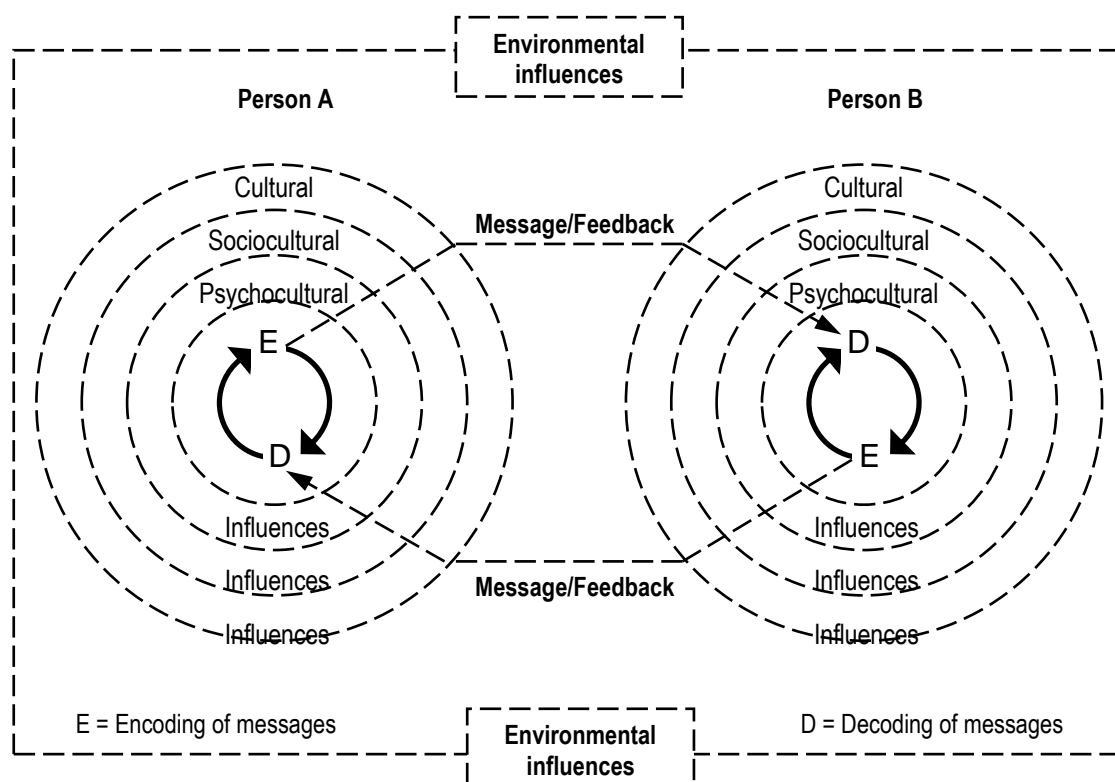
Figure 5.2.   An Organizing Model for Studying Communication with Strangers (Gudykunst & Kim, 1984, p. 30)

Gudykunst and Kim (1984) use the term *stranger* to refer to those relationships "where there is a relatively high degree of strangeness and a relatively low degree of familiarity" (1984, p. 22). They argue that this relationship can be viewed as varying along a continuum from involving total strangeness to total familiarity. At one end,

individuals communicate with strangers and they mainly rely on categorical (i.e. group membership) information, whereas at the total familiarity end little categorical data is used (Gudykunst & Kim, 1984). The concept of the stranger originates from the German sociologist, Georg Simmel's essay (1950), published in 1908. Simmel (1950) views strangers as people who carry both the characteristics of nearness (physical) and remoteness (i.e. different values, norms and worldviews). Schuetz's (1944) understanding of the concept is broader, as he considers anybody, approaching a group different from their own, acting as a stranger. The term stranger includes immigrants, sojourners to other cultures and/or people who just want to be a member of a small community or social group e.g. a club, a family etc. He argues that strangers lack "intersubjective understanding" as they are unfamiliar with the social world of the group they are approaching (as cited in Gudykunst & Kim, 1984, p. 21). Parillo (1980) summarises Schuetz's perspective from the stranger's point of view:

"Because this is a shared world, it is an intersubjective one. For the native, then, every social situation is a coming together not only of roles and identities, but also of shared realities – the intersubjective structure of consciousness. What is taken for granted by the native is problematic for the stranger. In a familiar world, people live through the day by responding to daily routine without questioning or reflection. To strangers, however, every situation is new and is therefore experienced as a crisis" (Parillo, 1980, as cited in Gudykunst & Kim, 1984, p. 21).

Barth (1969) focusing on ethnic groups in his definition, identifies some other crucial elements of the process of perceiving someone as a stranger: "The identification of another person as a fellow member of an ethnic group implies a sharing of criteria for evaluation and judgement. It thus entails the assumption that the two are fundamentally 'playing the same game'. On the other hand, a dichotomization of others as strangers, as members of another ethnic group, implies a recognition of limitations on shared understandings" (Barth, 1969, p.15). In this sense, the degree of strangeness does not depend only on the number of encounters or the level of familiarity, but rather on shared understanding. Shared reality, familiarity with the social world of a particular group, being aware of norms, roles and identities and

behavioural patterns are all among the key elements to successful communication between people (Hall, 1960).

Gudykunst and Kim (1984) identify four types of influences which determine the communication with strangers: cultural, sociocultural, psychocultural and environmental influences. This categorisation resembles Miller and Steinberg's (1975) who argue that people use three levels of data when they make predictions about other people's behaviour: cultural (i.e. postulates, norms, and values), sociological (i.e. membership in social groups), and psychological (predictions are based on the specific people with whom we are communicating).

According to Gudykunst and Kim's model (see Figure 5.2.), people make predictions about other people's behaviour based on certain cultural data. These data can originate from knowledge about the other culture based on experience, or in the absence of this, predictions are made on the basis of the speaker's own cultural experiences (Miller & Steinberg, 1975). This kind of knowledge or lack of knowledge thus acts as a filter, and at the same time, one's own culture influences how a stranger is perceived. The discussion of *cultural influences* focuses on three components of culture: postulates, ends and means (Gudykunst & Kim, 1984). Postulates are interpreted as the things people take for granted as "the way things are" as they are learned in childhood (Gudykunst & Kim, 1984, p. 40). The most general postulate held by people of a certain culture is their world view. Gudykunst and Kim (1984) claim that understanding postulates guiding strangers' behaviour can help with interpreting and predicting their behaviour. Values are closely related to ends, as they "imply a preference for certain types of actions" (Triandis, 1972, as cited in Gudykunst & Kim, 1984, p. 49). Olsen (1978) views social values as the desirable ends or objectives of people's social lives (as cited in Gudykunst & Kim, 1984). Gudykunst and Kim (1984) assume that each culture has norms and rules which include the prescribed and proscribed methods for achieving these goals. They also determine how to behave, that is why they are often sources of perceived inadequate behaviour. Dahl (2004) notes that studies focusing on value orientations, which are "related to the ideals shared by a group" (Trompenaars, 1993, p. 3), tend to give an abstract picture of behaviour, while

research dealing with norms, rules and manners of a cultural group tends to be more concerned with it.

Sociocultural influences on the communication process can be affected by the individuals' group-belonging, the roles they fill in social life or in the interaction, and how people define interpersonal relationships. In the model, individuals are seen as members of many different social groups. Gudykunst and Kim (1984) differentiate between membership groups and reference groups. Membership affiliations are based on conscious feelings of belonging to a group (e.g. family, social class, ethnic group, occupational group, nationality). People usually claim to be members of this group in order to get affection and avoid social isolation or because of restraints acting upon them that keep them in their group (Janis & Smith, 1965). Reference groups are groups people would like to belong to, which is why they tend to follow their rules and norms as guidance as to how to behave (Gudykunst & Kim, 1984). Individuals learn through socialisation which groups to avoid, and at the same time how to see their own group in a favourable light (Gudykunst & Kim, 1984). This tendency can lead to inaccurate attributions and predictions about the behaviour of strangers from the outgroup (Allport, 1979). As a consequence, individuals' communication with strangers is claimed to be influenced by the groups they belong to and the roles they fill in a particular group (Gudykunst & Kim, 1984). Roles are seen as "a set of behavioural expectations associated with a particular position in a group" (Gudykunst & Kim, 1984, p. 67). Gudykunst and Kim (1984, pp. 69-75) delineate four dimensions along which role relationships differ across cultures:

1. degree of personalness of the relationship,
2. degree of formality expected,
3. degree of hierarchy present in the relationship,
4. degree of deviation allowed from the "ideal role enactment" (loose and tight social structures (Mosel, 1973, as cited in Gudykunst & Kim, 1984, p. 73).

They argue that "since roles tend to vary across cultures, it is necessary to know strangers' role expectations if we are to understand and accurately predict their behaviour" (Gudykunst & Kim, 1984, p. 82).

The variables operating in *psychocultural influences* are "those involved in the personal ordering process" (Gudykunst & Kim 1984, p. 34). This process is assumed to give stability to psychological processes (both cognitive and affective) (Gudykunst & Kim, 1984). The cognitive variables are categorisation, stereotyping and attribution processes while affective variables include concepts such as prejudice, attitudes and discrimination. Social cognition can be seen as a dialectical process which involves both the process of grouping certain elements and data based on similarities as well as dissociate them based on differences (Gudykunst & Kim, 1984). Putting discrete elements into groups is a necessary condition for individuals to process information and think (Neisser, 1976, Allport, 1979) and, after Durkheim, Elwell (2003) claims that these categorisations are the manifestations and collective representations of mind. Forming social categories serves as an orientation system for individuals to define their own role and place in the society (Tajfel, 1974). Categorisations influence the way people interpret the world and the predictions individuals make about other people's behaviour. The whole process depends on "attributes of the things", "the context", "the skills and knowledge" people possess (Cole & Scribner, 1974, p. 100). However, as Bruner's (1983, 2005) theory of cognitive growth shows, the categorisation process is not the same throughout lifetime.

When the elements being categorised are people, the categorisation process is defined as stereotyping (Schaefer, 2007). Stereotypes "refer to any categorization of individual elements concerned with people which mask differences among those elements" (Brislin, 1981, p. 44). Brislin (1981) argues that stereotypes are "absolutely necessary for thinking and communication … a fact which must be realized in any analysis of interaction between individuals from different backgrounds" (p. 44). In case of intercultural encounters for example, they help people reduce uncertainty about intentions and beliefs of members of other groups, and reduce the need to get personal information about the other, so attention can be paid to other aspects of the interaction (Smith & Bond, 1993). The other function of stereotypes is that differentiating one's own group from others strengthens group belonging thus contributes to establish a self-concept (Tajfel, 1978).

Gudykunst and Kim (1984) warn that stereotypes may cause people to make incorrect inferences and predictions about strangers' behaviour in the process of communication, and problems arise when they are held rigidly and do not allow perceiving individual differences. "Such discrepancies may result in misunderstandings, low interpersonal attraction, rejection, and even overt hostility and conflict" (Albert, 1986, p. 43). "Stereotypes are likely to be consensually held if one's own group has a long history of living together with the outgroup within one's borders" (Smith & Bond 1993, p. 171).

While stereotyping is an attempt to explain who others are, attribution, usually with the same reasoning antecedents, tries to explain the underlying causes behind what others did (Lalljee, 1987). In other words, attribution as a cognitive variable is concerned with how individuals try to draw inferences about the causes of "behaviour as observed" (Heider, 1958, p. 37). The attributions people make can have crucial consequences for their own behaviour toward others (Albert, 1986). Jones and Nisbett (1972) argue that people (actors) usually interpret their own behaviour differently than do people who observe them. They suggest that actors usually attribute their own behaviour to situational factors, whereas observers attribute the behaviour to characteristics of the actors (Jones & Nisbett, 1972). Nisbett et al. (1973) offer two probable cognitive explanations for these divergent perspectives. The first is related to focus of attention. Actors' attention at the moment of the action is directed at the situational cues with which their behaviour is coordinated. Thus actors may interpret their behaviour as a reaction to the situation. For observers, however, it is not the situational cues that are salient, but rather the actors' behaviour. The other explanation for the differential bias of actors and observers stems from difference in the nature and extent of information possessed (Nisbett et al., 1973). In general, actors know more about their own past behaviour and present experiences than the observers, so they are prevented from interpreting their behaviour in terms of personal characteristics (Fincham & Hewstone, 2004, p. 213).

Jaspers and Hewstone (1982) examined intercultural attributions and they drew the following conclusions:

1. "Behaviour of members of other groups perceived as out-of-role and unexpected from the perspective of one's own group is more likely to lead to person attribution.

2. Since social categorization in terms of cultural differences is probably very salient in such situations, the person attribution will be associated with the perceived differences in culture.

3. The same behaviour which gives rise to person attribution cross-culturally may lead to a situational attribution within a particular group or culture because social categorization does not covary with the behaviour, but is constant" (as cited in Gudykunst & Kim, 1984, p. 89).

Gudykunst (1998) further claims that both "egocentric bias" (the inclination to perceive one's own behaviour as appropriate), and "ego-protective bias" (attributing success to personal dispositions but failures to situational factors) play a crucial role in intercultural communication. Furthermore, people tend to stop their search for interpretations of behaviours as soon as perceived "relevant and reasonable interpretations" have been found (p. 148). Finally, people have a tendency to "overemphasise negative information about strangers' behaviours" (Gudykunst, 1998, pp. 147-148).

Affective variables like attitude, prejudice and discrimination are very strong determinants of how strangers are perceived. Prejudice is "a negative attitude toward an entire category of people" (Schaefer, 2007, p. 41). Schaefer (2007) warns that "prejudice involves attitudes, thoughts and beliefs, not actions", while discrimination is action as it "involves behaviour that excludes all members of a group from certain rights, opportunities, or privileges" (p. 41). However, both of them are claimed to be categorical (Schaefer, 2007, p. 41). Gudykunst and Kim (1984) believe that prejudice "can be … conceptualised as varying by degrees or amounts", so it should not be seen as a dichotomy (p. 97). Brislin (1979) claims that prejudice may perform several functions. Firstly, "People want to be well liked by others in their culture. If such esteem is dependent upon rejecting members of a certain group, then it is likely that people will indeed reject members of the outgroup" (Brislin, 1979, p. 29). Secondly, prejudice protects people from information that "might damage their self-image (ego-

defensive function)" and has a value-expressive function as it allows individuals "to express important aspects of their lives" (Gudykunst & Kim, 1984, p. 99). Finally, the knowledge function means that prejudice assists people in "organising the world" around, with relying on already constructed categories instead of focusing on incoming stimuli (Brislin, 1979, pp. 29-30; 2000).

The very last layer, embracing all discussed so far is e*nvironmental influences.* Gudykunst and Kim (1984) claim that the environment and particularly the "perceptions of the environment" influence the communication with strangers (p. 115). They argue that physical environment (climate, architecture etc.) has an influence on the feelings, emotions, attitudes of the perceiver, and that this environment has a direct impact on the predictions people make about others' behaviour and the way they interpret incoming stimuli (Gudykunst & Kim, 1984).

Gudykunst and Kim's (1984) model is an attempt to provide a full account of the communication process by synthesising theories and findings of social- and cross-cultural psychology, anthropology and sociology. As for the approach to examining cultural processes, the authors' is etic in nature (see 4.3.1.). Though the communication process is claimed to be viewed as dynamic, in many instances it seems to lack the constructive nature of communication (e.g. forming attributions, positioning) and is limited to the coding-decoding model of communication. Although the model gives account of cognitive and affective processes of the individual, all influences which affect how strangers are perceived are claimed to be determined by culture. Individuals tend to be treated as if they were "captives of their cultures" (Samovar & Porter, 2004, p. 24), so their attitudes (stereotypes, ethnocentrism, and prejudice) are claimed to be dependent on and the result of socialisation in a given culture. The model lacks the concept of multiple identities, or the agency of the individual. Thus following the principles of cross-cultural communication research, the authors tend to treat cultures as fixed entities, and the model limits itself to making strangers' behaviour easily predictable only in the initial stage of the interaction. The merit of the model lies in its thorough overview and synthesis of theories and conceptualisation of essential factors contributing to deeper understanding of intercultural communication.

5.5.2. A culture-based situational conflict model

Ting-Toomey and Oetzel's (2001) Culture-Based Situational Model (2001) takes the "cultural variability perspective", claiming that values of individualism-collectivism and power-distance are key elements to understand how conflict management varies across cultures (p. x.). In addition, the model concerns individual personal attributes and situational factors as well. Cultural value dimensions are argued, as mediated through situational features, to affect the way people "experience the conflict, define the conflict, and attribute meanings to the micro-events that take place in the conflict" (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001, p. 28). Four clusters of factors are identified in their model (see Figure 5.3.):

1. "primary orientation factors: cultural value patterns, personal attributes, conflict norms, face concerns,
2. situational and relationship boundary features: intergroup boundaries, relationship parameters, conflict goal assessments, and conflict intensity,
3. conflict communication process factors: conflict styles, facework strategies, emotional expressions, conflict rhythms,
4. conflict competence features" (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001, p. 28).
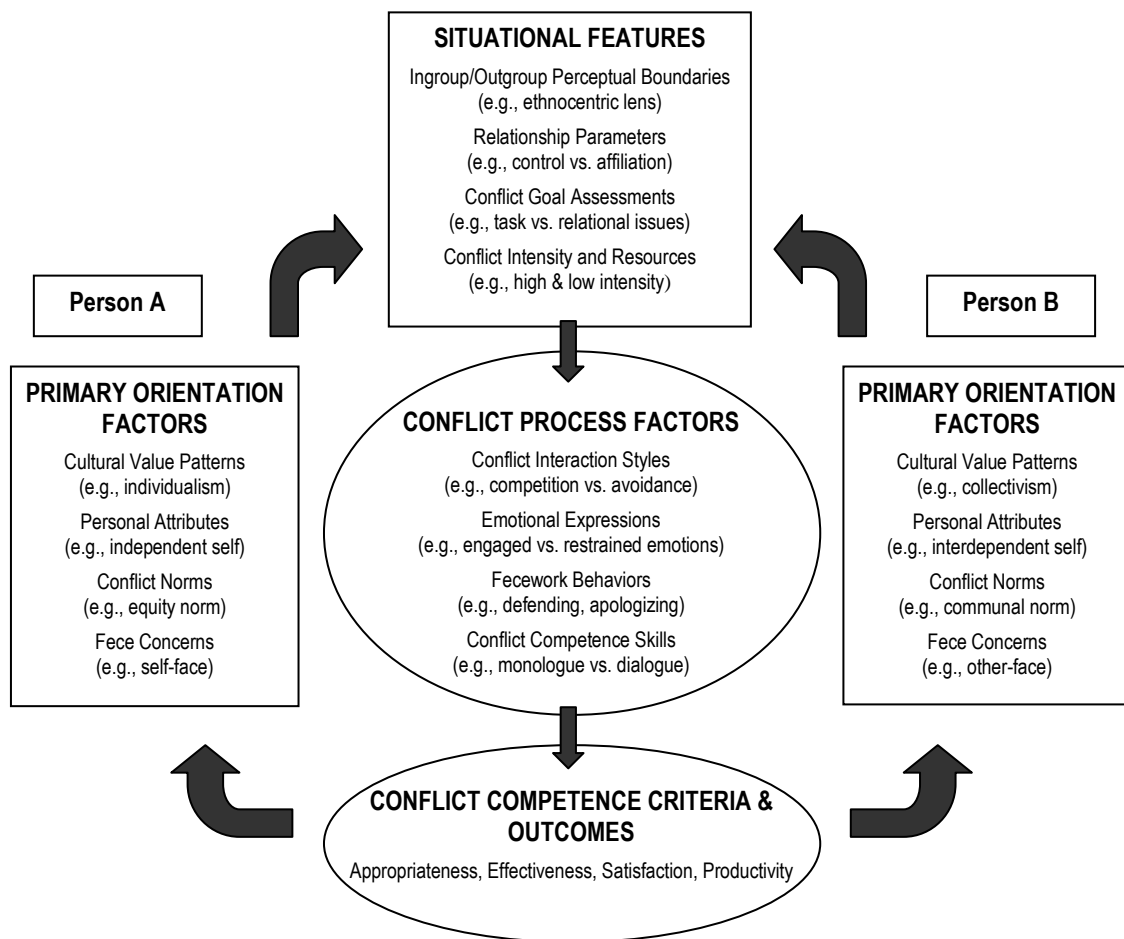
Figure 5.3. An Intercultural Conflict Episode: A Culture-Based Situational Conflict Model (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001, p. 29)

Primary orientation factors refer to those "factors that create primary differences between cultural members in an intercultural conflict episode" (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001, p. 28). *Cultural value patterns* and personal attributes, though the authors acknowledge the possibility of individual variability, are considered to be culture specific. *Personal attributes* are concerned with how the self is conceptualised in the intercultural conflict situation (for more details see Table 5.1.). *Conflict norms* are claimed to be influenced by cultural values and personal attributes. The authors define conflict norms as the "prescriptive standards that we apply to assess culturally "reasonable" or "unreasonable" behaviour in a conflict situation" (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001, p. 34). What norms people prefer to use are assumed to be varied according to value dimensions. The last factor within the primary orientation cluster is

face concerns. Ting-Toomey's conflict face negotiation theory (1988) is originally a theory focusing on conflict which "has been expanded to integrate cultural level dimensions and individual-level attributes to explain face concerns, conflict styles, and facework behaviors" (Gudykunst, 2005b, p. 67). Ting-Toomey (1988) argues that conflict is "a problematic situation that demands active facework management from the two interdependent conflict parties" (p. 213). "Face is a cluster of identity and relational based issues" (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001, p. 36) (e.g. respect, trust, credibility, etc.) and – as Ting-Toomey and Kurogi (1998) define, it is "a claimed sense of favourable social self-worth that a person wants others to have of her or him" (as cited in Gudykunst, 2005b, p. 67). Facework means the communication behaviour. Ting-Toomey's (1988) theory claims that people in all cultures try to maintain their face in conflict situations and they expect others to respect their needs. The main dilemma people meet in case of conflict is whether they should preserve their own face or "satisfy others' face-need" (Ting-Toomey, 1988, p. 221). Ting-Toomey (1988) argues that members coming from collectivistic or individualistic cultures use different face-saving strategies. Face has simultaneous affective (feelings of shame and pride), cognitive (considering how much to give or receive) and behavioural levels (Ting-Toomey, 1988). Ting-Toomey and Oetzel (2001) in their model – referring to Rogan and Hammer (1994), and Ting-Toomey and Cole's (1990) concepts -work with three dimensions of face: *locus of face, face valence, and temporality* (p. 36). Locus of face expresses "concern for self, other or both" (p. 36). Face valence covers "whether face is being defended, maintained or honoured", while temporality means "whether face is being restored or proactively protected" (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001, pp. 36-37).

The second cluster of mediating factors relates to *situational and relationship boundary features* (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001, pp. 37-39). Similarly to Gudykunst and Kim's model (1984), the environmental setting in a particular situation is defined as a crucial factor, as well as the nature of relationship people have with the other party. The concept of ingroup-outgroup boundary draws on Triandis' (1995) definition, whereas ingroups are seen as groups of people "about whose welfare a person is concerned, with whom that person is willing to cooperate without demanding equitable returns, and separation from whom leads to anxiety" (as cited in Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001, p. 38). On the contrary, outgroups are seen as groups of

individuals who "carry very different characteristics or attributes" which usually "conflict with one's ingroup standards" (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001, p. 38). The authors argue that members of these groups are perceived as "disconnected, unequal, or threatening" (2001, p. 38). The ingroup-outgroup bias is claimed to be influenced by "group-based and individual-based ethnocentrism and prejudiced tendencies" (p. 39). The authors claim that if the outgroup's negative perception is dominant, this can be a hotbed of negative stereotypes and prejudice (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001). Following the works of Rubin and Levinger (1995), and Lewicki and Bunker (1995), *relationship parameters* are examined in terms of three dimensions: "competition-cooperation, affiliation-control, and trust-distrust" (as cited in Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001, p. 39). Relationship parameters influence how people frame a conflict, how they view their relationship, and the conflict task (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001). As conflict can be seen as a "mixed-motive arrangement" (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001, p. 40) depending on goals of participants; motives to compete or cooperate differ in their intensity during the interaction. "Affiliation involves social ties…", "as well as relational rapport and support", while control "involves social dominance and submission issues, as well as respect and deference orientations" (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001, p. 40).

The participants' definition of the conflict situation influences how and what goals operate in the interaction (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001). How people perceive conflict, and how participants interpret different goals in conflict are supposed to vary across cultures. After Wilmot and Hocker (1998), goals are differentiated as *content conflict goals, relational and identity-based conflict goals* (as cited in Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001, p. 42). Content-conflict goals involve "substantive issues external to the individual", while relational-conflict goals are understood in terms of "how individuals define or would like to define the particular relationship (formal vs. informal) in the conflict episode" (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001, p. 42). Identity-based goals are defined in dichotomies like: "validation-rejection, approval-disapproval, respect-disrespect, valuing-disconfirming of the individuals in the conflict episode" (2001, p. 42). In conflict situations, rejecting someone's idea or opinion can be interpreted as rejecting that person's deeply held beliefs (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001). Resembling Davies and Harré's (1990) idea of positioning (as cited in Jensen, 2004, p. 7) Ting-

Toomey and Oetzel (2001) warn that arguments or disagreements over content or relational issues at surface level may often hide identity conflict problems beneath. Conflict goals are all believed to be linked to the underlying beliefs and value patterns of the culture and the individuals.

The third cluster is *conflict communication process factors* which involve - building on Ting-Toomey's (1988) face negotiation theory - conflict interaction styles, conflict facework behaviours (Ting-Toomey, 1988), conflict emotional expressions and conflict rhythms in the intercultural conflict process (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001, p. 45). Conflict style is defined by Ting-Toomey and her colleagues (2000) as "patterned responses to conflict in a variety of situations" (p. 48). They are generally conceptualised along two dimensions. Rahim (1983), for example, focuses on the individual's concern for self or concern for others. Based on these, he delineates five conflict styles: *dominating style* (high self/low other concern), *obliging style* (low self/high other concern), *avoiding style* (low self/other concern), *integrating style* (high self/other concern) and *compromising style* (moderate self/other concern) (Rahim, 1983, pp. 368-370). Ting-Toomey and Oetzel (2001) expand these with three other conflict styles, as they say, "to account for the potentially rich areas of cultural and ethnic differences in conflict" (p. 46). They are: *emotional expression, third party help, and neglect* (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel 2001, p. 47; Ting-Toomey et al. 2000). Emotional expression is concerned with how emotions guide communication behaviours, whereas third-party help means involving an outsider "to mediate the conflict" (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel 2001, p. 47). Neglect is characterised "by using passive-aggressive responses to sidestep the conflict but at the same time getting an indirect reaction from the other conflict party" (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel 2001, p. 47). Among others, the participants' feelings, and their self-construal (the way they define themselves) are claimed to be determing factors of what role individuals play and how they evaluate their relationships in the conflict situation (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001). Resulting from the combination of the two components of self, Ting-Toomey and Oetzel (2001) differentiate *biconstrual, independent, interdependent, and ambivalent conflict styles*. They vary depending on the range of conflict repertoires to deal with the conflict situations (see Table 5.1.). The authors claim that biconstruals tend to be more flexible

and adaptable, while ambivalents prefer to use neglecting conflict style (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001, p. 50).

Conflict rhythms refer to "tempos, pacing, and rhythms in managing various conflict schedules and issues" (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001, p. 56). Applying Hall and Hall's (1987) concept, m*onochronic-* and *polychromic-time* cultures are differentiated in respect whether they mainly "concentrate on one thing at a time" in conflict (monochronic), or they can be characterised as putting more emphasis on "completing human transactions than on holding schedules…"(Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001, p. 56). Emotional expressions and conflict styles will be further discussed in relation to Hammer's (2002) Intercultural Conflict Style Model (see 5.5.3.). The primary orientation factors and situational features are supposed to influence all these above discussed processes (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001). Hence it follows that they are the basis of evaluating people's communication competence.

Conflict competence features are concerned with appropriateness, effectiveness, satisfaction and productivity (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001). Appropriateness refers to proper behaviour in the exchange, whereas effectiveness refers to "the degree to which conflict adversaries achieve mutually shared meanings and integrative goal-related outcomes" (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001, p. 59). Perceptual filters (as argued in Gudykunst and Kim's (1984) work) may distort this process. Ting-Toomey and Oetzel (2001) emphasise that interaction satisfaction is highly dependent on whether salient identities have been positively addressed in the interaction. Productivity relates to "outcome factors", that is achieved goals, and "new directions in resolving the conflict problem" (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001, p. 60)

Ting-Toomey and Oetzel's (2001) culture-based situational model of intercultural conflict is based on the assumption that the values of individualism-collectivism and small-large power distance, and their link to individual self-construals affect individuals' underlying assumptions about an intercultural conflict situation. In the model, special emphasis is put on situational and relationship parameters which are claimed to moderate both the effect of cultural - and individual-level factors and conflict process-level factors. Finally, conflict processes have been shown to influence the degree to which individuals feel whether the conflict was managed competently or

not. The model claims that individuals tend to approach and see the conflict situation through the lenses of their cultures; their underlying beliefs, values, biases, and expectations. The model can be evaluated as being more flexible compared to Gudykunst and Kim's model (1984) in perceiving and taking account of individual differences (e.g. conflict facework behaviour, self-construals etc.), but still lacks the idea of multiple identities and does not put special emphasis on their possible change in conflict situations.

	INDIVIDUALISTIC CULTURES	COLLECTIVISTIC CULTURES	SMALL POWER DISTANCE	LARGE POWER DISTANCE
The sense of self	Have strong independent sense of self: autonomous, self-reliant, unencumbered, rational choice makers.	Have strong interdependent sense of self: Ingroup- bound, obligatory agents, relational peacemakers.	Horizontal self-construals: prefer informal-symmetrical interactions regardless of one's position, status, rank.	Vertical self-construals: prefer formal-asymmetrical interactions with respect to one's position, title, and age.
	Make sense of the environment through autonomous-self lenses. Worry about their unique self.	Make sense of the environment through ingroup-self lenses. Worry about what others think of their face image.		
	In conflict: voice personal opinions, strive for personal goals, and assertively express conflict needs.	In conflict: tend to be circumspect; preference for self-restraint and self-monitoring strategies. Practice other centred communication.		
Conflict Norms	Tend to prefer to use of the equity norm in dealing with reward allocation.	Prefer the use of the communal norm in conflict.		
Face concerns	More concerned with protecting or preserving self-face images.	More concerned with either accommodating the other-face-images or saving mutual-face images.	Asserting and saving self-face images.	Observe the facework respect-deference in interaction
Ingroup-outgroup perception	Have greater self-face concerns with both ingroup and outgroup.	Make greater distinction between ingroups and outgroups. Practice grater other-face concerns with ingroup, but greater self-face concerns with outgroup.		
Conflict goal assessment	Relational conflict goal preference: intimate, informal. Content issues usually supersede relational issues.	Relational conflict goal preference: non-intimate, formal. Relational conflict goals usually supersede content goals.		
Conflict style	Independent- self individuals tend to use more dominating conflict styles.	Interdependent-self individuals tend to use more avoiding, obliging, integrating, and compromising styles.		

Table 5.1. Summary statements from Ting-Toomey's and Oetzel's Culture-Based Situational Model (2001)

5.5.3. Hammer's Intercultural Conflict Style Model (2002)

Hammer (2002) examines conflict styles based on the principles of pragmatics of communication. He provides "a measure of intercultural conflict styles", called the Intercultural Conflict Style Inventory (ICSI), that tries to account for different conflict styles by identifying generalisable patterns of different cultures (Hammer, 2002, p. 6). Hammer (2002) first examined how disagreements and emotions are expressed in different cultures then identified specific conflict styles along four theoretical dimensions. These are: Direct/Indirect and Emotional Expressiveness/Restraint scales in intercultural conflict (Hammer, 2002). The intercultural conflict style model (see Figure 5.4.) "identifies four basic, cross-cultural conflict resolution styles" (Hammer, 2002, p. 27).

```
                    Direct
                      ↑
        Discussion         Engagement
          Style              Style
      ───────────────────┼───────────────────
        Accommodation        Dynamic
           Style              Style
                      ↓
   Indirect
      ←──────────────────────────────────────→
     Emotional                        Emotional
     Restraint                        Expressiveness
```
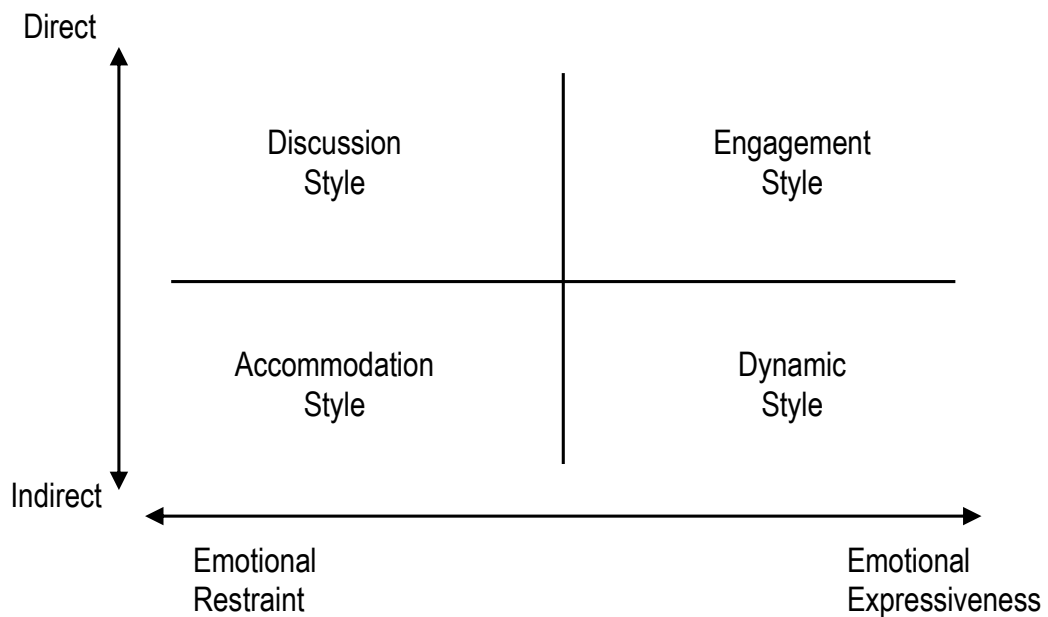
Figure 2.4. A Model of Intercultural Conflict Style (Hammer, 2002, p. 30)

The Discussion style "describes an approach to conflict resolution that emphasizes a more verbally direct approach for dealing with areas of disagreement and a more emotionally restrained or controlled manner for dealing with each party's emotional response to a conflictual interaction" (Hammer, 2002, p. 27). People preferring to employ this style in conflict resolution usually follow the "maxim, "say what you mean and mean what you say" (Hammer, 2002, p. 27). This means that this is a

"verbally direct approach" for dealing with disagreement; however, intense expressions of emotions are controlled as they are considered to be potentially dangerous and believed to hinder the successful conflict resolution processes (p. 27). Hammer warns (2002) that talking about the disagreement directly implies that the "discussion should be based on objective facts", and the contending parties should be careful not to offend the other by directly expressing their own personal feelings (p. 27).

The Engagement style "emphasizes a more verbally direct and confrontational approach toward resolving conflict that is infused with an emotionally expressive demeanor" (Hammer, 2002, p. 28). Hammer (2002) claims, that the operation of this style in conflict situations presupposes mutual sincerity which is realised in direct expression of opinion and emotions.

The Accommodation style "describes an approach to conflict resolution that emphasizes a more indirect approach for dealing with areas of disagreement and a more emotionally restrained or controlled manner for dealing with each party's emotional response to conflict" (Hammer, 2002, p. 28). This style strives "to ensure that a conflict does not "get out of control" (Hammer, 2002, p. 28) by maintaining emotional calm and using ambiguous, indirect speech. Participants employing this style try to establish "harmony to counter relationally damaging disagreements among the parties" (p. 28).

The Dynamic style "involves the use of more indirect strategies for dealing with substantive disagreements coupled with more emotionally intense expression" (Hammer, 2002, p. 28). As Hammer (2002) argues, this style is manifested in more ambiguous discourse and expression of emotions (than the accommodation style), accompanied by "such linguistic devices as hyperbole, repetition of one's message" and usually involvement of "third party intermediaries" (p. 28).

This theoretical model and the four oulined intercultural conflict styles offer one approach to gain insight into how different cultural patterns operate in conflict situations. The Intercultural Conflict Style Inventory, as Hammer (2002) states, "offers an empirical measure of intercultural conflict style that can be used in research studies"

(p. 29). He further argues, that "the overall intercultural conflict style (Discussion, Engagement, Accommodation, Dynamic) can be determined at both the individual level (a person's own conflict style) and then compared to various culture group profiles (aggregate level conflict style)" (p. 29).

5.5.4. Implications

Three models, all concerned with intercultural conflict but examined from varying perspectives have been introduced and evaluated. Gudykunst and Kim's (1984) model focused on the initial stage of an encounter with strangers, which involves the element of conflict, since as it is claimed, cultural, sociocultural, psychocultural and environmental filters influence the way strangers are perceived. Ting-Toomey and Oetzel's (2001) model proved to be more concerned about the situational nature of conflict, subsequently special emphasis was put on situational and relationship parameters which are claimed to moderate both the effect of cultural - and individual-level factors and conflict process-level factors. Hammer's model focused on (2002) Direct/Indirect and Emotional Expressive/Restraint approaches to resolving conflict.

The three models examine the intercultural communication process as one which is strongly influenced by one's culture, with its underlying beliefs, values and expectations. As a consequence, none of the models could really account for individuals' multiple identities, affiliation to more than one culture during the course of interaction. From the perspective of practitioners (i.e. teachers) they all offer the possibility of getting deeper insights about the process of intercultural communication but lack the depth of the practical realisation of managing intercultural conflict competently. Furthermore, the predictive and descriptive nature of these models cannot account for how the content of the encounter can create a conflict situation and how to manage it in accordance with people's cultural frame switching i.e. different identity salience during the interaction. Hammer's (2002) model can give insight into different conflict styles but its applicability in everyday encounters particularly in education is rather limited. To sum, the three models undoubtedly add to knowledge about intercultural conflict situations, and can raise practitioner (i.e. teacher) awareness about the conflict process, but they do not provide an adequate practical tool for managing it.

5.6. Summary and implications

This chapter has tried to follow the line of investigation started in the chapter on intercultural education where the issues; under achievement, values, identity, lack of communication and trust were identified as possible causes for inadequate practice of intercultural education. It was argued that intercultural communication research could contribute to gain deeper insights into these issues, and this chapter has tried to address them to provide the basis for practical help and constructing tools for practitioners.

First, different interpretations of values and their effect on intercultural communication have been examined. Hofstede's (1980, 2003) framework has proven to be applicable as it simplifies cultural differences into five cultural dimensions. However, it has been argued that Hofstede can provide only a general framework for understanding. As the framework treats cultures as nations, the possibility to get to know more about for example different ethnic groups within a culture is limited. Furthermore, these dimensions suggest that cultures are relatively stable and static. Nordby's (2008) analysis of different meanings of values has drawn attention to the crucial point that personal values have to be respected, which offers practical hints for intercultural encounters. He has argued that criticism of one's personal values can be experienced as offensive, since the way people live their lives, and the way they want their environment to be, is an important part of their personal identity. In real-life it is crucial to focus on these values, as people do express their values while communicating with others.

Different approaches to the issue of identity have also been shown. Jensen's (2004) post-structuralist understanding of intercultural communication and model outlines perspectives useful for especially retrospective thinking about what factors affect intercultural conversations. Four concepts have been discerned serving as analytical tools: identity, positions of experiences, cultural presuppositions and cultural self-perception (Jensen, 2004). Jensen's (2004) model views the communication process from the point of the individual and avoids treating cultures as fixed entities thus putting emphasis on the multiple nature of identity. It has been shown that individuals participate in forming their own identities which may result in tension between structure and agency. Durovic's (2008) study has drawn attention to the consequences

of misconceptions about our interlocutor's ethnic identity, mainly from the point of view of the perceived. Her research has shown how advantageous it is to construct the other person's identity in accordance with his or her self-identification at the particular moment. Verkuyten and Pouliasi's (2006) research has demonstrated that people's cultural frame-switching affect their attitude and behaviour.

It has been argued, that competent communicators can treat even conflict situations in a way that confirms mutual interest and strengthens relationship. Trust, which is closely intertwined with self-disclosure during the course of interaction, is an inevitable element of cooperation particularly in educational setting, where the participants' goals are common even if approaches to achieve them vary due to different cultural or individual beliefs and values.

Finally, different models have been examined relating to conflict situations. Successful management of conflict situations depend on people's expectations. Gudykunst and Kim (1984), Ting-Toomey and Oetzel (2001) as well as Hammer (2002) argue that these expectations are affected by individuals' cultures. Cultures in these models are treated as fixed entities. From the perspective of practitioners (i.e. teachers) they all offer the possibility of getting deeper insights about the process of intercultural communication but lack the practical realisation of managing intercultural conflict competently. Furthermore, the predictive and descriptive nature of these models can not account for how the content of the encounter can create a conflict situation and how to manage it in accordance with people's cultural frame switching i.e. different identity salience during the interaction.

The discussion of values, identity, intercultural conflict, and trust offers several insights for intercultural educational encounters, but they do not translate this understanding into effective practice. In order to manage intercultural communication effectively, more should be known about how people perceive these encounters, how they define and interpret the relationship dynamics in these interactions. A practical model incorporating these could support practitioners to manage intercultural conflict situations competently, offering possibilities both for proactive and retrospective thinking about the communication process. In the followings, my research endeavours to answer these questions, and provide a model to meet these demands.

CHAPTER 6.
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

6.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter will begin with the overview and justification for the research approach selected in this investigation. Over the course of this study, the factors that can undermine successful intercultural communication (ICC) between teachers and Roma families are explored, as well as how the participants interpret the causes of misunderstandings, and how this negative relationship becomes manifest in encounters.

This chapter will then move on to a more focused presentation of the research questions and the methodology chosen to address them. There will be descriptions of the context, participants, and the research instruments selected, as well as an exploration of the limitations of this approach. It must be noted that the small number of participants and the individual nature of their responses will limit the extent to which any findings can be generalised. However, it is hoped that by providing enough detail in the final account, elements of these individual situations will provide a cohesive picture which can be utilised in other intercultural education contexts.

6.2. QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

The question of which research methodology is most appropriate in exploring the complex relationships between people coming from different cultures, the relationship of culture and communication, and how to interpret the factors affecting the communication process in intercultural settings, is a significant one.

Qualitative research is generally based on the assumption that individuals play an "active role in the construction of a social reality", and as Boeije (2010) argues, research methods should aim to "capture this process of social construction" (p. 6). The ontological stance of constructivism states that individuals are not predetermined but that "human beings attach meaning to their social reality"; therefore, human action

should be regarded as "meaningful" (Boeije, 2010, p. 6). The epistemological stance termed 'interpretivism' is concerned with "how people construct reality while interpreting the acts of others, and the world around them", and how they go on to reflect these interpretations in their own behaviour (Boeije, 2010, p. 6). "Qualitative researchers generally agree upon the assumptions attached to constructivism and interpretivism, but there are many nuances, traditions and specifics which cause the qualitative research practices to be very diverse" (Boeije, 2010, p. 7-8). The research practice followed in this study focuses on understanding how individuals give meaning to their lives (Boeije, 2010) by interpreting their own experiences, assumptions, and behaviour.

Qualitative data was collected, relying on semi-structured interviews with teachers, observations, personal diaries, documents and in-depth interviews with Roma parents. The obtained data was viewed in a holistic fashion, which may, as Patton (2002) "assume[s] that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts" (p. 40), but also allows for the researcher to construct a picture which throws light on both "micro-level phenomena" and the "broader sociocultural context" (Mackey & Gass, 2005, p. 163). Thus, the research questions in this qualitative research tend to be general and open-ended, with no precise preliminary hypothesis (Creswell, 1998).

In an attempt to ensure the credibility and transferability of the data obtained, data collection was not restricted to one occasion (in case of interviews) but families were revisited over a period of time, and conversations were initiated in as many contexts and situations as possible. Also, triangulation has been used in order to explore issues from all possible perspectives and to reduce observer bias. Informal conversations with teachers and Roma parents, observations, studying educational documents and relying on my personal diary extended by field work notes allowed not only triangulation of findings but also highlighted unexpected aspects of research issues. Similarly, in exploring teachers' beliefs about the negative relationship with Roma parents, various data collection methods (e.g. documents, observations) were helpful in uncovering knowledge about the complexities of teachers' experiences and assumptions, and in supporting the conclusions of the study.

6.3. THE STUDY

6.3.1. Research questions

As has been stated above, categories may emerge and hypotheses may be generated during research in qualitative studies and research questions can change during the process. As knowledge gained during field work was socially constructed, the focus changed depending on circumstances, as did shared accounts leading to a coherent picture of the problem and its causes. As Johnson (1995) claims, qualitative research should "engage in research that probes for deeper understanding rather than examining surface features" (p. 4). The initial interest of this research was to understand what defines the negative relationship between Roma families and school. During the initial phases of the research period questions emerged which would lead to possible explanations about factors affecting this relationship as well as to assumptions about perceived cultural differences. The final research questions (RQ) are listed below:

RESEARCH QUESTIONS
RQ1: What defines the negative relationship between Roma parents and school, what factors affect them and how do parents and teachers account for them?
RQ2: To what extent these factors are related to perceived cultural differences?
RQ3: How is this relationship manifested in the communication between Roma families and teachers?

The first research question aims to explore the participants' understanding and interpretation of the causes of their negative relationship with one another. This may then result in identifying some factors teachers/parents find most salient in the forming of this relationship. Furthermore, these factors can be examined in terms of whether they can be interpreted as relating to perceived cultural differences. The third research question aims to uncover the actual realisation of these factors in communication and examine how these factors operate as variables in the intercultural communication process generally, and in conflict situations specifically.

6.3.2. Research context

The field work for this research was conducted in a small village situated in the south of Hungary. The population of the village is about 4200. The number of Roma inhabitants can only be approximated, as only a small proportion of the expected Roma presence (which is commonly cited as 30% of the total village population) registered themselves as Roma prior to the Roma minority local government election in 2010.

According to the accounts of local teachers, around 60-70% of the 170 students at the village school are of Roma origin. Based on annual reports made by school management for the village council, the school displays many of the problems characteristic of institutions with a high concentration of Roma students: poor school performance, discipline problems, poor living conditions of the students, the low qualification of parents, a high rate of parent unemployment, and inadequate cooperation between families and the school (Balázs & Halász, 2000; Balázs, 1998; Simon, 2009).

The number of students at the school has been decreasing steadily since the late 1980s. In the earlier years, as many as 400 students attended the local school as a result of school district regulations through which it was compulsory for the inhabitants of a particular district to attend an appointed school. By the end of the 80s, regulation of this kind became more lenient (Forray, 1989), and when free school selection was introduced in 1985[15], many parents chose to register their children at schools in the nearby town. With this change, mainly those families who could not afford the travel expenses continued to attend the village schools, as larger institutions were considered more prestigious. As a large portion of underprivileged families were Roma, so too were the majority of the students left attending the school.

Teachers had difficulty coping with the challenges of what seemed like a greater Roma presence in the classrooms. This resulted in heightened disciplinary problems and eventually led to a decline in the standard of education at the school. In a form of 'spontaneous segregation', the increased percentage of Roma students at the school led

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[15] 1985 Law on Public Education

to a mistaken perception that the village school was exclusively Roma. Coupled with the increasingly negative reputation of the school, these generalisations would contribute to the isolation of the school within the community, and fewer non-Roma students felt encouraged to attend.

The table (see Table 6.1.) shows how over time the number of students has been decreasing, the number of students with learning difficulties (SLD) and the number of children coming from families (HHH) where the parents are undereducated (8 or less completed classes), have a permanent unemployment status, or suffer from residential deprivation (thus making them eligible to receive regular supplementary family allowance), has been increasing.

Kurucz (2004) argues that the private student status is also a form of segregation. Through this system, disruptive or challenging children can be taken out of normal classes and made to attend the school once or twice a week for private tutoring. By excluding the children from typical schooling practise, they are left with the responsibility for their own studies.

Year	Number of students	Number of SLD	Number of private students	HHH students
2006/2007	229	9	6	106
2007/2008	221	16	8	90
2008/2009	173	18	8	No data
2009/2010	164	24	4	No data
2010/2011	171	20	4	No data

Table 6.1. Data based on annual reports of the study school

6.3.3. Researcher's role

Winter (2000) argues that while quantitative researchers try to "disassociate themselves" from the research process, involvement is claimed to be necessary in qualitative research (para. 18). Patton (2002) supports researcher's involvement by arguing that the real world is too complicated, and it changes too rapidly to be understood without the presence of the researcher. Because of the nature of the

interviews, the emic approach was followed, which tries to reduce the distance between the "knower and the known" (Adkins, 2002, p. 332), which means that the researcher becomes an active facilitator of the interview. This role, however, requires several ethical issues to be considered. Cohen and colleagues (2000) state that "ethical concerns need to be addressed at the outset of the research process and acknowledged as it is undertaken. Professional codes exist to provide guidance, but the responsibility for upholding them must lie with the individual researcher" (p. 49).

It is important to provide some background knowledge about how I became involved at the school and in the lives of the Roma community. The declining student population and growing concern for the school led the local government to measures to improve the situation. In 2006, when the former headteacher's contract was not extended, I was appointed the headteacher of the school and kindergarten. One year later, due to political changes in the local government, the former head was reelected. During my work as a teacher and headteacher, I put special emphasis on keeping contact with Roma and non-Roma parents and children, and creating an "educational culture" of mutual understanding, respect and trust, all achieved through regular contact and communication. All of my experiences, impressions and observations were recorded in a narrative format in my personal diary, which later provided helpful insights for my field notes and interviews. For one year, after leaving the school, I maintained contact with some of the children but I was not present in the life of the community. When I returned with my research aims, all the Roma families I asked warmheartedly agreed to participate and invited me to their houses as a researcher.

Thus the choice of this particular setting was based on the fact that I had a degree of background knowledge about the location and the participants, which gave me an "insider" perspective on the context of the research (Richards, 2003). Moreover, as I was already familiar to many, although not necessarily all the families, my role in the community as a researcher could be more readily accepted than it otherwise would have been. Though this familiarity is supposed to ease the task of providing insider perspectives, the researcher has to remain objective and take "outsider" views as well (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995; Richards, 2003). Consequently, it was necessary for me not to take important features of the context for granted, and accept one party's

views on certain events without considering the other party's perspectives. The ways of achieving this were the keeping of a research diary, conducting interviews with teachers, initiating informal conversations with village citizens, making observations at the school and consulting official reports.

6.3.4. Selection of participants

The participants for the interviews were selected from the parents of the children studying at the school. In many instances the families had children of different ages and could provide some information about the kindergarten, as well as the primary school itself. The group of participants was partly "purposively" selected (Cohen et al, 2000). The selection criteria was based on the background knowledge of how Roma themselves differentiate between each other, and which relied on their origins and socio-economic status. This categorisation is manifest in different neighbourhoods of the participants. Apart from this, the whole research process started with the president of the Roma minority government, as a spokesperson for the community and he was asked to suggest a family I could visit and talk to. From this time on, each family suggested another one they thought had "something to tell me".

After the interviews I encouraged informants to keep contact and offered my help in case of trouble, hoping that it would encourage my contacts to report any news. A few families took this opportunity, which provided me with even deeper insights into conflict matters with the school, as well as giving me the chance to act ethically by not abandoning my participants after my work with them was complete.

The issue of conducting interviews with the teachers was more challenging. Familiarity with the teachers was thought to be a disadvantage as it limited the scope of gaining real insights into their opinions and feelings in connection with Roma families. This was why a semi-structured interview was designed, which was conducted by a student research assistant. At first, the current headteacher attempted to select interviewees for the researcher, but this was avoided by preliminary negotiation concerning the attributes of the teachers, namely that to get a wider picture the research needed representatives from the management, and teachers with varying professional experience. Guiding the selection of participants was important because I knew from

my experience that teachers and especially the management were very sensitive about the Roma issue, and suspicious of any research which would question their professionalism in the light of the context outlined above. Because of this there was a grave danger that the data collected would be misleading in important respects.

6.3.5. Field Work

The official research field work started in the spring of 2008 and lasted until 2010, but as been mentioned, data collection started much earlier, during the academic year of 2006/2007 in the form of my personal diary. In 2008 the first task undertaken was to get in contact with the president of the Roma minority government which was followed by selection of participants. Next the first interviews were conducted which were followed by others either on my request or on participants' inviting or getting in contact with me.

6.4. RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

6.4.1. Interviews

Interviews, according to Richards (2003), are one of the "main sources of data" of qualitative research (p. 15). They are an effective way to obtain in-depth personal information, explain attributions and attitudes. Furthermore, they provide an understanding of personal viewpoints that would be difficult to achieve through surveys. Interviews are widely used in studies of culture and communication to provide ethnographic information on participants and settings. Getting to know different perspectives on situations, promotes understanding and explanation of interactions (Davis, 1995; Gumperz, 2003; Scollon & Scollon, 2001).

However, one has to be aware of the subjective, or rather the "intersubjective nature" of interviews (Cohen et al., 2000, p. 267). Interviewing is comprised of much more than skills in questioning, listening and interpretation, least of all using the interviewee as only an "informant" (Mason, 2002, p. 226). Mason (2002) warns that interviews cannot *"unearth"* relevant data because it is not in a form that can be uncovered (a "static decontextual" existence), but that they offer the opportunity for the interviewer

and interviewee to participate together in a process of "knowledge construction" (p. 227). The interview and the interviewer "cannot be in all relevant contexts to witness the operation of practices and processes", and that is why asking the participants to narrate relevant situations to the focus of inquiry is significant (Mason, 2002, p. 227). "The researcher needs to devise questions and modes of asking which both anticipate and discover the range of contexts" participants have experienced (Mason, 2002, p. 227). "Knowledge gained in this way is a co-production since it is dependent upon the combined efforts of interviewer and interviewee in conjuring up the relevant contexts from which they think, talk, act and interpret" (Mason, 2002, p. 227).

Collected data will vary depending on the structuring of the interview (Cohen et al., 2000), as well as on the degree of control; that is to what extent the interviewer controls the direction, and the subjects of the interview (Richards, 2003). The power relationships between the interviewer and the interviewee can also influence the interviewee's answers, and willingness to disclose feelings (Cohen et al., 2000). Researchers must be aware though, that each interview can offer only a limited insight into social processes, so it seems to be rational to conduct and compare a series of interviews. In the case of my research, as the number of interviews grew, general patterns began to take shape from what once appeared to be discrete stories. Supplementing interviews with both follow up interviews and other data sources was found to be useful in constructing a more holistic understanding of the issues.

Consequently, this research used a number of different interview techniques over an extended period of time and also made use of many other data sources. One part of each interview was semi-structured with a pre-determined set of questions and question order, which in the course of the conversation became extended by themes the participants found important to share. The question wording and order was often changed during the interviews. Nevertheless, some degree of standardisation was needed, so that comparisons could be made between participants' background and attitudes towards the same topics.

All of these interviews were audio recorded and then transcribed. The subsequent analysis was qualitative with responses coded to aid the identification of patterns, relationships, and significant events. The audio recorded interviews were also

supplemented by informal interviews or short conversations, both face-to-face and by telephone, as opportunities and needs arose. Since audio recording was impractical given spontaneous nature of these less formal interviews, any data was recorded through notes made directly after the interview.

6.4.2. Observation

Participant observation is an "intense social interaction between researcher and the subjects, in the milieu of the latter" (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975. p. 5). Hammersely and Atkinson (2007) note that combining participant observation with interviews can promote deeper understanding "as data from each can be used to illuminate the other" (p. 102). Experience gained as a participant observer can promote understanding and interpretation of participants' views. I was a passive participant when I observed lessons in the school, and more 'involved' when I visited families, Roma cultural festivals, and was invited to a Roma wedding. However, I did not participate fully in all activities as in case of "complete participation" (full membership in a group) (Dewalt & Dewalt, 2002, p. 21).

6.4.3. Diary

Hammersely and Atkinson (2007) argue that diaries can be "adjunct to fieldwork", and especially to participant observation (p. 126). While working at the school and later throughout the research project I kept a diary putting down feelings, reflections, case studies, and details about how the research proceeded. This helped to follow the "natural history" of the research (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995, p. 192) as well as "bring otherwise hidden progress to light" (Richards 2003, p. 267). Notes promoted the interpretation of the data, and in certain cases threw light on some aspects of interviews that needed further investigation. The research diary served as a useful resource for noting down the families' living conditions, extra information, comments and impressions that the interviews could not record.

6.4.4. Documents

It was also helpful to examine local documents related to the school. Saville-Troike (1989) claims that documents can provide a valuable source of historical and

"background information on a community" (p. 107). Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) argue that "rather than being viewed as more or less biased sources of data, official documents and enumerations should be treated as social products: they must be examined, not relied on uncritically as a research resource" (p. 168). In this study the documents analysed included annual reports of the school management presented to the local government, the Quality Insurance Policy of the Institution, Pedagogical Programme[16] etc. and educational documents of Hungary (i.e. Acts on Public Education).

6.5. DATA ANALYSIS

To analyse the qualitative data that resulted from the interviews, the data was first transcribed from the tape recordings of the interviews. Several reflections and qualitative analyses were applied to properly address the research questions in this study. This method of developing a research supported by a body of evidence that starts with a set of field notes and interview data is a grounded theory mechanism (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Within the frames of this method,

- a constant comparison was employed to help identify underlying themes and sub-themes,
- the frequency of ideas was investigated, and
- the intensity of ideas was concerned.

The constant comparative method was used to help analyse the interview data. The data was initially transcribed and categorised then this data was used to identify passages that shed light on the topics of the research questions (Charmaz, 2007). Interview quotes were grouped together as well to organise the findings and create a more cohesive picture about the issue under investigation. This method helped to identify emergent and recurring themes, develop preliminary assumptions and

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[16] Intézményi Minőségirányítási Program, Pedagógiai program

conclusions, as well as to interpret social meanings. Each transcript was then screened again to check the accuracy of interpretations and reveal hidden meanings (Charmaz, 2007).

To be able to identify themes and sub-themes, the study focused on frequency; the total number of times a concept, or an idea was mentioned. This means that many of the quotations chosen below reflect a common theme that emerged in the interview data. The ideas cited in these particular quotations expressed a general feeling that was mentioned with a high frequency, and thus raised awareness of the possible significance of the theme (Charmaz, 2007). Such attention to frequency of ideas and emerging concepts resembles the quantitative technique, but the emphasis here is on issues, themes, and words appearing in such quantity which directs the researcher to investigate further the quality (i.e. significance) of the phenomenon.

The last criterion for quotation selection was based on intensity of the idea articulated by the participants. Issues which were expressed using powerful and affective language, or were accompanied by high emotional excitement, or the interviewee appeared particularly convincing about the significance of a certain idea, then that statement received greater consideration than others, even if it was not mentioned so often.

Finally, to assure that the themes and patterns identified as a result of the transcribed interviews were accurate, it was necessary to verify the researcher's interpretation of the data by performing a member check. Lincoln and Guba (1985) claim that "a member check, in which data, analytic categories, interpretations, and conclusions are tested with members of the invested groups from whom the data were originally collected, is the most crucial technique for establishing credibility. Member checking is both formal and informal, and it occurs continuously" (p. 314). In addition, "member checking may be conducted at the end of an interview. . . .maybe conducted in interviews by verifying interpretations and data gathered in earlier interviews. . . maybe conducted in informal conversations with members" (Erlandson, et al., 1993, p. 142). I fulfilled this member check by discussing the qualitative results with two participants in the village, and asked individuals to verify the themes that had emerged from the data. Both members were excited to participate in this part of the study and

were quick to provide feedback on the themes and sub-themes suggested. Feedback indicated strong support for the majority of the themes.

6.6. ETHICS AND RISKS

Because a large amount of qualitative research pertains to self-disclosure and the relaying of personal information, issues of ethics and risk are highly significant. Although these concerns must always be taken into account, the context of this research meant that the moral aspects of the study were especially important. As members of a disadvantaged minority, the Roma contributed to the research from a position of vulnerability, and as an outsider, my treatment of sensitive subjects had to be carefully managed.

Boeije (2010) cites trust as the basic concept underlying qualitative research and in achieving the balance between effective information gathering and ethical methods. While developing trust between the researcher and participant has the advantage of encouraging contributions and discussion, the researcher also has a responsibility to be aware of contentious subject matter (Boeije, 2010). My interviewees knew me prior to my research activities, and so trust was easily established. Having gained the confidence of the participants, I had to remain sensitive to topics they might not be willing to talk about, despite their growing eagerness to share their opinions. There were other ethical challenges in working with teachers. Hatch (2002) notes that teachers can be coerced into participating in studies about which they would otherwise have had reservations because they perceive themselves as subordinate to the researcher. Teachers may feel reluctant to say no to 'experts', or to give the impression they have something to hide, but generally are reluctant to speak about their problems, because talking about their failures would threaten their professionalism (Hatch, 2002). "Full disclosure of research intentions" and an emphasis on the fact that participation is voluntary are necessary (Hatch, 2002, p. 67).

This form of informed consent is also essential when dealing with vulnerable groups. All involved must be fully aware that participation is not compulsory, and researchers must avoid using their position of authority to influence those whom they would like to

study (Hatch, 2002). In the case of my research, these challenges were met by ensuring that all informants were protected by a code of confidentiality and were informed of their role in the research process. In this way the risk of deception was averted and the interviewees could speak freely without fear of being recognised. In addition to this, the interviews with the teachers were carried out by an assistant, as my prior experiences as the headteacher of the school would have made it difficult for the teachers to speak candidly. It was in this atmosphere of transparency and trust that all of the interviews were conducted.

According to Boeije (2010), another ethical issue is the extent to which the research can be helpful or harmful for the participants. Hutchinson and Hutchinson (1994) claim say that talking about sensitive experiences can be painful or affecting, and the researcher must be aware that participants may be protecting themselves by omitting answers to certain questions (as cited in Boeije, 2010). Nevertheless, recounting experiences to an attentive listener can provide a sense of relief and because interviewees are encouraged to reflect upon events, issues may be illuminated that help them "make sense of their past and present experiences" (Sque, 2000, as cited in Boeije, 2010, p. 51). Recognising that one's opinion is valuable improves an individual's confidence, especially for those who feel deprived of acknowledgement and appreciation. Participants may also be motivated by the idea that they can contribute to solving the chosen problem, and it is the responsibility of the researcher to ensure that their work provides the basis for sustainable improvements (Boeije, 2010). I believe that this idea of a long-term obligation on the part of the researcher is essential, and that the well-being of the interviewee should be taken into account even after the interview is completed and the researcher has withdrawn from the situation. By being aware of the influence of the research process on those involved, researchers can ensure that participants are protected, and that emphasis can be put on the benefits for all (Boeije, 2010).

6.7. VALIDITY/TRUSTWORTHINESS

Researchers have to prove that their studies are credible (Golafshani, 2003). While in quantitative research the emphasis is mainly on "instrument construction", in

qualitative research, "the researcher is the main instrument" (Patton, 2001, as cited in Golafshani, 2003, p. 600). Golafshani states that "when quantitative researchers speak of research validity and reliability, they are usually referring to a research that is credible, while the credibility of qualitative research depends on the ability and effort of the researcher" (Golafshani, 2003, p. 600). She also claims that "Although reliability and validity are treated separately in quantitative studies, these terms are not viewed separately in qualitative research. Instead, terminology that encompasses both, such as credibility, transferability, and trustworthiness are used" (Golafshani, 2003, p. 600).

Cohen, Mannion and Morrison (2007) insist that validity is "the touchstone of all types of educational research" (p. 134), and argue for the need for authenticity rather than positivistic notions of predictive and "convergent validity" (p. 150). They show that qualitative methods can address aspects of validity as long as the researcher locates discussions of validity within the research paradigm being used, so that the natural setting is the primary source of data which is "socially situated", "culturally saturated" (p. 134), and "context bound" (p. 167). This form of validity is concerned with process as well as outcomes, with the researcher "part of the researched world" (2007, p. 134).

Triangulation has long been a tool for demonstrating validity in qualitative research (Campbell & Fiske, 1959). The type of methodological triangulation that is used most frequently in education involves the use of several methods such as interviews, observations, documentary sources and case studies that have been applied in the current study. The meaning of reliability in qualitative research is not so much the measure of consistency, replicability and dependability to which it refers in quantitative studies (Cohen et al., 2007). Rather, "in qualitative methodologies reliability includes fidelity to real life, context and situation specificity, authenticity, comprehensiveness, detail, honesty, depth of response and meaningfulness to the respondents" (Cohen et al., 2007, p. 149).

A number of techniques are proposed for establishing trustworthiness, including prolonged engagement in the field, observation, ethnographic descriptions, triangulation of data, diaries etc. to establish dependability and conformability

(Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Many of these techniques have been employed in this research.

6.8. METHODOLOGY AND LIMITATIONS

One of the limitations of the methodology applied to this research is related to its generalisability. Due to number of participants and the single setting of the study, the conclusions reached through this study may not be applicable at a larger scale. Richards (2003) notes this dilemma when he points at the difficulty of balancing the need in qualitative research to focus on unique elements in a research setting with the wider relevance of research to other research fields. It is argued that for qualitative research the concepts like transferability (the relevance of the research in other settings), and "resonance" (Richards, 2003, p. 265) are of more concern than generalisation (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). To ensure transferability, the researcher should provide enough details for other researchers to "share in the researcher's understandings and find instantiations of them in their own professional experience" (Richards, 2003, p. 266). This study will attempt to do this through providing an in-depth analysis in which a variety of data sources are used to construct a detailed picture of the participants' environment. As teachers are part of a large group of the teaching profession and as my Roma sample may share features with other Roma peoples in the world it is probable that their views and interpretations of their situation will be transferable to other, similar settings.

The other limitation may have been the role of the researcher as a former teacher/headteacher in the study school. As previously discussed the researcher's familiarity with the setting could involve not only the advantages of getting an insider view concerning the life of Roma families, but may also restrict possible insights into the teachers' perspectives. By employing a critical reflexivity (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995) towards the research process as it developed, these limitations were controlled and made explicit where unavoidable.

6.9. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Through triangulation of these multiple data sources the research aims to build up a detailed and in-depth description of the causes of the negative relationship between Roma parents and school and to examine how this is realised in intercultural encounters. The multiple perspectives recorded in the research, including participant perceptions, researcher interpretations, and wider social contexts, were expected to present a multidimensional and dynamic characterisation of the researched issues. The research aims to offer macro level characterisation to account for how intercultural relations operate in this community, and is supported by the "micro- analysis" (Saville-Troike, 1989, p.133) of how the factors affecting this relationship emerged through intercultural encounters. The combination of them may provide a holistic answer to the research questions. It is hoped that through identifying the factors affecting the negative relationship, as well as examining the participants' communication in the context of their environment, parallels can be drawn with other settings in which intercultural education faces similar difficulties.

CHAPTER 7.
FINDINGS

7.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the findings from the field work and draws on how they relate to the research questions. In order to answer the chosen research questions, interviews with 15 families and 6 teachers were transcribed and analysed. Several categories and schemes were used to help understand and compare the various answers provided in the recorded interviews, which promote deeper understanding of the subject matter. This analytic induction allows the researcher to identify patterns in the data and provide a detailed account of a particular phenomenon. This kind of "thick description" throws light on how different variables are related to one another, enabling the researcher to outline an integrated framework (Geertz, 1973).

The research questions

RQ1: What defines the negative relationship between Roma parents and school, what factors affect them and how do parents and teachers account for them?

RQ2: To what extent are these factors related to perceived cultural differences?

RQ3: How is this relationship manifested in the communication between Roma families and teachers?

The objective of this qualitative analysis was to gain a better understanding of the context-specific processes that shape the relationship between Roma families and school. In addition, the role of different socio-cultural backgrounds was investigated in this relationship, as well as its manifestation in the communication process. The findings below help to clarify many of the underlying factors that affect this

relationship. The observations found in the interview data permitted a deeper understanding of the important role identity, trust and values play in conflict situations. Furthermore, the findings have provided evidence that a tool is needed for reflecting on the communication process in a way that would allow practitioners to proactively consider forthcoming conflict situations. In summary, the findings reinforced the need for a communication model.

7.2. OBSERVATION

As has been described in the methodology section, there were two kinds of observations made. External participation was incorporated in classroom observations where the focus was on teacher-student communication. I observed all the participant teachers' lessons while I worked at the school, so they took place earlier than the interviews. Naturally, the validity of these observations is dubious due to the Hawthorne effect (Landsberger, 1958), whereby the teachers improved or modified some aspects of their behaviour because of being studied by their colleague/researcher. However, these observations can give useful insights into teachers' attitudes and their communication style with students, as teachers were mainly concerned with demonstrating their methodological expertise. Altogether eight lessons were observed in both lower primary and upper primary classrooms. Balanced participation involved visiting Roma festivals, while a more active observation took place while visiting families in their houses.

7.3. DOCUMENTS

Document analysis throughout the research included reading over annual school reports made by headteachers since 2006, the public documents of the school i.e. Pedagogical Programme, the Quality Insurance Policy of the Institution, Rules of Organisation and Operation Management[17], and the Law on Public Education 1993. VXXIX.

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[17] Pedagógiai Program, Minőség Irányítási Program, Szervezeti és Működési Szabályzat

7.4. DIARY

Throughout and before the research I wrote a diary. While I was a headteacher I kept notes of my thoughts, observations and stories about families, hoping that my experience and my professional practice would one day contribute to others' work as well. In fact, the research diary was a follow up of my personal diary with more field notes and observations. Though a personal diary is quite subjective in nature, the data, reports and comments in my diary, with the addition of my field notes proved extremely useful in triangulation and in avoiding researcher bias.

7.5. INTERVIEWS

In the first round, 15 interviews were recorded with each family. The average interview length of recordings was 93 minutes and the length of the total recordings was 23 hours and 30 minutes with the parents, and 4 hours and 70 minutes with the teachers. The initial interviews were semi-structured (Cohen et al., 2000) in the sense that I had a pre-planned set of questions and topics to be covered in each interview. However, as I gradually gathered more information over the course of the field work and as the categories based on constructing and interpreting data took shape, the interview questions and the orientation for the interviews varied depending on context and content, and on the participants themselves.

FAMILIES	NUMBER OF CHILDREN	PARTICIPANTS PRESENT DURING THE INTERVIEW
F1	7	1 (father)
F2	8	8 (6 children, mother, father)
F 3	6	2 (mother, grandmother)
F4	4	1 (mother)
F5	2	2 (mother, father)
F 6	4	2 (mother and her daughter)
F 7	3	4 (mother and her 3 daughters)

FAMILIES	NUMBER OF CHILDREN	PARTICIPANTS PRESENT DURING THE INTERVIEW
F8	2	2 (mother and her son)
F 9	2	2 (mother and her daughter)
F 10	6	1 (mother)
F11	3	3 (mother and her 2 daughters and son)
F 12	2	3 (mother and father, their son)
F 13	2	2 (mother and her daughter)
F14	3	4 (mother and her 3 daughters)
F 15	2	1 (mother)

Table 7.1. Families involved in the research (recorded interviews: 38 participants: 19 adults, 19 children present)

7.5.1. Participants

The participants of this investigation were the teachers and parents (see Table 7.1.) of children who belong to the HHH[18] category. Despite the disadvantaged circumstances that the investigated families share, each will be further characterised in terms of their family background, living conditions and status by the areas in the village in which they live. Similar background information will be provided about the teachers. For the purpose of differentiating between the situations of the participants, and to draw attention to the social relevance of their opinions, it is useful to describe the three distinct areas from which the participants come. These districts will be used to refer to later.

1. The privileged Roma precincts are areas scattered around the village in which the better-off Roma have homes. This community of skilled workers originated in the 1960s, when families living in rural hamlets were encouraged, by a government

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[18] Law on Public Education 1993.LXXIX.121.§/14. and 11/1994 (VI.8.) MKM 39/D §

promoting centralisation, to settle in the village. The interviewees from these areas are mainly the descendants of these migrants. These Roma are considered the most similar to their Hungarian neighbours. Their houses reflect their social standing, for while these Roma are not rich, they live comfortably in painted houses with private bathrooms and central heating.

2. Known in the village as "Roma Row", this single street is the home of a variety of Roma peoples. While some can trace their ancestor to the area, many of the inhabitants moved in more recently due to family ties. Often, when a Roma from another village or town marries into a local family, their relatives move in closer to the new extended family. These later additions to the community tend to be unemployed and can live bereft of basic facilities such as bathrooms. The impoverished state of many of their homes is emphasised all the more by the fact that their immediate neighbours maybe of the former category, who have lived long enough in the village to have inherited nice houses and established themselves in the community. These native occupants often voice their disregard for living in such close proximity to the other, less fortunate, Roma.

3. The slum area of the village is the home of the most deprived Roma families. Originally these clay homes were built for peasants, from the days when the area was the property of landowners. While maintained, the conditions of these houses have not improved since then. These poorest families have no choice but to live in squalor, in makeshift houses with no more than two rooms and shortage of facilities.

Family One (F1): My first interviewee was the president of the Roma minority government. He has seven children, and has been with his wife for 35 years. He is the only participant who invited me to his office for the interview, though this, rather than a sign of reluctance to accept me into his home, was a gesture of pride in his position and status. This distinction was made clear when I was invited to the wedding where he and his wife remarried (after years of being refused a church wedding because of their relationships as distant relatives). Before his being elected as the president of the Roma Minority Government, this interviewee earned most of his living by buying and selling scrap iron. He devotes most of his time to organising events to collect and

distribute funds to the Roma community. At the time of the research, only two of his daughters went to the village school, but in the past all of his children had attended the institution. He says he is Romungro, but while he himself does not speak the Roma language, he is working hard to advocate for it to be taught at the school. Throughout the interview he affected a particularly refined register. He and his family live on 'Roma Row'.

Family Two (F2): This is one of the families I visited several times during the research. The parents and the 7 children live in a tattered house with two rooms and no bathroom in the "Slum area" of the village. Their eldest son fell in love with a Hungarian girl, who became pregnant and was consequently disowned by her parents. Since then, the family furnished a small, shack-like house for the young couple, and registered both mother and child under the name of the head of the family. This means that there are now 12 people living in the house. They are a caring family, who face very serious economic difficulties from day to day, but they are proud of what they have. The father was brought up in a foster home and is very proud of the family he now has. He is recognised and respected in the village for the reliable work he does on request. All their children, with the exception of the oldest son, go to the village school.

Family Three (F3): The single woman and her mother look after her niece's six children, having saved them from going to a foster home when the birth mother went abroad. Last heard of from a refugee camp in Germany, the birth mother sent back the children she had taken with her, where they were to join their siblings in a foster home. On the request of their grandmother, the children were adopted by their aunt and now live together in a neat home with two rooms. The older woman, whose husband used to be a musician, was proud to show off their small bathroom and a built-in cupboard where all the children's clothes are kept. While the family live on Roma Row, they make a decisive effort to distance themselves from their neighbours.

Family Four (F4): This family has four children. The head of the family is the strong willed mother, whose father was Hungarian. She has faced many challenges in her life, especially during the period in which her husband was in prison. Although she has a determined personality, she conducts herself very subtly. She tries her best to

cooperate with the school and kindergarten, as she says, she really cares about her children's education. She used to live on the "Roma row", but she and her family moved to the privileged precinct where they now rent their house. She suggests this is the reason other Roma consider her conceited and snobbish.

Family Five (F5): This family of four live in a neat two-storey house in the privileged precinct. The mother is a modest character, who was originally from another village. She used to speak the Roma language, but stopped after her marriage, as her husband does not speak it himself. While theirs was the nicest of the houses I visited, the mother complains that they dare not buy nice things because she, her husband, and two children are the target of jealousy.

Family Six (F6): Living on Roma Row, two of the four children in this family are from the mother's previous marriage. These children, a son and daughter, often visit their father, who is especially well-off and lives in a town, with a lifestyle very different from theirs. The children have the opportunity to experience aspects of life they would otherwise be deprived of, such as owning a car and having a private bathroom. The mother has a lot of problems with her two elder sons; the younger was forced to become a private student because of his behavioural issues, while the elder boy is the gang leader in his class of 'difficult' students, who have been separated from the rest of the form.

Family Seven (F7): The mother is the member of the local minority government and the leader of a local Roma dancing group for children. She and her husband have three daughters, all of whom attend the local school. They say they are Romungro and live a modest but satisfied life on Roma Row, despite the fact that the father has been in prison.

Family Eight (F8): There are two children in this family. The son was born with a birth defect, which means that his mother has spent his childhood fighting to ensure that he is properly cared for and given the opportunity to develop despite his physical and neurological difficulties. After kindergarten, the family was advised to send the boy to a special school, but indignant about the implications of this, and worried about their son's safety as well as costs, both mother and father were strongly against the

measure. After confrontations with both the school board and the local government, the family eventually conceded. Not long afterwards, however, safety and comfort continued to be an issue, and the parents chose to transfer him back to the village school. There, his situation has not improved due to constant bullying from his peers. The second child went to vocational school after completing primary school, but much to her mother's regret, dropped out for a boy before she had finished her course.

Family Nine (F9): When the younger of the two girls in this family was born with birth defects, her parents sued the hospital. By the time I was conducting my research, the family had already been in court for over 3 years. Like families F8 and F5, they live in the privileged Roma precinct of the village. The mother cannot work because the school does not provide all day supervision for her daughter, and she must look after her child during the day herself. I remain in regular contact with this family.

Family Ten (F10): Living under miserable conditions in the slum area, this is a family of six children. Both parents drink, and during my time at the school their children were taken into care by the authorities.

Family 11 (F11): My knowledge of this family is based on only a single, brief interview. Rather than discussing their Roma origin, the parents preferred to talk about their three children's progress at school. The father is a Hungarian from another village, and was opposed by his own parents when he chose to marry a Roma woman. They live modestly in the privileged precinct of the village, and have studious children (two daughters and a son).

Family Twelve (F12): This family consists of two well dressed and hard working boys. They and their parents live in the slum area, and while both parents work, they struggle economically. The family regularly attends church.

Family Thirteen (F13): This single mother brings up her two children alone. While both are very well behaved, neither attains exceptional results at school. The family is proud of their Roma origin, if only to the extent that the older daughter was awarded a prize in a Roma story-telling competition.

Family Fourteen (F14): All three daughters in this family are successful at school. They live comfortably with their mother in the privileged precinct of the village while their father takes trips to work abroad. This family preferred not to talk about their Roma origin, and instead focused the interview on the subject of their children's education.

Family 15 (F15): One of the two children of this family is markedly talented. He is exceptional in all of the subjects he studies, and participates in extra-curricular competitions. Being a sensitive, nervous sort of child, he suffers from bullying at school. With a home in the privileged precinct, the boys' parents make every effort to provide their children with everything, from books to a computer.

Teachers:

Teacher One (T1) has been teaching for more than 30 years and has since gained both a social status and a managerial position at the school. Her experiences have left her an authoritative and confident woman, and one who has witnessed all of the changes in the village since the days that the student population was as high as around 400 to recent times. She says that she loves working at the school.

Teacher Two (T2) began her career in the kindergarten and has been teaching for more than 30 years. She claims not to enjoy teaching as much as she once did.

Teacher Three (T3): Despite having worked for more than 30 years, T3 is the quiet, resigned sort of teacher who suffers from disobedience and disrespect when she cannot control her class. Although she is not an assertive person, she is both collected and refined in her manner.

Teacher Four (T4): Having taught at the institution for more than 30 years, T4 is now the headteacher of the school. She has a very assertive and headstrong demeanour. Very suspicious of the aims of the research, she drew a somewhat deceptive picture of the school when speaking about its pedagogical practices, and her statements turned out to be contradictory even during the interview.

Teacher Five (T5): While this teacher has been working for more than 20 years, she began her career in another village. She conducts herself with confidence, and was the only interviewee who expressed the opinion that methodological changes at the school would lead to improvements, admitting that they are not really aware of how to do it.

Teacher Six (T6) has been in the profession for more than 25 years. She is very creative in her teaching technique, and has been teaching art and drama. Generally, she has a good relationship with her students. Throughout the interview she was the only one who dared voice a critical view of her colleges and herself. She admits that she is not very popular among her colleagues. She has since left the school.

7.6. INTERVIEW ANALYSIS

To ensure validity and reliability triangulation seemed to be very useful during the research. Observations, documentary sources, the personal diary as well as the field notes promoted the analysing process.

The interview extracts have been numbered and their original version can be found in the appendix at the end of the dissertation. Where the Hungarian terms and expressions used by participants were found to be of special interest concerning style, word choice, or they were limited in scope to be translated properly, they were explained in brackets.

7.6.1. Parental involvement – different interpretations of "caring"

Based on the interviews with teachers, the issue of parental involvement was identified as one source of negative relationships. This concept appears with intensity and frequency in teachers' interpretations of problems concerning the majority of Roma families, with an emphasis placed on the word "caring". Analysing the interviews has shown that teachers and parents interpret the meaning of "caring" in different ways.

For teachers caring means that parents should try to meet the expectations and requirements of the school. Teachers expect children to be clean, disciplined, and bring all the books and other equipment with them when coming to school. Caring for

teachers also means to show interest in the child's education. The following quotes show how teachers construe the meaning of caring from the school's perspective.

Extract 1.

T4: *They* [Roma children] *are undisciplined in the sense that they do not keep to the rules- the school regulations* [házirend] *- they are late, it's because they do not take these things seriously.* [Being late] *ten minutes or 15 minutes doesn't matter, so this kind of sloppiness is still typical. And yes, when we tell the parents that these ten minutes will add up to a lesson skip, and that this absence must be justified... well these are things parents don't take seriously at all. But then I can't say that there are notorious truants, like there used to be.*

Ex. 2.

T1: *They are not concerned about the child. Full stop. That's it. Those* [children] *who do well, in their case it does not matter whether they are Roma or not. Their parents are here in parent-teacher meetings. Those we have problems with, well, it's difficult to involve them - to involve them in doing something for the child.*

Ex. 3.

T2: *There are no parents. The child is discourteous and dirty... They do not have school equipment, but I see signs of it* [lack of parental background] *in that the children are unkempt, dirty. You see, there is no checking, there is no responsibility..... There is no parental support. They don't just not check the child's learning, they don't check the child at all.*

Ex. 4

T5*: What we can see is the signs of apathy, I mean, the child is untidy.*

An interesting example of the observer's paradox is the headteacher's answers to the questions. Throughout the interview her comments and interpretation of certain events sharply contradicted her colleagues' accounts. Though as it has been implied there was only one teacher who seemed not to show any concern of being interviewed and expressed her thoughts directly, all the other teachers tried to control how they gave voice to their opinions i.e. always emphasising that they do not generalise. However,

their approach to the problem could reveal a lot about their underlying assumptions and beliefs. Especially in the case of the headteacher, it was a challenge to interpret her interview and to recognise the connotations of her manner and the ideas she expressed. The following remark, which contradicts her colleagues' general opinions, was made at the beginning of the interview. Later, she grew less diplomatic.

Ex. 5.

T4: *I would not say that cleanness is a typical problem, because in today's world, I think, nobody is so poor that they don't have a bathroom, as it used to be 20 or 30 years ago, when Roma families really couldn't afford a bathroom or washing facilities. It is not characteristic, even - and I put this term into inverted commas- the "Roma row" Roma, if I may, have bathrooms, so this is not a problem. I'm not saying that everyone is always extremely extra neat, because there are exceptions, but it is not typical for most of them to be untidy or unkempt, or for the children not to be dressed properly. There are three/four families we have problems with, but not just us, the child-welfare service does as well* [gyermekjóléti szolgálat].

Examination of the perceived causes of not caring about children reveals not only macro factors affecting Roma parents' behaviour i.e. unemployment, but also underlying assumptions about cultural differences as well. These differences are seen rather in the value system, and some assumptions tend to be based on stereotypes and prejudice. They are as follows: not working is a lifestyle, Roma parents and children do not have aims, and families have a lot of children for the purpose of getting more money.

Ex. 6.

T3: *The problem lies in that a generation has grown up who are at home and try to live on the dole. And what the children see is that you can get by this way, and that this is a lifestyle for them. This is a serious problem which we could have called a kind of motivation earlier- a way of saying that you must study, but now they do not have goals. Or they have the kind of goals like "I will get by as my mother and father, who can get by family allowances and unemployment*

benefit". This is the model they want to follow. The parents are still in bed when the children leave for school.

T5*: Going to school and studying there, is like going to work. It supposes a kind of daily routine. But children, who have never seen their parents getting up early and going to a workplace, they lack this experience. How could I make them feel responsible if they have never seen a good example?*

T1: *Many parents can't bring themselves to check whether the child has brought his or her school bag to school. They are not concerned about their children. As a third party, we sometimes feel that they give birth to get more family allowance. They do. There are more and more of them* [of these children]. *We do not feel that parents care about them, they expect everything from institutionalised education.*

T2: *It depends on the value system in the family. But you cannot generalise. There is a Roma student, for example who goes to our school, and her mother comes up to me regularly to ask "Would you please tell me how I could help my child? What shall I buy him, because we don't have much money, but I'll buy what he needs because this is the most important." And this child will learn, and this child will succeed. Because there is a value system in this family. It is important for the child to study. So that s/he learns more, and I'll* [the parent] *support her/him as I can.*

The interviews also shed light on how the parents perceived the concept of caring, and what family ties and their children meant to them. Stark contrasts can be found between how teachers and parents interpret parental roles, from the affection parents demonstrate towards their children, to observations made in connection to hygiene issues. All Roma participants expressed the value of devotion to their children. The first example is that of a mother who was ready to fight against the local government

to avoid her child being sent to a special school. The second interviewee gives account of the ways in which Roma parents are different from Hungarian ones.

Ex. 10.

F8: *I will do everything for this child. They can take my house from under my feet, but if I say I'm not going to let him go to that special school, because this or that person says he is stupid, then I won't, whatever happens.*

Ex. 11.

R: ***What is your dream or wish?***

F6: *Jesus, for all the four* [children] *to stay with me. I wish I could make such big rooms that all of them would be here. One big bathroom - but this is only my dream. I'm a princess who is dreaming (she laughs).*

R: ***Your son has been admitted to a secondary school, so he is on his way…***

F6: *Yes, but you know, he spends most of his time with his father, and I'm really worried that he will bring him up in a Hungarian way, not in the Roma.*

R: ***What does this mean?***

F6*: I don't want to offend you, but Gypsies love their children more than Hungarians. We are more concerned for them. When my son was in hospital we were told that we mustn't stay with the child at night. We fought for the right to stay there, most Hungarians just went home. My partner slept on a rubbish bin, because there wasn't any room in that little hospital ward. When there is trouble, it's enough for us to sleep two/three hours - When it is for the child. When we sleep together, it does not just mean that we don't have beds, but because we want to make them feel that they are safe.*

The following conversation took place while I worked at the school. The dialogue and narrative were recorded in my diary (see Diary 1. in appendix). The parents' children were taken to a care home from the school and the kindergarten without informing the parents, as authorities hoped to avoid a violent confrontation.

Ex. 12.

F10: *I have nothing but those children, and they took them away. They say I didn't look after them, I didn't care. They had nice clothes, a lot of clothes, because we received them. They* [authorities] *say they were starving, and shabbily dressed, this is what the social worker* [gyámügyes] *said. That we have no bathroom…*

R: ***What are you going to do now?***

F10: *I don't know, but my husband had to be kept back not to kill someone. I'll do everything to get them back. They say if the house is in order, I'll get them back. Those bastards. My little ones, they are everything to me. I go to the kindergarten for them and they are nowhere. What are these people made of?*

In response to teachers' opinion about Roma parents' caring and feeling of responsibility, is the example of the single woman who adopted 6 children abandoned by her niece. The grandmother asked her to adopt the children and they gave up their comfortable life for the sake of the children. The grandmother speaks about the situation as follows:

Ex. 13.

F4: *Of course, it is hard. But what can we do? The little ones were weeping here and begging us not to send the older ones into the foster home. We live in 2 rooms, eight of us, but you can see we live in tidiness… and that girl may turn up one day (she cries).*

Although teachers accuse parents of a lack of caring, they contradict themselves by acknowledging close family ties at the same time. It should be observed, however, that teachers usually expressed this observation with some negative connotation.

Ex. 14.

T1: *The only occasion when parents do not hesitate for a second to enter the school building is when they believe that their child has been subject to psychological or physical abuse, or has experienced an injustice, be the abuser a teacher or a student. Well, this is the time when they are self-assured* [öntörvényű] *and want to do justice themselves.*

Ex. 15.

T6*: They are very child-centred; their child must not be hurt.*

Ex. 16.

R: ***Do they spend their allowance on their children?***

T1: *Yes, I'd like to say that for many years I've had the experience-, as I have a private shop in the village- that if they have money, they buy everything for the child. But the problem is that they are not consistent when it comes to child rearing. I mean that they* [the children] *should appreciate what they get. Yes, they* [the family] *get the August increased family allowance and they spend it in the shop. But, by the time it* [the purchases] *should be taken to school, they spoil it, or use it at home. They cannot appreciate what they get.*

The question of hygiene emerged with high intensity and frequency as a very sensitive issue for parents. Being tidy and clean appears to have a vital importance for Roma families. The way they approach this issue reveals a lot about what cleanness means to them. Again, if compared with how teachers perceive this word, it becomes evident that Roma parents place more emphasis on it, and saying that the child is clean has other underlying meanings. Cleanness can be interpreted as the symbol of adjustment and meeting the expectations of the majority, or can be closely associated with a kind of social position that few Roma are able to acquire. The latter became evident from the grandmother's comment when, after talking about her husband, who used to be a respected musician and always looked so neat, she said *"you could never find a speck of dirt on him"*, and she added that some teachers' parents used to ask for money and cigarette from her husband. *"Now"*, as she added, *"these teachers look down upon us"*.

The following quotes show how important the issue of cleanliness is for Roma parents and how much effort they make to conform to the demands of society concerning hygiene and appearance.

F13: *I don't have nice clothes, but my children are always clean and wear nice clothes. The girl sometimes asks to buy this or that, and my heart is bleeding when I have to say no, because we don't have enough money. But if I can, I give them everything.*

F12: *They must be clean, and they have to behave themselves. This is what counts.*

F10: *Smelly? I'll tell you why they are smelly. I do wash, but we have enough clothes as well. We share one room, we wash in a washbowl, the elder helps the others. Smelly...*

F6: *Sorry for our living circumstances, we should have replaced the windows earlier but you know, we tend to prefer having nice clothes and food. We don't have a bathroom, but we are very sensitive about having nice clean clothes.*

F2*: These people know nothing about us, they don't know how we live. None of them have ever been here. They don't know what it means to give a bath to a child or to wash. We don't have a bathroom. My wife always puts clean clothes on the children. If they wear the same clothes, it doesn't mean that we don't wash. You know what, we don't want to see them either.*

7.6.2. Education – belief in the system

The other issue, which is closely related to the concepts of caring and parental involvement, is how parents approach the question of education and learning. The parents unanimously claimed that they find learning important. Opinions only varied in respect to the extent to which they felt competent in supporting their child. This reveals that parents' upbringing has, in turn, led them to feel unequipped to motivate

and support their children. Interviewees often referred to their own parents, who did not demand educational achievement from them.

Many parents cited the problem of the premature development of Roma girls, referring to it as a tradition deeply embedded in their culture. Though parents all expressed a wish to avoid girls getting married or having children too early, they seemed to see it as an unavoidable factor that will affect their lives. Though not always satisfied with their children's results, parents seem to be satisfied with their children's abilities.

Ex. 22.

R: *How important is your children's learning for you?*

F7: *Learning is very important. I always tell them that they learn for their own sake, not for me. Of course it doesn't mean that I wouldn't be proud if one day she was called up in the school year closing ceremony and got given a reward in public. I would be so proud of her. My parents were not really bothered whether or not I studied, but this is not so now.*

Ex. 23.

F8: *She started* [her daughter] *the vocational school, she completed year 9, then she failed and then had a boyfriend and she left the school, and left her home as well. This is what I cannot get over. I don't know what I've spoilt.*

R: *Did you wish she achieved more?*

F8: *Yes. I wanted her to complete this school so much. At least that… that would be the minimum.*

Ex. 24.

R: *How do you try to encourage them to study?*

F2: *We tell them every day to learn. This little one studies well, the elder started well too, but you know, no matter how hard we wish for it, it doesn't matter that we dream about their education, if they are 16 or 17 it all becomes very difficult. We don't know what they are going to be when they grow up, what we are going to get from them.*

F1: *This elder daughter, she could be a clever student. The others have not been highly educated, but she…, I hope she will be. I hope. But I'm afraid that at the age of thirteen she will go in the wrong direction. We seem to have it in our culture.*

The following, longer quote, illustrates the complex feelings of the parents towards school and teachers. On one hand, they are proud and grateful for the feedback they get for their well-disciplined children, on the other hand the hidden suspicion of prejudice and discrimination lingers beneath their statements. The sentence referring to the letter "c", meaning Gypsy "cigány", seems to have been engraved in many parents' memories from their kindergarten and school experience. This alludes to the times and practice in the socialist era, when in school registers, a student's ethnic identity was indicated by a small letter "c" next to their names.

Ex. 26.

F5: Mother: *I'm satisfied with them* [children]. *They are loved by teachers, because they are polite. They* [teachers] *greet me when we meet and tell how polite they are. Both of them* [both children]. *Of course, that letter „c" will always be there in front of their names. They don't have to be like this one or that one, they must be different. Neither of them is a genius, but we want them to be thought of as different from the others. That's all I can give to them. Perhaps, hopefully they will have an easier life.*

I don't think they have much chance to get into a high school, but I sit down with them, we study together; when it is necessary my husband [too], because he is good at maths. They don't like studying. The reason for this may be that both of them learn very slowly, at a slow pace, more slowly than the others. They would need more time. I give them the time they need at home, but in the school, the teachers prefer working with the ones who are quick on the uptake, who finish earlier. They are easily forgotten. This means trouble in lessons. There should be more classes to ensure that those lagging behind could catch up with the others. They don't deal with the problem children but are speaking about caring for the talented ones.

Even in cases in which the child's achievement at school is not a problem, the interviews reveal that challenges are encountered by these families as well. Gifted Roma children have to face feelings of separation, overcome socioeconomic hindrances and have to have the courage to compete with others. Parents of children like these have to sacrifice a lot for their children's success.

Ex. 27.

F15: *I know he is talented, because that's what the teachers keep saying. I'd like him to achieve more than we did. I want him to be educated, but I don't know how it will turn out. Children keep pestering him, he is very sensitive- that nervous type-, so in case of a problem he starts to flounder and cry. Teachers do not know what to do with him, and the children are jealous.*

Ex. 28.

R: *How have your children become such excellent students?*

F11: *I don't exactly know. It is probably because she* [the eldest] *had classmates she had to compete with. Her siblings just followed her. But we used to tell them as well, that they have to study. Now they schedule when and who gets the room first to be on their own to study, because they don't have their own rooms. They are very good children.*

Ex. 29.

F14: *At the beginning I sat down with them every day. We studied together. I did everything, their duty was to study. And here is the result of it. It was natural for the other two to follow the first one's example. I'm very proud of them.*

As it has been shown, there are families in which the children are successful at school. These parents have not had a superior education to the others, but demonstrate more trust in the system. This finding is supported by examining how the parents, whose children do not do well at school, interpret the causes of their children's failures. Their "attribution theories" root in perceived discrimination and distrust. In terms the use of frequency of certain expressions, it is very interesting to note that parents often

mention the word *"kiemel"* which implies not only being rebuked, but also of being discriminated against and excluded.

Ex. 30.

F6: *Andris* [her son] *used to be good at subjects. Why did he give up studying? I'll tell you. Because he was deceived. The teacher kept telling him, that if he went on studying so hard, he would get a scholarship. You know my son, he loves money. And he has the brain. So what happened was that at the end of the year, another child got the scholarship, and he felt he had been cheated. Nobody should wonder why he doesn't like learning any more. He was deceived.*

Ex. 31.

F7: *Once I went to the school to observe classes, as a member of the Roma minority government. You know, because of the disciplinary problems. To see what was happening there. What I saw was that it is always the good ones who answer; the weak ones do not get any attention. Once after completing a task, the teacher asked who did it without any mistakes. She didn't realise that one child raised his hand and she didn't give him a 5. The emphasis shouldn't be put on the excellent ones, but rather on the ones, like my daughter, who would need encouragement... but she becomes silent after being humiliated.*

R: [turning to her daughter] ***What did they say to you?***

F7 [daughter]: *Once X [she tells the name of the teacher] asked me a question I couldn't reply to. And she said: No wonder, I might have guessed you wouldn't be able to.*

The issue of perceived discrimination appears with high intensity, and particularly amongst families where there are a lot of problems with the child's behaviour or where there are children with special needs. In the latter case, parents feel as though they are at the mercy of favouritism.

Ex. 32.

F2: *Once they shut my son in the toilet in the kindergarten because he misbehaved. It wasn't just him, but they punished only him. He is always singled out* [mindig őt emelik ki].

Ex. 33.

F13: *There are favourites, and this is what children should not see. Once a mother brought in a lot of toys and the kindergarten teacher immediately said that this toy would be good for XY. And children see this. Nowadays they generalise, and if a child is mischievous he or she must be a Gypsy.*

Ex. 34.

F3: *It is not only him who is mischievous. He is always singled out* [kiemelik] *in front of the others, then of course he refuses to give in. The psychologist didn't understand why the child was sent to him.*

Ex. 35.

F9: *I've called you because I have just been to the school. Imagine, she* [headteacher] *asked me in, because I wanted to talk about the child's development. They send her home every day after the third or fourth lesson, and imagine, she interpreted the situation so that I should be grateful for their efforts, that they deal with the child. I told her that according to the medical documents she should be provided with extra lessons because the school gets money for this. I'm very scared that they want her to be a private student. I can't teach her, I sit down with her every day, but I can't teach her, how will I find a job if I have to sit at home all day, because they don't want to do their job?*

Ex. 36.

F6: *They asked me in* [to the school] *because the child misbehaved. There were a lot of teachers there, and the social worker* [gyámügyes]. *She'd realised too that they had it in for this child. There is another child they always throw out. The ones they do not find likable they have done with. We had to fight for keeping him at school. The headteacher said that a lot of parents said that if my son goes back then they will take their children away to another school. There are other*

mischievous children, but very interestingly they are not thrown out to be private students. I told her that it's very interesting, because I think children are taken away because of the teachers not the children. And I said that the whole teaching staff should be replaced… she did not like it. Now three times a week we take him to school, he mustn't meet the others, because of course they tease him, then he fights, so he has to wait in front of the staff room and wait for a teacher to take him for private tutoring. We told the headteacher that she should rap the knuckles of the others, because it is not always his fault if he gets in trouble.

Analysis has detected contrary views on the values of the education system on the part of parents and teachers. The most striking finding is that although teachers tend to blame parents for the child's negative attitude to school which consequently manifests in behaviour problems, teachers are the ones who have the least belief in the worth of education.

Ex. 37.

T2: *They* [the Roma families] *can't find an aim. This what the system should help with. I had a conversation with a Roma father during a consultation hour* [fogadó óra] *last year, and for example we talked about a lot of things, and he is a miner, and he works. And we talked about - he has older children too - and he can't persuade his child* [the one who goes to the school] *to study. I told him, that I believe it, because if the two of us now discussed what perspectives he can offer the child, what to study, what he should say… What should the child study? Let's list some work places and trades in this country…*

Ex. 38.

R: *How are these good learners received by the society later?*

T1: *We have students with extension* [kitűnő tanuló]. *They will not be accepted* [by society]. *Somebody can be an excellent student here. These 34 years have taught me… They are not accepted. Or s/he won't succeed later. I don't think they ever will…. Shall I tell you the reality? As I see it, you can't break out of this circle; it is very hard to break out of this circle. I don't think they'll be accepted more easily.*

Teachers' opinion about the Roma people's aspirations emphasises the perceived cultural differences and hidden prejudice which are disguised in generalisation. The striking feature of the following quotes is that teachers admit that they cannot envision any prospects for these children while at the same time attributing all the responsibility to the system and the parents rather than themselves. This conclusion is further supported by document analysis.

Ex. 39.

T1: They [children] *don't have a vision of the future, and though it can't be said that their culture means they would have a vision of the future, this is typical of not only Roma people. Those living from day to day, well they don't have a vision of their future. And their parents don't either. Neither the parents nor the children do. We teachers can say to parents that it* [the situation] *would just be worse if they hadn't made their children study. But those who have- still don't have a job, so those who don't learn won't have a job anyway. So the problem is that these children, for example, don't understand the concept of getting a salary. Has the family allowance arrived? This is what the usual conversation is about. They go as far as to ask me "Do you get family allowance?" So they have no idea how people get income, and if they face any problem the solution they come to is asking for allowance. This is very typical.*

Ex. 40.

T4: *They expect a solution from the school. Yes, we feel it. I don't mean that that's justified, but it's evident - what can I expect from an unskilled person to help the child at home? The parent could help with- this is what I usually say to them- making sure that the child's things for school are in their bag; that the child gets to school in time, that s/he spends the whole day at school; helping with checking that when the child gets home s/he wouldn't throw the bag into a corner, but takes out the books for at least half an hour, and parents could check, and ask for the homework and even if they can't help, they should make sure that the child sits down, does the homework, or picks up a book. This is what they could help with.*

Although teachers claim that parents should learn how to feel responsible for their child's development, they do not seem to believe the families are capable of doing so. Those parents, whose children in the lower primary are in the school all day, do not have the opportunity to practice the skill of promoting the child's learning, but are expected to do so later. This can be seen from the following extract, which is from the same interview and provided by the same teacher as above.

Ex. 41.

T4: *In lower primary, we try to keep the children in the school building as much as possible. Then the parents don't have to deal with whether the child has done the homework, or has taken the school bag home. Parents have to deal with only what the child does at the weekend. For these parents this is a great help.*

Ex. 42.

T2: *This is a social problem. No matter how they* [authorities, society etc.] *try to bundle the problem on us. We can't solve this problem locally. People do not have prospects. I can't persuade boys in upper primary, or girls, that "you must learn because…" I ask them what they would like to be, and they say, "an allowance applicant", or they say "I'm going to get married and I will live on my husband's earning". So this is the outlook. Or a little one says: "burglar".*

The school's Pedagogical Programme, especially the mission statement, reveals a lot about the extent to which the management and teachers are ready to embrace the pedagogical challenges they face. The mission statement states that "the school endeavours to ensure its learners' mental and physical development and their close relationship to nature". In addition, the document refers to the importance of cultivating traditions, but makes no reference to Roma culture at all. The extract of the document concerning the aims and tasks of the school starts with an introductory paragraph summarising the pedagogy of personal development. The six points listed appear to be categorically rejected in the school's practices, especially in issues of correcting the gaps in family socialization, correcting children's behavioural problems, and adopting the role of a social worker in relationships with families.

Parents, with a few exceptions, generally tend to be more optimistic about the value of education and about the prospects of their children. They do not have high expectations but simply express the wish that their children achieved more than they have.

<u>Ex. 43.</u>

F4: *The truth is that I always tell them: They do not study for me, they study for themselves. They do not choose a trade for me, but for themselves. I did not have a say in what they liked. I know that in today's world, it is very difficult to find a job, and this is impossible without learning. If they have ideas then I support them, so that they can achieve what I couldn't. So that he has what I didn't have.*

<u>Ex. 44.</u>

F7: *I'd like him to have a good trade.*

<u>Ex. 45.</u>

R: **What would you like them [children] to achieve?**

F5 [father]: *All I can say is that all I wish for is not to have to turn in my grave. I want them to keep up what I have achieved. Just to keep up the level. I don't want more. I don't expect anything special from my son, just to work, to do his work, this is what I'm teaching him. The problem is that many in the village hide away from work. How important is learning? For me, maths is very important. I told him: If you can't count, you'll be deceived. If you can't count quickly in head, well it stinks. I have made him cry several times because of this. I get up early every morning and I immediately count.*

<u>Ex. 46.</u>

F15: *He* [her son] *will be more. He will get on better. I couldn't learn, my parents didn't care at all whether I studied or not.*

<u>Ex. 47.</u>

F4: *I was brought up by my mother, as my father did not want me, and left us. Still, I was given his name. She brought me up alone with my grandpa. My average*

result was 3,7. My mother never said anything, whether I took home five 5s or five 1s she always signed them. She never said that I should study to achieve something in life, to be someone. My son, when he was little, once said that he will be a burglar [when he grows up]*, then we explained what this means. Afterwards he said, "OK, then I'll be a policeman".*

The next transcript gives a very succinct summary of how one interviewee interpreted why it is that he finds education important for her daughter's future. This includes his experience of what it means to be deprived of valuable things and to be humiliated, but to stand up in spite of it all.

Ex. 48.

F1:   *They can take away everything from you, your clothes, your bag… your hair can be cut[19], your skin can be cut, but your mind cannot be taken away from you.*

7.6.3. The role of trust

Another recurring theme was that of trust. What I experienced during my visits was that these families are willing to trust those who get involved or show interest in their lives. Before starting the research interviews, I was told by someone who led training sessions for Roma minority government representatives that the indicators of whether Roma people welcome a stranger in to their houses is first whether the person is let in or not, and then whether s/he is offered a drink. I was invited in for a coffee by all of the families, but my most memorable experience was with the grandmother of F3. The following extract is from my research diary.

DIARY 2. (MARCH 2008)

I didn't really meet Ildikó while I worked in the school, but in spite of this, she greets me very nicely. First she is rather abrupt, but after half an hour she speaks in a free and easy manner, especially after the grandmother joined us. The grandmother at the beginning looks at me with suspicious and wary eyes, but after a while (she was listening to the radio very loudly in the kitchen) she suddenly turns the radio off and

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[19] Cutting a girl's hair and skin means losing her dignity.

joins us and it turns out that she was actually listening to us. She calls out in the kitchen: "Just don't dare say, that the headteacher is nice! She punished my little grandson and put her out in the cold in a thin shirt…". This is the moment that the "stranger in the house" ice breaks. Ildikó offers me coffee and apologises for her shaking hands. Some neighbour appears, but the grandmother just waves at her, signalling that she is busy now …

The presence or absence of trust has proved a crucial factor contributing to whether parents self-disclose themselves to teachers, whether they are willing to follow the teachers' advice, and crucially, the extent to which they approve of the teachers' actions related to their children's school work and behaviour. The headteacher's answer to the question of how much parents trust her demonstrates again certain unreliability when it comes to her responses, especially in the light of her own comment on parents' sincerity and the remarks of others (including a teacher). It is interesting to see how both grandmother and the headteacher refer to their knowledge of each other based on past experience.

Ex. 49.

R: ***Do Roma parents turn to you for advice?***

T4:   *Yes, of course. I must say, almost with everything, from family matters to private problems, so they are very open to me, because I've been teaching here for a long time, and I know practically all these children's mothers or fathers and I have a sort of relationship with these children when they enter the school, I have known them for generations. I enjoy their trust, and they know that they can always turn to me, I'm always available.*

Ex. 50.

F3:   *She treated my grandson very badly. Very badly [he was the child who was put out in the cold]. When I went to the school, she told me to shut up. I said, "You could be my daughter, shall I shut up? You used to be a begger just like me. A begger just like me. Are you well off now?" … I know the whole horde. I'm glad I can't go in now [she is ill] because I'd just see how they are pestering my little grandchildren. They just go into the staff room, have coffee, and in the meantime*

the children beat each other. They say, "you are this Gypsy and that Gypsy…" Earlier if someone called the other a Gypsy in a rude way [cigányoztak][20]*, they were punished. Liza talked back, she thought it was unfair; then they said, "You'll be like your mother". Only Liza was punished, they don't give a damn about poor people.*

<u>*Ex. 51.*</u>

T6: *The thing I can't stand at all is when they close the door of the staff room behind them, and they start gossiping about families, from the very private things to the children. And, yes, the headteacher takes the naughty child into the staff room as well, and yells her head off, in front of everyone. I feel so embarrassed that I have to watch it, that I'm a part of this whole thing.*

<u>*Ex. 52.*</u>

R: *Are the parents sincere?*

T4: *Well, not really. I'd say, and I'm speaking about Roma parents, that there are Roma parents who, for some reason, think that they are more than the other Roma. Because for example they can ensure a more cultured environment for their children - they have a job or a qualification. They are the ones who are more reserved. That parent would be reluctant to wash their dirty linen in public, or any problems, than the average Roma, who have more problems, and who are more open, I'd say. Those who are sly, those who are more educated are usually more concerned about how much they say about themselves or about their families in public. They are a bit different.*

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[20] In Hungarian there is a verb "cigányozni" which means that someone calls the other person "Gypsy" with all the negative connotations.

As revealed from the above, teachers show disdain towards parents who do not want to accept their Roma origin, in spite of the fact that in such a small community, everyone seems to be aware of one another's heritage. There is a kind of knowledge each party retains about the other and, which cannot be challenged or forgotten. The grandmother keeps in mind the earlier social position of the headteacher and her family, while the headteacher uses her perceived knowledge of the Roma parents to insist on the social category to which they belong. The above has a lot of implications on social positions and power. Those who live well and are educated, they are considered to be sly by teachers. They cannot be, nor want to be guided or discuss their private lives with teachers, as they do not trust them. The following quotes give insight into how teachers interpret their roles as advisors, and the parents' intentions in asking for advice. How teachers perceive parents in these encounters reveals a lot about cultural stereotypes.

Ex. 53.

R: *Do they ask for advice?*

T1: *Yes, they usually do. But they rather turn to us to defend their child, to find excuses, to explain why the child doesn't study; so the problem is that they do not raise them* [children] *to be conscientious, and aware that they have to study and they have to accept the rules.*

Ex. 54.

R: *Are the parents sincere?*

T1: *If our relationship is good, then yes. But if not, they tend to assert their rights, and then don't mention their responsibilities- and if we try to refer to them, they are reluctant to accept it. Are they sincere? I think they aren't. Or the relationship is not there, or if we have one, then it doesn't matter whether they are Roma or not Roma.*

Another source of the parents' distrust lies in the lack of communication between themselves and the teachers. Parents often feel that they are being reprimanded or instructed by the teachers when they meet them, and complain about the style of teachers' communication. It has already been shown that though teachers expect parents to act responsibly, they do not help them in this learning process. This contributes to problems in communication, as by dismissing the parents' capabilities, the teachers lose the opportunity to offer suggestions for patterns of appropriate communication to the parents. In this case, the word "appropriate" is defined as mutually satisfying and comforting.

Ex. 55.

F2:   *You know what the teacher did? She asked the children how many times they have a bath a week. Why don't they dare to ask us?*

Ex. 56.

F1:   *I'm not going to name her, but it was very strange; you know, I went into the school, and one of the teachers I used to go to primary school with - we used to be in the same class, we spent our childhood together - she said:" Good morning"* [Jó napot.]21*. Why? What has changed? Why can't she say, "Hello Zoli, have you come in?" So as, you know, to show respect. There are very serious problems here; I can't make contact with them. There is no cooperation.*

Ex. 57.

F4:   *Sometimes they talk to parents as if they were idiots; yes, because a lot of parents have had only eight years of primary school, or even less, and they have college or university degrees, and they don't think that parents could know anything about life issues.* [konyít az élet dolgaihoz]. *They [teachers] may have been taught it, but they live in it- I mean the Roma family. As the Roma **live** in it. They read newspaper; watch TV, the news as well, so they are informed in some way or another.*

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21 Greeting him in a formal way.

It has been shown that the Roma parents' attitude and their level of trust towards teachers depend on several factors. However, the frequency and intensity of themes in the interviews have indicated that one of the most crucial factors is how parents feel about how fair the teacher is with their child. They lose trust easily in a teacher who uses insulting words in the classroom, or punishes the child without justification. Parents hardly ever question their children's credibility when they get into trouble at school. The teachers reiterated this point, saying that the only occasion in which parents do not hesitate to enter the school building is when they believe that their child has been subjected to either physical or verbal insult by their peers or a teacher. In such instances – as I have shown above – parents tend to be resolute, and want to impose justice unilaterally.

Ex. 58.

F2: *I have the right to punish my son if I feel he deserves it. But his teacher, she just keeps nagging him without any reason, as if there were no other children in the classroom who would misbehave. I usually try to be polite when I go to the school, but if I feel she was not fair I lose control…*

Ex. 59.

F4: *This is what families jump at* [erre ugranak] *most, how, in what ways, do teachers punish. I think the same is true for Hungarians as well. They just defend their families. We had a dispute* [affér] *in the kindergarten, as one of the kindergarten teachers decided to slap on Rebi's hand. I couldn't take the child to the kindergarten, but only up to the shop for a while, because she stopped there and didn't want to enter the kindergarten. She must have had a reason to do so. Her hand was red. I knew she was telling the truth… The way I first reacted was that I go in and beat her too. But then the accusations began, that they had problems with my child, and she* [kindergarten teacher] *didn't do anything and that my child was lying. There were never any serious problems with my children. Neither with this girl nor with the boys. So I believed my child. She cried for three months. Finally I said: OK, she is not going to the kindergarten. She didn't admit it. Even when parents were standing in a queue in front of the kindergarten head's office with complaints, they kept saying that the child did't*

tell the truth. That was when I felt that they don't believe us because we are Gypsy.

F13: *Yes, there are a lot of Roma children in the school. But it is not only Roma children who are bad, but Hungarians as well. I've heard that once a Hungarian initiated a fight and the Roma just tried to defend himself. Who was punished? Yes, the Roma. This shouldn't happen. When I used to go to kindergarten and school, there was a letter „c" beside my name. Nowadays they don't write it there, but it's still there, there is an invisible letter „c" there, this is like a stigma. I don't think they will wipe it off. They don't write it down, but it is there. And it affects how we can be treated.*

The question of physical punishment emerges as a complex point of contention. There are a lot of parents who are aware that they should not beat their children, and are consequently confused as to how to discipline them. Once a mother complained to me that teachers tell her to discipline her child. Although she was aware that beating him was inadequate she felt at her loss as to how to proceed. While there are parents who still believe in the power of corporal punishment, they continue to insist that it should not be applied by others, and that only they have the right to judge their children. Adding further complexity to this issue, corporal punishment during their own schooling is a recurring theme in the parents' narratives, and their accounts show how beatings instilled them with both a long term sense humiliation and a respect for the effectiveness of such forms of discipline. In the latter case, parents expressed the opinion that through their reputations, certain teachers had gained the privilege of disciplining their students in whichever way they wanted, but although parents approved of this retrospectively, they would be revolted if the same were to happen during present times.

F2: *The elder one was slapped by the teacher last year, because he trampled a grass snake to death. I went in, and you know what happened? She called the child a savage and she denied slapping him. The other children witnessed that my son was telling the truth. Then I became very agitated, and I said that she can beat*

the child that comes out of her, but if I don't beat mine, she doesn't have the right to either.

Ex. 62.

F12: *In our times, wow, how scared we were of teachers! But I respected all of them. Yes, we were afraid of them. By now everything has changed. I say, they should not follow [those ways], they should depart from their past. They shouldn't beat children, but still, those rappings* [körmösök][22] *were really efficient!*

Ex. 63.

F7: *Yes, at that time everything was different. I had Hungarian friends - many of them still greet me if I happen not to recognise them for some reason. Yes, many a time were we given one or two slaps. There was a teacher who gave such sharp slaps, that I still feel them on my cheek though I'm 45.*

Ex. 64.

F15: *A long time ago, there was a headmaster. Well, he was honest. He was obnoxious, but I truly loved him. If he saw that you are trying hard, if he saw that you don't understand but that you're interested in the thing, or he saw you make an effort, then he was totally different. He was as happy as a lark* [madarat lehetett fogatni vele]*, he was very kind. But if he saw wickedness* [kutyaságot]*, he reacted the same way - he didn't feel pity for that child then - he'd throw this big bunch of keys at the child, so that he or she would just snap in half.*

R: ***Is the problem to do with lack of strictness?***

F15: *Not strictness. They are like horses* [the children]. *They don't know what "come here" and "go"* [basic instructions horses follow: "mi a tűled mi a hozzád"] *mean. They don't know anything.*

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[22] The child was made to purse his/her fingers and would be beaten on their fingertips with a ruler.

Ex. 65.

F8: *I'll never forget. There was a Hungarian boy, we were in class 8. I still remember his name. He said "Damn Gypsy" to me. But why did he say it? Because before this, he'd tripped me over* [elcsánkázott]*, and I'd said "you rotter". He said "You damn Gypsy" again. And then the PE teacher, GL asked him to go up to him and he called him 'tubby' [hasi-pasi], because this was the way he was mocking him. "What did you say to Magdi?" And the boy said "Nothing."*

"Don't pretend I'm deaf, you don't get to decide whether I can hear or not. Let me decide what I heard". And then he said. "Who do you want to get the slap from - Magdi, or me? Choose!" I used to be much smaller than now. The child answers "Neither".

"Choose from whom!" And the boy finally said, "from Magdi".

And then the teacher says that if I don't dare give two honest-to-god [becsületes] *slaps, he'd give the third one, but that it would be so big, that the boy would hit the roof* [leszedi a csillagot is az égről]*. The child started begging me [she is showing with her hands], "please beat hard"! And I tell you, he got two equally big ones, on both sides. Of course, they weren't that big, but his cheeks were red. This is what teachers used to be like.*

As has been revealed, trust is closely related to respect. Parents cherish memories of teachers who took care of them. They appreciate and recall positive images of teachers who show personal interest in their lives and children. Parents seem to know how teachers should approach them, and in their narratives give insights about how to improve the relationship.

Ex. 66.

F1: *Parents would love it, but unfortunately only a few* [children] *do go on studying. What teachers should show is that this is important for them as well. I still remember my teacher, who came to our house at the end of the village in his car. My mother sent him a message that I was very ill, and I had a high temperature,*

but in reality there was a lot of snow, and I didn't have shoes. There was a lot of snow, and he came, and my mother said again that I couldn't go to school, because I was ill. The teacher saw that I wasn't ill, so we had to admit that we didn't have anything to put on my feet. He took me out in his arms and put me into his Trabant, and took me to school. He respected me, I was important to him. I'm over 50 now, but I still have to cry when I remember how it felt that he did it for me.

Ex. 67.

F10: *There are a few of them, who deserve respect. They are the ones who do not look down on us, who know that my child has good abilities but needs encouragement. Or my son's teacher, who is just, and punishes not only him but others as well if they misbehave. You know, she knows that he suffers from epilepsy and pays special attention to him. Well, they deserve respect.*

Ex. 68.

F4: *The teachers…they don't know the background. We are strangers to each other. They should go and visit these families. They shouldn't just ask the parents in but should go and see them once or twice. The kindergarten teachers do come, but the school teachers don't. Because otherwise, the parents may not have time because they may work by day* [napszámba jár], *or they are afraid that they will be looked down upon. They could have a talk at home, and the teachers could see the family environment, and it would be easier to help. 'Cause then the teacher knows where that child comes from.*

Ex. 69.

F13: *Do you know how many parents came to the parental meeting? Altogether four, including the teacher. Where are the other parents then? If I were a teacher, I would love to go and visit them. No wonder parents do not feel like going to the school, if they are 8 to 10 in the family. But teachers think that if the parents do not come, they won't go either.*

F1: *They should go to workshops like I do* [as he is the president of the Roma minority government]. *They should go too. There is no shame in learning about the Roma culture. They say there is this integrated education in the school. The child goes up to the teacher and says- "Look teacher how I can dance!" This is not integrated education. We should teach Hungarians that we have culture, dance and music.*

My grandson, you saw it at the wedding, he wasn't even one, and he could already dance. We have such different feelings that we say, when the child is born he comes out of his mother dancing. They should know about it.

7.6.4. Identity: Ethnic identity and group belonging

As for the question of whether the participants described themselves as Roma, all answered with a yes, but the comments accompanying the answer differed to a great extent. Those who expressed their pride in being Roma were usually involved in Roma associations or in the minority government, and were determined to retain Roma traditions and culture. The president of the Roma minority government expressed this in the following way:

Ex. 71.

F1: *For me, this means that I feel that I'm Roma. It is an honour for me, to state, that I am Roma, though I do not claim that it is good to be a Roma, ...I'm not expressing myself correctly ... but I know, that we are different from other people, and somehow, I would like our culture, our traditions – though I am aware that the old culture cannot be brought back- but what I say is that everybody who likes being Roma, must try not to lose our culture and traditions.*

Ex. 72.

F6: *I proudly say that I'm Roma. Well if the Gypsies were hanged, I know I would be hanged and killed too, I can't deny it. Although there is a little Hungarian part in me, I consider myself Roma. My mother's father and his family are all Hungarians and they behave like Hungarians. I don't need that.*

F12: *I've always taken it on, myself. When I got to the hospital, they say I don't look Gypsy at all. 'Cause I've always cared how I look, I dye my hair, it's usually brown and fair. Now it's black, even then they couldn't tell- an old lady entered the room and she said " I wouldn't have thought that you are Gypsy", and I told her, "I really am a Gypsy."*

Another source of pride seems to emerge from despairing situation of families who live in extreme poverty. They find solace in the rationalisation that though they are negatively characterised, they stick to values such as work ethic and honesty. These families are the most isolated, as they belong to neither Roma groups nor mainstream society.

Ex. 74.

F2: *We proudly accept our race. After all, you can say that someone is Gypsy or someone is Hungarian… we are Gypsy. There are poor people of both kinds. You know, those who are doing a bit better now, they forget that they used to eat carcases at the co-operative farm as, yes, we did too. Now if they have some money, they go to Tesco and they waste it… so it is better for us as we are, on our own.*

[father joins]

We are trying very hard to live our life with honesty; I work, but I haven't found my brick yet, if you see what I mean [i.e. he hasn't found anyone to help him, mentor him]. *You know, the problem is, that we are going to stay like this till the world ends. Gypsies will be Gypsies. The problem is that people do not differentiate between bad Roma and good Roma, they see the same in all of us.*

The majority of participants did not demonstrate this sense of pride. Although they categorically described themselves as Roma, this was due to the invariable perceptions of others rather than their perceptions of themselves. All of these families expressed a wish to be treated as "Hungarians". They did not see any point in denying their ethnicity, but felt forced into a category they did not really value.

F8:   *Shall I say, there are 2 kinds of Roma here in this village. There are the scumbags* [alja népe] *and then the others who strive to keep up with the times; there is this one and that one. And I tell you, when something wrong happens, they do not say that X or Y did something or that* **you** *did something, everyone is involved as a whole. I could never swallow this bitter pill.*

But this is what is happening in the whole country. Unfortunately. Why don't they just say XY, I don't mind if they add that the person is Roma, but the person must be named. They shouldn't take the whole horde as one.

There were situations, in which the straightforward question of whether the participants described themselves as Roma was not considered appropriate, as the families showed signs of standing apart from this issue. Despite being aware of the aim of the research, they mainly wanted to express their strong dissatisfaction with how Roma people live and to show pride in being able to distinguish themselves from them. They did not have any affiliation to the group. The following extract is from an interview which was made during the final stages of the research. The background of the story was recorded in my diary:

DIARY 4. (MAY 2006)

I was sitting with these two lovely and bright Roma girls. They came to my house with the news that one of them had been admitted to university. I was proud, because I felt I had contributed to their success. When we were in the middle of the conversation about their plans and studies, I made a comment that Zsuzsi, as a student, could apply for Roma scholarship to get more financial support for her studies. The air froze. They gazed at me with puzzled and embarrassed faces. This was the moment when I realised that we had never talked about them being Roma, and it was evident that they did not want to talk about it at all. They did not want to be perceived as Roma.

The elder sister did not apply for the scholarship, but the younger sister's university career progressed differently. Later the mother talked to me about it:

F14: *For a long time, we did not want to speak about this topic at all. We sort of pretended that we didn't realise that people look at us and think: they are Roma. We did everything to avoid every situation where we could be associated with them. My daughters are excellent students. They have university degrees. Our attitude to things changed when Kati managed to get a Roma scholarship and spent a summer in Brussels in the parliament. This was the first time we felt that there could be some advantage to being a Roma.*

It is interesting to consider how both Roma parents and the teachers perceive those who do not want to accept that they are Roma, or be perceived as such. The headteacher's opinion of these parents is especially revealing when compared to how the parents interpret their own conditions and how they are perceived. The contrast in opinions shows the discrepancy between the teacher's views on Roma culture and the experiences and knowledge of the parents themselves. In reference to her initial interview, it can now be seen how the headteacher's prejudices surfaced gradually as the interview advanced. The contradiction lies in how teachers keep emphasising they do not differentiate, on the other hand, their diction and thought processes reflect their negative perceptions of Roma people.

Ex. 77.

T1: *We don't differentiate between Roma and non-Roma. This Roma question is rather a family problem. There are Roma families who cause a lot of problems, but we never use the word Roma.*

Ex. 78.

T4: *They look down upon and disparage their own race, and they'd rather not claim to be Roma. It's so sad, we have a girl of Roma origin (her mother and father are both Roma)- she is really an excellent student, and yes, it is true that they changed their names from Kalányos to I don't know to what, which sounds less Gypsy, but they are all the very spit of black Gipsies [kiköpött fekete cigányok]. And the child can't get a Roma scholarship, and we're very sorry for that, as the whole thing is about an excellent student, and this kind of student would get the most support, financially and in everything. Yet the parents, thump their chests*

[önérzetesen veri a mellét] *and don't sign the paper to claim that they are Roma. In spite of the fact that here, everyone knows for sure… maybe not about the girl - she has brown hair, but her skin is white anyway- so maybe a stranger wouldn't be able to tell that she's Gypsy, but we know.*

In the course of conversations parents often told stories about how their children approach the question of their being Roma. In the families where the parents talked about it, this topic was treated as a source of amusement.

Ex. 79.

F4: *During his childhood, Sanci didn't want to accept that he was Roma for the longest time. He said he was black. He is Roma only up to his ankle. It took a long time to impress it on him* [belérögzíteni] *that yes, "you are Roma, because I am Roma and your father is Roma as well." He shouldn't deny it, because that's what he's like, and that's it. If he wanted to go on to secondary grammar school, then I would emphasise that he is Roma, and he is brave to do this - to go on with his studies. I don't say he is Hungarian, I say he is Roma, because there are only a few of them like him.*

Ex. 80.

[sitting with the family talking about the Roma culture, and what it means to be a Roma]

F2: *I'm not Roma* -says the 12 year old daughter. [the others start laughing]

It can't be seen on me.

[mother] *You are Roma, and you proudly accept your race.*

Ex. 81.

F6: *Richie* [7 years old] *he tells everyone that he is Gypsy. When he goes dancing- because he dances in a Gypsy folk dance group- he always says that he puts on his Gypsy clothes. (she laughs) You know the black trousers and the white shirt. But why would he deny it if everyone is amazed how he dances.*

How children learn and become accustomed to being perceived as Roma, along with its negative consequences, is well illustrated in the following extracts. The narratives show that children soon experience how it feels to be rejected and the ways in which they can react to this.

Ex. 82.

F4:   *One of my acquaintances' child wanted to join the local big folk dance group, but they rejected her. They were afraid because it would be a change, and of what the others would say. Even the adults' attitude is that if a Roma gets in, she'll come once and then stop, and that way, why should they buy that expensive folk costume for her? Distrust. This is the problem. That this little girl couldn't even try.*

Ex. 83.

F5:   *My son's cousin kept saying in the kindergarten that he is not Roma. You know what the kindergarten teachers did? They asked the mother to tell the child and teach him that he is Roma. They asked her to. It is ridiculous, isn't it?*

Ex. 84.

F6:   *Bea learnt very early on what it means to be a Gypsy. Once we were in a shop, where we actually spent quite a lot of money on clothes. There was a young shop assistant there who opened the door "to clean the air" while we were inside. Bea asked me why she did that. And I said, because she finds us smelly. When we were leaving the shop, she called back, although she was only about 11 years old, "Now you can close the door, but anyway we do wash".*

Ex. 85.

R: ***Are teachers concerned about people calling others Gypsy** [cigányoznak]?*

F8:   *No, it doesn't count as such a rude word these days. The least is if somebody is called a "Stupid Gypsy", but they [the children] use such rude words that I wouldn't like to say any more about it, as they say very rude words. But calling someone Gypsy; it is common both among teachers and children as well, and this is a big problem. I tell you, because it happened that there was a boy who*

fought with someone because he was called Gypsy. The headmaster called him in his office, he shouted the boy's head off, he may have given him a slap [fülest] as well, then he held a mirror in front of him and said: "Kiddo [öcsém], look into it, aren't you a Gypsy"?

There are complex factors which lead Roma people to deny their ethnic identity. The issue of generalisations made by the majority in connection with the Roma people was brought up with a high intensity in almost every family. On the most part, the Roma parents found it offensive that while they try to lead an honest life and adjust to their society, they are forced by others, into the same category as the people they are trying to separate themselves from.

Ex. 86.

F1: *I'm struggling with the fact that people, when they say that for example, Natalia Kiss did something, call the person by name if she is Hungarian. I get so frustrated when they say that the Gypsies did something- a row- and they don't say that it was done by XY but by 'Gypsies', because there were two people there for example. Because if Natalia Kiss or Ágnes Kovács were there, people would whisper to each other that "Oh, Natalia Kiss did something, but don't tell anyone…" You see? But they they dehumanise, generalise the whole thing and they - Look, I even have goosebumps, this is really irritating and bothers me a lot.*

Once a person came into my office [he is the president of the Roma minority government] and said that please tell to your fellows, people, friends, not to enter my shop. I said, "excuse me Béla, my dearest [egyem a szép szíved], who shall I say this to? Please try to explain, who? Who are my people, my friends, my fellows, who? Tell their names. …" "Let's agree," I say, "that the thing is, that it is your business what you do, but I cannot call to the Gypsies, I can just talk to KJ or GZ."

This resistance against categorisation ultimately results in a lack of unity among Roma people. In considering the nuptial traditions of the Roma, it becomes evident that they are more interested in which Roma origin the person belongs to, than whether or not

the person is Hungarian. The best example of this is F2, where the head of the family had the young Hungarian girl and her baby registered in his name. The parents did not care where the young girl came from; they immediately received her into the family. It was striking, however, that these Roma families showed high level of distrust towards those Roma who had managed to achieve something in life. They were suspicious of those who became members of the Roma minority self-government in the village, and often accused them of stealing charity clothes and food or of looking down on them. The same distrust can be noted towards those who live in 'nice houses' or who have enjoyed a lifestyle better than most. Roma people are generally open to the mainstream society, but are aware of prejudice against them. The way they defend themselves is by trying to distance themselves from the "criminal" Romas.

Ex. 87.

R: ***Do you think it will be easier for the children?***

F7:   *No, Unfortunately not. Definitely not. It will be more difficult for them. There is more racism. And Roma people keep quarrelling with each other instead of uniting. I remember when we used to live in the slum area; in the evenings people gathered, and they talked or quarrelled, but the children played together. Contrary to now, when Roma children have more problems with each other than with their Hungarian fellows. But the media and the Hungarians are responsible for our quarrels. They just want to make divisions, some people are taken out who very quickly forget where they came from, but nobody cares about the big problems.*

Ex. 88.

R: ***Is there a unity among Roma people?***

F6:   *Some unite, some split. But if there's a row, they unite. Attila always says, that if he is a bit lit up, and gets into trouble that's when people dare to pick on him* [emberkednek vele] *because he is alone* [he is from another village]. *They would attack him in groups, so we try to avoid them.*

F4: *It is rather money [that causes people to differentiate between each other], it is like that everywhere. It is rather the financial things. If some Roma gets along, looks pretty, or her children wear nicer clothes, they are dressed properly because they handle their money well* [megfogja a pénzt], *then the usual response is: "Where is it from? She must have stolen it".*

Ex. 90.

F2: *We don't go out anywhere; we don't keep contact with the relatives, my wife's family. I grew up in a foster home, and they were not pleased when we met. And you know, the biggest problem is that no matter how hard we try to get along with integrity, here we have these 6 children, and now even this small baby, my son's child. I haven't been to prison, I don't cheat, I don't lie, we try to bring up the children and teach them manners* [rendre nevelni], *but it is very hard. We will always be looked at as Roma who steal. It doesn't matter that I try to behave and live the way they* [Hungarian people] *wish- I'll remain a stranger in this country, just because I'm Roma.*

In the light of the above it is not surprising that Roma parents are generally disinterested in preserving their culture and having their children learn about Roma culture at school. The majority of Roma people in the village, with the exception of the Lovari speaking underprivileged groups, do not speak the Roma language. The following quotes give a summary of thoughts how parents approach the question of teaching Roma culture at school, as well as their perceptions about being Hungarian or Roma.

Ex. 91.

F8: *I don't think it is important. What will that child achieve with the Roma language in life? Nothing. Roma people are sullied anyway, aren't they? ... I don't see any sense in it. Traditions!? "Shall I tell what the silly Gypsies are like?" In inverted commas, of course- you see my point, don't you? This is the situation now, as I see it: One group is killing the other, since God knows how many groups there are. Who belongs to whom, damn all, I don't care.*

F9: *It is possible that their culture* [Lovari] *can be taught, but ours* [Beas] *cannot. There are no elderly people. When I gave birth to Petra, there was an elderly lady who lived on the opposite side of the street. She was a very distant relative of mine* [szegről végről rokonom volt]. *She told me not to cross the road for 6 weeks, and not to leave the baby alone. She went to the shop for me. I almost died of boredom. Once, the baby was in swadding-clothes, I went over to her. It was winter. Well, she was in trouble. Then she said "Sit down". Then she took a pinch of salt, bread and garlic she put it into a handkerchief and put it into my pocket, then sent me home. She made me promise that after sunset I wouldn't let anybody in the house. She gave her a bath for three months. They* [children] *cannot learn traditions from me. There are no musicians here, or carvers* [teknővájók]. *They were Beas, my grandfather used to be a trough carver, but I haven't got the faintest idea how and why. My father used to play in a band. I sort of think that, OK, I'm Roma, but I don't think about whether I'm Gypsy or Hungarian. We all have red blood.*

Ex. 93.

F13: *There in the slum area, they sort have the culture. I don't mean to offend them, but they live in another world. They preserve their traditions, but they don't want to see the present situation and the world. They think that because they haven't achieved anything, then the whole world can go to hell.*

Ex. 94.

R: ***Do you get offended when you are treated as a Roma?***

F15: *I don't get offended, I don't take it to heart. I have red blood too. Ok, there may be differences in our social situation, or our family trees are different. But I'm Roma as much as Hungarian.*

Ex. 95.

F5: *We try as a family to hold together.*

R: ***Is your husband from the village?***

F5: *Yes, he is local, I'm from Hidas, I'm not local.*

R: *Was it difficult to adapt to this?*

F5:   *Yes, because of the rankings of Roma origins. It was very hard for me when I got here. They were strange. Romungros are different by nature from the Hidas Romas. There are Beas and Romungro there too* [her former village]*, I don't know these types. People were more together there. Old people kept the youth together, but they are dying out too. The elderly spoke the language there. When I met my husband, I spoke our language fluently, this is how I talked to him. I think it took me a week at least to realise that any time I spoke to him he answered in Hungarian. I asked him why and it turned out that he didn't speak the language. Gradually, I forgot it.*

R: *Don't you speak to the children in the Roma language?*

F5:   *No, only words. Józsi understands a few words to some extent, but Szilvi doesn't. Zoli came up with the idea that we should ask for Roma language teaching, but we didn't want it so much. What for? What will the child do with it? There are only a few people left who speak the language.*

R: *Isn't it difficult for the children to find where they belong, being Roma or Hungarian?*

F5:   *Yes, it's very hard. There are some who even deny that they are Gypsy. I don't feel ashamed of fit, I'm proud of it. I could teach my children that they are not Gypsy, Józsi could even deny it because of his skin colour. But no way. It's important for them to know. We are like this and that's it. We try to behave ourselves in life, and everywhere, to adjust to others, but we don't always succeed. Because we are always oppressed.*

R: *Do you feel so?*

F5:   *Yes, and they immediately make their minds up about you.*

7.6.5. Communication between Roma families and teachers

As previously mentioned, the Roma people strive to adjust and "behave" according to the expectations of the majority. This adjustment is manifest in the use of speech registers that they think Hungarians use, and sometimes results in awkward speech patterns that even other Roma find comical. This implies that Roma people are aware

of differences in tone, and register applied by them or others (i.e. more educated people), but most often they themselves decide which to apply depending on the situation.

Ex. 96.

F6: *It can irritate me. It is extremely irritating, when they* [Roma] *try to behave like Hungarians. Like for example my sister. If we go somewhere, I speak the same way as now, for example to my doctor, but my sister: "Doctor whatever", she tries to speak in a very artificial, affected way* [moderizált] *so much that we just laugh at her. But I've seen other things as well, for example a Hungarian woman who was with a Gypsy child. She wanted to behave like a Gypsy because her husband was Gypsy- I knew him. We all knew she wasn't Gypsy. She wanted to behave, as rudely as a Gypsy does. It was marring* [leégetett]. *I wouldn't like to repeat what she said, but she pronounced her words, so she spoke in a stupid way. Yes, sometimes we do speak like that, we can sometimes speak in a very rude way.*

Based on the participants' narratives some common features of the Roma speaking style and register can be highlighted. It is pertinent to pay special attention to the headteacher's description of conflict situations, in which she identifies the offensive speaking style as a cultural trait, and hints that learning how to communicate with Hungarians is a necessary skill for when the Roma parents inevitably find themselves in court or in discussion with police.

Ex. 97.

F4: *If I'm offended in an office in Szekszárd, then I let my voice out. I think this is Roma people's weapon. This overbearing behaviour* [hangoskodás]. *Especially for a woman.*

Ex. 98.

T4: *The problems with Roma people are, for example; civilised human behaviour. But again, I must say that this is their culture, it's a part of it. They often say, "please, forgive us headteacher Madame* [igazgató néni], *this is the noisy way we usually talk to each other. We are not angry, but this is how we do it". And*

this is when I say that they can turn down their volume, that they don't have to shout, and that we can sit down and talk things over; they don't have to shout and start loud. They must be taught too, I think, how to communicate, how to arrange things; if I enter an office not to start with shouting, and waving [documents] about and howling, because this isn't accepted anywhere. I always tell them that "If you go to an office, or court or the police, or to the certificate office, you don't start with pushing the door open, and howling, saying "where is he, who did it", because it is not tolerated anywhere.

Many teachers talk about their inability to discipline their students. During my observations it was striking to notice that teachers sometimes used similar registers to that of children i.e. loud voices; casual, often slang words; and sloppy pronunciation. In other cases, the teacher emphasised their positions of authority to a very different effect. This is how one of the teachers spoke about this.

Ex. 99.

T6: *The problem is that many of the teachers can't do anything about the discipline problems. They use a style with children which encourages the child to answer the same way, so it is a vicious circle. Today children are not afraid of talking back. And then they* [the teacher and student] *start insulting each other's mother* [anyázás]*, which is a losing situation for the teacher. Sometimes they [the teachers] cannot scold somebody without using rude words. Yet the main point would be to avoid shouting, and to teach, to show an example. I think there are about three teachers in the staff I have never heard shouting. The same with parents. Management plays it so that we behave in a civilised way to those with whom they have no problem, and if there is problem, then all means are allowed to be used.*

The following observation shows how teachers can miss the chance to gain children's trust and instead, opt for using the conflict situation to humiliate them.

DIARY 5. (NOVEMBER 2006) OBSERVATION: YEAR 2
Classroom management: There is one boy in the classroom Gino, who is the leader of them all. He is quite small in size, but ready to fight at any time. The teacher hands out

large sheets of wrapping paper to the children and asks them to read a text and find the key words. The pictures of the key words [i.e. bear] have to be found in newspapers and magazines and stuck on the wrapping paper. The boy is puzzled at first, as he has such bad eyesight that he cannot read the text. The teacher asks him very loudly to put on his glasses. The children look at him with malicious grins on their faces. The teacher adds, turning to me, that the boy has them in his bag, but he doesn't like wearing them. She orders the boy to take them out of his schoolbag. They are very old fashioned, with surprisingly thick lenses. The boy doesn't put them on, but bends his head very low, he is very embarrassed. Then he suddenly decides to tease the others to gain back his leadership. The teacher has more and more difficulty controlling him. Finally, when the children have finished, she puts the boy's empty wrapping paper on the blackboard, next to other children's work and says: "This is Gino's work". The children laugh. He pretends to smile too.

One parent explained how he imagines the proper management of Roma children would be like:

Ex. 100.

F1: *The little Roma children are very sensitive creatures. Much more sensitive* [than the others]. *To say that "Oyi, you! Get into the classroom!"* [Húzzál be az osztályba öcsém!] *Or "Look how your hair looks today" this doesn't lead anywhere. Instead, they just should say "You would look so pretty if you combed your hair" and things like that. I'm sure they would be happy as larks* [madarat lehetne fogatni velük]. *Why do they* [the teachers] *have to speak in this vulgar way, this scornful way? Why do they humiliate them? Do they* [Roma children] *understand only this?*

The narratives concerning conflict situations have led to insights about why parents behave the way they do (or, as is often described as 'a Gypsy way'), and what it is that makes them use their "weapon". Causes of inappropriate behaviour or conflict include; the feeling of being looked down upon, suspicion of prejudice, values being questioned by strangers, and people using their social authority against them.

Ex. 101.

R: ***I've heard of cases when parents bashed up teachers.***

F2:   *Yes, there were. What triggers this? I wouldn't say that being Gypsy does. The mentality, well, it's true that we are more abrupt* [hirtelenebbek]. *But I wouldn't generalise. We have the same blood in our veins, but there are, for example, wives who steer their husbands to beat the teacher. But this is the only way they can prevail. But it depends on the teacher to some extent as well. I'm a jumpy person too, I can be rude too, but I can settle things in a civilised way too* [disztingváltan megbeszélni dolgokat].

Ex. 102.

F1:   *I got very angry when once the school director ordered me to go into the school. He did not ask me, he ordered. He said, "Zoli, be in the school by nine tomorrow". Wow, I thought, Am I a dog or what? - to order me about? I went in, but what I said and how I said it, well, I'm not proud of it. I'm a very polite and nice person, so you shouldn't think I usually behave like this…*

Ex. 103.

F8:   *You must have a sense of what I'm like, Nati. But when I got this document from the kindergarten that my child must go to a special school, I was shocked and then I went to this teacher and I say:*

"You know my dear? I'm telling you my version of this rubbish": "You," I say, "have just graduated, haven't you?" She looks at me, and she is blushing, "Don't blush, because this is the truth" I say, "You have just graduated, haven't you?"

She said yes. "Then", I say, "Do you see what we are talking about? "You,"- I say - "what have you *experienced in life? Nothing"- I say- "You see, you only started your teaching career. But this means that you shouldn't have an attitude like this, my dear. That's it."*

Ex. 104.

F10: *My children are the most important thing in my life. If they are hurt, I lose control, and yes, then I behave like a real Gypsy, in a very ugly way. I have the right to defend them, and if they* [the teachers] *can't, I arrange things myself.*

Ex. 105.

F14: *I can't ignore it when someone doesn't treat me the way I should be treated. For example, if they keep me waiting longer than other people. Once I was in a beauty saloon… I felt I was not treated properly. I stood up, and said to the beauty specialist- though I had known her for years - "My dear, you can be sure that I'm not going to come here any more, nor my daughters." These are the situations that I feel that they think I behave this way because I'm Roma, but I feel I behave like this because I want to be treated properly. I don't know how others do it.*

7.7. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Through the exploration of the negative relationship between Roma parents and school, a number of sources for dispute were identified. Amongst these were the central themes of parental involvement; perceived differences in value systems; opposing views on education; issues of prejudice and negative stereotypes; distrust; and conceptions of identity. Each of these components emerged from the interviews conducted with Roma families and teachers, revealing both the divergence in opinion between the two groups, and the indicators of their conflict. By treating each topic individually and in the context of perceived cultural differences, these themes are established as the key contributors to the relationship in question, and the foundation for further understanding of the communication between the Roma families and the school body.

The issue of parental involvement appeared with high levels of both intensity and frequency in the school teachers' perceptions of the problems concerning the majority of Roma families. The underlying misunderstandings connected with this concept included differing interpretations of words like 'caring'. For the teachers 'caring' on

the part of the parents meant striving to meet the expectations of the school, following the rules and demonstrating an interest in their child's education. To the parents, the same term was a reference to the strong devotion that all of the Roma participants expressed towards their children. While these two interpretations are not necessarily mutually exclusive, the interviews showed that the parents' duty towards their children often manifested itself as a defence of the child against perceived threats from the outside (such as the teachers themselves), rather than as an obligation to unconditionally support the school. Another example is the word 'cleanliness', the interpretations of which ranged across the two different cultures, and appeared especially significant for the Roma families. In reaction to the stereotype that Roma are typically dirty and unkempt, the Roma perceive cleanliness as the key to assimilation, and a symbol of social status. To differentiate themselves from the archetypal Gypsy, the Roma families endeavour to meet the hygienic expectations of the majority, and put a great emphasis on the values of neatness and appearance. Despite this, the teacher's perceptions of cleanliness show that the parents' efforts generally go unacknowledged, and that the Roma students remain scruffy in their eyes.

Differences in culture play an essential part in generating such conflicting interpretations of roles and expressions, and yet it is also true that perceived divisions can lead to further misunderstandings. For example, the teachers insist that the children are brought up in an environment in which they are not provided with positive examples and instead are taught by their parents that unemployment is lifestyle and that life goals are unnecessary. In response, the Roma parents maintain that these accusations are unjustified, and emphasise the importance they place on their child's upbringing, education and appearance. Based on the fact that the teachers are ignorant of their true conditions, the parents reject the teacher's reflections, and are offended by the suggestions that they raise large families for monetary purposes, and do not invest in their children's futures. For their part, the Roma parents exhibit their own signs of stereotyping, and claim to love their children more than Hungarian parents do. In the light of these comments, the teachers' observation that a drawback of the Roma's child-centric temperament is that they stubbornly attempt to solve their child's problems unilaterally becomes an illustration of a larger issue: The parents feel that their actions are justified in a way that their Hungarian counterparts cannot understand,

while in turn the teachers expect no improvement from them, attributing the parent's shortcomings to their culture. In such a way, mutual prejudice and the assumption that the Roma and Hungarians are by nature dissimilar, leads to a greater rift between the two groups.

The importance of education was a principal theme in many of the parents' narratives. Studying was considered important, with the only variation being the extent to which the parents felt competent in supporting their child's learning. The parents voiced concern about the modes in which they should encourage and motivate their children, having been brought up themselves by parents showing little to no interest in their educational achievement. Despite feeling ill-equipped to support their children, the majority of interviewees repeatedly referred to their efforts to endorse their children's studying, and how they stress the fact that their children are learning for their own benefit and not for them. Hopes of a better future were common to all of the Roma interviewees. The parents' effort and enthusiasm was all the more striking in contrast to the attitude of the teachers. It was found that despite their difficult living conditions and the challenges of responding to regular discrimination, the parents were less pessimistic than the teachers, who seemed quicker to bemoan the value of education and its impact on the children and their prospects. Ironically, the teachers simultaneously maintain that it is the parents who are uninterested in the children's futures, and even go so far as to ascribe this to a fundamental cultural difference between the Roma and themselves. The teachers' sense of despondence stemmed from their belief that their students would not be able to break out of the vicious circles of Roma life, and that the greatest problems lay out of their own control, in the system and the attitudes of the parents. This results in a lack of effort on the part of the teachers to improve relations with parents, and an environment which only proves to confirm the parents' belief that they are being discriminated against. The common view amongst parents is that their children are being singled out unfairly, citing stories in which only their children were punished. The parents complain that mischief is automatically blamed on the Roma students, and are consequently less willing to accept responsibility for any misbehaviour associated with their child.

Despite the Roma parents expressing commitment to the idea of improving their children's prospects through education, the issue of premature sexual activity amongst Roma girls seems to be one that is considered unavoidable. While almost all the families voiced the desire that their daughters avoid early marriage or childbearing, few of them seemed to expect this to happen. This distinction between the parents' belief in their children's potential in education, and the seemingly inescapable modes of Roma adolescence, is all the more interesting in the context of the teachers' misgivings about the positive influence of schooling. For while the Roma families are not always satisfied with their children's results, there was a unanimous belief amongst the families that this was not due to lack of ability on the part of their children. This insight is in stark contrast with the teachers' notion that although their students should be motivated to succeed, very few of them were actually be capable of it.

Perceptions of discrimination play a large part in forming the opinions of the Roma families. The idea that their children are being unfairly set apart from their classmates is a recurring one mentioned with high intensity by families struggling with children with behavioural or learning difficulties. Confident that there should be both inclusion and equality in the classroom, the parents demonstrated sensitivity towards issues of favouritism and assimilation. Although Roma parents share the conviction that their children should be allowed to belong, they also assume that prejudice and discrimination continue to exist in the classroom. Unable to forget their own experiences and the symbolism of the letter 'c' which was once written alongside every Roma's name on the register, the families remain suspicious of the teacher's motives when rebuking or disciplining their child. Convinced that they are being treated on the basis of their Roma heritage, the parents are quick to attribute any problems experienced by their children to the prejudice of the school. This notion of a constant threat leads to greater defensiveness on the part of the parents, and a distrust towards the teachers.

Trust is a critical factor affecting the relationship between parents and teachers. While concerns about discrimination influence the parents' deliberations about the teachers, the teachers also demonstrate a suspicion of parents whom they consider to be rejecting their Roma origin. The nature of village life means that the history and

origins of each family is considered common knowledge, and irrefutable. Consequently, those Roma who appear to be distancing themselves from their backgrounds are seen as false. In such a way, those families not conforming to what their community perceive to be their social standing are distrusted, while at the same time, those same families feel as though their heritage is a stigma, and cannot trust the outsiders they regard as judging them for being Roma. Rather than the foundation for trust, a knowledge of each other's backgrounds leads to heightened suspicion from both sides. The results of this is that parents refuse to be counselled by the school from a position of perceived vulnerability, and that consequently, the teachers accuse these parents of an arrogant dismissal of important factors for a mutual understanding, such as self-disclosure and an openness to advice. Yet according to the parents, trust must be earned. In my own experience, I found that families were willing to have confidence in those who showed an interest in their lives. They also described the respect they felt towards their own teachers, who had been strict but showed a personal investment in their education.

The subject of discipline emerged over the course of the interviews as a point of contention, as while parents voiced a reverence for the corporal punishment which had been so effective during their own childhoods; many agreed that this is no longer acceptable. In connection with this, parents felt that only they were in a position to rightfully punish their children, despite also admitting insecurity as to how to go about this. In spite of an unfamiliarity with discipline techniques that do not include physical chastisement, the parents trusted themselves more than the teachers to judge and reprimand their children's actions. This sentiment stemmed from the Roma parents' doubts about fairness in the classroom. The parents explain that they have lost faith in teachers who use insulting language or who appear to be unjustly critical of their children, based on the assumption that their children are being discriminated against. Without confirmation from the teachers of a mutual respect and sincere concern for their children's wellbeing, the parents struggle to value the role of the teacher. This disparaging attitude is reciprocated by the teachers themselves, and leads to an impasse in parent/teacher relations.

In matters of interaction it is important to distinguish between the communicating parties and to be aware of the differing identities which contribute to the dynamic in place. In this case, culture was central to the relationship between the parents and the teachers, and so the concept of identity was especially relevant. From the interviews with parents, there appeared to be various approaches to the question of ethnic identity affiliation, ranging from pride in their Roma heritage to a denial of it. Interviewees involved in Roma associations or the minority government stressed their Roma traditions and culture and the importance of embracing them. The same sort of pride was exhibited by those who found consolation in their ethnic loyalties and sought comfort in belonging to a group other than the one that they feel disadvantaged by. Other families feel forced to accept their Roma origins because of the unrelenting views of their society, and have resigned themselves to the label they feel unable to escape.

The treatment of Roma languages amongst the village families reveals a further response to the issue of ethnic identity: unconcerned with preserving their native tongue, many families are equivocal in defining themselves as either Roma or Hungarian, and prefer to accept both identities instead. Reluctant to isolate themselves from either culture, these parents impart to their children an awareness of their ethnicity while simultaneously making every attempt to adapt to the norms of the majority. This strategy is taken to the extreme by those families who deliberately reject their Roma background. Sensitive to the negative depictions of the Roma, these families chose to ignore this part of their heritage, and distance themselves from those whose behaviour and living conditions they feel conform to the stereotypes. This disinclination to affiliate themselves with the rest of the Roma community leads to a lack of unity which can be felt in interactions between different groups of Roma. Interviewees showed evidence of being more suspicious of Roma allegiances than the threats posed by members of the majority society. For their part, the teachers make a concerted effort to avoid being implicated in this issue, and regularly reiterate that as far as they are concerned, it does not matter whether a student is Roma or non-Roma.

The use and connotations of language are a further indication of varying perceptions of identity amongst the Roma families and the school teachers. The speech registers

applied in conflict situations are interpreted by the teachers and parents differently, and are used to make judgments about one another. The teachers criticise what they consider the typical Roma style of speaking, deeming it uncivilised and ineffectual. While teachers consider these nuances cultural traits, the parents interpret similar brazen diction and tone as the teachers imposing their authority on their students and them. Neither group considers this behaviour appropriate, yet continues to rationalise it in a way that both reflects on and accentuates their perceived cultural rift.

7.8. SUMMARY

This chapter presented the findings from the field work and also indicated how these relate to the research questions. After introducing the research instruments in more depth again, some background information about the families and the teachers was provided. Various themes and sub themes were identified which allowed for some more in-depth analysis of the underlying themes and subject matter.

The central themes revolving around RQ1 were: parental involvement; perceived differences in value systems; opposing views on education; issues of prejudice and negative stereotypes; distrust; and conceptions of identity. Perceived cultural differences were found to play an essential part in generating conflicting interpretations of roles and expressions, and it was revealed how perceived divisions could lead to further misunderstandings.

A full answer to question one (RQ1) and research question two (RQ2) was offered, however, one of the overall aims of the research is to develop an understanding of how the factors affecting the negative relationship between Roma parents and teachers operate in intercultural communication. To achieve this, a more detailed account of these will be given in chapter eight and nine based on both earlier theoretical discussion and the data gathered over the course of this investigation.

CHAPTER 8.
DISCUSSION

8.1. INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter attempted to answer the research questions based on the results of the field work. These aimed to answer what factors affect the negative relationship between parents and teachers, how the participants define this relationship (RQ1) and to what extent the causes can be related to perceived cultural differences (RQ2). However, to be able to design a model for practitioners addressing the negative relationship between parents and teachers, these factors as variables in the intercultural communication process have to be examined in more depth (RQ3). This chapter aims to synthesise the research findings with both intercultural education and intercultural communication research literature, to be able to draw conclusions and more easily identify the crucial elements of the intercultural conflict communication process, and to provide an analytical tool for professionals in chapter nine.

8.2. MACRO FACTORS AFFECTING THE INTERCULTURAL RELATIONSHIP AND COMMUNICATION

Murray and Sondhi (1987) argue for the vital importance of analysing the wider context of intercultural encounters as a way of getting deeper insights into their political and social realities. This means that in the presence of power- relations, and/or perceived social and cultural distance between participants, only the thorough examination of context can highlight the meaning of individual utterances. This wider focus lets researchers realise correlations which anyway would stay hidden (Murray & Sondhi, 1987).

8.2.1. Socio-political influences

The Roma parents' assumptions of how the society and the school treat them as minorities, based on Ogbu's (1978) cultural ecological theory, resemble Ogbu's (2003) involuntary minority groups' ways of thought. The parents tended to report

problems of deprivation, prejudice and negative stereotypes. They generally showed signs of mistrust in school policies and in the dominant society as a whole. However, as the findings suggested parents have not always experienced this kind of attitude from the majority society as they treasure vivid memories from their childhood when the communist system, with its ideological emphasis on equality and equal opportunities for Roma people, aroused less perception of negative stereotypes and discrimination. One of the parents spoke about this as follows:

Ex. 106.

F6: *The school used to be called Pioneer Group of György Dózsa No. 423. When the command "Attention!"* [Vigyázz!] *sounded, wow, I still remember, around the same number of children went to this school, around 423. I can't forget this, I still have this picture in my mind.* [talking about a school ceremonial assembly, when children had to wear their uniforms] *Everyone was standing there, in blue and red ties. There was no Gypsy or not Gypsy question. This is the reality, and a fact that there were a lot of us. Everyone tried to keep up with the times. I mean in dressing and nature [behaviour]. Attitudes were different on both sides. When I started the first year, there were a few pupils who couldn't even utter a yelp* [megnyikkanni] *in Hungarian, there were some. I have very happy memories of my school years.*

Other research results (e.g. Igarashi, 2005) have pointed out, that this communist philosophy (and the creation of a unified school system) with the strong assimilatory view has led to the parents' indifferent attitude to Roma culture and language. While parents cherish memories of the past, the letter "c" (meaning Gypsy "cigány") on school attendance registers has become deeply built in their consciousness and language use, reminding them of the stigma which defines their place in the society.

Socio-political influences i.e. immediate social, economic and political conditions can affect how majority treats minority groups (Murray & Sondhi, 1987). Murray and Sondhi (1987) argue that when the unemployment rate is high in a country, there can be communities (e.g. ethnic minority groups) who are in more in need of benefits and welfare assistance. If the majority suffers from economic constraints as well, this situation may result in greater resentment of minority groups by the majority which

may render the latent racism active (Murray & Sondhi, 1987). This phenomenon can be observed in teachers' attitude to and interpretations of parents' permanent unemployment status, the assumed satisfaction of "living on the dole" and having more children for the sake of benefits. This means that teachers attribute Roma parents' desperate situation to internal causes (Heider, 1958) i.e. lack of effort and intention to work, while at the same time their negative view of Roma prospects and the worth of Roma professional work are attributed to external causes (Extracts 37, 39, 40).

Ogbu's (2003) findings suggest that involuntary groups do not consider education to be the key to their children's success. Whereas this research has shown that parents have a strong belief in the value of education, they do not necessarily have a strong belief in the school itself. A striking finding is that it was generally teachers who did not believe in the worth of education, attributing this to the assumption that Roma people would never be accepted as equal members of this society. As T1 put it *"Shall I tell you the reality? As I see it, you can't break out of this circle; it is very hard to break out of this circle."* Parents' strong adherence to the benefits of education is based rather on a socially distributed knowledge (Berger & Luckmann, 1966)[23] than on socialisation experience, having missed the latter because their parents did not bother about their educational achievement. Due to this gap in socialisation, parents seem not to have acquired the normative role for parent behaviour and communication in an institution like school, nor how they as parents can motivate and encourage their children to study. However, parents do have experience of the roles teachers fulfilled during their education in the past. According to them, teachers used to be more caring and just, even if they used corporal punishment quite often as a disciplinary measure.

My analysis has shown that teachers show no intention of actively filling the gaps in children's socialisation. Somlai (1997) explains this with the process of "modern socialisation" where parents and teachers do not strive to rectify the lost balance of roles that used to be shared by parents and teachers alike in the children's socialisation process. Educational psychology has shown that generally children are judged to be

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[23] Knowledge is seen as socially distributed, and socially constructed in society.

academically successful if they are able to manage (monitor, direct, initiate etc.) their own classroom performance (Zimmerman & Martinez- Pons, 1986; Schunk, 1986 as cited in Dopkins Stright et al., 2001), and this self-regulatory process can be more understood if it is examined in the interactions of their socialisation settings (Rogoff, 1992 as cited in Dopkins Stright et al., 2001). Parents' function as the children's metacognitive mentors in providing the necessary information and emotional support to enable children to conceptualise problems and employ appropriate strategies to solve them (Vygotsky, 1978; Davidova, 2008) seems to be less advanced concerning education (as defined by meeting the requirements of the school). Though parents in my study provide adequate emotional support, they describe their "instruction", as limited to providing a TV set, or DVD player for their children. While the role of 'mentor' above means mainly supporting the child's school achievement by helping with homework, teaching learning strategies etc., it is important to note here that its absence does not imply that there would be no "traditional Romany education" (Fernandez, 2006) in families.

8.2.2. Educational policy

Despite national and international efforts to ensure ethnic minorities' – in this case Roma children's - rights to preserve their culture and identity in the frames of intercultural or integrated education policy, prejudicial attitude and negative expectations of teachers and the majority society as a whole are still deeply embedded in everyday practices (Havas et al., 2001; Gilbert, 2004; Portera, 2004). My analyses have thrown light on similar results. Though the school I studied cannot be claimed to follow a segregation policy, it has become the victim of inter-school segregation (Luciak, 2006), caused by the majority parents' decision on taking their children to other town or village schools from this "Gypsy school".

Studies (Gerganov et al., 2005; Igarashi, 2005; Leeman, 2003) have proved that Roma children can benefit from integrated education; however, the case of this school has shown that both teachers and parents are unable to cope with social tendencies which can be characterised by mistrust and negative attitudes towards Roma. In spite of the fact that the majority of children in the school are Roma, the school policy reflects no sign of putting special emphasis on dealing with Roma language or culture in the

school curriculum, which is explained by teachers' attitude that the Roma question is non existent. Thus the situation concerning children's and teachers' knowledge about Roma culture is similar to that of Kyuchukov's (2000) finding who concluded that Bulgarian mainstream curriculum did not contain anything about Roma history, literature, music in spite of the large number of Roma children in education.

My findings about how Roma people respond to the present treatment by the society (i.e. "community forces") (Ogbu, 1999, as cited in Foster, 2004, p. 369) have shown different reactions from Ogbu's involuntary (non-immigrant) minority groups. While Ogbu (2003) observes that involuntary groups are concerned with their representation in the school curriculum, and perceive themselves as oppositional, the majority of Roma parents in this study manifested a different attitude. While this may be the effect of the long-lasting oppressive and negative attitude of the majority society, Roma people expressed their very strong assimilatory wish when saying that they try to live their lives as Hungarians, and want to stand apart from those Roma who "deserve disdain". They blame the media and people's negative stereotypical thinking for the generalised picture which discredits even those who try to live an honest life and this attitude causes conflicts among Roma as well:

Ex. 107.

F2: *Gypsies will be Gypsies. The problem is that people do not differentiate between bad Roma and good Roma, they see the same in all of us.*

These macro factors on the context of the situation are also realised in communication. The intent to be perceived as Hungarian is manifested in employing "careful" speech with polite forms and sophisticated word choice, usually of foreign origin; i.e. *moderizált módon – in an affected way*, *affér – dispute*, *disztingváltan megbeszélni valamit - settle things in a civilised way* etc.

8.3. GROUP BELONGING

As has been implied above the experience of prejudice and perceived negative attitude towards them has affected the way Roma approach their culture and identity. Tajfel and Turner's (1979) social (ethnic) identity theory stresses the importance of

belonging to a group, as social identity strengthens one's self-concept and ensures the comforting feeling of being part of a community. The social group people belong to helps to provide a reference point of how to categorise others (Hargie et al., 2008) and to reduce uncertainty (Harwood et al., 2005, as cited in Hargie et al., 2008).

8.3.1. Roma parents' group belonging

In the light of these, there may be concern about those Roma people who openly deny or accept reluctantly their Roma ethnic identity. Taking the poststructuralist understanding of identity, which views individuals as belonging to more cultures and having multiple identities at the same time, raises the question what group these people actually belong to - the one, which mostly rejects them, or the one they are assumed to belong to, but with which they do not feel they share values. Another phenomenon is that those Roma who identify themselves strongly with the Hungarian group, and stand out with qualifications or achievements in life, do not tend to occupy the bridge roles between the two groups. The reason for this is, as Weinemann (1982, as cited in Barnett & Lee, 2003) observes, that individuals who take the bridging roles tend to be peripheral in their own groups, and as I experienced, less comfortably integrated in the other group. Probably these individuals become the most isolated ones in both communities.

Even those who identified strongly with their ethnic identity considered Hungarians as their reference group (Gudykunst & Kim, 1984), that is, the group they claim to and would like to belong to. However, as for norms and values, they often expressed their criticism of Hungarians e.g. their child rearing practices. All participants' negative attitude to out-group was usually targeted at groups of Roma whose socioeconomic background was the worst and usually lived in the slum area of the village. They were the Lovari families who live themselves first of all as Gypsies; they do not tend to deny their ethnic identity. Beas families' identification was characterised as both with the Beas and Hungarian groups and they continuously distinguished themselves from the Lovari. In sum, all participants claimed to be Hungarian, the answers varied in respect of the strength of the parents' group belonging to Roma.

The Roma parents' lack of knowledge about their own culture can be recognised in the fact that only a few were able to refer to and identify the different groups of Roma, even the one to which they belonged. In spite of this, in accordance with the findings of Kyuchukov (2000), Gerganov and his colleagues (2005), and Igarashi (2005), Roma parents questioned the necessity of learning about the Roma culture and Roma language in school. These are probably the costs of the pressure of acculturation and assimilation, as well as these people's low political, social and economic status.

8.3.2. Children's group belonging

Johnson and Tuttle (1989) argue that examining the educational system as part of the wider context of research can give useful insights into how members of a society view themselves and others. So far I have discussed the salient issues concerning parents' identification, but it is also useful to summarise how their children experience their own and their parents' situation in this respect.

As has been shown, what children learn at home through socialisation may be different from the values and expectations of the school (Campbell, 2000). However, even perceived disadvantages can be "corrected" especially in interactions if these encounters are seen as "potentially socializing contexts" (Schieffelin, 1990, as cited in Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004, p. 350). This means that the school is responsible for ensuring communication settings which promote children's personality development and their motivation and identity (Hedegaard, 2005). Feeling of acceptance by the cultural group(s) is very important in the development of cultural identity, particularly during adolescence (Campbell, 2000). As for motives, which Hedegaard (2005) explains as the persons' dynamic relationship with other societies (i.e. social groups) and institutional practices, it can be concluded that Roma children learn at a very young age how to relate to the majority society's negative attitude towards them. In school they develop different forms of resistance which are mainly manifested in aggressive or mischievous behaviour against teachers, but this kind of behaviour can also be found in their relationships with other Roma children. As a twelve year old girl said in the interview:

F7: *In my class, out of 20 students there are only four who are not Roma. But mainly the Roma beat each other.*

Though children, just like their parents, do not know much about their ethnic culture, their identification is mainly focused on the Hungarian or Roma/Gypsy question. In the previous chapter I presented examples of children who tried to deny, children who followed their parents' decision on denial, and children who aggressively stood up against being perceived as Gypsy with all its negative connotations.

The school policy to make these children invisible in the sense of not reinforcing their identities deprives them of a feeling of belonging, and the chance to strengthen their self-image. Though parents have memories of culture in which their relatives and communities were living, their children "inherited" a culture they do not know much about. They have to cope with the feeling of belonging to two cultures; Hungarian which tends to categorise them as belonging to the out-group, and the Roma which has fading roots. If culture is seen as a "socially shared activity", and "property of a group rather than an individual" (Nieberg, 1973, as cited in Barnett & Lee, 2003, p. 260) which derives from the "society's social conventions" rather than from "the internal conditions of the individual" (Barnett & Lee, 2003, p. 260), then Roma children's cultural belonging and their identity to ensure their balanced personality development should be strengthened. If parents felt it important to retain their cultural traditions and their cultural heritage, this would promote the negotiation of the shared meaning of symbols, and communication as a shared symbolic process would create and sustain "collective group consciousness" (Bormann, 1983, as cited in Barnett & Lee, 2003, p. 261). The school, as a differentiated social setting could do the same, thus promoting children's appropriate accommodation behaviour (Gallois et al., 2005) in different social and cultural contexts.

8.3.3. The effects of ethnic identity affiliation on conflict interactions

Ethnic identity affiliation poses questions how teachers can approach parents and children in an intercultural communication situation, particularly when facing conflict. The concept of multiple identities suggests that individuals have various roles toward

the other that shift according to context (Joseph, 2004). Roma people in different situations project the kind of person they want to be seen (Woodward, 2004) and teachers should be able to realise what role parents emphasise in a particular setting (e.g. the distressed person who needs help, the angry parent who asserts his or her rights etc.) to find the appropriate communication strategy that fits the circumstances.

The roles played are closely related to the issue of power in interactions. As my findings have shown, teachers often use their social dominance when talking to parents, manifested in a magisterial style and employing diminutive suffix e.g. *"Ide figyeljen apuka*!- *Listen Daddy!"* or *"[Ha így folytatja] Nem leszünk így jóba, Magdika! –* [If you continue this] *We won't get on well, Magdika!"*.

Parents, who have strong accommodation and acculturation tendencies, usually accept these roles, and address the teacher –submitting to the lower position – with very polite forms, often similar to how a student would call or speak to the teacher e.g. *"Igazgató néni- Headmistress Madame"*. They are the ones who concerning their facework behaviour do not share personal viewpoints with teachers, and follow a conflict avoidance strategy (Ting-Toomey, 1988), or as Hammer (2002) puts it; accommodation style (p. 28). As for their goals in interactions they can be characterised as caring for the relationship, so they have a concern (Rahim, 1983) for the teacher. Parents use avoiding or sometimes integrating styles to settle conflict (Rahim, 1983).

Parents, who have stronger identity affiliation, are generally more open in interactions and in conflict usually employ the "engagement style" (Hammer, 2002, p. 28) which means they are more confrontational with teachers. They do not tend to accept their lower power status. The reason for this is probably that the rejection they meet in everyday life reinforces their ethnic identity affiliation and triggers the feeling of opposition, which is manifested in their behaviour. As for their facework behaviour in interactions, they tend to use more direct, "self-face conflict styles" (Ting Toomey, 1988). For them the goal of interaction or conflict is rather to feel that the process i.e. conflict management (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel 2001, p. 21) has been successful that is they have avoided being *"treated as a Roma who can be looked down on"*.

The implication of this is that it is actually not the culture that determines how Roma individuals behave in situations, be it conflict or an everyday interaction, but rather how they feel their ethnic identity is perceived by others, and whether they agree with the identity, and the role the other person ascribes to them.

8.4. IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION IN INTERACTIONS

Lincoln and Guba (1985) claim that participants in interactions construct not only meanings, but they construe each other's identities as well. They do it based on knowledge, which is not absolute, as it "arises" from the interaction, thus it cannot be separated from the "knower and known" (Littlejohn, 1992, as cited in Leeper, 2001, p. 96; Yerby, 1995).

The complexity of avoiding misconceptions of the other person's ethnic identity can be seen in how the participants expressed their different views on their ethnic identity salience; perceiving themselves as primarily Roma or Hungarian or both. Based on the findings, this problem has been identified as the main source of many conflicts which were manifested mainly in behaviour change. Both Roma parents and teachers gave account of situations where parents who usually behaved in a "polite" and "descent" way lost their temper and behaved aggressively to manage the conflict situation. I am going to explore this issue in more depth.

8.4.1. Cultural frame switching in conflict situations

A possible approach to understanding the above mentioned problem – parents' inappropriate behaviour – is the investigation of the concept of cultural frame switching. The concept of multiculturalism will be employed but limited to biculturalism to more easily understand the process of cultural frame switching, while maintaining the social constructivist view. Biculturals are defined as individuals "who have internalized two cultures to the extent that both cultures are alive inside of them" (Hong et al., 2000, p. 710), which can guide their feelings, thoughts and actions. Applying this definition seems to be sensible when speaking about people who, like Roma, have internalised both the Hungarian and Roma cultures.

Constructivist research does not consider culture as "internalized in the form of an integrated and highly general structure", which would predetermine "an overall mentality, worldview, or value orientation", but rather it takes the form of a "loose network of domain-specific knowledge structures, such as categories and implicit theories" (Hong et al., 2000, p. 710; Bruner, 1990; Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2006). Research (Hong et al., 2000; Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2006; Ramírez-Esparza et al., 2006; Benet-Martínez et al., 2002) focusing on how "pieces of cultural knowledge become operative in particular interpretive tasks" (Hong et al., 2000, p. 710) found that they can be activated by accessible constructs (see Verkuyten & Pouliasi's study in 5.3.5.). Biculturals are supposed to have "two cultural meaning systems or networks of cultural constructs" (p. 711). As Hong and her colleagues explain, if culture A is primed, it activates network A, "elevating the accessibility of the network's categories and the implicit theories the network comprises" (Hong et al., 2000, p. 711). If the activation results in cultural frame switching this can affect participants' interpretations of the world, interpretation of behaviour, attributions, values, and even personality (Ramírez-Esparza et al., 2006; Hong et al., 2000; Benet-Martínez et al., 2002).

My findings suggest that it is not only the language of the given culture or visual cues that can elicit cultural frame switching, but strong emotional influences as well, particularly in conflict situations, when one's identity, values or power (positioning) are threatened. In these situations these primes may activate categorisations and stereotypes which are likely to guide inferences when individuals want to interpret the other's behaviour or actions. These are usually related to the stereotypes about the majority's negative perceptions of them, and they trigger defensive actions. These factors are claimed to account for Roma parents' change of behaviour in conflict situations which is characterised by teachers as *"aggressive"*, by parents as *"the Gypsy way"* to manage conflict. This kind of response unfortunately results in reinforcing the cultural stereotype that Roma people are aggressive, in spite of the fact that parents themselves did not approve of this behaviour.

The findings have revealed that parents varied to a great extent regarding Roma group belonging and group affiliation. However, the manifested behaviour after cultural

frame switching was the same, irrespective of whether the parents claimed to have strong, neutral or negative Roma group affiliation. However, the primes which triggered activation seemed to differ.

If parents' Roma group affiliation was strong, they were found to be very sensitive to perceived prejudice and lower power position in interactions and perceived mistreatment resulted in cultural frame switching. The following extract underlies this argument (see also Extracts 95; 102).

<u>*Ex. 109.*</u>
F2: *If you welcome me like a dog, I wouldn't behave differently either. With a proper approach* [ráirányultsággal]*, attitude* [hozzá való állással]*, you can talk even to those who are very harsh, or more dangerous.*

The majority of parents who did not demonstrate a sense of pride in being Roma, although categorically described themselves as belonging to this group usually reacted the same way. These parents' response to being treated with disdain, or being subjects of generalisation along with the mismatch between their own identification and the other's perception of them caused cultural frame switching. A similar cause can be identified in the case of those who generally try to hide their Roma origin (see Extracts 97; 105).

The other source of conflict thus resulting in cultural frame switching was when parents felt that their value system was threatened. Closely related to this is the belief in the appropriate parental roles such as strong devotion to their children (see Extracts 58; 104).

Research (Hong et al., 2000; Ramírez-Esparza et al., 2006; Benet-Martínez et al., 2002) generally tends to imply that the process of cultural frame switching happens unconsciously as a result of priming; however, as my research findings have shown, multicultural individuals can employ this shift consciously as well. Campbell (2000) has come to a similar conclusion adding that the immediate cultural context determines which cultural identity the speaker finds relevant at a particular time.

In sum, Roma parents usually interpreted these conflict events as "having the right" to behave the way they did as they had a justified reason. If the communication style and registers are examined in these reported conflicts, it is really striking to find that this aggressive conflict style and threatening behaviour seems to be the only way for parents to feel agency and power in the interaction, as this approach usually makes Hungarian people (teachers) withdraw, or at least the feeling of being looked down upon can be avoided. It is crucial to note here though, that while cultural frame switching can frequently occur in conflict situations, this does not mean that all conflict situations lead to Roma parents' aggressive behaviour, or if it happens, the interaction could not be brought back to the right course. This issue will be further elaborated in chapter nine. In the following section, the key factors which lead to or help to avoid conflict situations will be examined.

8.5. KEY FACTORS IDENTIFIED IN CONFLICT DYNAMICS

Conflict often stems from people's perceptions of one another's inappropriate behaviour and from miscommunication, which "can easily spiral into a complex, polarized conflict situation" (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001, p.1). In a polarised context, values and identities may be threatened, trust questioned, biased attributions made, and communication goals may be mistakenly interpreted.

8.5.1. Conflicting values

As shown earlier, both teachers and parents assume differences in each other's value systems, which affect their relationship to a great extent. The core of this is their different beliefs about the world, and lack of knowledge about each other's beliefs (Nordby, 2008). Teachers shaped by their specific social and cultural history tend to ignore Roma people's beliefs and experiences, and with their assumed power attempt to change these beliefs by giving instructions and trying to guide parents how they should live. My findings support Nordby's (2008) assumption in that it is people's culturally shaped personal values, not beliefs that tell how they want to live their lives, and they cannot be rationally discussed or negotiated. This is exemplified in the different interpretations of caring which reflect Super and Harkness' (1997) claim that parents may "hold particular ethno-theories about raising their children", and these

may differ from those of teachers to a great extent (as cited in Hauser-Cram et al., 2003, p. 814).

Nordby (2008) construed the concept of value on three levels (see 5.2.2.). In the first interpretation values can be seen as good/bad descriptors people attach to actions they "think of as ethically good or wrong" (para. 16). Teachers, with their explanations of why they find parents so careless, actually ascribed values to parents' unemployment ("staying at home"), suggesting that parents find "not working" ethically a good thing. Teachers also questioned Roma families' values in having more children by suggesting that they just procreate to get more money.

Nordby's (2008) second interpretation is that values are understood as general concepts people believe in. The concepts of "respect", "trust" or "equality" are held to constitute norms for all participants involved. Roma parents often referred to the "red blood" all people have, but expressed their doubt whether this was evident for everyone in the society.

The third interpretation of the concept of 'value' is connected to how individuals want to live their lives (Nordby, 2008). Criticising personal values is generally experienced as offensive, because they are part of the person's identity. A good example of this is when Roma parents were disparaged by teachers for going out to Roma dance events at the weekends, even more, taking their children, instead of staying at home. The mother whose greatest pleasure was dancing and to show off with his three year old son's dancing skills, found the teacher's comment really insulting. Similarly, the personal values behind spending money while it lasts on nice clothes, food, and on children, is viewed critically by teachers. Personal values show a great individual variety, but with some interest and effort, in conversations, teachers could find out what the other's personal values are, as a good basis for trust building.

Hauser-Cram and her colleagues (2003) claim that there are no studies on how the "teachers' perceptions of the values inherent in cultural and socioeconomic differences" affect their judgements (p. 814). My research has shown that the perceived mismatch between the culture of teachers and the culture of children's families has negative consequences on the relationships, and the effects of these

perceptions on their judgements of families can be observed in teachers' attitude to parents.

8.5.2. Trust – the role of knowledge

The question of trust has appeared both at the interpersonal and social levels (Siegrist, 2001). Belief in the institution and the education system has already been touched upon above. Findings that educational strategies of Roma for achieving in school (Ogbu, 2003) "are overshadowed by feelings of distrust and alienation" (Hermans, 2004, p. 433), and the tendency for parents to distrust the school and teachers as experts and generally blame them for their children's low school performance, are similar to those of Gerganov and his colleagues' (2005) results. In parental interpretations, children's negative attitudes to school are the result of the teachers' discriminatory behaviour; however, when teachers' arguments are examined they claim their only problem is to do with parents. This means that distrust at the interpersonal level was found to be a crucial issue. In the presence of trust people's relationship can be characterised with positive emotional attachment, committed relationship, and a strong group affiliation (Burke & Stets, 1999). Generalised or social trust (Baum & Ziersch, 2003) relates to trust extended to strangers. Gudykunst and Kim's (1984) model defined the term 'stranger' to refer to "a relatively high degree of strangeness and a relatively low degree of familiarity" with a person (p.22). In the light of these, an important point to be made here is that people can remain strangers to each other, irrespective of the number of their encounters, if there is a lack of shared knowledge of norms, values, roles and identities. The feeling of not knowing each other appears in both parent and teacher narratives. *"I'll remain a stranger in this country, just because I'm Roma"* says a father, and adds that teachers do not know anything about them; how they live and feel, while T5 said:

Ex. 110.

T5: *The worst thing is that you can never tell what to expect from them. Sometimes they* [parents] *are so aggressive; sometimes they behave like a child who needs support. You can never predict how they will react, never.*

8.5.3. Uncertainty reduction and attributions

The urge to reduce such uncertainty very often leads participants to rely on their categorisations and stereotypes (Berger & Calabrese, 1975) as well as enter into explanations of certain behaviours and situations involving both proactive and retroactive explanations. The proactive explanations, or cultural presuppositions (Jensen, 2004) were mainly based on either negative or positive experience. The feeling of distrust towards teachers stemmed mainly from bad experiences, either in childhood or adulthood as a parent, and was fed by the conviction that teachers do not take care of Roma children. Uncertainty appeared in the forms of relational, relationship and self-uncertainty (Knobloch & Solomon, 2005), which effected how participants interpreted situations, especially the content of interactions. Relational uncertainty was present when Roma parents expressed their doubts whether they belonged to either group (Roma or Hungarian), self-uncertainty was felt in their perceived roles in the relationship with teachers, while relationship uncertainty could be found in their various interpretations about their own and teachers' roles.

Parents believe (as they claim "based on experience") that teachers are convinced that as they are educated and have more knowledge, they have the right to show disdain towards Roma and ignore their knowledge and experience in life. As one participant in Fernandez's (2006) research summarised it: "The only difference between them and us is that we are willing to learn from them, but they won't learn from us. And, anyway, it still is not enough to say that people should, on a day-to-day basis, recognize us for what we are, just with words, we must be genuinely accepted and valued" (p. 382).

Etxeberria (2002) claimed that Roma people tend to "have an idealised view of their own reality", and believe that "their negative experiences are entirely due… to racism and societal misunderstanding" (p. 297). His claim that self-criticism is lacking in Roma is not supported in my findings. Roma parents were found to be critical with themselves concerning their lack of abilities to motivate or discipline their children. Furthermore, they admitted the overwhelming affection they have towards their children which is manifested in pointless waste of money and spoiling them.

Retroactive explanations usually appear in the form of attribution theories when the participants, based on their perceptions of the situation and relying on selected information interpret the causes of the other's actions (Ogay, 1998). Information is selected through filters, which according to Gudykunst and Kim (1984) can be of four types which actually define the nature of perception: psychocultural, sociocultural, cultural and environmental. The findings suggest that sociocultural and psychocultural influences seemed to affect the encounters to the greatest extent. As the extracts have shown, many conflict situations emerged from the fact that the parents' intended role did not match the teachers' perception of the roles played in the interaction. These situations easily led to parental assumptions about the teachers' superior behaviour which was often linked to perceived prejudice.

Experiences like these form the basis of explanations of the causes of behaviour and predictions of future interactions. As Ogay (1998) warns, it is very difficult to discover the cause of behaviour because social interactions are actually "chains of behaviours" "which are all responses to other behaviours, and these themselves cause other behaviours" (p. 272). In addition, as participants probably do not perceive this chain of behaviours the same way, it becomes almost impossible to find the real source of conflict (Watzlawick et al., 1972, as cited in Ogay, 1998). The first implication of this assertion is that the first encounter plays a decisive role in what information the participants will find primary in judging others' behaviour in the future (Ogay, 1998). Secondly, this also means that if, for example, the school policy and the teachers themselves have a good reputation, this general belief will serve as the basis of perceiving and interpreting their actions. Thirdly, it is crucial to raise teacher (as well as parent) awareness about their egocentric and ethnocentric bias, which can distort the clear understanding of the situation by using one's own cultural frame of reference (i.e. norms of behaviour) in attributing meaning to the behaviour of others (Ogay, 1998).

8.5.4. Goals – interpretation of messages

Uncertainty also influences how individuals formulate and interpret messages, and has an impact on self-disclosure and on the intimacy of topics discussed in encounters. Messages are usually distinguished as relational and content messages (Knobloch & Solomon, 2005). Relational messages refer to "implicit meanings that define the nature

of the relationship" (Bateson, 1972, as cited in Knobloch & Solomon, 2005) while content messages are defined as "the denotative meaning of the words" (Knobloch & Solomon, 2005, p. 352). The study observed that misunderstood relational messages often led to misinterpreted content messages; e.g. "caring" or "cleanness".

Uncertainty about a conversation partner's goals can undermine the ability to interpret the message and properly infer the other's goal in the interaction. Boromisza (2003) argues that misunderstandings are usually due to the misinterpretations of one another's intentions in the communication and they have social consequences, namely that they can affect the future relationship of the conversation partners. Palomares (2008) defines conversation goals as "desired end states … that require interaction with others to be achieved" (p.109). Goal detection is the process, by which people try to "infer the goal(s) others are pursuing" (Palomares, 2008, p. 109). Accurate goal detection promotes understanding the interaction and recalling of past events (Taylor & Crocker, 1981, as cited in Palomares, 2008).

Palomares (2008) claims that people tend to suppose that others pursue a primary goal (e.g. persuasion); "the central and defining focus of an interaction" (p. 110). At the same time, participants are aware that the conversation partner has secondary goals as well; recurring "constraints" (e.g., maintaining politeness) that "do not define the interaction" (Palomares, 2008, p. 110). The reason for the varying focus is that while individuals theorise about the causes of their own behaviour in forms of multiple reason explanations, they are likely to rely on simple, primary goal inferences when they think about the conversation partner's goals (Palomares, 2008). The implication of this is that it is crucial for the speakers in an encounter to infer each other's goals accurately, so the goal of the interaction must be communicated clearly, as "certainty in goal inferences is a central element" (Palomares, 2008, p. 110). Goal inferences are likely to begin at the beginning of the conversation, sometimes they even precede them, but they may change during the encounter especially if conflict occurs.

Hewes (1995) argues that people usually "accept problematic messages at face value", and if uncertainty is high, they tend to reinterpret the initial interpretations of the other's goals (as cited in Palomares, 2008, p.111), which may spiral into a complex conflict situation where accurate interpretation becomes more and more difficult.

Wilmot and Hocker (1998, see 5.5.2.) differentiate content, relational, identity, and process goals (as cited in Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001, p. 41). The dynamics of changing one's own goals as well as inferring other's goals in interactions will be discussed in more details in the model in chapter nine, but two examples of their operation are thought to be useful to get a deeper insight.

The situation described in Extract 50 exemplifies how different goals and various inferences operate in a series of conflict situations. The grandmother relates that her granddaughter had a fight in school with another child who, during the conflict, called her Gypsy. The teacher intervened and punished the child for fighting, in spite of the fact that the girl claimed she fought because she was called a Gypsy. When the child talked back, the teacher said *"You will become like your mother"*. The grandmother finished the story line by saying that *"Only Liza was punished, they don't give a damn about poor people"*.

If the different goals and goal inferences are examined in this conflict situation it can be seen that the participants were led by various goals and interpreted others' goals in different ways.

Different content goals may have led to the conflict between the children which intensified when the child perceived rejection by the other child, and to defend her identity and dignity, she became aggressive. The teacher intervened, her primary goal was first to discipline the child who misbehaved. The teacher did not pay attention to the child's complaint as she inferred that the child's primary goal was to cause trouble. After the child perceived that the teacher did not value her identity, her primary goal became identity-based to protect her dignity, she talked back. When the teacher perceived the child's disrespect her identity-based goals became primary and she wanted to emphasise her own status, and demand respect. The teacher's comment about the child's mother deeply offended the girl's values. Finally, the grandmother's interpretations were different from the participants' involved. She did not care about the cause of the conflict. She attributed multiple goals to the teacher' behaviour and she found that they indirectly threatened her dignity and she attributed the teacher's behaviour to prejudice.

Another example of how participants interpret one another's goals was found in answers relating to asking for advice and to parents' self-disclosure. Teachers attributed some parents' lack of disclosure to their slyness and exaggerated pride (see Extract 52). If parents asked for advice their primary goal (content goal) was inferred as having a hidden motive, or as process goals (see Extract 53). As shown, accurate goal detection plays a decisive role in both self-disclosure and conflict situations.

8.6. SUMMARY

This chapter has attempted to synthesise the research findings with both intercultural education and intercultural communication research literature in order to draw conclusions and more easily identify the crucial elements of the intercultural conflict communication process.

Discussion started from a macro approach and analysed the wider context of intercultural encounters as a way of getting deeper insights into their political and social realities. The analysis has thrown light on the possible causes of resentment against the Roma minority group as well as on how they respond to and interpret this situation.

Tension concerning the beliefs in the value of education has been discussed and possible reasons offered. The chapter has also tried to throw light on the underlying causes of Roma parents' indifferent attitude to their Roma culture.

It was argued that social group belonging would promote these people's self-concept and would reduce their feeling of uncertainty (Harwood et al., 2005, as cited in Hargie et al., 2008, p. 794). Furthermore, it was claimed that the implications are far reaching if children are deprived of their cultural heritage.

The next part of the discussion focused on intercultural communication in conflict. It described how multiple identities operate in conflict situations, and how the process of identity construction depends on the participants' assumed cultural knowledge about one another. It was shown how challenging it is to avoid misconceptions of the other

person's ethnic identity in the light of the participants' different views on their ethnic identity salience; perceiving themselves as primarily Roma or Hungarian or both.

In relation to CFS, my findings suggested that it is not only the language of the given culture or visual cues that can elicit cultural frame switching, but strong emotional influences as well, particularly in conflict situations when one's identity, values or power are threatened.

This chapter also focused on key factors identified in intercultural conflict situations. Special emphasis was put on values, trust, uncertainty reduction, attributions, and interpretation of messages and goal inferences. All these closely related to concepts of identification and identity construction.

CHAPTER 9.
A MODEL FOR PRACTITIONERS

9.1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to develop a model for practitioners based on my findings and discussion. The model attempts to depict the factors identified during the research process in interactions between parents and teachers, and to provide a possible approach to conflict management. The sub-model is specifically applicable to contexts in which, the parent claims to be bicultural (in this case Roma and Hungarian) and where the teacher is perceived as monocultural (Hungarian). In such a way, the model offers guidance to teachers working in situations in which the teachers and parents share at least one cultural identity. The implications of this study on further research will be examined at the end of this chapter, as well as the limitations of the research findings.

9.2. THE CRITERIA OF A GOOD MODEL

Mortensen (1972) in his book claims that one of the most important features of a good model is that it reflects the underlying factors of communicative behaviour. This implies that the emphasis is more on the determinants of the process rather than on the structural (i.e. source, message, and receiver) attributes (Mortensen, 1972). As Berlo (1960) points out, communication is a process, in which "we view events and relationships as dynamic, on-going, ever-changing, continuous … we also mean that it does not have a beginning, an end, a fixed sequence of events. It is not static, at rest. It is moving. The ingredients within a process interact: each affects all of the others" (p. 24). An ideal communication model should express this dynamic, interactive nature of communication, and avoid depicting a static picture (Mortensen, 1972).

Good models should initiate questions and help to clarify the complexity of the communication situation (Mortensen, 1972; Chapanis, 1961). Thus, as Chapanis (1961) claims, a successful model does not strive to avoid complexities but to provide

a coherent order which helps the following of the operation of factors in the encounter. Good models also have a "heuristic value" (Mortensen, 1972, p. 54), which means that they offer new insights into processes by contributing knowledge to familiar phenomena.

It is not only the complex, multi-layered nature of communication which presents difficulties in designing a good model, but the dynamic characteristics of communication contribute the additional challenge of studying a process that is as dependant on the past as it is related to the present and future. Moreover, Westley and MacLean (1957) argued that communication does not start with the person's initiating a conversation, but rather with the person's selective response to the "physical surroundings" (as cited in Lacy, 1989, p. 4). This implies that the constantly changing milieu can change the nature of the communication process, including the changing salience of variables operating in the situation.

Finally, a crucial determinant of communication which required attention in this model was the nature of different interactions between people, their messages and their goals. Some relationships are limited to isolated situations, others – as in educational context- to recurrent events. Some relationships focus on one particular message, while others have various and changing themes, all of which affect the participants' goals in the encounters.

9.3. THE MODEL

As has already been explored in the Discussion, context plays a decisive role in how the conflict situation can be managed. When the model was designed (see Figure 9.1.), the physical setting, the details of the relationship, the culture within which the exchange takes place, as well as the specific situation itself, were each taken into account, based on the influence they all have on the way messages are interpreted and the participant's relationship is formed. Based on the research findings and discussion, the following assumptions are made about the factors affecting the negative relationships in general, and about the conflict situation in particular:

Assumption one: Every intercultural conflict situation is affected by the participants' reflections on, and evaluations of, previous encounters.

Assumption two: Experience is gained through the reflections, conclusions and attributions made by one participant to explain the other's behaviour and the causes of the conflict.

Assumption three: The causes attributed to the previous conflict situation can affect the process and the outcome of the conflict situation. Based on explanations, people construe knowledge about the other person or the other person's culture, which can easily lead to biased knowledge (especially if the encounter involved emotional frustration).

Assumption four: This assumed knowledge provides a basis for forming expectations towards the next encounter i.e. the atmosphere of the encounter, the roles played, and the goals and motives of the other.

Assumption five: Misunderstandings can occur due to different cultural interpretations of messages. This means that seemingly neutral topics can trigger emotions if the values or meanings attached to words vary between the two cultures.

Assumption six: The outcome of the interaction is largely dependent on the goals of the interaction; what goals the participants have and how they infer each other's goals.

Assumption seven: Conflict situation may occur if participants do not construe and perceive each other's identities in a mutually satisfactory way.

Assumption eight: Cultural frame switching (CFS) can be a reaction to a perceived incompatibility of values, norms and goals, or a lack of a shared construction of cultural (ethnic) identity.

Assumption nine: Resolving an intercultural conflict requires appropriate conflict management techniques employed by teachers that involve: cultural awareness, ethnocentric bias free attitude, and intercultural competence.
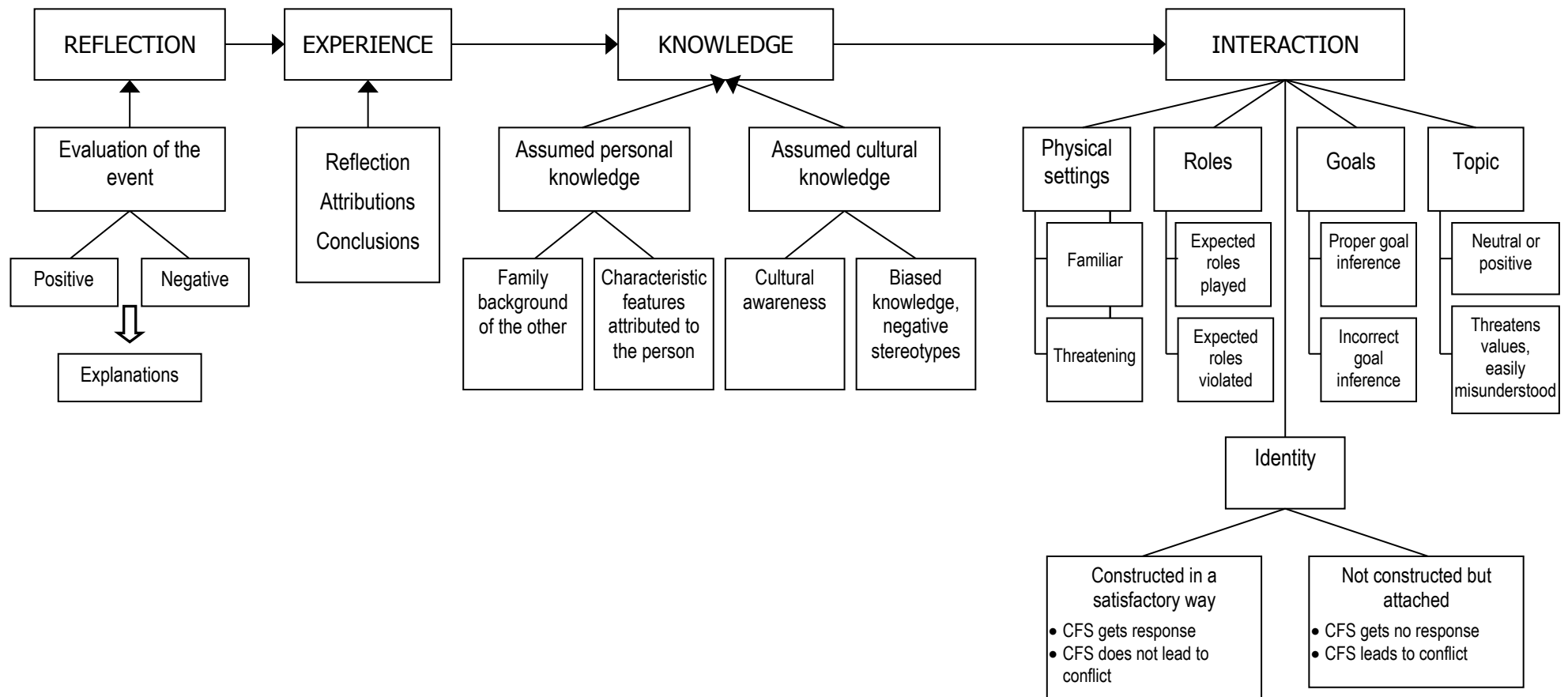
Figure 9.1. The model of negative relationships

In depicting the model for the negative relationship between families and schools, four phases of the communication process (with a focus on conflict situations) were identified and isolated for the purpose of explanation (see Figure 9.1). The relationship between teachers and the parents is not defined by single interactions, but develops over the course of multiple encounters. Every intercultural encounter is dependent to a great extent on how the outcome of the previous one was interpreted. It is due to this observation that the first consideration of this model must be the mutual history of the participants, which has been described here as their 'Experience'. Based on experience, people gain 'Knowledge'; which will be referred to as 'assumed knowledge' in this context, because of the possible bias involved. Following this are the factors contributing to the communication dynamic of the third phase, the 'Interaction' itself. The conclusion is the period of 'Reflection' at the end of the encounter, in which the participants decide whether or not the issues discussed were resolved - they evaluate the event and try to explain the causes. This final stage is essential, as it will be this information that is taken forward to influence upcoming interactions.

9.3.1. Reflection, Experience and Knowledge

Before approaching an encounter, every individual tries to anticipate the content, the scene, and the atmosphere of the situation, as well as those participating in it. Each of these serves as a basis for expectations by one of the participants. How these expectations will be realised in the actual conversation - how appropriate these presuppositions prove to be - depends to a large extent on how much experience the participants have about encounters similar to the one they expect.

Participants may form knowledge about each other in two ways: whether by striving to see and understand the individual in their interaction partner (with his or her unique experiences and personal background), or by approaching the person with an ethnocentric bias, and assumed cultural knowledge. As assumption three suggests, the latter method often leads to stereotypes, examples of which include T4's assertion that rowdy mannerisms are a Roma characteristic, and the teachers' regular descriptions of Roma parents as being unambitious and dismissive of their children's education (e.g. Extracts 7, 8, 98).

Generalisations are common across both groups, with instances of parental prejudice such as F6's claim that the Roma care more about their children than the Hungarians do about theirs. Such attitudes result in mutual suspicion and lead to misinterpretations of one another's actions. Entering the interaction with a number of preconceptions, participants are more likely to detect aspects of the encounter which reinforce their initial perspectives. Rather than trying to establish the true causes of conflict, the participants attribute one another's faults to culture rather than individual concerns. Consequently, the practice of relying on assumed cultural knowledge based on an ethnocentric perspective has been found to be restricting rather than insightful. Contrastingly, cultural knowledge that promotes interactions is knowledge about how social groups and identities function and how they construe their social world (Byram et al., 2001).

In cases in which the participants know one another's personal history, or have some background information about their counterpart's past, this assumed personal knowledge can form expectations concerning the nature of the interaction. A clear example of this phenomenon is in the case of F3 (Extract 50), who described her familiarity with the headteacher's origins and familial status, and based on these and her own heritage, had assumed that the headteacher would be obliged to treat her with respect. F3's personal knowledge of the headteacher led her to predict the dynamic of their subsequent interaction, and to put in place a number of suppositions preceding the encounter itself. In such a way, F3 developed a notion of the sort of behaviour she would accept from the headteacher and had established a hypothetical route she expected the encounter to follow. These expectations were later shattered when F3 found that she was not treated in the manner she had assumed she would be. While F3 considered this a betrayal of unspoken conventions, this had further effect on the nature of the relationship between the grandmother and the teacher.

Nonetheless, gaining personal knowledge about the other should be promoted, for while an acquaintance with a participant's history has been shown to lead to further complexity, information disclosed by the communicators to one another in person can only be encouraged. By gaining knowledge which is offered by the participants themselves, trust develops, and both parties are able to come away from the experience

with a greater understanding of how they are perceived by one another. It is important to note, however, that this received information must then be applied for the purpose of improving the interaction. Together, these factors seem to contribute to whether or not the participant considers their previous experience a positive or negative one.

In terms of communication, an interaction can only be considered positive when it is mutually so, and in such cases, the following encounter is likely to run smoothly, as both parties will enter the interaction with shared optimism. In the former instances, participants will approach new encounters with suspicion and resentment which must be countered during the interaction itself. Examples of such experiences include F8 who believed that the headteacher did not give sufficient value to the sensitive issue of her disabled child being bullied at school (see Case study in appendix). In the context of the issues being raised, F8 (mother and father) were offended by what they considered the teacher's indifferent manner. Another encounter with the same family illustrates the significance of status and the transfer of power during interactions; the parents had been unsatisfied with the response of the headteacher to their previous complaints, and had called the police to intervene. When the police failed to arrive, a conversation with the headteacher led F8 (mother) to infer that the teacher had gone over their heads to call off the police. Not only had the topic of their conflict been a contentious one, but the headteacher had imposed her authority in a way that would influence the family's resulting actions.

The behaviour of the headteacher led the parents to feel both insulted and powerless, provoking the father into taking the issue into his own hands and beating the two boys who had been bullying his son. This case provides a perfect example of a negative experience that will inevitably continue to influence relations between the family and the school. Both parties were culpable of misconduct, the issues in question were sensitive and of great importance to one or both groups, and most important in terms of their next interaction, neither side was satisfied by the result of their interaction, and no resolutions were found.

9.3.2. Interaction

It is within the context of the previous encounter that the atmosphere of the subsequent interaction is created, and yet factors such as the immediate environment and initial settings of the new meeting also influence what follows. The most significant of these have been identified as the physical environment, the approach to the topic i.e. goal inferences, the value attached to the topic, the participants' expected roles, and the construction of identity.

The participants' perceptions of themselves and the role they hope to play within the context of the interaction can be influenced by other factors separate from their relationship to the school. Indeed, a participant enters an interaction with both a notion of his own role, and a preconception of the role of his/her counterpart. These initial conditions then set the tone of the impending encounter, as while each participant has a notion of what to expect from the other, they also presume that their counterpart will accept the version of themselves that they portray. This phenomenon is best illustrated in the case of F1 (Extract 56), who described an inability to communicate with his former classmate, when she did not respond to him as such. Because his old friend did not recognise the role from which F1 hoped to communicate, F1 was unable to comfortably interact at all. In extreme cases, where previous conflict was not resolved appropriately, role expectations are totally violated- such as in the case of the father (Case study - part 4) who decided to take revenge on the boys who bullied his son.

The setting of the interaction can have an equal effect on the success of the communication between the participants. In the case of F8, the parents had been unaware that they were about to attend a council meeting when they were invited in to school. Unacquainted with the fact that there were issues concerning their disabled son's admission to primary school, they were shocked to find a room full of council and school representatives. Already, the atmosphere was enough to place F8 in a perceived position of vulnerability, and, indignant, the parents refused to make compromises or to concede the points raised by the committee. In this case, the environment in which they found themselves had a direct influence on the parent's willingness to cooperate (Case study – part 1).

The manner in which a topic is introduced is similarly significant; when an issue is approached abruptly, parents are more likely to reject suggestions made to them, due to treating the teacher's goals with suspicion. When F6 (Extract 36) was informed by the headteacher that her son must become a private student or other parents would transfer their own children to other schools, the lack of diplomacy was striking, and led the parent to respond in a similarly harsh manner. Heated topics trigger emotional frustration which can be manifested in change of conflict style, word construction, or register. Offending one's personal (Nordby, 2008) or cultural values may lead to similar feelings and even to aggressive behaviour.

The participants' responses to issues are catalysed by the goals they communicate. Within the description of assumption six, four types of goals are identified: *content goals, relational goals, identity, and process goals* (Wilmot and Hocker, 1998 as cited in Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001, p. 41); each of which can be assumed by the participants and which are likely to change over the course of the interaction. In the same way that each participant begins with an initial role, each interaction has an original goal, which is provided by the participant who initiated the encounter. Examples of this include teachers who invite parents in to school with the objective of discussing hygiene, learning or discipline issues (e.g. Extract 35, 36, 103), or when parents have meetings with teachers to complain about bullying or discrimination (e.g. Extracts 58, 59, 61). In these instances, one or the other of the participants supplies the primary goal, and it is then for their counterpart to interpret this goal and offer their support- be it in reiterating the goal and offering a method for achieving it, or by providing a compatible alternative. Each participant's response to the other's principle goal is strongly influenced by their primary identity and perceptions, and it is through this filter that they contribute their own understanding of the situation and their personal goals. Because of this, it is common that if the participant's primary perceptions of one another are not consistent with their perceptions of themselves (in that person A sees person B differently from the way in which person B views himself), their primary goals will also be incoherent with one another. In such a way it can be seen that participants' attitude towards identity will influence their interpretation of the original goal, subsequently altering their concept of self and their

role in the interaction. In such a way, an individual's salient identity and communication goals are interlinked and interdependent.

Goals are relayed between communicators, reinterpreted and reflected back, causing alterations in salient identities and perceptions each time. This trend is illustrated in the example of F4 (Extract 59), who was provoked by her child being slapped into going to the kindergarten herself with the process goal of revenging her child. She describes being met with accusations as her child's teacher tried to convince her of her child's guilt. This led her to take decisive action, and by extracting the child from the kindergarten completely, achieved what had now become the content goal of putting an end her child's issues. F4's description of her experience also draws attention to the significance of ethnic identity salience in the development of the interaction. While F4 (Extract 59) is an extreme case which concluded in the breakdown of communication and mutual distaste, there are many variations of the final state of the participants' relationship. Even when an interaction ends in a way that can be considered negative, an awareness of the concluding conditions can provide the basis for improved relations.

The interconnection of identities and goals can also provide the framework for successful communication. For this to be achieved, and for issues to be resolved, both participants must share a common view of their mutual goal in the interaction, from the perspective of mutually accepted identities. Only if each participant's salient identity is perceived by the other and the same goal has been established can the issue be resolved; as when the purpose of the interaction has been identified, solutions can be found accordingly.

The process model has shown what factors can lead to negative relationship, the phases of its development (Experience, Knowledge, Interaction, Reflection), and how each of these related to the others. This fulfils the aim of the dissertation, which was to model the process of how negative relationships are formed based on teachers' and parents' interpretations. Nevertheless, there are more considerations to be taken into account. Apart from making teachers aware of the factors and how they operate, this research should also be able to provide practical solutions. Indeed, two of the questions I was most often asked by teachers while I was working on my dissertation were *"OK,*

but will you be able to tell me what to do with a frantic Roma parent?" and *"Do you have any ideas then, about how to solve this Roma question?"*

As stated in the introductory part, I cannot aim to give a full response to either of these questions, as neither were the subject of the research. Nevertheless, the first challenge is pertinent, and I will make an attempt to answer the first of the two queries.

9.4. MANAGING CONFLICT

By now it has been shown that almost all factors operating in this negative relationship relate closely to the issue of identity, including: ethnic identity affiliation, ethnic identity salience, multiple identities and how individuals construe their identities. As examples have revealed, conflicts were always preceded by bad experience; unresolved conflict situation, perceived prejudice, inappropriate perception of one's identity, questioned cultural values, and the intermingling of power relations etc.

As shown, Roma parents shape and reshape their ethnic identity through their interactions with Roma and non-Roma people, but at the same time they maintain and shape their Hungarian cultural identity through social interactions (with teachers for example). These multiple identities can be held simultaneously, but as Hall and McGrew (1992) have argued, they do not always co-exist comfortably. Roma parents strongly wish to identify with the "Hungarian group", but at the same time they often feel that they are not accepted by the members of this group.

The discussion of the phenomenon of cultural frame switching (CFS) has shown that it occurs due to interactive triggers, and there was a suggestion that it is in response to particular influences that Roma parents behave as they do. The emphasis here should be put on the "in response to" aspect of this point, as it would be a misinterpretation of the findings and an over-generalisation to conclude that aggressive behaviour is the result of cultural frame switching, as any individual can manifest behaviour like this.

 Another false implication would be to say that Roma culture is characteristic of such aggressive behaviour. Responses to the misconception of one's identity can include withdrawal and avoidance, especially if this is in reaction to values and beliefs being

offended over the course of an interaction, as Day Langhout (2005) and Durovic (2008) have shown in their research. Instead, if inappropriate behaviour is approached as an indicator of an affront having been made against one's culture or identity, the solution to conflict lies in examining how teachers can become aware of this in the interaction. Thus the sub-model offered below is a model of intercultural communication, where different ethnic/cultural identities are at play within school context. To achieve this, a very simple modelling technique inspired by Berne (1972, 1996) will be presented, and the presentation will be supported with real life practical examples.

The context of the model is as follows:

The participants are a teacher (T) and a parent (P). Throughout the encounter, the teacher acts as the conflict manager. They both share one cultural identity (Hungarian) which they both identify with. The parent also holds a Roma cultural/ethnic identity, which he/she can identify with to varying degrees. The presupposition is that successful intercultural encounter is likely to happen if the participants base their conversation on their Hungarian identities, so the Hungarian identity is maintained during the interaction by both participants. This is based on the assumption that in this case participants share a learned meaning system (i.e. beliefs, values, shared meanings etc.). The other reason for establishing the conversation on the Hungarian "identity ground" is that teachers are not familiar with the meaning systems of the Roma culture, and Roma parents have been shown to demonstrate a strong affiliation to their Hungarian identity. Keeping in mind that we can never be sure what is actually happening in people's minds, this model tries to illustrate how a parent's Roma identity is activated during an interaction. The aim is to show that if teachers can realise when they offend the other's cultural identity, and are able to react sensitively to cultural frame switching, conflict can be managed. The suggested approach to conflict management follows a set of essential rules:

1. The teacher's aim must be to conclude the encounter with a positive outcome.

This may appear to be a statement of the obvious, but it is crucial that the teacher approaches an interaction with a relational goal with which to propel the

communication and manage the situation. Without this positive intention on the part of the teacher, interactions are more likely to end unsatisfactorily for both parities.

2. The teacher must always respond to the perceived salient identity of the other.

This means that if the teacher observes that the parent shows signs of frustration, expressed by a change of style (e.g. raising voice, or being withdrawn), then the teacher must interpret this as a response to what and how was said. Equipped with appropriate (bias free) cultural knowledge and skills, the teacher must try to become attuned to the salient identity of the parent and respond accordingly.

3. If the teacher initiates the encounter, he or she always has to make sure that the opening of the conversation is targeted at the Hungarian identity.

This means that the conversation cannot start with problems presented in a manner or mood which is fed by negative stereotypes or assumed knowledge.

4. The teacher has to accept that the parent may switch identities during the interaction.

This statement claims that parents, as biculturals, are capable of misinterpreting the teacher's messages or goals (especially in cases where their experience can be characterised as mainly negative) which they will naturally react on.

5. The teacher's aim is to make sure that before closing the encounter, the parent's salient identity is the Hungarian one.

According to the findings, the above point would mean that the parent would no longer be motivated to feel defensive during the conflict situation. This is because when identity construction has been successful, the values, beliefs, and the participant's sense of community belonging have not been offended. In such a way, the parent leaves the conversation feeling comfortable and unthreatened.

6. The teacher, playing the role of a conflict manager, must not perceive CFS as a conflict.

This rule regards teachers, stating that they cannot abandon or reject continuing conversation based on what is perceived as the parent's inappropriate behaviour. It should only be by interpreting signs of disagreement or hurt that teachers should react and respond, and judgements concerning manner and attitudes should be avoided.

These rules concern conflict situations and do not imply that parents should avoid applying their Roma ethnic identity to conversations. Instead, these rules are made to be employed in situations in which sensitive issues are at play, and in instances in which there is a mutual possibility of inappropriate conflict management.

The conflict management process will now be supported and illustrated with examples. Figures 1.a and 1.b model conflict free situations where the problem has been settled in a mutually comforting way. This may involve the discussion of sensitive issues, but are cases in which the outcome is positive. 1. a. presents a parent initiated encounter, while 1.b. is initiated by the teacher.

Simple, conflict free encounter:

Case 1. The parent's Hungarian identity is salient
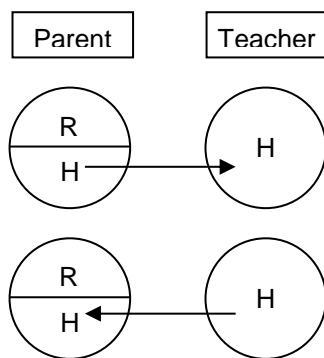
1. a) Parent initiated conversation   1. b) Teacher initiated conversation

Practical example on Figure 1.a):

The parent comes in to school to tell that she cannot pay for the child's lunch, because they have run out of money. The teacher offers possible solutions (paying later or in instal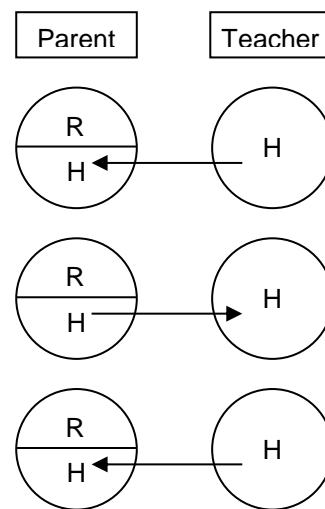ments). The teacher does not make hints at the parent's bad habit of wasting money, nor does s/he enquire about the reasons for this problem unless an explanation is offered by the parent. They agree on the possible solution and the parent leaves.

Figure 1.b) presents a teacher initiated conversation in which there is a problem with the child:

The teacher invites the parent in to school, because there are discipline problems concerning the child. The teacher tells the problem and asks the parent whether they have similar problems at home as well. If she says no, the teacher initiates a conversation about how the parent imagines the school could solve this problem. Throughout the conversation the teacher ensures the parent that s/he wants to help, because this is in the child's interest as well. If the parent comments that they also experience similar problems at home, the teacher takes note of it, offers help. The parent leaves the uncomfortable situation with a positive feeling.

Case 2. The parent's Roma identity is salient.
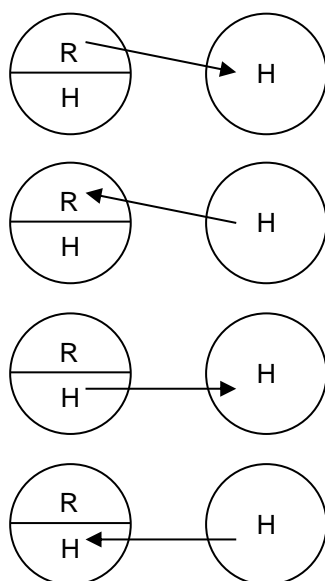
This is an example of successful conflict management:

This example is one taken from my own experiences in conflict management. The son of F6, who was the gang leader of the school, got into a fight with a boy because of jealousy. As shown in the findings part, matters of love are treated as highly sensitive in Roma culture from even a young age. Demonstrating dominance in a partnership, and especially in cases where the girl does not want to continue the relationship, can lead to fierce confrontations with other boys to 'save face'. I was aware of the situation and I asked them to stop. They did, but because of my intervention, Andris could not finish the fight and show the girl that he was a 'real man'. In his anger he bumped a little bit into me with his shoulder as he was passing, to show the others that I did not have power over him. This was the beginning of a possible conflict. I very calmly asked him to stop and come back to talk to me, but he did not react. I did not say it again. I knew it would be detrimental to the situation to start shouting after him, and to order him to come back, as I knew he would not come.

Instead, responding to his Roma identity, I called his mother and, showing an awareness of how important the question of respect is in Roma families, especially towards those who treat them fairly, told her what happened. I said that I was offended because this was not the kind of behaviour I expected from him. In the next break, the boy was in my office, very embarrassed and sincerely apologised for his behaviour. I accepted his apology.

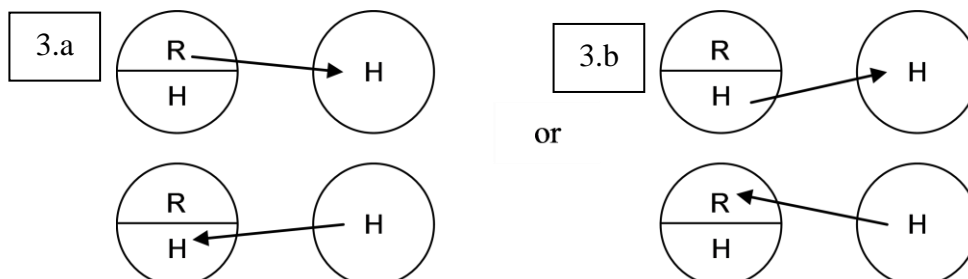Case 3. The outcomes of the conflict situations are negative

Figure 3.a. shows an example in which the teacher does not respond to the parent's salient Roma identity

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A pertinent example on this is of T4 recollections of her conflict management on the ground of her Hungarian identity, which she had tried to force on the parent. An angry parent comes in to the school because his or her child was bullied. S/he is shouting and the headteacher's response is the following (a part from Extract 98):

T4: *And this is when I say that they can turn down their volume, that they don't have to shout, and that we can sit down and talk things over; they don't have to shout and start loud … I always tell them that "If you go to an office, or court or the police, or to the certificate office, you don't start with pushing the door open, and howling, saying "where is he, who did it", because it is not tolerated anywhere.*

Figure 3.b. shows a parent initiated conversation in which the teacher does not respond appropriately to the salient identity.

As in situation 1a., the parent could approach the teacher with a monetary issue, but rather than being offered solutions, the teacher tries to lecture the parent about what the parent should do to improve, hinting at the stereotype of the Roma's bad habit of wasting money and asks for reasons for the family deficit. The outcome is negative.

The process model, and within that the sub-model, have shown what factors affect the negative relationship between teachers and Roma parents, and has illustrated their operations in the intercultural communication process.

9.5. LIMITATIONS OF THE MODEL

At the beginning of the dissertation I set the parameters for the examination of intercultural communication theories, models, and research findings that were supposed to support finding a model which would serve as a tool for professionals in this field. These parameters were:

- *how culture is examined;*
- *how culture is perceived;*
- *the aim of the research;*

- *consideration of micro and macro factors influencing communication;*
- *emphasis put on the individual;*
- *to what extent the theory or research findings can promote everyday interaction or conflict situation;*
- *whether or not the theories or findings are applicable to intercultural education.*

Based on the social constructivist school of thought, the model has tried to take into account people's multiple identities in such a way that cultures were treated flexibly and not limited to nations. Though the findings have led to two salient identities (Roma and Hungarian) becoming the focus of discussion, even these were treated as flexible and dynamic. The model has tried to take into consideration the macro and micro factors influencing the parent-teacher relationships and put special emphasis on individual interpretations. An approach to conflict management has been offered in the form of a sub-model which attempted to fulfil the aim providing a tool for teachers with which they can manage conflict situations with Roma parents, so it fulfils the requirement of applicability.

Because human relations are complex and driven by many motives, it is very difficult, almost impossible to depict a picture of relationships without simplification. However, as Kaplan (1964) notes, "Science always simplifies; its aim is not to reproduce the reality in all its complexity, but only to formulate what is essential for understanding, prediction, or control. That a model is simpler than the subject-matter being inquired into is as much a virtue as a fault, and is, in any case, inevitable" (p. 280).

Based on my findings, my aim was to find the crucial variables that operate and emphasise the recurrent nature of encounters. I do not claim that the model has accounted for every factor or variable operating in intercultural conflict situations, because this would limit the participants' "awareness of unexplored possibilities" (Kaplan, 1964, p. 279). Instead, this model challenges teachers to investigate and explore their own situations, and gradually find remedies to their own problems.

Nevertheless, the model can only be applicable if the participants are willing to reflect on their relationships and the assumptions upon which they operate in communication situations. This means that without this readiness to delve into their own cognitive and

affective dimensions, the model will remain another of the many scientific models of communication subject to criticism by scholars, rather than one accessible by those for whom the model was created: the teachers.

9.6. IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

The implications of the research are manifold. As for the focus of the research, the examination of the wider research context has shown that it is necessary to thoroughly examine the power-relations, and perceived social and cultural distances between the target groups of people at a societal level to be able to understand the more specific context and highlight the meaning of individual utterances.

The exploration of the causes of negative relationships and particularly how parents and teachers interpreted them (RQ1) imply that the central themes emerging as problems: lack of parental involvement, lack of communication, perceived differences in value systems, opposing views on education, issues of prejudice and negative stereotypes, distrust, and formation of identity; share a lot in common with international tendencies.

As demonstrated, perceived cultural differences play an essential part in generating conflicting interpretations of roles and expressions. Lack of adequate knowledge about one another may lead to false attributions and to forming negative stereotypes about one another's value system and beliefs, and altogether increase the feeling of uncertainty. Furthermore, uncertainty affects how goals are inferred and messages interpreted. The study has shown that individuals rely heavily on their previous experiences of encounters, and these often serve as a basis for approaching the next conflict situation.

Within the view of social constructivism of one's identifications the study paid special attention to Roma parents' ethnic identification and social identity. It turned out from the research, that Roma parents' ethnic identity salience (their attachment and loyalty toward their own group) was generally very weak, which was explained by their strong assimilatory wish to the majority society. This was seen in their indifferent attitude to their children's learning about their Roma culture or language. In the light of this, the

study expressed worrying concerns about their self-concept, their children's personality development, and the lack of emotional support ethnic or social group membership belonging could give; particularly in a society where the general attitude to Roma tends to be negative.

The other crucial aspect of the study was the exploration of the operation of variables in conflict situations where the participants, though they share a common language, may belong to several ethnic/cultural groups. Understanding the phenomenon of cultural frame switching was found valuable in explaining Roma parents' conflict styles and, as often framed by teachers, their aggressive behaviour.

The study has come to the same conclusions as Etxeberria (2002) saying that most "teachers find themselves overwhelmed, bewildered and without clear ideas or guidelines when presented with dilemmas pertaining to Roma pupils" (p. 298). "They tend to have no in-depth knowledge of the culture, are unaware of the needs of the Roma pupils (and parents) and are not equipped with the necessary material and human resources to meet these specific challenges" (Etxeberria, 2002, p. 298).

The implications of all the above has led to the conclusion that the key to improve the negative relationship between Roma parents and teachers is to develop both parties' intercultural communication competence, and raise their intercultural intelligence. This could be achieved first by providing trainings for teachers. These should first of all focus on attitude change, which involves the issues of openness and awareness about the impacts of one's ethnocentric bias. Openness refers to showing interest, and gaining knowledge about the other culture, which is not limited to getting primary knowledge (i.e. music, literature etc.), but involves knowledge about how these social groups function, and how they construe their social world (Byram et al., 2001). Raising teachers' cultural awareness would involve a process whereby the formerly shaped cultural assumptions would gradually be modified and developed based on the obtained knowledge and information (Jones, 1995).

It is equally important to link this knowledge to classroom practice, and to everyday interactions with parents. This does not imply though, that Roma parents and teachers have to be treated as a community of people belonging to a group which would

manifest the same cultural traits, beliefs and values. Each situation contains individual characteristics including several factors, for example the participants' ethnic identity salience, and teachers need to be able to interpret and mindfully react on the participants' needs and goals in an interaction. In an educational context trust building is of utmost importance and can be achieved by expressing mutual interest in one another's values, lives and problems. Encouraging self-disclosure would help build relationships which would prevent participants' perceiving one another as strangers.

The process model aimed to show how the crucial variables identified in research operate in intercultural encounters and it emphasised the recurrent nature of encounters. To enable the teachers to apply the model needs knowledge about the factors underlying the intercultural communication process. A crucial question to be raised though is in connection with the participants' attitude to change. The teachers' role to be the sources of possible change in their relationships with parents depends on their willingness to suspend their internal assumptions and attributions (Boromisza, 2003, p. 81) and their self-assured knowledge and instead, see the problems from the others' perspectives. They need determination to move beyond their existing communication practices and become conscious communicators; managers of conflict situations. Byram and his colleagues (2001) argue that to communicate successfully in intercultural encounters needs "an ability to evaluate, critically and on the basis of explicit criteria, perspectives, practices and products in one's own and other cultures and countries" (p. 7).

9.7. LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

Although the limitations of the research instruments and techniques employed in this research have been discussed, it is worth reflecting on the scope and limitations of the research as a whole. The single setting of this research and the relatively small number of participants obviously restricts its generalisability to other contexts. The research claimed to examine intercultural encounters in the sense that the two groups of people considered themselves as culturally different from each other. Based on this, though the participants spoke the same language and actually parents and teachers shared their Hungarian cultural identity the relationships were examined as intercultural. Interviews

and the analysis of communication between different language speakers may have produced different results.

In spite of this it is hoped that by providing rich ethnographic accounts of the context and through the participants' narratives and interpretations, there may be some features that can resonate with other research field contexts (Richards, 2003) and thus the results of this research will be transferable (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). If so, other researchers could approach a context similar to this, by realising connections and familiarities, with more understanding of the environmental features, individuals' values, norms and belief systems.

As was suggested in Chapter three on intercultural education it can be assumed that this setting is not unique. Intercultural education faces problems generally similar to those raised in my research, therefore while no two settings are likely to be identical, the findings of this research should be of relevance beyond this research context and relevant in situations where multicultural individuals - people of different ethnic backgrounds - meet. Nevertheless, further studies in different contexts either concerning Roma or any other ethnic identities are needed to test the validity of the findings and claims presented here.

Another limitation is that most of the data was not naturally occurring, especially as far as intercultural conflict situations are concerned. The conflict situations described were recounted by the participants themselves, which may have been distorted due to negative experience or bias. However, as is quite typical in case of narratives, participants tended to "act out" their stories, that is, they told them in dialogue format. Even if the dialogues could not be reproduced word by word, they gave insight into many features of the conflict situation and especially into their different interpretations. Future studies of intercultural conflict situations would benefit from analysis of naturally occurring data, though this would raise more complex ethical considerations, for example the consent of the participants taking part in the interaction.

The other limitation concerns the assumption on which the research (especially RQ1) was based, namely that Roma parents and teachers have a negative relationship in the

given context. This assumption as earlier discussed was based on my familiarity with the context, and actually this assumption led to the inquiry of the research. Throughout the beginning phase of the qualitative research I was open to questioning this assumption, but it was reinforced by the first interviews. The existence of negative relationships was not a hypothesis that needed testing but rather a problem which required investigation.

Though at the beginning of this work I claimed that the dissertation does not aim to deal with the Roma question, the reader may sense some of the researcher's sympathy towards this ethnic minority. I would offer another interpretation by saying that the source of this perceived bias is rather the researcher's tolerant approach to 'otherness' and the strong belief in people's capability to live in a culturally complex society. Thus if teachers at some points seem to be shown in a negative light, this is a failing in an attempt to criticise and question their practices in a constructive way, as they are believed to be one of the main generators of change.

Related to the assumptions are the influences of the researcher and the research process itself on the participants' behaviour and responses. During the interviews the participants might have become more aware of the research purposes which may have affected the content of their responses. This was in a way inevitable in such a specific context like this village. The main concern was to be aware of these influences, and to attempt to control them as much as possible in interviews, and document the effects.

Finally, the researcher's interpretations will inevitably affect what factors were found to be crucial, what features of the environment were thought to be significant. Clearly this research has concentrated on certain areas at the expense of other areas of the participants' experiences and environment. Therefore, this research cannot claim to be a complete picture of the participants and their context. In sum, the ideas of the participants and their experiences presented here are necessarily selective and interpretative. It is supposed that by documenting these selections and interpretations as part of the research process, and by the presentation and analysis of the findings, other researchers will be able to determine trustworthiness, credibility, dependability and transferability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, Richards, 2003, p. 286) of the conclusions drawn.

9.8. FURTHER RESEARCH

The explorations of different aims and scope of research paradigms and research methodologies in chapter four indicated the importance of examining the impact of macro- or global contexts alongside the "psychological and linguistic aspects at the micro level" (Jiang, 2006, p. 412). To get deeper insights into the underlying processes of a specific research context it is argued that both macro- and micro-approaches are necessary. Though the conceptual framework for the present research is interpretative and the methodology employed is qualitative, in conducting a larger scale study quantitative data may prove to be useful to get a view of for example, the attitudes or human values (e.g. EVS) of the society.

To test the validity of the findings of the present study, particularly the factors identified effecting the negative relationships and the intercultural conflict situations between Roma parents and teachers, more research in Hungarian schools and in other countries, where the number of Roma ethnic minority is considerable i.e. Spain would be needed. The same applies to context where there are other ethnic minorities e.g. Turkish or Moroccan in Germany and France. As this research was done in a village, an urban setting may bring different findings to surface as well.

Though it was concluded in chapter four that treating nations and ethnic groups as cultures can be "either useful" or … "misleading" (Levine et al., 2007, p. 206) a study would be helpful to test whether Roma people's conflict style and preference for certain registers would show common features, namely culturally identifiable patterns. This would be of particular relevance to get deeper knowledge about cultural frame switching. Discourse analysis could give valuable insights into the operation of key factors identified in conflict dynamics. This deeper focus on micro discourse level entwined with the wider ethnographically based techniques offered may prove productive in understanding the operation of variables in the conflict situation.

The findings of the study lend themselves to a number of suggestions for teacher development and teacher education. Research on attitude change or on the development of teachers' intercultural competence (if trainings outlined above are

realised), would most likely entail longitudinal studies that investigate change over time, and would provide an empirical basis for the evaluation of further trainings.

More research is needed to develop teaching approaches and materials to promote classroom practice in intercultural education settings to enable teachers to ensure children's identity and personal development.

CHAPTER 10.
CONCLUSIONS

At the beginning of this dissertation the question was raised as to what extent cultural differences can affect our communication, and whether there is a considerable difference between intracultural and intercultural communication. This research has shown that as far as people perceive each other being culturally distant (Collier & Thomas, 1988; Triandis, 2003) and this perception affects the effectiveness of their communication and relationships, intercultural communication is a legitimate field of research.

The concept of culture has been used flexibly, given that people can belong to many cultures (Jensen, 2004; Hong et al., 2000) and it is the degree of belonging and the contexts that define to what extent individuals are willing to share the meaning systems or networks of cultural constructs with their community members (Jenkins, 1997). This approach strongly emphasises the poststructuralist tenet that individuals can be multicultural, can hold multiple identities, and will actively switch between these depending on context and their own intent (Jensen, 2004; Campbell, 2000). Cultural identity was seen as a social construction (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Campbell, 2000; Jensen, 2004; Durovic, 2008); formed through relation to others in interactions (Jensen, 2004).

A review of intercultural education research found that schools in Europe and worldwide face similar difficulties of educating ethnic minority students like those in the study school. International and national publications showed that implementing intercultural education is thwarted by systemic problems such as underachievement of minority students, poor discipline, and lack of cooperation with parents, among others (Luciak, 2006; Luciak & Khan-Svik, 2008; Leeman, 2003; Andriessen & Phalet, 2002; Foster, 2004; Kalekin-Fishman, 2004).

My assumption was that as effective education for cultural diversity is largely dependent upon successful communication practices between teachers, parents and their children, intercultural communication research could contribute to the completion of my research aims and more broadly to the field of education as a whole. ICC theories and models turned out to offer valuable insights for use, but none of them could completely meet the set criteria, so the need for developing a model which can be applied in everyday practice emerged.

Through the exploration of the negative relationship between Roma parents and school, a number of sources for dispute were identified. Amongst these were the central themes of parental involvement; perceived differences in value systems; opposing views on education; issues of prejudice and negative stereotypes; distrust; and conceptions of identity.

The issue of parental involvement appeared with high levels of both intensity and frequency in the school teachers' perceptions of the problems concerning the majority of Roma families. The underlying misunderstandings connected with this concept included differing interpretations of words like 'caring', or 'cleanliness'. The core of this misunderstanding was explained with the tendency for teachers, shaped by their specific social and cultural history, and assumed knowledge, to ignore Roma people's beliefs, values (Nordby, 2008) and experiences, thus the meaning of such concepts are not construed on a shared cultural basis. Furthermore, it was observed that teachers with their assumed power often attempt to change Roma parents' personal values (Nordby, 2008) by giving instructions and trying to guide parents how they should live and behave.

As for how the society treats them, Roma parents tended to report problems of deprivation, prejudice and negative stereotypes which resembled Ogbu's (2003) involuntary minority groups' ways of thought. However, contrary to Ogbu's (2003) conclusions, my research has shown that parents have a strong belief in the value of education. It was generally teachers who did not believe in the worth of education, attributing this to the assumption that Roma people would never be accepted as equal members of this society.

Perceptions of discrimination turned out to play a large part in forming the opinions of the Roma families. Parents generally assumed that prejudice and discrimination continue to exist in the classroom. Parents were found to be quick to attribute any problems experienced by their children on the prejudice of the school. Without confirmation from the teachers of a mutual respect and sincere concern for their children's wellbeing, the parents struggle to trust the teachers.

From the interviews with parents, there appeared to be various approaches to the question of identity, ranging from pride in their Roma heritage to a denial of it. The study revealed that the experience of prejudice and perceived negative attitude towards them has affected the way Roma parents approach their Roma culture and identity. It was argued, that group belonging would promote parents' and children's self-concept with all the values and emotional significance this membership can mean for the person. Nevertheless, the constant attempt to adapt to the norms of the majority, make parents unconcerned with preserving their Roma culture and language.

The most frequently emerging issue during the research was how parents wished to be perceived ethnically and culturally; Roma or non-Roma (Hungarian). Perceiving that incorrect values and significance were assigned to their Roma identity usually triggered different, but mainly intensive reactions in parents. Similarly to Durovic's (2008) study I found that these misconceptions generated discontent either because participants felt that they were placed in a category they did not want to identify with (Roma), or they perceived being categorised based on negative stereotypes. The complexity of avoiding misconceptions of the other person's ethnic identity could be seen in how the participants expressed their different views on their ethnic identity affiliation; perceiving themselves as primarily Roma or Hungarian or both. This factor was identified as the main source of many conflicts which was manifested mainly in inappropriate behaviour.

The speech registers and speaking styles applied in these encounters were interpreted by the teachers as the typical Roma style of speaking, deeming it uncivilised and ineffectual, and by parents as their Roma "weapon" against discrimination and disdain. Based on parents' interpretations of these situations the research further developed this

issue and examined to what extent these events can be explained with cultural frame switching.

My findings suggested that strong emotional influences can be seen as primes, particularly in conflict situations, when one's identity, values or power (positioning) are threatened. Cultural frame switching in these situations activated categorisations and stereotypes, which in turn affected the interpretations of others' behaviours. These were usually related to the majority's negative perceptions of them, and triggered defensive actions. This kind of response resulted in reinforcing the cultural stereotype that Roma people are aggressive, in spite of the fact that parents themselves did not approve of this behaviour.

In depicting the model for the negative relationship between families and schools, four phases of the communication process were identified and isolated for the purpose of explanation. The relationship between the teachers and the parents was not defined by single interactions, but seen as developed over the course of multiple encounters. The first consideration of the model was the mutual history of the participants, which was labelled as 'Experience'. Based on experience, people were supposed to gain 'Knowledge' which was referred to as assumed knowledge because of its possible biased nature. Following this were the factors contributing to the communication dynamic of the third phase, the 'Interaction' itself. The conclusion was the period of 'Reflection' at the end of the encounter which was found to be essential, as it is this information that is taken forward to influence upcoming interactions.

Experiences were found to form the basis of explanations and it was pointed out that it is very difficult to discover the cause of behaviour because social interactions are actually "chains of behaviours" (Ogay, 1998 p. 272). The urge to reduce uncertainty was shown to lead participants to rely on their categorisations and stereotypes and enter into explanations of certain behaviours and situations involving both proactive and retroactive explanations (Berger& Calabrese, 1975; Gudykunst & Kim, 1984). Lack of adequate knowledge about one another was proved to lead to false attributions and to forming negative stereotypes about the other's value system and beliefs, and altogether increase the feeling of uncertainty. Furthermore, uncertainty affected how goals were inferred and messages interpreted.

The sub-model offered a possible approach to conflict management based on the conclusions drawn in connection with cultural frame switching. It was argued that teachers have to act as conflict managers in these encounters. If inappropriate behaviour is approached as meaning a possible reaction to the offense of one's culture or identity, avoiding conflict lies identifying how teachers can become aware of this process.

This research cannot claim to be a complete picture of the participants and their context. Still, by providing rich ethnographic accounts of the context and through the participants' narratives and interpretations, there may be some features that can contribute to other research. Nevertheless, further studies in different contexts either concerning Roma or any other ethnic identities are needed to test the validity of the findings and claims presented here.

More research would be needed to develop teaching approaches and materials to promote classroom practice in intercultural education settings to enable teachers to ensure children's identity and personal development. Attitude change and openness would result in the change of formerly shaped cultural assumptions (Jones, 1995). Each situation contains individual characteristics and teachers, as "culturally responsive" (Le Roux, 2002, p. 38) educators, need to be able to interpret and be mindful of the participants' needs and goals in an interaction. Trust, mutual interest and respect will help build relationships and prevent participants' perceiving one another as strangers. As Peterson (2004) argues, "cultural intelligence is the ability to engage in a set of behaviours that uses skills (i.e., language, or interpersonal skills) and qualities (e.g. tolerance for ambiguity, flexibility) that are tuned appropriately to the culture based values and attitudes of the people with whom one interacts" (p. 89).

"No educational system anywhere develops or exists independently or remains unaffected by its social or historical roots. The policies, practices and perspectives of the prevailing dominant culture influence educational content and approach" (Le Roux, 2002, p. 37). The policy this school follows has been proved to suffer death by several cuts in this context. The Roma parents have faith in education that ensures their children's future prosperity. They are just waiting for teachers to respond and support

them. I would like to close this work with my favourite quote of a Roma parent's fatherly advice to his daughter.

They can take away everything from you, your clothes, your bag… your hair can be cut, your skin can be cut, but your mind cannot be taken away from you. [Mindent elvehetnek tőled, a ruhádat, a táskádat … a hajadat levághassák, megvághassák a bőrödet, de az eszedet, azt nem tudják elvenni tőled.].

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APPENDIX

ORIGINAL HUNGARIAN EXTRACTS

Extract 1.

T4: *Fegyelmezetlenek, az, hogy nem tartják be a szabályokat vagy a házirendet, hogy késünk, mert nem vesszük komolyan ezeket a dolgokat, mi az a 10 perc vagy negyed óra, ez a fajta lezserség, lazaság még mindig megvan. És amikor bizony a szülőknek azt mondjuk, hogy ezekből a 10 percekből is összejön majd valamikor 1 tanórányi hiányzás, és ezeket valamiképpen igazolni kéne, na, ezeket nem veszik olyan komolyan, de mondom ilyen notórikus iskolakerülők már nincsenek, mint régebben.*

Ex. 2.

T1: *Nem figyel a gyerekére, pont. Csak ez. Aki jó tanuló, az mindegy hogy roma, vagy nem roma. Annak itt a szülője a szülőin. Aki pedig problémás, az sokkal nehezebben vonható be. Abba, hogy közösen tegyünk a gyerek érdekében.*

Ex. 3.

T2: *Nincs szülő. A gyerek rendetlen, koszos, neveletlen…Nincs taneszköz, de most már abban is megmutatkozik, hogy ápolatlanok, koszosak. Érti? Nincs ellenőrzés, nincs felelősség…Nincs szülői háttér. Nem, a gyerek tanulását nem ellenőrzik, egyáltalán nem.*

Ex. 4.

T5: *Amit mi látunk, az az érdektelenség jele. Úgy értem, hogy a gyerek rendetlen.*

Ex. 5

T4: *A tisztaság nem jellemző hogy probléma, mert a mai világban már én azt gondolom, hogy annyira nem lehet szegény senki, mint mondjuk, mint 20 vagy 30 évvel ezelőtt, hogy tényleg arra nem tellett a roma családokban, hogy a megfelelő tisztálkodási feltételek meglegyenek, mert még itt is ha, az idézőjelben mondom telepen lakó cigány családokról van szó ott is megtalálható a fürdőszoba, tehát ilyen dolgok nincsenek. Azt nem mondom, hogy mindig*

mindenki mindenkor túlságosan túlápolt, mert azért van náluk is kivétel, de nem az a jellemző, hogy a többségük ápolatlan lenne, vagy elhanyagolt, vagy, hogy nem megfelelően öltözteti a gyerekét. Van 3-4 család, akikkel nem csak nekünk, hanem a gyermekjóléti szolgálatnak is gondja van, de azok között vannak nem roma családok is.

Ex. 6.

T3: *Ez olyan gondot jelent, hogy most már felnőtt egy olyan generáció, aki otthon van, segélyből próbál megélni. És a gyerekek azt látják, hogy meg lehet élni így, és ez egy életforma. És ez gond, hogy motivációnak régen lehetett mondani, hogy tanulj, ma már nincsenek céljaik. Illetve, hogy ez is egyfajta cél, hogy majd megélek, mint anyám és apám, aki ebből-abból meg tud élni, segélyből, családi pótlékból. Ez a minta. A szülők sokszor még ágyban vannak, amikor eljönnek a gyerekek az iskolába.*

Ex. 7.

T5: *Iskolába járni, ott rendesen tanulni, az olyan, mint dolgozni járni. Egyfajta napirendet, rendszerességet feltételez. De azok a gyerekek, akik még soha nem látták a szüleiket korán kelni, munkába menni, nos, azoknak nincs ilyen jellegű tapasztalatuk. Hogyan követelhetem én meg azt, hogy kötelességtudó legyen, ha nincs ilyen jellegű tapasztalata?*

Ex. 8.

T1: *Arra nem képes sok szülő, hogy azt megnézze, hogy a gyerek elhozza- e a táskáját. Nem figyelnek a gyerekeikre. Kívülállóként előfordul, hogy azt látjuk, hogy azért szülik, mert kapták érte a családi pótlékot. Nagyon. Több az olyan gyerek. Nem érezzük a szülői odafigyelést, mindent az intézményesített neveléstől várnak el.*

Ex . 9.

T2: *Az értékrend határozza meg a családban. De nem lehet általánosítani. Most is idejár olyan roma tanuló, akinek az édesanyja rendszeresen odajön hozzám, és megkérdezi, hogy „Legyen szíves megmondani, hogy én miben segíthetek a gyerekemnek? Mit vásároljak neki, nincs sok pénzünk, de én azt, ami kell,*

megveszem, mert az a legfontosabb." És ez a gyerek tanul, és ez a gyerek érvényesülni fog. Mert itt van az értékrend. Hogy fontos, hogy a gyerekem tanuljon. Többet tudjon, segítsem, ahogy tudom.

F8: *Mindent megteszek ezér' a gyerekér. Felűlem eladhassák a fejem fölül a házat, de ha én azt mondom, hogy nem engedem abba a speciális iskolába, mer ez meg az azt mondja rá, hogy hülye, akkor nem, akármi is legyen.*

R: *Mi lenne a vágya?*

F6: *Jézusom, ha megmaradna a három, és itt lenne nekem. Akkora szobákat tudnék csinálni, hogy mind itt legyen. Egy nagy fürdő, de ez csak a vágyam, én vagyok a királylány, aki álmodik* [nevet].

R: *A fiát felvették középiskolába, ez azt jelenti, hogy jó úton van.*

F6: *Igen, de tudja, sok időt tölt az apjával. Jobban félek tőle, hogy ő meg magyar módon neveli. Nem roma módon.*

R: *Ez mit jelent?*

F6: *Én nem akarom megsérteni, de a cigányok sokkalta jobban féltik, szeretik a gyereküket, mint a magyarok. Amikor a fiam kórházban volt, azt mondták nekünk, hogy nem maradhatunk ott éjszakára. Mi harcoltunk, hogy jogunk van ott maradni, a magyarok meg csak hazamentek. A párom a kukán aludt, mert olyan kicsi hely volt a szobában. Amikó' baj van, akkor nekünk elég 2-3 órát is aludni – amikor a gyerekér' van. Amikor együtt alszunk, az nem azért van, mer' nincs elég ágyunk, hanem hogy érezze, hogy biztonságban van.*

F10: *Nincsen nekem semmim sem, csak ezek a gyerekek. És most elvették tőlem. Aszondják, nem törődtem velük rendesen, nem bántam velük tisztességgel. A segélyekből ruháztam én őket, szép ruhák voltak. Aszongyák éheztek, meg hogy elhanyagoltak voltak, ezt mondta a gyámügyes. Meg hogy nincs fürdőnk.*

R: *Mit fog most csinálni?*

F10: *Nem tudom. De a férjemet úgy köllött lefogni, hogy ne öljön meg valakit. Mindent megteszek, csak visszakapjam őket. Aszongyák, ha a házat rendbe rakjuk, visszakapom őket. Azok a szemetek. Az én kicsikéim, ők a mindeneim. Megyek az oviba, és nincsenek sehol. Miből vannak ezek az emberek?*

Ex. 13.

F4: *Persze, hogy nehéz. De mit tehetnénk? Itt sírtak ríttak a kicsik, mert volt róla szó, hogy a két nagyobbik visszamegy az intézetbe, de a kicsik itt sírtak ríttak, hogy had maradjanak. Két szobában élünk nyolcan, de láthassa, szép tisztán élünk, és hátha egyszer hazatalál gyünni az a lány, hátha megjön az esze. [sír.]*

Ex. 14.

T1: *Az egyetlen alkalom, amikor a szülők egy pillanatig sem haboznak, hogy átlépjék az iskola küszöbét, az akkor van, ha úgy érzik, hogy a gyereküket, lelki vagy fizikai bántalmazás érte, vagy igazságtalanság történt vele. Akár tanár, akár egy gyerek volt az elkövető. Na, ilyenkor van az, hogy öntörvényűek és maguk akarnak igazságot szolgáltatni.*

Ex. 15.

T6: *Nagyon gyerek centrikusak a szülők, az ő gyereküket senki ne bántsa.*

Ex. 16.

R: *A segélyt a gyerekre fordítják?*

T1: *Igen, ezt el szeretném mondani, hosszú évek óta tapasztalom, mert van egy kis boltunk a faluban, hogy ha van pénzük, mindent megvesznek a gyereknek. A probléma az, hogy nem nevelik következetesen, úgy értem, arra, hogy azt meg is kell becsülni, amit kapnak. Igen, az augusztusi kiemelt családi pótlékot megkapják, és elköltik a boltban. De mire hozni kéne az iskolába, elrontják, otthon elhasználják. Nem tudják megbecsülni, amit kapnak.*

Ex.17.

F13: *Nekem nincsenek nagyon szép ruháim, de a gyerekek mindig tisztán és szép ruhákban járnak. A nagylány jön néha, hogy vegyük meg ezt meg azt, vérzik a szívem, mikor nem tudom, mert nincs pénz. De ha tudom, mindent megadok neki.*

Ex.18.

F12: *Tiszták legyenek, ez a fontos, és viselkedjenek.*

Ex. 19.

F10: *Büdösek? Na, megmondom én hogy büdösek. Mosok én rájuk, de ruha is van elég. Egy szobában élünk, lavórból tisztálkodunk, a nagyobbik segít a kicsiknek. Büdösek…*

Ex. 20.

F6: *Elnézést, hogy így élünk, már ki kellett volna cseréltetni az ablakokat, de tudja, mi jobban adunk a hasunkra meg a ruhánkra. Nincs fürdőszobánk, de nagyon ügyelünk rá, hogy tiszták és szépek legyenek a ruháink.*

Ex. 21.

F2: *Ezek az emberek semmit sem tudnak rólunk, nem is tudják hogyan élünk. Itt ugyan nem járt egy sem. Ezek nem tudják mit jelent megfürdetni a gyereket, vagy mosni. Nincs is fürdőszobánk. Az én feleségem mindig tiszta ruhát ad a gyerekekre, attól még, hogy az ugyanaz, nem azt jelenti, hogy nem mossuk. Tudja mit? Mi sem akarjuk látni őket itt.*

Ex. 22.

R: *A tanulás mennyire fontos?*

F7: *A tanulás, nagyon. Mindig mondom nekik, hogy maguknak tanulnak, nem nekem. De persze ez nem jelenti azt, hogy nem lennék büszke, ha egyszer az évzárón kihívnák a Ginát és kapna egy emléklapot. Nagyon büszke lennék rá. Az én szüleimet nem nagyon izgatta, hogy tanulok-e vagy sem, de ez azért már másképpen van.*

Ex. 23.

F8: *Elkezdte a Kerit, a 9-et kijárta, aztán meghúzták, onnan meg barátja lett, az iskolát otthagyta, itthonról elrepült. Amit a mai napig nem tudom lenyelni. Magamat is okolom, nem tudom, hol rontottam el.*

R: ***Többet szeretett volna Magdi, hogy többet érjen el?***

F8: *Én igen. Szerettem volna, hogy legalább ezt az iskolát fejezte volna be. Legalább ennyit, ez a minimum.*

Ex. 24.

R: ***Hogyan próbálják a tanulásra ösztönözni őket?***

F2: *Mondogatjuk nekik nap mint nap, ez a kicsi itt, ez még jól tanul és a nagylány is szépen kezdte, de tudja, valahogy hiába is akarnánk nagyon, hiába álmodjuk azt, hogy ők tanultak legyenek, ha eljön ez a 16-17-éves kor, ez nagyon nehéz lesz. Nem tudni mi lesz belőlük, mit kapunk majd tőlük.*

Ex. 25.

F1: *Az idősebbik okos tanuló lenne. A többiek nem tanultak tovább, remélem ő fog. De félek, hogy 13 évesen rossz irányba megy. Ez úgy látszik, benne van a kultúránkban.*

Ex. 26.

F5: *Én meg vagyok velük elégedve. Nagyon szeretik őket a tanárok. Mert udvarias gyerekek. Köszönnek nekem és mondják, hogy mennyire tisztelettudó mind a kettő. Persze, az a c betű, mindig is ott lesz a nevük előtt. De neki nem kell azt csinálni, mint a másiknak, vagy a harmadiknak, legyenek különbek. Nem zseni egyik sem, de legyen róluk külön véleményük, hogy ők különbek, mint a többiek. Ennyit tudok nekik adni. Nekik talán könnyebb lesz az életük.*

Hogy valami nagyobb iskolába eljussanak, azt nem hiszem, hogy esélyük lenne, de leülök velük, tanulok velük, amikor kell matekból a férjem, mert abból ő a jó. Nem szeretnek tanulni. Lehet, hogy az is számít, hogy mindkettő lassabb tempóban halad, mint a többi. Nekik több idő kellene ahhoz. Itthon én adok időt, de az iskolában a tanárok azokkal szeretnek dolgozni, akik gyorsak, akik előbb

befejezik a feladatot. Ők elfelejtődnek. Bajba vannak az órán. Több osztály kellene, hogy akik lemaradnak, azok utolérjék a többit. Nem foglalkoznak a problémás gyerekekkel, állandóan a tehetséggondozást szajkózzák.

Ex. 27.

F15: *Tudom, hogy tehetséges, mert mondják. Szeretném, hogy ő többet elérjen, mint mi. Hogy ő tanult legyen. De nem tudom, hogy lesz. Itt állandóan piszkálják a gyerekek, mert érzékeny, olyan ideges fajta, na akkor meg csapkod, meg sír. Nem tudnak vele mit kezdeni a tanárok sem, a gyerekek meg nem szeretik, féltékenyek rá.*

Ex. 28.

R: ***Hogyan lettek ilyen jó tanulók a gyerekek?***

F11: *Nem tudom, talán az volt, hogy olyan osztályban volt, ahol volt vetélytársa, akivel mindig lehetett versenyezni, hogy ki a jobb, ez húzta. A többi testvére meg ment utána. De azért mondtuk is nekik mindig. Ma már beosztják, ki mikor mehet be a szobába, hogy egyedül lehessen, tanulhasson, mert nincs külön szobájuk. Nagyon jó gyerekek.*

Ex. 29.

F14: *Az elején leültem velük minden nap. Tanultunk. Mindent rendbe tettem, csak az volt a dolguk, hogy tanuljanak. És meg is lett az eredménye. A másik kettőnek meg már természetes volt, hogy ő is igyekszik. Nagyon büszke vagyok rájuk.*

Ex. 30.

F6: *Andris is jó tanuló volt. Miért hagyta abba a tanulást? Megmondom. Mert becsapták. A tanár állandóan azzal biztatgatta, hogy ha így folytatja, majd kap ösztöndíjat. Tudja, ismeri a gyerekemet, hogy mennyire szereti a pénzt. Megvan az esze is hozzá. Szóval az történt, hogy év végén egy másik gyerek kapott ösztöndíjat, ő meg úgy érezte, becsapták. Ha elvették a kedvét ne csodálkozzon senki. Becsapták.*

Ex. 31.

F7: *Voltam bent órameg figyelésen, mint a kisebbségi önkormányzat tagja, tudja, mert problémák voltak a fegyelemmel. Hogy megnézzük mi a helyzet, mi folyik ott. Hát, amit én láttam az az volt, hogy mindig a jó tanulók felelnek, a gyengébbeket észre sem veszik. Egyszer a tanár néni megkérdezte kinek a feladata lett hibátlan és észre sem vette, hogy az egyik gyerek jelentkezik és nem írta be neki az ötöst .... Nem a kitűnőkkel kell foglalkozni, azt hangsúlyozni, hanem az ilyeneket mint a Gina kellene bátorítani, de ő elhallgat miután megalázzák.*

[a gyerekhez fordulva]

R: *Mit mondtak neked?*

F7 [lány]: *Egyszer a x [a tanár neve] kérdezett, de nem tudtam rá válaszolni. Ő meg erre azt mondta: „Hát nem is csodálkozom, gondolhattam volna".*

Ex. 32.

F2: *Egyszer bezárták a fiúnkat az oviba' a WC-be, azt mondták mert rossz volt. Pedig nem csak ő volt rossz, van rossz magyar gyerek is, de mindig őt emelik ki.*

Ex. 33.

F13: *Vannak kedvencek, ezt nem szabadna észrevenni a gyerekeknek. Egyszer sok játékot hozott egy anyuka az oviba, az óvónő kivett egyet és rögtön azt mondta, hogy ez jó lesz XY-nak. És ezt a gyerekek is látják. Mostanában általánosítanak, hogy ha valaki rossz, az biztos cigány.*

Ex. 34.

F3: *Nem csak ő a rossz. Mindig a többi előtt kiemelik, és akkor ő sem hagyja magát. A pszichológus nem értette, miért küldték hozzá a gyereket.*

Ex. 35.

F9: *Azért hívtalak, mert bent voltam. Képzeld el, behívatott, mer' akartam is vele beszélni a gyerek fejlődéséről. Minden nap a harmadik - negyedik óra után hazaküldik és képzeld, az igazgató nő úgy tálalta a dolgot, mintha nekem kéne hálásnak lennem, hogy foglalkoznak a gyerekkel. Mondtam neki, hogy az orvosi*

papírjai alapján neki több órát kéne kapnia, meg hogy én tudom, hogy ezért őérte kapnak több pénzt. Attól félek, hogy magántanulónak akarják kirakni. Én nem tudom tanítani, én leülök vele nap, mint nap, de én nem tudom tanítani, hogyan fogok munkát találni, ha itt kell ülnöm otthon egész nap, mer' ők nem akarják a munkájukat végezni?

F6: *Behívattak ezért az iskolába, hogy a Krisztofer rossz. Ott volt az összes tanár, meg a gyámügyes. Ő is észrevette, hogy mindig ezt a gyereket spécizik ki. Van egy másik gyerek is, azt is mindig kirakják. Aki nem szimpatikus, annak vége is. Ki bírtuk harcolni, hogy a gyerek az iskolában maradhasson. Azt mondta akkor az igazgató nő, hogy több szülő is azt mondta, hogy ha a Krisztofer visszamegy, akkor elviszi a gyerekét. Vannak más rosszak is, de érdekes módon azokat nem teszik ki magántanulónak. Mondtam neki, hogy ez érdekes, mert én szerintem nem amiatt viszik el gyerekeket, hanem a tanárok miatt. Mondtam, hogy itt már az egész tanári kart le kéne cserélni - és ez nem tetszett neki.*

Most az van, hogy háromszor egy héten elvisszük az iskolába, nem szabad a többiekkel találkoznia, mert ha piszkálják, akkor megint verekszik, szóval ott kell állnia a tanári előtt és vár, hogy majd valaki viszi külön órára. Szóltunk az igazgató nőnek, hogy koppintson már azoknak a gyerekeknek a fejére is, mer' nem mindig a Krisztofer a hibás, ha baj van.

T2: *Nem találnak célt* [a roma családok]. *Ezen segíthetne a rendszer. Éppen roma apukával beszélgettem a fogadóórán, még a tavalyi évben, például és beszélgettünk sok mindenről, és ő bányász, dolgozik. És beszélgettünk arról, hogy nagyobb gyerekei is vannak, hogy nem tudja rábeszélni [azt a gyereket, aki még iskolába jár], hogy tanuljon. Mondtam neki, hogy ezt elhiszem, mert ha itt mi most ketten megbeszélnénk, hogy milyen perspektívát tud a gyereknek mutatni, hogy mit és miért tanuljon, akkor mit mondjon... Mit tanuljon? Soroljunk fel ebben az országban munkahelyeket, szakmákat...*

R: *Hogyan fogadja el később a társadalom a jól tanuló gyerekeket?*

T1: *Van itt kitűnő tanulónk. Nem fogadják be. Itt még lehet valaki kitűnő. Ez a 34 év arra tanított, hogy nem fogadják be. Vagy nem sikerül neki, később. Azt gondolom, nem is fog soha .... Mondjam a valót? Ahogy én látom, nem lehet kitörni ebből a körből, nagyon nehéz kitörni ebből a körből. Nem hiszem, hogy jobban elfogadják őket.*

Ex. 39.

T1: *A gyerekeknek nincs, jövőképük, az ő kultúrájukról nem is mondható el, hogy jövőképük lenne, de ezt elmondhatom a nem romákról is… A napról napra élők, nekik nincs jövőképük. De a szüleiknek sem, és a gyerekeknek sem. Egyedül mi pedagógusok azt tudjuk mondani a szülőknek, hogy ennél csak rosszabb lehet, tehát ha eddig sem késztette a gyerekeit tanulásra, és tanulással sem kapott munkát, akkor még úgysem fog. Tehát az a baj, hogy ezek a gyerekek, azt a szót, hogy fizetést kap valaki, azt nem értik. „Megjött a családi?" Ez a szokásos eszmecsere. Úgy, hogy el is jutnak addig, hogy a korombeli pedagógust is megkérdezik, hogy „Kap családit?" tehát fogalmuk sincs arról, hogyan jutnak emberek jövedelemhez és minden egyes problémával szembenézve ahova jutnak megoldás, az a segélykérés. Ez nagyon jellemző.*

Ex. 40.

T4: *Az iskolától várják a probléma megoldást. Igen ezt érezzük. Most nem azt mondom, hogy joggal, de nyilván egy képzetlen embertől mit is várhatnék el tőle, hogy otthon segítsen a gyereknek. Segíteni abban tud segíteni, ezt szoktam mondani, ha ellenőrzi azt, hogy a gyereknek a felszerelése benne van a táskában, ha időbe ideér az iskolába, ha itt tölti a napját. Ha hazamegy, nem a sarokba vágja a táskáját, hanem legalább azt a minimum fél órát előveszi, és kérje el a gyerektől. Ha segíteni nem is tudja, de üljön le, írjon leckét, vagy vegyen egy könyvet a kezébe. Ilyenbe tud nekünk segíteni, bármilyen képesítés nélkül is.*

T4: *Alsóban amennyire csak tudjuk, bent próbáljuk tartani a gyerekeket. Akkor a szülőnek neki nem kell akkor azzal foglalkoznia, hogy csinált e házi feladatot a gyerek, hazavitte e a táskáját, neki csak azzal kell foglalkoznia, hogy hétvégén mit csinál a gyerek. Ezeknek a szülőknek ez nagy segítség.*

Ex. 42.

T2: *Ez társadalmi probléma. Hiába göngyölítik lefelé, hogy oldjuk meg. Nem fogjuk tudni mi itt helyben megoldani. Nincs az embereknek kilátása. Nem tudom meggyőzni a felső tagozatos fiúkat, lányokat, hogy te azért tanuljál mert…Megkérdezem: „Minek készülsz?", azt mondja nekem: „Segélyesnek" vagy azt, hogy „Férjhez megyek, eltart az uram". Tehát ezek a perspektívák. Vagy a kicsi azt mondja „betörő" lesz.*

Ex. 43.

F4: *Hát az igazság az, hogy én mindig azt mondtam, nem nekem tanulnak, saját maguknak tanulnak. Nem nekem választanak szakmát, hanem maguknak. Ami neki tetszik, én abba nem szóltam bele. Tudom, hogy a mai világban elhelyezkedni, tanulás nélkül, nem lehet. Ha vannak elképzelései, akkor támogatom, hogy amit én nem tudtam megtenni, legalább neki legyen. Hogy neki meglegyen, ami nekem nem volt meg.*

Ex. 44.

F7: *Azt szeretném, hogy legyen egy jó szakmája.*

Ex. 45.

R: ***Mit szeretne, mit érjenek el a gyerekek?***

F5: *Én csak azt mondom, hogy ne forogjak a síromban. Amit én elértem, azt tartsák szinten. Akkor is csak szinten, nem kívánom a fiamtól, hogy így meg úgy legyen, csak hogy dolgozzon, csinálja a munkáját, arra nevelem. Az a legnagyobb baj, hogy itt a faluban sokan elbújnak a munka elől is. A tanulás mennyire fontos? Nekem a számtan nagyon fontos. Megmondtam neki, „ha nem tudsz számolni,*

akkor átvernek. Has nem tudsz fejbe gyorsan számolni, akkor balhé van. Sírva is fakadt nem egyszer. Én reggel korán úgy ébredek, hogy számolok.

<u>Ex. 46.</u>

F15: *Ő több lesz. Többre megy vele. Én nem tanulhattam, a szüleimet nem is érdekelte a dolog.*

<u>Ex. 47.</u>

F4: *Engem csak édesanyám nevelt. Édesapám nem vállalt, el is hagyott minket. De az ő nevét kaptam. Egyedül nevelt öregapámmal 3,7-körül voltam. Anyám nem szólt bele, ha öt egyest vittem haza, azt is aláírta, ha öt ötöst, azt is. Soha nem mondta, hogy nekem bizony tanulnom kéne, hogy legyen belőlem valaki, hogy elérjek valamit az életben. A gyerek amikor kicsi volt először azt mondta betörő lesz, de aztán elmagyaráztuk neki az mit jelent. Ezután azt mondta, jó, akkor rendőr.*

<u>Ex. 48.</u>

F1: *Mindent elvehetnek tőled, a ruhádat, a táskádat ... a hajadat levághassák, megvághassák a bőrödet, de az eszedet azt nem tudják elvenni tőled.*

<u>Ex. 49.</u>

R: *Fordulnak Önhöz tanácsért a roma szülők?*

T4: *Hogyne, hogyne, azt kell mondanom, hogy mindennel. A legszűkebb családi problémákkal, vagy magánéleti problémákkal, legalábbis velem szemben ilyenek, ugye én régóta itt tanítok, ismertem ezeknek a gyerekeknek gyakorlatilag vagy az anyját vagy apját, valamilyen kötődésem ezekhez a gyerekekhez már akkor van, mikor bejönnek az iskolába, ismerem őket az őseiktől kezdve. Én élvezem a bizalmukat, és tudják, hogy hozzám mindig jöhetnek én mindig elérhető vagyok.*

<u>Ex. 50.</u>

F3: *Csúnyán bánt, nagyon csúnyán bánt az unokámmal [az igazgató nő, mikor kirakta a gyereket a hidegbe]. Amikor bementem, mondta nekem, hogy fogjam be a számat. Mondtam neki, „Lányom lehetnél! Fogjam be a számat? Te ilyen*

koldus voltál, mint én. Ilyen koldus voltál, mint én. Jómódod van? Ismerem az egész bagázst. Jobb is, hogy nem tudok menni, mert csak látnám, hova lököbik ide-oda az én édes kis unokáimat. Bemennek a tanáriba, kávéznak, a gyerekek meg közben ütik egymást. Elmondja mindennek, ilyen cigány vagy olyan cigány vagy. Régen ha cigányoztak, büntettek. Liza visszaszólt, mert igazságtalannak gondolta, erre azt mondták neki, hogy „olyan leszel mint az anyád", csak a Lizát büntették meg. A szegény népet leszarják.

Ex. 51.

T6: *Amit a leginkább nem bírok elviselni, az az, amikor becsukják maguk mögött az ajtót a tanáriban és elindul a családok kibeszélése, a legapróbb magánéleti dolgaiktól kezdve a gyerekig. Ja, és ide hozza be az igazgató nő a gyereket is, ha rosszat csinált, és itt ordítja le a fejét, mindenki előtt. Zavarban érzem magam, hogy végig kell néznem, hogy részese vagyok ennek.*

Ex. 52.

R: **Őszinték a szülők?**

T4: *Hát azt nem igazán. Az nem egészen igaz, konkrétan roma szülőket mondok. Ha van olyan roma szülő, aki valamilyen oknál fogva egy kicsit többre tartja magát a többi románál, mert például kulturáltabb körülményeket tud biztosítani a gyerekeinek, vagy van munkája, vagy végzettsége az általában már egy kicsit zárkózottabb, ő már kevésbé teregeti ki a családi szennyest is vagy az egyéb problémáit is mint általában a többi roma, akiknek sok problémájuk van, és nyíltabbak én azt mondom. Akinek már van egy kicsi fifikája, aki már műveltebb, az meggondolja, mi az amit kifele kiad magából vagy a családjáról. Ők már kicsikét másabbak.*

Ex. 53.

R: **Szoktak a szülők tanácsot kérni?**

T1: *Igen, általában szoktak. De inkább olyanokkal jönnek, hogy kivédjék a gyereket, hogy elmagyarázzák, magyarázatot keresnek arra, hogy mitől nem tanul, tehát az a baj, hogy tudatosan nem nevelik a gyerekeiket arra, hogy tanulni kell, és hogy el kell fogadni a szabályokat.*

Ex. 54.

R: ***Őszinték a szülők?***

T1: *Ha jó a kapcsolat, akkor igen, de ha nem, akkor hajlamosak arra, hogy a jogaikat hangoztassák, és a kötelezettségekről nem beszélnek, és ha mi próbálunk meg utalni erre, akkor ezt nehezebben fogadják el. De, hogy őszinték e, szerintem nem. Vagy nincs meg az a kapcsolat, vagy ha megvan, akkor meg mindegy, hogy roma vagy nem roma.*

Ex. 55.

F2: *Tudja mit csinált a tanára? Megkérdezte a gyerekeket, hányszor szoktak fürdeni egy héten. Miért nem mernek minket kérdezni?*

Ex. 56.

F1: *Nem mondok nevet, de tudod nagyon furcsa volt, hogy akivel egy iskolába jártam, együtt jártunk egy osztályba, együtt gyerekeskedtünk. Bemegyek az iskolába, és ő azt mondja nekem: „Jó napot". Miért? Mi változott? Miért nem azt mondja: „Szevasz Zoli, bejöttél?" Érted? Hogy megadtad a tiszteletet. Nagyon komoly problémák vannak itt, nem tudok kontaktust teremteni velük. Nincs kóperálás.*

Ex. 57.

F4: *Néha úgy beszélnek a szülőkkel, mintha idióták lennének, persze mer' nagyon soknak csak a 8 általánosa, vagy még az sem, ők meg diplomások, főiskolájuk van, egyetemük, nem gondolják, hogy azért ő is konyít egy kicsit a dolgokhoz az élet dolgaihoz. Lehet, hogy ő tanulta [a tanár], de ő benne él. Úgy értem a roma család. Mer a romák benne élnek. Ők is olvassák az újságot, nézik a TV-t a híreket, tehát valahogy csak informálódnak.*

Ex. 58.

F2: *Nekem jogom van megbüntetni a gyereket, ha úgy érzem, hogy megérdemli. De a tanár csak egyfolytában piszkálja, minden ok nélkül, mintha más gyerek nem is lenne az osztályban, aki rossz. Ha bemegyek az iskolába, én próbálok udvarias lenni, de ha igazságtalan volt, akkor elvesztem a fejem…*

Ex. 59.

F4: *Leginkább erre ugranak a családok, hogy milyen módon büntetnek a tanárok.*

De azt hiszem, a magyaroknál ugyanígy van. Csak védi a családját. Volt egy afférunk az oviban. Az egyik óvónő úgy döntött, hogy megverte a Rebi kezét. A gyereket jó ideig csak a boltig tudtam elvinni, ott megállt, nem volt hajlandó bemenni az óvodába. Valami oka biztos, hogy volt. Piros volt a keze. Tudtam, hogy az igazat mondja…

Én is úgy reagáltam először, hogy bemegyek és megverem az óvónőt. De aztán jöttek a vádaskodások, hogy az én gyerekemmel gond volt, és az óvónő nem csinált semmit, és hogy az én gyerekem hazudik. Az enyéimmel soha semmi gond nem volt sem a lánnyal, sem a fiúkkal. Így én hittem a gyerekemnek, sírt 3 hónapon keresztül, és végül azt mondtam kész, nem jár óvodába. .. Ő nem vallotta be. Tagadták végig, már amikor kint sorakoztak a szülők a vezető óvónő ajtaja előtt panaszkodni, még akkor is azt mondta, hogy az én gyerekem hazudik. Mer én akkor úgy éreztem, hogy cigányok vagyunk, és azért nem hisznek nekünk.

Ex. 60.

F13: *Hát igen, sok a roma az iskolában. De nem csak a roma gyerek a rossz, van köztük magyar gyerek is. Hallottam már olyat is, hogy magyar gyerek kezdeményezett és a roma csak védte magát. Kit büntettek meg, hát igen, a romát. Ezt nem szabadna. Régen, amikor én óvodába meg iskolába jártam, a nevem mellett ott volt a c betű, hogy cigány. Ma már nem írják oda, de azért még mindig ott van, látatlanban ott a c betű, ez ilyen bélyegszerű. Szerintem azt nem törlik ki. Nem írják oda, de ott van. És ez meghatározza azt, hogy hogyan lehet velünk bánni.*

Ex. 61.

F2: *A nagyobbikat pofozta már fel tavaly tanár, mert eltaposott egy siklót. Bementem és tudja mivolt? Mindenféle állatnak elmondta a gyereket és le is tagadta, hogy megütötte. A többi gyerek tanúsította, hogy a gyerek igazat mond. Na, akkor ideges lettem. És azt mondtam neki, majd azt a gyereket, aki őbelőle jött ki, azt megverheti, de ha én nem verem meg, akkor ő sem teheti.*

F12: *A mi időnkben, hú, hogy féltünk a tanároktól. De tiszteltem az összeset. Igenis tartottunk tőlünk. Mára megcserélődött az egész. Én azt mondom, ha nem is követi, induljon ki az ember a múltjából. Ne verje a gyereket, azt nem mondom, de azok a körmösök, hogy hatottak!*

Ex. 63.

F7: *Igen, akkor még minden más volt. Nekem magyar barátnőim voltak, sokan máig rám köszönnek, ha például nem ismerem meg őket valamiért. Jó, volt olyan, hogy kaptunk egy-egy pofont, volt olyan tanár néni, aki olyan csípős pofont tudott adni, hogy még most 45 évesen is érzem az arcomon.*

Ex. 64.

F15: *Régen, aki volt igazgató. Na, az becsületes volt. Utálatos volt, de őszintén szerettem. Ha látta az igyekezetet, látta, hogy nem érted, de érdekel a dolog, akkor teljesen más volt. Madarat lehetett akkor fogatni vele, annyira aranyos volt. De akinél látta a kutyaságot, azzal ő is olyan volt. Azt nem szánta ám, az ilyen kulcscsomót úgy odavágta a gyerekhez, hogy csak úgy nyekkent.*

R: ***Az a baj, hogy nincs szigor?***

F15: *Nincs szigor, nem tudnak semmiről sem, mint a lovak* [a gyerekek]. *Nem tudják mi a tűled, mi a hozzád, nem tunnak semmit.*

Ex. 65.

F8: *Sose felejtem el. Volt egy magyar gyerek, 8. osztályosok voltunk. Még a nevét is tudom. Azt mondta nekem, te rohadt cigány. De miért is mondta? Előtte elcsánkázott engem. Mondtam neki, te szemétláda, ez volt a legnagyobb, amit rondát tudtam mondani. Azt mondja megint: te rohadt cigány.*

És akkor a testnevelő tanár, a GL odahívta ,és mondta neki hasi-pasi- mert így csúfolta, mit mondtál Te a Magdinak? Mondta a gyerek: Nem mondtam én semmit. Ne süketíts Te engem, te nekem nem fogsz parancsolni, hogy hallok vagy nem hallok? Had én döntsem el hogy mit hallottam? És akkor mondta a tanár:

Kitől kéred a pofont Magditól vagy tőlem? Válassz! Én még nem ekkora voltam, mint most, sokkal kisebb. A gyerek mondja, hogy: Senkitől. Válassz, hogy kitől. Na, mondja a fiú, hogy Magditól.

Nekem meg azt mondja a tanár, hogy amennyiben nem merek két becsületest adni neki, ő adja a harmadikat, de úgy, hogy a csillagot is leszedi az égről. Így könyörgött a gyerek (mutatja) légy szíves nagyot üssél. És mondom akkor kapott két egyformát, innen is meg onnan is. Nem volt persze azért akkora, de bepirult. Ilyenek voltak a tanárok.

Ex. 66.

F1: *Szeretnék a szülők, de sajnos kevés* [ha a gyerekük továbbtanulna]. *Azt kéne a tanároknak mutatni, hogy fontos nekik is. Máig emlékszem arra, hogy az én tanár bácsim, a saját kocsijával lejött értem a falu végébe. Anyám azt üzente neki, hogy nagyon beteg vagyok, lázas, pedig egyszerűen csak nem volt cipőm. Nagy volt a hó, és ő eljött, anyám meg mondja neki, hogy nem tud a gyerek iskolába menni, mert beteg. Látta a tanár bácsi, hogy nincs bajom, be kellett hát vallani, hogy nincs mit a lábamra venni, nagy a hó. Kivitt engem az ölibe, berakott a Trabantba és elvitt az iskolába. Megadta nekem azt a tiszteletet, számítottam neki. Elmúltam 50 éves, de még mindig sírnom kell, ha rágondolok Milyen érzés volt, hogy ezt megtette.*

Ex. 67.

F10: *Van közülük néhány, aki megérdemli a tiszteletet. Azok, akik nem néznek le minket, az aki tudja, hogy a gyerek képes rá, csak bátorításra van szüksége, vagy a fiam tanító nénije, aki igazságos, és nem csak őt bünteti, hanem másokat is akik rosszak. Tudja, ő például tudja, hogy a gyerek epilepsziás és figyel rá. Na ezek megérdemlik a tiszteletet.*

Ex. 68.

F4: *A tanárok ... nem ismerik a hátteret. Mintha idegenek lennénk egymásnak. Ki kéne menni látogatóba. Nem nekik kéne a szülőt behívni az iskolába, hanem ki kéne menni egyszer kétszer. Az óvónők még jönnek. Az iskolából a tanároknak is ki kéne menni. Mert az is lehet, hogy a szülő vagy nem ér rá, vagy napszámba*

jár, dolgozik, vagy fél, hogy na most lenézik. És otthon elbeszélgethetnének és a családi körülményeket is megnézné, és akkor könnyebb lenne segíteni. Mer' akkor tudja, hogy honnan jön az a gyerek, mit lehet segíteni neki.

Ex. 69.

F13: *Tudod hányan voltunk a szülőin? Négyen összesen. A tanárral együtt. Féléves Ilyenkor hol van a többi szülő? Ha tanár lennék, némelyikhez elmennék szívesen. Ha nyolcan, tízen vannak egy családban, nem csodálom, hogy nincs kedve. A pedagógusban az van, hogy ha szülő nem megy, akkor ő sem.*

Ex. 70.

F1: *El kellene menni a képzésre, mint ahogy én is járok. Menjenek el ők is azért. Nem kellene szégyellni, hogy megismerjék a roma kultúrát. Mondják, hogy van ez az integrált oktatás. A gyerek odamegy a tanárhoz és mondja aztat, hogy „Tanár néni nézze, hogy tudok táncolni!" Ez nem integrált oktatás. Tanítsuk meg a magyarnak, hogy nekünk van kultúránk, tánc, zene. A kisunokám, te is láttad a lakodalomban, még 1 éves sem volt, táncolt a kisgyerek. Minekünk annyira mások az érzéseink, hogy amikor a gyerek már megszületik, úgy jön ki az anyjából, hogy táncolva. Ezeket tudniuk kéne.*

Ex. 71.

F1: *Számomra, nekem azt jelenti, hogy érzem, hogy roma vagyok, ez nekem egy megtiszteltetés, hogy romának vallhatom magamat. Mert nem azt mondom, hogy jó romának lenni, ez nem jó kifejezés, hanem az, hogy valahogy tudom, hogy másabbak vagyunk a másik embernél és szeretném azt, hogy a kultúránkat és a hagyományainkat valahogy, nem lehet igaz visszahozni már, a régiekét, az igazit, de próbáljuk a kultúránkat a hagyományainkat visszahozni... Én azt mondom, hogy aki szeret románk lenni, igenis meg kell próbálnunk azt, hogy ne vesszen el a kultúránk, a hagyományaink. Pld nem beszéljük a cigány nyelveket, nincs is cigány nyelv, mi csak mondjuk, hogy cigányok vagyunk, de magyar cigányok, muzsikus cigányok, így szokták mondani.*

F6: *Büszkén mondom. Na, most ha fölakasztanák a cigányokat, tudom, hogy engem is felakasztanának vagy kinyírnának, mer' az vagyok, nem tudom letagadni. Habár egy kicsi rész van bennem. Én akkor is cigánynak tartom magamat. Anyunak az apukája meg az ő rokonai mind magyarok, úgy is viselkednek, mint a magyarok. Na, abból én nem kérek.*

F12: *Én ezt mindig vállaltam. Sőt mikor kórházba kerültem azt mondták, nem is nézek ki cigánynak. Mer' mindig adtam magamra, festetem a hajam, melírozom, mindig ilyen barnás-szőkés. Most fekete, még akkor sem mondták, bejött egy idős néni és azt mondta én nem gondoltam volna, hogy maga cigány és mondtam is neki, hogy én tényleg cigány vagyok*

F2: *Mi büszkén vállaljuk a fajunkat. Aztán lehet mondani, hogy valaki cigány, valaki magyar, mi cigányok vagyunk. Szegény ember van mindegyikbő'. Tudja azok, akiknek kicsit jobban megy, azok elfelejtik, hogy ették ők is a dögöt a TSZ-ből, ahogy igen, mi is ettük. Most meg, ha van valamijük, akkor a TESCO-ba járnak és elköltik, na, nekünk akkor inkább jó így magunk.*

F8: *Mondjam azt, hogy kétféle roma van itt a faluban, van egy alja népe és egy olyan, aki törtet arra, hogy a korral haladjon, van egy olyan szint és van egy ilyen. És, hogy elmondjam, ha valami van, akkor nincs az, hogy te csináltad, személy szerint, akkor az egész bele van vonva. Ezt sosem tudtam lenyelni. Ezt a békát. De hát ugyanez megy az egész országban. Sajnos, hogy ez van. Miért nem mondják, hogy XY, mondjanak nevet, felőlem tegyék hozzá, hogy roma, de nevezzék meg, és ne az nehogy már az egész bagázs be legyen vonva.*

F14: *Sokáig nem akartunk erről a témáról beszélni. Valahogy azt színleltük, hogy nem vesszük észre, hogy mások úgy néznek ránk, hogy romák vagyunk. Minden létezőt elkövettünk, hogy elkerüljük, hogy bármi módon velük hozzanak kapcsolatba. A*

*lányaim nagyon jó tanulók. Már mindegyik diplomás. Valahogy akkor változott
meg a véleményünk, amikor Kati roma ösztöndíjat kapott, és egy nyarat
Brüsszelben töltött a parlamentben. Ez volt az első alkalom, amikor azt éreztük,
hogy lehet abban valami jó, ha romák vagyunk.*

Ex. 77.

T1: *Nem teszünk különbséget roma és nem roma gyerek között. Ez a romaság inkább
családi problémát jelent. Vannak roma családok, akik problémát jelentenek, de
hogy „a romák", ezt mi sohasem mondjuk itt.*

Ex. 78.

T4: *Lenézik, megvetik a saját fajtájukat, inkább nem vallják magukat romának. Még
az is olyan sajnálatos, hogy van olyan roma származású kislányunk, akinek
anyja apja roma, nagyon jó tanuló kislány, igaz hogy a nevüket megváltoztatták
Kalányosról nem tudom mire, ami kevésbé cigányos hangzású, de echte fekete
cigány mindegyik. És ösztöndíjhoz nem jut ezért a gyerek, és mi szörnyen
sajnáljuk, mert egy kitűnő tanuló gyerekről van szó, és pont az ilyen gyerek
kapná meg a legtöbb támogatást, anyagiakban, mindenben, de a szülő
önérzetesen veri a mellét és nem írja alá, hogy ő roma. Pedig itt helyben egészen
biztosan tudja mindenki, bár a kislányra ránézve nem feltétlenül, mert barna
hajú, de fehér bőrű egyébként, lehet, hogy egy idegen nem mondaná meg, hogy
cigány, de mi tudjuk.*

Ex. 79.

F4: *Sanci kiskorában nagyon sokáig nem vállalta, hogy ő roma. Azt mondta, hogy ő
néger. Ő csak a bokájáig roma. Sokáig tartott belérögzíteni, hogy igenis az vagy,
mert én is az vagyok, apa is az. Ne tagadja azért le, mert ő ilyen és kész. Ha most
el szeretne menni gimibe, és akkor ki is hangsúlyozom azt, hogy roma és ilyet
meg mer tenni, hogy továbbtanul. Nem azt mondom, hogy magyar, hanem hogy
roma, mert ilyen kevés van.*

Ex. 80.

F2: *Én nem vagyok roma – mondja a 12 éves lány* [a többiek elkezdenek nevetni]

Nem is látszik rajtam.

[anya] *Te roma vagy, és büszkén vállalod a fajodat!*

Ex. 81.

F6: *Richi mindenkinek mondja, hogy ő cigány. Mikor megy táncolni, mert egy roma tánccsoportban táncol, mindig azt mondja, hogy „felveszem a cigány ruhámat". [nevet] Tudja, a fekete nadrág, meg a fehér ing. Na, de miért is tagadná, mikor mindenki csak bámul, hogy hogy' táncol.*

Ex. 82.

F4: *Volt az, hogy ismerős gyereke szeretett volna nagyon az itteni nagy néptánc csoportba járni. Nem fogadták be. Félnek tőle, mert ez egy változás lenne, hogy mit fognak szólni. Felnőttek is úgy állnak hozzá, hogy most egy roma bekerült, majd egyszer jön egyszer nem, mi meg megvesszük itt neki a drága fellépőruhát. Bizalmatlanság. Ez a baj. Hogy az a szegény gyerek még meg sem tudta próbálni.*

Ex. 83.

F5: *A fiam unokatestvére állandóan azt mondta az oviban, hogy ő nem roma. Tudja mit csináltak erre az óvónők? Megkérték az anyját, hogy tanítsa már meg a gyerekének, hogy roma. Megkérték! Vicces nem?*

Ex. 84.

F6: *Bea hamar megtanulta, mit jelent cigánynak lenni. Egyszer egy boltban voltunk, ahol egyébként általában elég sok pénzt költöttünk ruhákra. Volt ott egy fiatal eladó, aki kiszellőztetett, míg ott voltunk. Bea meg megkérdezte tőlem ezt miért csinálta. Én meg mondom neki, hát mert büdösnek talál. Amikor kiléptünk, visszaszólt, pedig csak körülbelül 11 éves lehetett, hogy: Most már becsukhatja, de különben szoktunk mosakodni.*

Ex. 85.

R: *Felfigyelnek arra a tanárok, ha valaki cigányozik?*

F6: *Nem, ma már ez nem akkora csúnyaság. Az a legkevesebb, hogy azt mondják, hogy te hülye cigány, de ne mondjanak már olyan dolgokat, hogy nem fokozom, mert nagyon csúnyákat mondanak. De cigányozik itt gyerek és pedagógus is, ez a nagy baj. Elmondom én, volt olyan is, hogy az egyik gyerek verekedett, mert azt mondták rá, hogy cigány. Behívatta az igazgató, leordította a fejét, tán még egy fülest is kapott aztán meg odatartotta elé a tükröt, és azt mondta: Nézz bele öcsém, nem cigány vagy?*

Ex. 86.

F1: *Nagyon kínlódok itten én avval, az emberekkel, amikor azt mondják, hogy például a Kiss Natália csinált valamit. Akkor a Kiss Natália nevét ki tudják ejteni, ha magyar. És engemet annyira tud irritálni, mikor azt mondják, hogy a cigányok csináltak valami balhét, és nem azt mondják, hogy a X.Y. csinálta, hanem a cigányok, mert ott volt 2 személy, mondjuk. Mert ha a Kiss Natália vagy a Kovács Ágnes volt ottan, akkor csak összesúgnak, hogy a Kiss Natália csinált valami, de ne mondd el senkinek. Érted? Amikor közömbösítik, általánosítják az egészet és azt mondják, hogy még borsózik is a bőröm látod, ez engem nagyon tud irritálni.*

Bejött egy személy és azt mondta, hogy a társaidra, embereidre, barátaidra szóljál rá [azért, mert ő a kisebbségi önkormányzat elnöke], *hogy ne jöjjenek be hozzám* [a boltjába]. *Bocsáss meg Béla mondom, egyem a szép szíved, Kinek szóljak? Próbáld megmagyarázni, kinek szóljak, kik az embereim, barátaim haverjaim, kinek? Mondd meg a nevét.*

... maradjunk annyiban, a másik dolog meg az, mondom, hogy a te dolgod csinálsz, amit csinálsz, de én nem tudok szólni a cigányoknak, csak úgy tudok szólni, hogy a KJ-nak vagy a GZ-nek.

R: *Gondolja, hogy a gyerekeknek könnyebb lesz?*

F7: *Sajnos, nem. Határozottan nem nekik sokkal nehezebb. Több a rasszizmus. És a romák is egymást marják, ahelyett, hogy összefognának. Emlékszem régen, akkor még a telepen laktunk, esténként együtt összeült mindenki, beszélgettek, vagy éppen összevesztek, de a gyerekek közösen játszottak. Ehhez képest ma, a roma gyerekeknek több problémájuk van egymással, mint a magyarokkal. De ezért, hogy mi magunk közt veszekszünk a média és a magyarok a felelősek. Ők ezt csak elterelésnek szánják, néhány embert kiemelnek, akik meg elfelejtik, honnan jöttek, de a nagy gondokkal nem akar senki sem foglalkozni.*

Ex. 88.

R: *Van összetartás a romák között?*

F6: *Valamelyik nagyon, valamelyik széthúz. De ha balhé van, akkor összetartanak. Attila mindig azt mondja, ha bepityókázik és valami balhé van, akkor azé' emberkednek vele, mer ő egyedül van. És akkor bandástul jönnének. Megpróbáljuk kerülni őket.*

Ex. 89.

F4: *Inkább a pénz, mindenhol ez van. Hát inkább anyagiakban. Ha valamelyik romának jobban megy, csinosabban öltözik, vagy a gyerekei szebb ruhákban járnak, rendesen öltöztetik a gyereket, megfogják a pénzt, akkor már a szöveg: Honnan van? Biztos lopott csalt.*

Ex. 90.

F2: *Nem járunk mi el sehova, nem tartjuk a kapcsolatot a rokonsággal, a feleségem családjával. Én intézetbe nőttem föl, nem örültek, hogy velem került össze. És tudja, az a legnagyobb baj, hogy hiába akarunk tisztességgel bódogulni, itt van ez a 6 gyerek, meg most a kicsi is, a fiam gyereke, én börtönbe sem voltam soha, nem csalok, nem hazudok, próbáljuk a gyerekeket rendre nevelni, de nagyon nehéz. Ránk már mindig is csak úgy néznek, hogy cigányok vagyunk, akik lopnak. Megpróbálhatok én úgy élni és viselkedni, ahogy ők akarják, akkor is csak egy idegen maradok ebben az országban, csak azért, mert roma vagyok.*

Ex. 91.

F8: *Én nem tartom fontosnak. Na, most a roma nyelvvel mit fog elérni az életben? Semmit. Így is el vannak áztatva a romák. Értelmét én abszolút nem látom az egésznek. Mer a néphagyomány, hogy „majd én elmondom, hogy a bolond cigány milyen". Idézőjelbe téve. Érti, hogy mondom. Én így látom a mostani helyzetet: egyik öli a másikat, mert isten tudja hányból áll az egész csoport. Ki milyen fajta, a görcs, aki beléjük áll, engem ugyan nem érdekel.*

Ex. 92.

F9: *Az ő kultúrájukat* [lovári] *lehet, hogy lehet tanítani, de a mienket nem. Nincsenek idősek. Amikor én megszültem a Petrát volt itt egy idős néni a túloldalon. Szegről-végről rokonom volt. Azt mondta, 6 hétig nem mehetek át útkereszteződésnél, meg ne hagyjam egyedül. Elment nekem a boltba. Megevett az unalom. Egyszer, még a gyerek pólyában volt, átmentem hozzá. Nagy tél volt. Na, annak minden baja volt! Aztán azt mondta. „Üjjél le". Csipetnyi sót, kenyeret, foghagymát vett elő és bebugyolálta, beledugta a zsebembe, és úgy küldött haza. Megígértette velem, hogy ha lemegy a nap, már senkit sem engedek be. Ő fürdette 3 hónapos koráig. Tőlem hagyományt nem nagyon tudnak tanulni. Nincsenek is muzsikusok itt már, meg teknővájók, azok a beások, öregapám teknővájó volt, de halvány gőzöm sincs, hogy milyen okból. Apám zenekarban muzsikált. Én már úgy vagyok vele, hogy rendben, roma vagyok, de nincs olyan bennem, hogy cigány vagyok vagy magyar. Piros vérünk van.*

Ex. 93.

F13: *Ott kinn a telepen, még úgy ahogy megvan a kultúra. Nem bántom őket, de valahol ők más világban is vannak. Ők jobban őrzik a hagyományokat, a mostani helyzetet meg világot viszont nem akarják nézni. Azt gondolják, hogy ők nem értek el semmit, akkor le van ejtve az egész világ.*

Ex. 94.

F15: *Nem szokott bántani, ilyet már nem veszek fel, nem szokott zavarni. Nekem is piros vérem van, neki is. Jó lehet, hogy ilyen szociális alapon másképpen állunk, vagy másabb a családfa. De ugyanúgy vagyok cigány is és magyar is.*

F5: *Próbálunk, mi a család összetartani.*

R: ***A férje a faluból való?***

F5: *Igen, ő itteni Roma, én hidasi vagyok. Hidasi, nem itteni.*

R: ***Nehéz volt beilleszkedni?***

F5: *Igen, mert megvannak a besorolások. Nekem nagyon nehéz volt, amikor idekerültem. Furcsák voltak. A romungrók mások természetileg, mint Hidason, ott is van beás is és romungro is, nem tudom én ezeket a fajtákat. Ott jobban összetartottak. Az öregek hozták össze a fiatalságot, de ők is kihalnak. Az öregek ott beszélték a nyelvet. Én mikor a férjemet megismertem, én perfektül beszéltem, úgy beszéltem hozzá. Hát szerintem 1 hét is eltelt, kapcsoltam, hogy ha én úgy beszéltem hozzá, ő mindig magyarul válaszolt. Kérdeztem mért, aztán kiderült, hogy ő nem tud úgy beszélni. És akkor szépen lassan én is elfelejtettem.*

R: ***A gyerekekkel sem beszélt soha?***

F5: *Nem, csak szavakat, amit a Józsi úgy- ahogy megérti, de Szilvi, az már nem. Jött itt a Z. avval, hogy legyen nyelvtanítás, de azt meg már annyira nem akartuk. Minek? Mit kezd vele? Alig beszélik már csak néhányan a nyelvet.*

R: ***A gyerekeknek, nem nehéz megtalálni a helyüket?***

F5: *De, nagyon. Sőt, van olyan, amelyik le is tagadná, hogy cigány. Én nem szégyellem, én büszke vagyok arra, hogy cigány vagyok. Ugyanúgy a gyerekeket is taníthatnám arra, hogy nem cigány vagy, pedig a Józsi letagadhatná, a bőre végett is. De ilyen nincsen.*

Fontos, hogy tudják. Persze. Mi ilyenek vagyunk aztán és kész. Próbálunk mi jól viselkedni az életben, meg mindenhol, alkalmazkodni a másikhoz, de nem mindig jön össze. Mer' azért csak mindig elnyomnak minket.

R: ***Érződik?***

F5: *Hogyne. És már mindjárt döntenek.*

F6: *De nagyon tud idegesíteni. Kegyetlenül tud idegesíteni. Amikor úgy próbálnak meg viselkedni, mint a magyarok. Mint például a húgom. Ha elmegyünk valahova. Én ugyanígy beszélek, mint most, például az orvossal, de a húgom: Doktor úr, így meg úgy, a húgom modorizáltan akar beszélni, annyira, hogy röhögünk rajta. De láttam olyat is, hogy magyar nő volt, csak cigány gyerekkel. Az meg úgy akart viselkedni, mintha cigány lenne, mer a férje az volt, azt ismerem. Tudtuk mi, hogy nem cigány. Olyan rondán akart viselkedni, mint egy cigány. És leégetett minket. És nem szeretném ismételni, de olyan beszédeket ejtett ki, szóval nagyon hülyén beszélt. Lehet, hogy mi is elejtjük, mi is tudunk időnként csúnyán beszélni.*

Ex. 97.

F4: *Engem, ha megsértenek Szekszárdon egy irodában, akkor én is kiengedem a hangomat. Szerintem a romáknak ez a fegyvere. A hangoskodás. Egy nőnek meg főleg.*

Ex. 98.

T4: *Magában a romákkal olyan problémák vannak, hogy a kulturált emberi viselkedés szabályai. De most megint azt kell mondanom, hogy ez az ő kultúrájuk, hozza magával. Szokták is mondani, hogy ne haragudjon igazgató néni, mi ilyen hangosan szoktunk beszélni egymással. Mi nem haragszunk, csak így szoktunk. És akkor szoktam nekik mondani, hogy nyugodtan lejjebb lehet venni a hangerőt, nem kell itt üvöltözni, szépen le tudunk ülni és megbeszélni mindent, nem kell itt ordítozni mingyá' föntről kezdeni. Meg kell őket is tanítani, azt gondolom, hogyan kell kommunikálni, hogy hogyan kell ügyeket intézni, ha bemegyek egy hivatalba, akkor nem ott kezdem, hogy nekiállok és üvöltözök, és lobogtatom, meg kiabálok, mert ez sehol sem elfogadott norma. Mindig mondom is nekik, ha ilyen van, hogy ha maga bemegy egy hivatalba, bíróságra vagy rendőrségre, vagy okmányirodába, ott sem belökjük az ajtót, és üvöltünk, hogy na hol van és ki csinálta, mert ezt sehol nem fogadják el.*

T6: *Sokan, az a baj, hogy nem tudnak mit kezdeni a fegyelmezéssel. Olyan stílusban beszélnek a gyerekkel, ami azt váltja ki, hogy a gyerek is úgy szól vissza, és ez egy ördögi kör. Ma már a gyerekek nem félnek visszaszólni. És akkor megkezdődik az "anyázás", amiből a tanár csak vesztesként kerülhet ki. Sokszor még megszidni sem tudnak valakit anélkül, hogy ne trágár szavakat használnának. Pedig a lényeg pont az lenne, hogy ne ordítozzunk, hanem úgy tanítsunk, hogy példát mutatunk. Talán, ha vagyunk hárman itt, akiktől még nem hallottam, hogy ordítoztak volna. A szülőkkel ugyanez a helyzet. A vezetés, akikkel nincs gond azokkal eljátssza, hogy kulturáltan viselkedünk, ha gond van, akkor meg minden eszköz megengedett.*

Ex. 100.

F1: *A kis roma gyerekek sokkal érzékenyebb lények. Sokkal érzékenyebbek. Azt mondani nekik, hogy "Húzzál be öcsém az osztályterembe!" vagy "Hát neked meg milyen ma a hajad?", az nem vezet semmire. Helyette, ha annyit mondanának, hogy "Milyen csinos lennél, ha megfésülködnél" meg ezekhez hasonlót, biztos, hogy még madarat is lehet velük fogatni. Miért kell ilyen káromkodóan, lenézően beszélni? Miért kell megalázni őket? Ők azt értik meg?*

Ex. 101.

R: **Hallottam olyanról, hogy valamelyik szülő megtépett egy tanárt…**

F2: *Voltak esetek. Mi váltja ki? Nem lehet azt mondani, hogy a cigányság. A mentalitás, az igaz, hogy hirtelenebbek vagyunk. De azért nem lehet általánosítani. Ugyanaz a vér folyik az ereikben, mégis van olyan feleség, aki rávezeti a férjét, hogy üsse meg a tanárt. Csak így tud érvényesülni. Valamilyen szinten a tanártól is függ. Én is feszült gyerek vagyok, én is tudok durvább lenni, de tudok disztingváltan megbeszélni dolgokat.*

Ex. 102.

F1: *Nagyon ideges lettem, amikor az iskolaigazgató parancsszóra kérte nekem, hogy menjek be az iskolába másnap. Nem kérte, parancsolta. Így mondta: „Zoli, holnap reggel 9-re azonnal benn legyél nekem az irodába". Azt a mindenit*

gondoltam, mi ez, mondom, kutya vagyok én, hogy úgy parancsolgat? Bementem másnap, és amit mondtam és ahogy mondtam, hát nem vagyok rá büszke. Én nagyon udvarias ember vagyok, ne gondold, hogy így szoktam viselkedni...

<u>Ex. 103.</u>

F8: *Mostanra már biztos levetted, hogy milyen vagyok Nati. De amikor az óvodából megküldték azt a papírt, hogy a gyereknek speciális iskolába kell járnia, na, akkor mentem és mondom a tanárnak:*

Tudod drága csillagom – mondom, –- én elmondom neked kerek perec az én verziómat. Te, mondom, most végeztél, igaz mondom? Rám néz, vörösödik. Ne vörösödj, mer ez az igazság, mondom. Most végeztél, ugye? Azt mondja, Igen.

Akkor - mondom, látod, akkor miről beszélünk? Te –mondom - mit tapasztaltál az életben, még semmit, mondom, hallod, nálad még csak most kezdődik a pálya igazán. De akkor neked nem így kéne odaállj a dolgokhoz! -mondom. Na, erről kérem ennyit.

<u>Ex. 104.</u>

F10: *A gyerekek a legfontosabbak az életemben. Ha bántják őket, akkor eszemet vesztem, és igen, akkor úgy viselkedek, mint egy igazi ronda cigány. Jogom van megvédeni őket, és ha ők nem tudják [a tanárok], akkor magamnak kell elrendezni.*

<u>Ex. 105.</u>

F14: *Na, azt nem tudom figyelmen kívül hagyni, ha valaki nem úgy bánik velem, ahogy kell. Például, ha tovább váratnak, mint másokat. Egyszer kozmetikában voltam... Úgy éreztem, nem megfelelően bánnak velem. Felálltam és mondtam a kozmetikusnak, hogy – pedig már évek óta ismerem- „Drága szívem, biztos lehetsz benne, hogy én ide többet nem jövök, de a lányaim sem.". Ezek azok a helyzetek, amikor úgy érzem, ők azt gondolják, hogy azért viselkedek így mert roma vagyok, de én azt érzem, hogy azért, mert azt akarom, hogy rendesen bánjanak velem. Nem tudom, mások hogy csinálják.*

Ex. 106.

F6: *Annak idején mi voltunk a 423 sz. Dózsa Úttörő Csapat. Amikor elhangzott, hogy vigyázz! Hú, ma is emlékszem. Kb. ugyanennyi gyerek is járt ide akkor, kb. 423. Ezt nem tudom elfelejteni, még most is előttem a kép. Mindenki ott állt, kisdobos, kék nyakkendőben, meg pirosban. Nem volt akkor, olyan, hogy cigányok vagy nem cigányok. Ez tény és való, hogy akkor nagyon sokan voltunk. Mindenki próbált a korral együtt haladni. Úgy öltözködésből, úgy természetben. Más volt a hozzáállás mindkét fél részéről. Amikor elkezdtem az* első osztályt, *volt pár gyerek, aki meg sem tudott nyikkanni magyarul, mert volt olyan. Én boldogan emlékszem vissza az iskolás éveimre.*

Ex. 107.

F2: *A cigányok, cigányok maradnak. A baj az, hogy az emberek nem tesznek különbséget jó roma és rossz roma között. Mindannyiunkban ugyanazt látják.*

Ex. 108.

F7: *Nálunk az osztályunkban húsz tanuló közül négy nem roma. De leginkább a romák verik egymást.*

Ex.109.

F2: *Ha úgy fogadsz, mint egy kutyát, én sem fogok másként viselkedni. Megfelelő ráirányultsággal, hozzá való állással, még a legdurvább, legveszélyesebbekkel is lehet beszélni.*

Ex. 110.

T5: *A legrosszabb ebben az, hogy soha sem tudhatod, hogy mire számíthatsz. Valamikor olyan erőszakosak, aztán néha meg, mint úgy viselkednek, mint egy gyerek, akinek támogatásra lenne szüksége. Egyszerűen sohasem tudhatod előre, hogyan fognak reagálni, soha.*

DIARY

Diary 1. (February 2007.)

Rettenetes nap volt. Két nappal ezelőtt tudtuk meg, hogy ma fogják elvinni a R. gyerekeket. Mivel 2 kicsi még óvodába jár, a többi meg 1 kivétellel ide az iskolába, a gyámügyesek úgy döntöttek, hogy itt nálunk, meg az oviban szedik össze őket. Mindenki rettenetesen feszült volt. Zsuzsától félt a legjobban mindenki, meg a 2 nagyobb gyerektől, hogy hogyan fognak reagálni. A rendőr felajánlotta, hogy itt marad, mondtam, hogy nem kell.

Aztán minden gyorsan lezajlott. A nagyobbik lány csak azt hajtogatta, hogy ő kiugrik az ablakon, a kisebbik csak sírt. Én ölelgettem őket, nyugtatgattam. A gyámügyeseken meg a falu gondnokon kívül senki sem mert bejönni. Délután érkezett Zsuzsa. Akkor jött az oviból. Szegény mintha reménykedett volna, hogy talán a többi gyerek itt van. Az oviban nagy jelenet volt. Kimentem elé, behívtam. Itt már megtört volt, nem agresszív. Megöleltem. Megkérdeztem mit fog most tenni. Bíztattam, hogy rendbe kell rakni a házat, és akkor biztos visszajöhetnek.

It was a terrible day. We learnt it two days ago that the R. children will be taken away. As the two little ones go to the kindergarten, the others, except one, attend this school, the social workers decided to collect them here and in the kindergarten. Everyone was terribly tense. People were most scared of Zsuzsa, and the other two elder children, how they will react. The police officer offered to stay, I said it wasn't necessary.

Then everything happened so quickly. The elder girl just kept repeating that she would jump out of the window, the younger one just cried. Everyone was scared to come in except the social workers and the villageman. Zsuzsa arrived in the afternoon. She'd just come from the kindergarten. Poor her, she seemed to hope that the others were here. There was a big wrangle in the kindergarten. I went out to meet her. I invited her in. She was down-hearted, she wasn't aggressive any more. I hugged her. I asked what she was up to now. I reassured her that if they put the house in order, they can definitely come home.

Diary 2. (March 2008)

Ildikóval nem igazán találkoztam az iskolában, amíg ott voltam, de ennek ellenére kedvesen fogad. Először szűkszavú, de fél óra elteltével már közvetlenebbül beszélget, különösen miután a nagymama is bejön, leül és beszélget velünk.

A nagymama az elején eléggé gyanakodva és szigorúan néz rám, de miután egy ideig kintről (a hangos rádión keresztül) hallgatja, miről beszélgetünk, lekapcsolja a rádiót és egyszer csak bekiált: „Csak azt ne mondd, hogy az igazgatónő jó! Kitette a kis unokámat a hidegre büntetésből, egy szál ingben!" majd bevonul hozzánk a szobába és csak mesél és mesél. Ekkor törik meg az „idegen van a házban" légkör.

Ildikó kávéval kínál, szabadkozik a remegő kezei miatt. Egy szomszéd néni is átnéz, valami rokonféle, a nagymama ekkor már ki sem megy hozzá, csak jelzi feléje, hogy most nem ér rá…

Diary 3. (September 2006)

Ma a K. [T4] kinevetett, amikor az egyik gyerekről beszéltünk, és én elcsodálkoztam mikor azt mondta, hogy cigány. „Persze", válaszolta, „igaz nem látszik, de már a nagyapját is ismertem".

Diary 4. (May 2006)

Ültem itthon ezzel a két kedves, okos roma lánnyal. Azért jöttek, hogy elmondják, hogy az egyiküket felvették az egyetemre. Büszke voltam, mert úgy éreztem, hogy ehhez a sikerhez én is hozzájárultam.

A beszélgetés közepén, amikor a terveikről beszéltünk, megjegyeztem, hogy Zs. tudna majd roma tanulmányi ösztöndíjra pályázni. Megfagyott a levegő. Zavart képpel bámultak rám.

Ekkor jöttem rá, hogy soha nem beszéltünk arról, hogy ők romák, és nem is akartak beszélni róla. Nem akarták, hogy romának lássam őket.

ÓRAMEGFIGYELÉS 2. OSZTÁLY

Dzsínó vezéralak az osztályban. Elég kicsi, de bármikor kész a verekedésre. A tanító csomagoló papírokat oszt ki, megkéri a gyerekeket, olvassák el a szöveget és találják meg a kulcsszavakat benne. A szavak képeit kell újságokban megtalálni pl. macit, és azt a nagy lapra kell ragasztani.

Dzsínó zavarba jön, mert elég rosszul lát és nem tudja elolvasni a szöveget. A tanító hangosan megkéri, hogy vegye fel a szemüvegét. A gyerekek kárörvendően lesnek rá. A tanító hozzám fordul, és azt mondja, hogy benne van a táskájában, csak nem szereti viselni. Felszólítja, hogy vegye elő a szemüveget. SZTK keretes szemüveg, meglepően vastag lencsével. Nem veszi fel, csak lehajtja a fejét, nagyon zavarban van. Aztán hirtelen úgy dönt, hogy piszkálni kezdi a többieket, hogy visszanyerje a tekintélyét. Egyre nehezebb fegyelmezni. Végül, amikor a gyerekek végeznek, a tanító kiteszi Dzsínó üres lapját a táblára a többi gyerek munkája mellé. A gyerekek nevetnek, ő meg mosolyt színlel.

CASE STUDY

The parents were invited to a meeting in to school. They thought they were going to discuss their disabled son's admission to the village primary school.

"We entered, and I didn't know what they wanted. I was very calm. I didn't know what it was all about; and the notary, he says- I was the scapegoat! – he says that the problem is, as I didn't want to let my child go to this 'special school'…. He said that the problem was that I'd have to register the child in three days and the notary has already written an order for the court and   that there'd be consequences if we didn't.

I was surprised, because before, the headteacher had given me a promise that this school would take my child. And for me it turned out just then that they wanted to send my child to Paradicsompuszta [a school for mentally disabled children].

I cried as much as an animal."

"Bementünk, nem tudtuk mit akarnak. Higgadt voltam, nem tudtam, miről van szó, mondja nekem a jegyző, én voltam a bűnbak, mondja, hogy olyan gond van, hogy én nem akartam a gyereket az intézetbe beíratni, és azt mondta, az a gond, hogy a gyereket 3 napon belül be kell íratnom. És a jegyző úr, és a határozatot már ki is hozta, és komoly következményei lesznek, ha nem így teszek.

Meglepődtem, mer az Igazgató úr ígéretet tett, hogy fölveszik ide. És számomra ott esett le, hogy Paradicsompusztára akarták elküldeni.

Annyit sírtam, mint az állat."

Another woman at the committee hearing had tried to persuade her to follow and accept the proceedings. Her response was telling:

„If you gave life to a child who is ill, that's your problem. But my problem starts here. This is my unique case, and right now we're speaking about that. How to put him in …? You know what? If a pebble blossoms, sweetie", and I wasn't far from-… because I used to speak to her formally, but then I talked to her informally. …

If you were in my position, what would

„Ha betegen szültél meg egy gyereket, az a te problémád. Ez itt az én problémám, itt kezdődik. Ez az én egyedi esetem. És most erről van szó. Mi az, hogy betegyem, tudod mikor, majd ha a kavics kivirágzik, drága csillagom, és akkor már nem volt tőlem messze, mert én őt azelőtt magáztam, és most letegeztem. …

…Mondtam neki: Te, most ha fordított

you do? And now let's put a full stop at the end of these things. If it's a fight, let it be a fight!"

helyzetbe lennél mit tennél? Itt most pontot teszünk a dolgok végére, ha harc, legyen harc!"

PART 2.

The mother tells the story how his husband left home after the above incident saying that "he has some work to do". She did not have any idea where he had gone. After an hour he came home and tears were gushing from his eyes and he told he went to check how the school looked and wanted to see the children there.

Finally, the child attended the mental institution despite the resistance of the parents.

Later the child was taken to a special school in town, following which he was finally allowed back to the village school. Even there, the child was subjected to a lot of bullying. The following extract is an example of what happened after the child was beaten at school.

"I talked to my son's form teacher because, yes, I'd already shouted the other kid's head off. I couldn't do anything else, because I had to let off steam somehow. But it wasn't enough, so I went to talk to the child's parents as well....

The head teacher said that we shouldn't react on our own straight away, it's enough if we just go to her; we should draw her attention to the problems, and after this, she told Isti, this is what she said, he shouldn't immediately snitch, why didn't he turn to her when there were problems.

Wow, let me not tell- and I told her, that I'm very sorry my Kati, this is not how it works, this works like this: I want to know about every single thing, every single move.

Because I tell you, that I wouldn't fight, I wouldn't struggle for him so much, I'd let him get on the way he would

„Beszéltem az osztályfőnökével, mert hogy hát igen, leüvöltöttem annak a gyereknek a fejét. Nem tudtam mit tenni, valahogy le kellett vezetni és akkor ugye ez nem volt elég, megkerestük a szülőket…

A Kati mondta, hogy nem kell, egybő', hogy mi lépjünk, hanem majd ő rendezi. Neki kell jelezni. Ezek után, meg azt mondta az Istinek, hogy annyit mondott neki, hogy nem kell mindig egybő' árulkodni, miért nem őt kereste meg, ha gond van.

Most hadd ne mondjam, mondtam neki, hogy ne haragudj Katikám, ez nem így működik, ez úgy működik, hogy én minden, minden egyes dologról, mozdulatról tudni akarok.

Mert megmondom neked, nem harcolnák, nem küzdenék érte annyira, hagynám hogy boldoguljon, ha

were he a healthy child. But he's not. And he's really dependant on us. Totally. And then she said, alright, she said, she apologised and said she hadn't meant it that way."

épkézláb gyerek lenne. De nem, ő igenis ránk van szorulva teljes mértékben. Hát azt mondja, hogy jó, mondta, hogy ne haragudjak, nem így gondolta."

PART 3.

Later, the child was beaten again. The parents were not satisfied with how the case was settled, rather not settled at all.

Kati couldn't do anything, so we called the police. And my husband, if I don't calm him down, would have flattened the other boy, so I say "if you beat him, he ever won't get up again" They slapped Isti so much. … Then my spouse told Kati that we had phoned the police; and then we were waiting for the police and they were supposed to come by 11. Kati said to my husband, "Well Istvan, you shouldn't have gone for the police."

Kati nem tudott mit tenni. Felhívtuk a rendőrfőköt. Az emberem, ha én nem csitítom, nekiment volna, leütötte volna, mondom neki, ha te megütöd, ott marad, Úgy megütötték az Istit… Akkor a párom mondta a Katinak, hogy kihívtuk a rendőrséget. Aztán vártuk a rendőröket, 11 re volt, hogy ideérnek. Kati meg azt mondta a férjemnek, hogy hát István, nem kellett volna egyből a rendőrökért menni.

I know it's very bad for the reputation of the school. But no. We had to do something. And then the child came home from school, and the police phoned that they would probably come at around 3 in the afternoon, and they didn't come even then, or ever at all. And you know what, I think that the police were phoned and called off. I'm not stupid.

Tudom én, hogy ez nem jó fényt vet az iskolára. Mer nem. Valamit kell tegyünk. Aztán a gyerek hazajött az iskolától, és a rendőrök telefonáltak, hogy talán délután 3-ra, nem jöttek akkor sem, máskor sem. És tudod mit? Én úgy látom, hogy fel lett hívva, vissza lett hívva a rendőr. Hát hülye nem vagyok.

R: Do you think Magdi that the school phoned the police?

R: Gondolod Magdi, hogy felhívták az iskolából a rendőröket?

I don't know Nati. My husband told the police in a nutshell that my child was abused, and so that he wouldn't have to arrange it himself, could they please come.

Nem tudom Nati. Az emberem dióhéjban elmondta a rendőröknek, hogy bántalmazták a gyereket. Ne ő járjon el, legyenek szívesek kijönni.

And I wonder what would have happened if he hadn't told Kati earlier.

Kíváncsi lettem volna, ha akkor nem mondja a Katinak, akkor mi lett volna.

When the child was beaten again, the father took steps. Very interestingly, the mother did not tell this part of the story, but instead, by accident, the headteacher told the end of the story when asked about her incidents.

This really happened to a Gypsy parent. The child was in upper primary and he had learning difficulties. They asked me to take him back and to integrate him. I said ok; he used to go to the special school, and I understood the parents, because he has many problems. So I said we'll take your little boy because we have the facilities. But there were problems, because the others teased him.

This is what I say: One can't learn to tolerate if someone's different [másság elfogadása] in a single day, you can't even expect that from adults. The fact that I take this child into a classroom community- it doesn't matter that we talk to his teachers and the children a million times, saying that he's like that, you should take care of him, that he should be looked after, he's a bit more sensitive… but these children don't work like that; that, ok, they'd be able to understand it all from the first minute. Because children aren't like that.

Because every child has a level of cruelty, some teasing, some pestering, and this is what this parent has difficulty accepting- why it is always her child who's insulted. That's why I told her that if the child had come here from the first year, or from kindergarten, his classmates would have accepted him the way he was, they would have grown up together… and it's definite that in year 7 none of the children would even think of teasing or mocking him. But it takes time.

But what happened was that the father barged into the school, he even slammed the classroom door where there was a

Ez tényleg cigány szülővel volt. SNI-s fölsős kisfiú. Vegyem vissza, integráljam. Jó rendben, korábban a Szivárnyba járt, meg is értettem a szülőket, mert mozgás problémája is van a kisfiúnak, felvállaljuk, jogsink is van. De voltak problémák, mert a fiút piszkálták.

Ez az, amit én mindig mondok, hogy a másság elfogadása nem megy egyik napról a másikra, ezt még a felnőttektől sem várhatjuk el. Az, hogy én beviszem, hiába viszem be egy felsős osztályközösségbe, hiába beszélünk a tanárával milliom egyszer a gyerekekkel is, hogy ő ilyen, vigyáznotok kell rá, kímélni kell, ő kicsit érzékenyebb. Ezek a gyerekek nem ilyenek, hogy jó, akkor az első pillanattól fogva tudomásul veszik, a gyerek nem ilyen.

A gyerekekben alapvetően benne van bizonyos fajta kis gonoszkodás, kis piszkálódás, macera a másik gyerekkel szembe, és ezt ez a szülő nagyon nehezen fogadja el, hogy miért van az, hogy az ő gyerekét még mindig. Hát ezért, mondtam neki, hogy ha ez a kisfiú elsőtől idejárt volna, vagy óvodától és a társai így fogadták volna el, így nőttek volna fel idáig, a társai, holt biztos, hogy 7-be ezt a kisgyereket eszükbe sem jutna piszkálni, vagy gúnyolni. De hát ez idő.

De hát történt az, hogy ez az apuka berontott, rátörte az ajtót az osztályteremre, ahol tanóra volt, bement és két gyereket úgy lepofozott,

lesson, and he slapped two boys like a beast. He actually ripped them away from their desks, but the children managed to escape and ran down to me, they stood behind me, and they were shouting "please Kati néni, save us!" Now you can imagine it, when a father like him, like a beast of prey, barges in and shouts like an animal. And I have to behave in a moderate and tolerant way, and say something; "please calm down…"

Were there any consequences of this case?

Yes, the other two parents came in because it was my duty to inform them that this had happened, as this had happened in school time, and the father had been so harsh and threatening. He even threatened me, and those poor children. We were forced into the corner, I tried to push the children behind me and he even tried to lean over my shoulder to beat them. I thought that I would be the next person to get beaten up. In the end I had to threaten him with calling the police. Because this is not what should be done in an institution. Nor on the street. …To barge in to an institution, and pounce on two children. Yes, he was Roma, and I must add that one of the two boys he beat was Roma too. One of them yes, and the other one no. And it wasn't because of prejudice, but because these two wicked, ugly kids had teased his child. Ok, he had a point, because it did happen, the two boys admitted it.

But in the end, it became a police matter.

mint az állat. Üvöltve kitépte őket a padból és rohantak ide hozzám és beálltak mögém és kiáltozták, hogy „Kati néni védjen meg bennünket!"

Na, hát most képzeld el, hogy beront, mint a dúvad az ilyen apuka, és üvölt nekem, mint az állat, és nekem kell ezt kulturáltan tolerálni és mondani, hogy tessék lenyugodni.

Lett következménye az ügynek?

Igen, bejött a másik két szülő is, mert nekem kötelességem, hogy értesítsem őket, hogy ez történt, mivel ez iskolaidőben történt, és mivel olyan durva volt ez az apuka, és olyan fenyegetően lépett fel, és engem is megfenyegetett meg a gyerekeket is és szegények, ott szorultunk a sarokban, lökdöstem magam mögé a gyerekeket, mert még ott is a vállamon áthajolva is meg akarta őket ütni. Azt gondoltam magamban a következőt majd én kapom, és a végén mondanom kellett, hogy jó, apuka, a rendőrséget én értesíteni fogom. Mert ezt egy intézményben megtenni nem lehet. Még utcán sem, úgy meg különösen nem, hogy fölrontok és berontok egy intézménybe és nekiesek 2 másik gyereknek.

Igen, ő roma volt, és hozzá kell tenni, hogy az egyik fiú akit megütött, ő is roma származású volt. A másik nem, az egyik nem. Nem előítéletből, hanem azért mert az a két gonosz ronda kölök macerálja az ő kölykét. Jó, volt neki igazsága, mert ez így volt, el is ismerte a két fiú. Rendőrségi ügy lett belőle.

MAGYAR NYELVŰ ÖSSZEFOGLALÓ

Az „*interkulturális*" kifejezés a mai világban egyre elterjedtebb fogalommá válik, mivel a globalizáció és a felerősödött mobilizáció olyan komplex társadalmakat eredményezett, melyekben a mindennapi élet során elkerülhetetlenné válik különböző kultúrák találkozása és kommunikációja (Jensen, 2004). Ezek a találkozások alapvetően, a kommunikáció folyamatát tekintve, nem különböznek a kultúra azonos (intrakulturális) kommunikációtól (Ma, 2003; Sarbaugh, 1988), mégis, ahogy sok interkulturális kommunikációkutató érvel, a kultúra, az adott társadalmi kontextus valamint az ezekből eredő pszichokulturális és szociokulturális tényezők összekuszálják, megnehezítik egymás megértését (Jensen, 2004; Bennett, 1998).

Az interkulturális kommunikáció, mint tudományos diszciplína azt vizsgálja, hogy kommunikációs szempontból mi történik akkor, amikor különböző kultúrájú emberek találkoznak (Samovar & Porter, 1985, p. 1). Azt, hogy valójában mit is értünk kultúrán, hol szabhatók meg egy kultúra határvonalai, a kultúraértelmezés iskolái különféleképpen értelmezik.

Egy község általános iskolájában igazgatóként eltöltött idő világított rá, mennyire nagy szükség van arra, hogy mélyebb ismereteket szerezzünk a kommunikáció folyamatáról a mindennapi gyakorlati életben, különösen interkulturális kontextusban. Az iskolában, ahol kb. 60-70%-ban roma tanulók tanulnak, mindennapos a konfliktushelyzet, amit megnehezít a szülők és pedagógusok sikertelen vagy éppen hiányos kommunikációja, egyre romló viszonya. Munkám során én úgy éreztem, jól tudtam kezelni a konfliktus helyzeteket, amit az is mutatott, hogy hosszú távú, jól működő kapcsolatot tudtam kiépíteni a roma családokkal és diákokkal, amit sok kollégám nem mondhatott el magáról.

A dolgozat megírásának a célja, hogy beazonosítsam azokat a tényezőket, amelyek az iskola és a szülői ház közötti negatív kapcsolatot alakítják, a sikeres kommunikációt befolyásolják, és egy modell segítségével, az interkulturális kommunikáció olyan folyamatát írjam le, melyben az egy országon belül élő, közös nyelvet beszélő, mégis eltérő kultúrájuk révén kisebbségnek számító szülők és a többséget képviselő pedagógusok a résztvevők. Fontos megjegyezni, hogy a dolgozat nem a roma kérdéssel kíván foglalkozni. A roma családok, a kutatás kontextusában egy adott kisebbség csoportjának tagjaiként jelennek meg, tehát a cél az, hogy a modell majd nemcsak a magyarországi hasonló helyzetben lévő iskolák, de más országok kisebbségéből származó családok és iskola közti kommunikációjának vizsgálatában is hasznosítható legyen.

A feltárt tényezők meghatározásán túl, az értekezés arra a kérdésre is szeretne választ kapni, mennyire tulajdonítják ezeket a befolyásoló tényezőket a kutatásban résztvevők kultúráik - roma–nem-roma - közti különbségeknek. Továbbá, hogy ezek a tényezők hogyan is működnek az interkulturális kommunikáció folyamatában.

A kultúra és kommunikáció ez irányú megközelítése helyezte a kutatást az értelmező perspektíva és a szociálkonstruktivista vizsgálódások keretei közé, mivel a hangsúly nem a kultúrák leírásán van, hanem azon, hogyan látják egymást a kutatás résztvevői, és hogyan értelmezik kapcsolatuk, együttműködésük hiányának okait. A kontextus érdekessége, hogy a szülők és tanárok rendelkeznek egy közös kulturális kerettel, a magyarral. Azt, hogy ennek ellenére, miért is tekinthetjük a roma családok és a tanárok találkozásait és kommunikációját interkulturálisnak, leginkább Collier és Thomas (1988) definíciója támasztja alá, mi szerint interkulturális kommunikációnak számít minden olyan kontaktus, ahol a résztvevő felek kulturális értelemben egymást különbözőnek látják (p. 100). Márpedig, ahogy ezt a kutatás bebizonyítja, a problémák okait sok esetben a felek (különösen a tanárok) az eltérő kultúrának tulajdonítják.

Az interpretatív paradigma jegyében a kvalitatív kutatás tűnt a legmegfelelőbb módszernek arra, hogy a mélyben rejlő különböző értelmezéseket, meggyőződéseket felszínre hozza, ezért a kutatás nem deduktív megközelítéssel, vagyis előre felállított hipotézisekkel dolgozik, hanem az etnografikus kutatáshoz hasonlóan, a kutató a beszélgetések, megfigyelések során tárja fel, alkotja meg feltételezéseit,

következtetéseit (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Boeije (2010) szerint, az egyén önmaga alkotja meg (konstruálja) saját szociális valóságát, és a kutató feladata az, hogy ezt a folyamatot nyomon kövesse és leírja; megismerje, hogyan tulajdonítanak jelentést a résztvevők saját és mások cselekedeteinek. Jelen kutatás esetében ennek alapját 15 roma családdal és 6 pedagógussal történt beszélgetés, interjú sorozat adta. Ez a terepmunka 2008- 2010 között folyt.

A kvalitatív kutatás a következő kérdésekre kereste a választ:

- Hogyan lehet definiálni a roma szülők és az iskola negatív kapcsolatát? Milyen tényezők befolyásolják, és hogyan értelmezik ezeket a szülők és pedagógusok?

- Milyen mértékben tekintik ezeket a tényezőket a résztvevők a kulturális eltérésekből eredőknek?

- Hogyan jelennek meg ezek a tényezők a szülők és a tanárok kommunikációjában?

A kvalitatív kutatásnak és az interkulturális kommunikáció (IKK) kutatásnak a témához kapcsolódó releváns eredményeinek összehangolásával születik meg a dolgozat végén az a folyamatmodell, melynek egyik kiemelt eleme a konfliktuskezelés gyakorlati megvalósításáról szól több kultúrájú kontextusban, a kulturális keretváltás jelenségére építve. Ez a gyakorlati szempont azért is fontos, mert a dolgozat során mindvégig kritériumként szerepel a modell megalkotásában az alkalmazhatóság.

A DISSZERTÁCIÓ FELÉPÍTÉSE

Az értekezés két részre bontható. Az első részben, amely az első öt fejezetet foglalja magába, a kutatáshoz kapcsolódó elméleti hátteret lehet megismerni.

Az első fejezet bemutatja a kultúra jelentésének számos megközelítését, a nyelv és kultúra kapcsolatát. Az interkulturális oktatás rész a szakirodalom alapján beazonosítja a nemzeti-etnikai kisebbség oktatásával kapcsolatban leggyakrabban felmerült nehézségeket. A fejezet rámutat az interkulturális oktatás kutatásának egyik hiányosságára, miszerint – bár a problémák legnagyobb része megfelelő

kommunikációval kezelhető lenne – a szakirodalomban nem igazán hivatkoznak az interkulturális kommunikáció kutatás eredményeire.

Az interkulturális kommunikációval foglalkozó további két fejezet már a fent említett állításra épül. A kutatási paradigmák bemutatása, az IKK kutatás általános érdeklődési területeinek feltárása alátámasztja azt a feltevést, hogy ez a diszciplína, sokszínűségével hozzájárulhat az interkulturális oktatás minőségének javításához, a problémák megoldásához. Az oktatási kontextushoz és a problémakörökhöz igazodva a fejezet végén meghatározásra kerülnek a további vizsgálódás szempontjai.

Az ötödik fejezet már célzottan vizsgálja az értékek, identitás, bizalom és konfliktus témaköröket, többféle megközelítésből. Bár ezeknek a vizsgálódásoknak az elsődleges célja, hogy egy alkalmazható modellt nyújtsanak a mindennapi oktató munka számára, a fejezet végén megfogalmazódik, hogy bár mindegyik tárgyalt terület hasznosan járult hozzá a problémák megoldásához, mégis egy, a kutatás eredményeivel is megerősített modell létrehozására van szükség.

A kvalitatív kutatás eredményeinek és a szakirodalom releváns elemeinek szintézise adja a roma szülők és az iskola negatív kapcsolatát leíró interkulturális kommunikációs folyamat modelljét. Ahhoz, hogy a modell a gyakorlati alkalmazhatóság kritériumának teljes mértékben megfeleljen, a konfliktushelyzetek egy lehetséges kezelési módját is bemutatja. A továbbiakban a fejezetek tartalmának tételes ismertetésére kerül sor.

A kultúra és kommunikáció fejezet célja, hogy feltárja, milyen módon értelmezik különböző iskolák a kultúra fogalmát. A szociokulturális és eszmerendszer iskolák (Topcu, 2005 szóhasználata alapján) különböző megközelítésein keresztül megmutatja, hogy az iskolák képviselői a kultúrát az embereken „kívül található" objektív viselkedési kontextusként, vagy a szubjektív értelmezésekben, eszmékben látják (Allaire & Firsirotu, 1984). Ezeknek megismerése azért is fontos, mert alapját képezik a későbbiekben bemutatott interkulturális kommunikáció kutatás megközelítések értelmezésének és elemzésének.

A kultúra kívül található jellegét leginkább a szociokulturális iskola képviselői vallják, akik szerint a kultúra a társadalmi rendszer része, mely az emberi viselkedésben, a

viselkedés termékeiben érhető tetten (Allaire & Firsirotu, 1984). A szociokulturális iskolán belüli négy irányzat (funkcionalista, strukturális funkcionalista, ökológiai alkalmazkodás és társadalomtörténeti iskola), bár kultúraértelmezésükben mutatnak eltéréseket, alapvetően a kultúrát egy objektív módon létező entitásként látja. A kultúra jelenlétét a feltevések, normák, átörökített szocializációs sémák viszonylag állandó rendszerében keresik, melyek meghatározzák az egyén viselkedését (Schein, 1985). A kultúrát egy statikus képződményként kezelik, mely megfigyelhető és leírható.

Az eszmerendszer-iskola ezzel ellentétben, a kultúrát belülre helyezi; az emberek fejében meglévő eszméket, elképzeléseket, normákat, attitűdöket, gondolati rendszerként fogja fel, egyfajta szubjektív valóságként. Ez az iskola a kulturális és társadalmi szférákat (objektív valóságot) különválasztandó, de egymással összefüggőként kezeli (Allire & Firsirotu, 1984). Az iskola képviselői (kognitív, kölcsönös egyenérték, strukturalista, szimbolikus iskola) kétféle irányvonalat képviselnek abban a tekintetben, hogy a kultúrát hová helyezik; a kultúra képviselőinek elméjébe, vagy azt az elme által létrehozott szimbólumokban és jelentésekben érik tetten.

A kultúraértelmezés iskoláinak, és irányzatainak részletes bemutatása után Vygostky (1981) szociokulturális elméletét mutatja be a fejezet, mely azt vizsgálja, hogyan hatnak a társadalmi gyakorlatok (pl. interakciók) és folyamatok a belső mentális funkciók működésére. Vygotsky szerint a gyermek szociális világba születik, s tanulásának folyamatában kulcsfontosságú a másokkal való interakció. Ez a környezettel történő napi interakció teszi lehetővé számára a világ értelmezését. A hatékony tanulás kulcsa a mediátor (közvetítő), akinek a szerepe nem csak az értelmezések elmélyítésének és megértésének segítése, de a kultúra átadása is (Vygotsky, 1962, 1978, 1981).

A klasszikus iskolák vizsgálata után a dolgozat, a teljesség igénye nélkül a kritikai, posztmodern elméletek alapvető nézeteit foglalja össze. Ezen nézetek szerint a kultúrát nem lehet statikus, homogén entitásként kezelni, mivel a kultúrák közötti határvonalak nehezen húzhatók meg. A különböző országokon belül élő egyének tartozhatnak számtalan csoporthoz, így megkérdőjeleződnek az egy kulturális identitásról, és a

nemzeti karakterekről nyújtott leíró jellegű kultúra megközelítések és kutatások (Scollon & Scollon, 2001).

A leírt kultúra elméletek többek közt a nyelv és a kultúra kölcsönhatását is vizsgálták. Iskolától függetlenül mindegyik nézet vallja, hogy a nyelven, a kommunikáción keresztül öröklődik át a kultúra. Az, hogy a nyelv, és azon keresztül a kultúra hogyan adódik át egy-egy kultúrán belül, a nyelvi szocializáció kutatásának kérdésköre. Ochs és Schieffelin (1984) nyelvi szocializáció paradigmájának a dolgozat szempontjából fontos üzenete, hogy a nyelvelsajátítás folyamata szorosan együtt jár egy társadalmi csoport tagjává válással. A folyamat során a gyermek a nyelven keresztül szocializálódik, és ezzel párhuzamosan a nyelvhasználatra is szocializálódik (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1996).

Az, hogy az egyén a szocializáció folyamata során milyen kommunikációs készségekre tett szert, nem csak a mindennapos interakciók során, hanem más kultúrából érkezőkkel való találkozásaikor is megmérettetik. Ilyen esetekben válik igazán tudatossá a saját kultúra, (nyelvi) szocializáció által átadott, és sokszor meg nem kérdőjelezett, szabályok, viselkedési formák, felfogások rögzültsége. Kulturális távolság két ember között létrejöhet az eltérő nyelvek, az eltérő szociális háttér, de az eltérő életvitel következtében is (Triandis, 2003, p. 18). Az, hogy ezeknek a találkozásoknak milyen lesz a kimenetele, az interakciós felek interkulturális kompetenciájának, kulturális intelligenciájának függvénye.

Az interkulturális kompetencia a más kultúrákból származókkal való sikeres kommunikáció képessége, melynek eredménye a mindkét oldal számára megelégedéssel járó kapcsolat kialakítása. A mindennapi élet sikerességéhez azonban nem a másik kultúráról gyűjtött tárgyszerű ismeretek birtoklása, hanem azok alkalmazásának képessége segít hozzá. Összegezve, ha az interkulturális kompetenciát az interkulturális helyzetekben való helytálláshoz szükséges képességek összességeként definiáljuk, akkor világossá válik, hogy az ismeretek fontos szerepet kapnak, de éppen olyan fontos a megfelelő attitűd, és azok a készségek, melyek ezen ismeretek alkalmazását lehetővé teszik (Thomas & Inkson, 2004). Az interkulturális oktatási helyzetekben, mint később kiderül, ezekre elengedhetetlen szükség van.

Az interkulturális oktatás fejezet célja, hogy a nemzetközi szakirodalom áttekintésén keresztül megvizsgálja, milyen kihívásoknak kell megfelelniük jelenleg a multikulturális kontextusban működő iskoláknak. Kiderül, hogy az interkulturális nevelés/oktatás területe hasonló problémákkal néz szembe nem csak a romák, de a más nemzeti és etnikai kisebbségek oktatása terén is, mint a vizsgált iskola.

A multikulturális és interkulturális fogalmak tisztázása után, a dolgozat a mai napig sok európai országban alkalmazott, nemzeti és etnikai kisebbségeket érintő oktatási gyakorlatot írja le.

A sokszor „multikulturális megközelítésként" jellemzett irányzat, mely a 80-as évek előtti időszakban vált elterjedtté, az ideiglenes munkára érkező bevándorló családok gyermekeinek a már meglévő oktatási rendszerbe való „könnyed" beillesztését célozta (Luciak & Khan-Svik, 2008). Oktatáspolitikai szempontból ez az irányzat akkor vált problematikussá, amikor egyre több család telepedett le a fogadó országokban (pl.: Hollandiában, Ausztriában, Franciaországban, és Nagy Britanniában), és idővel állampolgárokká váltak. Az addig bevált 'probléma-centrikus' multikulturális megközelítés, már nem minden esetben hozta meg a kívánt hatást. Nem voltak elegendők az átmeneti intézkedések (pl. a célország nyelvének megtanítása), hosszútávon fennálló, a pedagógusok számára problémaként megélt nehézségekkel kellett szembenézni (Le Roux, 2001). Ezeket többnyire az eltérő kulturális (értékrendszer, vallás, hagyományok stb.) és szocioökonómiai háttérben látták.

Míg a multikulturális oktatást a szakirodalom gyakran úgy határozza meg, mint a nemzeti-etnikai csoportok számára felajánlott egyirányú oktatási megközelítést, addig az interkulturális oktatás egy kétirányú folyamatként képzelhető el, amelynek célja, hogy a különböző kultúrák egyfajta közös nevezőre jussanak egy adott közösségen belül, és ez mind a kisebbség, mind a többségi társadalom érdeke (Le Roux, 2001; Leeman, 2003). Bár ez utóbbi ideológiai síkon egyre elterjedtebbé válik, a nemzetközi szakirodalom áttekintése alapján megállapítható, hogy még mindig nagy hangsúllyal említik a következő problémákat a nemzeti-etnikai kisebbségek oktatása terén:

- Gyenge iskolai teljesítmény

- Szelektív iskolai rendszer - a szegregáció jelensége, speciális iskolák

- Fegyelmi problémák, állandó konfliktusok

- A szülői részvétel hiánya - a szülőkkel folytatott kommunikáció hiánya

- Identitás – értékrend különbözőségből fakadó konfliktusok

- Negatív sztereotípiák, hátrányos megkülönböztetés

- A tanárok kulturális tudásának és interkulturális kompetenciájának elégtelensége – a tanárképzés megújításának szükségessége

A fejezet a továbbiakban mind a romák, mind a külföldi országokban érintett nemzeti/etnikai kisebbségek oktatását vizsgálja, a felmerülő problémák tükrében. A fejezet megvizsgálja az iskolai alulteljesítés, az identitás és értékkülönbségek, valamint a bizalom és a tanári kompetenciák kérdéskörét.

Az iskolai alulteljesítés egy igen intenzíven felmerülő kérdés a nemzeti és etnikai kisebbség oktatásával kapcsolatban. Leeman (2003) szerint sokan ennek megoldásában látnák a felemelkedés, és a békésebb együttélés zálogát. Ez a nézet azon a feltételezésen alapul, hogy az iskolai sikeresség együtt járna a társadalomba való sikeres beilleszkedéssel, ami hosszútávon az előítéltek eltűnéséhez vezetne.

Ogbu (1978) kulturális-ökológiai elméletével a kisebbségek alulteljesítéséről olyan lehetséges magyarázatot tárt fel, amely sok későbbi kutatásnak is alapjául szolgált. Az elmélet lényege, hogy különbséget tesz önkéntes (voluntary) és nem önkéntes (involuntary) kisebbségi csoportok között; előbbi alatt a célországba önszántukból bevándorló kisebbséget, míg utóbbi alatt az adott országban mindig is jelenlévő kisebbségben élő csoportokat érti. Az ő oktatási rendszerhez fűződő viszonyukat vizsgálta meg. Úgy találja, hogy a saját elhatározásukból új országot választó kisebbség, bár ugyanúgy érzi a többségi társadalom előítéleteit, mint a másik említett csoport, általában jobban bízik az oktatási rendszerben. Az ő gyerekeik könnyebben leküzdik a nyelvi, az előítéletes, és a kulturális nehézségekből fakadó hátrányokat (Ogbu, 1978, 2003). Ezzel szemben a másik csoport, az iskolára, mint az előítéletek melegágyára tekint, és kevésbé bízik a többségi társadalomban, ezért iskolai eredményei is jóval rosszabbak (Ogbu, 1978, 2003).

A másik gyakran említett probléma iskolán belül, hogy a kulturális, vallási, értékrendbeli különbségek egyre több konfliktushoz vezetnek, mely egyes nemzeti-etnikai kisebbséghez tartozó tanulók állandó tanulási problémáihoz, a megszokott iskolai gyakorlatok (ruhaviselet, szabályok) megkérdőjelezéséhez vezetnek.

A dolgozat foglalkozik az anyanyelv szerepével a gyermekek fejlődése, identitástudata szempontjából.

Hedegaard (2005), az iskola és otthon értékrendjének különbségeiből fakadó hatásokat vizsgálta meg a gyermek személyiségfejlődésének tükrében. Török tanulók dániai helyzetét vizsgálva rámutat, milyen nehéz és ellentmondásos helyzetbe kerül az a tanuló, akinek az otthoni környezete elvárja a kulturális tradíciók betartását, miközben az iskolai, a többségi társadalom kultúrájához is próbál alkalmazkodni.

Day Langhout (2005) amerikai példával szolgál arra, hogyan próbálja az iskola „láthatatlanná" tenni a más kultúrákból érkező diákjait szigorú szabályaival, kulturális identitásuk semmibevételével. Az intoleranciát, a másik kultúrája iránti közömbösséget látja a diákok visszahúzódásának vagy éppen az állandó ellenállás, agresszió, és konfliktusok okainak.

A szegregáció-integráció kérdéskörét a dolgozat esettanulmányokon keresztül tárja fel. Ezek leginkább a roma kisebbséget érintőek. A Cseh Köztársaságban, Bulgáriában, Horvátországban és Romániában készült roma kisebbségekkel foglalkozó tanulmányok eredményeit úgy lehetne talán legjobban összegezni, hogy bár a roma gyermekekre pozitívan hat az integráció, a többségi társadalom nagy része még mindig külön intézményben látná őket szívesen (Cozma et al. 2000; Igarashi, 2005; Posavec & Hrvatic, 2000; Gerganov et al. 2005).

A fenti eredmények tükrében elgondolkoztató Hedegaard (2005) véleménye, miszerint az identitástudat a kulcsa a gyermek személyiségfejlődésének, amelyet úgy lehet segíteni, hogy biztosítjuk a gyermek hovatartozási érzését egy olyan csoporthoz, amellyel egyenlő értékrendet oszt, és ahonnan pozitív megerősítést kap.

A tanárok attitűdje, értékrendszere és elhivatottsága fontos tényezői a sikeres interkulturális oktatásnak. A tanár hatékonysága egy kulturálisan összetett osztályban, és a multikulturális tananyag tanításában, szakmai felkészültségének függvénye (Le Roux, 2001). Európai jelenség az, hogy nagyrészt fehér, középosztálybeli tanítók dolgoznak a multikulturális iskolákban, akiknek háttérismerete tanulóik kultúrájáról nem mindig elégséges (Le Roux, 2001, p. 46.). A megfelelő ismeretek hiányában azonban gyakoribb a tanuló (és szülői ház) konfrontálódása a pedagógussal, ami együtt járhat a kölcsönös bizalom elvesztésével, a kommunikáció megszakadásával.

Az interkulturális kommunikáció fejezet olyan fogalmak, mint pl. kultúraközi (cross-cultural), nemzetközi, interkulturális stb. kommunikáció kutatás fogalomkörét vizsgálja meg először.

A kultúraközi, vagy kultúra összehasonlító kutatások többsége a nemzeti kultúra szintjére vonatkoztatva vizsgálódik, és a kultúrát leginkább, mint statikus képződményt tekinti a funkcionalista hagyományoknak megfelelően (Jandt, 1998). Felvetődik a kérdés, hogy a mai már említett komplex társadalmakban ezek a kultúrák mennyire tekinthetők megbízható kutatási alapnak (Levine et al. 2007).

Az interkulturális kommunikáció kutatás definíciói sem egyértelműek és megosztják a kutatókat a tekintetben, hogy mit is lehet interkulturálisnak nevezni. A kritikák ellensúlyozására fogalmazódtak meg azok a definíciók, melyek nem tesznek különbséget interkulturális és intrakulturális kommunikáció között, csak azt állítják, hogy kétségkívül vannak olyan változók, amelyek ezekben a kommunikációs helyzetekben jobban hatnak és valójában a különbség mértéke képezi a kutatás fókuszát (Kim, 1988). A dolgozat ebből a szempontból Collier és Thomas (1988) korábban említett IKK definícióját tekinti mérvadónak. Így a hangsúly azon van, hogyan alkotják meg a beszélgető felek a másikról alkotott képüket, és ez mennyire befolyásolja kommunikációjukat.

A következő alfejezet az interkulturális kutatás elméleteinek metateoretikus alapjait, kutatási paradigmáit vázolja fel.

A tudományelméleti irányzatok objektív objektív/pozitivista térfelén azok a kutatók állnak, akik kutatásaikat a természettudományos kutatások mintájára végzik. A pozitivista kutatások számára a cél a tudományos törvényszerűségek feltárása. A kultúrát, mint független tényezőt vizsgálják, amely hatással van az egyén viselkedésére. A szubjektív/interpretatív paradigma szerint nem létezik az egyénen kívül álló világ, a cél a jelenségek oly módon való feltárása, ahogy azok kibontakoznak (Jiang, 2006). A szubjektív hagyomány megközelítése szerint, az egyének társas interakcióikon keresztül konstruálják meg saját valóságukat, szubjektív értelmezéseken keresztül magyarázzák a világot, és mások cselekedeteit (Tsetura, 2010). Ebből az következik, hogy a kommunikációt és a viselkedést az egyén szemszögéből nézve lehet csak megérteni (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002).

Az IKK kutatás harmadik, 'szisztéma' (systems approach) kutatási megközelítése valójában a leírt dichotómia ötvözése. Ez a megközelítés a kommunikációt tranzakciós, dinamikus folyamatként látja, és tiltakozik a pozitivista „érzéketlenség" ellen (Kim, 1988, p. 18). Ez a perspektíva is próbál törvényszerű jelenségekre rávilágítani, de ezt az egyén és a rendszer (a környezet) egymásra kölcsönösen ható információcseréje alapján teszi (Kim, 1988).

A dolgozat az IKK kutatási paradigmák felvázolása után megvizsgálja, hogy az interkulturális oktatás felvetett kérdéseinek megválaszolásához, vizsgálódási témáit tekintve mennyire tud a tudományág hozzájárulni. Az értekezés egy összesítő táblázatban mutatja be az IKK kutatás legfontosabb elméleteit azok kutatási megközelítéseivel együtt, majd ezek fókuszai alapján (Gudykunst, 2005b) csoportosítja az elméleteket. Az adott témák (hatékony kommunikációs kimenet, akkomodáció és adaptáció, identitásegyeztetés és menedzsment, kultúraátvétel és alkalmazkodás, kommunikációs hálók) alapján a feltevés igazoltnak látszik, hogy az IKK választ adhat az interkulturális oktatás kérdéseire.

Az IKK kutatás elméleteinek és modelljeinek további elemzéseihez elengedhetetlennek találtam kritériumok, paraméterek felállítását, amelyek alapján elemezhető, mennyire hasznosíthatók a következő fejezetben bemutatott teóriák, tanulmányok. A vizsgálódás paraméterei a kultúra megközelítésére, értelmezésére, a

kutatás irányultságára, az egyén szerepére, az interkulturális oktatásban való alkalmazhatóságára vonatkoznak.

A megadott paraméterek alapján a dolgozat az egyéni szubjektív értelmezésekre fókuszál és a személyek közötti társas kapcsolatokat vizsgálja. Viselkedési és kulturális minták megállapítása helyett (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) a hangsúly azon lesz, hogyan alkotják meg a tanárok és a roma szülők saját valóságukat egy adott kontextusban (Berger & Luckmann, 1966), hogyan konstruálják saját maguk és a másik identitását az interakció folyamán (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Ebből következik, hogy a disszertáció elméleti keretei a szociálkonstruktivizmus lételméletében, és az interpretivizmus ismeretelméletében gyökereznek.

A két terület találkozása című fejezet járja körbe azokat a témákat, melyekre az interkulturális oktatás fejezet már utalt. Az értékek, az identitás, a bizalom és a konfliktus témákat vizsgálja a fejezet az IKK kutatás szakirodalma alapján.

Az értékek a funkcionalista megközelítés szerint a kultúrák olyan meghatározó tényezői, amelyek determinálják a kultúra tagjainak attitűdjét, érzelmi reakcióit, arculatvédési mechanizmusait, és viselkedését például konfliktushelyzetekben (Hofstede, 1980; Ting-Toomey& Oetzel, 2001).

Hofstede (1980) értékkutatásra irányuló felmérése olyan univerzális kultúradimenziókat azonosított be, amelyek segítségével az egyes kultúrák összehasonlíthatóvá válnak. Ez kutatások egész sorát indította meg. A fejezet rámutat, hogy bár a grandiózus kultúrakutatások nyilvánvalóan hasznosak a kultúrák megismeréséhez, nem veszik figyelembe az egyéni eltéréseket kultúrán belül.

Nordby (2008) modern nyelvfilozófiai alapon nyugvó értékértelmezése innovatív dimenziókat nyit az érték fogalmának meghatározásához. Nordby (2008) harmadik értékértelmezése szerint a személyes értékek szintje azt az életformát jelenti, ahogy az egyén a környezetében élni akar, élni szeret. Ez az a szint, amit a másik féllel nem kell osztani, mert ez nem egyenlő a hiedelemrendszerrel. Ez a megállapítás az oktatási rendszerben dolgozók számára is elgondolkodtató.

Az identitás témaköre kapja a disszertációban a legnagyobb hangsúlyt, melynek fontosságát a kutatás eredményei is igazolták. A kulturális identitást sokáig a személyben mélyen benne lévő, egy igaz identitásnak tekintették (Maalouf, 2001). Az, hogy mit tartanak az egyének elsődleges identitásuknak, úgy feltételezték, hogy jelentősen meghatározza viselkedésüket is. Ezzel ellentétben a posztstrukturalista irányzatok már nyíltan állítják, hogy az egyénnek többszörös identitása van, és valójában az identitás az interakció során alakul (konstruálódik) és ezek az identitások újra és újra definiálódnak az életünk során (Jenkins, 2006, idézi Durovic, 2008). Meyer (2009) szerint az emberek többféle kultúrához is tartozhatnak, és ezek között szabadon váltogatnak.

A dolgozat érinti még az etnikai identitás elméletét (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), ami a csoporttagság, a csoporthoz tartozás érzésének fontosságát hangsúlyozza, különösen az egyén önértékelése szempontjából.

Jensen (2004) posztstrukturalista modellje a kommunikáció folyamatában fontos elemként nevezi meg a kulturális előfeltevéseket, a tapasztalatok pozícionálását, a kulturális identitást, és a kulturális önképet. Jensen (2004) elmélete szerint minden értelmezés a tapasztalatokban gyökerezik, amelyek szorosan összefüggnek a személy szociális pozíciójával. A kulturális identitást szociálkonstruktivista módon értelmezi. A kulturális előfeltevések mindazon tudást, tapasztalatot, érzéseket és véleményeket foglalják magukba, melyeket a kulturálisan másik csoportba tartozóról alkotunk.

Durovic (2008) tanulmánya azért érdekes a dolgozat szempontjából, mert azt a kérdéskört vizsgálja, hogyan reagálnak az emberek arra, ha mások tévesen tulajdonítanak nekik egy-egy etnikai, vagy kulturális identitást. A kutatásában résztvevők majdnem mind megegyeztek abban, hogy leginkább az irritálta őket, ha érezték, hogy negatív sztereotípiákon alapult a megítélésük.

Verkuyten és Pouliasi (2008) kutatása egy pszichológiai kísérlet, mely a kulturális keretváltás jelenségén alapul. Hong és társai (2000) tanulmányai alapján kettős kulturális identitású résztvevőknél vizsgálják, hogy a résztvevők egy-egy identitásának aktiválása mennyire befolyásolja a kultúraspecifikus normákat, hiedelmeket. Az említett tanulmány a csoporthoz tartozás, és az ön-sztereotípiák változását vizsgálja a

kulturális keretváltást követően. A kulturális keretváltás jelensége fontos szerepet játszik az értekezésben.

A bizalom szerepét a dolgozat egy tágabb keretből indítva a társadalmi tőke és bizalom szemszögéből szűkíti le az interperszonális kommunikációig. Vizsgálja az intézményekbe vetett bizalom kérdését, valamint a mások felé nyitás, kitárulkozás szerepét az identitás formálásában és a különböző csoportok kapcsolatainak javításában (Hargie et al., 2008).

A fejezet záró része a konfliktus témakörét járja körbe. Gudykunst és Kim (1984) modellje, bár nem célzottan a konfliktussal foglalkozik, azt vizsgálja, milyen tényezők játszanak szerepet az idegenekkel folytatott kommunikáció során. A modell Berger és Calabrese (1975) bizonytalanságkerülési elméletére építve azt feltételezi, hogy a bizonytalanság elkerülése céljából a beszélő proaktív és retroaktív magyarázatokat gyárt a másik viselkedésének, attitűdjének, hiedelmének és érzéseinek értelmezésére. Gudykunst és Kim (1984) elmélete szerint ezek a kommunikációs előfeltevések jelentős mértékben a kulturális, szociokulturális, pszichokulturális és környezeti szűrők alapján formálódnak. Azt állítják, hogy az idegen szűrőinek ismerete nélkül nem tudjuk megfelelően értelmezni annak üzeneteit és viselkedését (Gudykunst & Kim, 1984). A dolgozat részletesen bemutatja ezeknek a szűrőknek az építőelemeit, melyekből később a pszichokulturális (pl. attribúciók, előítéletek, sztereotípiák) és szociokulturális (pl. csoporthoz tartozás, szerepek) tényezők bizonyulnak hasznosnak.

Ting-Toomey és Oetzel (2001) egy kultúra alapú szituációs konfliktus modellt alkotott meg. A modell azon a feltevésen alapul, hogy az individualizmus/kollektivizmus, kis/nagy hatalmi távolság értékdimenziói és azok kapcsolata az egyén önképével befolyásolják a konfliktusról alkotott nézeteket. A modell a kutatáshoz Ting-Toomey (1988) arculatvédés elméletével, a kommunikációs célok kategóriáival járult leginkább hozzá, mivel erősen statikus és nemzetekre leszűkített kultúraértelmezésen alapul.

Hammer (2002) interkulturális konfliktus stílusokat ábrázoló modellje pragmatikai alapokon nyugszik. Hammer arra alapozva vizsgálódik, hogy a nézeteltérések és az érzelmek hogy funkcionálnak kultúraközi kontextusban, és ez alapján dolgozta ki direkt/indirekt, érzelmi kinyilvánítás/elfojtás elméleti dimenzióit.

Az interkulturális konfliktus stílusmodellje négyféle megközelítést vázol fel. A konfliktus stílusok jól beazonosíthatók, bár ezek alapját is a kultúrák nemzetekként való kezelése adja.

A kutatásmódszer fejezet bemutatja a kutatás helyszínét, a kutatásmódszertant, kifejti a validitás és megbízhatóság kérdését, és a kutatás korlátait. A kutatás gyakorlati megvalósítása során különös hangsúlyt kap az, hogy a résztvevők miként tulajdonítanak jelentést cselekedeteiknek, tapasztalataiknak, benyomásaiknak. A kvalitatív adatok begyűjtése mélyinterjúkkal, megfigyeléssel, dokumentumelemzéssel és kutatási napló vezetésével biztosította azt, hogy a feltárt eredmények hitelesek és megbízhatóak legyenek.

Az **eredmények** tárgyalásánál azokat az elemeket, tényezőket próbáltam kiemelni, melyek a leggyakrabban, és a legnagyobb intenzitással fordultak elő. A fejezet először a roma családokról és a tanárokról nyújt háttér információt.

Az interjúk elemzése során kiderült, hogy mindkét félnek kialakult véleménye van az iskola és a szülői ház közötti együttműködés hiányának okairól. A tanárok szerint munkájukat a leginkább megnehezítő tényező a szülői részvétel, a szülői gondoskodás hiánya. Az interjúk néhány rejtett előítéletet is felszínre hoztak, miszerint a roma szülőket nem érdekli gyermekeik iskolai előmenetele, fegyelmezetlenek, nincs felelősségtudatuk, nincsenek céljaik, és nem akarnak dolgozni, ami rossz mintát ad a gyereknek.

A szülők másképpen értelmezik a 'gondoskodás' fogalmát. Míg a tanárok a gondoskodás alatt a pontosságot, a felszerelés meglétét értették, a szülők számára a gondoskodás az erőteljes szeretet és védelmezés fogalmakat takarta. A roma szülők sztereotípiája is megfogalmazódott, miszerint a magyarok nem kényeztetik és szeretik annyira a gyereküket, mint ők.

A tanárok által felvetett másik probléma a tisztaság kérdése volt. Megfigyelhető, hogy mindegyik családban, még ott is ahol nincs fürdőszoba, a szülők különösen kihangsúlyozták, hogy a tiszta ruha, a tisztálkodás mennyire fontos számukra. Az elbeszélések alapján az tűnt ki, hogy a tisztaság a roma családok számára a

beilleszkedés szimbóluma; azt fejezi ki, mennyire igyekeznek szakítani a régi sztereotípiával, hogy koszosak, ápolatlanok lennének.

A másik kardinális pont a tanári véleményekben a szülők érdeklődése gyermekeik tanulmányai iránt. A roma családok kivétel nélkül mind kihangsúlyozták a tanulás fontosságát. Nehézségeik leginkább abban vannak, hogyan vegyék rá a gyerekeiket, hogy motiváltak legyenek. Ennek oka valószínűleg az, hogy az ő szocializációjukból hiányzik a tanulásra serkentő szülői minta. Sokan ki is fejezték ezt. A másik nehézség, amire a szülők hivatkoztak, az a fiatal lányok korai érése, mely ellen úgy érzik, nem tudnak mit tenni.

Érdekes volt megvizsgálni azt, hogy a roma tanulók iskolai sikertelenségét milyen okokra vezetik vissza a szülők. Bizalmatlanság, diszkrimináció, mellőzés, és a kiszolgáltatottság érzése keveredik a szülőkben és a gyerekekben egyaránt. A dolgozat bemutat olyan szülőket is, akiknek a gyerekei jól tanulnak. Elbeszéléseik alapján kiderül, mennyi küzdelembe kerül mindez, és mennyi áldozatot hoztak ezért.

A mélyinterjúk alapján megállapítható, hogy a roma szülők iskolába vetett bizalmi szintje több tényező függvénye. Az egyik ilyen tényező a szülők vélekedése arról, hogy mennyire találják igazságosnak a pedagógust. Könnyen bizalmukat vesztik, ha a pedagógus megbántja, vagy megalázza a gyermeket, különösen mások előtt. Ha úgy vélik, hogy igazságtalanság érte gyermeküket, a sértettség gyakran agresszív kommunikációs stílusban tör a felszínre. Több szülő kifejezte, mennyire fontos lenne, hogy érezzék, a tanárok gondoskodnak a gyerekről, hogy fontosnak tartják őket. Sok szülő nosztalgiával gondol vissza a régi időkre, amikor a tanárok bár fizikai fegyelmezési eszközökkel is éltek, mégis igazságosabbnak tűntek. A dolgozat néhány tanulságos, de egyben igen szomorú történetet tár fel arról, hogyan kezelte a régi rendszer a roma kérdést.

A legintenzívebben felmerült téma az etnikai hovatartozás érzése volt. Vannak szülők, akik büszkén vállalják, vannak, akik beletörődve, mások közömbösen veszik tudomásul, vagy egyenesen tagadják azt, hogy romák lennének. Összetett tényezők vezetnek oda, hogy sokan megtagadják roma származásukat. Erős intenzitással merült fel több családban az a probléma, hogy mennyire általánosít a többségi társadalom a

romákkal kapcsolatban. Sértőnek érzik sokan azt, hogy míg ők próbálnak tisztességgel élni és beilleszkedni, állandóan egy kategóriába sorolják őket. Több eset is példázza, hogy a romák nyitottak a többségi társadalom felé, viszont tudatában vannak annak, hogy az előítéletek erősen élnek. Ez ellen úgy védekeznek, hogy megpróbálják magukat elkülöníteni az őket negatívan megítélő környezettől és az úgymond „bűnöző" romáktól is. Az ellenállás a bekategorizálással szemben leginkább ahhoz vezet, hogy egyre erősebb a széthúzás a romák között.

A roma családok igyekeznek beolvadni a többségi társadalomba, tehát számukra világos az iskolázottság előnye. Érdekes eredményeket tárt fel viszont a kutatás a tanárok oktatásba, saját munkájukba vetett hitéről. Ők nem hisznek abban, hogy valóban kiemelkedhet az a roma gyerek, aki most kitűnő tanuló.

Felmerül a kérdés, hogyan lehet motiválni, kitartásra ösztönözni a tanulókat és a szülőket, ha maguk a tanárok sem hisznek abban, hogy munkájuknak meg lesz az eredménye. Gyakran a kilátástalanság, elkeseredés tükröződik a pedagógusok mondataiból, mely érzés megkönnyíti a sztereotípiák, előítéletek kialakulását.

Bár a kutatások alátámasztják, hogy nagyon fontos a kulturális hovatartozás érzésének erősítése, kiderült, hogy a romák sem egységesek abban, hogy többet szeretnének tanulni saját kultúrájukról, megtanulni a nyelvüket. Az iskola, bár felvállalta a roma kisebbség kultúrájának gondozását, nem sokat tesz az ügy érdekében, inkább a „cigány iskola" megbélyegzés ellen küzd.

Az eddigiekből talán kiderült, hogy a pedagógusok sztereotíp képet alkotnak a roma családokról általában, és a megélt kilátástalan helyzet túlélésére bűnbak teóriákat gyártanak. Nem bíznak a szülők gondoskodásában, tudásában, megélt tapasztalataikban, ami sokszor kioktató hangnemben mutatkozik meg. A kölcsönös tisztelet hiánya jellemzi a szülői ház és az iskola kapcsolatát.

Az **Eredmények értékelése** fejezet célja, hogy a szakirodalom és a kutatási eredmények szintézisével válaszoljon a kutatásban feltett harmadik kérdésre is.

A fejezet a makro tényezők feltárásával kezdődik. A romák helyzetét vizsgálva megállapítható, hogy Ogbu (1978) 'nem önkéntes' bevándorló csoportjaihoz hasonlóan a romák is úgy tekintenek a többségi társadalomra, mint akik lenézik, és negatív sztereotípiáikkal bélyegzik meg őket. A szülők nem érezték mindig ezt az ellenszenvet; sokan nosztalgiával gondolnak vissza 'úttörős' élményeikre, amikor, úgy vélik, nem volt különbség roma és nem-roma között.

Elgondolkodtató ellentmondás ez annak tükrében, hogy elbeszéléseikben ezzel egyidejűleg sokszor felemlegetik a „c" betű megbélyegző hatását (amit az iskolai naplóban a nevük mellé írtak), vagy a tanárok fizikai fenyítéseinek maradandó lelki emlékeit.

Az oktatásba vetett bizalom kérdésének tekintetében viszont eltérés fedezhető fel Ogbu (1978) csoportja és a vizsgált családok között. Igaz, a szülők a rendszerben, nem az iskolában bíznak. A családok erősen hisznek abban, hogy gyermekeik képzése jövőbeli boldogulásuk záloga, de ahogy sokan kifejezték nem tudják, hogyan ösztönözzék őket tanulásra.

Vygotsky (1978) elméletére építve a dolgozat megállapítja, hogy mivel a szülők életében nem volt jelen a tanulásra bíztató szülői háttér, nem sajátították el azokat a szülői szerepeket, és azokat a módszereket, amelyek képessé tennék őket, hogy gyerekeik mentoraként, mediátoraként funkcionáljanak, legalábbis az iskolai elvárásoknak megfelelően. A szülők a pedagógusoktól várják a segítséget, és emlékeik alapján van is elképzelésük az ideális tanító típusról. Azonban a tanárok ezt hárítják, mondván, hogy a szülőkkel nem lehet együtt dolgozni, a társadalom később úgysem fogja befogadni a jó tanulókat, és elegük van abból, hogy tőlük várják el a helyzet megoldását, miközben ez társadalmi probléma. Somlai (1997), a modern társadalom egyik hatásának látja a gyerekek szocializációjában résztvevők szerepelosztásának ilyen felborulását.

A kutatásban szereplő iskola, annak ellenére, hogy nem önszántából lett szegregált, nem hajlandó tudomásul venni a roma gyerekek jelenlétét, így Kyuchukov (2000) bolgár tanulmányához hasonlóan itt is megállapítható, hogy a roma kultúra nincs jelen az oktatási tananyagokban. A tanárok ezt azzal magyarázzák, hogy számukra nincs

roma, nem-roma megkülönböztetés az iskolában. Az értekezés rámutat ennek a hozzáállásnak a következményeire is.

Az erős asszimilálódási törekvés lehet az oka annak, hogy a roma szülők egyre kevésbé érzik, hogy fontos lenne kultúrájuk megőrzése, a roma nyelv tanításának a szükségessége pedig egy az egyben elutasításra került. Ez összhangban van a nemzetközi szakirodalom megállapításaival.

Az értekezés felveti azt a súlyos problémát is, hogy a gyerekek csoporthoz tartozás érzésének hiánya mennyire befolyásolja személyiségfejlődésüket, identitástudatukat (Hedegaard, 2005). A roma gyerekek a mai társadalomban két csoporthoz tartoznak; a magyarhoz, amely többnyire a másik csoporthoz tartozónak tekinti őket, és a romához, mely kultúra számukra gyenge gyökereket nyújt kulturális ismeretük hiánya miatt.

A vizsgálat ezután a beazonosított tényezők működésére fókuszált a kommunikáció folyamatában. Hammer (2002) konfliktus során alkalmazott stílus változatai különbözőképpen jelentek meg a kommunikáció során, többnyire az etnikai hovatartozás erősségének, a konfliktus helyzet arculatvédésének (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001) és a hatalmi viszonyok és szerepek elosztásának függvényében.

A fejezet hosszabban foglalkozott azzal a kérdéssel milyen nehéz feladat lehet a pedagógusok számára annak megállapítása az interakció folyamán, hogy a szülő melyik identitása erősebb (identity salience) egy-egy pillanatban. Ez különösen azért fontos, mert Durovic (2008) tanulmánya korábban jól rávilágított arra, hogy a tévesen megítélt identitás milyen következményekkel járhat.

A gyakran problémaként felmerült kérdést, miszerint a szülők kiszámíthatatlanok és agresszívek, az értekezés a kulturális keretváltás jelenségével magyarázza. A szülők beszámolói alapján a dolgozat következtetése az, hogy kulturális keretváltást kiváltó mechanizmus lehet az erős érzelmi behatás is, az identitás, az értékek és a kommunikációban elfoglalt pozíció fenyegetettségének érzése. A kulturális keretváltás során (amikor a roma identitás válik elsődlegessé) a szülőkben olyan erős kategorizációk, és előítéletek aktiválódnak, melyek - különösen megélt tapasztalataik tükrében - a másik fél szándékának, mondandójának és személyiségének

félreértelmezéséhez is vezetnek. Kiváltódik a védekezési mechanizmus a vélt előítélet, a méltatlan bánásmód ellen, és ez a bizonytalanságérzet, a roma kultúrában megengedett konfliktuskezelési stílusban nyilvánul meg. A tanárok ezt ellenük irányuló agresszív, udvariatlan és közönséges viselkedésnek látják, míg a szülők ezt a dolgok „cigány módon" való elintézésének. Ahogy ők mondták, ez a fegyverük.

Sajnos a konfliktushelyzetek ilyen módon való kezelése tovább mélyíti a romák agresszív természetéről alkotott sztereotípiát, annak ellenére, hogy sok szülő éppen a visszavonulást választja ilyen helyzetekben. Az értekezés véletlenül sem kívánja azt sugallni, hogy ez a stílus a romák sajátja lenne, hiszen erre vonatkozólag nem ismeretesek kutatások, amik ezt megerősítenék. A következtetéseim kizárólagosan a szülők és tanárok által elmondottakra alapoztak. Ahogy a kommunikációs modellben ez kifejtésre kerül, az ilyen eseteket nem agresszióként, hanem az adott helyzetre való reagálásként kell felfogni, amely megfelelő technikával kezelhető.

A konfliktus dinamikáját befolyásoló kulcstényezők részletes vizsgálatát az értekezés a következő kérdéskörökben tárgyalja részletesen:

- az ütköző értékrendszerek
- a bizalom hiánya
- a másik csoportról vélt kulturális, és az interakcióban résztvevő személyről alkotott személyes feltételezett tudás,
- a bizonytalanság
- az attribúciók
- valamint a célok és azok értelmezése, a konfliktus üzenetének interpretálása

Ezeknek a tényezőknek a funkciója a folyamat modellbe helyezve, példákkal illusztrálva válik világossá.

A kilencedik fejezet a folyamat **modellt** mutatja be. A negatív kapcsolatot leíró modell négy szakaszra épül. A tanárok és szülők találkozásait nem egyszeri, hanem egymásba kapcsolódó kommunikációs láncként képzeli el. Ezeknek a részei a Reflexió, Tapasztalat, Tudás és maga az Interakció. A modell feltevéseket fogalmaz meg a

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kutatási eredmények és az elméleti áttekintés alapján. Az iskolai interkulturális konfliktus helyzetre vonatkozó feltevéseket az értekezés példákkal támasztja alá.

- Az első feltevés szerint, minden egyes konfliktushelyzetet befolyásol a résztvevők korábbi találkozásuk végén levont, a konfliktushelyzet értékelésére és értelmezésére vonatkoztatott reflexiója.

- A reflexiók, következtetések, és a konfliktus helyzet okaira és mások viselkedésének magyarázatára vonatkozó magyarázatok alkotják meg az egyén tapasztalatát.

- Az okok, amelyekkel a szereplők a konfliktushelyzetet magyarázzák, meghatározhatják a következő konfliktushelyzet folyamatát és kimenetelét. Ennek oka, hogy az adott magyarázatok alapján a konfliktushelyzet résztvevői tudást képeznek a másik személyről és annak kultúrájáról. Ez a vélhető tudás sokszor elfogult, különösen, ha a konfliktust heves érzelmek, frusztráció jellemezte.

- Ez a feltételezett tudás képezi az alapját az elvárásoknak, amelyekkel a legközelebbi találkozás elé néz például a szülő. Ezek az elvárások vonatkoznak a másik fél kommunikációban betöltött szerepére, vélt céljaira, és motivációira.

- Félreértés adódhat szavak eltérő kulturális értelmezéséből is. Látszatra semleges témák is gerjeszthetnek heves érzelmeket, különösen, ha más kulturális értékek, jelentések kapcsolódnak egy szóhoz (pl. tisztaság).

- Az interakció kimenete jelentős mértékben függ a céltól, egymás céljainak megfelelő értelmezésétől. A félreértelmezett célok a kapcsolat romlásához vezethetnek.

- Konfliktus helyzetet teremthet, ha a résztvevő felek nem megfelelő módon alkotják meg (konstruálják) egymás identitását.

- A kulturális keretváltást kiválthatja az értékrendszerek, normák és célok vélt összeférhetetlensége, egymás identitásának hibás konstruálása.

- Az interkulturális konfliktus helyzet kezelése olyan technikát igényel, mely csak kulturális tudatossággal, etnocentrizmustól mentes attitűddel, és interkulturális kompetenciával kezelhető.

Az értekezés úgy találta, hogy az IKK tényezőinek működése szoros összefüggésben áll azzal, a szülőnek éppen melyik kulturális identitása erősebb az interakció folyamán. A roma szülők folyamatosan formálják és átformálják mind roma, mind magyar identitásukat. Ahogy Hall és McGrew (1992) állítják, a multikulturális egyénekben lévő kultúrák nem mindig férnek meg jól egymással. A roma családok erősen szeretnének a többségi társadalomhoz tartozni, és ismerik is annak normáit és szabályait, de ha azt érzik, hogy bármelyik (roma vagy magyar) identitásuk sérül, ahogy az előző fejezet bemutatta, védekezésképpen roma identitásuk aktivizálódik. Ez feltételezhetően nem megfelelőnek ítélt viselkedésük egyik okának magyarázata.

A konfliktuskezelő kisebb modell erre épít, amikor megpróbál gyakorlati útmutatót adni a kulturális keretváltás következményeinek helyes kezeléséhez. A konfliktuskezelésnek ez a megközelítése olyan kontextusra alkalmazható, amelyben a felek egy kulturális identitást (itt a magyar) osztanak, és a szülőnek van egy olyan kulturális identitása, amellyel a tanár nem rendelkezik (roma). Az alapfeltevése a modellnek az, hogy a tanárnak, akinek a konfliktuskezelés a szerepe, arra kell törekednie, hogy az interakció során mindkét fél a magyar kulturális identitását tartsa elsődlegesnek. Ebben az esetben rendelkezik csak mindkét fél a kultúra osztott jelentésrendszerével, hiedelmével, normáival stb. (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001). Persze ez nem jelenti azt, hogy a szülő ne váltogatná kulturális kereteit, különösen, ha fenyegetve érzi a másik identitását. A konfliktuskezelés másik fontos 'szabálya', hogy a tanár a roma szülőnek mindig arra az identitására reagáljon, válaszoljon vissza, amelyik éppen érezhetően aktív. A konfliktus helyzet kimenete akkor sikeres, ha mindkét félnek a találkozó végén a magyar identitása (Hungarian identity salience) az erős. A konfliktuskezelés azonban megfelelő kulturális háttértudást és kommunikációs készségeket, interkulturális kompetenciát feltételez.

KONKLÚZIÓ

A disszertáció elején felvetődött a kérdés, milyen mértékben befolyásolja két ember kommunikációját kulturális különbözőségük, és van-e valójában különbség az interkulturális és intrakulturális kommunikáció között. A kutatás arra a megállapításra jutott, hogy amíg a kommunikáló felek egymást eltérő kultúrájuk folytán távolinak érzik, és ez a nézet befolyásolja interakcióik sikerességét (Collier & Thomas, 1988; Triandis, 2003), addig az interkulturális kommunikáció kutatás egy legitim diszciplína.

Az értekezés a kultúra fogalmát mindvégig rugalmasan kezelte, feltételezve, hogy az egyén több kultúra tagja is lehet (Jensen, 2004), és valójában a kontextus és a kötődés foka határozza meg mennyire osztja csoportja érték, hiedelem és jelentésrendszerét (Jenkins, 1997). A kulturális identitást a szociálkonstruktivista felfogásnak megfelelően pedig társas alkotásnak (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) tekintette, amely a másokkal való társas interakciók során formálódik.

A kvalitatív kutatás a negatív kapcsolatnak több tényezőjét is beazonosította a kutatásban résztvevők értelmezései alapján. A leggyakrabban felmerült okok: a szülők részvételének, együttműködésének hiánya; az értékrendszerek vélt különbözősége; ellentétes nézetek az oktatásról; az előítéletek és a negatív sztereotípia; a bizalom hiánya, és az identitás kérdése.

Az okok mögött számos esetben fel lehetett tárni a kulturális eltérésekre visszavezethető problémákat. Ezek megjelentek mind az egymásról alkotott sztereotípiákban, mind az egymással folytatott kommunikációjukban is. Több fogalom pl. „gondoskodás" „tisztaság" kapcsán lehetett kulturális értelmezésbeli különbségeket felfedezni. Ezen fogalmak közös értelmezése, többnyire a tanárok hiányos kulturális háttértudása miatt, nem jött létre az interakció során, és ez sokszor feszültséget szült. Egymás kulturális értékeinek elfogadása, különösen a személyes értékek (Nordby, 2008) tisztelete szintén problémaként jelentkezett.

A kutatás eredményei azt is megmutatták, hogy a romák hisznek az oktatási rendszerben, bár nem igazán tudják szülői szerepüket kiteljesíteni ez irányban, mivel nem volt megfelelő mintájuk. A kutatás meglepő eredménye volt az, hogy a tanárok

nem hittek abban, hogy a roma gyerekek helyzetén bármit is javíthatna iskolázottságuk a többségi társadalom elutasító attitűdjére hivatkozva.

A szülők gyermekeik iskolai kudarcait többnyire a tanárok előítéleteire vezették vissza. A szülők tudják, milyen tanító modellre vágynak, a tanárok ezt a jelenlegi körülményekre hivatkozva nem vállalják fel.

A dolgozat legmarkánsabban megjelenő eleme a kulturális/etnikai identitás kérdése volt. Az értekezés kiemelte a csoporthoz tartozás kulcsszerepét a személyiségfejlődés, a biztonság, az önkép, a társas kapcsolatok formálásában, mégis aggasztó tényként tárult fel az, hogy a romák többsége közömbösen azonosítja magát roma származásával, vagy egyenesen el is utasítja. Ez leginkább abban nyilvánult meg, hogy a szülők nem foglalkoztak a roma kultúra továbbadásának vagy a roma nyelv tanításának kérdésével. A kutatás ezt az erős asszimilálódási törekvésükkel, a „bűnöző romákkal" való állandó bekategorizálás elleni védekezéssel, az erős előítélettel való szembesüléssel magyarázta.

Ezek a tényezők a két fél kommunikációjában is megnyilvánultak, különösen konfliktus helyzetben. A tanárok sokszor kioktató, lenéző hangnemben tárgyalnak a szülőkkel, semmibe véve élettapasztalataikat, míg a roma szülők, különösen konfliktus helyzetben gyakran viselkednek „elfogadhatatlan" módon. Az értekezés a kulturális keretváltás jelenségével magyarázta ezt.

A tényezők működését a negatív kapcsolat alakulásában, különösen a konfliktus helyzetekben a folyamat modell foglalta össze. A modell a kapcsolat alakulását a reflexió, tapasztalat, tudás és az interakció szakaszaiban mutatja be. Az identitás, a célok és jelentések értelmezése, az attribúciók, a kulturális és személyes tudás fontossága mind szerepet kapnak a modellben. Záráskéntt a kulturális keretváltás jelenségére alapozva, a dolgozat egy lehetséges konfliktuskezelési megközelítést is felvázolt.

A kutatásban részvevők relatív kis száma, és a kutatás helyszíne, szűkíti az eredmények általánosíthatóságát más kontextusra. Az sem állítható, hogy a kutatás teljes képet adott a résztvevőkről és az összes változatot beazonosította modelljében.

Ennek ellenére, remélhetőleg a részletes etnografikus leírás, a résztvevők szavai és az esettanulmányok lehetővé teszik, hogy a kutatás néhány elemét más hasonló jellegű kutatások is hasznosítsák.

Attitűdváltásra, nyíltságra, és a másik kultúrájának jobb megismerésére lenne szükség ahhoz, hogy a kutatás eredményei és következtetései beépüljenek a tanárok és a szülők kommunikációjának gyakorlatába, ezáltal javítva kapcsolatukat. Kulturális intelligencia és az interkulturális kompetencia fejlesztésével lenne ez elérhető.

A roma szülők hisznek az iskolarendszerben, a tanárokra várnak, hogy támogassák, segítsék őket.

„Mindent elvehetnek tőled, a ruhádat, a táskádat… a hajadat levághassák, megvághassák a bőrödet, de az eszedet, azt nem tudják elvenni tőled"

/ egy roma apuka kislányához intézett szavai/